

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**A HISTORY OF FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS IN SABON BIRNI DISTRICT,
1903-2018**

A Dissertation

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By

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DEDICATION

To Almighty God and members of Siman's family

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation by Giwa Siman Elias has met the requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts (History) of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto Nigeria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
DEDICATION	ii
CERTIFICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF MAPS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	x
ABSTRACT	xi
CHAPTER ONE: 1General Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	2
1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study	4
1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study	4
1.5 Significance of the Study	5
1.6 Research Methodology	5
1.7 Literature Review	8
CHAPTER TWO:	20
Background of Sabon Birni District	20
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 Location	20
2.3 Climate	21
2.4 Vegetation	23
2.5 Brief History of Sabon Birni District	23
2.6. Social and Cultural Activities	25

2.6.1 Cultural Practices	26
2.6.2 The Fulani Cultural Practice (Sharo)	31
2.7 Agricultural Production	33
2.7.1 Dry Season Farming	36
2.7.2 Wet (Rainy) Season Farming.....	38
2.8 Pastoralism.....	39
2.9 Farmer-Herder Relations	41
CHAPTER THREE: Origin and Development of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District, 1903-1960	47
3.1 Introduction.....	47
3.2 Emergence of New Nomadic Camps.....	47
3.3 The Origin of the Conflict	52
3.4 Malam Buzu Attack 1951	58
3.5 Clash in Sabon Birni 1952	61
3.6 Attacks in Bachaka 1954	63
3.7 The Conflict in Yar’bulutu in 1956	67
3.8 Violent Incident in Sabon Birni 1956	68
CHAPTER FOUR:	73
Cross-Border Transhumance and Farmer-Herder Conflict, 1960-1984	73
4.1 Introduction.....	73
4.2 The Fulanin-Bamgi	73
4.3 The Role of Fulanin-Bamgi in the Conflict	74
4.4 Grazing Reserves (<i>Hurumi</i>).....	76
4.5 Grazing Routes (<i>Burtali</i>)	81

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1	Map of Nigeria showing Sokoto State and the Study Area	19
Figure 3.1	Map of Sabon Birni Showing Areas of Conflict	70
Figure 4.1	Grazing Reserves, Routes, Watering and Resting Points in Sabon Birni District	83

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 4. 1: Some of the Grazing Reserves Visited	78
Table 4. 2: Grazing Routes visited and their present conditions	82
Table 4. 3: Watering Points Visited.....	85
Table 4. 4: Resting Places Visited	87
Table 5. 1: Selected Cases of Cattle Rustling in Sbon Birni District	101
Table 5. 2: Selected Cases of Armed Banditry Activities in Sabon Birni	106
Table 5. 3: Selected Cases of Kidnapping Activities in Sabon Birni District	110

ABSTRACT

This study is an assessment of a history of Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State from 1903 to 2018. Qualitative method of analysis was adopted in measuring the effects this Conflict has caused and factors that have sustained the conflict to linger for long without lasting solution. The dynamism of the Conflict and its complexity has frustrated the suggested regulations and policies to mitigate the conflict. The contemporary security challenges facing the District is seen as an offshoot of farmer-herder conflict over time. The period reviewed in this work witnessed more resolutions than the conflicts itself but yielded no lasting result because of the method involved in grazing and cultivation as both parties stick to traditional method of grazing and cultivation. The causes of conflict between farmers and herders are encroachment into grazing reserves, routes, watering points and resting places by farmers and also invading of farm lands and at times standing crops by herders, because of the uniqueness of the area of study and the parties involved, both parties are to be blamed for the conflict in the district.

CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Farmer-herder conflict has been the major security issue that leads to wanton destruction of lives and properties in contemporary Nigeria. The conflict has changed from a crisis of pastoralism to an organised crime involving cattle rustling, armed banditry and kidnapping¹ which in turn contributed to the decline in agricultural production especially in Northern Nigeria. It also threatens the peace and stability of the country. A Farmer-Herder conflict often occurs as a result of the pursuit of incompatible economic interests (farming and pastoralism). Many factors have been responsible for the recurrence of these conflicts. Some of which include land encroachments, herders' migration, inadequate grazing routes and grazing reserves as well as competition over scarce resources.²

Sabon Birni District is an agrarian community located in the eastern part of Sokoto State.³ The District is an ancestral home of Gobirawa,⁴ the Fulani constitute the second largest ethnic group in the area. Thus, both farming and pastoralism are important sources of livelihood in the District. The two groups see their occupations not just as a way of life, but important economic practice inherited from ancestors. The importance attached to these sources of livelihood (Farming and Pastoralism), no doubt, contribute to the perpetual farmer-herder conflict in the District. A herder see any attempt at preventing their cattle

¹ S. B. Momale, "Changing Methods of Animal Husbandry, Cattle Rustling and Rural Banditry in Nigeria", in M. J. Kuna and Ibrahim Jibrin (eds) *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Abuja, Centre of Democracy Development, 2015, pp. 71-72. See also Jibrin Ibrahim, Mass Killings, Atrocities in Nigeria: Tracing the Trajectory", Daily Trust Newspaper, Vol. 47, 12th April 2019

² Ningxin Li, "Nigeria's Fulani Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict and Peace Building", *Global Journal of Agricultural Research*, Vol. 6 (5), 2018, pp. 1-4. He also states that population growth, environmental degradation, climate change were some of the remote factors of Farmer-Herder conflict.

³ A. U. Alkammawa, "The Impact of Colonialism on Agricultural Production in the Eastern Districts of Sokoto Emirate, 1903-1960", unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, UDUS, 2019, p. 6

⁴ A. R. Augie, "The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of Rima Basin, C. 1650-1808 AD", unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, UDUS, 1984, p. 257

from grazing as a threat to their economic life, while the (farmers) mostly the Gobirawa on the other hand, perceive any attempt by cattle to damage their crops as a jeopardy to their source of livelihood. These incompatible economic practices put the two groups at loggerheads and mutual distrust.

Scholars have argued extensively that the Gobirawa are warlike and war is in their blood.⁵ They are also described as “lawlessness of the desert”.⁶ The Fulani are also not left behind in terms of bravery.⁷ They are proudly associated with the 1804 Jihad and its successes. This conflicting historical relationship at times resurfaces during most of the conflicts in the District.⁸ Therefore, this research studied the history of Farmer-Herder conflicts in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State from 1903 to 2018.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Sabon Birni District is one of the major agricultural areas in Sokoto State. It has attracted the attention of scholars who wrote on different aspects of the 19th century Jihad.⁹ The activities of the Jihadists that led to the displacement of the *Sarakunan* Hausa is still fresh in the memories of the Gobirawa who have developed anti-Fulani sentiments over the

⁵ H. A. S. Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London, 1967, p. 15

⁶ S. J. Hogben, A. M. H. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, p. 149

⁷ Waziri Junaidu History and Cultural Bureau Sokoto, Sabon Birni, No.152/107/1955, The Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 1

⁸ There are three categories of Fulani in Sabon Birni District. The first are the sedentary *Fulbe* who are indigenous to the area and have been in Gobir right from the onset, the second are the settlers who migrated from different places to the District over time. This group associates more with other Fulani than the Gobirawa. Whenever there is conflict they support the Fulani. The last set of Fulani is the Fulani-Bamgi. These Fulani were migrants from Niger Republic who normally come to Sabon Birni especially during the grazing period to rear their cattle; they constitute a major contender in the conflict under discussion.

⁹ See the works of R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and its Enemies*, London, Longman Group Ltd, 1971, Abdullahi Smith “Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausa, in *A Little New Light; Selected Historical Works of Abdullahi Smith*, Zaria; GaskiyaCorporations Ltd., 1987. See also the works of H. A. S. Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London, Oxford University Press, 1967, Yusuf Bala Usman (ed) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Ltd, 1975, Al-Hajj, M. A., “The Meaning of Sokoto Jihad”, in Y. B. Usman (ed) *Studies in the History of Sokoto Caliphate*, ABU Zaria, 1975

years.¹⁰ This sentiment has created acrimony and distrust among the two groups in the District. The conflicts between the two contending groups (farmers and herders) have led to destruction of crops, killing of livestock and death of many people.¹¹ For instance, in the month of December 1950, there were over 20 reported cases of farm damage in the District.¹² In February 1951, the Fulanin-Bamgi attacked Gobirawa farmers near Malam Buzu and many people were killed.¹³ Also between January and August 1955, there were over 42 reported cases of farm damages by the herders.¹⁴ Some of the trouble-spots of these conflicts includes Malam Buzu, Bachaka, Makuwana, Lajinge, Unguwar Lalle and Tsamaye, the areas which Rufa'i calls frontier villages of Sabon Birni District.¹⁵

In spite of the frequent occurrence of these violent conflicts and their impact, the topic has not received much attention from scholars and researchers. This work therefore, seeks to fill in the existing vacuum by looking at the nature and dynamics of Farmer-Herder conflicts in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State from 1903-2018. Consequently, some of the research questions are:

- i. what is the nature of farmer and herder relations in Sabon Birni District?
- ii. what is the origin of farmer-herder conflict in the District?
- iii. what is the nature and dynamics of the conflict?
- iv. what are the factors responsible for this conflict in the District?
- v. what are the contemporary security challenges facing the District?

¹⁰ Malam Abubakar Bango, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Farmer, 21/7/2019

¹¹ Malam Abubakar Bango, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Farmer, 72 years, 21/7/2019

¹² Waziri Junaidu History and Cultural Bureau Sokoto (WJHCBS), Touring Report: Sabon Birni District by Mr. R. H. Wollocomber, A D O., Gusau, 1950, p. 2

¹³ WJHCBS/152/107/1953, District Officer's Touring Notes, Sabon Birni District, November 1953, p. 1

¹⁴ WJHCBS/1954/Touring Notes: Sabon Birni District, p. 1

¹⁵ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 151, see also WJHCBS/152/104/1955/Sabon Birni Affairs, p. 1

- vi. what are the efforts made in resolving the conflict?

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this research work is to study the history of farmer-herder conflicts in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, 1903-2018. The study has the following as its objectives:

- (i) to trace the nature of farmer-herder relations in Sabon Birni District;
- (ii) to discuss the origin of farmer-herder conflict in Sabon Birni District;
- (iii) to analyse the nature and dynamics of the conflict;
- (iv) to examine the factors responsible for the conflict;
- (v) to discuss contemporary security challenges in the District;
- (vi) to discuss the efficacy of the strategies made towards resolving the conflict.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research is on farmer-herder conflict in Sabon Birni District from 1903-2018. The District is made up of nine (9) major villages.¹⁶ The District falls within the eastern senatorial zone of Sokoto State. It share borders to the east by the Republic of Niger, and in the south by Isa Local Government Area and in the west by Goronyo and Gada Local Government Areas of Sokoto State.

The starting period of the research is 1903, the year is chosen because it was the period in which the area came under the control of the British after the conquest of Sokoto city on 15th March, 1903. The period also witnessed the beginning of colonial artificial borders between Nigeria and Niger Republic. During this period also there were different colonial agricultural policies and programmes which witnessed migration of people especially from Niger Republic to Northern Nigeria. The year 2018 marks the terminal period of the study

¹⁶ These villages include Sabon Birni, Gatawa, Kurawa, Unguwar Lalle, Makuwana, Tsamaye, Lajinge, Kalgo, and Tara

due to the fact that it was the year that banditry and cattle rustling were at their peak and kidnapping became rampant making lives difficult for the people of the District. This banditry, cattle rustling and kidnapping have led to loss of lives, destruction of properties, and reduction in agricultural activities among other effects they brought to the people.

The major limitation of this work is the present security challenges facing the District. This has made it impossible for some important places to be visited. Another limitation is that most herders were reluctant in providing information needed by the researcher. The researcher later made use of a mediator (someone the herders freely relate with) to get information needed to accomplish this research.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The conflict between farmers and herders in Sabon Birni District has claimed many lives and destruction of farm produce, death of live stocks leading to non-cordial relationship between the two groups. In spite of this, much has not been written about these conflictual relationships and the conflict in general. It is the concern of this study therefore, to investigate and unearth the nature and dynamics of this conflict. The study adds to existing literature on farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria and serves as reference material for other researchers. This research is also aimed at understanding the complexities associated with farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria. It also reduces the existing gap in the study of farmer-herder conflict in the area of study, Sokoto State and the country at large. Besides, it serves as a reference material for government and conflict managers and general readers.

1.6 Research Methodology

Qualitative method was adopted in the course of this research. In using this qualitative method, primary and secondary sources were utilized. The interviews are categorised into

two; high and low profile interviews. The high profile interviews were conducted with the major stakeholders on both sides of the farmers and herders. This involved interview with village and District heads, Sarkin Fulani, Sarkin Noma, Ardos, security agents such Police officers, members of Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps, members of the judiciary, and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) and All Farmers Association of Nigeria (AFAN) Chairmen and officials. The total number of informants interviewed in the course of the research is sixty eight (68). While the total number of high profile interview is thirteen (13), the low profile interviews were conducted with farmers and herders and other observers of the conflict and the total numbers of these low profile interviews is forty-five (45). The research has also taken care of gender balance as a total number of ten (10) women were interviewed in the course of the research. The primary sources include oral interviews with relevant people in the study area. Farmers across different villages and hamlets were contacted and interviewed, so also pastoral Fulani were identified and interviewed. To further corroborate these sources, both farmers and herders' associations were consulted and interviewed. Visits were made to Police Stations, Courts¹⁷ and other security agencies in Sabon Birni so as to collate and interpret the information collected. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. A visit was also made to Bamgi in Niger Republic to seek the views of the Bamgi Fulani. This is to offer a balanced analysis. Archival materials such as files containing assessment reports, diaries and letters were consulted. These materials are mostly deposited at Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto (WJHCBS), National Archives Kaduna (NAK). Information obtained from

¹⁷ These two institutions are very important in dispute settlement; their services cannot be ignored in a situation in as found in our study area. More on the activities of these two institutions are discussed in chapter five (5) of this work.

these sources were critically analysed and interpreted in the course of writing this research work.

Secondary sources such as published and unpublished materials were consulted. These materials include textbooks, articles, and seminar papers, dissertations and theses that are in one way or the other relevant to this research work. Visits were made to Abdullahi Fodio Library Complex Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, and Centre for Peace Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University.

The following villages were visited for the purpose of interview; Kalgo, Gatawa, Sabon Birni, Magajin Dawaki, Yar'bulutu, Unguwar Lalle, Lajinge, and Makuwana. For the purpose of this research, the District has been divided into two according to the frequency of occurrence of the conflict between these two parties. This classification is also necessary for a better understanding of the readers. The first area comprising villages such as Sabon Birni, Yar'bulutu, Makuwana, Unguwar Lalle, Lajinge, and Tsamaye located in the western part of the village which is considered the high profile area where most of these disputes occurred while the second part of the area which include villages such as Kurawa, Tara, Gatawa and Kalgo located in the eastern part of the District.¹⁸ As a result of this classification, much attention was paid to the high profile area which is made up of all the trouble spots of the conflict. A total of sixty eight (68) informants were interviewed across the villages visited. Data collected from published, unpublished and colonial materials were carefully analysed and corroborated with the oral information obtained from the field in order to develop the dissertation.

¹⁸ It is important to note that the Eastern part of the District which was not much affected during the early period of this study (from 1903 to the late 1990s) is now faced with banditry, cattle rustling and kidnapping. These issues also have been treated in chapter five of this work.

1.7 Literature Review

Farmer-herder conflict is a prevalent security challenge confronting Nigeria today and northern Nigeria in particular. The conflict has affected lives, farm produce and agricultural activities. As a result, many scholars have written on the nature, causes, effects and the way out of the conflict from different perspectives. This section therefore, reviewed materials that are relevant to this research work with a view to establishing areas of similarities and differences.

The work of Mirjam de Bruijn and Han Van Dijk discussed natural resource, scarcity and conflict. They stated that the conflict between farmers and herders in West Africa is on the increase and is being reported everywhere in the drought-prone regions of the sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁹ They are of the opinion that population increase put pressure on the scarce available resources which create room for competition for the available resources thereby leading to conflict. They concluded that ecological degradation and increase in population and shortage in resources constitute the causes of herdsman and farmers conflicts in the Sahel region.²⁰

Kaderi in his work which centres on farmers-herders conflict in Ghana identified increase in migration of herders from the Sahel region, cattle rustling, armed robbery and environmental change as causes of the outbreak of the conflict in northern and Southern parts of Ghana.²¹

Shuichi's work examined farmer-herder conflict, land rehabilitation, and conflict prevention in the Sahel region of West Africa with reference to South Central Niger

¹⁹ M. de Bruijn, *et al* "Natural Resource, Scarcity and Conflict: A Perspective from Below" in Patrick Chabal, Ulf Engel (eds) *Is violent inevitable in Africa*, Netherlands, Koninklijke Brill, 2005, p. 55

²⁰ M. de Bruijn, *et al* "Natural Resource, Scarcity... p. 57

²¹ N. B. Kaderi, "Farmer-Herder Relations in Ghana: Interplay of Environmental Change, Conflict, Cooperation and Social Networks" An unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences, Georg-August University, Gottingen, 2017

Republic. Shuichi noted that the increase in human population over the years has led to striking consequences in the Sahelian countries leading to food shortages, farmland expansion and clashes over land and other natural resources.²² He noted that this situation has made it difficult for herders to find suitable pasture for grazing during the raining season.²³ He went on to state that during the harvest period, the relationship between farmers and herders adulterate as a result of livestock-induced crop damage. He identified shortage of pasture land for grazing and livestock-induced damage as the major causes of the conflict between farmers and herders in South-Central Niger.

Roger Blench in his work noted that the conflict between farmers and herders has existed since the beginning of agriculture, but the prevalence of tsetse fly and low settlement densities kept the incidence of clashes at a low frequency until the twentieth century. He stated that the collapse of *burtali* system, migration, and the growth in horticulture and *fadama* cultivation are some of the causes of the conflicts in Nigeria.²⁴

Abdullahi et al in their work titled “Grazing Reserves and Pastoralism in Nigeria” examined the historical development of grazing reserves in Nigeria and their roles in pastoralism and livestock production. They stated that the heavy uses of land due to agricultural expansion, urbanisation and construction works have affected the dynamics of grazing land and pastoralism in Nigeria thereby leading to conflicts between farmers and herders in the country.²⁵

Ajibo et al discussed the dynamics of farmers and herdsman conflict in Nigeria. They are of the opinion that the conflict between herdsman from the Northern part of the country and

²² Oyama Shuichi, “Farmers–Herders conflict, land Rehabilitation, and Conflict Prevention in the Sahel Region of West Africa” *African Study monographs, Suppl.* 50, 2014, p. 103

²³ Oyama Shuichi, “Farmer–Herders Conflict...”p. 103

²⁴ Roger Blench, *Conflict between Pastoralists and Cultivators in Nigeria*, UK, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 6-8

²⁵ U. S. Abdullahi et al, “Grazing Reserves and Pastoralism in Nigeria: A Review”, *Vom Journal of Veterinary Science*, Vol. 10, 2015, p. 137

farmers in the central and southern zones have escalated in recent times and spreading towards the south, threatening the country's stability and peace.²⁶ They opined that the following factors are the triggers of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria, land use, ethnic and religious differences, destruction of crops by cattle, burning of rangelands and blockage of cattle routes.²⁷

Imo's work focused on the demographic implications of the conflict between nomadic herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria. He stated that farmer/herdsmen conflicts have become a common feature of economic livelihood in West Africa and that in recent times Nigeria has witnessed series of these conflicts arising from activities of farmers and herdsmen in the pursuit of their daily food.²⁸

He attributed the causes of the conflict to global climate change, desertification and aridity that has reduced arable and grazing lands, migration of herders further south, the growth of agro-pastoralism, the expansion of farming on pastures, defecation on streams and roads by cattle and the breakdown of conflict resolution mechanisms.²⁹ In their work on livelihood and conflict dimension among crop farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Yakurr region of Cross River state, Ofem et al³⁰ identified contamination of streams and environmental degradation as some of the causes of conflict between the two groups in the region.

The work of Ngbea et al focused on the political and religious implications of the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria. They noted that farmers and herders conflicts have grown, spread and intensified in Nigeria over the past decades leading to the death of

²⁶ H. T. Ajibo, *et al.* "Dynamics of Farmers and Herders conflict in Nigeria: The implication to socio work policy intervention", *International Journal of Humanities and social science*, Vol. 8 (7), 2018, p. 157

²⁷ H. T. Ajibo, *et al* "Dynamics of Farmers and Herders... p. 160

²⁸ C. K. Imo, "The Demographic Implications of Nomadic Herdsmen and Farmers Clashes in Nigeria", *International Journal of Development and Management Review*, Vol. 2 (10), 2017, p. 45

²⁹ C. K. Imo, "The Demographic Implications, ... p. 49

³⁰ O. O. Ofem, *et al*, "Livelihood and Conflict Dimension among Crop Farmers and Fulani Herdsmen in Yakurr Region of Cross River State" *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 5 (8), 2014, p. 45

thousands, destruction of communities and property.³¹ They are of the opinion that traditional institution factor, demography/climate change, cattle rustling, rape, destruction of crops, porosity of Nigerian borders, land acquisition by capitalist farmers, contamination of streams, impunity and nepotism are some of the causes of the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria.³²

Okpeh's work discussed the causes of the conflict from different perspectives, such as climate change, population growth and demographic shifts among others.³³ The view of Okpeh is true of the situation in Sabon Birni as increase in human population constitutes among other things the causes of the conflict in the area. Related to the work of Okpeh is that of Anastasia Sandra with emphasis on the conflict in Ukpabi-Nimbo community of Enugu State. She is of the opinion that the sustainability of agriculture and pastoral production in Nigeria has been threatened by the farmer/herder conflict. She identified some of the causes of the conflict to include soil-erosion, climate change, farmland destruction, cattle rustling and theft among others.³⁴

Tyav Thomas et al examined herders/farmers conflict in Nigeria. They stated that the conflict have become a threat to national security and need urgent attention. According to them the increase in the rate of insecurity has continued to affect the socio-political and

³¹ T. G. Ngbea *et al*, "The Political and Religious Implications of Herders and Farmers Crises in Nigeria" *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies*, Vol. 6 (2), 2019, p. 1

³² T. G. Ngbea, "The Political and Religious Implications..." pp. 2-4

³³ O. O. Okpeh, "The Nigerian Army and the Farmers/Pastoralists Conflicts in Nigeria" In A. M. Ashafa and Hussaini Jibrin (eds), *The Nigerian Army in a Democracy Since 1999: A Professional Demonstration of Military Subordination to Civil Authority*, Kaduna, Pyla-Mak Services Ltd, 2017, pp. 256-261

³⁴ A. S. Anastasia, "Increasing Herder/Farmer Conflicts in Nigeria: An Assessment of the Clashes between the Fulani Herdsmen and Indigenous Farmers in Ukpabi-Nimbo Community of Enugu State" An unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of International Development Studies, Wageningen University, The Netherlands, 2018, p. viii

economic activities of the country.³⁵ Thus, encroachment and grazing of farm lands without permission, the migration of herdsmen from north to south and their activities in the course of their movement among others are the causes of conflict.

Another work worth reviewing here is that of Rufa'i which centres on Fulani knowledge system and farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria. Rufa'i opined that the persistent conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria has connection with the belief system of the Fulani. He stated that one of the beliefs amongst the Fulani is that life is incomplete without livestock.³⁶ He went further to state that as a result of the importance attached to the livestock, the herder had no option than to safeguard his economic interest (livestock) even if it means shedding blood.³⁷

Equally important to review is the work of Ogbette et al. They examined herdsmen and farmers crises under Buhari's administration with emphasis on the causes, effects and management. They stated that the conflict between Fulani-herdsmen and farmers predates Buhari's administration and that the administration has put in place measures such as the Grazing Bill in the National Assembly to curb the situation. They attributed the causes of the conflict to decline in social cohesion as the adherence to the traditional rules regarding grazing periods, gradual breakdown of traditional ruler's authority and inadequacy of grazing reserves as well as increase in crop cultivation.³⁸

³⁵ Thomas Tyav *et al* "Herdsmen/Farmers Conflict: A Threat to National Security" In S Ibrahim et al (eds), *Defence, Security, Economy and Development in Nigeria*, Vol. 2, Kaduna, Bahiti and Dalila Publishers, 2017, pp. 196-197

³⁶ M. A. Rufa'i, "Fulani Knowledge System and Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Nigeria", *Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 1, (3), 2019, p. 162

³⁷ M. A. Rufa'i, "Fulani Knowledge System... p. 162

³⁸ S. A. Ogbette *et al*, "Fulani-Herdsmen and Farmers Crises under Buhari's Administration- Causes, Effects and its Management (2015-2018), *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 5 (2), 2018, pp. 44-48

The works of Oli,³⁹ Shehu,⁴⁰ and Ofuoku,⁴¹ discussed extensively on the conflicts between farmers and herders with emphasis on the causes and effects of the conflict. They stated that crop damages, climate change, scarcity of fresh water, inadequate grazing reserves, competition for lands are some of the causes of the conflict in Nigeria.

Lolma and Dooshima's work centred on herders/farmers conflict and its impact on the socio-economic lives of women in Plateau state. They noted that since the 19th century, pastoral *Fulbe* had been attached to the Plateau bringing them closer to the farmers. In their opinion, the conflict between the two groups could be attributed to limited land for farming and grazing, the growth in *Fadama* cultivation which was predominantly an activity carried out by the Hausa/Fulani.⁴²

Solomon et al examined the contribution of climate change to farmer/herder conflict in the Middle Belt and South Eastern Nigeria. They stated that the migration of herders from the Sahel region to the Middle Belt has resulted to conflicts between the two groups.⁴³ Moreover, Yusuf examined the effects of herders/farmers conflict in Northern Senatorial zone of Plateau State from 2001-2015. He stated that the conflict has become a matter of concern for public policy makers in contemporary Nigeria, as it poses serious threat to

³⁹ N. P. Oli, *et al*, "Prevalence of Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict in Nigeria" *International Journal of Innovative Studies in Sociology and Humanities*, Vol. 3 (1), 2018, p. 77

⁴⁰ Hussein Shehu, "The Causes and Consequences of Fulani Pastoralist-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria" *International Journal of Innovation and Research in Educational Sciences*, Vol. 5 (3), 2018, 34

⁴¹ Albert U. Ofuoku, "The Role of Community Development Committees in Farmer-Herder Conflicts in North Central Zone of Delta State", *Journal of Alternative Perspective in the Social Sciences*, Vol. 1 (3), 2009

⁴² B. Lolma, A. Dooshima, "Impact of Herders/Farmers Conflict on the Socio-Economic lives of women in Plateau State" In S. Ibrahim *et al* (eds), *Defence, Security, Economy and Development in Nigeria*, Vol. 2, Kaduna, Bahiti and Dalila Publishers, 2017, p. 462

⁴³ O. A. Solomon, *et al* "Climate Change and Pastoral Conflict in the Middle Belt and South East Nigeria: Implication on Human Resource of the Region", *Journal of Human Resource Management*, Vol. 3 (5), 2015, p. 44

human security.⁴⁴ The conflict in Northern Plateau is not only attributed to competition over grazing and farmlands, but increase in the population of both human and livestock, farming along grazing routes, proliferation of weapons and cattle rustling.

Fajonyomi et al examined farmer-herder conflicts with reference to food security in North central geo-political zone of Nigeria. The manifestation of the conflict is one of the major problems confronting world peace today.⁴⁵ They opined that farmer-herdsmen conflicts have increased in recent times especially in the North Central zone of the country. They identified policy gaps, underdevelopment of grazing lands, land ownership and utilisation, increase in production due to population growth, climate change, and competition for scarce resources as the main causes of the conflict in the region.⁴⁶

Omotola and Hassan analyzed the role of selected farmers and herdsmen's association in the management or mismanagement of rural banditry and social conflict in Northern Nigeria. The work made reference to *Miyetti Allah* Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), the socio-cultural umbrella of the Fulani's herders in Nigeria and All Farmer Association of Nigeria (AFAN). They stated that the conflicts have led to decrease of family income, thereby putting more pressure on the family in terms of meeting their financial and material obligations.⁴⁷ They attributed the causes of the conflict to decline in

⁴⁴ I. Z. Yusuf, "Herders and Farmers Conflict: Its Effect on Northern Senatorial Zone of Plateau State 2001 – 2015", In S. Ibrahim *et al* (eds), *Defence, Security, Economy and Development in Nigeria*, Vol. 2, Kaduna, Bahiti and Dalila Publishers, 2017, p. 408

⁴⁵ S. O. Fajonyomi *et al*, "Farmers-Herdsmen Conflicts and Food Security in North Central Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria" *International Journal of Advanced studies in Economic and Public Sector Management*, Vol. 6(2), 2018, p. 44

⁴⁶ S. O. Fajonyomi *et al* Farmers-Herdsmen Conflicts and Food Security in North Central Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria" *International Journal of Advanced studies in Economic and Public Sector Management*, Vol. 6 (2), 2018, p. 45

⁴⁷ Shola Omotola, Idayat Hassan, "Herdsmen and Farmers' Association and Social Conflict in Northern Nigeria" In M. J. Kuna, Ibrahim Jibrin (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Centre for Democracy Development, Abuja, 2015, p. 226

the state capacity to effectively govern the rural areas, changes in demographic, ecological and climatic conditions.⁴⁸

Okoli's work examined the trajectories and dynamics of herdsmen militancy in central Nigeria. In the work, he referred to Fulani as a militant group, because of the manifestation of violent extremism in the pursuit of their livelihood.⁴⁹ He concluded that the conflict escalated as a result of internal security situation in the area such as the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWS) and incessant conflicts.⁵⁰ The work is relevant to this research as it identified trespassing on farmlands and grazing routes, struggle over access to, and control of land and fresh water as source of the conflict.

While discussing land use conflict between farmers and herders in some parts of Kano, Yobe and Borno States, Adeoye agreed with Okoli that the intrusion of grazing reserves and grazing of cattle on crops are some of the causes of the conflicts in parts of Kano, Yobe and Borno State.⁵¹

Kennedy *et al* discussed the political economy of herdsmen/farmers conflict in Benue State from 2008-2018. They stated that land scarcity and poor government policies are the major causes of the conflict between farmers and herders. They concluded by recommending that the development of functional policies and employment of comparative advantage in farming and herding could go a long way in solving farmers/herders conflict in Nigeria.⁵²

⁴⁸ Shola Omotola, Idayat Hassan, "Herdsmen and Farmers' Association and Social Conflict in Northern Nigeria" In M. J. Kuna, Ibrahim Jibrin (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Centre for Democracy Development, Abuja, 2015, p. 227

⁴⁹ A. I. C. Okoli, "The Trajectories and Dynamics of Herdsmen Militancy in Central Nigeria" *Journal of Humanities and Social Policy*, Vol. 2(1), 2018, p. 22

⁵⁰ A. I. C. Okoli, "The Trajectories and Dynamics..."

⁵¹ O. N. Adeoye, "Land Use Conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in Parts of Kano, Yobe and Borno States of Nigeria: Nomads' Viewpoints" In *Ghana Journal of Geography*, Vol. 9 (1), 2017, p. 5

⁵² Tersoo Ubwa Kennedy *et al*, "Political Economy of Herders/Farmers Conflict in Benue State 2008-2018", *International Journal of Education and Research*, Vol. 6 (6), 2018, p. 131

Shortage of land which has led to encroachment to grazing routes as identified above serves as causes of conflict in the study area.

The works of Isa,⁵³ Hamman,⁵⁴ and Abdu⁵⁵ examined farmers and herders' conflict with reference to Northern Nigeria where they noted that encroachment to grazing and farmlands, migration of herders from one location to another and competition over scarce resources serves as causes of the conflict between the two groups.

Another work of Rufa'i centred on cattle rustling and armed banditry along Nigeria-Niger borderlands. The work discussed the activities of Fulanin-Bamgi who often cross Niger Republic to north western Nigeria especially Sabon Birni and Illela areas where they normally carry out their deadly activities of cattle rustling and armed robbery. He noted that the porosity of Nigerian borders made these criminals to continue their activities unabatedly.⁵⁶

Maikassoua discussed the place of Gobir in the history of Hausa land with particular emphasis on the Bayajjida legend. The work examined the origin of the Gobirawa from the Daura legend which linked them with Bayajjida⁵⁷ He also looked at the Middle Eastern origin of the Gobirawa. According to him the Gobirawa migrated from the Middle East to Egypt, from there they crossed the Sahara and settled at Azbin for centuries before moving

⁵³ A. M. Isah, "No Retreat No Surrender": Conflict for Survival between Fulani Pastoralists and Farmers in Northern Nigeria, *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 8 (1), 2012

⁵⁴ A. J. Hamman, "Herders-Farmers Conflict: Exploring the Causes and Management Approaches in the Lake Chad Region Nigeria" An unpublished PhD Thesis, College of Law Government and International Studies, University of Utara Malaysia, 2011

⁵⁵ S. A. Abdu, "Causes and Resolution of Conflict between Cattle Herders and Crop Farmers in Katsina State" An unpublished M.Sc Dissertation, Department of Agricultural Extension and Rural Sociology, ABU, 2015

⁵⁶ M. A. Rufa'i, "Cattle Rustling and Armed Banditry along Nigeria-Niger Borderlands" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 23 (4), 2018, Pp. 66-73

⁵⁷ Illa Maikassoua, "The Place of Gobir in Hausa State Political System: A Critical Reassessment of the Bayajjida Story" A PhD Seminar Paper, Department of History ABU Zaria, 2012, p. 65

to their present location in the middle of the 15th century.⁵⁸ Labo's work focused on the rise and decline of Gobir Kingdom, he noted that Gobir kingdom reached its peak during the reign of Sarkin Gobir, Bawa Jangwarzo whose fame was acknowledged worldwide owing to his mysterious and mystical supernatural power.⁵⁹

Sani discussed the political and social history of Sabon Birni from 1903–2005. The work gave a detailed political and economic background of Sabon Birni which shed light on the study area of this work although it did not touch the aspect of the conflict between farmers and herders in the area in spite of the fact that it affected the social and economic activities of the area.

