Search for
Common Ground
Trust, Collaboration, Breakthroughs

COMITAS Project: Conflict Assessment Report in Ten Communities in Adamawa State, Nigeria

NOVEMBER 2022

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Abbreviations

AFAN - All Farmers Association of Nigeria

AFFHR - Adamawa Forum for Farmer and Herder Relations

CAN - Christian Association of Nigeria

COMITAS - Conflict Assessment Report in Ten Communities in Adamawa State

CRN - Community Response Network

CSAD - Community Security Architecture Dialogue

EWER - Early Warning, Early Response

FGN - Federal Government of Nigeria

FGD – Focused Group Discussion

FOMWAN - Federation of Muslim Women Organisation of Nigeria

IOM - International Organization for Migration

JNI - Jama'atul Nasril Islam

KII - Key Informant Interview

LCCN - Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria

LGA – Local Government Area

MACBAN - Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association

NGO - Non Governmental Organization

NPC - National Population Commission

PAD - Peace Architecture Dialogue

PLWD - Persons Living with Disability

Search - Search for Common Ground

SMS - Short Message Service

SPSS - Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UNSCR - United Nations Security Council Resolutions

Executive Summary

Adamawa State, Northeastern Nigeria, has been faced with conflict related to the utilization of natural resources, particularly land and water resources. This has resulted in widespread conflicts in which property and lives have been lost especially in local government areas (LGAs) like Demsa, Numan, Girei, Lamurde and Mayo Belwa. This conflict assessment sought to understand the current conflict dynamics in these LGAs where the project "Contributing to the mitigation of conflict over natural resources between farmers and herders in Adamawa state (COMITAS)" has been implemented by the consortium involving Search for Common Ground (Search), International Migration Organisation (IOM) and Mercy Corp. The aim of this study is to assess conflict in the communities where the project is implemented in Adamawa State.

Methodology: This assessment takes on a mixed methods approach, where both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from the different categories of respondents. Quantitative data were collected using survey methods while qualitative data were collected using Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) as well as Focus Group Discussion (FGD). A total of 160 respondents were surveyed while 22 FGDs and 40 KIIs were conducted in 10 communities chosen from the five LGAs where the project is implemented. While the qualitative data were content analyzed, quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS statistical tools.

Limitations: A major limitation to the study is the rough terrain of the locations as the data collection exercises were done during the peak of the rainy season. This made data collection very challenging. Furthermore, data collection exercise was done at the time when people were going about their farming activities. This also affected the availability of people for interaction with enumerators. In order to overcome this challenge, communities were used to reaching out to the people to agree on a date that they would be available for our engagement. Therefore, the impact of farming activities on the availability of the people was mitigated and this did not have a significant impact on the quality of data collected.

Key Findings: Results revealed that there are many forms of natural resource-based conflict in the community but the most prevalent among them is farmer-herder conflict which normally pits farmers and herders against each other. Data also shows that the primary parties include farmers, herders, youth and community-based organizations. This conflict is majorly driven by climate change which further contributes to discrimination in the allocation and utilization of scarce resources.

Other driving factors such as poverty, unemployment and illiteracy, lack of patience with one another in the utilization of shared resources as well as drug abuse were also identified as conflict drivers. This has had a significant impact on farmers, herders and other vulnerable members of the communities especially women and people living with disability. Mechanisms used to address the conflict include instruction to farmers and herders to avoid intruding into farmland and campaign against drug abuse, reporting to appropriate authority, police intervention, formation of committees, enactment of by-laws, police intervention as well as confrontation between farmers and herders.

Organizations such as the federal government, state government, local government, security agencies and various other bodies had intervened in the resolution of the crisis without much success before the introduction of the COMITAS project. The intervention through the COMITAS project has led to significant reduction in conflict related to natural resource-based conflict at the local level.

The community-based organizations/groups such as Peace Architecture Dialogue (PAD), Community Response and Network (CRN) and so on established through the COMITAS have assisted in building confidence, enhancing social cohesion and enhancing interaction among the conflicting parties. This has contributed to booming business in the communities and advancement of intergroup relationships particularly between the herding and farming communities. However, the socio-economic conditions of the people are still very poor. Given this condition in the context of increasing climate change, the extent to which the social cohesion and improved interaction among the people can last long is questionable and remains fragile.

Furthermore, with improved relationships between farmers and herders in these communities, the extent to which residents of these communities will farm may increase and this may bring about the increase in the outbreak of conflict over use of farmland among farmers.

Recommendations: There is a need to carry out a programmatic response to climate change and extreme weather conditions in Adamawa State and the entire Northern Nigeria as a way of addressing the frequent resource-based conflict from the root cause. This can be through dredging of major rivers such as Lake Chad and Benue River that support livelihood earning in the state.

Furthermore, there is also the need to improve the socio-economic conditions through empowerment programmes and livelihood supports of the people as this also plays a significant role in the outbreak of conflict. Similarly, there is a need to train the community leaders of conflict management and resolution approaches so that they can apply them in addressing any conflict that ensues. The research has also shown that a bad conflict management approach is the bane of effective management of resource-based conflict in the study area. Finally, further confidence building measures such as trainings, transformative dialogues can be applied to ensure that broken relationships between the

farming and herding communities are mended to further strengthen the relationship between them.

1. Background Information

Introduction

As the country's key production forces, Nigeria's farming and herding communities have had their fair share of violent conflicts. This is orchestrated by an increasing shortage of natural resources due to drought and the rapid desert encroachment affecting the country, particularly the northern region. This conflict is further heightened and sustained by push-pull factors arising from migration, population expansion, ravaging insurgency, as well as harsh realities of climate change. In response, there have been attempts by some state governments, such as Benue and Taraba, towards enacting and implementing laws that prohibit open-grazing.

As one of Nigeria's most diverse states in terms of ethnicity and religion, Adamawa State represented one of Nigeria's epi-center for the symbiotic relationships between the farming and herding communities. They exhibited a symbiotic relationship in which herders fertilized the lands of farmers from the dung of their animals. In return, farmers gave grazing rights to the herders whose herds could benefit from the residue on their farms. Competition between these production forces regarding access to, and control over natural resources exacerbated social and economic divisions, leading to a breakdown in inter-community harmony and cohesion.

Adamawa State is situated in the North-East region of Nigeria, with its capital at Yola. It was created in 1991 from the old Gongola State, occupying about 36,917km. Based on the 2006 National census by the National Population Commission (NPC), the State has a population of 3,168,101 people. It is bordered by Borno state to the northwest, Gombe to the west and Taraba to the southwest. Its eastern border also forms the national eastern border with Cameroon. Adamawa State has one of the highest numbers of ethnic groups in the country, with an estimation of about 80 ethno-linguistic groups governed under four administrative divisions namely- Adamawa, Ganye, Mubi and Numan. Some of the larger ethnic groups include Fulani, Margi, Mumuye, Higi, Kapsiki, Chamba, Hausa, Godogodo, Kilba, Gude, Wurkum, Jukun, and Bata. The two dominant religious groups in the state are Christianity and Islam, even though, other forms of traditional religious practices exist[1].

While tensions over natural resources in Adamawa have been rising since 1999, the level of violence has become particularly alarming since 2015. Attacks on villages, most notably in Demsa, Girei, Numan, Lamurde, and Mayo Belwa local government areas (LGAs), have left hundreds of people killed or displaced[2], with the potential of escalating

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[1] Kyari, Mohammed, Alimba C. Nwadika and Momodu A. Jude (2019) Conflict and Conflict Prevention in Adamawa State. Kaduna Journal of Humanities, 3(1): 393-409.

[2] Amnesty International (2018) Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria, available in link

to other LGAs across the state[3]. The absence of effective mechanisms for responses by the government, in terms of the use of kinetic and non-kinetic forces, made it difficult for other key levers of community peace, such as traditional and community leaders, to address the conflict.

Found across several communities of Adamawa State are the recent history and legacy of the unresolved impact of insurgency that provided grounds for deaths, injuries, displacements, fractured inter-communal relationships, crippled educational and social service delivery among others[4]. For these communities, they became at risk and vulnerable due to a series of attacks launched against them by members of Boko Haram. Indeed, governments at all levels (federal, state and local), as well as other humanitarian actors have been making efforts towards addressing the challenges posed by the impact of insurgency in the North-East region and Adamawa State in particular, but not much has been achieved.

Beyond the disruption of social services delivery and the resultant dislocation from their communities in Adamawa state, the insurgency led to a breakdown in communication and relations between the communities and law enforcement agencies, particularly the police. of the situation was made worse by the fact that police stations were destroyed and police personnel were also becoming victims of the insurgents.

Thus, there is a sense in which members of the communities now view the police as not having the capacity to protect themselves and neither the communities in the event of an emergency, coupled with traumatic experiences of violence and disrupted livelihoods[5]. Since time immemorial, farmers and pastoralists have been the primary occupations and also, the sources of livelihood for people in Adamawa state. However, the incessant violent confrontations between farmers and pastoralists also underscore conflicts and insecurity in Adamawa state[6].

These conflicts are viewed to be primarily about resource use, damage to crops, blocking of transhumance corridors (*Burtali*), farming along valleys and stream/river banks[7]. In most cases, these conflicts often take ethnic and religious dimensions, which makes it easy for it to be interpreted in identity terms. This is largely exacerbated by shortages of land and water, which lead to competition. In the struggle to access, and control of natural

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[3] Ibrahim, B.Z (2022) Deliberate Damage to Farmlands Could Worsen Farmer-Herder Conflict in Adamawa State, available in link.

[4] Kwaja, A.M.C (2022) Peace Infrastructure and Opportunities for Advancing Durable Peace in Adamawa State, Paper Prepared for Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Abuja, Nigeria.

[5] Balogun, D.A., Salleh, B.A.M., & Ahmed, A.A. (2020) The effect of Boko Haram insurgency on the internally displaced persons in Nigeria, available in link

[6] Ofuoku, U.A and Isife, I.B (2009) Causes, effect and resolution of farmers – nomadic cattle herders conflict in Delta state, Nigeria, International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol.1, No.2, pp.47-54.

[7] CONFLICTS BETWEEN TRANSHUMANT PASTORALIST AND FARMERS IN NIGERIA-THE WAY OUT.

resources such as land and water, conflicts between these two production forces has become a defining feature of their relationships.

Project Overview

Search initiated and implemented an integrated Community-based Early Response system for collecting data on violent incidents, "tensions", and threats at the different levels of the community and LGAs in Adamawa State[8]. The organization also facilitated the establishment of collaborative platforms for early warning response and conflict management in the affected communities and stakeholders that covered security agencies, civil society, government Ministries, Departments, Agencies, and the media. At the base of this system was the team of trained Community Response Network (CRN), mainly community and religious leaders, representatives of the security agencies at the community and LGA levels.

The community observers and representatives of the local government authority and community vigilante groups were also selected and trained as CRN members involving women, men, youth and People Living with Disabilities, Internally Displaced Persons settlements and host communities. They collected early warning signals and information on conflicts and threats to peace. These early warning signals and information were in turn transmitted either person to person or through Short Message Service (SMS) to CRN and the Search Early Warning & Early Response team.

Project's Theory of Change

If traditional conflict resolution mechanism is strengthened, trust in authorities improved, collaboration on natural resource management enhanced, and intra and inter communal perceptions improved,**then** the mitigation of conflict over natural resources is improved and conditions for social cohesion created, **because** early warning and response mechanisms are effective, authorities accountable, management of natural resources transparent and inclusive, and media outlets counter violent narratives, **assuming** that the political landscape remains conducive to dialogue and cooperation between all stakeholders.

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[8] See the methodology section for a list of the communities and LGAs where the project was implemented.

2. Methodology

Objectives

The overall aim of this conflict assessment [9] is to provide an analysis of the impact of the COMITAS project on the areas of intervention, and the responses of Traditional and Government Authorities including policies, legislations and analysis of emerging issues around natural resource management in the project LGAs and Adamawa State, since the last conflict scan. Other specific objectives of the assessment include:

(i) To identify the types of conflicts related to natural resources that currently exist in the communities between farmers and herders;

(ii) To examine possible linkage between natural resources-based conflicts and other acts of criminality, in terms of how it has impacted on the communities;

(iii) To explore the different mechanisms for preventing and resolving natural resources-based conflict across opposing groups;

(iv) To understand the intra and inter-communal social cohesion dynamics amongst the conflicting parties;

(v) To analyze the impact of the Search early warning system and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms on the platforms and committees established across the focal communities;

(vi) To assess the level of trust expressed in authorities to provide security and adequate resource management to prevent community violence, since the previous scan.

Data Collection and Analysis

The conflict assessment adopted both quantitative and qualitative approaches comprising; Survey, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant Interviews (KII), as well as secondary data. This is to evaluate the impact that the programme activities have had on the evolution of conflict dynamics across the project locations.

Using Search tools and guidelines for the conflict assessment, the study brought the perspectives of different stakeholders from the target locations in Adamawa state together through a participatory and solution-oriented process that specifically includes farmers, herders, community leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders, women group, security officers, other marginalized groups, I/NGOs working in the affected area, and Local Government officials.

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[9] In May 2021, Search undertook an initial conflict scan, as per the project on "contributing to the mitigation of conflict over natural resources between farmer and herder communities in Adamawa State, Nigeria (COMITAS).

Target Groups (Respondents)

The respondents for this research consisted primarily of local community members in focal LGAs, as shown in the Table 1 below, in order to generate diverse perspectives from relevant target groups using KIIs and FGDs. A number of key stakeholders at the state level were engaged to provide insights. These stakeholders include:

(i)   *Farming and Herding Communities*: This includes both institutional and individual members of the communities.

(ii)   *Traditional leaders* (community elders) – Given their important leadership role within local communities.

(iii)   *Religious associations* (Christian Association of Nigeria [CAN]; Jama'atul Nasril Islam [JNI]; First Aid Group of JNI, Boys Brigade of CAN, local sheikhs, imams, and pastors) – Religious principles often form the basis of community beliefs and customs related to peace and conflict. Moreover, religious leaders remain among the most trusted actors in the focal states and were therefore considered highly respected and credible messengers, with effective platforms for shaping local opinions and norms.

(iv)   *Women groups* (Market Women Association; Women Wing of CAN; Federation of Muslim Women Organisation of Nigeria [FOMWAN]) – Research indicates that women's perspectives are vital to ensuring the success of community-level interventions, in the light of the role they play in shaping the psyche of the youths in the communities.

(v)   *Youth groups* (associations, student groups) – Youth are among the most affected stakeholder groups, due to the history of the insurgency. In the early stages of conflicts, youth are often the canon fodders for perpetrating violence.

(vi)   *Local civilian security actors* (command and rank-and-file of neighbourhood watch groups, vigilantes, hunters and other community-level security structures) – Many civilian security groups formed or evolved into their current iterations as a direct response to the intensification of conflict, making to serve as the front lines for the protection of local communities.

(vii)   *State and Local Governments' Peace and Security Institutions*: The state and local government institutions are supposed to act as the first responders in facilitating dialogue and upholding civilian safety and security, and thereby setting the agenda in terms of how interventions are to be designed at both the policy and programmatic levels.

(viii) *Community Level Structures for Conflict Prevention*: Community Mobilisers, Community Response Network (CRN), Community Security Architecture Dialogue (CSAD), Peace Architecture Dialogue (PAD), Mercy Corps' Natural Resource Management Platforms, as well as the Adamawa Forum for Farmer and Herder Relations (AFFHR).

Sampling and Data Collection Approach[10]

A purposive sampling technique targeting respondents of previous conflict assessment was used as a selection procedure, both at individual and household levels for the survey, KIIs and FGDs on the dynamics of natural resource conflict in the last one year, since the last conflict assessment was conducted. The respondents were defined and referred only to permanent household heads or members aged at least 18 years old and are available at the time of visit by the research assistants. Since the research sites have already been identified by Search, the consultant and the research assistants leveraged on their contacts and relationships within the communities to establish contacts.

Before the commencement of the data collection, the research assistants participated in a methodology training covering the research purpose, overall methodology and tools, as well as practical training and procedures for interviewing techniques, interviewer effects, security and data protection protocols and importance of informed consent. The research assistants were selected in ways that reflect the ethnic and religious diversity of the communities.

Table 1: Research Location – Local Government Areas (LGAs) and Communities[11]

S/No	LGAs[12]	Communities
1.	Demsa	Bille, Borrong, Kpasham and Demsa
2.	Girei	Gereng and Tambo
3.	Lamurde	Gyawana
4.	Mayo Belwa	Ndikong, Gengle
5.	Numan	Kodompti

Qualitative/Quantitative Techniques for Data Collection

The research utilized a mixed-method design using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. For the quantitative study, a cross-sectional descriptive community survey was undertaken across all focal communities in selected LGAs, using kobo collect. The qualitative component employed Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) among the respondents, to be complimented by secondary data

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[10] The sample size for the data collection will be decided through a discussion between Search and the consultant.

[11] Search selected these areas based on a baseline rapid conflict scan that was conducted in May 2021 to assess the root causes of natural resource based conflicts and the dynamics between farmers and herders in the communities, which informed program implementation, strengthening social cohesion with an established early warning system. As a consequence of the foregoing, this end-line conflict assessment seeks to understand the change in conflict dynamics, identify the current perceived root causes of conflict between farmer and herder communities over natural resources, as a basis for evaluating project impact on the conflict dynamics within the period of implementation in the 5 Local LGAs spread across 10 communities.

[12]LGAs where project implementation is being carried out

generated through literature review. Table Two shows the distribution of the respondents for the survey, KII and FGD sessions in the communities.