Rufa'i discussed the phenomenon of farmer-herder conflict in Sabon Birni. He stated that the historical dialectical relationship between the two groups in the study area has often led to conflicts between them. He identified places like Unguwar Lalle, Barayar Zaki, Gatawa, Tsamaye, *Tabkin Kanu* among others, as the major sources of water for pastoralists which was at a time taken over (blocked) by farmers thereby making it difficult for herders to have access to water points. He stated that encroachment and destruction of grazing reserves served as some of the factors that triggered conflict among the two groups in the area.⁶⁰ Water points have become a source of conflict between the two groups considering

⁵⁸ Illa Maikassoua "The Place of Gobir...p. 67

⁵⁹ A. B. Labo, "Gobir Kingdom-Past and Present: Transformation and Change": Tsibirin Gobir or the Genesis of a Kingdom", In *Case Studies Journal*, Vol. 8 (3), 2019. He attributes the decline of the kingdom to the activities of the 19th century Jihad led by Sheikh Usman Danfodiyo who brought to an end the Gobirawa ruling family. He concluded that Gobir kingdom has been subjected to changes after the 19th century's Jihad and the colonial encounter. According to him, the Gobirawa are known as great warriors and have succeeded in saving their remaining kingdom from receding.

⁶⁰ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 152. It is imperative to note that this article served as a guide to the coining of the topic of this research. There are aspects which the article did not cover more specifically the scope covered by the article. One of the areas not covered by this article is the contemporary security challenges bedeviling the District at the moment which this research has covered. This among other issues gave rise to the need for an indepth study of farmer-herder conflicts in the District

the fact that both the farmers and herders need water for their survival. This issue as pointed out by Rufa'i has put both the farmers and herders at loggerheads thereby leading to the breakdown of cordial relationship between them.

The work of Augie centred on Gobir factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin. He discussed the movement of the Gobirawa from one location to another and noted that the movement of the capital of Gobir from Birnin Lalle to Birnin Magale was due to series of crises.⁶¹

From the literatures reviewed above, it is clear that the books reviewed are in one way or the other related to the study area and topic. However, much has not been written about farmer-herder conflicts in the area. Therefore, this study provides a remedy to the existing gap in the historical study of Sabon Birni District.

It is important to state that the main aim of this research as noted earlier is to study the history of farmer-herder conflicts in Sabon Birni District. This is attainable through a careful study of the area starting from the conquest of the Sokoto Emirate as well as a critical analysis of all data collected. It is however clear from the various literatures consulted that this research is worth undertaken owing to the fact that most of the reviewed works that are related to the study area did not pay attention to studying a history of farmer-herder conflicts in the area within the period of study. In spite of the fact that most of these works did not pay attention to the topic under study, they are important to this research work.

⁶¹ A. R. Augie, "The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin, C. 1650-1808", A PhD Thesis ABU Zaria, 1984. Augie stated that the establishment of the Gobir capital at Gulbin Maradi brought them closer to states such as Zamfara, Kabbi, Kwonni and Katsina which later led to the development of mutual military and political alliances between them. These alliances later led to the migration of the Gobirawa to Zamfara during the 1730s, they were supported by Sarakunan Yaki (War chiefs) in the kingdom and later migrate to Alkalawa, a settlement of Zamfara located close to the confluence of the Gulbin Rima and the Gulbin Maradi.

CHAPTER TWO

Background of Sabon Birni District

2.1 Introduction

History and geography of a place gives readers a clearer picture of such a place. As such to lay bare the geographical and historical foundation of Sabon Birni for a clearer picture of the District cannot be ignored. This chapter, therefore, briefly outline the geographical location of the study area, the climate and vegetation of the area, its brief history and the social and cultural activities of the people among other issues. All these are provided as an introduction to the understanding of subsequent chapters.

2.2 Location

Sabon Birni District is situated in the eastern Senatorial District of Sokoto State, it lies between latitudes 13⁰ and 40⁰ N and longitudes 6⁰ and 30⁰ E.⁶² The District is bounded on the north and east by Tahoua division in Niger Republic, to the south by Isa, Goronyo and Gada Local Government Areas of Sokoto State to the west.⁶³ The population of the area is heterogeneous in nature with the Gobirawa as majority, Tuaregs, Fulani, Zabarma among several others.⁶⁴ The District is about 163km (101 miles) from Sokoto, the state capital.⁶⁵ The population of the District as at 1920 was twenty three thousand eight hundred and thirty nine (23, 839)⁶⁶, in 1921 the population rose to thirty two thousand two hundred and eight (32, 208)⁶⁷ and as at 2006, the population of the District was two hundred and seven

⁶² Sokoto State Geographic Information System Agency

⁶³ Sani Yusuf Gobir, "A Political and Social History of Sabon Birnin Gobir, 1903-2003", unpublished M. A. Dissertation, Department of History, UDUS, 2016, p. 19

⁶⁴ NAK/SOK/PROF/2344, Sabon Birni District Assessment Report, 1911, p. 14

⁶⁵ A. U. Alkammawa, "The Impact of Colonialism on Agricultural Production in the Eastern Districts of Sokoto Emirate, 1903-1960", unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, UDUS, 2019, p. 18

⁶⁶ NAK/SOK/PROF/257, Assessment Report on District of Sabon Birni, Isa, Zurmi, Kaura Namoda and Morki, 1921, p. 14

⁶⁷ NAK/SOK/PROF/257...

thousand four hundred and seventy (207, 470). With the growth rate of 2.1 %, the population of the District as at 2020 was two hundred and eighty two thousand four hundred and eighty three (282, 483).⁶⁸

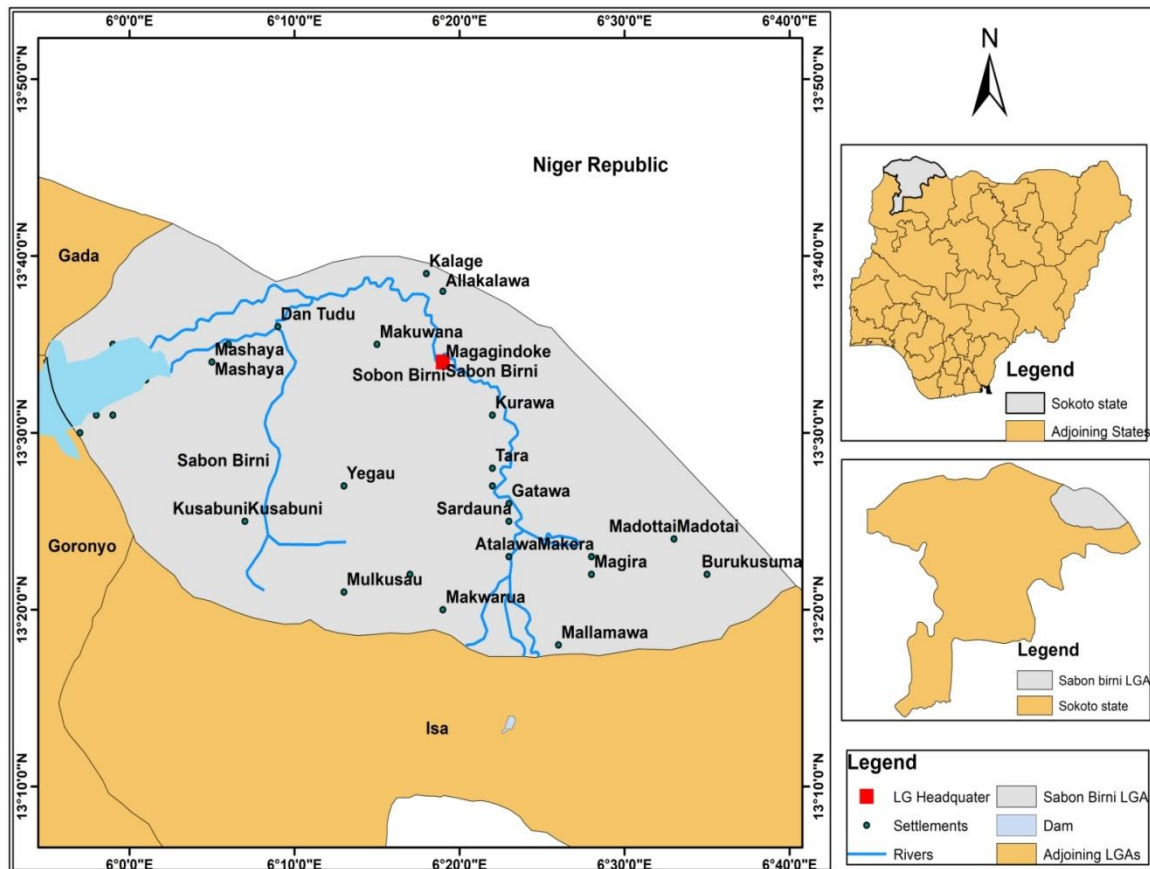


Figure 2. 1: Map of Nigeria showing Sokoto State and the Study Area

Source: Drawn by Nasiru Bagudo, GIS Laboratory. Geography Department, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto

2.3 Climate

Sabon Birni District falls within a region where rainfall distribution is irregular and inadequate in time and space.⁶⁹ The climate is semi-arid with Savannah-type vegetation as

⁶⁸ National Population Commission, Sokoto State Office, 2020 Statistics

part of the sub-Saharan Sudan belt of West Africa. It is dominated by two opposing air masses: the dry tropical continental blowing from the Sahara desert and moist tropical maritime air masses from the Atlantic Ocean.⁷⁰ These two major air masses led to two major seasons: wet (rainy) and dry seasons. The wet season commences from June and lasts to the end of September. In rare occasion it extends till early October, the dry season starts from October to May. Since rainy season is short in the study area and Sokoto State in general, farmers usually plant early maturing upland crops during the period and in order to avoid idleness of resources during the long dry season, farmers undertake irrigated farming.⁷¹

Thus, in between these seasons, there is another season known as *Hunturu* in Hausa that is, harmattan. This period is characterised by a dry, cold and dusty wind experienced in the District between November and February. During this period, the weather is usually cold at night and morning in some cases. Temperatures are highest from late March to May ranging from 35°C to 45°C.⁷² The lowest minimum temperatures is generally recorded in December-January. The nature of temperature has significance impact on farming and livestock production in the District. This concerns especially human diseases associated with the climate during the hot period.⁷³ The main annual rainfall is about 600mm with most

⁶⁹ A. M. Segun *et al* “A Quantitative Estimation of Groundwater Recharge in Part of the Sokoto Basin, Nigeria”, *Journal of Environmental Hydrology*, Vol. 14 (5), 2006, p. 2

⁷⁰ M. A. Abdulrahim *et al*, “Time Series Analyses of Mean Monthly Rainfall for Drought Management in Sokoto Nigeria”, *Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management*, Vol. 6 (5), 2013, p. 462

⁷¹ B. A. Tsoho, S. A. Salau, “Profitability and Constraints to Dry Season Vegetable Production under *Fadama* in Sudan Savannah Ecological Zone of Sokoto State, Nigeria”, *Journal of Development of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 4 (7), 2012, p. 215

⁷² A. M. Segun *et al*, “A Quantitative Estimation of Groundwater Recharge in Part of the Sokoto Basin, Nigeria”, *Journal of Environmental Hydrology*, Vol. 14 (5), 2006, p. 2

⁷³ Kabiru S. Chafe, *The State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practice in the Metropolitan Distribution, 1804-1903*, Kaduna, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1999, p. 105

of it falling in July and August. The coolest months are December and January while the hottest month is April.⁷⁴

2.4 Vegetation

The vegetation of Sabon Birni District is similar to that of other parts of Sudan savannah which is found in northern Nigeria. It is characterised by sparse scrub, generally less than 20 feet high, and interrupted by large isolated trees. The trees are generally fine-leafed and thorny and of the genus *Acacia*.⁷⁵ Short feathery grasses form an almost continuous ground cover in the wet season.⁷⁶ This particular area is mostly with very green vegetation trees and grasses of different type which attracts herders from the nearby Niger Republic to the area. The dry season starts from October with a period of harmattan, a dusty and drilling wind condition. During this period, the vegetation change from green to brown and other grasses are dried up while others shed their leaves to adapt to the situation except under irrigation and a conducive soil of *fadama* land.

2.5 Brief History of Sabon Birni District

The history of Sabon Birni District is that of a once powerful Hausa State of Gobir of which the capital was Alkalawa.⁷⁷ The history of Sabon Birni as it is today can be traced to the period when Alkalawa, the then capital of Gobir under their king Yunfa was attacked and sacked in October 1808 by the Jihadists under their leader Sheikh Usman Danfodiyo. In the course of this attack, most of the Gobirawa resisted the occupation of their territory

⁷⁴ Henry R. Anderson *et al*, *Aquifers in the Sokoto Basin, Northwestern Nigeria, with a Description of the General Hydrogeology of the Region*, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1973, p. 18

⁷⁵ Henry R. Anderson *et al*, “*Aquifers in the Sokoto Basin, Northwestern Nigeria, with a Description of the General Hydrogeology of the Region*”, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1973, p. 16

⁷⁶ Henry R. Anderson *et al*, “*Aquifers in the Sokoto...*” p. 16

⁷⁷ NAK/SOK/PROF/2344, Report on the Re-Assessment of Sabon Birni District, 1911, p. 1

but were defeated at the end of the attack. As a result of this attack and defeat, most of the Gobirawa moved to other location known as Tsibiri in present day Niger Republic where they settled and established a new capital.⁷⁸

In about 1860, some of the Gobirawa led by a man named Hassan Dan Halima the son of Masari Maikai traced their way back to their former settlement but this time around they settled in a place called Adamawa (a village in Gatawa) after obtaining permission from the Sultan of Sokoto, Ahmad Zaruku who was in Isa on official tour. Their settlement in Adamawa was due to the fact that Alkalawa was already destroyed by the Jihadists. From there Dan Halima and his followers moved to Tara, from there they moved to Kurawa, Turgar Bari and finally to Sabon Birni in 1866.⁷⁹ It is important to note that Dan Halima was the first king of the Gobirawa in Sabon Birni.

Initially, the capital was in a site partly encompassed by the twist movement of the Bunsuru River which joined the Maradi a little further north.⁸⁰ However, the increasing denudation of the Bunsuru and Maradi basin led to expanded sedimentation from the annual floods and so to the gradual raising of the beds of the river channels. The area and period of inundation thus increased and the town site became more vulnerable and difficult to access during rainy season. As a result of this flooding, Sultan Abubakar III (1938-1988) in 1940 had a new District headquarters laid out at its present location (Sabon Birni) for *Sarkin* Gobir Umaru Shawai Dan Jari and his people to reside.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Sani Yusuf Gobir, "A Political and Social History of Sabon Birnin Gobir, 1903-2003", unpublished M. A. Dissertation, Department of History, UDUS, 2016, p. 22

⁷⁹ Sani Yusuf Gobir, "A Political and Social History..." p. 26

⁸⁰ NAK/SOK/PROF/C.150 Sabon Birni District, Sokoto Emirate, 1947, p. 27

⁸¹ NAK/SOK/PROF/C.150/Sabon Birni District...

Sabon Birni had remained under Sokoto Emirate until the conquest and occupation of Sokoto by the British in March 1903 after which they made Sokoto a province and Sabon Birni District. In 1976, Sokoto State was created under the then Murtala/Obasanjo military administration. In the same year, there was Local Government reform which led to the emergence of local government as the third tier of government in Nigeria. As a result of this reform, Isa Local Government was created and Sabon Birni was placed under it until 1989 when it became a Local Government of its own with headquarters in Sabon Birni town,⁸² with villages such as Lajinge, Tsamaye, Tara, Kalgo, Gatawa, Unguwar Lalle, Kurawa among several others under it.

2.6. Social and Cultural Activities

The social and cultural activities of the people of Sabon Birni District are not too different from the ones obtained in other parts of Hausa land. The District is made up of different ethnic groups including Fulani, Kanuri, Taureg, Ibo, Yoruba and the Gobirawa who made up majority of the population. The Gobirawa are easily identified by their tribal marks comprising four or five stripes following the curve on the cheek from ear to chin and one short deep stripe leading diagonally away from the nose.⁸³ There has been a cordial relationship among the ethnic groups in the District leading to inter-marriages⁸⁴ and free trading relations among these ethnic groups.⁸⁵

⁸² NAK/SOK/PROF/C.150/Sabon Birni District...

⁸³ NAK/SOK/PROF/2153, Sabon Birni District Re-Assessment Report, 1916, p. 12. For details of the significance of tribal marks among the Hausa people, see the work of Abdullahi Rafi Augi "The Nature and Significance of Facial Marks among the People of Sokoto State", Zuruma: A Cultural Magazine of Sokoto State, 5th edition, Sidi Umar Press Sokoto, 1983

⁸⁴ This cordial relationship among the people of the District was confirmed by different ethnic groups interviewed during field work. Some of the examples of inter-marriages in the District include the marriages between Usman Mande a Fulani and Farida a Bagobira, Noma Shatambaya Gobiri and Amina Fulani woman, Alhaji Sule Kankura Gobiri and Zarah Tuareg, Suleiman Yusuf Bari Bari and Sha'awa Bagobira.

⁸⁵ Mr. Hassan Ogundare a mechanic, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 60 years, 13/8/2019

2.6.1 Cultural Practices

The cultural activities of the Gobirawa and other Hausa people in the District can be described under the following: Mode of dressing, religion, marriage rite, birth and naming ceremonies, death rite and annual festival. In terms of dressing, the people of Sabon Birni District who are mostly categorised as Hausa adopted the normal style of dressing used by their fellow counterparts from other Hausa States. They are known for their elaborate dressing, with restricted dressing code which is due mainly to their religious beliefs. In the past, the District normally have a customised attire sown with hand which is used together with the ordinary cloth, but as time goes on this particular attire was abandoned. This can be attributed to the influence of other cultures.⁸⁶ The men wear “*Jalabia*” with or without a cap while the women wear wrappers, blouses, head ties or *hijabs*. *Lalli* or henna paintings are known among the women of the District.

In terms of marriage rite, the Gobirawa have two marriage practices, although these practices are common in most Hausa communities. The first practice is the one being carried out by the father of the young man who has attained the age of marriage. In this kind of marriage, it is the father of the young man that will look for a suitable lady for his son and he does this by going to a reputable family to choose a lady for his son. This is normally done without the knowledge of the young man. As soon as the father sees the lady he wants his son to marry, he will then contact her family.⁸⁷ After finalising, the bride price will be paid and the lady will be taken to her husband’s house, either rented apartment or otherwise. By the time the lady is taken to the house, the friends of the man will take him to

⁸⁶ Mal. Musa Mohammed, a Farmer and Head of Vigilante Group, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 63 years, 13/8/2019

⁸⁷ Alhaji Hamisu Mohammed Sardunan Sarkin Yamman, a trader, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 56 years, 13/5/2019

where the bride (lady) is being kept and in some cases because of shyness or fear of interaction with her since he is meeting her for the first time, the man will stay away until after some days when he had no option than to come home before he will come back to meet her.⁸⁸

The second marriage practice in the District is the one in which a young man who is up to the age of marriage will look for a wife for himself with little or no interference from his parents. In this practice, the sole responsibility of finding a wife is in the hands of the young man. After seeing the lady he wishes to marry, he will inform his parents who will send delegation to the lady's parents informing them about the intention of their son. After declaring their intention and if accepted by the parents of the lady, further arrangement will be made and the bride price will be paid after which the wedding day will be fixed. After the wedding, the bride will be taken to the groom's house where both will live as husband and wife.⁸⁹

In terms of religious belief, majority of the people of the District are Muslims and practice the Islamic religion although few among them are Christians. The Muslims hold their worship sessions in the mosque and prays five (5) times in a day. The people speaks Hausa as their first language, the Fulani in the District speaks both Hausa and *Fulfude*.

In terms of birth and naming ceremonies, there is always celebration among family and friends whenever a woman gives birth. If it is her first pregnancy, by the time the woman is

⁸⁸ Alhaji Hamisu... It is important to note that this type of marriage is no longer in practice due modern civilisation which has made the young men to look at it as an old fashion.

⁸⁹ Alhaji Hamisu... He further stated that a times the young man in question may not know the lady his parents are bringing for him until the day his friends will bring him to his house or room where the lady has been kept for him and because of shyness the young man may ran out of the room and may even spent days in his friends house until persuaded before he will come back to see his new wife. It is important to note that this second marriage practise may have result from the influence of other cultures among the people of the area and other Hausa communities.

about to deliver, the husband will send her home where she will be taken care of by her parents pending when she will give birth. This is a way of reunion between the man and his in-laws. By the time she delivers, the husband will be required to send either one or two rams to his in-laws' house in preparation for the naming ceremony which normally hold on the seventh day after birth. On the seventh day, the ram (s) will be slaughtered and food will be prepared for family members and well-wishers who might have come to grace the occasion (naming ceremony). However, if it is the second or third birth, the woman will stay back at her husband's house where she will deliver. After giving birth, similar celebration will be carried out with members of both families and well-wishers in attendance.⁹⁰

With regards to cultural activities in the District, the only practice of this nature among the Gobirawa is *bori*. It is an annual cultural practice observed previously by a large number of people in the District but due to the influence of Islamic religion which the people now practice, the number of participants in *bori* has reduced significantly.⁹¹ The practice is not a new development among the Gobirawa in the District, it predates the advent of Islam. The advent of Islam to Hausa land and in the District in particular does not stop the practice although the number of participants has reduced significantly. The practice is dominated by women and in spite of the dominance of Islam as a religion; the practice still holds a

⁹⁰ Mal. Musa Mohammed, a farmer and head of vigilante group in Sabon Birni, Interviewed in Sabon Birni town, 63 years, 13/8/2019

⁹¹ Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar, Bori member, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 56 years, 13/8/2019

significant political relevance among the women especially with the presence of the office and institution of *Inna*.⁹²

The *Inna* is a *bori* initiate even though she hardly performs *bori*. She has the overall control of all Gobirawa women and more precisely the *bori* adept in the kingdom.⁹³ The *Inna* is considered the second most important person after *Sarkin* Gobir. She is chosen from the king's lineage; that is either the king's sister or daughter. She is considered superior in healing and divination throughout the kingdom.⁹⁴ She acts as regent if the king is absent or embarked on local tour, just like the king; she goes to battle fields in some occasions.

Under the supervision of *Inna*, *bori* continued to be practiced among the Gobirawa up to the 19th century. Although the 1804 Jihad and its aftermath had a significant effect on the practice of *bori* in the District but this does not stop the continuation of the practice. The Jihad gave rise to profound political, social, cultural, religious, economic, demographic and intellectual changes which condemned *bori* practice as unreligious activity.⁹⁵ *Bori* was suppressed by the Jihadists and later discouraged by the colonialists when they started spreading western idea of modernity as opposed to indigenous acculturation.⁹⁶

In spite of the suppression during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, *bori* continues to be practiced in the District although with few members who come out to perform their normal dances during festive periods. Initially, the performance takes place in the king's palace,

⁹² Aisha Balarabe Bawa, "History and Gender: A cursory Look at the Forgotten Female Heroines in the former Zamfara and Gobir Kingdoms". Being a paper presented at the 60th Congress of Historical Society of Nigeria held at the Management Science Auditorium University of Abuja, 2015, p. 23

⁹³ Aisha Balarabe Bawa, "History and Gender: A cursory..."

⁹⁴ Aisha Bawa Balarabe and Yandaki Umar Aminu, "Spirituality, Power, and Feminism: A Historical Narratives of *Bori* Practice among the Women in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State", *International Journal of Arts and Humanities Ethiopia*, Vol. 8 (1), 2019, p. 51

⁹⁵ Aisha Bawa Balarabe and Aminu Umar Yandaki,... pp. 51-52

⁹⁶ Aisha Bawa Balarabe and Aminu Umar Yandaki...

but it is now staged at their leaders' house or in a public square or playground where participants and spectators often gather to watch the performance. *Bori* activities are normally carried out during festive periods such as *Sallah* where members gather at their leaders' house known as Hajiya Mata Takwaddi before proceeding to the venue of the events.⁹⁷ During these events, members of *bori* are seen with similar attires which serve as their uniform. Painting of the face and wearing of beads of different types are some of the dressing styles of the members of the group. The practice involves both men and women. The ceremony is an occasion for music, songs and dance. It is meant for two purposes- entertainments and to achieve communication with spirits.⁹⁸

Burial arrangements in the District are being carried out according to Islamic rites, whenever someone dies, the chief Imam will be called upon to offer prayers for the soul of the departed fellow. After the prayers, the deceased's corpse will be taken to the cemetery where interment will take place. After the burial, they will go back to the house of the deceased where friends and relatives normally troops in for greetings. After three days, prayers are normally held for the soul of the deceased for God to grant him eternal rest. After the prayers everyone goes back to his or her home. Although there are cases where after these three days prayers are over, friends of the deceased do come from time to time to comfort the family members.

Burial arrangement differs among traditional worshippers. There are no serious rituals before the burial of the deceased. Whenever somebody dies, the family members will call a

⁹⁷ Hajiya Laraba Adamu, *Bori* Member, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 51 years, 13/8/2019

⁹⁸ Aisha Bawa Balarabe "A History of *Bori* in Yeldu and Yauri in the 20th Century", unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History, UDUS, 2007, p. 59. For more about the impact of religion on cultural practice, see the work of Haruna S. Gobir and Jean Boyd "The Impact of Religion on our Traditional Art", Zuruma: A Cultural Magazine of Sokoto State, Sidi Umaru Press, 1981

meeting to discuss how and when the burial will take place. As soon as that is done, preparations for the burial will commence without any delay.⁹⁹

2.6.2 The Fulani Cultural Practice (Sharo)

Sharo also known as Shadi is a deeply rooted cultural practice among the Fulani. It is widely practiced among the nomadic Fulani. It essentially consists of a public flogging to test the endurance of young men. It is a tradition of transition from a boy to a man. Some refer to it as the flogging competition. The Sharo cultural festival demonstrates the test of endurance and bravery in a very dramatic way. The participants are expected to bear the pain without as much as flinching when whipped. If they cry or show any sign of pain, they remain disqualified to be considered as men who can get married. Sharo comes up twice a year during the major Sallah festival and at the period of guinea corn harvest, that is, December to January. Any open shade preferably at the market side is suitable for this occasion. Girls dress in their best attires during this festival. Fulani musicians play their music accompanied by hand clapping dancers who stamp their feet. The girls do most of the singing and clapping. From time to time, a young boy will come and pick any girl of his choice and they do a short dance.¹⁰⁰

The festival lasts for a week and it is a celebration of manhood and bravery. The participants that is, the young men have to demonstrate that they want to become men by undergoing this ceremony. In some occasions, these young men are invited to the event while in others they come on their own in order to come and showcase their powers and the

⁹⁹ Alhaji Hamisu Mohammed Sardunan Sarkin Yamman, a Trader, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 56 years, 13/8/2019

¹⁰⁰ Emmanuel C. Ayangaor, "Traditional Crafts and Cultural Festivals in Nigeria", in John E. Agaba, Chris S. Orngu, (eds), *Perspective on Nigerian Peoples and Culture*, Department of History, Benue State University Publication Series No. 1, 2016, p. 61

rule guiding this is that no participant is expected to hit his opponent at the armpit, anyone who does that is automatically disqualified from the contest.¹⁰¹ The participants are not allowed to wear shirt or cover the upper part of their bodies. The coming of the young men to the central square with beautiful girls during this event is accompanied with singing, drumming and cheers from the crowd. This festival begins proper with the arrival of these bare-chested, unmarried men who are escorted to the centre ring. In Fulani culture, enduring is a sign of the original man who is capable of protecting his home, feeding his family and holding his honour. The prize for those who endure this flogging is a right to marry any girl they choose. Some can even choose up to four wives if they can prove their ability to take care of all of them. The winners of this event are officially certified as matured men by the Fulani leaders who are present while those who could not endure remain children as they are considered not fit to join adulthood.¹⁰² Those who could not endure can try their luck again at the next festival. Apart from the flogging during Sharo, other events include a lot of dancing and different performance that demonstrate the rich culture of the Fulani.¹⁰³

Sharo provides an opportunity for the young Fulani men to be trained and endure all sorts of hardship in anticipation to withstand any unseen circumstances that may arise in the course of their grazing. The flogging which these young men received during Sharo made them to be active and agile and ready to face any challenge that may come their way in the future.¹⁰⁴ This event has made them to be so familiar with the use of stick that whenever there is a misunderstanding between them and anybody they can use the stick to prevail

¹⁰¹ Alhaji Mohammed Dan Ajo, Herder, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 60 years, 6/3/2021

¹⁰² Alhaji Mohammed Dan Ajo, Herder...

¹⁰³ Mohammed Aliyu, "Outlook on Festival and Development", *International Journal of Intellectual Discourse*, Vol. 3 (2), 2020, pp. 445-446

¹⁰⁴ Fatima Usman, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Milk and Gruel seller, 49 years, 6/3/2021

over the person. The training received by these young men during Sharo makes it possible for them to participate actively at the forefront of any clash between them and farmers or any other person. Sharo is not just a ceremony to prove whether a young person is capable of withstanding pains from the flogging during this event but it is a life-long training given to these young men in order to face, withstand and overcome problems that may confront them in their daily activities.

2.7 Agricultural Production

Agriculture is no doubt a major contributor to Nigeria's economy with over 75% of its population engaged in subsistence agriculture. It is Nigeria's most assured engine of development, a reliable key to its industrialisation. It has contributed and still contributing to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as well as raw material for both local industries and export.¹⁰⁵

Agricultural production is the most important and widely practiced form of agricultural activities in Sabon Birni District considering the agrarian nature of the area. The District is considered as one of the most fertile lands in Sokoto State considering the quantity and quality of farm produce coming out of the District during both wet and dry seasons¹⁰⁶ although there is no statistics available on the quantities of commodities produced annually in the District. Agricultural production in the District is dependent upon the climate and the distribution of rainfall. The beginning of farming activities starts with the clearing of farmlands and manuring of such lands depending on the soil texture of the land.

¹⁰⁵ R. A. Oluwafemi, "Agricultural Policies Formulation and Implementation in Nigeria-Issues and Challenges", *International Journal of Agricultural Sciences and Natural Resources*, Vol. 4 (2), 2017, p. 9

¹⁰⁶ Mal. Sule Idi, a Farmer and Former MACBAN Secretary, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 72 years, 10/5/2019

The topography of the District is both uplands (*Tudu*) and lowlands (*Fadama*) which enables the inhabitants to engage in both dry and wet seasons farming.¹⁰⁷ The total amount of rainfall and its distribution go a long way in explaining patterns of vegetation and land use in the District. The District is approximately 950 square miles of which 26500 acres were under cultivation during the colonial period¹⁰⁸ with forest reserves covering about 219.39 square miles.¹⁰⁹ These forest reserves include Kaikaimako with 8.86 square mile, Gidan Maiwa with 6.09 square mile, Mandawal with 5.02 square miles, and Tara with 199.42 square mile.¹¹⁰ State owned grazing reserve in the District is located in Unguwar Lalle with a total of 14.64sqm while Sabon Birni Local Government-owned grazing reserves are 44 in number¹¹¹ distributed all over the villages that made up the District. The shortage of land as a result of increased in population and the struggle to acquire available space has made some farmers to encroach into grazing routes and reserves thereby leading to conflict between them (farmers and herders) in the District.¹¹² See appendix C for the list and locations of grazing reserves, routes, watering and resting places encroached upon by farmers and how much they were fined for encroaching into these places.

Farmers in the District were involved in communal farming which involves the coming together of different households who moved from one farm of their member to another

¹⁰⁷ Kabiru S. Chafe, *State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practice in the Metropolitan Distribution, 1804-1903*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1999, p. 50

¹⁰⁸ Efforts made to obtain statistics on the total land under cultivation in the Ministry of Agriculture and water resources in Sokoto State proves abortive as this information was not available at the ministry as stated by officials of the ministry.

¹⁰⁹ NAK/SOK/PROF/257, Assessment Report on Sabon Birni, Isa, Zurmi, Kaura Namoda and Morki, 1921, p. 13

¹¹⁰ Ministry of Animal Health and Fisheries Development Sokoto State: State and Local Governments Grazing Reserves, Stock Routes and Watering Points in Sokoto State, 2016 Update, np

¹¹¹ See appendix B for a comprehensive list of these grazing reserves

¹¹² One of the routes visited by the researcher where this occurred is that of Sabon Birni-Isa-Shinkafi-Kaura Namoda at Gatawa where some farmers have turned it into farmland.

during the colonial period.¹¹³ Crops such as beans, potatoes, cassava, maize, millet, benniseed among others are common agricultural products in the District.¹¹⁴ Agriculture is the backbone of the economy of the District as majority of the people are involved in both dry and rainy season farming.

The natural and environmental conditions of the District that is the *Gulbi* and *Rima* basins provide a wide *Fadama* land which enables the people to practice both dry and rainy season farming. The rainy season farming starts from the month of May as soon as the rain starts while the dry season farming stars from October until May. Water melon, maize and sweet potatoes are some of the farm products produced in the District and exported to other Districts and even neighbouring Niger Republic.¹¹⁵ It is important to note that farming in the District is done either manually or through ploughing that is, using cattle.

Animal husbandry involving the breeding and caring for farm animals is an important agricultural activity being carried out by the people of the District. It has become a profession and also an economic activity which has proven useful and served as a source of income not only to the herders but also to farmers in the District.¹¹⁶ Animals such as sheep, camels, cows, goats among others are reared either for consumption, ploughing or for commercial purposes.

¹¹³ NAK/SOK/PROF/257, Assessment Report on Sabon Birni, Isa, Zurmi, Kaura Namoda and Morki, 1921, p. 63

¹¹⁴ NAK/SOK/PROF...

¹¹⁵ Mal. Abbas Bashir, a Farmer, Interviewed at Gatawa, 57 years, 8/5/2019

¹¹⁶ A. A. Kware, "Agricultural and Livestock Production in Sokoto, c. 1804-2011", in M. T. Usman and M. A. Rufa'i (eds) *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria since 1500 AD*, Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2015, p. 133

2.7.1 Dry Season Farming

Farming is a major agricultural activity in Sabon Birni District. The District is exceedingly rich on account of its *Fadama* which makes it easier for dry season farmers to carry out their agricultural activities. The proportion of farmers practicing dry season cultivation at the community levels, Sabon Birni inclusive has been shown to have greatly increased.¹¹⁷ This is due to the agrarian nature of the District and other places around the *Rima* Basin.

Dry season farming with indigenous techniques has a long history in the *Fadama* areas in the District and beyond. Most dry season farming is carried out in *Fadama* and this required intensive labour. It also involved a wide range of farming methods and crops which rely on farmers' detailed knowledge of the extent of surface flooding, water-table, water levels, slopes, bundling and the erection of raised beds, water lifting, well-digging and the use of crop mixture relay.¹¹⁸

The lowland cultivation in the dry season by means of irrigation in the District is the most widely used method of watering these crops. This type of cultivation is carried out in small plots in which different types of crops are grown. The common amongst them are onions, pepper, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava among several others. Dry season farming on *Fadama* lands has two advantages which alleviate problems for farmers in the event of

¹¹⁷ Impact Evaluation Report on Nigeria: Kano and Sokoto Agricultural Development Projects (Loans 1982 and 2185 UNI, Prepared by the Operations Evaluation Department, The World Bank, Washington D.C. 20433 U. S. A., 1995, p. 42. The researcher in the course of the work tried to get the statistics of farmers in the District who were into dry season farming and the total hectares of land under cultivation during the dry season farming but there were no statistics available, but information from the department of Agricultural Services of the State Ministry of Agriculture and Nature Resources shows that about 279 hectares of lands were cultivated by 269 dry season farmers in the District between 2017 and 2018 when the ministry through the Central Bank of Nigeria's Anchor Borrowers' Programme (ABP) assisted farmers who were into wheat farming in the District. For details on dry season farming under *Fadama* in Sokoto State, see the work of B. A. Tsoho and S. A. Salau, "Profitability and Constraints to Dry Season Vegetable Production under *Fadama* in Sudan Savannah Ecological Zone of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *Journal of Development and Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 4 (70), 2012

¹¹⁸ Kabiru S. Chafe, *State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practice in the Metropolitan Distribution, 1804-1903*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1999, p. 105

adverse conditions or disasters. Firstly, *Fadama* cultivation in the dry season allows crop diversification so that if one crop is damaged or destroyed, other crops will ensure food security. Secondly, the income realised from dry season crops allows the farmers not only to improve household economic security and invest resources to increase productivity, but also provides money to buy food in the event of food crop failure.¹¹⁹ Farmers in the District during this season used floodplain sites where moisture is retained in the soil long enough during the dry season to grow crops.

The agrarian nature of the District has given rise to a large population going into both dry and wet season farming leading to availability of varieties of crops consumed in the District and beyond. Although there is no statistics available on the number of people and hectares of *Fadama* areas, information gotten from Sokoto State *Fadama* Three (3) Project shows that from 2015 to 2019, about 680 hectares of *Fadama* areas were cultivated by farmers (both men and women) of different varieties of crops ranging from sorghum, rice, wheat¹²⁰ among several others who were assisted during the period to boost food availability.

The expansion of cultivation in the *Fadama* areas as a result of increase in population and demand for more agricultural produce during this season leading to shortage of pasture for cattle consumption in the District has inevitably led to friction and occasionally outright conflict between farmers and herders in the District. Apart from the expansion of farming

¹¹⁹ Impact Evaluation Report on Nigeria: Kano and Sokoto Agricultural Development Projects (Loans 1982 and 2185 UNI, Prepared by the Operations Evaluation Department, The World Bank, Washington D.C. 20433 U. S. A., 1995, p. 75

¹²⁰ Sokoto *Fadama* Coordination Office, SADP, 2020

activities in these *Fadama* areas by some farmers, others are involved in the selling of these areas to herders when other people's crops are yet to be harvested.¹²¹

2.7.2 Wet (Rainy) Season Farming

Wet or rainy season farming is the most widely practiced farming system in the District. Virtually every household is into this kind of farming due to the fact that during this season the stress in carrying out the farming processes is less compared to that of dry season farming. During the colonial period, communal system of farming was common among farmers in the District especially during the wet season farming; this communal system of farming is still common among some farmers in the District today.¹²²

Wet season farming witnesses different kinds of farm implements available at the farmers' disposal during this period. Crops such as millet, guinea corn, cowpea, groundnut, water melon, sweet potatoes among several others are commonly seen in the District during this season thereby leading to reduction in the prices of these crops after harvest.

Wet (rainy) season also witnesses more of mixed cropping compare to dry season when crops are planted according to their varieties. Crops such as millet and beans, guinea corn and groundnut are usually farmed in the same piece of land in the District. Rice are also planted during this season and then followed by a variety of dry season crops which rely on accumulated soil moisture or irrigation.¹²³

Increase in the population of people of the District from twenty three thousand eight hundred and thirty nine (23,839) in 1920 to thirty two thousand, two hundred and eight

¹²¹ WJHCBS/981/SI/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulani and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District, 1956, p. 1

¹²² Mal. Yakubu Yar'bulutu, Interviewed at Yar'bulutu, a farmer, 45 years, 15/8/2019

¹²³ Kabiru S. Chafe, *State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practice in the Metropolitan Distribution, 1804-1903*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1999, p. 105

(32,208) in 1921, two hundred and seven thousand four hundred and seventy (207, 470) in 2010 and two hundred and eighty thousand one hundred (280, 100) in 2016 has led to the demand for more hectares of land for farming thereby leading to the occupation of lands or areas not initially meant for farming activities. This steady increase in population leading to occupation of lands including forest and grazing reserves, stock routes and watering points not meant for farming but for pastoral activities has over the years remained a major concern and also served as one of the major causes of farmers-herders conflicts in the District.

2.8 Pastoralism

Pastoralism is the keeping of flocks and herds of domesticated animals. It is also the process or act of livestock production carried out by the sedentary and nomadic people.¹²⁴ These animals served as a source of food and raw materials such as meat, milk, butter, hides, and skins and generally as a source of wealth and even their waste matter served as manure for ensuring continuity in fertility on cultivated fields which is owned mostly by the agrarian farmers. The pastoralists depend on these animals as a means of their livelihood.¹²⁵ Their major concern is how and where to find suitable grazing ground for their herds. They follow the grass; they may be here today and tomorrow they are no more¹²⁶ that is, they have gone to another place in search of pasture except for the semi-nomadic or the settled group among them.

¹²⁴ Hussein Shehu, "The Causes and Consequences of Fulani Pastoralists-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria", *International Journal of Innovation and Research in Educational Sciences*, Vol. 5 (3), 2018, p. 357

¹²⁵ M. K. Aliyu, "Climate Changes and Pastoralists in West African Sahel and Savannah", *The Journal of Historical Researches (ZAHIR)*, Vol. 1 (1), Zaria, History Department, Ahmadu Bello University, p. 79

¹²⁶ Amina Bello Zailani, "Impact of British Colonial Agricultural Policies on Juma'are Emirate, 1900-1960" Unpublished M. A. Dissertation, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2015, p. 65

There is a great diversity in pastoral system, they are usually characterised by low population densities, high mobility, and dynamism, complex information systems and a high dependency on local knowledge.¹²⁷ Pastoralism which is also the use of extensive grazing on rangelands for livestock production is an important economic and cultural way of life for most people throughout the world. Extensive pastoral production systems cover about 25% of the earth's terrestrial surface.¹²⁸ It remains one of the ancient economic activities that is still strong and self-provisioning today. It contributes greatly to the growth of local economies and a cumulative contribution to the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and plays an important role in providing the needed protein to the wider population.¹²⁹

It is the second most important agricultural activity in Sabon Birni District. It is associated with the rearing of animals which is dominated by the Fulani while the Hausa dominates farming activities in the District. Livestock production in the District includes mobile livestock herding associated with the rearing of cattle, sheep and goats.¹³⁰ The agricultural population in the District keeps cattle, sheep, goats, and raised poultry while the pastoral groups do not only reared cattle, sheep, and goats on large scale, but essentially depended on animal husbandry as their means of livelihood. Livestock provides them with their food and the means to engage in all social relations with the non-pastoral groups.¹³¹

¹²⁷ A. O. Agbegbedia, "Pastoralism: Its Historicity and Development in Benue State, Nigeria", *Sacha Journal of Environmental Studies*, Vol. 5 (1), 2015, p. 50

¹²⁸ A. O. Agbegbedia, "Pastoralism: Its Historicity..."

¹²⁹ Ibrahim Muhammed *et al*, "An Assessment of Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in Nigeria using GIS", *International Journal of Engineering Science Invention*, Vol. 4 (7), 2015, pp. 23-24

¹³⁰ A. A. Kware, "Agricultural and Livestock Production in Sokoto, c. 1804-2011", in M. T. Usman and M. A. Rufa'i (eds) *Social and Economic History of Northern Nigeria since 1500 AD*, Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2015, p. 132

¹³¹ Kabiru S. Chafe, *State and Economy in the Sokoto Caliphate: Policies and Practice in the Metropolitan Distribution, 1804-1903*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1999, p. 37

In the District, pastoral activities cut across ethnic boundaries. Both the Hausa and *Fulbe* are involved in this activity due to its economic importance. A pastoral activity to the herders is seen as an inherited practice handed down to them by their ancestors while other ethnic groups see it as a normal activity.¹³² It is a non-negotiable venture as far as the herder is concerned because it is the source of his livelihood.¹³³

Herders can go to any length to ensure the safety of their cattle. This makes them to see life as completely worthless without livestock.¹³⁴ The importance attached to both farming and pastoralism and the need to secure available land space for both groups have been the major contending issues leading to conflict between the two groups in the District. Although there are no statistics of cattle available in the District, these cattle are virtually seen everywhere one goes in the District especially during dry season.

2.9 Farmer-Herder Relations

The Fulani pastoralists of West and Central Africa traced much of their current political, religious and socio-cultural identity from the 19th century jihad which sedentarised them within conquered communities.¹³⁵ They are said to have originated from Senegambia before spreading across some twenty (20) countries of West Africa and the Sahel up to the western Sudan and the Central African Republic.¹³⁶ They are by nature migrants who leave

¹³² Alhaji Altine Ahmadu Sarkin Fulanin Gatawa, a herder, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 53 years, 13/8/2019

¹³³ M. A. Rufa'i, "Fulani Knowledge System and Farmer/Herder Conflict in Nigeria", *Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 1 (3), 2019, p. 162

¹³⁴ M. A. Rufa'i, "Fulani Knowledge System..."

¹³⁵ P. A. Olayoku, "Trends and Patterns of Cattle Grazing and Rural Violence in Nigeria (2006-2014)", Nigeria Watch Project, 2014, p. 5

¹³⁶ Roger Blench, "The Expansion and Adaptation of *Fulbe* Pastoralism to Sub-Humid and Humid Conditions in Nigeria", *Cashier D'etudes Africaines*, Vol. 34, (133-135), 1994, p. 197

their traditional abode in search of greener pasture for their flocks. These movements have been triggered by the absence of good and veritable land for flocks.¹³⁷

In Nigeria, these movements are mostly experienced during the dry season period in most parts of northern Nigeria which at this time is experiencing climate change leading to shortage of pasture for their cattle. Climate change affects most northern states of Nigeria and has given rise to the north-south movement of the pastoralists and their cattle which at times in the course of the movement, cattle encroach into farmlands thereby leading to dispute and sometimes physical confrontation between the farmers and pastoralists.

In Nigeria, the pastoralists are the suppliers of meat and milk, accounting for about 90% of cattle ownership which makes up 3.2% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Apart from the meat and milk supplied by the pastoralists, they also provide the country with skins, bones, and horns as complimentary products.¹³⁸

Historically, farmers and herders often coexist in cooperative relationships in Sub-Saharan Africa and such relationships are often realised through reciprocity, exchange, and support.¹³⁹ Generally, relations between farmers and herders have always moved between cooperation, competition and conflicts although in some places, it has been complementary rather than competitive.¹⁴⁰ Farming and pastoralism are two activities almost inseparable.

¹³⁷ O. A. Solomon *et al*, "Climate Change and Pastoral Conflicts in the Middle Belt and South-East Nigeria: Implication on the Human Resource of the Regions", *Global Journal of Human Resource Management*, Vol. 3 (5), 2015, p. 44

¹³⁸ P. A. Olayoku, "Trends and Patterns of Cattle Grazing and Rural Violence in Nigeria (2006-2014)", Nigeria Watch Project, 2014, p. 5

¹³⁹ T. J. Bassett, "The Political Ecology of Peasant Herder Conflicts in the Northern Ivory Coast", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 78 (3), 2015, p. 460

¹⁴⁰ Hussein Karim, *et al* "Increasing Violent Conflict between Herders and Farmers in Africa: Claims and Evidence, Development Policy Review, 17 (4), 1999, pp. 397-418. See also the work of Abba Gana Shettima and Usman A. Tar, "Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in West Africa: Exploring the Causes and Consequences", *Information, Society, Justice*, Vol. 1 (2), 2008 and the work of Anastasia Sandra Akerjiir on the role of

Both the farmer and herder depend on each other for the betterment of the crops and cattle. These two groups have been rearing and farming in Nigeria for centuries. Farmers benefit from cattle manure to fertilise their crops while the herder benefit from the farmer's residues to nutritionally feed their cattle.¹⁴¹

This symbolic relationship tied the well-being of the farmer to that of the herder and this allowed for most disputes to be resolved non-violently that is, through traditional mediation mechanisms.¹⁴² Frankly speaking, pastoralists and agriculturalists in Nigeria have enjoyed a fairly symbiotic relationship. Herders' livestock provided farmers with daily goods as well as manure to fertilise their fields. In turn, pastoralists obtained grain and other farm products from agriculturalists communities. However, this system increasingly shows signs of breaking down as the growth of farming activities has drastically diminished Nigeria's supply of grazing land. The herds and flocks of pastoralists now frequently encroach upon cultivated fields, much to the outrage of local agriculturalists. This most at times degenerate into armed clashes that poison communal relations and lead to further instances of violence.¹⁴³

The pastoralists and farmers have traditionally had an interdependent relationship based on the local exchange of dairy products for grain and the periodic sale of animals to provide

vigilante groups in settling farmers/herders conflicts titled: "Increasing Farmer-Herder Conflict In Nigeria: An Assessment of the Clashes between the Fulani Herdsmen and Indigenous Farmers in Ukpabi-Nimbo Community Enugu State", unpublished M. A International Development Studies, Wageningen University, The Netherlands, 2018

¹⁴¹ M. A. Chris Kwaja, *et al*, "The Implications of Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law on Farmer-Herder Relationships in the Middle Belt of Nigeria", 1st ed., Washington DC: Search for Common Ground, 2017, P. 9

¹⁴² Ibrahim Mohammed *et al*, "Assessment of Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in Nigeria using GIS", *International Journal of Engineering Science Invention*, Vol. 4 (7), 2015, pp. 23-33

¹⁴³ Michael W. Baca, *Farmer-Herder Clashes, Amplify Challenge for Beleaguered Nigerian Security*, Global Observatory, New York, International Peace Institute, 2015, p. 4

cash for domestic reasons such as cloths or marriage ceremony.¹⁴⁴ In spite of this interdependency, the relationship between the two groups has deteriorated due to changing demography, climate change, shrinking natural resources and socio-political manipulation thereby making violent confrontations to become a major known character of their interactions.¹⁴⁵

The relationship between farmers and herders in Sabon Birni District before the coming of the colonialists has not been really cordial. This is attributed to the 19th century Jihad which led to the displacement of the *Sarakuna* system in the District. This singular act of displacement has not been forgotten by some of the Gobirawa who are mostly farmers. The memory of the Jihad and its aftermaths are still fresh in the minds of some Gobirawa.

The coming of the colonialists and the introduction of their harsh economic policies in Niger Republic leading to the migration of some herders to Northern Nigeria and Sabon Birni to be precise, has contributed and added to the already existing hatred some of the Gobirawa had for the Fulani who are mostly herders.¹⁴⁶ With this indifferent relationship coupled with the activities of the herders in the District, the hitherto unfriendly relationship began to take a new dimension which later manifested in physical confrontation between the two groups, although this confrontation was mostly between the new migrants (herders from Bamgi) and farmers in the District.

The act of driving cattle into standing crops, damaging of farmlands and the struggle for the available land space has further strained the relationship between farmers and herders in the

¹⁴⁴ O. A. Agbegbedia *et al*, "Pastoralism: Its Historicity and Development in Benue State, Nigeria", *Sacha Journal of Environmental Studies*, Vol. 5 (1), 2015, p. 56

¹⁴⁵ Ibrahim Mohammed *et al*... See also the work of Michael W. Baca, *Farmer-Herder Clashes Amplify Challenge for Beleaguered Nigerian Security*, New York, International Peace Institute, 2015

¹⁴⁶ Abubakar Bango, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Farmer, 6/10/2020

District. While farmers accuse the herders for being impatient and for invading their farms without permission during harvesting period, the herders on the other hand accuse the farmers of not harvesting their crops as at when due thereby stopping them (herders) from having access to the residues of their farms.¹⁴⁷

The relationship between the two groups becomes more hostile during planting and harvesting period when the farmer is either planting or harvesting his crops.¹⁴⁸ This is also the period in which the herder needs more grasses for his cattle. This situation has over the years led to cold war¹⁴⁹ among the two groups at times leading to physical confrontation between them although this state of cold war is being gradually reduced and is being replaced with a cordial relationship between the two groups due to measures been taken by both farmers and herders' associations and other relevant authorities in the District.¹⁵⁰

In conclusion, this chapter provides a background to the study area with emphasis on the relationship between history and geography. The location of the study area as captured in this chapter provides a visible knowledge of where the area is and the climate and vegetation of the area tells us the nature of the area. The chapter also takes a brief look into the cultural activities of the people among others issues; this gives us the idea of the kind of people that occupied the study area. It provide the bases for the next chapter as the chapter (chapter three) at its introductory part provides an expository discourse on the migration of

¹⁴⁷ The issue of deliberate driving of cattle into standing crops by herders was denied by herders interviewed in the District stating that at times this happened when the cattle are under the care of their children who may be taken away by other issues in the course of the grazing thereby making it possible for the cattle to derail into farmers crops which is not intentional.

¹⁴⁸ Mal. Yakubu Yar'bulutu, a Farmer, Interviewed at Yar'bulutu, 49 years, 13/8/2019

¹⁴⁹ WJHCBS/107/55/Relationship between Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 18

¹⁵⁰ Alhaji Usman Dan Galadima, a Herder, Interviewed at Gatawa, 60 years, 13/8/2019

one of the actors (Fulanin-Bamgi) to the study area and their relationship with the host community especially the farmers.

CHAPTER THREE

Origin and Development of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District, 1903-

1960

3.1 Introduction

Colonialism and its effects cannot be easily erased from the minds of many Africans. Its footprints can still be seen in different parts of the continent ranging from the creation of artificial borders to the imposition of the culture of violence. This chapter therefore, discussed colonialism and farmer-herder conflicts in Sabon Birni District. The emergence of pastoral settlements in the District had its root from the activities of the colonialists especially in the French Territory (Niger Republic) couple with the fact that the District itself is located along Nigeria-Niger borders, which made the conflict more complicated. Forced labour and other harsh policies imposed on the people in the French Territory and the issue of damage done to farmers' crops in the British Territory by herders which cross the border to Sabon Birni District to either settle temporarily or permanently led to a consistent increase in the conflict between the two groups during the period under study.¹⁵¹

3.2 Emergence of New Nomadic Camps

Sabon Birni District is a home to different groups of people ranging from Bari-Bari from Borno, Tuaregs, Yoruba, and of course the Gobirawa who formed majority of the population among several others. The District is also a home to both farmers and herders. While farming is being carried out majorly by the Gobirawa, pastoralism on the other hand is being undertaken by the Fulani. Although one cannot deny the fact that some Gobirawa are into cattle rearing just as some Fulani are into farming. There are basically two

¹⁵¹ It is important to note that colonialism is not the origin of farmer-herder conflicts in the District, but it contributed much to the escalation of the conflicts as a result of its policies which affected both the farmers and herders culminating at times to physical confrontation.

categories of pastoralists in Sabon Birni District. Those who were born and brought up in the District known as Fulanin Gobir and those who came from Tahoua in Niger Republic during the colonial period known as Fulanin-Bamgi. These are transhumance and a major actor in the conflict between farmers and herders in the District.¹⁵²

People of different race have moved from one place to another for different reasons. For the herder, they do not just moved for the sake of movement; their life is conditioned by the needs of their cattle.¹⁵³ As long as a herder has a herd of cattle, it is certain that for most of the year some of the family and cattle moved to other places in search of areas with available water.¹⁵⁴ The movement of the Fulanin-Bamgi to Sabon Birni District during the colonial period was necessitated by both push and pull factors. During this period, a lot of policies and programmes¹⁵⁵ were introduced by the colonialists in order to achieve their objectives. Most of these policies and programmes turned out to constitute a burden to the people making them uncomfortable. The nature at which these policies and programmes were implemented led to the migration of a lot of people from one region to another¹⁵⁶ leaving their original homes to places they thought were safer for them. The Fulanin-Bamgi¹⁵⁷ were not exempted from this kind of condition during the colonial period.

¹⁵² Bamgi is settlement located in northern Sabon Birni and under Madawa region in Tahoua State in Niger Republic. It has been under Niger Republic before the occupation of Niger by French colonialists. It is made up of the Hausa and Fulani. The village is about 20 kilometres away from Sabon Birni. Due to the strained relationship between the herders and farmers in the District right from the colonial period couple with the present security challenge allegedly posed by some Fulani, the Fulanin-Bamgi have all gone back to Bamgi for fear of reprisal attack from their counterpart that is, the farmers.

¹⁵³ NAK/SOKPROF/VM.72/S/142/1953/Paper on the Fulani, Mr. C. J. Benson-Smith, p. 1

¹⁵⁴ NAK/SOKPROF/The Fulani of Sokoto Province and the Problem of their Settlement, 1953, p. 1

¹⁵⁵ Some of these policies include land legislation policy, monetisation policy, taxation policy, and fertilizer campaign policy.

¹⁵⁶ See the work of A. U. Alkammawa, "The Impact of Colonialism on Agricultural Production in the Eastern Districts of Sokoto Emirate, 1903-1960", unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, UDUS, 2019 for the names of people who moved from one place to another as a result of some of these policies.

¹⁵⁷ The Bamgi Fulani are herders from Bamgi village in Niger Republic. They belong to the Ferebbe clan in Tahoua division.

The push factors which led to the migration of the Fulanin-Bamgi to Sabon Birni District during the colonial period included taxes chiefs were directed to collect from all subjects except the soldiers and their families, students, indigents, the aged and children below the age of eight (8).¹⁵⁸ The imposition of taxes on livestock affected owners of large herds and increased the tempo of frustrations among different nomadic groups imposed on the people in order to generate revenue for the colonial government.

Other forms of taxes imposed on Nigeriens leading to the migration of some of them to other places during the colonial period included cattle tax,¹⁵⁹ occupational tax paid by traders, hunters and fishermen, local road tax introduced in 1946, capitation tax and a special relief tax introduced in 1930.¹⁶⁰ The herders were also obnoxious as regards the period of the collection of the taxes which was between October to March as the tax collection falls in the dry season when the pastoralists were in dire need of money to cater for themselves and their cattle. These taxes and the brunt bore by these people made some of them to move to northern Nigeria either temporary or permanently.

Apart from the harsh colonial tax policies as listed above which made many people especially herders to migrate to other places such as northern Nigeria or Ghana, the French treatment of the local chiefs also caused migration, unlike in the British Territory where

¹⁵⁸ Muhammad Kwaire, "A History of Tuareg Migration from Niger Republic to Sokoto Metropolis: 1900-1985", unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, UDUS, 2002, p. 152

¹⁵⁹ Taxes were also imposed on other livestock in Niger Republic during the colonial period which affected large herds' owners. There was also livestock seizure in Niger Republic unlike what was obtainable in Northern Nigeria where such seizure does not exist and livestock tax was limited to Jangali only. These situations increase the tempo of disgruntlement among nomads in Niger Republic. Concerning the taxes collected on cattle, in Niger Republic for instance, 3 shillings 4 pence were collected on each cattle while in Northern Nigeria, only 1 or 2 shillings were collected on each Cattle depending on the locality. This made most of these herders to migrate to Northern Nigeria where the situation was not as hard as found in Niger Republic. See also WJHCBS/SO/130:French Territory Intelligence Report:1950-1957 and SOKPRO/MP/12570/Cattle Tax in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria

¹⁶⁰ Muhammad Kwaire, "A History of Tuareg Migration from Niger Republic to Sokoto Metropolis: 1900-1985", unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, UDUS, 2002, p. 152. 157-159

local chiefs were accorded some powers and respect, the French did the opposite. For example, a commandant of a circle had the power to subject a traditional chief to the law of *indignat* under which he would be placed in public work for a stipulated number of days subjecting them to public shame. Disrespect and lack of political power made the chiefs in the French colonies very susceptible to emigration to British Territory.¹⁶¹

The pull factors which led to the migration of the Fulanin-Bamgi from Niger Republic to Sabon Birni District is associated with the environmental condition of the area and the favourable colonial policies in the area. The District which is rich on account of its *Fadama* has attracted the Fulanin-Bamgi who came from time to time for grazing. As far as the Fulanin-Bamgi were concerned, the British administration in Nigeria was perceived as less oppressive compared to that of French in Niger Republic. This made some of them to refer to the French system of operation as repressive government.¹⁶²

These herders commenced their movement in the dry season to evade tax in the French Territory and arrived Nigeria close to the end of the rainy season (October) being the period of livestock tax collection in Nigeria. Consequently, they were excluded on the assumption that they had paid at home (in Niger Republic).¹⁶³ The coming of these Fulanin-Bamgi to Sabon Birni District for grazing purposes has created a situation at that time leading to a “cold war” or unfriendliness between farmers and themselves (herders) and at times leading to physical confrontation in the District.¹⁶⁴ This migration and activities of the Fulanin-

¹⁶¹ Muhammad Kwaire, “A History of Tuareg... p. 151

¹⁶² Muhammad Kwaire, “A History of Tuareg

¹⁶³ Muhammad Kwaire, “A History of Tuareg...p. 277. It is important to note that the Fulanin-Bamgi are transhumance that is, they move with their cattle from Bamgi to Sabon Birni in search of new or greener pasture.

¹⁶⁴ WJHCBS/152/107/1995, Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 1

Bamgi in the District has from time to time put both groups at loggerheads thereby creating animosity between them. The major activity of these Fulanin-Bamgi in the District is grazing which is normally at its peak during the rainy season.

The last two decades of colonialism (1940-1960) witnessed a cross-border influx of some notable leaders of these Fulanin-Bamgi¹⁶⁵ who came and settled in different parts of the District apart from those who come to the District during the dry season period to *Fadama* areas for grazing.¹⁶⁶ This movement of the Fulanin-Bamgi has not only posed a challenge to the farmers in the District alone but also to the security agencies and farming communities in Madawa village in Niger Republic¹⁶⁷ and this cross-border migration has over time led to consistent cross-border cattle rustling, armed banditry, and farmers-herders conflicts along the frontline states (Sokoto and Tahoua) of the two countries.¹⁶⁸

The last decade of colonialism (1950-1960) also witnessed the establishment of different settlements in the District by different heads of Fulanin-Bamgi who pitched their camps in different parts of the District for grazing purposes. For instance, Mai-Taguwa from Maradi had his camp at Tara village in 1953, Maje settled west of Unguwar Lalle in 1954, Buda

¹⁶⁵ Some of these Fulanin-Bamgi leaders include Mai-Tukuwa, Maje, Buda Gakara, and Dan Danga, these people came to the District for the purpose of grazing.

¹⁶⁶ WJHCBS/152/107/1995, Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Fulanin-Bamgi in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, pp. 1-2. There is no doubt; most of the leaders of these Fulani migrated to the British Territory purposely to evade taxes in the French Territory and because of the availability of greener pastures.

¹⁶⁷ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 151

¹⁶⁸ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer- Herder..."

Garkara settled at Gatawa in 1955 and *Sarkin* Fulani Shamadara stayed at Gangara in 1995.¹⁶⁹

These herders came to these villages and settled in different places, although they did not collect permission before settling down but they did not settle on people's farms but in areas where there were no farms. As soon as the news of their arrival reached the village head, he sent *Sarkin Daji* known as Galadima who moved round these herders' camps and took their statistics and then report to the village head. The herders were also given permission to use the available grazing reserves, routes, and resting and watering points. Despite the fact that their staying in these camps was temporary and the statistics of each herder and cattle in every camp were not provided by the *Sarkin Daji*, they were tasked certain amount as directed by their respective village heads through *Sarkin Daji* the Galadima.¹⁷⁰

The settlement of these pastoral communities in the District has further encouraged seasonal movements of other herders across the border into the District and has led to increase in farmers-herders' disputes and physical confrontations. The evidence of these movement was seen in different parts of the District as some of them were seen having their camps in Malam Buzu, Gatawa, and in other places.

3.3 The Origin of the Conflict

Farmer-herder conflict is neither a recent phenomenon nor peculiar to any country or West African sub-region. This conflict dates back to the earliest written records and is mythically

¹⁶⁹ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer- Herder ...Due to the security challenges facing the District at this time, it was not possible for the researcher to visit any of these camps to ascertain their present conditions.

¹⁷⁰ Mal. Habibu Yusuf, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Veterinary Supervisor, 51 years, 13/08/2021

symbolised in many cultures.¹⁷¹ The nature of this conflict in West African sub-region and Nigeria to be precise differs from one locality to another. The differences in these conflicts are due to the nature and characters of the actors and the causes of the conflicts. The causes of the conflict may be numerous but all centred on the struggle for land space for either farming or grazing.

In different parts of northern Nigeria, farm damage occurs due to the scarcity of pastures for cattle. Similarly, these also occur in other Districts in Sokoto province but that of Sabon Birni was made more difficult by the fact that the life of the people of the District centres on the *fadama* of the river Rima during the dry season.¹⁷² This is why anytime herders come in contact with farmers; there is a potential source of conflict in the relative distribution of land for farming and grazing purposes and inevitable damage to crops by wandering cattle.¹⁷³ The situation is also made more difficult by the location of these frontier villages that is, their proximity to the border and the presence of thick thorn-scrub, providing an avenue for the offenders to easily cross over to the French Territory or hide in these thick thorn-scrubs. The nature of the conflict was made more complicated by the way the District was administered under *Sarkin* Gobir, Salau Dan Umaru whom the resident officer C. N. Monsell Esq at that time referred to as weakly administered.¹⁷⁴ The judge in charge of the District's court during this period was also alleged to have sided with the Fulani (collecting bribe) thereby leading to delay in cases brought before him.¹⁷⁵ The herders also accused the Judge of same allegations but none could substantiate their claims

¹⁷¹ Roger Blench, "Transformation of Conflict between Pastoralists and Farmers", Paper in Press for a Special Issue of the Journal Africa, ed. M. Moritz, 2013, p. 1

¹⁷² WJHCBS/152/48/Sabon Birni District Affairs, 1954, p 5

¹⁷³ WJHCBS/107/55/Relationship between Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 1

¹⁷⁴ NAK/SOKPROF/S.2367, Sabon Birni District Re-Assessment Report, 1916, p. 2

¹⁷⁵ WJHCBS/152/48/Sabon Birni District Affairs, 1954, p 5

by pointing out a particular case in question. Most of the farmers and herders misinterpreted these delays to mean that the Judge must have taken bribe from either of the party.