Table 2: Sampling Size for Qualitative and Quantitative Data Collection

LGAs	Communities	No of KIIs	No of FGDs	No. of Survey
Demsa	Bille, Borrong, Kpasham and Demsa	16	8	60
Girei	Gereng and Tambo	8	4	40
Lamurde	Gyawana	4	4	15
Mayo Belwa	Ndikong and Gengle	8	2	30
Numan	Kodompti	4	4	15
	Total	40	22	160

Table 3: Selected Stakeholders for KIIs and FGDs

KIIs per community	FGD per community
- Community Leader x1 - Traditional Leader x1 - Women Leader x1 - Youth Leader x1 - People Living with Disability x 1 - Religious Leaders - Farmer x 1 - Herder x 1 - Vigilante x 1	- Youth Female Group - - Youth Male Group - Adult Male Group - Adult Female Group - Community Early Warning and Early Response Group - Christian Association of Nigeria - Jama'atul Nasril Islam - Peace Architecture Dialogue - Community Response Network

Ethics and Safety

The research was guided by the principle of "Do no harm" anchored on the following parameters:

a. **Confidentiality:** Respondents' right to privacy and assuring them of the anonymity non-attribution or use for other purposes) of all recorded or reported data shall be respected.

b. **Informed Consent:** No one will be coerced into participating in the research against his or her will. People will be given sufficient information about the research and seek verbal consent to record their data. Informed consent will be secured at the beginning and the end of the interview, all information will be collected anonymously and confidentially.

c. **Gender Sensitivity:** The research team utilized gender sensitive approach in the collection of data during the fieldwork by assigning a female research assistant to each of the LGAs, so as to ensure women are accorded priority during the interviews, particularly as it relates to their consent and privacy.

d. **Conflict Sensitivity:** The research team is well aware of the local environment and contexts in which they are conducting the field work, in ways that ensures that their interactions with the communities does not create conditions for new conflicts or lead to a relapse in the conflicts.

e. **Safety and Wellbeing of Researcher / Research Assistants:** Researchers may also face risks to their safety and wellbeing, particularly in conflict prone areas. Researchers will endeavour to work in small groups of two and immediately report any threat to the lead researcher.

f. **Interviews for data collection:** The interview will be conducted during day time hours due to security and logistical concerns. Interviews for KIIs will occur   via one-on-one discussions in respondents' households and for FGDs, will take place in safe places, close enough for persons in the group to access. The maximum time for KII is 30 minutes – while for FGD will be one hour on average.

Limitations

A major limitation to the study is the rough terrain of the community as the data collection exercises were done during the peak of the rainy season. This made data collection very challenging. Furthermore, data collection exercise was done at the time when people were going about their farming activities.

This also affected the availability of people for interaction with enumerators. In order to overcome this challenge, communities were used to reaching out to the people to agree on a date that they would be available for our engagement. Therefore, the impact of farming activities on the availability of the people was mitigated significantly and this did not have a significant impact on the quality of data collected.

3. Findings and Analysis

Demographic of Respondents

With regards to the LGAs of the respondents, the majority of the respondents are from Demsa. This constitutes about 79.4 percent of the respondents while the remaining four LGAs take about 20.6 percent of the respondent. The reason for Demsa taking a majority of the respondents is that there are more communities where data was collected in Demsa than any other LGA. Demsa alone has four (4) communities from where data were collected while others have one except Girei and Mayo Belwa where two communities were selected but those two communities are very small.

The data were collected in 10 communities across the five LGAs. Angwan Bali and Angwan Modibbo are the smallest as they constitute 2.5% each for the respondents. This is followed by Demsa[13] which constitute about 7.5 percent of the respondents. Others such as Gerreng, Gyawana, Kodomti, Kpasham and Ndikong constitute 12.5 percent each. The reason for Angwan Bali and Angwan Modibbo Constituting smallest portion of the total respondents is because they have a small number of residents compared to others.

With regards to the age bracket of the respondents, 60 year and above respondents are the smallest respondents and this constitutes about 6.3 percent of the respondents. Meanwhile, the youths showed high representation, they constitute about 36.3 percent of the respondents. Reason for this is because Nigeria itself is a country of youthful population according to studies with ages ranging between 1-40 years[14]. In the context and environment where this study is conducted, this is also the case. They are communities with youthful residents. This also has an advantage for the study because this population is the most active population in any community.

With regards to the gender 61.7 percent of the respondents are male while 38.3 percent are female. The reason for this is because it was hard to reach the female respondents due to cultural and traditional norms that make women's voices difficult to be heard. With regard to marital status of the respondent, 71.3 percent of the respondents are single. This is because most of the respondents are youths.

With regards to education, most of the respondents are secondary school certificate holders. Similarly, most of the respondents are farmers as their population constitutes 45 percent of the total respondents. There are at least two reasons for this. Firstly, some of the farmers are also herders. Therefore, they may have picked to be farmers because traditional livelihood practices known with them in the communities is farming. Secondly, the communities picked for the COMITAS project are not the traditional homes of the

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[13] This is Demsa town and not the LGA

[14] See

herders. However, most herders living in these communities are known as migrants by the local people even when they have stayed in the communities for long. Moreover, the crisis of farmer-herders has driven them away from the communities for the safety of their lives. Some of them are just returning because of improved confidence among the two groups lately. Therefore, in coming months, there may be an increase in the population of herders around the area.

With regards to the duration of stay. Most of the respondents have stayed in the communities for long. About 78.2 percent have stayed in the communities for between 6-10 years. With regards to the physical challenge of the respondents, 3.6 percent of the respondents are physically challenged. This means that the physically challenged are also represented in the respondents.

Distribution of the Respondents Across LGAs: The study focused on five local government areas where the COMITAS project has been implemented. These LGAs are Demsa, Girei, Lamurde, Mayo Belwa and Numan. As Table 1 indicates, Majority of the respondents are from Demsa. There are 79 respondents from the LGA and this constitutes about 79.4 percent of the respondents. Meanwhile 20 respondents each are from Girei, Lamurde and Mayo Belwa LGA. This constitutes 12.5 percent in each of these LGA. There are 21 respondents from Numan LGA which constitute 13.1 percent of the overall respondents. This shows that respondents from the Demsa are much more than those from other locations. A major factor accounting for this is that Demsa is a major town around the area compared to other areas that are simply villages and hamlets.

Fig. I: Distribution of Respondents in the Focal LGAs
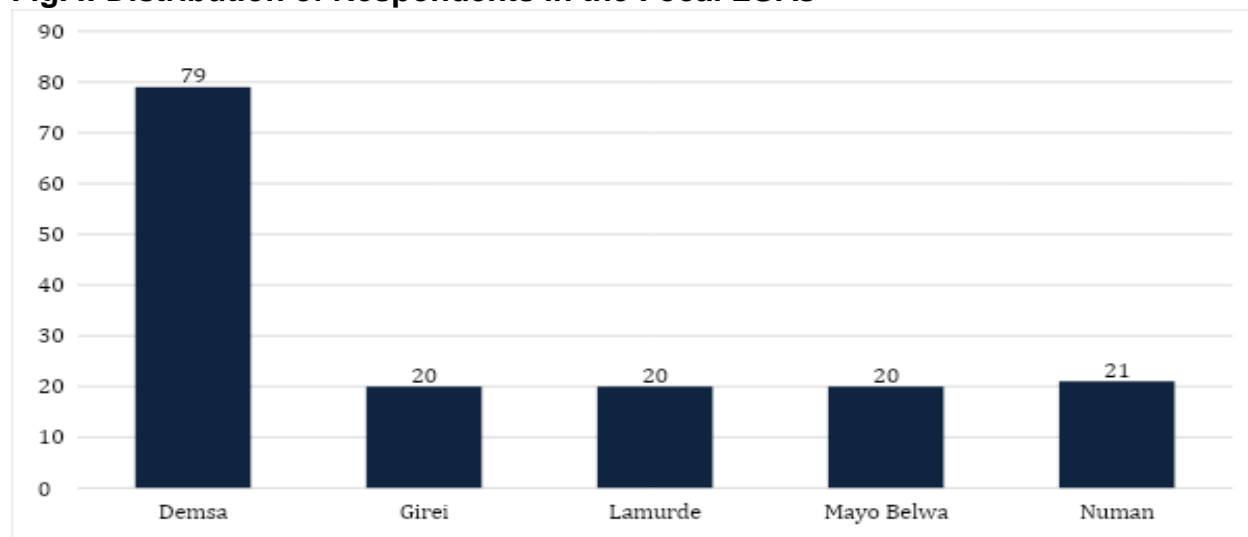

Distribution of Respondents Across the Focal Communities in the LGAs: Ten communities were deliberately focused on the collection of data for the research. These communities were drawn from the five LGAs—The LGAs are Demsa, Girei, Lamurde, Mayo Belwa and Numan. The communities drawn from the LGAs were Angwan Bali,

Angwan Modibbo, Bille, Borrong, Gerreng, Gyawana, Kodomti, Kpasham and Ndikong. As fig. II indicates, four respondents each were recorded in Angwan Bali and Angwan Modibbo.

This constitutes 2.5% each for the two communities. In Bille, Borrong, Gerreng, Gyawana, Kodomti, Kpasham and Ndikong, 20 respondents each were recorded. This constitutes 12.5 percent in each of the communities. Meanwhile, in Demsa town, 12 respondents were reported and this constituted 7.5 percent of the respondents. This means that the respondents are relatively well spread in each of the communities in the four focal LGAs.

Fig. II: Distribution of Respondents in Communities Across the LGAs
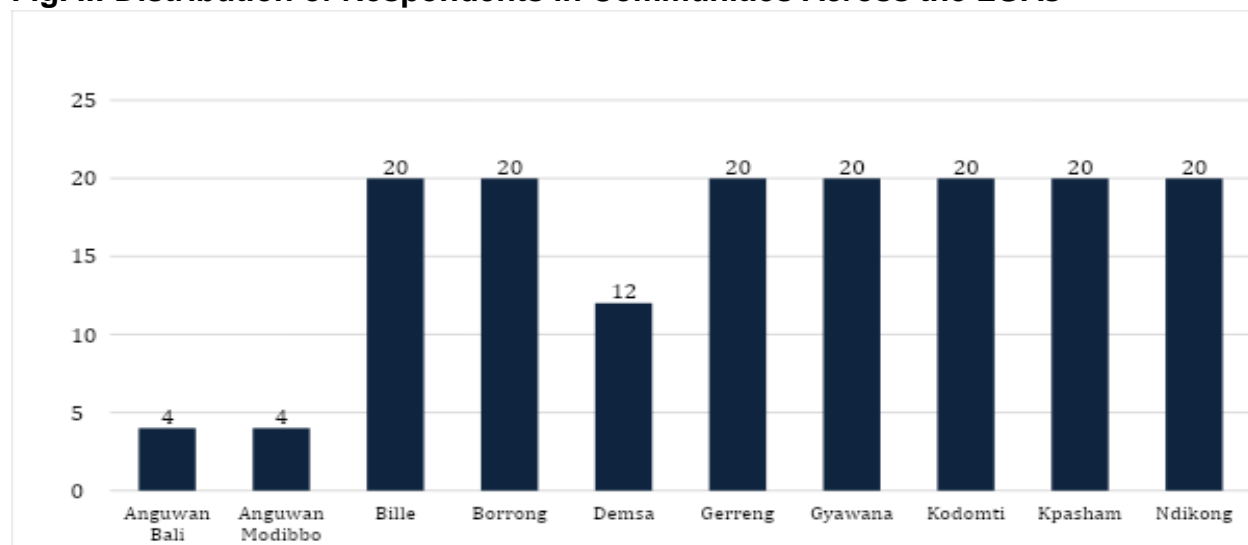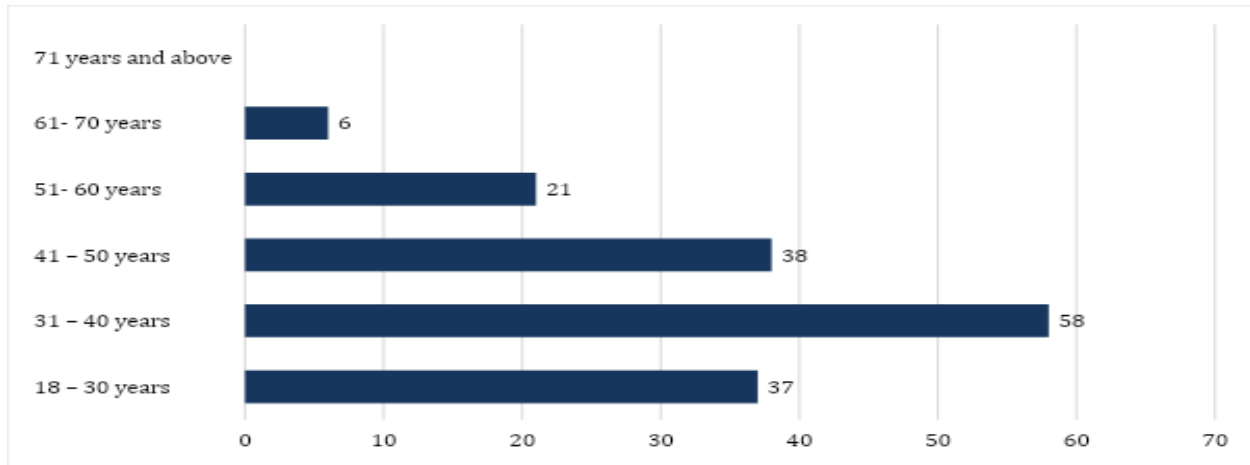

Age Bracket of the Respondents
This section of the questionnaire sought to know the age category of the respondents. The age bracket of the respondents was deliberately grouped to reflect 10 years difference ranging from 18-30 years to 71 years and above. Fig. III revealed that respondents whose age are 18-30 years were 37 which constitute 23.1 percent of the whole of the respondents. Meanwhile, 31-40 years and this constituted 36.3 of the whole respondents.

Furthermore, 41-50 years were 38 respondents and this constituted 23.8 percent of the respondents. Meanwhile 51-60 years and 61- 70 years were 21 and six (6) respectively and they were 13.1 percent and 3.6 percent respectively. Meanwhile there are no respondents whose age is 71 and above. This data revealed that 31-40 years had the highest number of respondents.

**Fig. III: Age bracket of Respondents**

Sex of the Respondents

This aspect of the questionnaire sought to know the gender categorization of the respondents in order to know the extent to which the female respondents are captured in the data collection exercise. Fig IV revealed that 98 of the respondents were male which constitute 61.7 percent of the respondents.

Meanwhile, female respondents were 62 and this constituted 38.3 percent of the respondents. This shows that although the number of male respondents were much more than the female respondents, they (the female respondents) also constitute a insignificant number of respondents in order to capture the view in data collection.

Fig IV: Sex Distribution of the Respondents
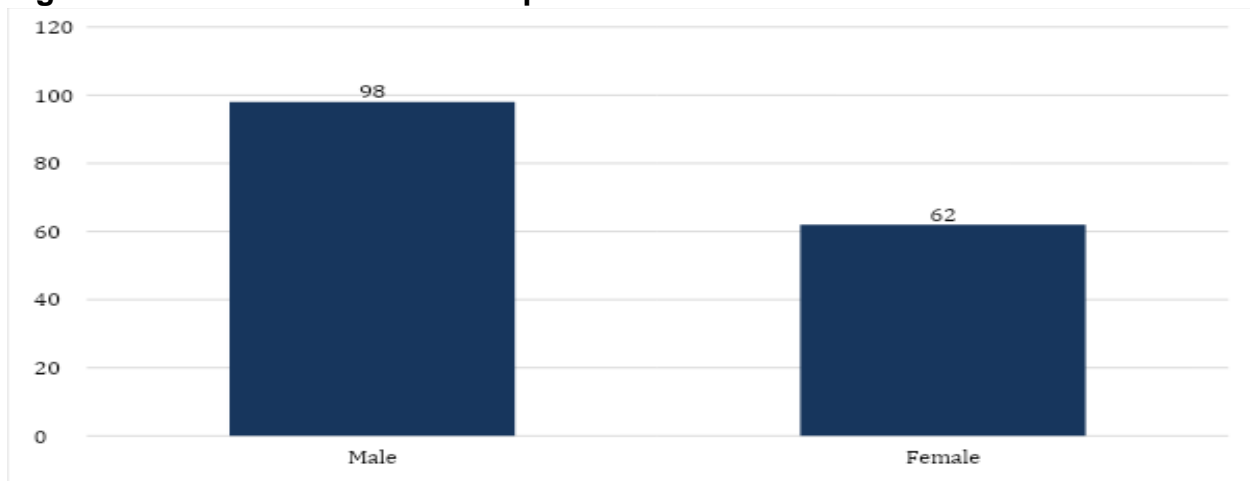
Marital Status of Respondents

This aspect of the questionnaire seeks to understand the marital status of the respondents. Marital status of the respondents deliberately captures five possible marital status of respondents. These are single, married, widow and widower. Fig. V revealed that single respondents were 114 respondents. This accounts for 71.3 percent of the entire respondents. However, 36 of the respondents which account for 22.5 percent of

the respondents are married. Meanwhile 5 respondents each were widows and widower. They account for 3.1 percent each.

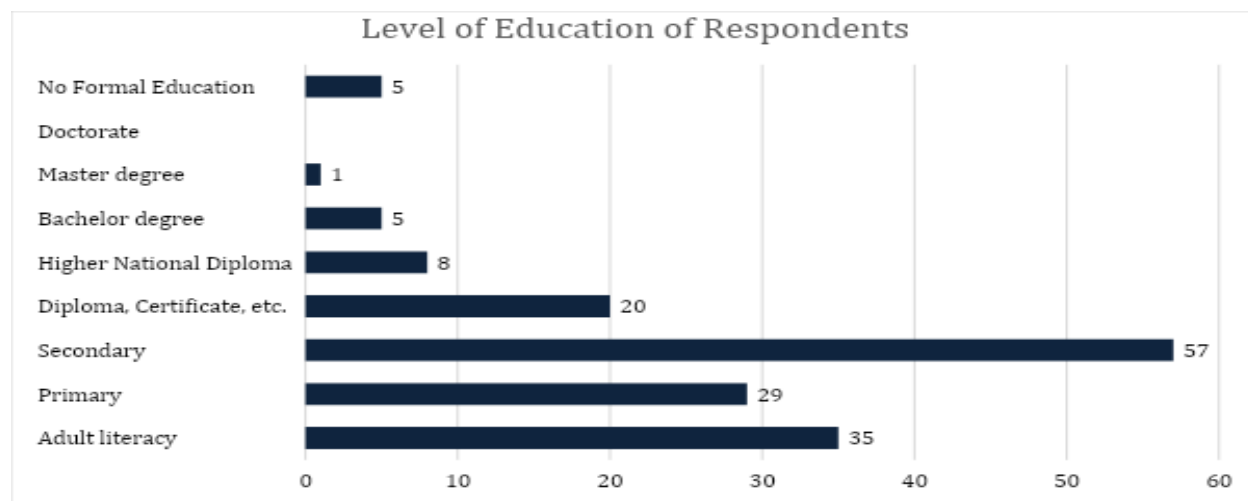**Fig V: Marital Status Distribution of the Respondents**
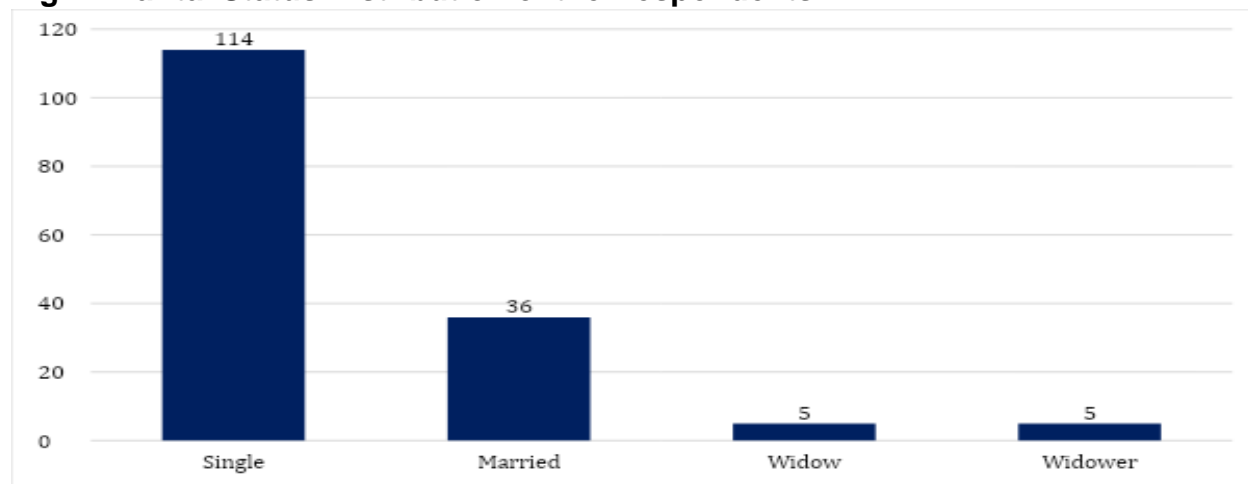
Level of education

This section of the question sought to know the level of education of the respondents. Nine levels of education were identified for respondents to identify with. These were adult literacy, primary, secondary, diploma/certificate, higher national diploma, bachelor, masters, doctorate and no formal education.