The origin of the conflict in Sabon Birni no doubt predate colonialism, although no written records are available to support this, but one thing that is clear is that the conflict became more consistent during the second decade (1910-1920) of the 20th century.¹⁷⁶ The 1913/14 drought in Niger Republic known as “Little Cloud of Dakala” (yar Dakala) contributed to the influx of herders from Niger Republic to Northern Nigeria in search of greener pasture for their cattle. Although this drought also affected Northern Nigeria but still these herders had to come as they thought the situation here in Northern Nigeria was better than that of Niger Republic. This drought had led to shortage of grains and grasses for both human and cattle. The coming of these herders led to a competition between the two groups. The herders who were bent on getting food for their cattle were moving around in search of grasses. Any green plant or crop seen by these cattle was considered grasses thereby leading to the destruction of a lot of crops.¹⁷⁷ This period witnessed the frequent occurrences of the conflict thereby constituting a menace to the farming community in the District. From this period onwards, there have been frequent damages done to crops by herders from French Territory that is, Niger Republic. The Fulanin-Bamgi who are one of the prime actors in this conflict have been crossing Tahoua in Niger Republic through

¹⁷⁶ NAK/SOKPROF/S.2367, Sabon Birni District Re-Assessment Report, 1916, p. 2

¹⁷⁷ Mal. Ahmadu Yusuf, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Herder, 55 years, 29/11/2019

Bamgi to Sabon Birni mostly during the dry season that is, from October to June to the *Fadama* areas where they graze their cattle.¹⁷⁸

The causes of this conflict can be attributed to the struggle for survival by both the farmers and herders. While the farmers were struggling to ensure their continued hold onto their lands which was their only hope for survival, the herders on the other hand were also trying to have some fertile portions for themselves and their cattle. Thus, whenever the two groups come in contact to take possession of the field, it becomes a source of conflict between them. The conflict only explore after a lot of complains and grievances most have been aired which at one point or the other been ignored by the authority concern. Although these conflicts were often caused by the farmers and herders, a times sympathisers of farmers such as *Yan Tauri* also joined forces with the farmers to combat the herders. The aftermath of these in the District has been the unfriendly relations between the farming and herding communities.¹⁷⁹

The last decade of colonial rule (1950-1960) witnessed an increasing spate of violent conflict between farmers and herders in the District.¹⁸⁰ This was due to the fact that most of them were looking for greener pasture for their cattle as a result of the effects of the 1951 drought while some of them were fleeing the French tax policy in the French Territory which many could not afford to pay. Sabon Birni a closer place to them was seen as a haven due to the favourable environmental condition of the District that is, the availability of pasture for their cattle.

¹⁷⁸ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 151

¹⁷⁹ Mal. Sule Idi, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Former MACBAN Sec., 72 years, 10/5/2019

¹⁸⁰ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder..."

The dynamics of the conflict was further heightened by the characters of the actors involved in these conflicts. While the Fulanin-Bamgi one of the prime actors were considered wild and undisciplined by colonial officials the allegations which have been denied several time by the Fulanin-Bamgi interviewed, the Gobirawa farmers on the hand were considered stubborn, uncompromising and crafty in character the allegations which have also been rebuffed by the Gobirawa.¹⁸¹

In another report by the Sokoto Resident Officer, the Fulanin-Bamgi are said to have no respect or regard for the law of the land. They often drive their cattle deliberately into standing farms and open fire on anyone who objected.¹⁸² This kind of behaviour made the nature of the conflicts in the District different from that of other Districts in the state as the case of the District was that of both day and night raiding of farm lands by the herders.¹⁸³

The historical ties between Nigeria and Niger Republic even before the coming of the Europeans have created an opportunity for herders and other groups of people to cross from Niger to Nigeria for businesses and other social interactions but this movement in recent times has led to border disturbance such as cattle rustling, banditry and farmer-herder conflict.¹⁸⁴ Some of the contending issues between farmers and herders in the District

¹⁸¹ WJHCBS/107/55/Relationship between Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 3. In an interview with the village head of Yar'bulutu, Musa Maigari on 6/10/2020, he also denied the same allegations on their character. The Yan Tauri's activities that is, patrolling farms to prevent herders from invading such farms and their harsh treatments of herders found in farms also constituted a big challenge as the herders sees them as a major enemy to their grazing activities.

¹⁸² WJHCBS/152/107/Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, 1955, p. 2. In an interaction with a group of Fulanin-Bamgi (Alhaji Mainasara Ibrahim, Mal. Musa Magaji and Bande Dangaladima) in Bamgi on Friday 9th October, 2020, both denied the allegations that they are not law abiding people. They also denied the issue of driving their cattle into standing crops and open fire on anyone who refused. These denials contradict views of farmers in different villages in Sabon Birni. For instance, in an interaction with a group of farmers in Yar'bulutu, most of them accused the herders of the above allegations.

¹⁸³ Mal. Saidu Abubakar, a vigilante member, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 56 years, 7/10/2020

¹⁸⁴ M. A. Rufa'i, "Cattle Rustling and Armed Banditry along Nigeria-Niger Borderlands", *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 23 (4), 2018, p. 67

include deliberate driving of cattle into standing crops at midnight,¹⁸⁵ the selling of *Fadama* farms to herders while other farmers' crops are yet to be harvested,¹⁸⁶ encroachment into *mashekari* and *Burtali*¹⁸⁷ among several others.

As a result of the attitudes of the actors in the conflict especially the Fulanin-Bamgi, even the security agency (police) was not spared in the attack by the herders. For example, on 25th January 1952, some herders including Anderu, Gubul, and Attahiru from Bamgi attacked the Native Authority Police (NA).¹⁸⁸ The establishments of permanent camps along the frontier villages of Sabon Birni such as Tara, western part of Unguwar Lalle, Gatawa and Gangara encouraged the migration of Fulanin-Bamgi to these areas.¹⁸⁹ This has further complicated the conflict.

Leaders of the two territories (British and French) were at a time accused of contributing to the escalation of the conflict in the District. For instance, *Sarkin* Rafi Ibrahim was at a time accused of his inability in delivering up these suspects and his inability to control the herders under his jurisdiction.¹⁹⁰ While Dangaladima the village head of Malam Buzu a village in Mukuwana ward was accused of ordering his followers to kill the herders and bring the head of one of them to him and that he will protect them. Another problem was lack of investigation into accusation before either the farmers or herders carry out reprisal

¹⁸⁵ WJHCBS/107/55/Relationship between Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 2. In an interaction with Alhaji Mainasara Ibrahim a Bamgi Fulani he stated that 90% of the cattle that invade crops in the night go out on their own without the knowledge of the herders and so cause damage to such crops and when the herders go out in search of them and are caught in such farms, the farmers assumed the herders came with the cattle to their farms intentionally.

¹⁸⁶ WJHCBS/981/SI/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulanis and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District, 1956, p. 2. This is also a major source of conflict between the two groups in fadama areas.

¹⁸⁷ WJHCBS /981/SI/Lawlessness between Bamgi... p. 3

¹⁸⁸ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 151

¹⁸⁹ These camps were allocated to these herders by Village Heads of where the camps were. This was to enable herders have a place to reside

¹⁹⁰ WJHCBS/152/60/Sabon Birni Affairs, 1955, p. 1

attacks.¹⁹¹ As a result of the frequent damage done to crops both day and night, some of the farmers decided to guard their farms both in the day and night time; this act of guarding their farms almost became a norm to some of the farmers who decided to form their camps in their farms in order to avoid this incessant damage to their farms.¹⁹² This shows how complicated the conflict between these two groups was during the period under study.

3.4 Malam Buzu Attack 1951

Malam Buzu is a village located west of Sabon Birni and in Makuwana ward. It is about 5 kilometres from Bamgi in Tahoua region of Niger Republic and 10 kilometers away from Sabon Birni the District headquarters. The village shares borders with Kumbula to the south, Kyara to the north, *Tabkin Kanu* to the east and Gidan Rumji to the west. For now only farming activities takes place there as a result of flooding which made the people to move from there to another location now known as Yar'bulutu. It was made of majorly the Gobirawa. The name of the place was named after an Islamic teacher known as Malam Buzu. It was his pupils that nickname him Malam Buzu that was how the name of the village came into being.¹⁹³

The village just like others in the District, had *fadama* and its proximity with Bamgi no doubt contributed to the frequent damages done to crops in this village as the herders found it easy to cross the water and come over to the village for their grazing activities. The carrying of locally made weapons in Sabon Birni District and its environs especially by herders had constituted a cause of concern among the Native Authority Police and farmers

¹⁹¹ WJHCBS/152/60/Sabon Birni... p. 2

¹⁹² Maigari Adere, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Farmer, 90, 7/10/2020. See also the work of M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020

¹⁹³ Mal. Habibu Bukar, Interviewed at Yar'bulutu, Farmer, 90 years, 6/10/2020

in the District. These locally fabricated weapons include arrows, spears, sticks and cutlasses which were sometimes used to attack either the farmers or any security agent that tried to prevent them from invading farmlands especially in the *fadama* areas.¹⁹⁴ The situation during this period made the borders and other places unsafe for other people within these areas who were carrying out their lawful activities until a ban was put on the carrying of these weapons in some villages within the District.¹⁹⁵ The ban was placed by the authority (colonial officials) through the Police on both farmers and herders in order to reduce the already existing tension between the two groups. The Police who were meant to enforce this order were the ones that made the announcement on the ban on carrying of weapons. This ban was put in place to check and bring an end to the cases of attacks on both farmers and herders in their farms or in the course of their grazing.

The conflict which took place in the village during this period had its origin from the planting of maize in a *fadama* known as *Dogon Tabki* in which had no defined grazing area. When some of the herders who had been grazing in the village especially in *fadama* areas discovered that this very *fadama* had been encroached by farmers, a large party of the herders suspected to be Fulanin-Bamgi made an apparently unprovoked attack on some farmers in this *fadama* (*Dogon Tabki*). In this attack, two farmers Arzika Musa Abubakar and Male Musa were killed.¹⁹⁶ The farmers were in their maize farm when the attackers came and killed them.¹⁹⁷ All the attackers escaped except one Abdu Maimuke who was

¹⁹⁴ In an interaction with Mal. Bande Dangaladima in Bamgi, he stated that herders only move around with sticks which they use in controlling their cows. Bande's view is doubtful considering evidences which abound and complaint by farmers about their carrying of arms apart from sticks in the District and other places.

¹⁹⁵ WJHCBS/152/107/Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, 1955, p. 7

¹⁹⁶ The victims of this conflict were Arzika Musa Abubakar and Male Musa.

¹⁹⁷ Mal. Yahaya Mohammed, a farmer, Interviewed at Yar'bulutu, 55 years, 6/10/2020. Mal. Yahaya Mohammed is a relative of the victims of this conflict; he expressed his sadness over the incident and stated

caught, tried and taken to Sabon Birni and Sokoto prisons where he spent some months and was later released because none of the other attackers could be found.¹⁹⁸

The failure to arrest the remaining perpetrators and the release of Abdu Maimuke did not go down well with the farmers who felt the authority (police officers) was backing them. This made some of them to think that the only way to solve this problem was to take laws into their hands by going out themselves to fish out the perpetrators. With the assistance of the “Chef de Sub-division” in Madawa and *Sarkin Rafi* who was threatened that until these attackers were fished out no herder would be allowed to come to Sabon Birni.¹⁹⁹ With this threat, all the attackers were arrested except one Ardo Hussein who had ran away and could not be traced by the men of *Sarkin Rafi*. After a preliminary investigation into this incident; the attackers were taken to Sokoto for further trials.²⁰⁰ The issue of farm damage which led to this conflict can only be said to be the immediate cause of this conflict as the remote cause lies in the 1951 drought which had tremendous impact on both human and plants. While people suffered for lack of food as a result of shortage of rain which made most of them to relocate their farming activities to *fadama* areas, the herders on the other saw these *fadama* areas as the only fertile ground where they can graze their cattle. The concentration of farming activities in these *fadama* areas which the herders saw as the only place where they can have greener pasture for their cattle became a source of this conflict

that the memory of what happened was still fresh in his mind as related to him by his parents. He blamed the herders who normally come to the village for grazing during the dry season for causing the death of his relatives.

¹⁹⁸ WJHCBS/152/107/Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Fulani-Bamgi in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, 1955, p. 7. The remaining attackers which could not be found were Duyyel, Gubul, and Ardo Yakka.

¹⁹⁹ WJHCBS/152/107/Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, 1955, p. 7

²⁰⁰ WJHCBS/152/107/1955, Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, 1955, p. 7

which took place in Malam Buzu. As a result of this attack, the colonial government asked the district council to fix a date for the herders to enter upland farms with their cattle for grazing. This was to stop the herders from coming to these uplands at will thereby causing damage to crops. Refer to page 57 for the location of Malam Buzu on the map provided.

3.5 Clash in Sabon Birni 1952

The threat posed by herdsmen in Sabon Birni District under this period of study affected virtually every category of people in the District. The farming community was the most affected group as a result of the conflict. This was because of the fact that both groups made use of the land for their survival.

However, at times it is not only the farmers that are victims of these clashes. The case in view here is that of an attack that was launched on the Native Authority Police who were stationed in the District and its environs to maintain law and order. The clash has its root from the damage done to crops by cattle belonging to the following herders; Anderu, Gubul, Ali, Attahiru and Kiru on 28th January 1952.²⁰¹ The damage took place on some maize farms in the *Fadama* area northeast of Magajin Dawaki. In the fight that ensued, two farmers, Shehu and Danbatta received head and flesh wounds from clubs and arrows. The injured persons were later taken to Gatawa clinic by Mr. and Mrs. Mckee of S.I.M for treatment while the herdsmen escaped.²⁰²

The following day, that is, on 29th January 1952, the same herdsmen came to the *Fadama* farms, this time around west of Magajin Dawaki and did some damage to crops. A large fight broke out and this time around, a farmer by name Salihu who the herders found

²⁰¹ WJHCBS/152/107/1955, The Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 1

²⁰² WJHCBS/152/107/1955, The Relationship between the Gobirawa...

working on his farm received a very severe sword cuts on his arm, head and back.²⁰³ He was taken to Gusau hospital for treatment. The next day, that is, 30th January in what seem like a reprisal attack, a party of Gobirawa farmers led by Yan Tauri went in search of these herders who had done damage to their crops. In the course of their search, they came across one Kacheru, a herder who went to see his friend. He was dragged out and beaten with several sword cuts and had a spear thrust through his body and below the left shoulder. He was later taken to Gusau hospital for treatment too.²⁰⁴

When this issue of conflict was reported to the NA Police, they immediately mobilised and made their way to the French border where these herders were residing. In the process of arresting these herders involved in the damage done to crops and fight with the Gobirawa farmers, they attacked the NA Police. Gebe Abdu Makuwana and Mamman Gande both police officers and Sarkin Noma Anaruwa a farmer were wounded while the herders escaped.²⁰⁵

On 4th February, the French soldiers arrested three of the wanted herdsmen (Anderu, Gubul, and Attahiru) and brought them to Sabon Birni. The soldiers also came with a letter from *Sarkin* Rafi Ibrahim, the *Sarkin* Fulani of Madawa saying that the other two persons were at Kurawa village near Sabon Birni. The following day, that is, 5th February, the village head of Sabon Birni, Dan Galadima Waziri, the Alkali, Mamman Messenger, and four foot-police with other mounted police led by Magaji Mamman Katsina searched across the

²⁰³ Mal. Yusufu Musa, a farmer and relative of Salihu, (a victim of the Magajin Dawaki conflict), Interviewed at Magajin Dawaki, 82 years, 9/10/2020. He expressed sadness on the incident that befell his relative (Salihu) who went to his farm to work. He stated that it was unfortunate that the herders invaded his farm and disrupting his farming activity leading to a full blown conflict between the farmers and herders. He further stated that the herders moved about with sticks, cutlasses, spears and arrows.

²⁰⁴ WJHCBS/152/107/1955, The Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 1

²⁰⁵ WJHCBS/152/60/1952, Touring Notes: Sabon Birni District, p. 1

District and the two wanted herders (Kiru and Ali) were arrested.²⁰⁶ The five arrested herders were later taken to Gusau Police Station where they were charged with assault on the police and farm damage. This attack caused a lot of tension between the farming and herding community in Sabon Birni. The arrest of these herders led to a calm among the farming and herders communities in the district.

3.6 Attacks in Bachaka 1954

Bachaka is one of the conflict spots of the conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Sabon Birni District. See page 57 for the location of the remaining conflict spots in the District. The village is located on the northern part of Sabon Birni and is 16 kilometers away from Sabon Birni the capital of the District and falls under Sabon Birni east ward. The Bugaji is made up 95% of the population of the village with the Yamatawa, Gobirawa, and Fulani who made up the remaining percentage. The village shares borders to the north by Tudun Sunna, to the south by Kalage, to the east by Shagalawa and to the west by Kyala. The village was named Bachaka due to the availability of plenty farm produce that were always brought to the market by the villagers and other neighbouring villagers from Tsululu, Gidan Rumji, Madawa, and Labau. It was said that in the past if one visit the market, he or she will see a lot of millets, maize, local mats and a host of other farm produce. As a result of the availability of these farm produce, the village was name Bachaka meaning “availability of plenty of farm produce”.²⁰⁷

The market is a well-known one in the area which attracts people from both British and French territories, for instance, between October and November 1954, there were about four clashes between farmers and herders in the village. The first conflict took place on 22nd

²⁰⁶ WJHCBS/152/60/1952, Touring Notes...

²⁰⁷ Mal. Abdullahi Isa, Village Head of Bachaka, Interviewed at Bachaka, 47 years, 9/10/2020

October, the second on 9th November, the third on 23rd November and the last one on 30th of the same month. The conflicts in this village became frequent due to the location of the village at the border. This location made it easier for the attackers to launch their attack and run back to their respective villages making it difficult for the authorities to trace them.

The first of this conflict took place on the 22nd October, 1954 in the British Territory side of the village. In this conflict, a herder from the French Territory shot and wounded a herder from Sabon Birni. Fortunately enough this very act did not degenerate into a full blown fight as a result of the timely intervention of the *Sarkin* Gobir of Sabon Birni Salihu Dan Umaru and *Sarkin* Rafi who cooperatively settled the matter. The second conflict took place on 9th of November. A feast was held by the Gobirawa in Malam Buzu the previous day. During this feast, there was a good deal of wine consumption which went all night. The following day that is, on the 9th Gobirawa farmers were informed that some herders and their cattle were in their farms. Some of them went out at once towards a nearby camp belonging to Duyyel.²⁰⁸ On reaching Duyyel's camp and upon inquiry, it was discovered that the cattle were not that of Duyyel. Despite the fact that it was not Duyyel cattle which destroyed the farmers crops, a fight broke out in the camp though it was not clear which group started the fight and fortunately there was no casualty. The following day, the Gobirawa farmers went back to the camp but finding no Fulani, destroyed such objects as they found belonging to Fadi a Fulani from the BT.²⁰⁹ After this incident, *Sarkin* Rafi informed *Sarkin* Gobir about the complaint brought to him by those affected in which the *Sarkin* Gobir Salau Dan Umaru promised to compensate those that were affected.

²⁰⁸ WJHCBS/A Report on the meeting between Mr. R. W. H. du Boulay, Assistant District Officer, Gusau and M. Devigne Georges, Chef de Subdivision, Madaoua held on the 3rd January, 1955, p. 1. This Duyyel had in previous years acquired a bad reputation among the Gobirawa due to his habit of damaging their crops.

²⁰⁹ Alhaji Abubakar Mammam, Interviewed at Bachaka, 104 years, 9/10/2020

Following the above situation, on 13th November, there was great tension among the herders who had heard a rumour that the farmers proposed that day to attack them in the camps near Bamgi in French Territory. Upon hearing this, *Sarkin* Rafi Ibrahim put them in a defensive position to resist rumoured attack and later went to report the issue to chef de subdivision. The Chef de Subdivision later visited these camps and ordered them to move their camps away from their present location. Upon inquiry, it was discovered that there was no indication that the farmers were planning to attack them on the said date.²¹⁰

On 23rd, November 1954 another conflict broke out this time around Bachaka market. It was between the Fulanin-Bamgi on the one side and some Gobirawa and Tuaregs on the other. Although, there was no record of the number of casualties on the side of the herders, on the side of the farmers, Dan Hadi Andami,²¹¹ a farmer and a fisherman from Andamani village of Sabon Birni had 8 fairly serious sword cuts on the head, one arrow wound in the shoulder; one sword cut on the left arm; and a broken tooth and a cut lip. The cut lip was a result of a blow in the face from the stirrup of a horseman.²¹² The following farmers were also injured; Dantani *Tabkin Kanu* had a slight arrow wound on his foot; Gwoshi Gidan Gadu had a slight arrow wound in his arm; and Danduma also had a slight arrow on his back. The conflict started when the herders who camped near the village came to the market and started shooting arrows into the market.²¹³ It was during the shooting that Dan Hadi went out to inquire about the cause of the shooting that he was injured. The coming of

²¹⁰ WJHCBS/A Report on the meeting between Mr. R. W. H. du Boulay, Assistant District Officer, Gusau and M. Devigne Georges, Chef de Subdivision, Madaoua held on the 3rd January, 1955, p. 2

²¹¹ Dan Hadi Andami was the leader of the Yan Tauri (a group of young men that used magic in order to immune themselves from cutlass and arrows' cut) in Sabon Birni. He went to the Fulani unarmed although with some of his followers armed with axes. He was known for his foolhardiness as a member of Dan Tauri who was never afraid of the Fulani.

²¹² WJHCBS/152/44/1954/Fight at Bachaka Market Sabon Birni, p. 2

²¹³ Alhaji Abubakar Mammam, Interviewed at Bachaka, 104 years, 9/10/2020

the Fulanin-Bamgi to the market was to come and look for Dan Hadi who in the previous year refused them grazing in the Malam Buzu *fadama*.

Even though the conflict was a serious one but the number of casualties was not much and no damage was also done. There was also no complaint of loss of stock, money or any other goods. Although some cattle were deriving off the market but they were all recovered. As a result of this conflict, on 28th of November 1954, M. Devigne Georges the Chef de Subdivision visited the scene of the incident and later on wrote a note to *Sarkin* Gobir of Sabon Birni, Salihu Dan Umaru in which he alleged that the Hausa had attack the herders in the said market. He also provided the Magajin Doka, Sabon Birni with the lists of the attackers to include those mentioned above to have sustained injuries from the attack and others who were not traced as at the time the report was written.²¹⁴

The above fight was fueled by a rumour brought to *Sarkin* Rafi by one Dan Bamuna, a herder who stated that he overheard Dangaladima, the village head of Malam Buzu saying in Malam Buzu market “kill the Fulani and bring me the head of one, I will see that you are protected from the consequences”.²¹⁵ It was later discovered that this was just a rumour but then the fight had already taken place. The last conflict that took place in this village occurred on 30th November. Before this last episode, the Chef de Subdivision had forbidden the herders entry into the British Territory but they did not obey his order. They came to the village and camped in their previous site near the market. On the market day they came and started shooting arrows into the market. In the course of this shooting, one Adamu a farmer

²¹⁴ WJHCBS/152/44/1954/Fight at Bachaka Market, Sabon Birni, p. 2. The attackers include Dan Hadi Andami, Dantani *Tabkin Kanu*, Gwoshi Gidan Gadu and Danduma

²¹⁵ WJHCBS/152/44/1954/Fight at Bachaka Market...p. 3. It will be right to say that over the years rumours have contributed to the outbreak of many conflicts in Nigeria especially conflict between farmers and herders. The inability of leaders of both farmers and herders in verifying information before taken actions served as a major setback in curbing farmers and herders conflict in Nigeria.

was hit by an arrow shot by Anderu. Fortunately enough he was the only person injured in the incident. After this incident, the Magajin Doka that was present in the market reported the matter to Sarkin Gobir Salihu Dan Umaru.²¹⁶

3.7 The Conflict in Yar'bulutu in 1956

Yar'bulutu is a village located west of Sabon Birni and is 13 kilometres from the District headquarters. It is made up of the Gobirawa who had earlier moved from Malam Buzu to the area as a result of the flooding which had displaced them. It shares border with Gidan Rumji to the west, Kyara to the north, Alkalawa to the east and Makuwana to the south, it falls under Makuwana ward. The village got its name from the village's popular market founded by Sarkin Pawa Alhaji Mai Nasara of Gidan Rumji.²¹⁷

The village is one of the conflict spots in Sabon Birni District. The year 1956 recorded a number of incidents of farm damage in the village all attributed to the misunderstanding between Gobirawa farmers and Fulanin-Bamgi. The first recorded case of this nature in the village occurred on 9th March, 1956.²¹⁸ On this fateful day, it was reported that cattle said to belong to Fulanin-Bamgi went to *fadama* farms belonging to Gobirawa farmers located north of the main town of Yar'bulutu. Although no conflict was recorded in this incident as the issue was immediately reported to the *Sarkin* Gobir Salihu Dan Umaru who called the leaders of farmers in the area to warn their members on taking laws into their hands. The District head also reported the matter to *Sarkin* Rafi.²¹⁹ As soon as the matter got to *Sarkin* Rafi, he organised his men who went in search of the herders in question. At the end of

²¹⁶ Mal. Isa Abubakar, a farmer, Interviewed at Bachaka, 85 years, 9/10/2020

²¹⁷ Mal. Musa Maigari, Village Head of Yar'bulutu, Interviewed at Yar'bulutu, 70 years, 9/10/2020

²¹⁸ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/1956/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulani and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District, p. 1

²¹⁹ *Sarkin* Rafi Ibrahim Abubakar was the leader or head of the Bamgi Fulani in Madawa subdivision and directly responsible to the Chef de Subdivision. He was highly respected among the Bamgi and Madawa Fulani who paid taxes to him.

their search, 5 of the herders were apprehended and sent to the Alkali for trials.²²⁰ On 15th of the same month, they were brought before the Alkali who charged them with farm damage and sent to prison in Sokoto.²²¹

The cause of this farm damage can be attributed to some farmers who had farms in the *fadama*, harvested their crops earlier that is, before others harvest theirs and then sell their portions of *fadama* to herders who normally come to the *fadama* for grazing.²²² This has over time constituted a major problem even among the farmers especially those that harvest their crops earlier and those that harvest theirs late.²²³ As soon as these cattle go into *fadamas* where crops have been harvested and are not well controlled, they always stray to other farms within the *fadama* thereby causing damage to crops yet to be harvested.

3.8 Violent Incident in Sabon Birni 1956

Sabon Birni itself can be said to be a theatre of the conflict between farmers and herders in the District. The year 1956 witnessed some unpleasant incidents of farm damage and conflict between the two groups owing to the bad harvest in the previous year as a result of flooding. This incidence created a kind of hatred between the farming community on one hand and the herders on the other.

On 10th March 1956, cattle belonging to herders (Anderu, Allua, Bebe, Ibro, Kiro and Ali Gagare) damaged maize farms in the *fadama* north-east of Magajin Dawaki, a village of approximately 1 mile away from Sabon Birni. In the conflict that ensued, two farmers

²²⁰ These herders include Anderu, Allua Bebe, Ibro and Kiro

²²¹ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/1956/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulani and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District, p. 1

²²² Mal. Habibu Bukar, a farmer, Interviewed at Yar'bulutu, 90 years, 6/10/2020

²²³ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/1956/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulani and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 2

Shehu and Danbatta had head and flesh wounds from clubs and arrows.²²⁴ Both farmers were taken to Sudan Interior Mission (S. I. M) Gatawa for treatment but none of the accused persons were apprehended by the police.

The following day that was on the 11th of March, these same herders who were alleged to have damaged crops the previous day appeared in the *fadama* farm located west of Magajin Dawaki and did more damage to crops.²²⁵ The reason for this second coming of the herders to this same *fadama* the second day was because in the previous they overpowered the farmers as a result of the absence of Yan Tauri during the incident.²²⁶ In the second day that is 11th March, another conflict broke out led by Maigari Adere the leader of the Yan Tauri of Sabon Birni.²²⁷ In the course of this conflict a farmer Salihu had a severe sword cuts in his arm, head and back while a herder name Mode also had a sword cuts. Both were taken to Gusau Hospital for treatment by Mr. and Mrs. Mckee of S. I. M.

Following the above incidents, on 12th March, a large party of Gobirawa farmers from Magajin Dawaki among whom are Dangamna, Shibko, and Ila (all of whom were later arrested) went out in search of the herders who had wreck havoc on their farms in the previous days. In the course of their search, they came across a man named Kacheru, a herder who had gone out to visit a friend. Unfortunately he became their first victim in this

²²⁴ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/1956/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulani and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, p. 1

²²⁵ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/1956/Lawlessness between Bamgi...

²²⁶ Mal. Adere Maigari, a former leader of Yan Tauri Sabon Birni, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 90 years, 7/10/2020

²²⁷ In an interaction with Mal. Adere Maigari who led the Yan Tauri and other farmers to repel the attackers during this period stated that he played a vital role in bringing an end to the conflict between the farmers and the herders. They patrolled farms to ensure no herder invade any of them. He was among the people that injured Mode (a herder). He further noted that he had been imprisoned for two years in Gusau and Sokoto as a result of his involvement in leading the Yan Tauri and farmers in fighting the Bamgi-Fulani. In one of the incidents, he met two herders (Ibrahim and Indato) in his farm and cut Ibrahim with his cutlass while Indato ran away. It was this incident that led to his arrest and subsequent imprisonment in Gusau and Sokoto for two years.

retaliatory mission. He was dragged out; beaten, had several swords cut and had a spear thrust through his body below his left shoulder.²²⁸ He was also taken to S. I. M. in Gusau hospital just like the previous victims of these conflicts. As a result of these frequent occurrences of farm damages and conflicts in the area, 12 unmounted *Yandoka* were sent to the area to patrol the town while some mounted *Yandoka* were sent to the *fadama* for patrol as well. After the above incidences, the Magajin Dako of Magajin Dawaki launched an investigation into the issue which led to the apprehension of 17 persons in connection with the farm damages and fights in the area. They were all taken to Gusau for trial and those found guilty were taken to prison.²²⁹

²²⁸ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/Lawlessness between Bamgi Fulani and Gobirawa in Sabon Birni District, 1956, p.

1

²²⁹ WJHCBS/PCJ/981/SI/Lawlessness between...

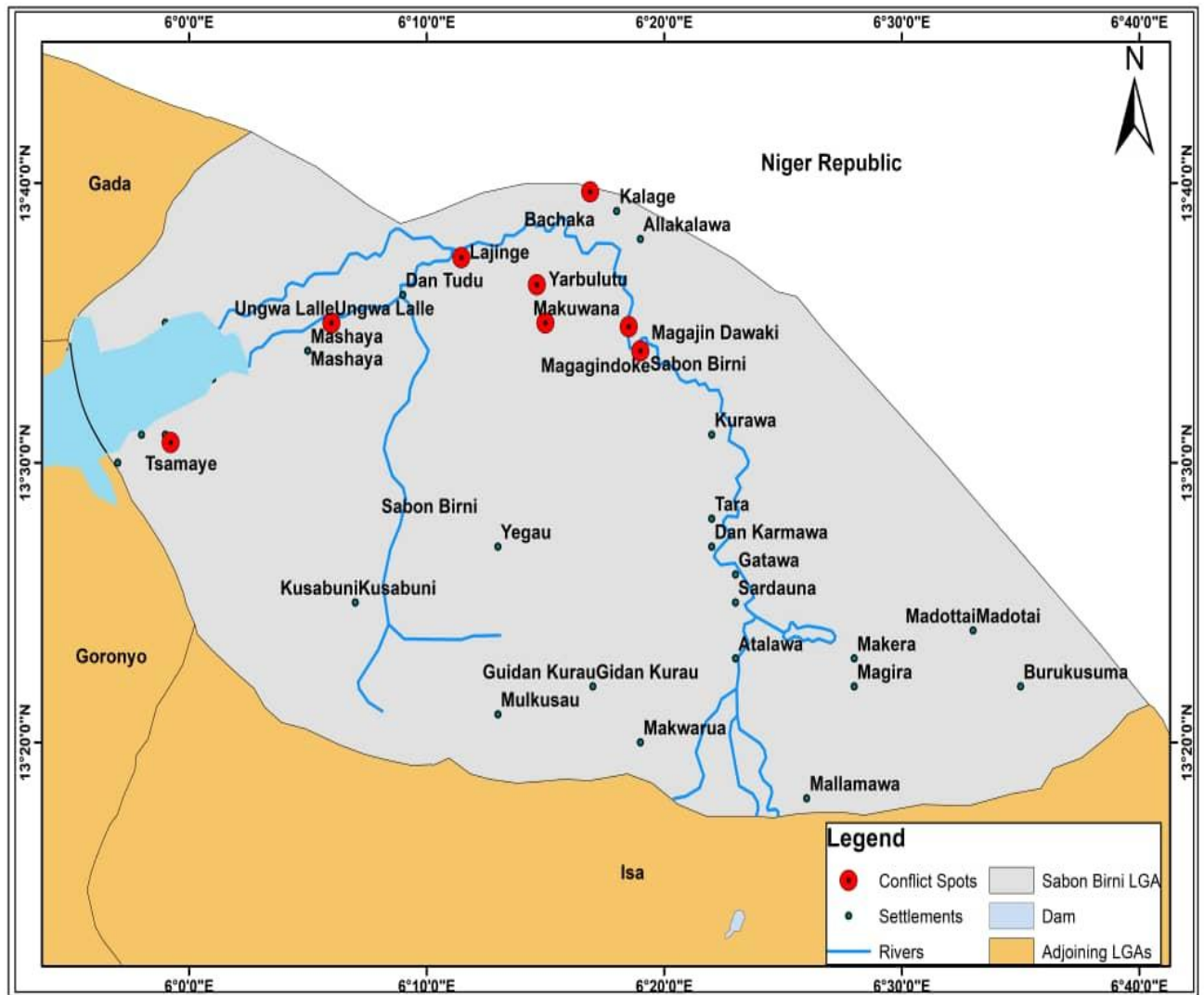


Figure 3. 1: Map of Sabon Birni Showing Areas of Conflict

Source: Drawn by Nasiru Bagudo, GIS Laboratory, Department of Geography, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the impact of colonial activities in both French and British Territories which without doubt have contributed greatly to the issue at hand (farmers-herders conflicts). The policies of the colonialists at both territories led to the movement of the herders from the French Territory to the British Territory thereby leading to a competition in the British Territory of resources (fertile land) for the herders for their cattle and farmers for farming purposes. The processes of acquiring this resource (land) led

to a strained relationship between the two groups. This scenario birthed the next chapter which focuses on the Fulanin-Bamgi, their activities and some of contending issues (grazing reserves, route and watering and resting places) that led to a strained relationship between the two groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

Cross-Border Transhumance and Farmer-Herder Conflict, 1960-1984

4.1 Introduction

The movements of herders from one location to another in search of greener pastures over the years have constituted a major challenge to both the farming and herders community. Most of this movement usually occurs during the dry season when the effect of climate change is mostly felt among the herders. This chapter focused on cross-border farmer-herder conflict from 1960-1984 with reference to one of the prime actors in the conflict that is, the Fulanin-Bamgi and their role in the conflict. Grazing reserves, cattle routes, watering and resting places are explained in relations with the conflict. The implications of encroachment into these places served as a major challenge leading to unfriendly relations between the two parties. The activities of the herders had at a time led to a protest and later a formation of vigilante group in the District by farmers as a way of ventilating their grievances.

4.2 The Fulanin-Bamgi

Pastoralists are by nature transhumance, the Fulanin-Bamgi who are mostly herders follow this trend. They are one of the major actors in the conflict between farmers and herders in Sabon Birni District. They made their presence known during the colonial period through their frequent encroachment into farmlands. The reasons for their migration should not bother us much here as it has been discussed in chapter three of this work.

The Fulanin-Bamgi are a group of herders whose original place of abode is Bamgi, a town in Madawa division of Maradi in Niger Republic with *Sarkin* Rafi as their leader. The name Bamgi Fulani refers to those Fulani who have their wet season camps in the immediate

vicinity of Bamgi town and are nearly all relatives of *Sarkin Rafi* or members of his clan.²³⁰

Our concern here is on those who often migrate to British Territory for one reason or the other. Those who were in the habit of coming into the *Fadama* areas around *Tabkin Kanu* in Sabon Birni District during the month of October and other periods for various reasons. These Fulani normally do not come with their families during this period since they were not going to live in Sabon Birni permanently and they do their best to avoid paying cattle tax in Niger Republic. They do this by hiding in the thick thorn-shrub of Sabon Birni District. After the Jangali season is over, they come and settle on the upland farms in the area south of Malam Buzu grazing their cattle in the *Fadama* where some of them actually make their camps. The most recognised and well respected among their leader was Kabbinkejo *Sarkin Rafi Madawa*.²³¹ One of their most respected leaders in Sabon Birni is Ardo Shamadara whom they often go to him in case of any challenge. The challenge posed by these herders that is damage done to crops did not only take place in Sabon Birni, it also occurred in Bamgi their place of abode. The damage in Bamgi often occur during the planting and harvesting periods, although there has not been a major record of conflict between the Fulanin-Bamgi and farmers who are mostly the Hausa in the area.²³²

4.3 The Role of Fulanin-Bamgi in the Conflict

The Fulanin-Bamgi since their temporary migration from Bamgi during the colonial period to Sabon Birni District has constituted a major threat to farming community. Their presence in the District during the colonial period especially the last decade was characterised by series of complaints by farmers on damages done to their crops during both wet and dry

²³⁰ WJHCBS, The Organisation of the Madawa Fulani, Preliminary Notes, p. 173

²³¹ WJHCBS/Sabon Birni District/Village Unit, p. 15

²³² Alhaji Sani Abdul, Sarkin Hausawa Bamgi, Interviewed at Bamgi, 60 years, 9/10/2020

seasons. They did not only constitute a threat to the farming community but also to the Native Authority (NA) Police.²³³

In spite of the available cattle route from Bamgi to Sabon Birni through Isa down to Shinkafi and then to Kaura Namoda and the forest and grazing reserves including resting places (*Mashekari*) for cattle in the District, the issue of damage done to crops maintained a consistent increase during the last decade of colonialism²³⁴ although there is no record of the numbers of farms damaged by these herders during this period.

One of the acts of the herders which have exacerbated the spate of the conflicts in the District is the act of driving cattle into standing crops without permission from farmers and attacks launch on anyone who objected or opposed them.²³⁵ These acts must have been motivated by the belief among some of the herders that unless their cattle feed on crops, they may not grow as fat as they expect.²³⁶ This belief which has no scientific base serves as a contending issue which made some of the herders who always want their cattle to feed on anything green not to spare farmers crops. This act of the herders among several others contributed to the complex nature of these conflicts in the District.

²³³ WJHCBS/152/8/Report on Assault on Police Near French Border, 1952, p. 121

²³⁴ WJHCBS/152/8/Report on Assault on Police... p. 182

²³⁵ WJHCBS/152/Report on Assault on Police... In an interaction with some herders in Bamgi, (Bande Dangaladima, Alhaji Mainasara Ibrahim and Mal. Musa Magaji) they denied the fact that herders often drive their cattle into farmlands without permission. They stated that whenever the herders approach a farmer requesting to buy his farms after harvest, if the farmer chooses to sell for his farm residue for them they will buy if the farmer decided otherwise they had no option than to leave such farm. Other herders in the District stated that most of issues of this nature occur when their children are the ones rearing the cattle and so may not have total control over the cattle sometimes thereby leading to the occurrence of this damage to crops.

²³⁶ WJHCBS/152/48/Sabon Birni District Affairs/1954, p. 151, see also the works of M. A. Rufa'i, "The Fulani Knowledge System and Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Nigeria", *Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 1 (3), 2019 and S. A. Ingawa *et al*, *Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in the Core States of National Fadama Development Project*, FACU, 1999. This was also confirmed by Mal. Ibrahim Isa, Secretary to Sarkin Gobir Sabon Birni (Alhaji Isa Mohammed Bawa) in an interaction with him but this view was counter by Alhaji Ahmadu Yusuf, a herder from Gatawa who stated that their cattle don't need to feed on crops in order to survive or even become fat as insinuated and believed among many farmers.

4.4 Grazing Reserves (*Hurumi*)

Grazing reserves are areas set aside and reserved exclusively for pastoralists. It is a term applied loosely to cover common land, grazing grounds and worn out farms in some cases.²³⁷ It is also regarded as purely grazing areas and in some areas there is a definite distinction between “*hurumi*” and “*makiyaya*”, the latter being a piece of common land set aside for grazing and controlled by the Emir.²³⁸ During the colonial period, for a piece of land to be considered a government grazing reserve, it must be a land at the disposal of government or native lands and any land in respect of which it appears to the minister that grazing on such lands should be protected or reserved or grazing management should be practiced.²³⁹

The Nigerian Grazing Reserve Act of 1964 was passed as an initial attempt to improve herders’ access to grazing land for their cattle, and encouraging sedentarisation in order to address existing conflicts between farming and grazing communities as well as improve provision of essential amenities to pastoralist families.²⁴⁰ The purpose of the reserves were also to help reduce conflicts between the pastoralist and farmers, provide access to fodder, social facilities, improved animal health.²⁴¹ After independence, the government of Northern region formulated the above law which demarcated grazing reserves and transhumance routes throughout the old northern region. Unfortunately, these grazing

²³⁷ Mas’ud Bello *et al*, “Declining Grazing Resources: The State and Future of the Livestock Economy in Zamfara”, *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 22 (11), 2017, p. 67

²³⁸ NAK/SOKPROF/501/KAN/76/Land Reclamation Grass/Policy and Development: Kano, Sokoto and Katsina, 1958, p. 4

²³⁹ Kaduna Ministry of Agriculture: The Grazing Reserves Law 1965, p. 22

²⁴⁰ Abdu Sada Aliyu, “Causes and Resolution of Conflict between Cattle Herders and Crop Farmers in Katsina State”, unpublished M.Sc Dissertation, Department of Agricultural Extension And Rural Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2015, p.12

²⁴¹ See the work of T. A. Mohammed-Baba and Mohammed Bello Tukur, “The State of Grazing Reserves and their Potential Capacity to Absorb Pastoralist” in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria*, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016, p. 192

reserves have been severely annexed, the encroachment into these areas have also led to the outbreak of the deadly crises between the two groups. This may be attributed to the inability of government to implement the grazing reserves Act of 1964.²⁴²

There are 4,125 grazing reserves in the country, unfortunately, only one-third is utilised, while the remaining have either been built on or converted to farm land. This act has annoyed the herdsmen and has become one of the issues fueling the crisis.²⁴³ In many places, there are no really effective boundaries between farming and grazing areas. This is due to constant poaching by each side and private arrangement by village heads and some herders to ignore laid down boundaries.²⁴⁴

The growth in human population²⁴⁵ and the use of tractors, herbicides, fungicides, insecticides, and generally modified seeds, organic and inorganic fertilizers had improved the cultivation of land. This development had prompted farmers to open up farm-plots into marginal or borderline areas used for grazing and path for cattle passages, because of the benefits from improved productivity.²⁴⁶ Farmers following this development encroached into grazing reserves to establish farmlands, an act which had on many occasions resulted into deadly conflict between farmers and herdsmen.²⁴⁷ With improved technology, hectares

²⁴² The act was enacted in response to the problem of alienation of grazing lands which was being faced by the herders' population at that time.

²⁴³ Hussein Shehu, "The Causes and Consequences of Fulani Pastoralist-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria", *International Journal of Innovation and Research in Educational Sciences*, Vol. 5, (3), 2018, p. 358

²⁴⁴ NAK/SOKPROF/392/S.8/5/Farmer-Grazier Boundaries, p. 2

²⁴⁵ The growth rate of Sabon Birni District according to the National Population Commission, Sokoto Office is 2.1

²⁴⁶ Mas'ud Bello *et al*, "Declining Grazing Resources: The State and Future of the Livestock Economy in Zamfara", *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 22 (11), 2017, p. 68

²⁴⁷ An example of this in Sabon Birni is the encroachment into Zabga grazing reserve by Mal. Maigari Shekarau who was later arrested by a combine team of Police officers and some officials from the department of agriculture of Sabon Birni Local Government. Another case of encroachment leading to conflict between farmers and herders occurred in Dan Maliki village in Kalgo area of Sabon Birni in 1999 which led to the death of a herder named Dan Barkeji.

of farm lands formerly cultivated by a hundred farmers using traditional tools such as hoes and cutlass can now be cultivated by a single farmer using a tractor and the process has been less time consuming.²⁴⁸

The development of officially demarcated transhumance corridors stems from the concern of protecting pastoralist mobility in the face of the steady expansion of agricultural land.²⁴⁹

Most West Africa states distinguish between international transhumance routes (primary routes), national (secondary routes), and local (tertiary) routes. According to their status, these routes are of different sizes and are demarcated with either stone beacons or other long-lasting signs.²⁵⁰ Some examples of these routes in Sokoto State are; the one from Konni in Niger Republic through Illela down to Southern Nigeria, and the one from Bamgi in Tahoua (in Niger Republic) through Sabon Birni-Isa-Shinkafi-Kaura Namoda down to Ilorin.²⁵¹

Table 4. 1: Some of the Grazing Reserves Visited

S/No.	Name of Grazing Reserve	Location	Social Amenity	Condition
1	Magajin Dawaki Reserve	Magajin Dawaki	Water pump	No Trespass
2	Zabga Reserve	Sabon Birni	Dam	Encroach at the western

²⁴⁸ Mas’ud Bello *et al*, “Declining Grazing Resources...”

²⁴⁹ The expansion in agricultural land in Sabon Birni can be seen in cases where some farmers have now chosen to venture into officially demarcated herders’ route in Gatawa and turning it into their permanent farms.

²⁵⁰ Manuela Leonhardt, “Regional Policies and Response to Manage Pastoral Movements within the ECOWAS Region”, International Organisation for Migration, Abuja, 2017, pp. 6-7. See the work of T. A. Mohammed-Baba and Mohammed Bello Tukur, “The State of Grazing Reserves and their Potential Capacity to Absorb Pastoralist” in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria*, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016 for more about grazing reserves.

²⁵¹ Ministry of Animal Health and Fisheries Development, Range Management Update 2016

				part
3	Zabairawa Reserve	Gatawa	Local Well	No trespass
4	Dan Maliki Reserve	Kalgo	Water Tank	Encroach at the northern part
5	Kambazawa Reserve	Gatawa	Dam	No trespass
6	Kwatsal Reserve	Gatawa	Local Well	No trespass
7	Balbelu Reserve	Makuwana	Dam	No trespass
8	Katurawa Reserve	Gatawa	Local Well	No trespass
9	Unguwar Lalle Reserve	Unguwar Lalle	Overhead Tank	Encroach at the southern part
10	Mabkinji	Tara	Local Well	No trespass
11	Yar'bulutu Reserve	Yar'bulutu	Dam	No trespass

Source: Field work

The table above shows some of the grazing reserves visited. Most of these reserves need attention by both the local and state governments to ensure they remain in good shape. The social amenities also needed to be given special attention as they are the only things that can attract herders to the reserves. Refer to page 69 on the location of some of these reserves.

Magajin Dawaki Reserve as seen above has not been encroached by any farmer but there is need for the reserve to be fenced and properly demarcated to avoid any future occurrence of encroachment. The security guard at the reserve complained about illegal entrance into the reserve by people of the area during rainy season when the fruits in the reserves are ripe. The water pump which is also not functional constitutes a challenge to the herders who would not like to come to the reserve due to lack of water. The fact that there is no encroachment into this reserve does not mean all is well considering the fact that farmers within the area plant their crops at the bank of the reserve. This is a potential conflict factor which needs to be taken seriously.

Zabga grazing reserve was encroached by Malam Maigari Shekarau at the western part in 1998, he claimed the reserve belongs to his grandparents. He was later arrested by a combine team of police and officials from the Department of Agriculture and was taken to Isa Magistrate Court where he was later released on bail. The timely intervention of the Police and officials from the Department of Agriculture of the Local Government had helped in preventing any act of misunderstanding between him and the herders.²⁵²

There is need for sensitisation of farmers within the area on the need to avoid encroaching into this reserve as it is meant purposely for herders. Dan Maliki reserve was encroached upon by Abubakar Adamu at the northern part of the reserve. The herders reported him to the village head of Kalgo where he was summoned and was later warned not to tamper with the reserve again.²⁵³ Although this encroachment has not led to any challenge between him and the herders, this situation can be seen as a time bomb as a little damage done to these crops can degenerate into a full-fledge conflict.

²⁵² Mal. Aliyu Galadima, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Civil Servant, 45 years, 10/9/2020

²⁵³ Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu, Interviewed at Kalgo, Village Head, 65 years, 11/8/2020

Kambazawa, Kwatsal, Balbelu, Yar'bulutu and Katurawa reserves were not tampered with by any farmer. This most have been the result of sensitisation by farmers' group in these areas. Most of the local wells and dams in these reserves are not functional making it difficult for herders to stay there especially during dry seasons. Unguwar Lalle reserve was encroached upon at the southern part and all efforts made to meet with these farmers proved abortive as no one was found in the farm. The herders within the area declined providing any information about these farmers probably for fear of the unknown. The lack of information from herders in the course of this visitation served as a challenge and making it almost impossible to get a balanced view on the use of these reserves and other issues in the District as far as farmer-herder conflicts is concern. So far there is only one recorded case of physical confrontation resulting from encroachment into a reserve in Dan Maliki which led to the death of one herder named Dan Barkeji in 1999.²⁵⁴ These reserves have not constitute any challenge to the people of the District as most of the issues of clashes between the farmers and herders occurs as a result of damage done to crops. See appendix B for the list of Grazing Reserves in Sabon Birni District.

4.5 Grazing Routes (*Burtali*)

Grazing routes are demarcated tracks meant purposely for the movement of cattle from one place to another. These movements may be within a local area, from one state to another or even from one country to another. An example of this is found in appendix A as provided by Sokoto State Ministry of Animal Health and Fisheries Development. These routes could also start from a grazing reserve or a resting place to the bushes where the herders normally graze their herds.

²⁵⁴ Information on this conflict was provided by Mal. Babangida Ibrahim a former MACBAN Chairman in Sabon Birni District, 37 years, 07/03/2021

Ideally, these routes are supposed to be equipped with key infrastructure such as water points, boreholes, resting areas, grazing enclaves (for longer grazing stops), veterinary and human health centres, and possibly schools. These routes are meant and reserved for transhumant pastoralists. But the practical experience with these transhumance corridors is mixed. In some cases, they lack essential infrastructure while in others they are encroached upon by farmers.

Table 4. 2: Grazing Routes visited and their present conditions

S/No.	Name of Route	Location	Distance (KM)	Condition
1	Sabon Birni-Isa	Gatawa	70	Encroached at Gatawa
2	Magajin Dawaki	Sabon Birni	1	No trespass
3	Maiwa Alkalawa	Alkalawa	2	No trespass
4	Dan Dakau (Bagaruwa)	Tara	30	Encroached
5	Gulbi	Sabon Birni	1	No trespass
6	Lajinge	Lajinge	3	Encroached
7	Unguwar Lalle	Unguwar Lalle	3	Encroached
8	Gatawa	Gatawa	5	No trespass
9	Katurawa	Katurawa	7	No trespass
10	Makuwana	Makuwana	3	No trespass
11	Dan Maliki	Kalgo	10	Encroached
12	Tara <i>Fadama</i>	Tara	3	Encroached
13	Kurawa	Kurawa	2	No trespass
14	Yar'bulutu	Yar'bulutu	5	Encroached

15	Tsamaye Tabki	Tsamaye	10	Encroached
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Source: Field work

The Sabon Birni-Isa route which has its root (starting point) from Tahoua in Niger Republic is a state-owned route. The route which seemed to not to be functional again is being encroached upon at Gatawa. About one (1) kilometre of the route was encroached upon in this village (Gatawa) leaving only a narrow path within the route which made it impossible for cattle to pass without eating up the millet within the route.²⁵⁵ Two farmers Mahi Muktar and Rabbo Dangogo were responsible for this encroachment.

Magajin Dawaki, Kurawa, Katurawa, Makuwana, Gatawa and Maiwa Alkalawa's routes were not tampered with that is, the areas visited, this may be due to the fact that these routes among others had *Aguwa* (a special tree) used in both sizes of the route to prevent farmers from encroaching into them. Dan Dakau's route was encroached upon at different locations in Bagaruwa village.²⁵⁶ The route's original size (wide) is 45 metres, out of this 14 metres were taken over (encroached) by farmers from the northern side while 8 metres was taken over by farmers from the southern part leaving only 23 metres. The encroachers have been identified and made to sign an undertaken and promised never to tamper with the route again. The encroachment into this route may be due to the absence of proper demarcation of the route or a voluntary encroachment into it by these farmers.

²⁵⁵ Mahi Muktar and Rabbo Dangogo were the two farmers responsible for this encroached and they have both been reported to the department of agriculture for further action to be taken on them. Upon further investigation on this matter, the researcher was told by official in charge of the routes (Mal.Sanusi Magaji) in this village that both Mahi and Rabbo had been warned not to tamper with the route again.

²⁵⁶ Some of the farmers who encroached into this route include Liman Ibrahim, Umaru Jikan Hajiya, Dahiru Maigari, Mala Idi, Garba Dan Isa, Isiya Haruna, Umar Sani, Rabi'u Adamu, Bawa Aboki, Saidu Haruna, and Madugu Muhammadu. It is important to note that this is the only route in the District that was measured and appropriate areas that were encroached were taken by officials of the department of agriculture. Others are still awaiting similar exercise to ascertain the level of encroachment done to them.

The Dan Maliki route in Kalgo was encroached upon at the eastern part of the route by Abubakar Adamu whose farm is beside the route. He has since been warned and sent packing from the route by the village head of Kalgo Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu. Yar'bulutu's route leads to Balbelu grazing reserve. Two farmers (Sabo Mohammed and Abdullahi Sabiu) encroached into both the western and eastern parts of the route. Both farmers were made to sign undertakings by the officials of the Department of Agriculture of Sabon Birni Local Government never to encroach into this route. Tsamaye's route was also encroached upon by a group of farmers at the northern part leading to a total blockage of the route but they were later driven away by a combined team AFAN and traditional rulers' officials.²⁵⁷

The encroachment into these routes by farmers in different parts of the District especially those close to residential areas has made the herders to have no choice than to roam around in bush paths in the course of their movement from one location to another thereby leading to the derailment of cattle into farmlands. Although there has not been any recorded case of major clash between the two parties as a result of this act of the blocking of these routes, this is no doubt a potential factor that is waiting for a trigger to explode and needs to be taken seriously by the officials of the Department of Agriculture of the District. Appendix D shows the list of grazing routes in Sabon Birni District.

4.6 Watering and Resting Points (*Mashaya* and *Mashekeri*)

Watering places (*mashaya*) and resting places (*mashekeri*) are two important areas created specifically for pastoralists and their herds. These watering and resting places are specially demarcated areas for their cattle to get refreshed and rest after a long journey. Farmers also consider them as fertile ground for planting their crops. These special places which are

²⁵⁷ Alhaji Muhammadu Adamu, a Farmer, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 47 years, 9/8/2020

designated for the herders have also constituted a source of conflict between farmers and herders in the District as both farmers and herders now compete for their usage.

These watering and resting places (points) which served as refreshment centres and resting points for cattle in the course of grazing have also attracted farmers who see the banks of the watering and resting places as fertile ground for farming. Farming along these areas has hindered the free movement of cattle into these areas. Watering points such as those in Unguwar Lalle, Baraya Zaki, Gatawa, Tsamaye, and Tabkin Kanu were some of the sources of water for cattle which were blocked by farmers as a result of the vitality of the soils around these areas.²⁵⁸ The watering points encroached represent 25 % of the points visited.

Table 4. 3: Watering Points Visited

S/No.	Name of Watering Point	Location	Existing Social Amenity	Condition
1	Kwatsal	Kwatsal	Local well	No trespass
2	Dan Dakau	Tara	Local well	No trespass
3	Alkalawa	Alkalawa	River	Encroached
4	Katurawa	Katurawa	River	No trespass
5	Dogon Marke	D/Marke	River	No trespass
6	Gatawa	Gatawa	Local pump	Encroached
7	Cinabarka	S/Birni	River	No trespass
8	Unguwar Lalle	U/Lalle	River	Encroached

²⁵⁸ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria" *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 153

9	Zango	Zango	River	No trespass
10	Kajin Kajin	Makuwana	River	No trespass
11	Magarau	Magarau	Local well	No trespass
12	Galkaru	Kalgo	River	Encroached

Source: Field work

The watering points at Kwatsal, Katurawa, Dogon Marke, Cinabarka, Zango, Kajin Kajin, and Magarau were not tampered with but most of the social amenities there were not in good state. Most of the dams and local wells had no water and even the rivers had not enough water too. The inadequate water in these places could be the reason herders desert them sometimes and roam around in search of water thereby derailing into farmers' crops.

Alkalawa's watering point was encroached upon at the southern part by Abdulkadir Yar'bulutu a farmer from Yar'bulutu. When interviewed by the researcher, he said no one gave him the permission to farm there, he further stated that it was because the soil there was good that was his reason for planting his crops there.²⁵⁹ Gatawa's watering point which is located 1 kilometre away from the village has a local pump although not functional again, was encroached upon at the eastern part by Hassan Habu a resident of Gatawa village. He has since been warned not to plant any crop there again. Unguwar Lalle's watering point has a river and was encroached upon by 3 farmers (Bello Halilu, Aminu Yusuf, and Abu Abass) at different points of the watering point. Both farmers were reported to the local government officials and they were later asked to sign undertaken that they will not plant their crops in the place again. Galkaru's watering point has a river; it

²⁵⁹ On further interrogation about the consequences of his action, he said that he is aware of the implication but that since no one came to ask him to vacate the place he has no need to fear.

was encroached upon by Bashir Aliyu. When asked who gave him permission to plant his crops there, he said that it was because of the availability of water in the place that made him to plant his maize there. The planting of crops in these places has made them to be seen as potential conflict spots, if farmers continue to plant crops in these places, only time can tell what will happen in future when herders come to these places to water their cattle. Appendix E shows the list of watering points in Sabon Birni District.

It is important to note that some of these rivers, ponds and local wells are no longer functional and are not taken proper care by the local and state governments. When contacted the officer in charge of these areas complain of neglect by both the local and state governments especially in terms of supervision of these areas.²⁶⁰ If not for rain water, most of these places would have no water for the herds. These resting places encroached represent 30 % of the places visited.

Table 4. 4: Resting Places Visited

S/No.	Name of Resting Place	Location	Existing Social Amenity	Condition
1	Galkaru	Kalgo	Local well	Encroached
2	Alkalawa	Alkalawa	Local well	Encroached
3	Kambazawa	Tara	Dam	No trespass
4	Tulu	Gatawa	Dam	Encroached
5	Mashekarin Ardo Buba	Gatawa	Local well	No trespass
6	Mashekarin D/Galadima	Gangara	Local well	No trespass

Source: Field work

²⁶⁰ Alhaji Sanusi Magaji, Officer in charge of Grazing Reserves, Routes, Watering and Resting Places, Interviewed at Gatawa, 50 years, 11/8/2020

Galkaru resting place is the biggest in the District. Cattle from villages such as Sarduna, Sarkawa, Dumkawa, Takalmawa, Zango, Kambazawa normally come to this resting place. It has a local well and was encroached upon by Ardo Ore who resides in this resting place. Upon interrogation by the researcher on who gave him the permission to plant his crops there he stated that since he resides in the resting place, he decided to plant his crops at the western part of the resting place instead of going to a far place to plant his maize and guinea corn.

Alkalawa's resting place had a similar situation like that of Galkaru. This resting place has a local well that is being used by the herders that were residing there. Al-Hussain Hamidu a herder who resides in this resting place planted his millet and corn at the western part of the resting place. When asked who gave him the permission to plant his crops in a place exclusively reserved for cattle he stated that since it was his children that normally go out for grazing, he decided to plant his crops within where he reside to keep him busy and provide food for his family.

Tulu's resting place has a dam although not functional; it was encroached upon by Samaila Abu from Gatawa village. Due to the overflowed nearby river, his crops were all destroyed by the over flooding and his reason for planting his crops there was because the resting place is close to his farm. He was reported to the official (Mal. Sanusi Magaji) in charge of these places in Gatawa who warned him not to invade the resting place again. Kambazawa, Mashekarin Dangaladima and Mashakerin Ardo Buba have a dam and local wells. Both were in good conditions although the dam and local wells do not haven enough water. Despite the fact that there is no record of any clash between herders and farmers as a result

of these encroachments, there is need for these places to be fenced to avoid encroachment into them in the future.²⁶¹ Appendix F contains the list of resting points in the District.

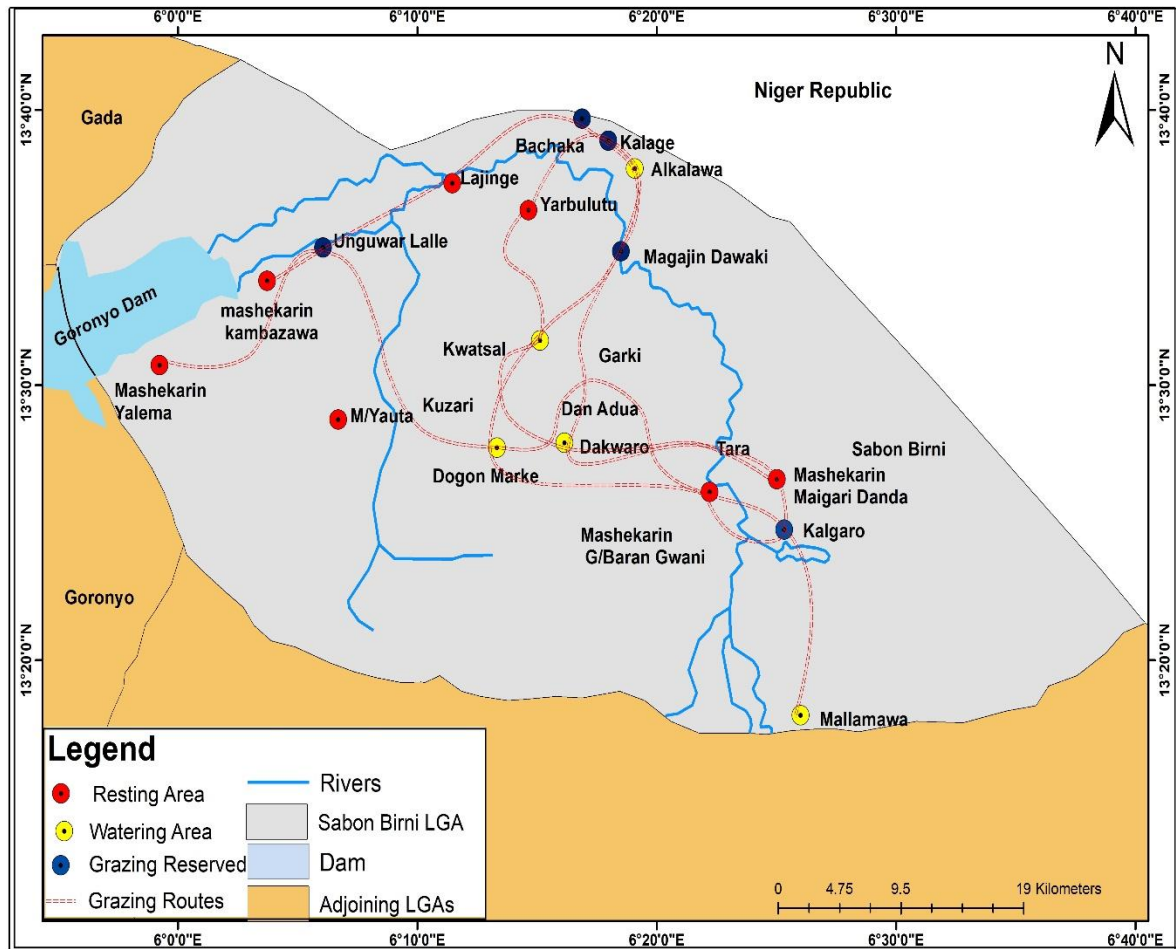


Figure 4. 1: Grazing Reserves, Routes, Watering and Resting Points in Sabon Birni District

Source: Drawn by Nasiru Bagudo, GIS Laboratory, Department of Geography, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto

²⁶¹ Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu, Dan Malikin Kalgo, Interviewed at Kalgo, 65 years, 11/8/2020

4.7 Anti-Fulani Protest of 1971

The activities of herders in Sabon Birni posed a threat not only to the people of the District alone but also neighbouring Isa District. The activities of these herders during this period affected both Districts which led to a massive anti-Fulani protest organised by farmers of both Districts in order to vent their grievances over the consistent damage done to their crops. The protest had its origin from the damage done to crops of farmers²⁶² in Dan Ayage a village in Sabon Birni. As a result of this most farmers were afraid of going to their farms. Only the strong one and young men who were considered strong enough to defend themselves could go to their farms. Most of these young men go to these farms to guide them against any invasion by herders.²⁶³ Within a short time, the protest took another dimension leading to the cut-off of all forms of relationships with the herdsmen including the buying and selling of anything from and to the herdsmen. As a result of this, the farmers decided to suspend the selling of their food items such as corn, millets, cassava and sweet potatoes to the herders.²⁶⁴

The protesters in their bid to further demonstrate their anger, they ordered every of their member in both Sabon Birni and Isa Districts to stop relating with the herders and that anyone who relate with them in any way would be considered a saboteur. As result of this warning and interdiction, some Fulani women were openly seen been harassed and intimidated by the protesters across different parts of markets in the Districts. Apart from boycotting their food stuffs, most of the protesters refused to exchange pleasantries with them including those they know. In reaction to this intimidation and harassment some of

²⁶² Some of the farmers whose crops were damaged in this village include Haruna Dan-Abdodo, Maigari Adere, and Mohammed Lehitda. Some of the leaders of the protest include late Mohammed Chamado, late Mohammed Na-Kalulu, late Lehitda Sadau and Adere Masaje

²⁶³ Mal. Mohammed Lehitda, Farmer, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 80 years, 5/3/2021

²⁶⁴ Mal. Musa Na-Shehu, Farmer, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 80 years, 5/3/2021

the herders deserted most of the weekly markets in the Districts in order to avoid clash with the farmers who organised the protest.²⁶⁵

Yandoka (a local security outfit) which we may refer to as one of the actors in this conflict were also used by the farmers to prevent people from carrying corn across the border as ordered by the protesters.²⁶⁶ During this period, there were six of them in the District, two were with Magajin Doka and stationed in Sabon Birni for the purpose of ensuring that no farmer sell his or her farm produce to the herders. They were also used by the District head to prevent crimes being committed in the District and to collect cattle tax. In spite of the fact that their purpose was crime prevention, most of them were sympathisers of the farmers and as such used this opportunity to also support the farmers during the protest. They did this on their own since most of them were also farmers. The *Yan Tauri* also played a vital role during this protest. They were at the forefront of the protest with their locally fabricated weapons sending signals to the herders that they are ready for any eventuality.²⁶⁷ The above was formed due to the pressure from the activities of herders which had created a kind of two separate community that is, farmers and herders making it impossible for each of them to relate freely without a suspicious mind.