Fig. VI revealed that 35 of the respondents which account for 21.9 percent had adult literacy education. On the other hand, 29 respondents which accounts for 18.1 percent of the respondents had up to primary education. Fifty-seven (57) respondents which account for 35.6 percent had up to secondary education. Twenty (20) respondents which account for 12.5 percent had diploma and certificate-related education. Furthermore, eight (8) respondents which account for 5 percent of the respondent had Higher National Diploma. Five (5) respondents each have a Bachelor Degree and No formal education.

These account for 3.1 percent each. One (1) has a master's degree which accounts for 0.7 percent of the respondent but none of the respondent has a doctorate degree. This result shows that the respondents are fairly learned with a significant number attaining secondary education (35.6 percent) and this is followed by adult literacy programme (21.9 percent), primary education (18.1 percent), Diploma/certificate etc (12.5 percent), HND (5 percent), Bachelor Degree (3.1 percent), Master degree (0.7 percent). Only 3.1 percent of the respondents did not have formal education.

Fig. VI: Level of Education of Respondents

Level of Education of Respondents

| Level	Value
No Formal Education	5
Doctorate	
Master degree	1
Bachelor degree	5
Higher National Diploma	8
Diploma, Certificate, etc.	20
Secondary	57
Primary	29
Adult literacy	35

Occupational Status

The study also sought to know the occupational status of the respondents. As Fig. VII revealed, 72 of the respondents which constitute 45 percent of the whole respondents are farmers. Furthermore, 10 respondents which accounts for 6.3 percent are herder. Thirty-three (33) which account for 20.6 percent of the respondents are artisans/traders. Fifteen (15) respondents which account for 9.4 percent of the whole respondents are civil servants.

Two (2) of the respondents which account for 1.3 percent are religious leaders. Nine (9) which account for 5.6 of the respondents are community/traditional rulers. One (1) each were NGO worker and driver and this account for about 0.7 percent for each of the occupational status. Meanwhile 7 were housewives while unemployed persons were 10. These account for 4.4 percent and 6.3 percent respectively. This figure shows that farmers are the highest with 45 percent of the respondents being farmers. This was followed by traders/artisan with 20.6 percent of the respondents and civil servants with 9.4 percent, community and traditional leaders (5.6 percent), housewives (4.4 percent), religious leaders (1.3 percent) and NGO workers and Driver (0.7 percent) each.

Fig. VII: Occupational Status of Respondents
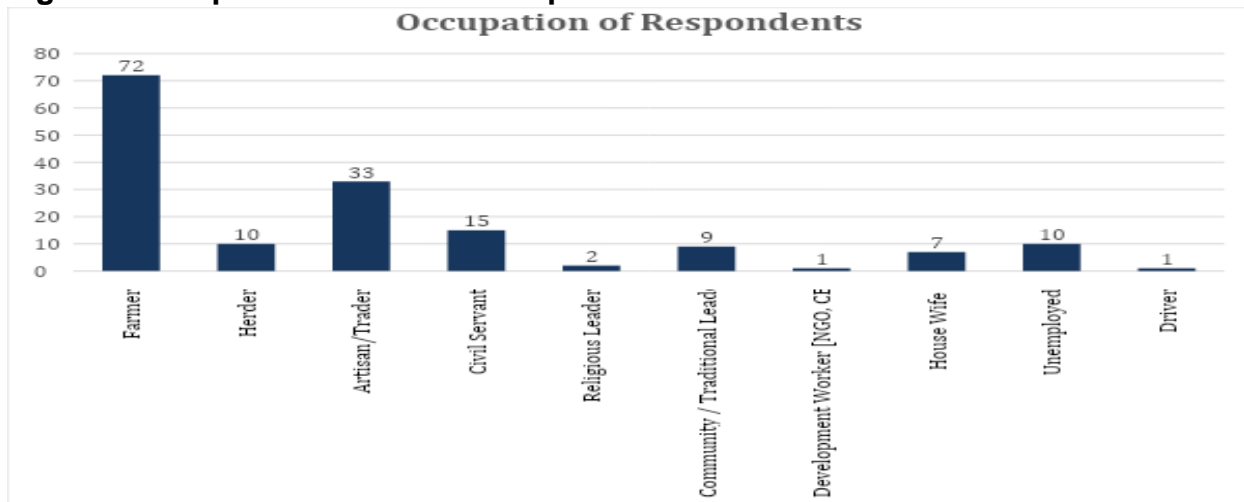
Duration of Stay in the Community

The questionnaire also sought to know the extent of stay of the respondents in their communities in order to know the extent to which they are familiar with their community. Fig. VIII reveals that 11 of the respondents have lived less than one year in their community. This accounts for 6.9 percent of the respondents. Furthermore, 21 respondents accounting for 13.2 percent have lived in their community between 1-5 years. Similarly, 125 respondents which account for 78.2 percent of the respondents have lived in the community between 6-10 years. Only three (3) respondents which account for 1.9 percent of the respondents have lived in their community for more than 10 years. This shows that many of the respondents have lived in their community for 6-19 years (78.2 percent). This is followed by 1-5 years (13.2 years), Less than one year (6.9 percent) and above 10 years (1.9 percent). This means that the respondents have a sufficient length of stay in their community to understand happenings.

Fig. VIII: **Duration of Respondents' Stay in Their Communities**
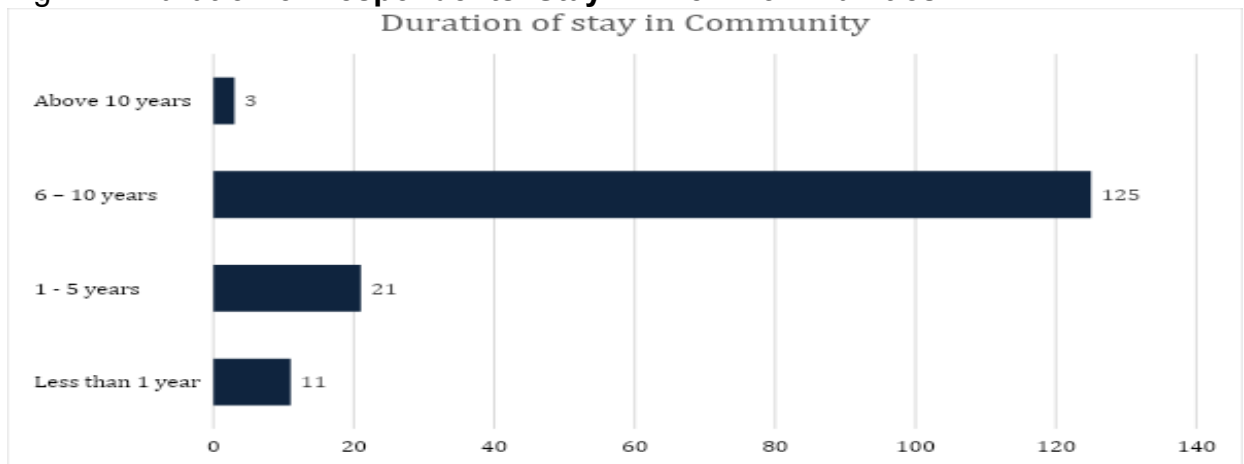
Do you have any disability?
This aspect sought to know how many of the respondents are physically challenged. Fig. IX revealed that six (6) of the respondents which account for 3.6 percent of the respondent are physically challenged while 154 of the respondents which account for 96.4 percent are not physically challenged. This shows that although those not physically challenged are more in number, the physically challenged are fairly represented and their opinion and perception also considered in the data collection.

Fig. IX: Physical Disability of the Respondents
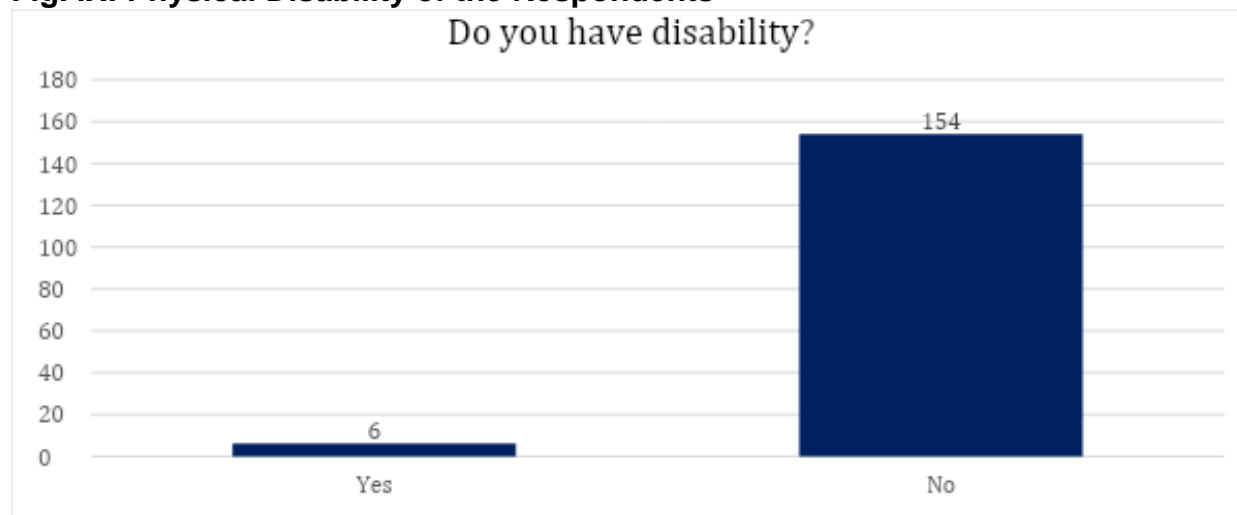
## Parties in Natural Resource-Based Conflict

Adamawa State is primarily composed of agrarian communities where inhabitants depend on natural resources especially land to earn a living. There are three types of natural resource-based conflict identified by the respondent. They are farmer-herder conflict, herder-herder conflict and farmer-farmer conflict. From these explanations, there are two categories of natural resource-based conflict in the area.

These categories of conflict fall into what can be called intra-group natural resource-based conflict and inter-group natural resource-based conflict. Intra-group natural resource-based conflict is a type of conflict which involves primary parties who are people who belong to the same profession, for instance farmer-farmer conflict and herder-herder conflict. On the other hand, however, the inter-group natural resource-based conflict involves people from different occupational practices who depend on the same natural resources to function.

According to the respondents, the most common form of natural resource-based conflict they experience is farmer-herder conflict. The results of the survey and FGD show that the principal parties are Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), Farmers, herders, youth groups and other agricultural groups such as All Farmers Association of

Nigeria (AFAN). However, most of the respondents identified farmers and herders as the primary parties. Over 94 percent of the respondents identified herder and about 83.12 percent identified farmers. These two groups are the primary parties in the outbreak of natural resource-based conflict. KII and FGD sessions also affirmed this view.

Fig. 1: Primary Parties to the Natural Resources-Based Conflict
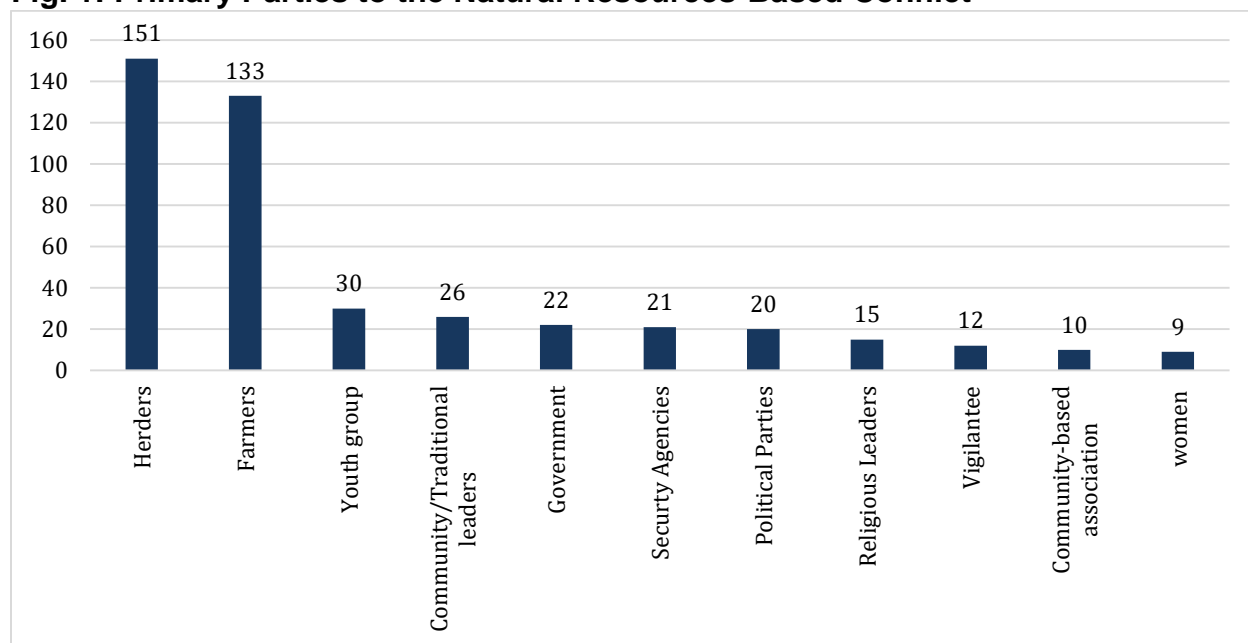

Groups such as youth and community leaders are involved in the conflict. Their levels of involvement are different. While they may not be primary parties consciously seen, they may exist as secondary or shadow parties, depending on the power they wield and their interests.

Drivers of Natural Resource Conflict

The land is a very important natural resource to the people in Adamawa State because of the dependence of the people on the land and its natural constituents for livelihood earning. Unfortunately, the land is in short supply compared to the rising population of the state as well as consistent loss of land fertility due to desertification. This has made land a contentious issue among the different agricultural groups in the state—farming and herding communities. Apart from this, there are other cross-cutting socio-political and economic issues driving the conflict. However, the impact and contribution of these factors differ from place to place.

According to the survey, the majority of the respondents identified poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and struggle for scarce resources as very prevalent in their areas and serve as the key drivers that are motivating the occurrence of natural resource-based conflict in their areas.

Fig. 2: Key Drivers of Natural Resource-Based Conflict
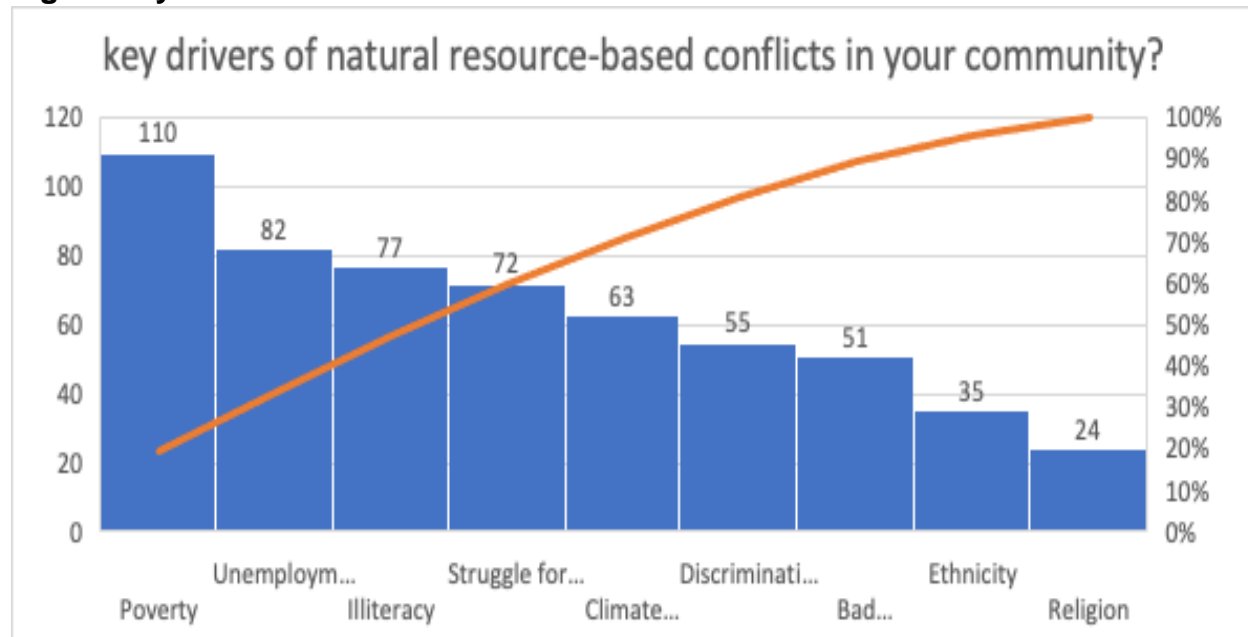
A significant number also identified climate change, discrimination in the resources allocation and use as well as bad leadership/governance while a smaller number of respondents also identified ethnicity and religion. However, the significance of climate change and environmental degradation as overarching causes of the natural resource-based conflict cannot be overemphasized. Climate Change plays a significant role in the reduction of availability of land available for livelihood earnings between farming and herding communities. In the context of rising population, this pushed the different groups into contestation or struggle for the scarce land resource as well as discrimination in the allocation of land resources to the people. So, at the base of the struggle for scarce resources and discrimination in the allocation of scarce resources is climate change and extreme weather conditions.