At the end of the protest, all the affected parties (farmers and herders) called a meeting in Sabon Birni where they discussed how they will strengthen the strained relationship that was created as a result of the protest and stoppage of the sale of food stuffs to the herders.

At the end of the settlement, both parties agreed to be careful in their farming and herding

²⁶⁵ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria" *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 152

²⁶⁶ WJHCBS/1943/Sabon Birni: Central Administration, p. 12

²⁶⁷ Mal. Adere Maigari, farmer, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 90, 7/10/2020. Mal. Adere Maigari was a *Yan Tauri* and one of the protesters who sustained a head injury in one of the clashes between farmers and herders the in the District.

activities in order to avoid similar situation. This settlement led to a reduction in the case of encroachment and damage done to crops in both Districts.²⁶⁸

4.8 Formation of Vigilante Group

The increase in the level of insecurity in Nigeria has given rise to the formation of different security outfits by the federal government.²⁶⁹ This issue of insecurity has equally given rise to the formation of ethnic militia by different ethnic groups across the country. The formation of these militias is seen by these ethnic groups as the only solution to their immediate security challenges. Both the farming and pastoralist communities who seem not to have confidence in the traditional conflict resolution and mechanism and government security agencies have at one time or the other resorted to arm themselves and their people in order to defend themselves and their possessions.

The threat posed by the herders in Sabon Birni District during the early period of colonialism constituted a nuisance to the farming community in the District which led to the formation of vigilante group in the District in order to tame the menace posed by the herders. This vigilante group was to serve as security agent not only for the farming community but for the safety of every member of the District and to combat the onslaught of the herders which were described by Sokoto resident officer as wild and undisciplined.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Mal. Musa Na-Shehu, Farmer, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 80 years, 5/3/2021

²⁶⁹ Some of these security outfits include Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps, Department of State Security, among a host of others.

²⁷⁰ WJHCBS/140/The Relationship between the Gobirawa and the Bamgi Fulani in the Sabon Birni District of Sokoto Emirate, 1944, p. 189. In an interview with Mal. Ibrahim Dangado in Sabon Birni a herder from Kurawa on 29/11/2019, he denied the fact that herders are wild and indisciplined pointing out that it is always the farmers that normally block their routes and reserves leading to inconveniences in their movement in such places.

In order to arrest the security challenge posed by the Fulanin-Bamgi, the farmers formed two vigilante groups: *Yan Karma* and *Yan-Banga*. Both groups went about in their operations with high level of impunity. They were seen moving in band hunting and harassing the herders.²⁷¹ They never hesitate to take laws into their hands whenever they see any herder on farmlands. As a result of their operations, they were seen by some farmers as their liberators from the security threat posed by the Fulanin-Bamgi. In the course of their operations, one of their leaders Yusuf Kantu was arrested by the Police on 29th March 1971 and was taken to Isa Police station. While he was there, about two hundred (200) Gobirawa farmers stormed the police station and freed him²⁷² because he was seen as one of their freedom fighters. This situation pitched both the farmers and herders against each other causing a strain relationship among both groups.

4.9 The Impact of Farmer-Herder Conflict on Women in Sabon Birni District

Farmer-herder conflict in Sabon Birni has constituted a serious menace to virtually every group in the District. It has led especially to the reduction at the rate of interaction between farmers and herders in the District. In fact the impact of this conflict can be seen among the people as many herders have deserted the District. Many have also deserted the local markets while also who gather courage to come to these markets hurriedly go back home before sunset.²⁷³ Still others have to just stay back until they finish selling their items. Apart from the aloofness created by this conflict, it has also affected other aspects of lives in the District.

²⁷¹ M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 7 (1), 2020, p. 152

²⁷² M. A. Rufa'i, "The Phenomenon of Farmer-Herder... p. 10

²⁷³ Aisha Buba, Milk and Gruel Seller, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 47 years, 14/5/2021

Women generally are said to have been at the receiving end of every conflict as the burden of taking care of the home fall on them on the event of the death of their husbands' couple with child bearing and nurturing role.²⁷⁴ In Sabon Birni, while men are known for rearing of cattle and farming as it is common in other places, women on the other hand are known for taking care of the home, selling of milk (fura) and gruel (nono) and buying and selling of other markets products such as cassava, sweet potatoes, corn, and millet among other items. Because most of these women depend on the selling of milk and gruel and other farm products, the conflict between the two groups has constituted nightmare to them.

One of the areas in which these women were most hit as a result of this conflict is the reduction in their daily income.²⁷⁵ Desertification resulting from climate change which affects farming activities in the District at different time has led to little or non-availability of pasture for cattle and poor yield of farm produce by farmers. This situation coupled with human factor such as encroachment into farmland and reserved areas have worsen the plight of women in having access to both animal and farm produce to buy and sell. The non-availability of these products as a result of the conflict between the two groups has in turn affected the flow of women income in the District. This reduction in the flow of women income has also led to the shortage of household income thereby leading to food insecurity.

The effect of this is not only felt in the home alone, it has also extended to their social and cultural activities as well. Women who support their daughters by buying household items

²⁷⁴ See the work of Dayo Oluyemi-Kusa, Amina Salihu, "The Effects of Armed Banditry on Rural Women's Livelihood Security: Case Study of Kaduna and Plateau States, Nigeria, in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Abuja, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016

²⁷⁵ Zainab Hassan, Housewife, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 41 years, 14/5/2021

such as beds, plates, among other for them when they are getting married are often rendered handicapped in times of providing these items. Some of them have to depend on their husbands to provide some of these things which were hitherto provided by them. This situation has pushed some women in the District to venture into other forms of businesses while others have become idle as a result of this conflict.²⁷⁶

The conflict has also created fear not just among the men; the women have been affected as well. For instance, during the 1971 protest organised by farmers in the District to register their grievances as a result of the activities of the herders, Fulani women's markets products including their milk and gruel were boycotted leaving them in loss and debt. This is in addition to the non-interaction and unfriendliness that existed between the people of the District and the Fulani women during the period of protest. Unfortunately, the current security situation in the District has pitched farmers and herders against one another and has worsened the aloofness which existed among the two groups as the herders are seen as the perpetrators of the current security challenges facing the District. The previous farmer-herder's conflict coupled with the present situation has led to a breakdown in farmer-herder relations in the District.

In conclusion, the result of colonial activities as seen in the previous, chapter (chapter 3) gave rise to this chapter which accounts for the cross-border transhumance and conflict in Sabon Birni District. The chapter laid bare the result of strained relationship between the two groups resulting from the activities of the two warring parties. The encroachment into reserved areas and the driving of cattle into farmer's crops were discussed in this chapter giving us the understanding that these were some of the issues that triggered the conflict

²⁷⁶ Shamsiya Abu, Housewife, Interviewed at Kurawa, 52 years, 14/5/2021

between the two groups. Apart from these issues which served as the causes of farmer-herder conflict in the District, other emerging security challenges in the District which started of recent have constitute a threat to the people of the District and beyond. These contemporary security challenges confronting the District form the focus of the next chapter that is, chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE

Contemporary Security Challenges in Sabon Birni District

5.1 Introduction

Contemporary security challenges are new dimensions of security threats affecting Nigeria today. These contemporary security challenges posed by these criminals involve the use of small and light weapons which they use in carrying out their heinous attack and of recent, the use of sophisticated weapons by these criminals have become a common thing. Nigeria at present is being faced with diverse security challenges ranging from kidnapping, cattle rustling, and banditry, among others. In spite of the numerous security agencies and their efforts in the country, the situation seems to have defied all efforts. Some of these issues are off-shoot of past issues that were not properly managed while some are new emerging issues that need serious attention.

Sabon Birni District has experienced a very serious security threat which became noticeable starting from the colonial period till the early 1980s. Thus, the District is experiencing its own share of the security challenge that has bedeviled the country which we can refer to as its second phase of these security challenges in the District. During the first phase of this security challenge in Sabon Birni, the western parts of the District were the theatre of this conflict but the situation seemed to have changed as the issues have now shifted to the North-Eastern parts of the District.

The proximity of both the western and North-Eastern parts of the District to Niger Republic and Zamfara State respectively are contributory factors in the escalation of these conflict. In the past few years, the District has witnessed an increase in the activities of kidnappers, bandits, and cattle rustling leading to the displacement of people and loss of valuable farm

produce and animals. These new security threats has posed major setback to the free movement of people from one place to another within the District and has stopped many from engaging in their normal farming activities. These contemporary security challenges in the District constitute the central point of this chapter.

5.2 Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling refer to the act of stealing grazing cattle.²⁷⁷ Cattle rustling is as old as pastoralism, but the hitherto intention, purpose and dynamics of cattle rustling remain traditional, primitive guided and regulated by the sanctity of culture and tradition especially among the Fulani pastoral communities. Cattle rustling among the Fulani pastoralists for instance are regarded as a socio-cultural practice for the exhibition of bravery, perseverance and prowess regulated and sanction by their elderly kinsmen.²⁷⁸ Cattle rustling during the primitive days are localised, seasonal, customary and non-militarised involving only traditional spears with less associated violence.²⁷⁹ Among Nigerian pastoralists and communities, cattle rustling is not a new thing. The act is carried out due to the need which may include cash or to revenge for damaged farm products.²⁸⁰

It is an age-long and deeply entrenched characteristic of pastoralist livelihoods which fosters competition between groups that found themselves in harsh delicate environment. The first recorded case of cattle rustling is said to have occurred over 7000 years ago. The Greek historian Herodotus reported cattle rustling by Scythian horsemen 2,500 years ago.

²⁷⁷ A. L. Okoli, F. N. Okpaleke, "Cattle Rustling and Dialectics of Security in Northern Nigeria", *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, Vol. 2 (3), 2014, p. 112

²⁷⁸ O. Joshia, "The Sociology of Insecurity: Cattle Rustling and Rural Banditry in North-Western Kenya", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 1 (2), 2000, p. 30

²⁷⁹ A. Olaniyan, A. Yahaya, "Cows, Bandits and Violent Conflicts: Understanding Cattle Rustling in Northern Nigeria", *African Spectrum*, Vol. 51 (3), p. 98

²⁸⁰ Samuel Egwu, "The Political Economy of Rural Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria" in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Abuja, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016, p. 23

There have also been reports of cattle rustling in Australia, Mexico and America.²⁸¹ Indeed no age or continent can be said to have not experienced at one time or the other cattle rustling.

The prevalence of cattle rustling is currently among the greatest security challenges facing Nigeria in the 21st century. Cattle rustling have become a recurring issue which thrives easily where cattle rearing constitute a dominant occupation of the people especially in the Northern parts of the country.²⁸² It has become a major crime in Nigeria with the North-Western parts becoming the epicentre and the hardest hit. Over the years, this crime has resulted in the stealing of a large number of cows, deaths of people and destruction of properties.²⁸³

The increase in this crime in recent time in Northern Nigeria involves the form of substantial village raids where pastoralists' communities are attacked, raped and any valuable items that go beyond livestock are also stolen.²⁸⁴ Cattle rustlers now operate in sophistication and efficiency with modern weaponry and their operations are marked by trans-locational and trans-national syndication.²⁸⁵ Previously, the nomads are mostly accused of cattle rustling based on the fact it takes a nomad to efficiently drive stolen cow (s), it also takes a nomad to efficiently navigate the forest routes escaping with the stolen

²⁸¹ Samuel Egwu, "The Political Economy of Rural Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria" in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Abuja, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016, pp. 22-23

²⁸² Hamman Jumba Ahmadu, "Insight into the Dynamics and Menace of Cattle Rustling: A Case Study of Lake Chad Basin Area in Northern Nigeria", *World Journal of Social Science Research*, Vol. 6 (1), 2019, p. 28

²⁸³ See the work of Aliyu Yahaya, Azeez Olaniyan, "Cows, Bandits and Violent Conflict: Understanding Cattle Rustling in Northern Nigeria", German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2016

²⁸⁴ A. M. Bashir *et al*, "Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State, Nigeria: An Assessment of the Existing Preventive Approaches", *International Journal of Management Research and Review*, Vol. 8 (9), 2018, p. 20

²⁸⁵ AL Chukwuma, F. N. Okpaleke, "Cattle Rustling and Dialectics of Security in Northern Nigeria", *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, Vol. 2 (3), 2014, p. 109. See also the work of E. E. Alemika, "The Impact of Organised Crime on Governance in West Africa", Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Abuja Regional Office, 2013

cow (s)²⁸⁶ but of recent it seemed it is not only the nomads that are involved in this act but due to the lucrative nature of cattle rustling other elements have also joined in this criminal act.

Cattle rustling has constituted a major security threat in rural areas and the groups involved in the act are often armed and posed a threat to these localities as their activities often lead to violent conflicts between communities or a support for rebel groups that may emerge within the country.²⁸⁷ It has become a threat to public safety in most parts of North-Western Nigeria, leading to loss of lives, injury to humans and cattle alike, population displacement as well a reduction of household income and communal resource of the herding communities.²⁸⁸ The implication of this act is the depletion in the supply of organic protein and dairy in Nigeria.²⁸⁹

Since the last two decades, Nigeria and the North-Western part to be specific, have been witnessing an upsurge of violent recurrence of cattle rustling and other forms of rural banditry specifically in rural areas where farming and cattle rearing are the agricultural mainstay and predominant sources of livelihood for many of these rural dwellers.²⁹⁰ The drivers of cattle rustling in Nigeria include the interplay of factors such as climate change, absence of security in remote rural communities, proliferation of illegal small arms and

²⁸⁶ AL Chukwuma, F. N. Okpaleke, "Cattle Rustling...", p. 111

²⁸⁷ A. B. Gueye, "Organised Crime in Gambia, Guinea Bissau and Senegal, in E. E. Alemika (ed), *The Impact of Organised Crime on Governance in West Africa*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Abuja Regional Office, 2013, p. 1

²⁸⁸ Raja'a Ibrahim, Interviewed at Gatawa, Housewife/Farmer, 35 years, 15/5/2021

²⁸⁹ AL Chukwuma, F. N. Okpaleke, "Cattle Rustling and Dialectics of Security in Northern Nigeria", *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science*, Vol. 2 (3), 2014, p. 115

²⁹⁰ Hamman Jumba Ahmadu, "Insight into the Dynamics and Menace of Cattle Rustling: A Case Study of Lake Chad Basin Area in Northern Nigeria", *World Journal of Social Science Research*, Vol. 6 (1), 2019, p. 25

light weapons, the insatiable desire for cow-heads-wealth among others.²⁹¹ Other causes of this crime include farmer-herder conflict, commercialisation of cattle rustling, availability of Small and Light Weapons (SALWs) and the emergence of livestock bandits.²⁹² This has in no small measure posed a great threat to the herding community all over the North-Western Nigeria with its attendant reduction in the numbers of herders' cattle and other domestic animals.²⁹³

Table 5. 1: Selected Cases of Cattle Rustling in Sbon Birni District

S/No.	Name of Village	No. of Cattle Rustled	Year
1	Makuwana	54	2015
2	Lajinge	63	2015
3	Sabon Birni	38	2016
4	Tara	20	2016
5	Mallamawa	32	2017
6	Kalgo	89	2018
7	Gatawa	77	2018
8	Garin Idi	115	2018
9	Kurawa	150	2018
10	Zangon Marke	200	2018

Source: Police Incident Reports and Civil Defense Intelligence Reports

²⁹¹ Hamman Jumba Ahmadu, "Insight into the Dynamics..."

²⁹² "Addressing Armed Banditry in the North Western Region of Nigeria: Exploring the Potentials of a Multi-Dimensional Conflict Management Approach", West Africa Early Warning and Early Response Network, Policy Brief, 2020, p. 4

²⁹³ Babangida Ibrahim, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Former MACBAN Chairman, 38 years, 7/3/2021

It is important to note that most of these villages have been attacked more than twice and most of the villagers have migrated to places they think are safer within and outside the District. Some have moved to either Sokoto or Niger Republic. Some still surmount the courage to visit their respective villages in the day time in preparation for farming and return to Sabon Birni in the evening. Although these attacks take place both during day and night, most of the villagers still prefer to visit their villages in the day time since during the day, they can see people clearly and from afar.²⁹⁴

5.3 Rural Banditry

Banditry which involves the use of force or threat to intimidate a person or group of persons in order to rob or kill and motivated by both economic and political factors has become a nightmare across different parts of West Africa.²⁹⁵ The common features of banditry in Africa include maiming, killing and wanton destruction of properties. The use of both Small and Light Weapons (SALWs) has enabled these criminals in carrying out their heinous activities.²⁹⁶ Although banditry has been in existence in Nigeria for long, it has nonetheless transformed overtime from its rudimentary phase to a complex and complicated pattern of criminality.²⁹⁷ It has become rampart in recent times in Nigeria's history.²⁹⁸ In North-Western Nigeria, it is not a new occurrence; the region has a long

²⁹⁴ Mal. Sa'adu Adamu, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, Farmer, 50 years, 27/4/2021. Sa'adu Adamu is a victim of one the attacks in his village Zakin Ganga. He is apprehensive of going back to his village for fear of a repeat of this attack

²⁹⁵ Gabriel A. R., Fayomi O. E., The Political and Security Implications of Cross-Border Migration between Nigeria and her Francophone Neighbours, *International Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 1 (3), 2012, p. 48. See also the work of Okoli A. C and Okpaleke F. N., 'Banditry and Crises of Public Safety in Nigeria: Issues in Nigeria Security Strategies', *Europeans Science Journal*, Vol. 10 (4), 2014

²⁹⁶ See the works of Addo Prosper, Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options for Effective Responses, Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre Cantonments, Accra Ghana and M. A. Rufa'i, Shadow Actors behind Rural Banditry in Zamfara State, North West Nigeria, *Degel Journal of Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies*, Vol. 15, 2017

²⁹⁷ *The Humanitarian*, (formerly IRIN News) 2018, p. 9

²⁹⁸ Saheed G. Adegoke, Insurgency, Armed Banditry and Corruption in Nigeria: The Bane of Socio-Economic Underdevelopment, *Journal of Advance Academic Studies*, Vol. 2 (1), p. 20

history of banditry. The first recorded case in the region occurred somewhere between Western Hausa land and the Niger border in 1901.²⁹⁹ The region has been enmeshed in recent times by the rapid upsurge of this rural armed banditry along its international borders as well as its forested interior.³⁰⁰

The general contributing factors of banditry in North-Western Nigeria include the proliferation of arms from Libya through Niger Republic, the scarcely governed hinterlands, forestlands and borderlines. These hinterlands are marked by extremely dispersed rural settlements separated by rangelands and farmlands that are susceptible to violent contestations.³⁰¹ These hinterlands are also interspersed by diverse forested landscapes, some dotted by wetlands, rocks and caves. These hinterlands, apart from being separated from each other, are equally far from the centres of governance both at the local and state levels.³⁰² Although of recent, the issue of banditry is no longer carried out at far distance from the people but has come right into the domain of many Nigerians.

Rural armed banditry is not a new phenomenon in Sabon Birni District as it fall within the North-West, is just that of recent it has become an issue of concern to virtually everyone in the District as a lot of people have been affected in one way or the other. The first major recorded case of banditry in the whole of North-Western Nigeria occurred in the District and along Sabon Birni-Tahoua border in 1901. During this raid, 12,000 Camels laden with assorted grains were attacked and their goods stolen. These traders were on their way from

²⁹⁹ *The Humanitarian*, (formerly IRIN News) 2018, p. 9. It is important to note that since the occurrence of this banditry attacks during this period, little have been heard of such in Sabon Birni District not until recently when this issue of banditry resurfaced and still serving as threat to the people of the District.

³⁰⁰ AL Chukwuma Okoli, Anthony Chinedu Ugwu, "Of Marauders and Brigands: Scoping the Threat of Rural Banditry in Nigeria's North Western", *Brazilian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 4 (8), 2019, p. 20

³⁰¹ Gaye S. B., "Conflict between Farmers and Herders against the Backdrop of Asymmetric Threats in Mali and Burkina Faso", Dakar: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2018, p. 44

³⁰² Gaye S. B., "Conflict between Farmers..."

Western Hausa land to Tahoua region in Niger Republic.³⁰³ This incident was reported to have been masterminded by one Arab, a Tuareg from Madawa division of Niger Republic and his gangs which included Amadu Dadai from Sabon Birni, Shehu from Madawa, Ahmadu Tsola from Bamgi, Dantabizo from Tsamaye and Aluwa from Makuwana.³⁰⁴ In an effort to curb the menace posed by Arab and his gangs, on 15th July, 1951 a meeting was held between British colonial officials and their counterparts and local chiefs with the aim of finding lasting solution to the issue at hand. During the meeting, it was agreed that Gidan Arab³⁰⁵ be stormed in order to arrest him (Arab) and members of his gang. In the course of this operation, some bandits were arrested excluding Arab their leader and some of his members and about 130 heads of cattle belonging to Bamgi herders were recovered.³⁰⁶

As a result of the disturbance posed by Arab and his gang members, a joint patrol was organised by both countries in 1953 with 529 mounted horses that went on regular patrol under the leadership of Sergeant Mamman Katsina and assisted by Sarkin Rafin Madawa. This effort led to reduction in armed banditry in both villages.³⁰⁷

Before the year 2010, the issue of banditry in the North-West and many parts of Nigeria used to be overlooked and under-reported and mostly handled by the locals. However, from the year 2010 onwards, a new style of banditry emerged which involved not only rustling of cattle but killing of their owners and scaring people away from their communities.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ NAK/PROF/FO/1901/403-316:18

³⁰⁴ WJHCBS:PCJ/98/SI/51:28

³⁰⁵ Gidan Arab was a village founded by a Tuareg named Arab in 1948 and located at the border edge of Niger and Nigeria in present Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State. The village was known for harbouring Arab's accomplice and other criminal gangs who were involved in both banditry and cattle rustling.

³⁰⁶ WJHCBS:195: 115

³⁰⁷ WJHCBS:SBDNB/1954:10

³⁰⁸ M. Dauda, "The Effects of Boko Haram Crises on Socio-Economic Activities in Yobe State", *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Innovation*, Vol. 1 (4), 2017, p. 9

The reoccurrence of banditry activities in the District at this present time can be seen as an extension of the banditry activities going on in the neighbouring state of Zamfara. The effect of this banditry activity in Sabon Birni is quite noticeable. Apart from the attendant deaths and material destruction, other effects range from the reduction in agricultural activities engaged by farmers due to the fear of the unknown in their farms to the frosty inter-group relations in the District between farming community on one hand and the herding community who are being accused of perpetrating this acts.³⁰⁹ This disruption in farming activities as a result of banditry has affected agricultural productivity which in turn has serious implications for food security. It has stopped many from accessing their farms.³¹⁰ It has also led to dwindling income of local farmers, it has also increase social risks, discourage investment and triggered economic crises for both individuals and communities. This has also led to the shutting down of local markets where such attacks takes place.³¹¹ Apart from herders who reside within the District, others who reside in the neighbouring villages are not finding it easy to relate freely with the people in the town (Sabon Birni) due to the fact that they (herders) are been accused for their involvement in this ongoing banditry activities.³¹²

³⁰⁹ See the work of Kyari Mohammed, Chinyere Alimba, “Social Impact of Rural Banditry”, in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Abuja, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016 for more about the impact of rural armed banditry in Northern Nigeria.

³¹⁰ Aisha Umar, Interviewed at Gatawa, Housewife/Farmer, 50 years, 14/5/2021. She is a victim of one of the attacks in Makwura where some of her household items were taken away by the bandits.

³¹¹ “Addressing Armed Banditry in the North Western Region of Nigeria: Exploring the Potentials of a Multi-Dimensional Conflict Management Approach”, West Africa Early Warning and Early Response Network, Policy Brief, 2020, p. 7

³¹² Farmers such as Alhaji Ibrahim Na Garin Idi, Attahiru Alhassan, and Al-Mustapha Salau among many others have abandoned their farms due to the threat posed by bandits in their various villages. The effects of this will surely be seen in the reduction of their family income and the greatest of all will be food scarcity which will be experience in few months to come. In an interaction with some herders in the District, most of them lamented the extend in which the peaceful relationship which existed between them and the people of the community has become sore due to the activities of some of their brothers who have turn out to be bandits.

Rural armed Banditry has become a nightmare to the people of the District as virtually no day will pass without an attack in one or two villages with attendant deaths, rustling of cattle and stealing of the villagers' food stuff as well as breaking into shops.³¹³ This has made people to abandon their villages and relocate to Sabon Birni town where they feel is safer compared to their villages. Many villages have been deserted and many have been killed as a result of these bandits operations. The names and numbers of villages attacked and date is contain in the table below.³¹⁴

Table 5. 2: Selected Cases of Armed Banditry Activities in Sabon Birni

S/No.	Name of Village Attacked	No. of People Killed/Injured	Year
1	Garin Idi	8	2013
2	Tara	3	2013
3	Mallamawa	5	2013
4	Makuwana	6	2014
5	Tsauna	2	2015
6	Gangara	1	2015
7	Takalmawa	8	2016
8	Atallawa	3	2016
9	Ga'itace	6	2016
10	Namadawa	3	2017
11	Lajinge	6	2017

³¹³ Attahiru Al-Hassan, Interviewed at Gatawa, Farmer from Garin Dadi and a victim of bandit's attack, 65 years, 26/4/2021

³¹⁴ It is important to note that the list in the table contains only the names of recorded cases of banditry attacks. There are many other villages which have been attacked and have not been recorded due to lack of record keeping coupled with the fact that these attacks are still on going.

12	Dan-Kware	5	2018
13	Garin Bature	5	2018
14	Adamawa	3	2018
15	Garki	25	2018
16	Kuzari	23	2018
17	Dan Aduwa	12	2018
18	Katuma	7	2018
19	Masawa	5	2018
20	Tara	14	2018

Source: Police Incident Reports and Civil Defense Intelligence Reports and M. A. Rufa'i, "Armed Groups and Reprisal Attacks in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *Journal of Military History and Peace Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2021

5.4 Kidnapping

Kidnapping involves the forceful taking away of someone to a secluded place without his or her consent. The victim is most at times not released until certain amount of money is paid. It is seen as a robbery of the highest order. It is an organised and systematic robbery which is not as deadly as armed robbery but the gains in it are considered to be more than in armed robbery. The profitability of the act is what has motivated and still motivating others in joining in the act.³¹⁵ Kidnapping is motivated by financial gain or political demand. Thus, opportunists or traditional criminals as well as political dissidents can resort to kidnapping in order to illegally obtain economic gains or have their demands met.³¹⁶

³¹⁵ T. Thomas, P. Nta, "Kidnapped and Persecuted Coman Clem's Wife, a 5 Year Old Girl, Community Pulse, August 10, 2009, p. 6

³¹⁶ Bello Ibrahim, Jamilu Ibrahim Mukhtar, "An Analysis of the Causes and Consequences of Kidnapping in Nigeria", *An International Multidisciplinary Journal Bahir Dar Ethiopia*, Vol. 11 (4), 2017, p. 136

Kidnapping is not a new phenomenon and it is also not peculiar to Nigeria alone as people had been kidnapped and sold into slavery during the 18th and 19th centuries.³¹⁷ While others were abducted from their homes as a result of quarrels over farmlands, others were kidnapped and used for money making rituals.³¹⁸ Statistics places Nigeria as the 3rd highest in kidnapping cases in the world after New Zealand and Pakistan. It has overtaken many countries in the list of countries where kidnapping is prevalent³¹⁹ and it is also the 3rd most terrorised country in the world.³²⁰

The act of kidnapping is a crime punishable by law in Nigeria. Anyone caught in the act is expected to face a penalty of 10 years in prison. States such as Abia, Edo, Akwa Ibom among others have signed into law a bill titled “Prohibition of Hostage Taking and Related Offences Law” which stipulates a death penalty as punishment for those caught in the act of kidnapping.³²¹

About fifteen years ago, kidnapping was more prevalent in the south-south, south-west and the south eastern parts of Nigeria, unfortunately, as time goes on it has spread to virtually every part of northern Nigeria posing a more security threat to the already fragile security situation of the region which has been under the siege of Boko Haram insurgency and other vices.

³¹⁷ Obaro Ikime, *History, the Historian and the Nation: The voice of Nigerian Historian*, Ibadan, HEBN Publishers, 2006, p. 43

³¹⁸ K. Sanyaolu, “Between Robbery and Kidnapping”, *The Guardian*, Sunday, Feb., 15th 2009, p. 69

³¹⁹ E. I. Obarisiagbon, A. A. Aderinto, “Kidnapping and the Challenges Confronting the Administration of Criminal Justice in Selected States of Nigeria”, *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*, Vol. 1 (1), 2018, pp. 41-42

³²⁰ Global Terrorism Index, 17th November, 2020 Report

³²¹ J. D. Inyang, “Kidnapping: Who can Deliver Nigeria? News D’or Magazine, Vol. 1 (9), 2009, p. 14

Kidnapping has affected Nigeria's image and has gone deep into virtually every region and segment of the country.³²² It became prevalent in the Niger-Delta from February 2006 when militants in the region abducted some oil workers in order to draw the attention of the world to the deplorable condition of their region (Niger Delta).³²³ Since then, kidnapping has spread to different parts of the country. Although there is no statistics available on the numbers of people kidnapped and how much ransom has been paid over the years, but a report from SBM Intelligence, a Nigerian leading geopolitical research consultant revealed that nearly 4 billion naira was paid as ransom to kidnappers from 2016 to March 2020.³²⁴ Much money must have been paid to kidnappers from March 2020 till date as there have been spike in the activities of kidnapping especially in the North-Western part of the country which has been taking place in villages, cities and in schools and even in Churches and Mosques.

Sadly enough, the North-West has become epicentre of kidnapping activities in the country with no end in sight as efforts being put in place by the governments both at the federal and state levels is neither yielding fruitful result as the incident of kidnapping keep occurring every day. The rate of kidnapping in the North-Western region of the country has reached the level that both the rural and urban dwellers are living in perpetual fear even in their own homes. Many women and girls have been harassed while others have been kidnapped

³²² A. K. Johnmary, N. E. Ndubuisi, "Curbing Kidnapping in Nigeria: An Exploration of Strategic Peace Building Tools", *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review*, Vol. 2 (1), 2014, p. 111

³²³ E. I. Obarisiagbon, A. A. Aderinto, "Kidnapping and the Challenges Confronting the Administration of Criminal Justice in Selected States of Nigeria", *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*, Vol. 1 (1), 2018, p. 42

³²⁴ The Guardian, 20 May, 2020

putting their families in traumatic state.³²⁵ This has stopped a lot of people from either accessing their farmlands or embarking on business trips within their locality and beyond.³²⁶

The effects of this kidnapping activity can be seen in the reduction in interaction between people at times in the same community as there is no longer trust among the people.³²⁷ Many people have stopped rendering assistance to stranded people on high ways for the fear of the unknown. The act has equally scared investors away from the country. The common causes of kidnapping have been identified to include poverty, unemployment, and decline in moral decadence among others.³²⁸

Although kidnapping is not prevalent in Sabon Birni compared to other parts of the region, few cases have been reported at different times although some of the incidents reported by informants had no accurate date of such occurrences and the ransom paid.

Table 5. 3: Selected Cases of Kidnapping Activities in Sabon Birni District

S/No.	Name of Village	Name (s) of Victim	Amount Paid	Year
1	Tsamaye	Ali Na Alhaji Sani	5 million	2017
2	Tsamaye	Sule Adamu	1.5 million	2017

³²⁵ Lare Sanusi, Interviewed at Gatawa, Housewife/Farmer, 45 years, 14/5/202, See also the work of M. A. Rufa'i, "Armed Groups and Reprisal Attacks in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, Nigeria", *Journal of Military History and Peace Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2021

³²⁶ Al-Mustapha Salau is a farmer from Garin Dadi in Gatawa who has deserted his farm and is taking refuge in Gatawa town due to the activities of bandits and kidnappers. He has started making preparations to hire a piece of land in Gatawa to continue his farming activities. He vowed not to go back to his village (Garin Dadi) until after 20 months or till this government leaves power.

³²⁷ Isah Adamu, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, MACBAN Youth Leader, 39 years, 7/3/2021

³²⁸ John Wajim, "Proliferation of Kidnapping in Nigeria: Causes and Consequences", *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, Vol. IV (iii), 2020, p. 96. In an interaction with some victims of these criminal activities in the District, many concords with John Wajim on the causes of kidnapping in Nigeria which they said the general insecurity of the country has added to the threat posed by insecurity in their villages.

3	Tsamaye	Alhaji Sani	2 million	2017
4	Gatawa	Alhaji Ali Kalgo	1 million	2018
5	Gatawa	Alhaji Ammani Tsamaye	1 million	2018
6	Tsamaye	Alhaji Mamman	3 million	2018
7	Gangara	Alhaji Ibral Kurawa	5 million	2018
8	Kurawa	Alhaji Garba	4 million	2018
9	Dan Karmawa	Alhaji Umaru	3 million	2018

Source: Police Incident Reports and Civil Defense Intelligence Reports

In conclusion, the contemporary security challenges confronting Sabon Birni at this time is no doubt similar to those faced by many villages in North-Western Nigeria. The present security situation in the District is seen as a second phase of security challenges being faced by the villagers. The first being farmer-herder conflict whose memory has not been completely wiped away from the people's minds even though the second phase seems to have overshadowed the first due to its catastrophic results. The danger posed by these bandits, cattle rustlers and kidnappers is being felt by virtually every villager in the District, making lives difficult for the people. Thus, one may conclude that these contemporary security challenges are offshoot of the first phase of security challenge in the District and what is happening in the neighbouring Zamfara State. There is therefore need for concerted efforts in proffering solutions to the menace posed by farmers and herders, bandits, cattle rustlers and kidnappers in the District. The challenge posed by the above gave birth to the next chapter which looks into the mechanisms put in place to curb these menaces.

CHAPTER SIX

Mitigation and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

6.1 Introduction

Conflict resolution is the process of re-establishing normal relations between warring individuals or groups through dialogue and other available methods of resolving conflicts. This chapter therefore discusses conflict resolution mechanisms employed by different stakeholders in a bid to bring an end to farmer-herder conflict in the District. These stakeholders include the traditional rulers, the judicial officials, security agencies such as the Nigerian Police Force and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC), State institutions such as Sabon Birni Local Government, Ministries of Animal Health and Fisheries Development, Careers and Security Matters, both were also visited in order to ascertain efforts made by them in resolving farmer-herder conflicts in the District. All Farmers' Association of Nigeria (AFAN) and *Miyetti* Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) both at the local and state levels were also consulted. The measures and efforts of these stakeholders were analyzed to see their effectiveness in relation to farmer-herder conflicts in the District.

6.2 Traditional Rulers

Farmer-herder relationship used to be cordial in the past, members of farmers and herders of today grew up together in the same areas, enjoyed a peaceful and harmonious social and economic relations and conflicts were rare. Their way of resolving conflicts is informal, time-proven, social system geared towards reconciliation, maintenance and improvement of the social relationship.³²⁹ Their involvement in conflict resolution in Nigeria and Sabon

³²⁹ M. M. Mohammed *et al*, "Influence of Traditional Institutions in Farmer-Herder Conflict Management in Borno State, Nigeria" *Asian Journal of Agricultural Extension, Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 17 (2), 2017, p. 2

Birni in particular play a significant role in the day-to-day activities of the people. Conflict resolution under the traditional rulers is based on the customs and traditions of the people.³³⁰

In the past, traditional rulers played a vital role in mediating land disputes involving farmers and herders. But unfortunately, most of these figures (traditional rulers) have seen their influence dwindled as a result of changes in Nigeria's economy, chief among them is the devolution of political authority from the federal government which has created a new leadership class at the local level.³³¹ These freshly empowered elite draws its support almost exclusively from sedentary communities and there has been little incentive to serve as fair arbitrator. Deprived of the opportunities to peacefully resolve disagreements over access to resources, many pastoralists seem to consider violence as the only viable option.³³²

Traditional and community leaders have been major forces in conflict management and settlement for localised conflicts between farmers and herders in Nigeria and beyond.³³³ Their role in conflict resolution cannot be overemphasised as these resolutions in Nigeria and Sabon Birni in particular play a significant role in the day-to-day activities of the people. Traditional rulers in the District have over the years employed several measures in curbing the increasing animosity and conflict between farmers and herders arising from

³³⁰ M. M. Mohammed *et al*, "Influence of Traditional Institutions..."

³³¹ Michael W. Baca, *Farmer-Herder Clashes Amplify Challenge for Beleaguered Nigerian Security*, Global Observatory, New York, International Peace Institute, 2015, p. 6

³³² Michael W. Baca, *Farmer-Herder Clashes...*

³³³ Chris M.A. Kwaja, 2018 Bukola I. Ademola-Adelehin, "Responses to Conflicts between Farmers and Herders In the Middle Belt of Nigeria: Mapping Past Efforts and Opportunities for Violence Prevention", Search for Common Ground, 2018, P. 9 See also the work of Ogwari Maureen Achieng, "The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Management in Africa: A Case Study of the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) 200-2010", Unpublished M. A. Dissertation, Department of International Conflict Management, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2015

damages done to crops and farmlands and encroachment to grazing reserves, routes watering and resting points. Measures adopted by these traditional rulers as noted below have proved useful as the numbers and occurrences of the conflicts between the two groups have reduced drastically over the years although most of these traditional rulers have been accused of either supporting the farmers or herders at one point or the other due to the inducement offered them by any of these parties the allegations which they denied.

One of the measures taken by traditional rulers in the District is the writing of letters to the Local Government and other security agencies in the District during harvesting period informing them about a meeting between them, the farmers and herders. During this meeting, a convenient date for harvesting farm products will be fixed and all farmers will be informed and will be asked to harvest their crops within this period after which the herders will be allowed to graze in and around these places.³³⁴ Any herder caught grazing on farmlands before the stipulated harvesting period will be asked to pay compensation to the owner of the farm while farmers who failed to harvest their crops within this period provided the crops are ready for harvest will not be compensated if cattle invade their farms.³³⁵

Another measure taken by traditional rulers is the monthly security meeting organised in the District. At this monthly meeting, herders and farmers' leaders are invited where they are told to inform their members on the need to live and work towards peaceful co-

³³⁴ Alhaji Salihu Mainasara, Sarkin Yamman Unguwar Lalle, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 52 years, 18/08/2019

³³⁵ Alhaji Salihu Mainasara, Sarkin Yamman Unguwar Lalle... It is important to note that some farmers deliberately leave their crops in the farm so that if the herders tamper with them they will claim compensation. This is mostly done by those whose crops did not yield very well.

existence. During this meeting, both leaders are told to report any case of misunderstanding or farm damages to the appropriate authority for further action.³³⁶

An example of this is seen in the early 1980s, when the late *Sarkin* Gobir Muhammadu Bawa in an effort to settle the issue of farmer-herder conflict, instructed and ordered that no Bamgi Fulani should be allowed into Sabon Birni District until farmers have finish harvesting their crops. A particular time was given for all farmers to harvest their crops and every farmer was mandated to obey this order. It was after this stated period that the Bamgi Fulani were allowed into Sabon Birni for their normal grazing. This order was followed throughout the 1980s and the '90s thereby leading to a great reduction in the cases of farm damage and disputes between farmers and herders in the District.³³⁷

Another major step taken to ensure no conflict ensues or to reduce the conflict between farmers and herders is the carving and demarcation of grazing reserves and cattle routes during the raining season. Not that this places have no clear boundaries and not known by any of the parties but it is usually carried out to remind and sensitise both farmers and herders about their boundaries. This is normally done as soon as the rain start and is carried out by palace officials in the presence of all security agencies, farmers and herders' representatives and the department of agriculture in the area.³³⁸

During this period too, the palace officials called on the various leaders of herders who have left their resting places and grazing reserves to farming sites to go back to these resting places and grazing reserves to enable farmers start preparing for farming. Any

³³⁶ Abdullahi Mohammed Bawa, Marafan Gobir, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 45 years, 16/08/2019

³³⁷ Mal. Sule Idi, a Farmer and former secretary of MACBAN, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 72 years, 30/11/2019

³³⁸ Mal. Ibrahim Isa, Secretary to *Sarkin* Gobir, Alhaji Isa Mohammed Bawa, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 42 years, 13/8/2020

herder that refuses to comply with this order will be driven out of the farmlands to their resting places and grazing reserves by the palace officials. After harvesting period, the herders are normally allowed to come back to farming sites where some of them have to buy the leftovers in the farms for their cattle. Because of the leftovers in these farms, some herders find it difficult to leave when it is time for them to do so sometimes leading to the interventions of palace officials.³³⁹

At the beginning of every raining season also, all the leaders of the herders from different parts of Sabon Birni are called upon to gather in Sabon Birni by their leader (MACBAN Chairman). During these meetings, they are encouraged to tell their members to graze their cattle at the designated places to avoid encroaching into farmers' crops which in the past constitute a major source of conflict in the area. They are also told not to allow their cattle in the hands of smaller children who may not be able to control them in situation where they derail into farms.³⁴⁰ Herders' representative from every village are also urged to attend the regular meetings organised by the Local Government secretariat in order to be updated on the latest efforts been put in place to ensure a continual peaceful co-existence in the area. They are also told to report any challenge pose by any farmer in their respective

³³⁹ Mal. Ibrahim Isa, Secretary to *Sarkin* Gobir, Alhaji Isa Mohammed Bawa, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 42 years, 13/8/2020

³⁴⁰ Alhaji Ibrahim Hussaini, a Herder, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 70 years, 11/8/2020. Rearing of cattle by little children in Sabon Birni and elsewhere has over the years served as a major factor fueling farmers/herders conflict. Though there has not been record of a major conflict between the two groups arising from rearing of herds by children, in an interview with Mal. Isa Adamu and Alhaji Saidu Fulani (both herders), both gave their reasons for allowing small children to graze in spite of the risk involve. One of such reasons given by them was that they normally warn their children on the need to be careful while grazing to avoid derailing into farmlands. The second reason given by them is the fact most them (the herders) who are of age can no longer go out with their herds for grazing hence the need for the children to take the herds out for grazing. Also in an interview with Mal. Bashir Dangaladima (a herder) from Unguwar Lalle 07/04/2021, he stated that in spite of the fact that the herds under these small children might worth millions of naira, they have confident in these children that they can handled them without doubt considering the fact that it has been what they have been doing right from childhood.

grazing routes, reserves, watering and resting places to the security agencies and officials of the Department of Agriculture who are in charge of these places.³⁴¹

6.3 Security Agencies

One of the security agencies vested with the responsibility of maintaining internal security in the country is the Nigerian Police Force.³⁴² Despite the police mandate as lead agency for internal security, the rate of insecurity arising from farmer/herder conflict, cattle rustling, and ethnic conflict seems to be on the increase. This has led other security agencies such as the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps among others to join in the fight against the rising insecurity in the country.

Over the years, efforts are being made by security agencies in Sabon Birni District towards resolving farmer-herder conflict and other contemporary security challenges in the area although some of these security agencies have been accused of collecting bribes in order to favour a specific group in the conflict, the allegations which most of the security personnel interviewed denied.³⁴³

The Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) is one of the security agencies involved in resolving farmer-herder conflict in the District. Efforts made by the personnel of this agency have proved useful as a good number of cases brought before it were resolved amicably.³⁴⁴ One of the ways in which the NSCDC intervened in the conflict between farmers and herders in the District when any of such cases occur is to call both

³⁴¹ Alhaji Ibrahim Hussaini, a Herder, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 70 years, 11/8/2020

³⁴² Chris M. A. Kwaja, Bukola Ademola-Adelehin, "Seeking Security and Stability: An Analysis of Security Responses to Farmer-Herder Conflict in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria", Search for Common Ground, 1st edition, Washington DC, 2018, p. 12

³⁴³ In an interview with some security personnel in the District, both agreed that previously there were a lot of cases of this nature involving their staff but that the issue has reduced drastically as a result of the measures taken by the agencies involved.

³⁴⁴ Inspector Mohammed Abdullahi, Interviewed at NSCDC Sabon Birni Office, 35 years, 16/08/2019

parties together on a round table discussion where both will air their complains in the presence of the NSCDC officials who will listen to both parties, after which the offender will be ordered to pay compensation to the victim after assessing the level of damage done that is, after a visit to the site of the farm. In a situation where any case brought before it is not resolved, both parties will be referred to the court or village head for further action.³⁴⁵

The Nigerian Police as a security agency is working to redeem its image among the populace amid serious security challenges and institutional limitations leading to a low level of public confidence on the entire Police Force in the country.³⁴⁶ In spite of the perception of Nigerians who see the Nigerian Police Force as corrupt and inefficient in carrying out its job, the Nigerian Police Force has contributed and is still contributing immensely in arresting different security challenges in the country including resolving farmer-herder conflicts in different parts of the country. Thus, over the years they have been very active in managing conflicts in the country. However, the problem with the police is that the force lacks the capacity to guarantee security due to inadequate logistics, particularly mobility, which would enhance their ability to respond to crises effectively and efficiently.³⁴⁷

The Nigerian Police Force at the national level have constituted a task force on cattle rustling and associated crime charged with the responsibility for pre-emptive intelligence gathering, anti-cattle rustling action and prevention of associated crimes. The task force is

³⁴⁵ Inspector Mohammed Abdullahi Interviewed at NSCDC Sabon Birni... According to the NSCDC Crime Register, available record shows that for the past seven (7) years, a total of nine (9) cases of farmers/herders conflict had been brought before it. Out of these numbers, six (6) complainants later withdrew their cases while the remaining three (3) were settled at the NSCDC station.

³⁴⁶ *The Fundamentals of Insurgency and Terrorism in Nigeria*, Crest Publishers, 1st edition, 2018, p. 93

³⁴⁷ Abdu Sada Aliyu, "Causes And Resolution Of Conflict Between Cattle Herders And Crop Farmers in Katsina State", Unpublished MSc Dissertation, Department of Agricultural Extension And Rural Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, 2015, p. 23

also responsible for the investigation and prosecution of people caught rustling and related crimes.³⁴⁸ One of such task force is “Operation Puff Adder II which is seen in different parts of Sokoto State, Sabon Birni inclusive. Some other Police and Military Operations deployed to other states like Zamfara, Katsina, and Kaduna include Diran Mikiya, Sharan Daji, Hadarin Daji, Thunder Strike and Exercise Harbin Kunama III.

One of the measures taken by the Nigerian Police Force especially in Sabon Birni District which is similarly with that of NSCDC is the enlightenment of both farmers and herders on the need and importance of living in peace and resolving their misunderstanding amicably.³⁴⁹ The police also carry out investigations on cases of farm damages or encroachment to ascertain offenders and bring them to book and also charge them to pay compensation.³⁵⁰ At times, both parties are brought to the station where they are asked to use a traditional method that is, one on one discussion in arriving at a conclusion. This method has been effective in resolving such conflicts as both the complainant and accused are brought together to sit as brothers to discuss the issue at hand. At times the complainant is asked by the accused to temper justice with mercy thereby leading to the resolution of the issue at hand. It is only when both parties are not able to resolve the issue at hand at the station that they are referred to the court for further hearing by the judge.³⁵¹ The Police in

³⁴⁸ Samuel Egwu, “The Political Economy of Rural Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria” in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Abuja, Centre for Democracy and Development, 2016, p. 18

³⁴⁹ Mr Ahmed Kabiru Aliyu, Divisional Police Officer (DPO) Sabon Birni Station, Interviewed at his office, 36 years, 15/08/2019

³⁵⁰ Available statistics from the Police Crime Diary shows that from 2012 till 2020, a total number of nine (9) cases of damage done to farmlands and other farmers/herders related issues were handled by the Nigeria Police Force in Sabon Birni District. Of these nine (9) cases, some were resolved at the stations others were taken to the court for further handling by the court officials.

³⁵¹ Mr Ahmed Kabiru Aliyu, Divisional Police Officer (DPO) Sabon Birni Station, Interviewed at his office, 36 years, 15/08/2019. It is important to note that the vigilante group which is a local security outfit assisting in maintaining law and order in the District has played and still playing a significant role in settling disputes between farmers and herders in the District. Their duties include arresting of law violators and handing them

the District also collaborate with the army and Operation Puff Adder II, a mobile Police contingent stationed in the District in repelling any attack in of the villages in the District whenever a report of such kind comes to them. Operation Puff Adder and the army always patrol the town in order to fish out criminal elements perpetrating all sorts of crimes in the District.³⁵²

Nigeria Immigration Service is not also left out in the ongoing effort to endure a peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders. One of the major work of the immigration service is to check the movement of herders and other persons into the country. Immigration officers at the borders in Sabon Birni always screen herders coming into the district to ensure there is no criminal elements among them. They do this by interrogating the herders and fish out those with questionable characters and repared to their respective countries. Those that are allowed to come into the country are asked to sign an undertaking not to damage farmers' crops and anyone caught in this act or found to constitutes a stumbling block to a peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders will be repared to their countries. Whenever herders come into any village, the village head always report their presence to security agencies including the Nigeria Immigration Service who will summon the herders and urge them to conduct their affairs in a manner that will ensure a peaceful coexistence between them and farmers.³⁵³

over to the Police and other security personnel; they also negotiate and make efforts in settling disputes among farmers and herders within the District. They worked at all nook and crannies of the District to ensure a peaceful co-existence among the people as well. See also the work of Anastasia Sandra Akerjiir, "Increasing Farmer-Herder Conflict In Nigeria: An Assessment of the Clashes between the Fulani Herdsmen and Indigenous Farmers in Ukpabi-Nimbo Community Enugu State", M. A International Development Studies, Wageningen University, The Netherlands, 2018

³⁵² CSP Ahmed Abubakar, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, DPO Sabon Division, 45 years, 27/4/2021

³⁵³ Alhaji M. M Kangiwa, Assistant Controller of Immigration (ECOWAS), Interviewed at Nigeria Immigration Service, Sokoto Command, 58 years, 20/05/2021

6.4 State Institutions

The State Governments have a vital role to play in mitigating the menace of farmers and herders conflicts especially at the local levels. The actions and inactions of any government play a vital role in either escalating or de-escalating such conflicts. Sokoto State Government has over the years been involved actively in conflict resolution especially between farmers and herders in the state apart from efforts taken at the local levels to curb these menace. These efforts have proved to yield fruitful results as the occurrence of these conflict have significantly reduced to a bearable minimum over the years. The State through different ministries has put in measures to curb the menace of farmer-herder conflicts and if possible bring a total end to the conflict between farmers and herders across all the Local Governments in the State.

The Ministry of Animal Health and Fisheries Development which is saddled with the responsibility of ensuring the safety of all animals in the State has over the years put in a lot of efforts to reduce the issue of farmers and herders conflicts in the State. One of the measures taken by the ministry is the employment of guards to look after both forest and grazing routes and reserves at the local government levels. These guards are expected to ensure that none of these reserves are tampered with by farmers.³⁵⁴

In a similar manner, the State Government in 1996 enacted a law known as “Prevention and Settlement of Fulani/Farmer Edict”. The law was enacted to look into the causes of farmer-herder conflict and to also look at how the Fulani can have a better place to settle and take

³⁵⁴ Mal. Mustapha Mohammed, Director Range Management, Ministry of Animal Health and Fisheries Development, Sokoto State, Interviewed at his office, 54 years, 16/10/2019. There are guards as noted by the director but the truth of the matter is that these guards are neither enough nor provided with the basic equipment needed to patrol these reserves, routes and watering and resting places. In an interaction with one of them, he complained about his inability to go round these places from time to time because the government failed to provide mobility to ease his movement. He only goes round these places from time to time with his motorcycle and providing the fuel by himself.

care of their cattle. Since the enactment of the law, the rate of farmer-herder conflict has reduced significantly. Through this law, the ministry was empowered to set up an eleven (11) man committee saddled with the responsibility of identifying the causes of the conflict and proffer solutions.³⁵⁵ This committee comprised of staff of the ministry and security personnel and in carrying out their duty set up a sub-committee at the local levels which reports to it upon the occurrence of any conflict between farmers and herders at the local level. Whenever there is a report of any occurrence of conflict in any District or village, the ministry will go into their records and identify the name and location of such place whether it is grazing routes, reserve, watering or resting points. As soon as the spot of the conflict is identified, the committee will immediately swing into action by investigating the cause and people responsible for the conflict in order to bring them to book. The committee from time to time consults and seeks advice from stakeholders in the State on how to prevent and handle clashes between farmers and herders at both the state and Local Government levels although no numbers of cases settled by the Ministry were available.³⁵⁶

Another measure taken by the Ministry is the provisions of infrastructures such as boreholes, dams, schools, health centres among others in these reserves to ensure the herders and their cattle have all these amenities in one location in order to avoid moving around and damaging farmlands.³⁵⁷ Although a visit to some of these places shows that most of these reserves are not guarded and some of the routes have been encroached upon by farmers while others lack most of the infrastructures mentioned above. The case in view

³⁵⁵ Mal. Mustapha Mohammed, Director Range Management...

³⁵⁶ Mal. Mustapha Mohammed, Director Range Management, Ministry of Animal Health and Fisheries Development, Sokoto State, Interviewed at his office, 54 years, 16/10/2019

³⁵⁷ Mal. Mustapha Mohammed, Director Range Management...

here is that of the grazing route from Niger Republic to Sabon Birni through Shinkafi to Kaura Namoda which has been turned into farmland at Gatawa by farmers in the village.³⁵⁸

At the Local Government level, efforts are also made to ensure a peaceful co-existence between farmers and herders in the District. To ensure this is achieved, the Department of Agriculture of Sabon Birni Local Government sent out their field workers to monitor all the reserves and cattle routes in the District. Whenever there is an encroachment into any of the grazing reserve, route or watering and resting places, the level of the encroachment will be determined, in a situation where the encroachment is minimal, the farmer will be warned never to do such a thing again and in a situation where the encroachment is much the offender will be reported to a committee known as “Junior Committee”³⁵⁹ headed by the Sectional Head of Veterinary unit of the department of agriculture who will go to the said area to see things for himself and if truly there is an encroachment as reported, the matter will now be taken to the main committee who will thereafter call the person to book.³⁶⁰

At times, traditional rulers in places where these incidents of encroachments or farmers-herders clashes occur also report to this committee as well. Whenever a report of this nature comes to the committee, representatives of the committee will go to the site where this encroachment or clash took place to see the nature of the situation. After this is done, the offender will be call to the committee where an undertaken will be signed between him and members of the committee as a sign of warning. If the offender is later found to have committed the same offence, he will then be taken to the court with the evidence of

³⁵⁸ Field work on 13/5/2019. Regarding guards in these places, it was discovered that there is only one officer in charge of these reserves, routes, watering and resting places in Tara, Kurawa, Gatawa and Kalgo villages.

³⁵⁹ This committee is made up of sectional head veterinary, the traditional ruler of the area where the incident occurred, the Ardo of the area, Sarkin Noma of the area, and representative of the DPO, SSS and NSCDC

³⁶⁰ Mal. Habibu Yusuf, Veterinary Supervisor, Department of Agriculture, 51 years, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 13/8/2019

undertaken he had signed previously where the case will be taken over by the judge of the court for onward prosecution.³⁶¹

The leadership of the Local Government too is not left out in an effort to ensure the area enjoy peace. The leadership of the Local Government organises security meetings every three months with all security agencies in the area including the leadership of both the farmers and herders. In these meetings, both the farmers and herders are told to go and inform their members on the need to be careful in the course of their daily activities. During these meetings, the Local Government chairman presides over such meetings and allows everyone especially farmers and herders' representatives to ventilate their complaints so that such can be addressed. This gives everyone the opportunity to contribute on how this conflict can be avoided and misunderstanding resolved amicably.³⁶²

6. 5 Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN)

MACBAN is a partisan advocacy group whose aim is to ensure the welfare of all Fulani nomads in Nigeria. The main goal of MACBAN is to remain an umbrella organisation for all Fulani in Nigeria. MACBAN as a union was formed and dominated by the Fulani for the purpose of protecting and promoting the basic needs of its members such as deliberating with the federal or state governments on their right to land usage, education of their members and the resolution of conflicts between herders and farmers. It was established and inaugurated in 1979 by the late President Shehu Aliyu Usman Shagari. The group became full social and cultural organisation after its inauguration in Bauchi in 1987.³⁶³

³⁶¹ Mal. HabibuYusuf, Veterinary Supervisor Department...

³⁶² Alhaji Salihu Hassan, Vice-Chairman, Sabon Birni Local Government, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 57 years, 13/8/2020

³⁶³ M. A. Rufa'i, Shadows Actors behind Banditry in Zamfara State, North-Western Nigeria, Degel Journal of Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, Vol. 15, 2017, p. 11

MACBAN make every effort to operate democratically. It operates a simple but effectual governance structure whereby elections are held every four years by representatives from all local government areas.³⁶⁴

Over the years MACBAN have been accused of fuelling farmer/herder conflict in Nigeria. Some of the herders even accused the MACBAN officials of not only neglecting their members' immediate welfare of protecting their interests but also involved themselves in obtaining favour from the governments (both Federal and State) to enrich themselves.³⁶⁵ Despite the fact that MACBAN officials in their capacity serves as mediators between herders and other groups within the society, at times going to either the courts, police stations and even to farmers association to intercede on behalf of the herders whenever they (herders) break laid down rules within their locality, some of them are still seen as conflict entrepreneurs. Some of them are accused of bribing both security and court officials in favour of their members to the detriment of the victims (mostly farmers). Some of them are also accused of inflating figures of damage done to their members in order to get their own shares at the end of the case allegations which they have denied several times. These issues and many others have made the members of the society to see the conflict between farmers and herders as source of income to the MACBAN officials although these allegations have been repeatedly denied by MACBAN officials interviewed in Sabon Birni.³⁶⁶

In spite of all these allegations leveled against MACBAN officials, they as a group in Sabon Birni are not left out in ensuring a peaceful co-existence among its members and

³⁶⁴ Shola Omotola, Idayat Hassan, "Herders' and Farmers' Associations and Social Conflicts in Northern Nigeria", in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria*, Centre for Democracy and Development, Abuja, 2016, p. 230

³⁶⁵ Mal. Hamisu Abubakar, Herder, Interviewed at Lajinge, 61 years 13/8/2020

³⁶⁶ Some of these MACBAN officials include Mal. Ibrahim Babangida former MACBAN chairman, Umar Goga MACBAN secretary, Mal. Idi Sule former MACBAN secretary, Mal. Isa Adamu Youth leader.

other groups in the District. Over the years, their efforts have yielded fruitful result as both parties have come to know the importance of living together as inter-dependent groups.

MACBAN in its bid to ensure a cordial relationship with farmers have embarked on sensitisation of its members on the need to seek permission from farmers before grazing on their farms.³⁶⁷ MACBAN also call a meeting of its members where they are told to be careful and warn their children who are involve in rearing their cattle to take proper care of the cattle to avoid straying into people's farms without their knowledge.³⁶⁸ This effort put in place by MACBAN has helped greatly in reducing the incidences of farm damages by herders.

In a related effort to ensure the safety of herders and their cattle in Sokoto State, MACBAN in the year 2000 organised a meeting in Sokoto State between Pastoral Resolve (PARE) and Community leaders of Pastoralists. In the meeting, organisers stressed the need for peaceful co-existence between pastoral and farming communities. Enlightenment and education of pastoral communities on how to relate with farming communities were also emphasised. To achieve the above, the pastoral communities were charged to take concrete actions in order to solve their problems and manage their development using legitimate means for the improvement of their livelihood and advancement of their economic activities.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Mal. Sule Idi, Former MACBAN Secretary and Farmer, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 72 years, 16/08/2019

³⁶⁸ Mal. Umar Goga, MACBAN Secretary, Interviewed at Sabon Birni, 40 years, 16/08/2019. The following are the officials of MACBAN in Sabon Birni District; Mal. Usman Jabbi--Chairman, Mal. Mohammed Karemi--Vice Chairman, Mal. Umar Goga--Secretary, Mal. Jimil Modanke--Treasurer, Mal. Isah Adamu--Youth Leader. Other members of the group include Mal. Sule Idi, Mal. Ore Halilu, Alhaji Saidu Fulani, Mal. Ibrahim Babangida, Al-Hussain Hamidu, Alhaji Ibrahim Hussaini and Bashir Dangaladima.

³⁶⁹ This was contain in a speech by Major General Muhammadu Buhari at the meeting between Pastoral Resolve and Active Community Leaders of Pastoralists and Farming Communities held at Aliyu Gagare hall, Sokoto North Local Government Area on Thursday 20th January, 2000, pp. 1-6

6.6 All Farmers' Association of Nigeria (AFAN)

All Farmers' Association of Nigeria (AFAN) is an organisation of all farmers in Nigeria responsible for the welfare of their members. AFAN is also responsible for the protection of the rights of its members wherever they are. The association was formed in 2004 during Chief Obasanjo Olusegun administration with the main aim of unifying farmers' body at both the national and local levels. The association emerged as a national platform after the merger of the two different farmers' organisations. This includes All-Farmers Association of Nigeria (ALFA) and the National Farmers' Association of Nigeria (NAFAN). The organisations' objective also includes the enhancement of the skills of farmers and other related stakeholders to advocate and contribute towards improved national economy.³⁷⁰ Their role in settling disputes between their members and herders in different parts of Nigeria has also helped in curtailing the occurrence of farmers-herders conflicts. In Sabon Birni District, the association has put in place measures to curb the misunderstanding between its members and herders.

One of these measures includes holding meetings or seminars with their members every three months on the need to avoid conflict and to enlighten and educate their children on the need to avoid drinking alcohol and involving themselves on things that will bring conflict. In these meetings, the farmers are urged to harvest their crops at the stipulated time set by AFAN leaders and traditional rulers in their respective places in order to avoid invasion of their farms by cattle. AFAN also organises joint meetings or seminars with farmers and herders associations every three (3) month, in these meetings or seminars, the herders are advised to avoid night grazing and to also advise their members on the need to

³⁷⁰ Shola Omotola, Idayat Hassan, "Herders' and Farmers' Associations and Social Conflicts in Northern Nigeria", in Mohammed J. Kuna, Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural Banditry and Conflicts in Northern Nigeria*, Centre for Democracy and Development, Abuja, 2016, p. 231

settle any misunderstanding between them and farmers amicably.³⁷¹ As a result of these sensitisations and seminars organised by AFAN in the state, the rate at which the Fulani allowed their kids to rear cattle has been reduced, night grazing too has been reduced. This has equally led to reduction in the cases of farmers-herders conflicts in the state.³⁷²

Apart from the efforts of the State officials of AFAN, the farming community in Sabon Birni too is not left out in an effort to ensure a peaceful relationship between them and the herders. The farmers' association officials from time to time call a meeting of farmers to sensitize them on the need to avoid encroaching into cattle routes, grazing reserves and water and resting places of the herders as these are the potential areas of conflict between the two parties.³⁷³ Farmers are always advice to harvest their crops at the right time to avoid herders encroaching into their farms from that of those who have harvested theirs and have sold the residues to herders. Farmers are discouraged from taken laws into their hands whenever there is a misunderstanding between them and the herders. They are to report to the appropriate authority that specialises in settling such disputes. Meetings and sensitisations are also organised by farmers' association in the District in collaboration with the security agencies, herders and the Department of Agriculture of the Local Government to harp on the need for peaceful co-existence as the success of herders and farmers depend on peace.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ Dr. Murtala Gargado, AFAN Chairman Sokoto State branch, Interviewed at Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau Sokoto, 60 years, 12/02/2020

³⁷² Dr. Murtala Gargado, AFAN Chairman Sokoto State...

³⁷³ Mal. Ibrahim Idris, *Sarkin Noma*, Interviewed at Sabon Birni town, 38 years, 29/11/2019

³⁷⁴ Mal. Ibrahim Idris, *Sarkin Noma*, Interviewed at Sabon...

6.7 The Judiciary

The judiciary is one of the important arms of government in the District which has over the years contributed in settling disputes between both farmers and herders in the District. The court is known to have been responsible for the settlement of cases and conviction of violators brought before it.

Initially there were two ways in which the Lower Sharia Court in Sabon Birni receives complaints or cases from either the farmers or herders. The first way is First Information Report (FIR) under section 139 (b) of Sharia Criminal Procedure Code Sokoto State. The second way of receiving complaints from any of the party is Direct Reporting (DR) under section 139 (e) of Sharia Criminal Procedure Code Law 2000 Sokoto State. In these ways, the court received and handles complaints brought before it and takes appropriate measures. The court also detains offenders pending investigation. After investigation and assessment of damage done to either the farmer or herder, the offender is then asked to compensate the victim. In a case where damages done to the victim is huge, the offender after paying compensation will be fine. This is to serve as a warning to others.³⁷⁵ The court also mediates between farmers and herders to ensure a peaceful resolution of any case brought before it.