Respondents in FGD and KII buttressed some of the points made while new drivers were also added. Particularly, limitedness in supply of land and water resources compared to the population of human and animal is one of the major points stressed by respondents in the FGD session. At least two respondents in each of the FGD sessions talked about limited supply of land or can be inferred from their statement directly or indirectly. For example, Respondent 5 in Gyawana observed that "…as a herder staying here we do not have problems with the farmers, except that land is scarce and the water body is a problem..."[15]. By saying "water body is a body", the respondent actually means that sometimes the water could dry up at the peak of the dry season while in the rainy season it could overflow and lead to displacement for the people. In 2022, overflow of the River

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[15] Respondent 5, Focus Group Discussion Session, Male group, Gyawana, Lamurde Local Government Area, 5th September, 2022.

Benue led to the displacement of many in Nigeria and the areas of the research were also affected. Similarly, another respondent observed that "both the farmer and the herder require land and water for their sustenance, the scarcity of these resources and their increase in population is a problem"[16]. A respondent put it more emphatically:

> *"Due to climate change even the land available for farming and grazing is not enough. What the herders do is that they wait until Sundays when we are not in the farm and then they graze through our farms. I have a friend whose farm is close to the proposed site of the LCCN University. Herders entered his farm and grazed through half of it, now he does not go to church on Sundays because he wants to protect what's left of his farm"[17].*

The last quotation above particularly shows how climate change causes other drivers to play a significant role in the outbreak of natural resources conflict in the study areas. Therefore, in the context of the study, climate change along with increase in population, widespread poverty, unemployment as well as illiteracy result in struggle/competition for scarce resources as well as discrimination in the allocation and utilization of natural resources. This develops into natural resource-conflict/violence between farming and herding communities. As a respondent in KII observed:

> *"There are many factors that result in the outbreak of natural resource-based conflict and most of these factors are interwoven and cross-cutting in which one situation lead to another and to another until conflict comes out but the bottom-line is that we have lost so much fertile land to climate change and extreme weather and this has led to many other things that result in the conflict we experienced in our community"[18].*

However, respondents in KII and FGD did not talk about bad leaders/governance as well as ethnicity and religion as key factors. In fact, religion and ethnicity were considered insignificant by both respondents in the survey, FGD and KII respondents. As one of the respondents replied:

> *"Herders do not check the tribe or religious standing of a person before they destroy his/her farm. I am a Fulani and I*

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[16] Respondent 1, Focus Group Discussion Session, Male Group, Demsa, Demsa Local Government Area, 1st September, 2022.

[17] Respondent 2, Focus Group Discussion Session, Male Group, Demsa, Demsa Local Government Area, 1st September, 2022.

[18] Respondent 1, CSAD Member, Key Informant Interview, Demsa, Demsa Local Government Area, 2nd September, 2022.

am a Muslim but my farm was destroyed too on a Friday, so religious and ethnicity are not drivers to me"[19].

Beyond these drivers, KII and FGD respondents also highlighted lack of patience, drug abuse, lack of conflict management skills for community leaders and encroachment of farmers and herders. This last factor (encroachment of farmers and herders) was frequently mentioned in both KII and FGD. Significant number of the respondents mentioned encroachment as the driver of conflict. This shows that this is also a key driver that cannot be ignored and it may be related to climate change and shrinking availability of land which made the available land competitive for the different agricultural groups.

Impact of Natural-Resource-Based Conflict on Members of the Communities

Outbreak of the conflict has a significant impact on the whole of the members of the communities in one way or the other. One of the groups that usually suffer the outbreak of the natural resource-based conflict is the farmers group. As Fig. XXI, 123 respondents, accounting for about 76.88 percent of the total respondents agreed that farmers are highly impacted by the natural resource conflict while 28 (17.5 percent) and 6 (3.75 percent) said that the farmers group are average and fairly impacted respectively. This shows that this group is grossly impacted. The magnitude of the impact of the conflict on them is determined by the fact that they are primary parties in the conflict.

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[19] Respondent 4, Focus Group Discussion, Male group, Demsa, Demsa Local Government Area, 1st September 2022.

Fig. 3: Extent of Impact of Natural Resource-Based Conflict on Farmers
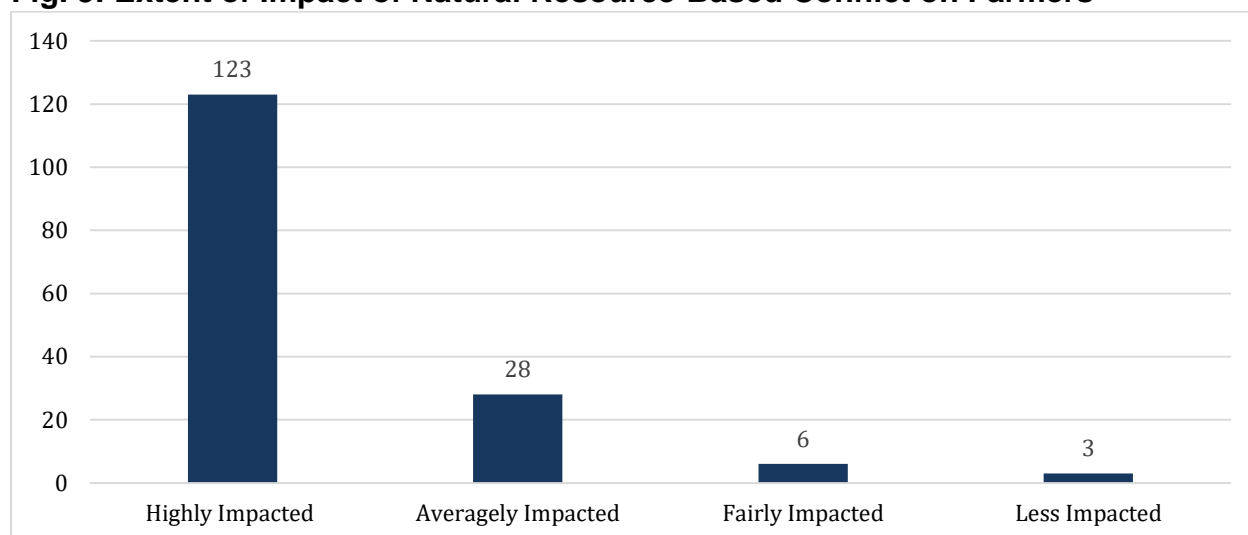
They are impacted by being prevented from going to farm, especially in some places when the conflict has fully developed. Furthermore, farmers' crops are destroyed and this led to shortage of food stuff for the family and nothing to take to the market for sale. Thus, impacting the prices of food stuff in the market. This often led to poverty and starvation for the farming community. One of the respondents explained that:

> *"Both men, women and youths suffer. Back then we did farm to get food in surplus and it was also less expensive. Some houses now cook just once a day, not like the regular 3 times daily. Women now get stranded when they go shopping in the market. Marketers barely have what to buy and sell in return. Everything is now expensive"[20]*

Buttressing the point above, a respondent in Key informant interview session also asserted that:

> "*This ugly situation has greatly impacted negatively on the farmers. They suffer the loss of their farm produce, unable to feed their family and lose their income as well. These losses lead to poverty and unemployment for them in the long run"[21]*

These quotations above show that poverty is not only one of the causes of natural resource-based conflict but also a consequence of the conflict. However, this is not the only impact of the conflict on the farming communities. On most occasions also, the conflict has led to the death of farmers. Some of the respondents in FGD and KII sessions

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[20] Respondent 1, FGD Session, Male respondents Demsa, Demsa LGA, 1st September 2022.

[21] Key Informant Interview, Community Leader, Kpasham, Demsa, September 2 2022.

hinted on how disputes between farmers and herders result in clashes which lead to the death of the people. This was a common occurrence when the conflict broke out.

Another population that the conflict affected significantly is the herding population. As Fig. 4 revealed, 12 respondents (88 percent) agreed that the herding population is affected either averagely, highly and fairly. This shows that they are also affected especially because they are parts of the primary parties in the conflict. Key informant interview and Focus group discussion sessions shows that they are also affected in many ways. One of the ways they are affected is loss of cattle during the outbreak of conflict. There is a widespread perception among the respondents that herders of Fulani extraction value their cattle more than human life. Therefore, whenever their cattle are killed, they feel the impact much more than anything. Thus, during conflict, they deliberately focus on attacking their cattle rather than the herders. Arising from this perception also, herders are usually prevented from grazing their cattle as a result of the conflict.

Fig.4: Extent of Impact of Natural Resource-Based Conflict on Herders
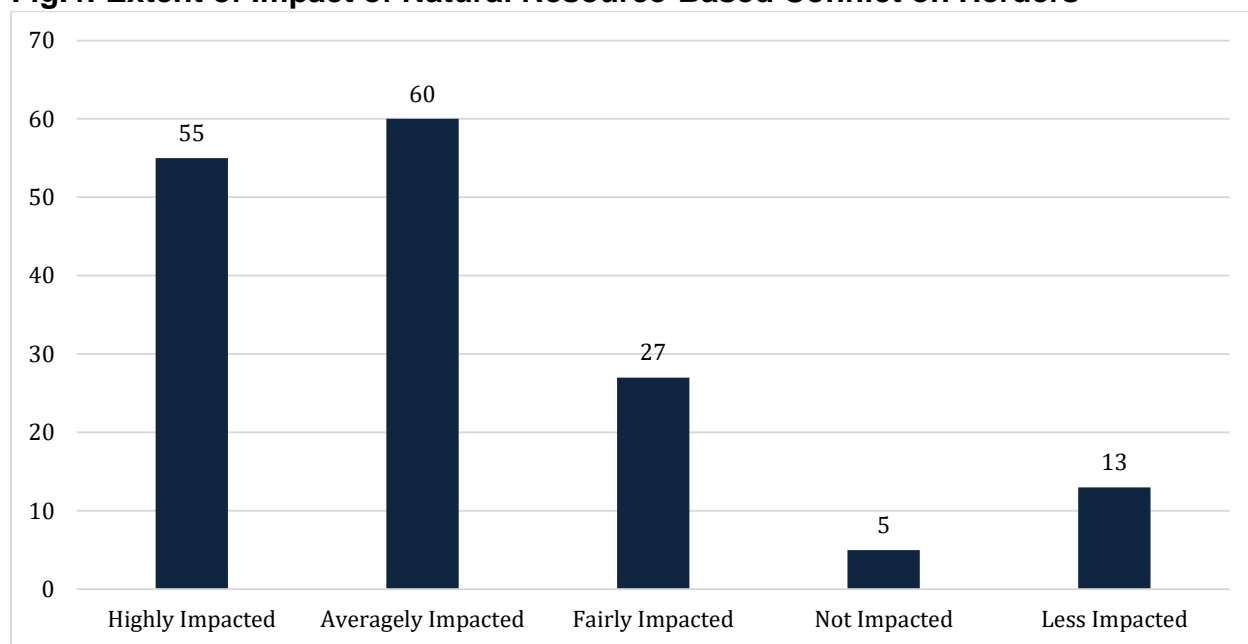
The effect of this is to make the herds suffer from feeding on foliage. If this lasts for a very long time, the cattle may become lean and depreciate in market value including the production of milk, thus leading to loss of income for the herder. A respondent in key informant interview session explained thus:

> *"In times of conflict the grazing of the herds is affected and so the herder will not be able to get enough milk from the cow to sell. Even the cow will become slender and the amount it ought to be sold will fall. The worth of cattle therefore falls and*

> *this is the major product they depend on as a source of income"*[22].

Unfortunately, this only does not affect the herders, it also affects all members of the community whose means of livelihood earning revolve around the cattle such as butchers and so on. Another way the herders are affected is loss of lives and properties especially during violent outbreaks.

Another population group usually affected by outbreak natural resource-based conflict is the marketers, traders and business men and women. These are people whose means of livelihood earning revolve around the produce of farmers and herders who are now the primary parties in the conflict. Although they may not be highly or significantly impacted as much as the farmers and herders who are the primary actors, they are also affected in one way or the other. As the result of the survey shows, over 72 percent of the respondents expressed that this category of people was impacted in different categories, either fairly, averagely or highly[23].

There are various ways in which these categories of people have been impacted. One of the ways they have been impacted is that the market is closed down during violent conflict arising from this and all economic transactions were put to a halt. For instance, during one of the outbreaks of conflicts between farmers and herders in Numan, Labondo and Borrong markets were close down because it is not safe for people to buy and sell[24]. This was also the case in Gyawana[25] and when the market is opened, the conflict often spills into the market leading to death of people who are not primary parties in the conflict. While the market remained closed for the period of the conflict, hunger, poverty prevailed as the economy crumbled.

Another section of the society affected by the outbreak of the natural resource-based conflict are the women, youth, the elderly and people living with disabilities (PLWDs). As the result of the survey shows, over 83 percent of the respondents believe that women were impacted by the conflict. Furthermore, over 75 percent of the respondents also believe that the youths are affected and over 64 percent admitted that the elderly were impacted as well as over 61 percent believe PLWDs are also impacted. These categories of the population are vulnerable in any outbreak of violent conflict. While women, PLWDs and the elderly are affected because of their vulnerability and fragility, the youths are affected because of their agility and strength. While most of the casualties of the conflict are youths, women become widows and elderly lose their children during the outbreak and PLWDs are defenseless.

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[22] Respondent 3, Herder, Gyawana, Lamurde Local Government Area, Key Informant Interview Session.

[23] See Table XIII.

[24] Respondent 1, Youth Leader, Key Informant Interview, Gerreng, Girei LGA, 31 August, 2022.

[25] Respondent 2, Herder Informant Interview, Gyawana, Lamurde, LGA, 5th Sept, 2022.

Apart from that, women, youths and the elderly are usually the most involved in farming activities.Therefore, this provides them with job opportunities directly or indirectly. However, since the conflict affects their farm, it will affect them as well, especially in terms of their socio-economic wellbeing. One of the socio-economic impacts is that their means of livelihoods such as markets are shut down. This often constitutes a huge loss to them. As one of the women shared:

> *"For me as a woman, the conflict (farmer-herder conflict) has affected me because during the conflicting time, markets are shut down. And when market is eventually opened, market don't move and I have used all my savings to feed my family and now I don't have any money for business again"[26].*

This shows that the different categories of the population are affected by the natural resources-based conflict in Adamawa State.

Current Intensity of the Natural Resource-Based Conflict

Most of the respondents expressed that the conflict used to be very intense with significant impact on the various members of the community. However, they hinted that the conflict has subsided now. Majority of the KII respondents and FGD respondents expressed that the conflict has subsided considerably. For instance, One of the respondents in FGD sessions in Bille explained thus:

> "*While in Bille we used to have a lot of conflicts between farmers and herders but now it has reduced greatly. The decrease is due to the activities of NGOs that have been coming and enlightening our leaders and also our communities on how to mitigate such issues. However, we still have problems with certain herders that are only passing through, especially those that travel at night. some of them destroy our crops and in the morning, we can't find them"[27].*

Buttressing the respondent above, another respondent expressed thus:

> *"Currently the overpopulation and flooding have forced both the farmers and herders to live on the hill together. Big men in our community have bought large lands, and rent it out to the poor masses before they can cultivate it, leaving little land for routes and grazing. This situation has led to the constant*

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[26] Respondent 1, Focus Group Discussion Session, Women Group, Kpasham, Demsa Local Government Areas, 2 September, 2022.

[27] Respondent 2, Focus Group Discussion Session, Male Group, Bille, Demsa Local Government Area, 2nd September, 2022

> *farmer-herder crisis, although we are experiencing peace now"[28].*

This shows that the conflict has subsided greatly from what it used to be many years ago. A major factor in the reduction of the conflict is the intervention of governmental and non-governmental organisations in facilitating dialogue between/among the parties in the conflict as Fig. 5 shows.

Figure 5: Factors Responsible for Decrease in Natural Resource-Based Conflict
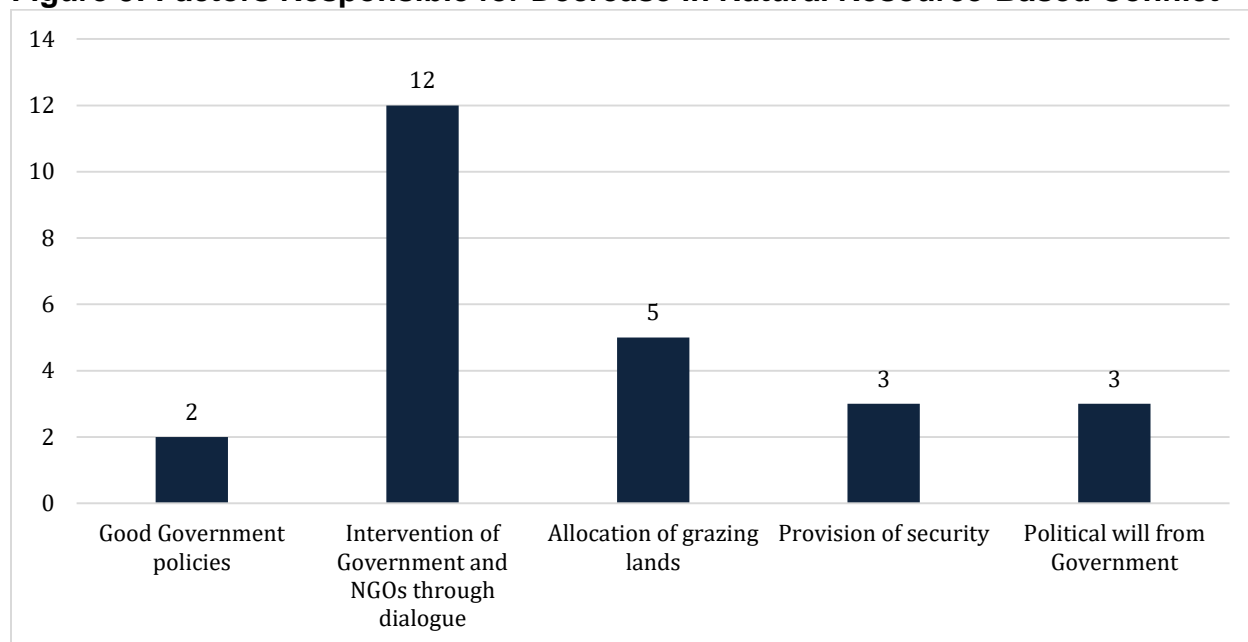
Mechanisms for Resolving Natural Resources-Based Conflict

Responses revealed that many steps have been taken by communities to address natural-resource-based conflict with the assistance of non-governmental organizations working in the area. The following are some of the mechanisms put in place as revealed from the key informant interviews and focus group discussion sessions held:

- ● **Instructing Farmers Not to Farm The Cattle Routes**: one of the mechanisms put in place to ensure that natural resource-based conflicts are mitigated in communities in Adamawa State is using the community medium of information dissemination to inform farmers not to farm the cattle routes again. The cattle routes have become attractive to farmers because of the increasing loss of fertile land, and in this case, allowing cattle routes and application of cow dung has made

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[28] Respondent 5, Key Informant Interview, Male, Hunter, Demsa, Demsa Local Government Area, 9th September 2022.

the land very fertile. It is this condition that has made cattle routes attractive to farmers and this often results in encroachments.

- ***Campaign Against Drug Abuse***: drug abuse is believed to play a significant role in the consistent outbreak of natural resource-based conflicts, especially farmer-herder crises. Studies have shown that the use of drugs and substance among farmers to gain agility for farming is gaining traction even among women[29]. If this is the case, it is used by male farmers and even herders cannot be overemphasized. While this is used to enhance their family capacity, its use may also dovetail into conflict, particularly natural resource-based conflict which is one of the most common forms of conflict in their localities. In order to mitigate this, societies are also campaigning against the use of drugs in many ways. The belief is that, considering the role drug abuse plays, once the drug abuse is minimized among the two groups, it will lead to reduction in natural resource-based conflict.

- ***Reporting to the Right Authority***: Another mechanism usually employed is reporting infractions between the two groups to the appropriate authority. In this case, the appropriate authority are the traditional rulers who are usually the closest to the people. There are at least three levels of traditional leadership at the local level. The first is the Jauro or Maiangwa. These are the ward heads of the different communities. They are the closest to the people. The second level of traditional rulership is the Ardo or Maijimila. These are the village heads.

  The last level of traditional rulership is the Hakimi or district head. All these levels of community governance play a significant role in resolving natural resource-based conflict. Adamawa State is rich in the use of traditional authority to mitigate violence and improve security. They play a significant role in community governance and constitute a veritable agent for security architecture at the local level. In Adamawa State, there are 8 graded kings, 107 District Heads (Hakimi), 718 Village Heads (Maijimila) and 8113 Ward Heads (Maiangwa). These various strata of traditional rulers have the responsibility to maintain peace, security and stability and manage conflict in their domains. They have been used by the government of the state to track early warning signs of violent conflicts for early response.

- ***Dialogue and Consultation***: another mechanism for resolving natural resource-based conflict is the use of dialogue and consultation among the different groups in the society. As the interviews show, this usually takes place at the courtyard of the traditional rulers, especially the closest to the people. Although this was not

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frequently used, the programmes of NGOs, particularly the COMITAS project and the committees formed, significantly improved the use of dialogue and consultation as a means of resolving conflict in the area.

- *Formation of Committee*: Respondents in FGD sessions also talked about the formation of the natural resources management committee CSAD under the COMITAS project within the community. These committees ensure that there is effective management of natural resources within the community. Apart from the natural resources management committee, the communities have also set up committees to determine compensation claims of any member of the community. Similarly, in some communities, a conflict resolution committee has been set up to ensure that the conflicts between members of the communities are promptly resolved before they degenerate further and plunge into chaos.

- *Vigilante Activities*: another mechanism talked about by the respondents is that the vigilante groups within the community also help in the management of conflict among the different groups in the community; particularly those relating to farmers and herders. While respondents said these vigilante groups have contributed to the resolution and management of the conflict arising from the use of land, some have actually shown that they rather contribute to the conflagration of the conflict because they take side mostly with the farmers during the outbreak of farmer-herder crisis.

- *Constant Meeting Between Farmers and Herders*: Another way natural resource-based conflict is resolved is through the constant meeting of farmers and herders to address issues of conflict before the degenerate.

- *Police Intervention*: Nigeria Police Force also plays a significant role in the resolution of conflict in the community especially between farmers and herders especially when all interventions by the various stakeholders have failed.

- *Enactment and Enforcement of By-Laws*: enactment of bye law is also a mechanism used to ensure that there is peace between the people.

- *Creation of Youth Forum*: The creation of this youth forum is to ensure that youth are engaged to ensure that their activities are diverted from violence and conflict into peace and harmony.

While all these mechanisms have been put in place by the members of the communities with assistance from government and non-governmental organizations to mitigate the outbreak of conflict between the different groups relating to natural resource-based conflict, it rather ensured that the two agricultural groups who had previously worked

together within the same communities now work separately from one another. This is believed that it will mitigate the constant confrontation among the farmers and herders. These mechanisms therefore created negative peace or peace of the grave yard. Therefore, there is a need to deliberately put in place mechanisms that will ensure that the farmers and herders work together as partners and promote positive peace within their communities.

Stakeholders' Previous Interventions and Impact of the Interventions

Different stakeholders as well as governments have responded to mitigate the conflict relating to natural resource-based conflict in Adamawa State. These following stakeholders have intervened.

Federal Government of Nigeria: The Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) is the first set of stakeholders to intervene in natural resource conflict in Adamawa State. The Federal Government of Nigeria has responded through the deployment of state security apparatuses such as police and army as well as distribution relief and humanitarian services to the people. However, respondents expressed that the intervention of the federal government has not been effective in addressing natural resource-based conflict. For instance, over 66 percent of the respondents expressed that the intervention of the federal government is ineffective. Over 44 percent of people who expressed this actually perceive that it is "very ineffective"[30]. Their opinion hinged on the explanation that government and government agencies such as police and army that intervened took side with the herders. Therefore, this makes the federal government very ineffective.

Fig. 6: Effectiveness of the response of Federal Government in resolving Natural-resource conflict

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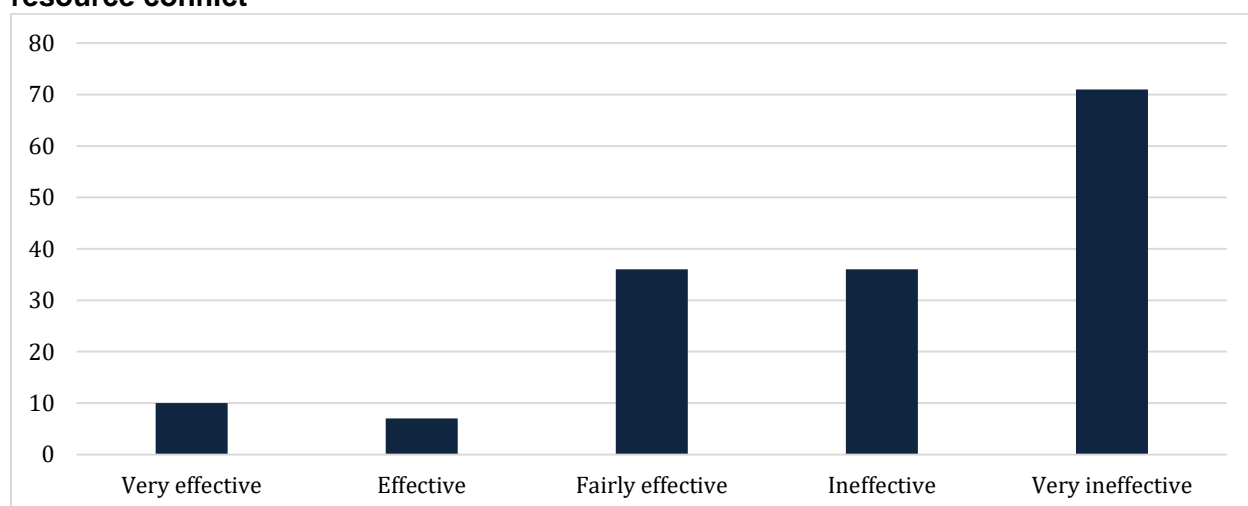
[30] See Table XVII

Adamawa State Government: Adamawa State government played a role in mitigating the conflict because this happened within the vicinity of the state. Respondents expressed that the state government also intervened through the provision of humanitarian services and relief materials to the people and collaborated with the federal government to deploy security agencies to the hotspots. Furthermore, commissions of inquiries were also set up to look into the crisis at one point or the other. However, over 52 percent of respondents in the survey expressed that the intervention of the state government was ineffective in addressing the conflict. The reason for the perception is not different from that of the federal government. Furthermore, state government intervention was also seen to be ineffective because state government agents did not act on the report of the commission of enquiry set up by the state.

Fig. 7: Effectiveness of the response of State Government in resolving Natural-resource conflict
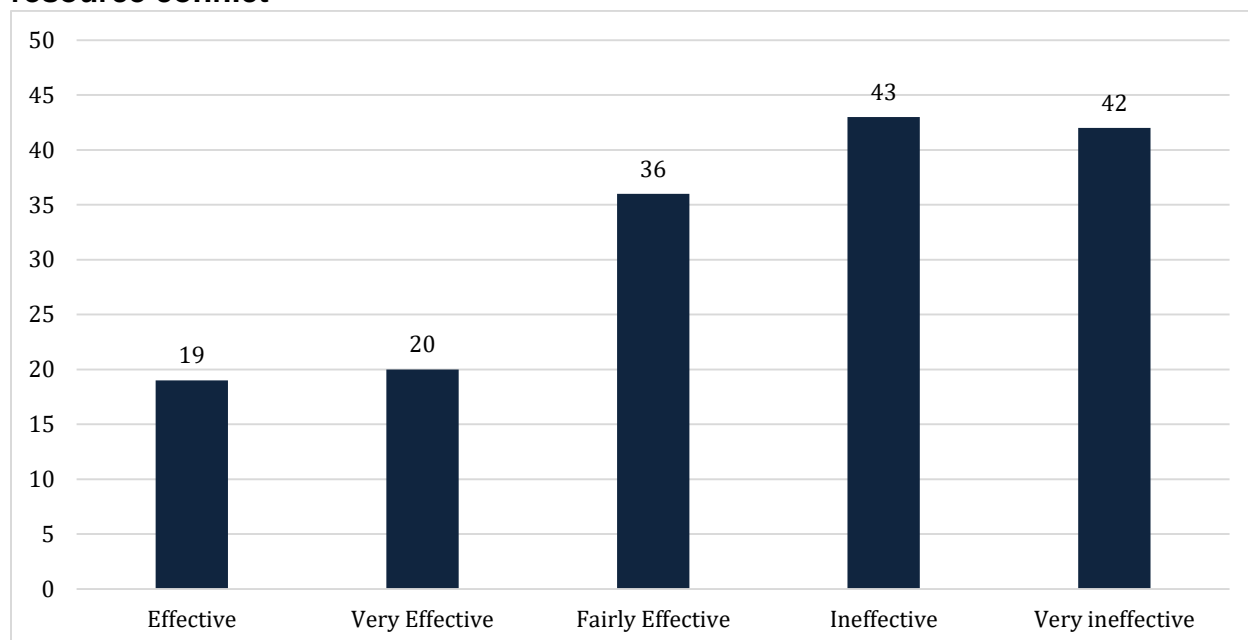
Local Government: Local Government authority also plays a significant role by intervening in the conflict. Especially local government areas where natural resource-based conflict is prevalent. Those local government areas include Girei, Numan, Lamurde, Demsa, Guyuk and Shelleng Local Government areas. This is the government closest to the people. Therefore, there were a number of activities carried out to nip the crisis in the bud. They worked with other levels of government especially the Adamawa State government and federal government to address the conflict.

They occasionally call security meetings and assist the federal and state government to distribute humanitarian and relief material to victims of outbreak of farmer-herder conflicts. The result of the survey conducted shows that over 47 percent of the respondents believe that the intervention of the local government authority was ineffective. Over 28 percent said it is fairly effective and over 13 percent said it is effective and 10.62 percent said it is

very effective. This still means that most of the respondents do not perceive the intervention of the local government authority as being effective.

Farmer-Herder Group: The bringing together of farmer-herder groups is a recent development in the history of the struggle around natural resources. Therefore, their involvement in bringing the conflict into control is relatively recent such as the CRN and CSAD. However, the perception of the respondents is that they are effective. As the result of a survey in Table XX shows, over 52 percent of the respondents said the response of the group is effective. This means that the majority of the respondents think that the groups' intervention is very effective.

Traditional and Community Leadership: The traditional and community leaders play a significant role in the governance of the local community. Therefore, they play a significant role in the management of conflicts and crises. Some of the roles they played included working hand in hand to make sure that conflicts are curbed before it degenerates into crises and bringing the presence of the security agencies into the communities during the crisis. Their roles were considered very important and effective. Over 60 percent of the respondent believed that their intervention were very effective[31]. This shows that they are very effective.

Community-Based Associations: Community-based organizations are usually very robust in traditional communities. Although, over 70 percent of the respondents said their community-based association did not exist or play any role, the less than 30 percent who expressed that they played a role said they specifically assisted members of their group who lost during the conflict to bounce back and recover quickly. This went a long way in assisting the people to recover and this was considered very effective. For instance, over 58 percent of the respondents believed that the community-based associations are very effective in their activities

Donor Agencies/Humanitarian and Civil Society Organisations: Natural resource-based conflict in Adamawa State has attracted the attention of donor, humanitarian and civil society organizations. As one of the respondents said:

> *"We can say that after God, the NGOs are next because they have brought program and seminars that they enlighten we the people on how to interact with one another and we are living in peace now and this will continue"[32]*

Another one, specifically referring to the activities of Search and other NGO under the COMITAS Project observed that:

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[31] See Table XXI

[32] Respondent 1, Mayo Belwa, Ndikong, Men Group, 5th September, 2022.

> *"May God bless Search for Common Ground, we don't know what we could have done without them. Currently, we are thankful to God for peace because we had conflicts awhile back due to farmer-herder conflict which led to killings, and a lot of properties were burnt down and a lot of losses but now we have peace due to the interventions of NGOs and the government".[33]*

One of the KII respondents explained thus:

> Currently, we are thankful to God for peace because we had conflicts awhile back due to farmer-herder conflict which led to killings, and a lot of properties were burnt down and a lot of losses but now we have peace due to the interventions of NGOs and the government".[34]

Another respondent also expressed that:

> The current situation of the community is far better than before because back then there was no mutual understanding and no herder can access this community but with the recent help from external organizations, they are now allowed to come little by little and we believe that this will improve". [35]

This means that the large perception among the people is that the activities of the donor agencies and humanitarian organizations is that they were very effective. Fig. XIX shows respondents' perception of the effectiveness of the intervention of the Traditional and Community Leadership, Community-Based Associations and Donor Agencies/Humanitarian and Civil Society Organisations in comparative terms.

This shows that the respondents' expressed belief in the effectiveness of the intervention of these groups. In comparative terms however, donor agencies, humanitarian and civil society organization's intervention are considered to be more effective than the other.

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[33] Respondent 4, Key Informant Interview, CRN Member, Male, Gerreng, Girei Local Government Area, 31st August, 2022.

[34] KII, CRN Member, Male, Gereng, Girei, 31st August 2022

[35] KII, Women Leader, female, Kodomti, Numan, 31st August 2022

Fig. 8: Respondents' Perception of the Effectiveness of the Intervention of the Traditional and Community Leadership, Community-Based Associations and Donor Agencies/Humanitarian and Civil Society Organisations
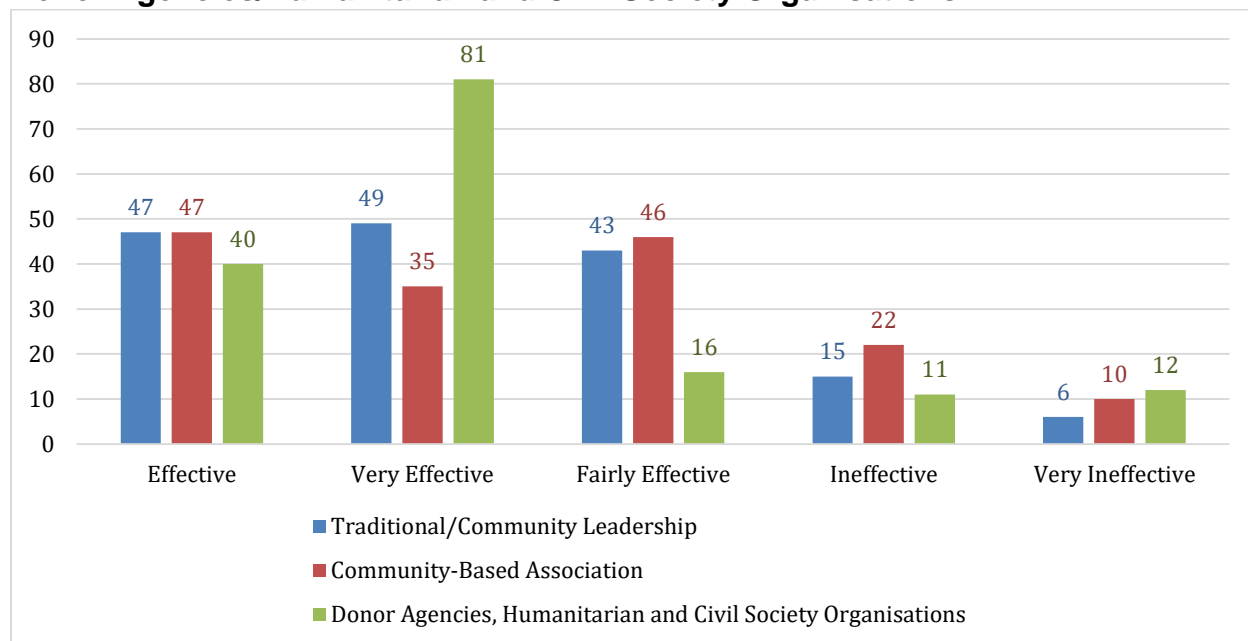
This agrees with the result of the survey conducted. Over 85 percent of respondents said the activities of donor agencies and humanitarian agencies were very effective in reducing the conflict between farmers and herders in their communities.

## Level of Trust of Respondents to Key Stakeholders

One of the objectives of the assessment is to know the extent to which the people trust stakeholders to intervene and resolve their conflict. These stakeholders are government, security agencies, religious/community leaders, community-based organizations, civil society/humanitarian/non-governmental organizations and so on.

The result shows that over 54 percent of the respondents do not trust the government enough while about 50 percent trust security agencies. A major reason for not trusting the government is because of the perception among the conflict parties that the government takes sides in the conflict or because the government has not shown enough concern to the people by coming to their aid. With this level of trust for the government, cooperation needed for the government to deliver will be lacking. While security agencies have also been accused of taking sides, they have been able to stem the tide of violence whenever they are deployed to quell violence.