A case in view here which took place in 2003 was that of a herder named Dikko Getso whose cattle damaged the farm of Malam Aliyu Tara, the Village Head of Kwatsal. The damaged crops included millet, beans and other crops in the farm. They made away with some of the farm produce while the remaining were eaten up by the cattle. When the matter

³⁷⁵ Mal. Ibrahim Umar Bodinga, a former *Alkali* (Judge) of Sabon Birni Lower Sharia Court, Interviewed at Upper Sharia Court Wurno, 51 years, 27/8/2020. Mal. Ibrahim Umar Bodinga is now the Alkali of Upper Sharia Court Wurno in Wurno Local Government where this interview took place. He was the Alkali of Sabon Birni from 5/6/2001 to 19/6/2005

was reported at the court, the officials of the court went straight to the farm, assessed the damage done and charged the herder with farm damage and asked him to pay fine according to the destruction done to the crops.³⁷⁶

For now, there are two measures taken by the court in settling cases of disputes or damage done to crops brought before it by either the farmers or herders or from security agencies, traditional rulers and Department of Agriculture of the Local Government. The first measure taken by the court is reconciliation. In this case, both parties are brought together where they are advised on the need to settle their issues amicably. If the parties agree and settle the contending issues, both will be allowed to go their separate ways. If the issue is not resolved in the first step that is, reconciliation, the second measure is then employed.³⁷⁷

The second measure taken by the court arises when reconciliation between the two parties fails. When the parties involve are not able to settle their misunderstanding through reconciliation, the judge will now call both parties to the court room where the contending issue (s) will be heard. In the process of hearing the case, if it is the herder that is at fault, the court officials will go to the site where the damage took place in order to ascertain the level of damage done. After ascertaining the level of damage done, the herder will then be asked to pay compensation to the farmer, if there is no damage done as claimed by the

³⁷⁶ Mal. Ibrahim Umar Bodinga, a former *Alkali* (Judge) of Sabon Birni Lower Sharia Court, Interviewed at Upper Sharia Court Wurno, 51 years, 27/8/2020. When asked on the allegation of evidences which abound in colonial materials about Alkalies collecting bribes to favour a particular party whenever a case was brought before the court, the Alkali stated that he has never collected bribe from any party during the time he served in Sabon Birni court. He further stated that throughout the time he was in Sabon Birni court no one has written a petition against him regarding collecting bribe or favouring a particular party. He noted that while in Sabon Birni, he handled and treated all parties equally as expected of him as an *Alkali*. Other persons charged to court for various offences relating to encroachment into grazing reserves, routes and damage done to crops include Garba Saidu of Bature town, Hassan Adamu, Umar Alhaji Mai Dabo Usman, Shagari Jabbi, and Yahaya Abdu. While some of them were discharged after their cases were heard others were fined.

³⁷⁷ Mal. Mohammed Lawal, *Alkali*, Lower Sharia Court Sabon Birni, Interviewed at his office, 53 Years, 27/11/2019

farmer, the issue will be dismissed. In this case, both parties will be warned and asked to be careful in the process of their activities to avoid the re-occurrence of such act.³⁷⁸

Conflict resolution is the much needed thing to be done during and after any conflict. The way these resolutions are been carried out determine if such conflict will occur in the nearest future or not. In Sabon Birni District as noted above, a lot of efforts have been made to ensure a peaceful co-existence. All hands have been on deck to ensure this is achieved. The works of traditional rulers, association leaders (AFAN and MACBAN), State and Local Government actors, security agencies and the judiciary over the years have proved effective in reducing the incessant physical confrontation between farmers and herders in the District. Their presence and friendliness have provided a platform for any of the parties to go directly to them to register their grievances instead of taken the law in their hands as previously done. The reduction in this conflict, no doubt have shown that the efficacy of the mechanisms put in place by these leaders and groups is yielding the desired result.

³⁷⁸ Mal. Mohammed Lawal...On the allegation of bribing court officials in order to pass judgment that will favour one group, the judge stated that any group that offers such is the one at fault and as such his money will not be collected and the case will be treated fairly.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary and Conclusion

The study is a discourse on a history of farmer-herder conflicts in Sabon Birni District of Sokoto State, 1903-2018. Damages done to crops, encroachment into grazing reserves, routes, watering and resting places were some of the factors that had fuelled the conflict over time. The study provides a better understanding of the role played by farmers, herders, MACBAN and other interest groups in the conflict. The study discovered that the cross-border movement of herders to Sabon Birni District is a major factor which has led to the hostile relationship between both the farmers and herders.

The above challenge coupled with the porous nature of the border between Nigeria and Niger Republic has worsened the situation at hand. Because the people (Nigerians and Nigeriens) living along these borders (Sabon Birni and Tahoua) sees themselves as one, they are careless about restricting movement across the two towns. This situation has not augured well for both countries as it has led to the movement of small and light weapons across the borders posing a more security threat to especially Sabon Birni District.

Both farmers and herders in the District have over time accused each other of causing the rift between them. While the farmers blamed the herders for damaging their crops, the herders on the other hand accused the farmers of blocking their grazing reserves, routes, watering and resting places. This situation has created a situation whereby both see each other as enemy. This has made especially the herders in the District to live in fear of not just the farmers but of security personnel and even ordinary people in the District.

The study discovered that the inability of the federal and state governments to adequately manned these borders has led to the free influx of herders into the District without control

contributing to the increase in the cases of farmers-herders conflicts in the District. This has further created a fearful situation in the District whereby farmers hardly go to their farms without fear of been attacked by herders. The herders on the other hand are also apprehensive of the farmers who have been accusing them of damaging their crops during the dry and rainy seasons.

Another issue observed by the study is the lack of regular visitation to these grazing reserves, routes, watering and resting places by the government officials to ascertain their conditions. Most of these places are left unsupervised giving room for some farmers to encroach into them without query from the officials in charge of them. There is need for regular visitation to these places to ascertain their conditions from time to time and to check the encroachment by farmers. Another challenge been faced by these reserves and resting places is the lack of social amenities such as water, hospitals and schools. These are some of the things that attract herders to these places but as observed during field work, most of these social amenities are lacking in these places thereby forcing herders to move around looking for water for their cattle and other basic social amenities for themselves. It is these movements that sometimes lead to destruction of farmers crops.

Lastly, the research has discovered that other areas for potential research exist in the District. These include the proliferation of small and light weapons and farmers-herders relationship. Inadequate social amenities such as the absence of electricity, lack of good road networks, and unstable communication network among others are issues that need urgent attention. These areas need to be explored by future researchers so that these issues can be given more attention by government, policy makers and other interested bodies who may wish to contribute to the development of the District.

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S/No.	Name of Informant	Place of Interview	Occupation	Age	Date
1	Mal. Abbas Bashir	Gatawa	Farmer	57	08/05/2019
2	Mal. Sule Idi	Sabon Birni	Former MACBAN Sec.	72	10/05/2019
3	Mal. Ibrahim Idris	Sabon Birni	Sarkin Noma	45	11/05/2019
4	Mal. Baro Yankami	Sabon Birni	Farmer	72	11/05/2019
5	Mal. Umar Goga	Sabon Birni	MACBAN Sec.	40	11/05/2019
7	Mal. Musa Mohammed	Sabon Birni	Farmer/Head of Vigilante, Sabon Birni	63	13/05/2019
8	Alhaji Abubakar Bango	Sabon Birni	Farmer	72	21/07/2019
9	Alhaji Altine Ahmadu	Sabon Birni	Sarkin Fulanin Gatawa	53	13/08/2019
10	Mal. Habibu Yusuf	Sabon Birni	Veterinary Supervisor	51	13/08/2019
11	Alhaji Usman Dan Galadima	Gatawa	Herder	60	13/08/2019
12	Mr. Hassan Ogundare	Sabon Birni	Mechanic	60	13/08/2019
13	Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar	Sabon Birni	Bori Member	56	13/08/2019
14	Hajiya Laraba Adamu	Sabon Birni	Bori Member	51	13/08/2019
15	Mal. Yakubu Yar'bulutu	Yar'bulutu	Farmer	45	15/08/2019
16	Mr. Ahmed Kabiru	Sabon Birni	DPO Sabon Birni	36	15/08/2019
17	Mal. Abdullahi Mohammed Bawa	Sabon Birni	Marafan Gobir	45	16/08/2019

18	Inspector Mohammed Abdullahi	Sabon Birni	NSCDC	35	16/08/2019
19	Alhaji Salihu Mainasara Sarkin Yamman Unguwar Lalle	Sabon Birni	Traditional Ruler	52	18/08/2019
20	Mal. Mustapha Mohammed	Sokoto	Civil Servant	54	16/10/2019
21	Mal. Lawali Umar	Sabon Birni	Herder	42	26/11/2019
22	Mal. Mohammed Lawal	Sabon Birni	Civil Servant	53	27/11/2019
23	Alhaji Ahmadu Yusuf	Gatawa	Herder	55	29/11/2019
24	Dr. Murtala Gargado	Sokoto	AFAN Chairman	60	12/02/2020
25	Hajiya Laraba Adamu	Sabon Birni	Bori Member	51	12/02/2020
26	Hajiya Hauwa Abubakar	Sabon Birni	Bori Member	57	12/02/2020
27	Alhaji Muhammadu Adamu	Sabon Birni	Farmer	47	09/08/2020
28	Mal. Sanusi Magaji	Gatawa	Civil Servant	50	11/08/2020
29	Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu	Kalgo	Village Head	65	11/08/2020
30	Alhaji Ibrahim Hussaini	Sabon Birni	Herder	70	11/08/2020
31	Mal. Ibrahim Isa	Sabon Birni	Secretary to Sarkin Gobir	42	13/08/2020
32	Alhaji Salihu Hassan	Sabon Birni	Vice Chairman Sabon Birni	57	13/08/2020
33	Mal. Hamisu Abubakar	Lajinge	Herder	61	13/08/2020

34	Al-Hussein Hamidu	Alkalawa	Herder	43	14/08/2020
35	Mal. Sabiu Yusuf	Sabon Birni	Security officer	75	14/08/2020
36	Mal. Ibrahim Umar Bodinga	Wurno	Civil Servant	51	27/08/2020
37	Mal. Yahaya Mohammed	Yar'bulutu	Farmer	55	06/10/2020
38	Mal. Saidu Abubakar	Sabon Birni	Herder	56	07/10/2020
39	Mal. Adere Maigari	Sabon Birni	Farmer	90	07/10/2020
40	Mal. Bande Dangaladima	Bamgi	Herder	64	07/10/2020
41	Alhaji Abubakar Mamman	Bachaka	Farmer	104	09/10/2020
42	Mal. Isa Abubakar	Bachaka	Farmer	85	09/10/2020
43	Mal. Musa Maigari	Yar'bulutu	Farmer/Village Head of Yar'bulutu	70	09/10/2020
44	Mal. Yusuf Musa	Magajin Dawaki	Farmer	82	09/10/2020
45	Mal. Abdullahi Isa	Bachaka	Farmer/Village Head of Bachaka	47	09/10/2020
46	Mal. Musa Magaji	Bamgi	Herder	59	09/10/2020
47	Alhaji Mainasara Ibrahim	Bamgi	Herder	67	09/10/2020
48	Alhaji Sani Abdul	Bamgi	Sarkin Hausawa Bamgi	60	09/10/2020

49	Mal. Aliyu Galadima	Sabon Birni	Civil Servant	45	10/09/2020
50	Alhaji Saidu Fulani	Sabon Birni	Herder	63	05/03/2021
51	Mal. Mohammed Lehitda	Sabon Birni	Farmer	80	05/03/2021
52	Mal. Haruna Dan- Abdodo	Sabon Birni	Farmer	81	05/03/2021
53	Mal. Ibrahim Garba	Sabon Birni	Farmer	75	05/03/2021
54	Mal. Mohammed Sani	Sabon Birni	Herder	40	06/03/2021
55	Fatima Usman	Sabon Birni	Milk and Gruel Seller	49	06/03/2021
56	Mal. Ibrahim Babangida	Sabon Birni	Former MACBAN Chairman	38	07/03/2021
57	Mal. Isa Adamu	Sabon Birni	MACBAN Youth Leader	39	07/03/2021
58	Mal. Attahiru Alhassan	Gatawa	Farmer	42	26/04/2021
59	Mal. Al-Mustapha Salau	Gatawa	Farmer	65	26/04/2021
60	Mal. Ibrahim Alhaji	Sabon Birni	Farmer	60	27/04/2021
61	Mal. Sa'adu Adamu	Sabon Birni	Farmer	50	27/04/2021
62	Aisha Umar	Gatawa	Housewife/Farmer	50	14/05/2021
63	Lare Sanusi	Gatawa	Housewife/Farmer	45	14/05/2021
64	Aisha Buba	Sabon Birni	Milk and Gruel Seller	47	14/05/2021
65	Zainab Hassan	Sabon Birni	Housewife/Farmer	41	14/05/2021
66	Shamsiya Abu	Kurawa	Housewife/Farmer	52	14/05/2021
67	Raja'a Ibrahim	Gatawa	Housewife/Farmer	37	14/05/2021

68	Mr. Musa M. Kangiwa	Sokoto	Civil Servant	58	20/05/2021
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Appendices

Appendix A

STATE ESTABLISHED STOCK ROUTES AND GRAZING CORRIDORS

1. Illela - Sokoto - Tambuwal - Jega (International)
2. Sabon Birni - Isa - Shinkafi - K/Namoda
3. Bachaka - Tangaza - Gande - Silame - Bodinga
4. Ruwa Wuri - Tangaza - Sokoto
5. Gada - Mammande - Salame - Kware - Sokoto

Appendix B

SABON BIRNI LOCAL GOVERNMENT

GRAZING RESERVES

S/No.	Name of Grazing Reserves	Location	District	Area	Type of Demarcation
1.	Fakunkunbula	Makuwana	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
2.	Zangon Kaka	Zangon Kaka	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
3.	Balbelu	Makuwana	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
4.	Dantulle	Labau Area	S/Birni		Demarcated
5.	Mazau	Mazau	U/Lalle		Demarcated
6.	Zangon Amu	Makuwana	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
7.	Chinabarka	Cinabarka	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
8.	Dan Dakau	Kurawa	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
9.	Kwatsal	Kwatsal	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
10.	D/Karke D/Dutse	Dogon Marke	Gatawa		Demarcated
11.	Kalage	Kalage	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
12.	Tabkin Banna Yar Malga	Bachaka	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
13.	Zangon Zodi	Tara	S/Birni		Demarcated
14.	Galkaru	Dan Maliki	S/Birni		Demarcated
15.	Galalabe	Dogon Marke	Gatawa		Demarcated
16.	Mujabara	Gangara	Gatawa		Demarcated
17.	Asha Banza	Asha Banza	Gatawa		Demarcated
18.	Koda Kwame	Baran Gwani	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
19.	Dajin Dan Giwa	Madatta	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
20.	Zabairawa	Burkusuma	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
21.	Janbaye	Gangara	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
22.	Mashekarin D. Yanka	Gangara	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
23.	Fajimo	Fajimo	Gatawa		Un Demarcated
24.	Zango Alh. Ibrahim	Zagon Alh. Ibrahim	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
25.	Kambazawa	Kambazawa	Gatawa		Demarcated
26.	Garin Tumkiya	Garin Kumkiya	Gatawa		Demarcated
27.	Gidan Ayya	Gidan Ayya	Gatawa		Demarcated
28.	Cinabarka/Dam Gari	Zabga	S/Birni		Demarcated
29.	Cinabarka East	Cinabarka East	S/Birni		Demarcated
30.	Rukkumi	Rukkumi	S/Birni		Demarcated
31.	Unguwar Lalle	U/Lalle	S/Birni		Un Demarcated
32.	Bachaka	Bachaka	S/Birni		Un Demarcated

33.	Cinabarka West	Cinabarka	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
34.	Dan Tabki	Damba	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
35.	Yarbulutu	Yarbulutu	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
36.	Kyara	Kyara	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
37.	Balekum	Tsamaye	U/Lalle	Un Demarcated
38.	Gidan Macu	Gidan Macu	U/Lalle	Un Demarcated
39.	Kyalkyale	Kyalkyale	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
40.	Dan Hurumi	Kalage	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
41.	Tamkin Raddad	Raddad	S/Birni	Un Demarcated
42.	Mabkinji	Tara	Gatawa	Demarcated
43.	Gidan Makera	Gidan Makera	U/Lalle	Un Demarcated
44.	Katurawa	Tsabrawa	Gatawa	Un Demarcated

Appendix C

Harung Magaji Leggs
 Malamin Taimakon Fulan
 Isa & Sabon Birni
 30th Sept. 1965

Wakilin Fulani's Office
 A F Section Vet. Dept
 Sokoto

AIKIN TAIMAKON FILLANI

Bayan dubun gaisuwu da girmamawu, ga
 Surayya Mutumanda na Kano da Laifi na rono
 ga Durumi, Burtulleh, Masheys, Makiyays da
 Mashchaki Kamar haka:

BURIALI DAGA SABON BIRNI — MAKIYAYA-SHALLA

DATE	No	NAME	VILLAGE	L	S	d ^{NO} Shari's	Rasit. No
16.7.65	1	Mamman re Buhari	S. Birni	3	=	=	83/65 B0 32804
"	2	Alh. Usman	"	3	=	=	B0 32897
"	3	Bakura Dan Koto	"	3	=	=	B0 32898
"	4	Dan jigi	"	3	=	=	B0 32899
"	5	M. Hamidu	"	3	=	=	B0 32890
"	6	M. Bawa	"	3	=	=	B0 32891
"	7	Sulere Dango	"	3	=	=	B0 32890
21/7/65	8	Maimuna Baidar	"	2	=	=	84/65 No 32885
"	9	Dan Ino	"	3	=	=	84/65 No 32884
18.7.65	10	Umaru Maigaiye	"	3	=	=	85/65 No 32893
"	11	Dan Maki	"	3	=	=	No 32894
"	12	Yusufu re Wazama	"	3	=	=	No 32896
18/7/65	13	Dan Kekere	"	3	=	=	No 32895
"	14	M. Yusufu	Garku	3	=	=	85/65 B0 32910
"	15	Alh. Moli Nakoni	"	3	=	=	B0 32911
"	16	Musa Garande	"	3	=	=	B0 32912
"	17	M. Mohammed	"	3	=	=	B0 32913

178

MAKIMAYAR SABON BIRNI DA GARKI

DATE	NO	NAME	VILLAGE	L	S	d	NO Short	RES
21.7.65	1	Lusufu abasi	Haggidawa	3	.	.	74/65	B03287
"	2	Rakun	Sabin Birni	3	.	.	77/65	B03270
"	3	No Ganguwa	Haggidawa	2	.	.	"	B03271
"	4	Hasan	S/Birni	3	.	.	"	B03270
"	5	Sa'adu	"	3	.	.	"	B03270
"	6	Dan Kiro	"	3	.	.	"	B03289
"	7	Usman Gurami	"	3	.	.	"	B03274

BURIALIN GARKI — LAN FARUNA

19.8.65	1	Dan Kalle Bichgo	Faru	3	.	.	103/65	No 32941
"	2	Salan M. Abdu	"	3	.	.	"	No 32941
"	3	Garba Dan Fulka	Garin Mijaji	3	.	.	"	No 32942
"	4	M. Lusufu	Cineballe	2	.	.	103/65	B086209
"	5	Usman	"	2	.	.	"	B086210
"	6	San	"	2	.	.	"	B086211

BURIALIN FAIAKE DAGA SABON BIRNI — IARA

21.7.65	1	Baraye Hashim	Kurawa	5	.	.	75/65	B032914
"	2	Garba	"	5	.	.	"	B032915
"	3	Adere	"	5	.	.	"	B032916
"	4	Alhaji Zano	"	5	.	.	"	B032917
"	5	Dan Zai	"	5	.	.	"	B032918
"	6	M. Dan Dole	"	5	.	.	"	B032919
"	7	Salihu	"	5	.	.	"	B032920
"	8	Salan Malumfash	"	5	.	.	"	B032921
"	9	Waki L'ne Kurego	"	5	.	.	"	B032922

179

No	NAME	VILLAGE	S	d	No. Shari'at	Resit. No
10	Shibomatar Sarahi	Kurawa	5	-	94/65	B0329 ²² ~~20~~
11	Bakita Salihu	"	5	-	"	B032933
12	Umerum Ladan	"	5	-	"	B032923
13	Kokharin Bakura	"	5	-	"	B032924
14	Hamman Megini	"	5	-	98/65	B032945
15	Maidebon Alinge	"	5	-	"	B032946

MASHEKARIN GALKARU KALGO

1	Bawana Malleri	Bahille G	5	-	102/65	B032936
2	Lalando	"	4	-	"	B032937
3	Oroji	"	5	-	"	B032938
4	Macings	"	5	-	"	B032935

HURUMIN DANTASAKKU

1	Dunke	G. Takub	3	-	105/65	No 86232
2	Dan Ante	"	3	-	114/65	No 86233

Managa Magsaji Legge
 Meleni, Kama Kwa Fulani
 Isa & Seba Birni
 30-5-65

Sarki Dawaki mah wakil: S/B

Appendix D

SABON-BIRNI LOCAL GOVERNMENT CATTLE STOCK ROUTES					
S/N	LOCAL GOVERNMENT SABON-BIRNI	NAME OF CATTLE ROUTE (BURTALI)	LOCATION DESCRIPTION	DISTANCE	REMARK
1.	DISTRICT	Gulbi	Gulbi	1 km	Aguwa
2	II	Kalage	Kalage	18 km	II
3	II	Bachaka	Bachaka	10 km	II
4	II	G. Namaimai	G. Namaimai	1 km	II
5	II	Takatsaba	Takatsaba	2 km	II
6	II	G. Abara	G. Abara	3 km	II
7	II	Maiwa Alkalawa	Maiwa Alkalawa	2 km	II
8	II	Dan Gari	Dan Gari	4 km	II
10	II	Garin Bage Tsauna	Garin Bage Tsauna	4 km	II
11	II	Cinabarka	Cinabarka	70 km	II
12	II	S/Birni Cinabarka	S/Birni Cinabarka	12 km	II
13	II	Magajin Dawaki	Magajin Dawaki	1 km	II
14	II	Kurawa	Kurawa	2 km	II
15	II	D/Aduwa	D/Aduwa	7 km	II
16	II	Garki	Garki	4 km	II
17	II	Tara Dan Dakau	Tara Dan Dakau	30 km	II
18	II	Kwatsalle Ketama	Kwatsalle Ketama	25 km	II
19	II	Kuzari Dabigi	Kuzari Dabigi	13 km	II
20	II	Hankali Da kaya	Hankali Da kaya	18 km	II
21	II	Borawar Malli	Borawar Malli	17 km	II
22	II	Tara	Tara	3 km	II
23	II	Tara Kwaran Gulbi	Tara Kwaran Gulbi	1 km	II
24	II	Tara Fadama	Tara Fadama	2 km	II
25	II	Bukai	Bukai	14 km	II
26	II	Dan Gaisha	Dan Gaisha	20 km	II
27	II	Banbadawa	Banbadawa	2 km	II

28	II	G/Zago	G/Zago	3 km	II
29	II	Gatawa	Gatawa	5 km	II
30	II	Katsalle Tabki	Katsalle Tabki	25 km	II
31	II	Sangerawa	Sangerawa	70 km	II
32	II	Dadin Kowa	Dadin Kowa	30 km	II
33	II	G/Mallamai	G/Mallamai	14 km	II
34	II	Mallamawa	Mallamawa	15 km	II
35	II	Burtalin Arab	Burtalin Arab	14 km	II
36	II	G/ Damo	G/ Damo	40 km	II
37	II	Magira Tudu	Magira Tudu	15 km	II
38	II	Katsalle Mashaya	Katsalle Mashaya	3 km	II
39	II	Takumawashe	Takumawashe	25 km	II
40	II	Mara	Mara	7 km	II
41	II	Lajinge	Lajinge	3 km	II
42	II	Zango	Zango	2 km	II
43	II	Mallamai	Mallamai	2 km	II
44	II	G/Ardo mashaya	G/Ardo mashaya	20 km	II
45	II	Mallamai Tabki	Mallamai Tabki	20 km	II
46	II	Kinba Tabki	Kinba Tabki	4 km	II
47	II	Marina Gulbi	Marina Gulbi	10 km	II
48	II	G/ Sarkin Adar	G/ Sarkin Adar	2 km	II
49	II	Turtsawa	Turtsawa	2 km	II
50	II	Sohin Mashaya	Sohin Mashaya	2 km	II
51	II	U/Lalle	U/Lalle	3 km	II
52	II	Sangerawa	Sangerawa	1 km	II
53	II	Buddurawa	Buddurawa	5km	II
54	II	Gado Tabki	Gado Tabki	10 km	II
55	II	Kimba Gulbi	Kimba Gulbi	3 km	II
56	II	Gani Gani	Gani Gani	10 km	II

57	II	Sabon Sara	Sabon Sara	5 km	II
58	II	Magarau Mashaya	Magarau Mashaya	20 km	II
59	II	Fakon Allah	Fakon Allah	30 km	II
60	II	Gayya Da Kari	Gayya Da Kari	15 km	II
61	II	Jabal Mashaya	Jabal Mashaya	20 km	II
62	II	Zangon Gulbi	Zangon Gulbi	5 km	II
63	II	Galkaru	Galkaru	7 km	II
64	II	Katurawa	Katurawa	7 km	II
65	II	Dukkuma	Dukkuma	7km	II
66	II	Dukkuma G. Alhazzai	Dukkuma G. Alhazzai	1 km	II
67	II	Garin Ajiya	Garin Ajiya	3 km	II
68	II	Dan Makili	Dan Makili	10 km	II
69	II	Zango	Zango	30 km	II
70	II	Adamawa	Adamawa	3 km	II
71	II	Dan Tasakko	Dan Tasakko	2 km	II
72	II	Makwaruwa	Makwaruwa	1 km	II
73	II	Gangara	Gangara	2 km	II
74	II	Katsalle	Katsalle	5 km	II
75	II	Mashekari	Mashekari	10 km	II
76	II	Makuwana	Makuwana	3 km	II
77	II	Zangon Mashaya	Zangon Mashaya	7 km	II
78	II	Iyalede	Iyalede	15 km	II
79	II	Fakon Kumbula	Fakon Kumbula	3 km	II
80	II	Balbelu	Balbelu	7 km	II
81	II	Yarbulutu	Yarbulutu	5 km	II
82	II	Yarbulutu Takalmawa	Yarbulutu Takalmawa	7 km	II
83	II	Birnin Magarya	Birnin Magarya	3 km	II
84	II	Dan Ayagi	Dan Ayagi	50 km	II
85	II	Zango Kiruwa	Zango Kiruwa	20 km	II

86	II	Janbale	Janbale	17 km	II
87	II	Faruna	Faruna	3 km	II
88	II	Mai Gadi	Mai Gadi	7 km	II
89	II	Kuru-Kuru	Kuru-Kuru	20 km	II
90	II	Zongon Tabki	Zongon Tabki	10 km	II
91	II	Fakon Allah	Fakon Allah	3 km	II
92	II	Garin Moyi Faranshi	Garin Moyi Faranshi	75 km	II
93	II	Zangon Bukar	Zangon Bukar	8 km	II
94	II	Kwandin Tabki	Kwandin Tabki	15 km	II
95	II	Gidan Miko Labau	Gidan Miko Labau	80 km	II
96	II	Gidan Shekarau	Gidan Shekarau	20 km	II
97	II	Tsamaye Tabki	Tsamaye Tabki	10 km	II
98	II	Rukkumi	Rukkumi	2 km	II
99	II	Kyara	Kyara	1 km	II

Appendix E

SABON-BIRNI LOCAL GOVERNMENT GRAZING WATERING PLACE					
SN	L/GOVT. S/BIRNI	NAME OF WATERING PLACE	LOCATION	EXISTING AMINITY	REMARKS
1.	S/Birmi	Cinabarka	Cinabarka	River	Un Demarcated
2	II	Alkalawa	Alkalawa	II	II
3	II	Kyelkyale	Kyelkyale	II	II
4	II	Cinabaraka	Cinabaraka	II	II
5	II	Dan Kware	Dan Kware	L/Well	II
6	II	Gidan Buta	Gidan Buta	River	II
7	II	Dogon Tabki	Dogon Tabki	Pond	II
8	II	Dan Dakau	Dan Dakau	L/Well	II
9	II	Masawa	Masawa	II	II
10	II	Garki	Garki	II	II
11	II	Kwatsal	Kwatsal	II	II
12	II	Dagwaro	Dagwaro	II	II
13	II	Kwaran Gamba	Kwaran Gamba	II	II
14	II	Dabigi	Dabigi	II	II
15	II	Gorawa	Gorawa	II	II
16	II	Rambadawa	Rambadawa	River	II
17	II	Bukkawai	Bukkawai	L/Well	II
18	II	G / Muhammed	G / Muhammed	II	II
19	II	Dan Kura	Dan Kura	II	II
20	II	Katsalle	Katsalle	II	II
21	II	Sangerawa	Sangerawa	II	II
22	II	Dadin Kowa	Dadin Kowa	II	II
23	II	Mallamawa	Mallamawa	II	II
24	II	Zangon Mallan	Zangon Mailan	River	II
25	II	Ardo Bakolu	Ardo Bakolu	II	II

26	II	Garin Dawo	Garin Dawo	II	II
27	II	Galkaru	Galkaru	II	II
28	II	Katurawa	Katurawa	II	II
29	II	Dukkuma	Dukkuma	II	II
30	II	Gidan Ajiya	Gidan Ajiya	II	II
31	II	Dan Tabki	Dan Tabki	II	II
32	II	S/Fulani	S/Fulani	II	II
33	II	Katsallen Kade	Katsallen Kade	L/Well	II
34	II	Dantasakko	Dantasakko	River	II
35	II	Tudun Gangara	Tudun Gangara	L/Well	II
36	II	Zango	Zango	River	II
37	II	Yalede Niger	Yalede Niger	II	II
38	II	Fokon Kumbula	Fokon Kumbula	L/Well	II
39	II	Ballalu	Ballalu	River	II
40	II	Birnin Gayya	Birnin Gayya	II	II
41	II	Katamin Washa	Katamin Washa	II	II
42	II	Malamai	Malamai	L/Well	II
43	II	Gidan Gado	Gidan Gado	River	II
44	II	U/Lalle	U/Lalle	II	II
45	II	Kajin Kajin	Kajin Kajin	II	II
46	II	Sangerawa	Sangerawa	II	II
47	II	Buddurawa	Buddurawa	II	II
48	II	Gawo	Gawo	II	II
49	II	Kimba	Kimba	L/Well	II
50	II	Garin S. Adar	Garin S. Adar	River	II
51	II	Turtsawa	Turtsawa	II	II
52	II	Fakon Allah	Fakon Allah	II	II
53	II	Magarau	Magarau	L/Well	II

	II	Gayya Da Kwari	Gayya Da Kwari	II	II
55	II	Jabal	Jabal	II	II
56	II	Zango	Zango	II	II
57	II	Jambale	Jambale	II	II
58	II	Faruna	Faruna	River	II
59	II	Kuru-Kuru	Kuru-Kuru	II	II
60	II	Gidan Amuji	Gidan Amuji	II	II
61	II	Zangon Bukar	Zangon Bukar	II	II
62	II	Gidan Miko	Gidan Miko	L/Well	II
63	II	Gidan Shekarau	Gidan Shekarau	II	II
64	II	Gidan Alhaji Gandu	Gidan Alhaji Gandu	II	II
65	II	Kwadi	Kwadi	II	II
66	II	Kalage	Kalage	River	II
67	II	Rukkumi	Rukkumi	II	II
68	II	Kyara	Kyara	II	II
69	II	Garin Abara	Garin Abara	II	II
70	II	Takashaba	Takashaba	II	II
71	II	Kibar Ruwa	Kibar Ruwa	II	II
72	II	Garin Na Maimai	Garin Na Maimai	II	II
73	II	Unguwar Abzin	Unguwar Abzin	II	II
74	II	Gidan Buta	Gidan Buta	II	II
75	II	Gidan Dubu	Gidan Dubu	II	II
76	II	Sagagawa	Sagagawa	II	II
77	II	Zangon Tashalawa	Zangon Tashalawa	II	II
78	II	Zakin Ganga	Zakin Ganga	II	II
79	II	Dogon Marke	Dogon Marke	II	II
80	II	Garin Ango	Garin Ango	II	II
81	II	Dan Garin Gabas	Dan Garin Gabas	II	II

II	Gardin Gingin	Gardin Gingin	II	II
83	FARU	FARU	Hand Piring	
84	Durkuma	Durkuma	" "	" "

Appendix F

MASHEKARI SABON-BIRNI LOCAL GOVERNMENT			
S/N	NAMES OF MASHEKARI		LOCATION
1.	Gidan Baran Gwani		Gatawa
2.	Tulu Rudu		Gatawa
3.	Mashekarin D/Galadima		Muzabura Gangara
4.	Mashekarin Ardo Buda		Galkaru Gatawa
5.	II	Maigari Danda	Gamji
6.	II	Kiru Dan Ada	Magara
7.	II	Kambazawa	Tara
8.	II	Yauta	Araga / Baran Gwani
9.	II	Yalema	Tsamaye
10.	II	D/Hoko	Tagirke
11.	II	Janbali	Rumbukawa
12.	II	Yagau	Dabigi
13.	II	Shehu Dan Dakake	Batata
14.	II	Kada Miyau	Koda Miyau
15.	II	Goga	Garin Bakwai
16.	II	Ardo Aguwa	Garin Dadi
17.	II	Ardo Mai Suna	Garin Tumkiya