However, most of the respondent's trust organizations that do not have much to do with government such as religious leaders, traditional/community leaders as well as civil society/humanitarian/non-governmental organizations. For instance, Over 70 percent

trust religious leaders and over 80 percent trust traditional/community leaders and over 75 percent trust community-based organizations. Over 70 percent trust civil society and over 85 percent trust humanitarian organizations. This means that the civil society/humanitarian organizations are well trusted by the people. Fig. XXX shows the level of trust for the various stakeholders. This also reflects in the KII and FGD interviews with the people.

Fig. 9: Respondents' Perception of Trust in the Intervention of Stakeholders
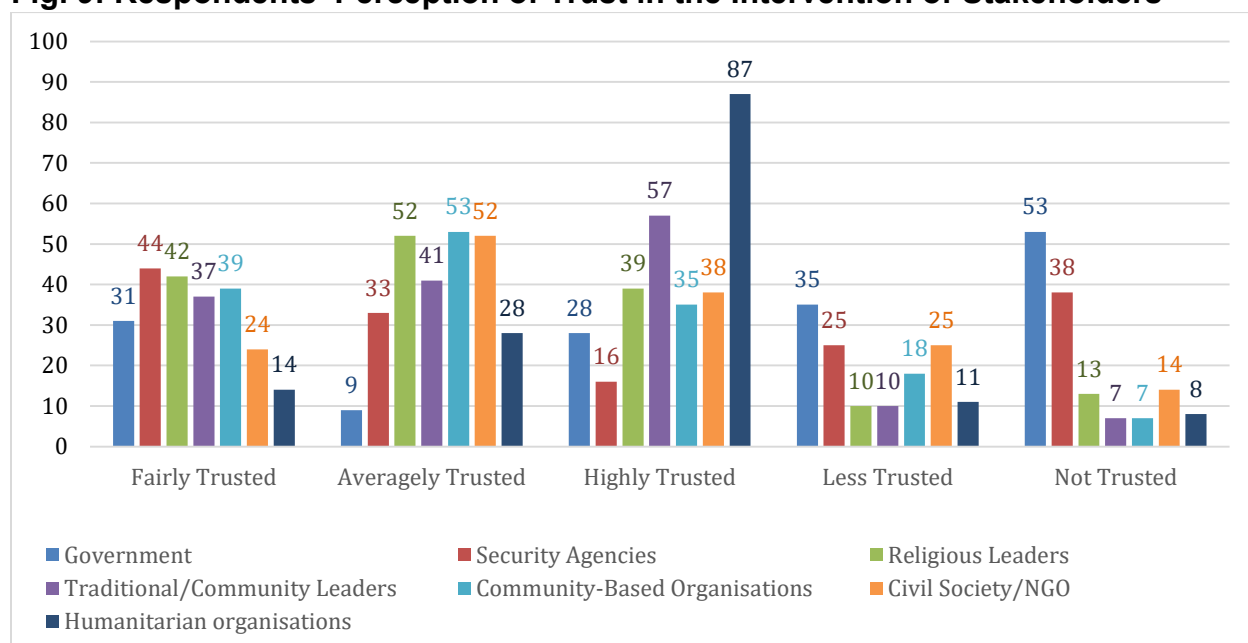
Over 90 percent of the respondents said they have trust in the activities of the humanitarian and non-governmental organizations in their domain. With this level of trust for humanitarian/non-governmental organizations, the level of cooperation and support of the people to the organization will be massive.

Impact of the COMITAS Project on the Natural Resource-Based Conflict in Adamawa State

The natural resource-based conflict in Adamawa State has attracted the attention of many international and local peacebuilding organizations as well as government organizations to facilitate quick resolution of the crisis. With regards to the government, the security organizations of the government participated in the resolution and management of the conflict but it brought little result. This made the consortium of Search, Mercy Corps and IOM to intervene in the conflict the COMITAS project. Respondents in the survey as well as KII and FGD session expressed that the programme has impacted significantly on the security and lives and properties of the people in the area.

Arising from the trust for non-governmental and civil society organizations, we also sought to know the extent to which the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS intervention programme has impacted on peace and security in their communities basically in terms of contributing to decreasing, increasing or even having no impact at all. The result of the survey conducted revealed that 57.5 percent of the respondents strongly agree while 21.88 percent agree that the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS intervention programme has reduced conflict in the research area. Although 11.25 percent are undecided, 6.25 percent and 3.12 percent strongly disagree and disagree that the COMITAS intervention programme has reduced conflict in the area.

On whether the activities of the Search-MercyCorp-IOM Consortium COMITAS intervention programme has led to increase in conflict in the area, 58.12 percent strongly disagree, 23.12 percent disagree, 15 percent undecided and 1.88 percent and 1.25 percent agree and strongly agree. Furthermore, 58.12 percent strongly disagree that COMITAS intervention has not changed the conflict situation and 20.65 disagree, 10 percent undecided but 7.5 percent and 3.75 percent disagree. The essence of this question is to test the strength of the response of the respondents. This implies that the majority believe that the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS intervention programme has a positive impact on the conflict situation in their communities by reducing the conflict from what it used to be.

For emphasis purpose, perception of the respondents as to whether increase in conflict in the past year is connected with the activities the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS intervention programme has also sought and about 70 percent of the respondent disagree[36]. This shows consistency in the response of the participants in the survey.

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[36] See Table XXXI-XXXV

Fig.10: Respondents' Perception of the Impact of COMITAS Project on Natural Resource-Based Conflict in Adamawa State
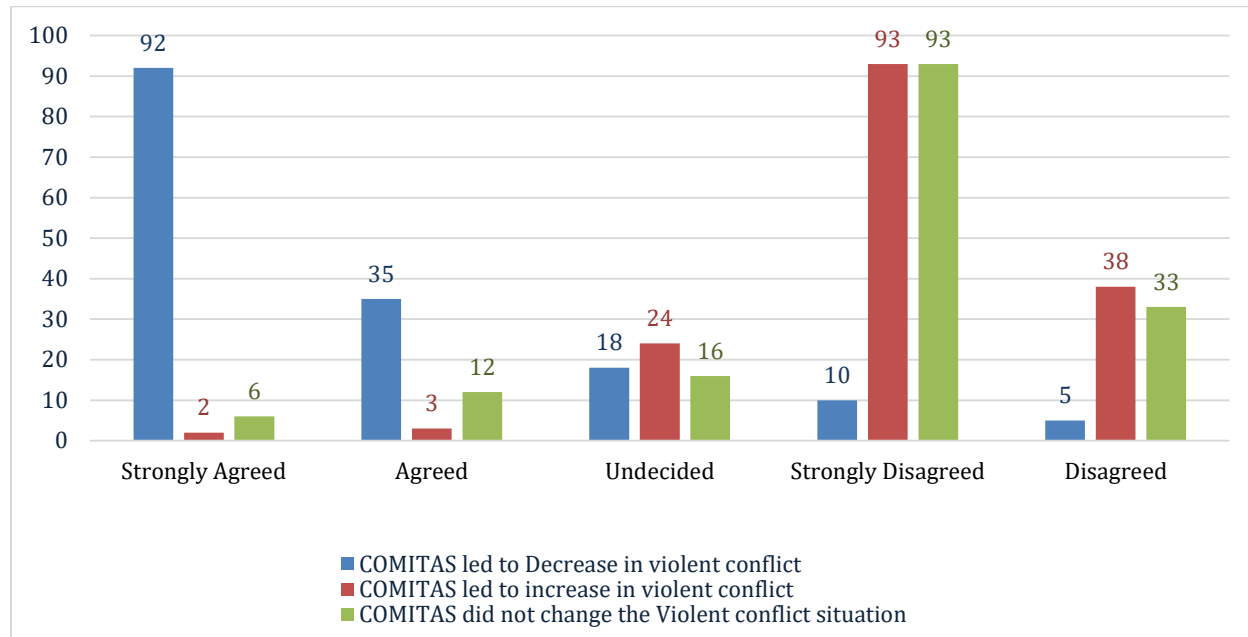
The reports from the interviews and focus group discussion session also justifies the results of the survey. Respondents expressed that the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS intervention programme has assisted in stemming the tide of violence among the people who had previously seen themselves as enemies. One of the respondents interviewed expressed that:

> "We are very grateful to the Consortium for the COMITAS Programme., They have been educating both farmers and herders to promote peaceful coexistence. Before now we didn't talk or interact well with herders but now that is in the past."[37]

Another respondent expressed that:

> "The three NGOs that brought COMITAS to us have tried a lot. They have inspired both herders and farmers to desire and work towards achieving peace. Currently CRN wants to register as a recognized body so that even when the NGOs are not here we can continue with our good work. Due to all these committees working towards peace we are able to settle

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[37] Respondent 2, FGD session, Male Respondent, Kpasham, Demsa, 2 September 2022.

> *conflicts amongst ourselves without going to the police or the court and this is good progress for us."[38]*

In all, 89 percent of the respondents in KII and FGD session agree that the intervention of the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS programme has led to the reduction of natural resource-based conflict in their community. The impact of the intervention includes restoration of confidence among the different parties in the conflict. For instance, farmers could not enter into communities of herders and herders could not enter into communities of farmers but this has reduced now. As one of the respondents explained during interview:

> *"One of the first programmes that came to us and took it upon themselves to assist us mitigate the conflict was the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS programme. Before now even if you give ten cows to a Fulani man he won't come here but when the COMITAS programme came to our community they ushered in peace and progress. Some of our youths have gone to their programs in Kano and other places and they have been taught how-to live-in peace with other people."[39]*

Another impact of the intervention of the Search-Mercy Corp-IOM Consortium COMITAS programme is that it has promoted dialogue among the people who previously did not talk to one another and this has promoted understanding among the people. A respondent explained this thus:

> *"Their (referring to the consortium) interventions have brought immense understanding. A lot of us have become enlightened and know the right way to approach issues to promote peace. About 80% of the effort to ensure peace in our community is from the Search-Mercy Corps-IOM consortium that set up COMITAS." [40]*

This has been done through orientation and sensitization as well as setting up of civil society organizations within the community such as Conflict Resolution Network (CRN). The establishment of CRN has improved on the capacity of the community to respond non-violently to conflict. As respondents said:

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[38] Respondent 3. FGD Session, Male Respondent, Demsa, Demsa LGA, 2 September, 2022.

[39] Respondent 10, Youth Leader, Gerreng, Girei LGA, Male, 31st August, 2022.

[40] Respondent 2, Youth Leader, Gerreng, Girei LGA, Male, 31st August, 2022.

> *"When COMITAS came to our community, they assisted us to establish CRN. Since the creation of CRN, it has become a platform for dialogue as well as EWER mechanism and this has brought us peace. We are really grateful to the consortium for it".[41]*

Another respondent explained that:

> "*The external activities are the CSAD, PAD, CRN. These organizations were created by Search for peace building and also help in establishing relationships among people and this is working very well".[42]*

This shows the impact of the COMITAS Project in the areas of their activities in Adamawa State. However, while the COMITAS programme has improved on the relationship between farming and herding communities in the areas where it is implemented and has positively impacted positively on the dynamic of conflict in the area, new forms of conflict may begin to gain traction. One of the new conflicts is farmer-farmer conflict or herder-herder conflict.

Some of the respondents in the FGD and KII session expressed that conflict among people who practice the same profession such as farmers are beginning to rise among the people in the community. This may be the new trajectory of conflict in the area. Furthermore, the ecology challenge posed by the 2022 flooding that affected the areas where the programme was implemented is likely to also affect the extent of the impact of the programme and also engineer new conflict among the people.

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[41] Respondent 6, Key Informant Interview, Numan Local Government Area, 1st September 2022.

[42] Respondent 6, Key Informant Interview, Girei Local Government Area, 3rd September 2022

4. Summary of Key Research Findings

Nature of the Natural resource-based conflict in Adamawa State

(i) Although there are other various forms of natural resources conflict, the most common form of natural resource-based conflict in the study area is farmer-herder conflict.

(ii) The actors basically involved in the conflict are usually farmers, herders, youths, traditional and community leaders and community-based associations.

(iii) The impact of the conflict is felt on every member of the community, particularly the most vulnerable groups such as women, children, people living with disability as well as elderly person. Also impacted in the conflict are youths, business men and women.

(iv) The impact includes loss of means of livelihood earning, loss of loved ones, closure of market, restriction of movements and inability to adequately farm.

Mechanisms for resolving Natural Resource-based Conflict

(i) The conflict is driven largely by climate change which impacted on the available land resources in the area. This therefore triggered discrimination in the use and allocation of resources as well as struggle for use of the land and water resources.

(ii) Various mechanisms for addressing natural resource-based conflict include confrontation between the groups, campaign against drugs, police intervention and sometimes, dialogue among the people. However, these were unable to bring lasting peace.

Stakeholders Interventions and Impacts

(i)   Various stakeholders such as the federal government, state government, local government, security organization and so on have intervened in the conflict but were not able to record much success.

(ii)   Their success is impeded by the perception of trust that the community has for the stakeholders. For instance, while governments at various levels play significant roles in the outbreak of the conflict, the people did not trust that they were resolving the conflict.

Impacts of Search for Common Ground Interventions

(i)   Search intervention through establishment of civil society forums such as CRN and this has fostered social cohesion and collaboration among the different people.

(ii)   The intervention of Search significantly reduced the conflict and has promoted peacebuilding among the people. However, there is a need to consolidate this in the long run.

Lessons Learnt

The followings are lessons learnt from the conflict scan carried out in the communities in Adamawa State:

(i)   Conflict triggers are interconnected in nature and therefore, they are very difficult to tell which one causes the conflict at one point or the other. For instance, interconnectivity of ethnicity, religion and natural resource-based dependency on land are interwoven and interconnected. This should be borne in mind when carrying out intervention.

(ii)   There is a high level of trust that the community reposes on humanitarian and non-governmental organizations. This level of trust is significant to enhancing effective intervention of non-governmental organizations.

(iii)   The project ensured community ownership of the activities to prevent conflict and achieve conditions that reduce community vulnerabilities to violence. This approach seeks to influence attitudes and behaviours through promoting values of peace and tolerance.

(iv)   Search's expertise and experience in the field of community approach to early warning-early response is key to developing innovative approaches in the design of early warning systems, which this project typifies.

(v)   Ensuring that community ownership of early warning management is a continuous exercise. In this respect, good practices adopted by the community-level structures, with support from Search, which included the

multi-community-driven approach, the consultative and participatory involvement of community members in problem-solving dialogues, and community-led early warning-response, were key pathways to effective response to early warning signs to conflict; and

(vi) Achieving gender equity is key to peace and sustainable development, especially at the community level, where gender inequality is deeply entrenched due to the pervasive influence of culture.

Conclusions

Adamawa State was replete with violent conflict occasioned shrinking availability of natural resources, especially land and water which resulted in struggle for natural resources as well as discrimination in the allocation and use of natural resources. One of the manifestations of the crisis is the prevalence of farmer-herder crises. While climate change played a significant role in the outbreak as well as prevalence of the crisis, socio-economic conditions of the people such as poverty, unemployment also play a significant role in driving the conflict. Although the conflict was between farmers and herders as the primary actors, also involved are community association and youth.

While many mechanisms as well as stakeholders have intervened, they were unable to mitigate the conflict. The Level of trust between the stakeholders and the people was very low, thus contributing to the failure of intervention. However, Search's intervention has resulted in reduction of the crisis not only because the level of trust between the people and Search Is better but also because the programme created a civil society organization that brought the different groups on the table for discussion. Therefore, this has brought cohesion between the conflict parties. Currently, the conflict has reduced but the possibility of renewed hostility has not disappeared especially.

Recommendations

The following are recommended:

1. **Prioritize Climate Change as an Area of Programmatic Focus**: Search should design and implement programmes that seek to respond to climate change conditions, impact and community resilience in Adamawa State and the entire Northern Nigeria. This will provide a concrete pathway for addressing some of the underlying causes of resource-based conflict in the focal communities assessed, and beyond.

2. **Support Community-Level Natural Resource Governance and Management**: By working with the leadership of the farmers, herders, and other stakeholders such as traditional leaders and community level groups, Search should support programmes that targets functional and sustainable mechanisms for the strengthening of governance of natural resources, specifically land and water, in a way that would engender collaboration, equity and fairness in terms of access and by all categories of users.

3. **Design and Implement Poverty Reduction Programmes**: Search and other humanitarian actors should work with relevant state and non-state actors in improving the socio-economic conditions of the people. As the assessment has shown, the poor socio-economic conditions of the people, especially poverty, also predisposes them to frequent struggles or conflicts, with huge humanitarian consequences.

4. **Sustain Training for Community Leaders on Early Warning and Conflict Management**: Search should work with community leaders in developing programmes that facilitate interaction and communications among diverse communities, with the goal of proactively responding to early warning signs, as well as managing conflicts. Activities such as sport and cultural festivals which strengthen social harmony among different ethnic and religious groups should also be supported.

5. **Support Local Action Plans on Women's Involvement in Peace and Security**: Programming that would support or strengthen the involvement of women in peace and security related decision-making processes in the communities should be designed and implemented. With specific reference to UNSCR 1325, Search should partner with key women interest groups, with a view to mainstreaming and deepening their participation in community-level peace and security matters.

Appendices

Annex 1: Data Presentation

Key Drivers of Natural Resources Based Conflict in the Communities

The study sought to understand what the residents of local communities perceive as the major drivers of the natural resources conflict in their communities. Response as shown in Fig. 10 revealed that poverty (110; 68.75 percent), Unemployment (82; 51.25 percent), illiteracy (77; 48.12 percent), Climate Change (63; 39.38), Discrimination in resource allocation and use (55; 34.38) and Bad leadership/governance (51; 31.88 percent) were identified by the respondents as key drivers while ethnicity (35; 21.88 percent) and religion (24; 15 percent) were identified by the respondents as the least drivers of natural resources-based conflict.

Fig. X: Key Drivers of Natural Resource-Based Conflict
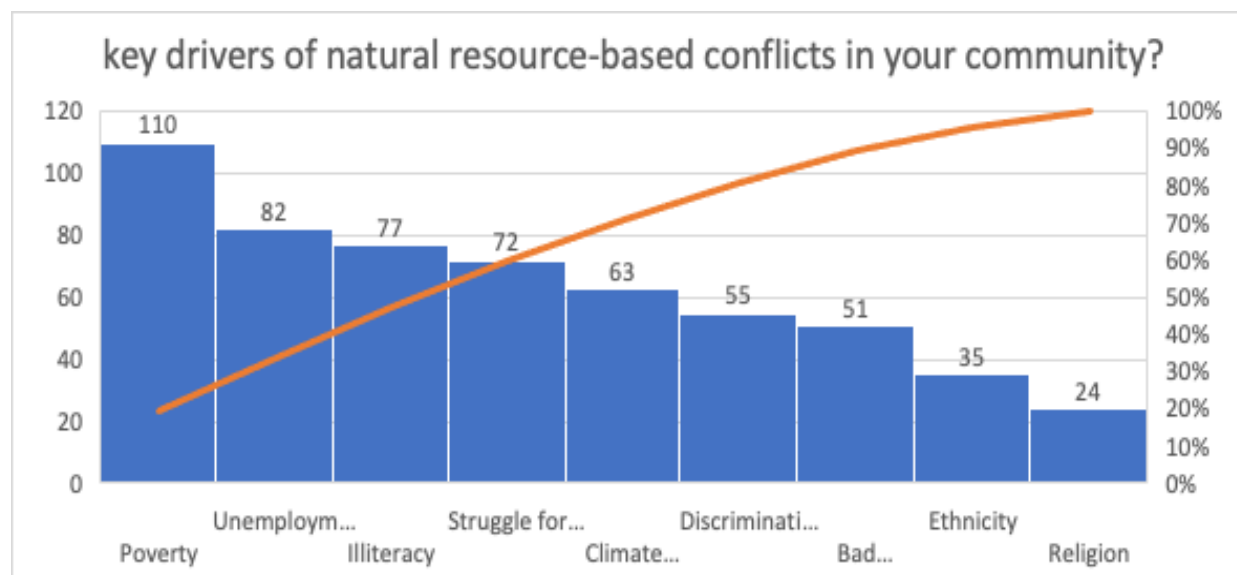
The Extent of Prevalence of Key Drivers of Natural Resource-based Conflicts

Arising from the response above, the research also sought to know the extent of prevalence of the key drivers of the natural resources-based conflicts in the community.

Poverty
Fig. XI revealed the majority of the respondents (113; 70.62 percent) expressed that poverty is highly prevalent as the driver of natural resource-based conflict. However, least respondents express average prevalence (18; 11.25 percent), less prevalent (16; 10 percent), fairly prevalent (9; 5.62), not prevalent (4; 2.5). This revealed that many of the

respondents expressed the belief that poverty is highly prevalent as the driver of natural resource-based conflict.
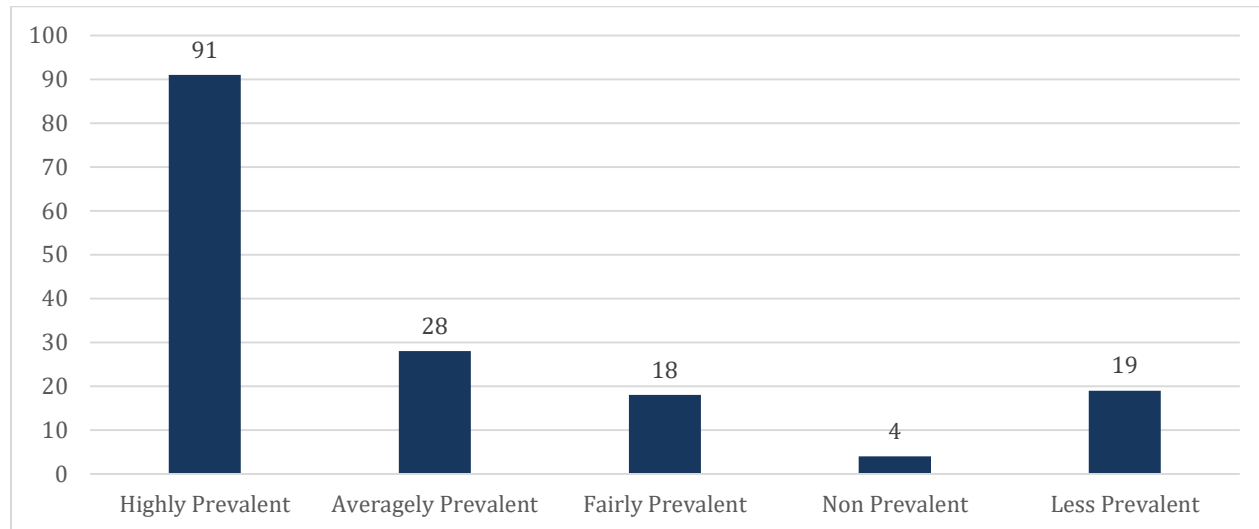
Fig. XI: Extent of Prevalent of Poverty as the Driver of Natural Resource-Based Conflict
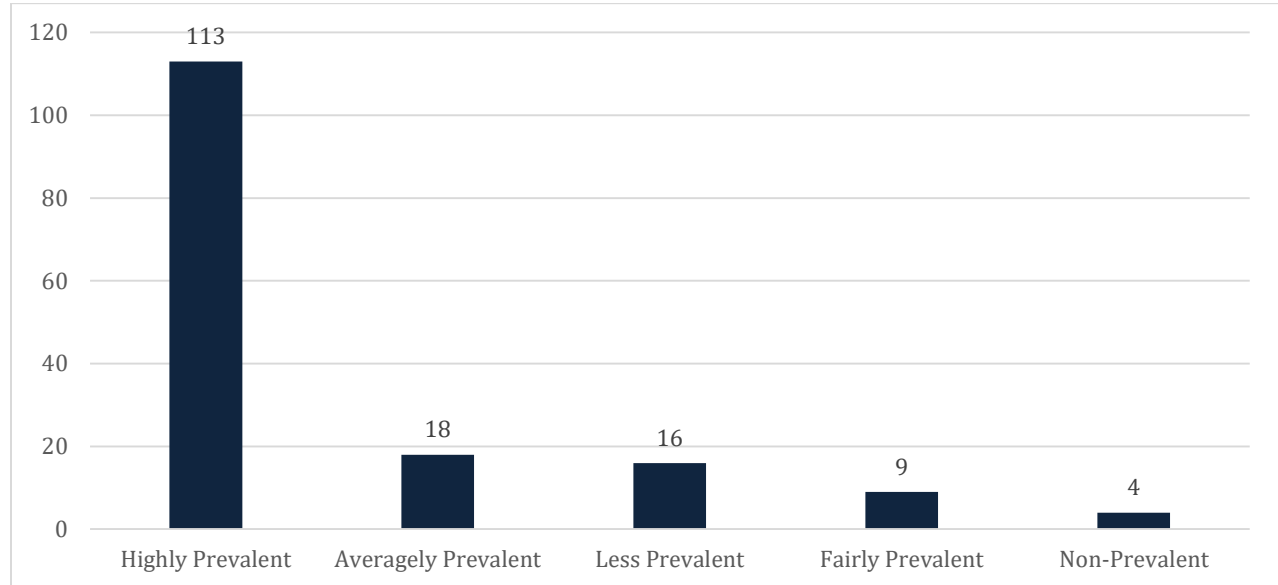
Unemployment

Regarding unemployment, Fig. XII revealed that the majority of the respondents expressed that unemployment is highly prevalent (91:56.88 percent). Meanwhile least respondents believe it is average prevalent (28; 17.5 percent), Less Prevalent (19; 11.88 Percent), Fairly Prevalent (18; 11.25 Percent) and Non prevalent (4; 2.5). This goes to show that unemployment is also highly prevalent as a key driver of natural-resource-based conflict in the study area.

Fig. XII: Extent of Prevalence of Unemployment as Driver of Natural Resource-based Conflict

Illiteracy

With regards to illiteracy, Fig. XIII revealed that the majority of the respondents also expressed the belief that illiteracy is highly prevalent as the driver of natural resources-based conflict (86; 53.75 percent). While least expressed believe in illiteracy as averagely prevalent (27; 16.88 percent), Fairly prevalent (25; 15.62 percent), less prevalent (18;11.25 percent), and non-prevalent (4; 2.5 percent). This data shows that illiteracy is considered to be highly prevalent as the driver of natural resource-based conflict in the research area.

**Fig. XIII: Extent of Prevalence of Illiteracy as Driver of Natural Resource-Based Conflict**
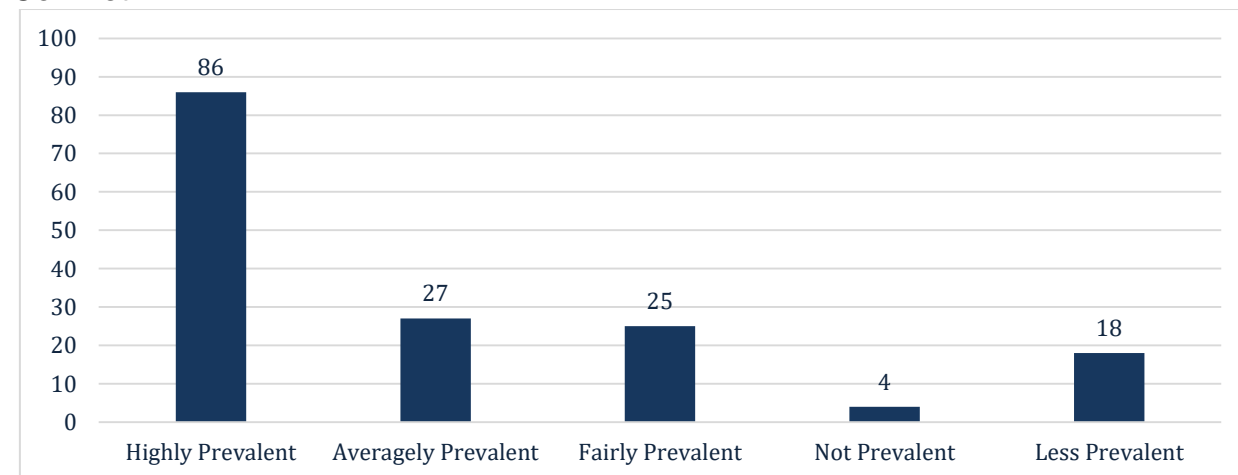
Bad Leadership/Governance

Fig. XIV revealed that a relatively high number of respondents expressed that bad leadership/governance is highly prevalent (63; 39.35 percent) as a driver of natural

resource conflict. Furthermore, 36 (22.5 percent) respondents expressed that it is averagely prevalent while 25 (15.62 percent) expressed that it is less prevalent and 16(10 percent) expressed that it is fairly prevalent. However, 20 (12.5 percent) expressed that it is non-prevalent. This also means that bad leadership and governance is also highly prevalent as the driver of natural resources conflict.

Fig. XIV: The extent of Bad leadership/governance as the driver of natural resource conflict
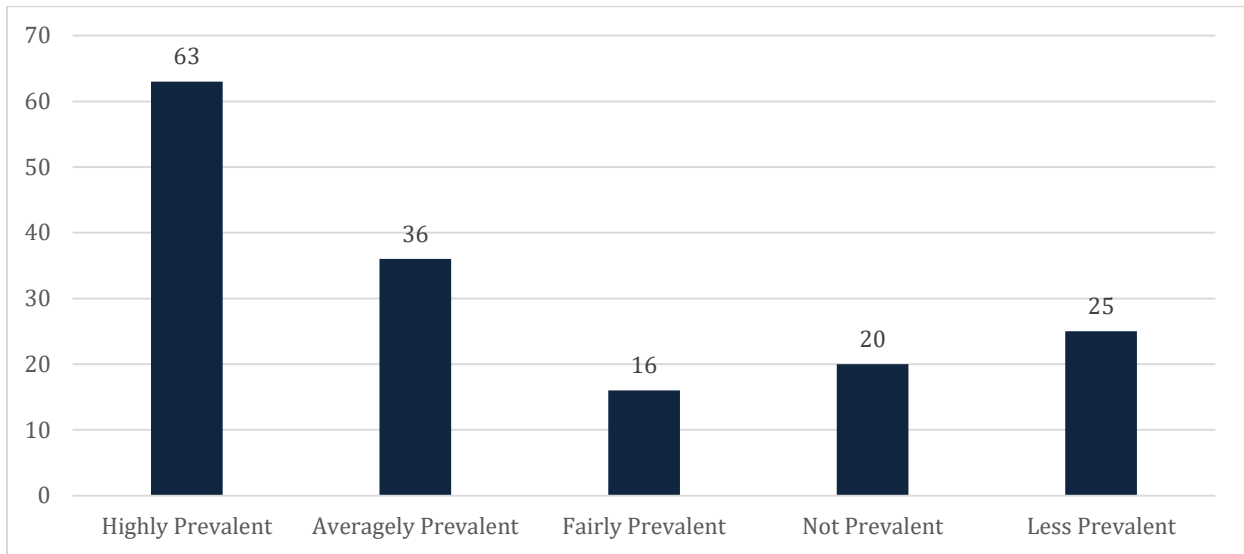
Religion

Fig. XV revealed that the highest number of respondents expressed the belief that religion is a fairly prevalent driver of natural resource-based conflict (43; 26.88). This is followed by less prevalent (39; 24.38 percent), non-prevalent (35; 21.88 percent), highly prevalent (23; 14.38), and averagely prevalent (20; 12.5). This shows that religion is not considered to be a highly prevalent driver of natural resource conflict. This agrees with figure X.

Fig. XV: Extent of Religion as the Driver of natural resource-based conflict
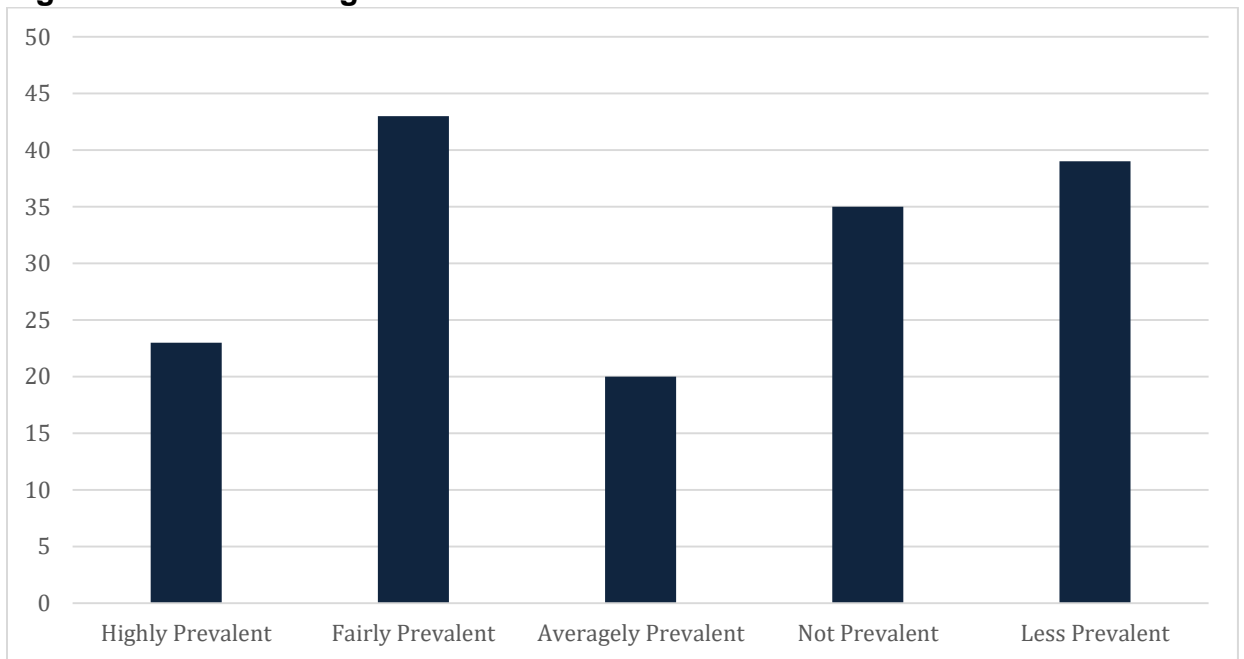
Discrimination in Resource allocation and use

With regards to the extent to which discrimination in resource allocation and use is a driver of natural resource-based conflict, Fig. XVI revealed that the majority of the respondents expressed that discrimination in resource allocation and use is highly prevalent (55; 34.38 percent) as a driver of resource-based conflict. This is followed by fairly prevalent (39; 24.38 percent), less prevalent (32; 20 percent), Averagely Prevalent (24; 15 percent) and non-prevalent (10; 6.25 percent). This goes to show that resource allocation and use is highly prevalent as a driver of natural resource-based conflict in the communities.

Fig. XVI: The extent of discrimination in resource allocation and use a driver of natural resource-based conflict
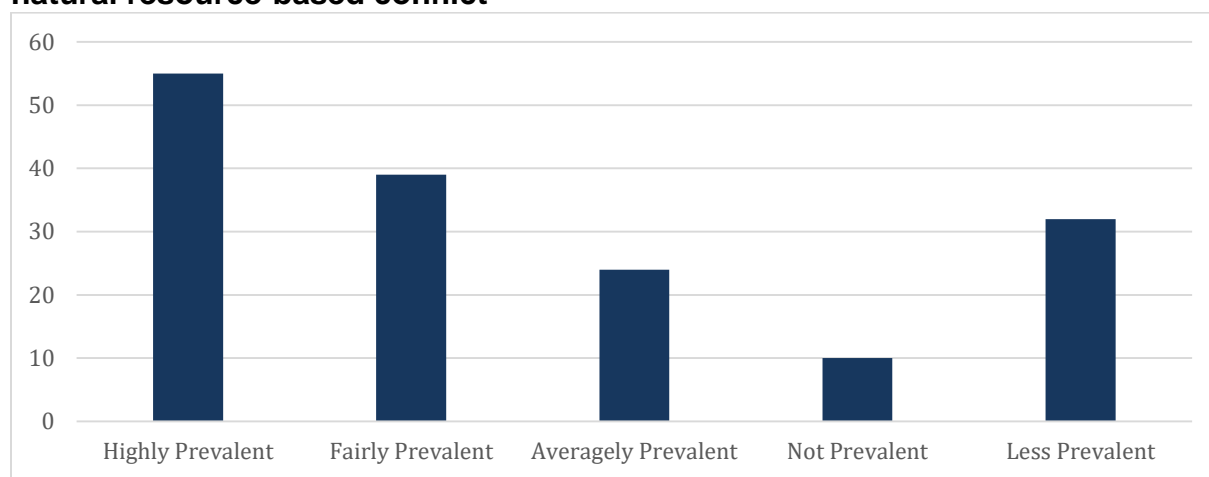
Ethnicity
Fig. XVII revealed that the highest number of the respondents expressed that ethnicity is less prevalent as the driver of natural resource-based conflict (40; 25 percent). This is followed by fairly prevalent (33;20.62 percent), averagely prevalent (32; 20 percent), highly prevalent (28; 17.5 percent) and non-prevalent (27; 16.88). This shows that ethnicity is less prevalent as the driver of natural resource-based conflict in the study area.

Fig. XVII: extent of ethnicity as the driver of natural resource-based conflict
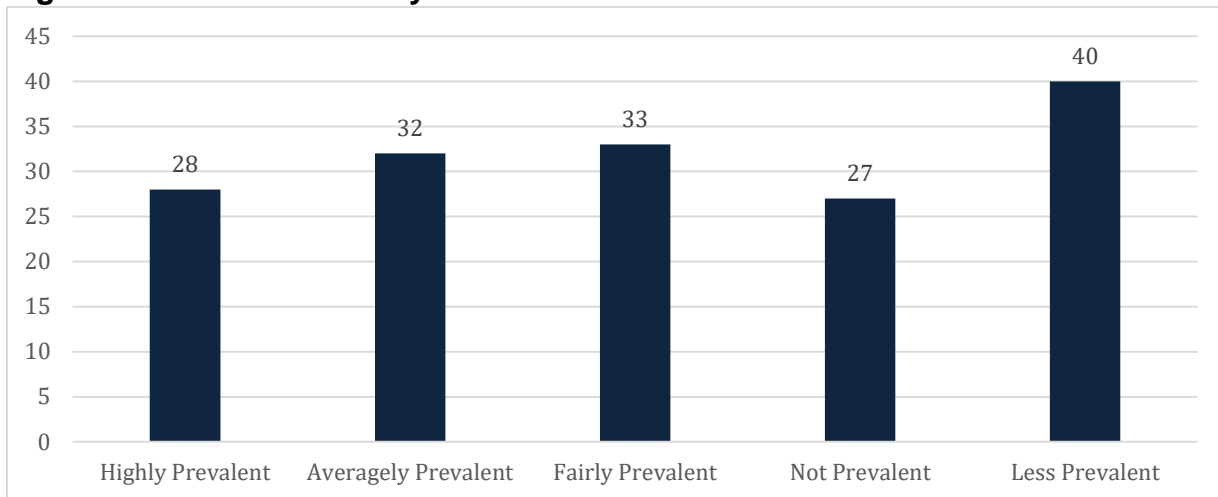
Struggle for Scarce Resources

Fig. XVIII revealed that a significant number of respondents expressed that struggle for scarce resources is highly prevalent as the driver of natural resources-based conflict (46; 28.75 percent). This is followed by less prevalent (38; 23.75 percent), averagely prevalent (37; 23.12 percent), fairly prevalent (26; 16.25), non-prevalent (13; 8.12 percent). This shows that struggle for scarce resources is highly prevalent as the driver of resource-based conflict.

Fig. XVIII: the extent of struggle for scarce resources as driver of natural resource-based conflict
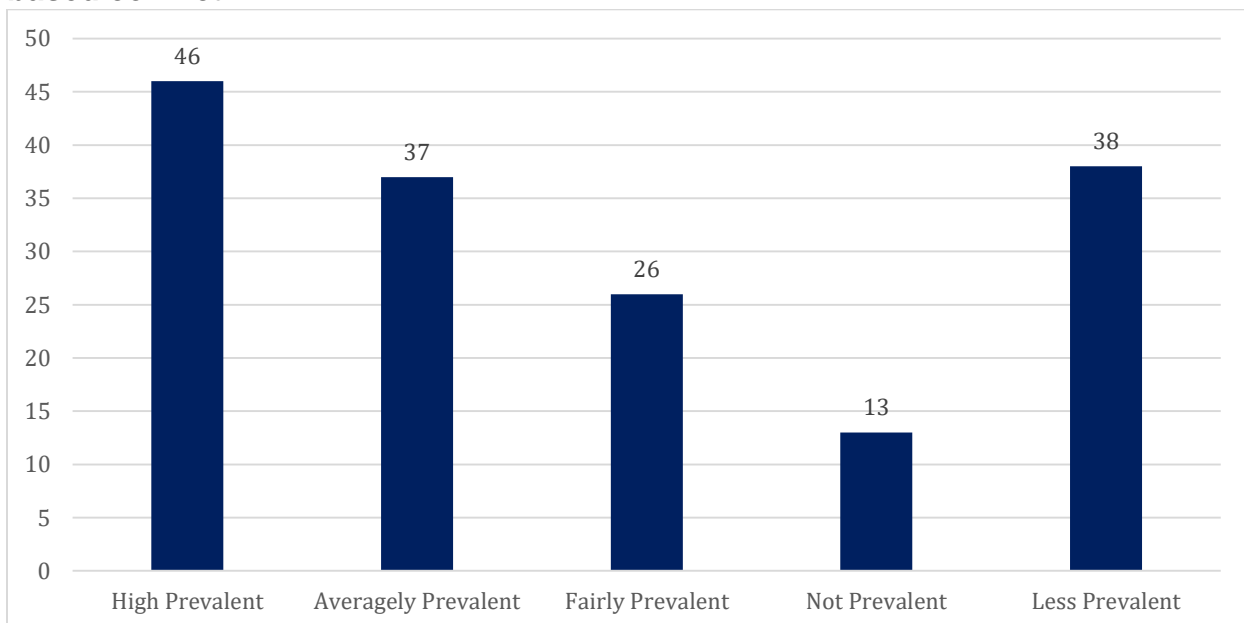
Climate Change

Fig. XIX: revealed that most of the respondents expressed that climate change is less prevalent as the driver of natural resource-based conflict. This is followed by Averagely prevalent (35; 21.88 percent), non-prevalent (29; 18.12 percent), fairly prevalent (27; 16.88 percent) and highly prevalent (25; 15.62 percent). This shows that climate change is not a highly prevalent driver of natural resource-based conflict.
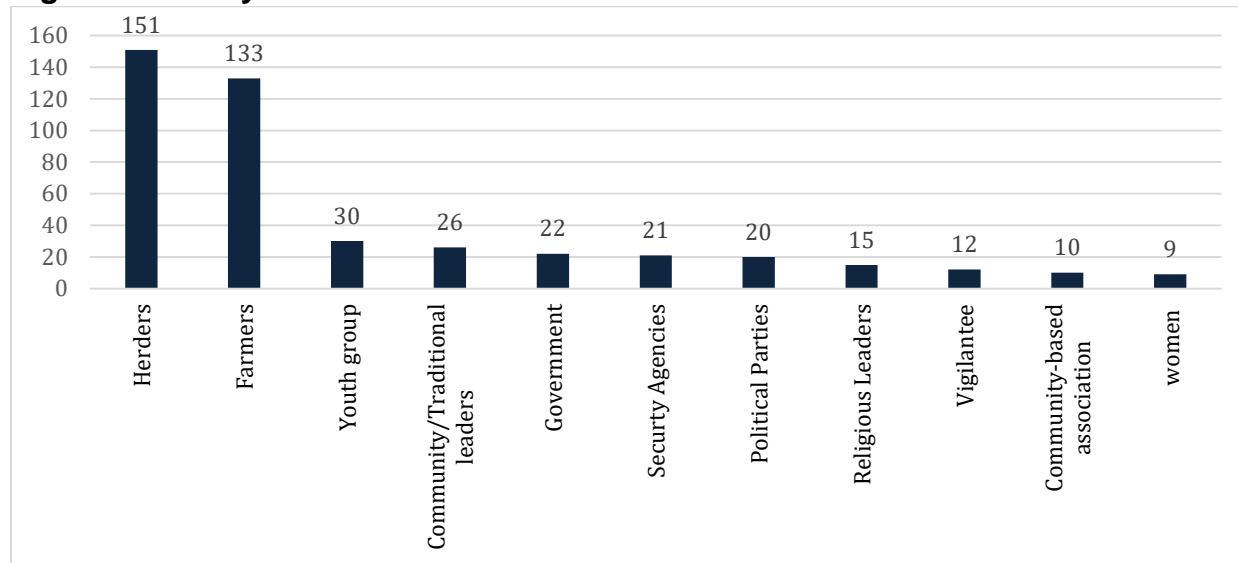
Fig. XIX: the extent of climate change as driver of natural resource-based conflict
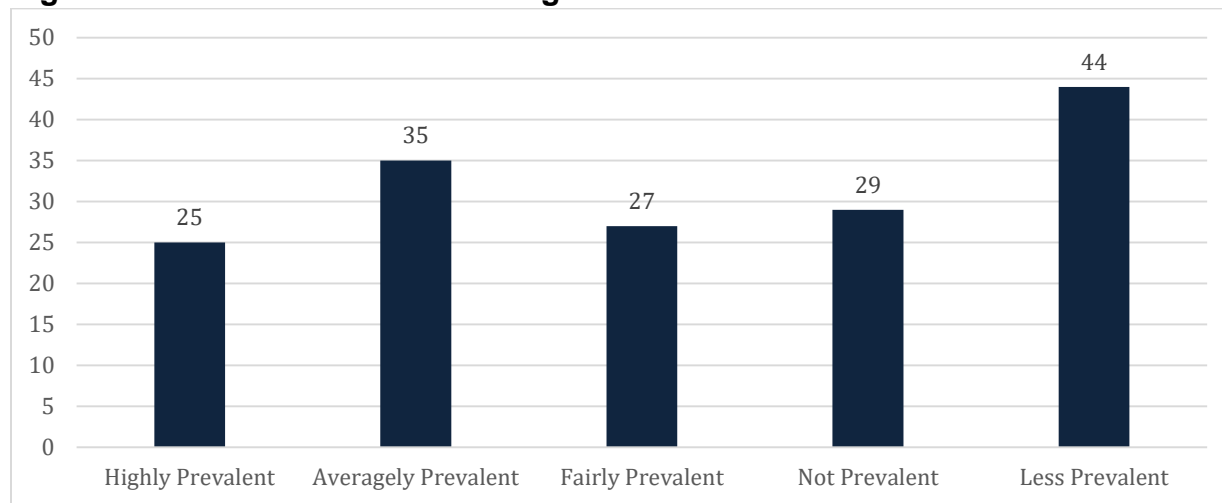
Primary Parties to the Natural Resource-Based Conflict

Fig. XX revealed that the majority of the respondents express that the primary parties are herder (151; 94.38 percent) and farmers (133; 83.12 percent). However, least of the respondent believed youth group (30; 18.75 percent), community/traditional leaders (26: 16.25 percent), government (22; 13.75 percent), security agencies (21;13.12 percent), Political Parties (20; 12.5 percent), religious leaders (15; 9.38 percent), Vigilantes (12; 7.5 percent), community-based Organisation (10; 6.25 percent) and women (9; 5.62 percent).

**Fig. XX: Primary Parties to the Natural Resources-Based Conflict**

Impact of the Natural Resource Conflict on the different groups/persons

Farmers
Table XI shows the extent of the impact of natural resource-based conflict on farmers in the study area. The responses of the respondent revealed that the majority of the respondents expressed that farmers were highly impacted (123; 76.88 percent). However, least respondents expressed averagely impacted (28; 17.5 percent), fairly impacted (6; 3.75 percent) and less impacted (3; 1.88 percent). This shows that farmers were highly impacted by the natural resource-based conflict. A major reason for this is because they are primary parties in the contest for the use and allocation of the natural resources.
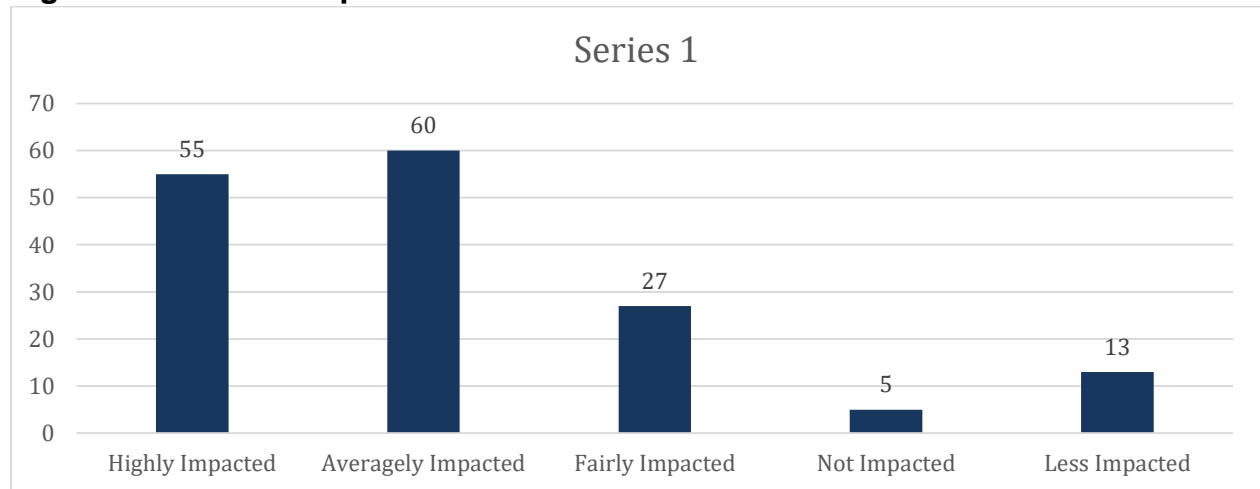
Fig. XXI: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on Farmers
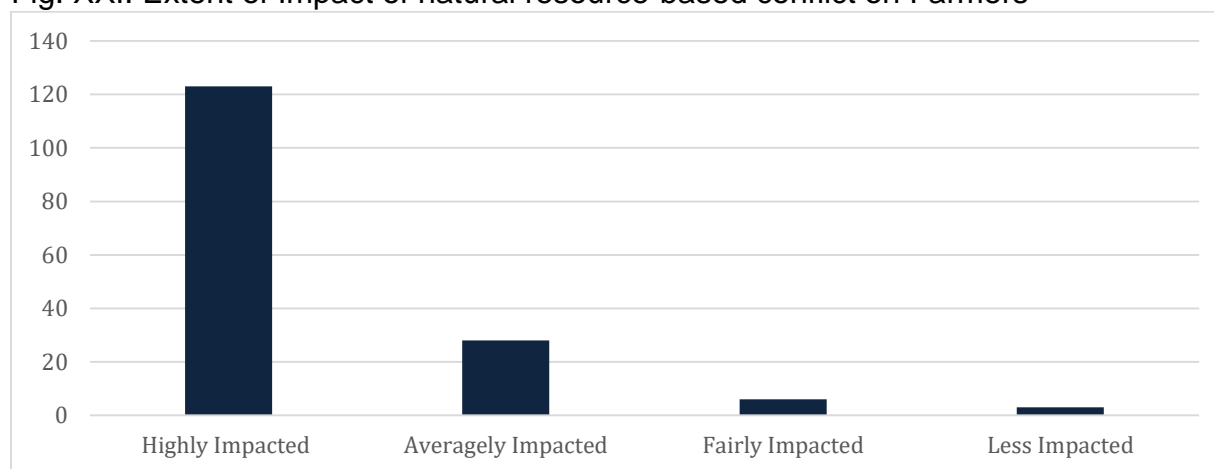
Herders

Table XII revealed that the majority of the respondents expressed that herders are averagely impacted (60; 37.5 percent). Others expressed that they are highly impacted (55; 34.38 percent), fairly impacted (27; 16.88 percent), less impacted (13; 8.12 percent). This shows that herders are also impacted significantly by the natural resources-based conflict in the study area. The reason for this is because they are the primary party on the natural resource-based conflict.

Fig. XXII: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on Herders

Series 1

Traders/Business Persons

Table XIII revealed that the majority of the respondents express the belief that traders and business persons were fairly impacted by the natural resources-based conflict (60; 37.5 percent). Least respondents expressed that the are traders/business persons were less impacted (32; 20 percent), averagely impacted (30; 18.75 percent), highly impacted (28; 17.5 percent) and not impacted (10; 6.25 percent). This therefore shows that traders and business persons are fairly impacted by the natural resource-based conflict in their area. The reason for this is probably due to the fact that they are not primary parties in the conflict.

Fig. XXIII: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on Traders/Business Persons
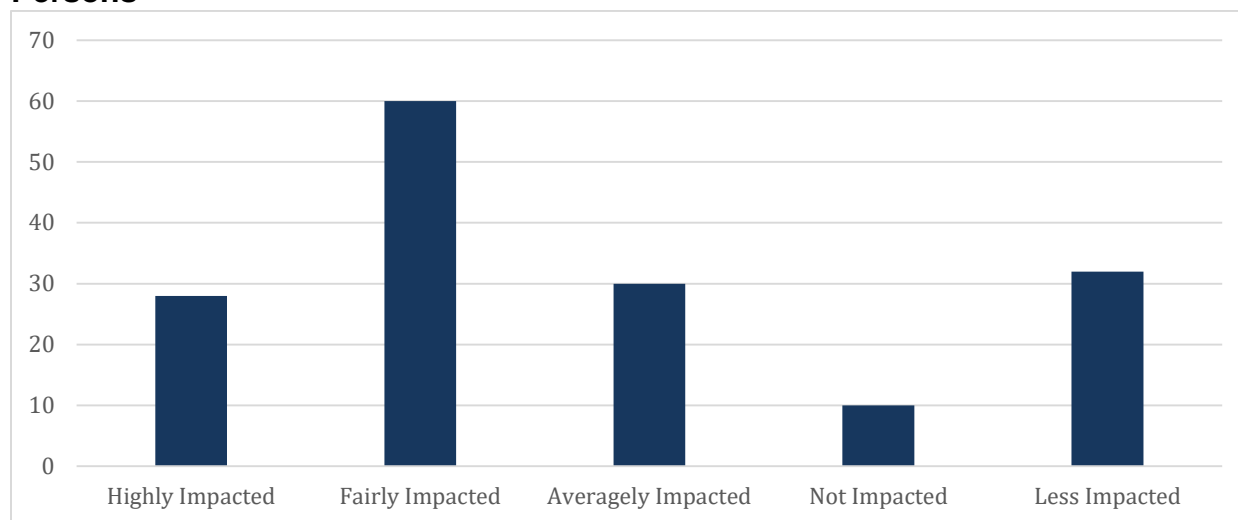
Women

Table XIV shows the extent of the impact of natural resource-based conflict on the women population in the study area. Response shows that the majority of the respondents expressed that women are averagely impacted (44; 27.5 percent). This is followed by respondents who express that women were less impacted (38; 23.75 percent) followed by highly impacted (36; 22.5 percent), and fairly impacted (29; 18.12 percent). This shows that women were averagely impacted by the natural resources-based conflict. This is expected given that when conflict sets out, women, children and aged people are usually the most affected.
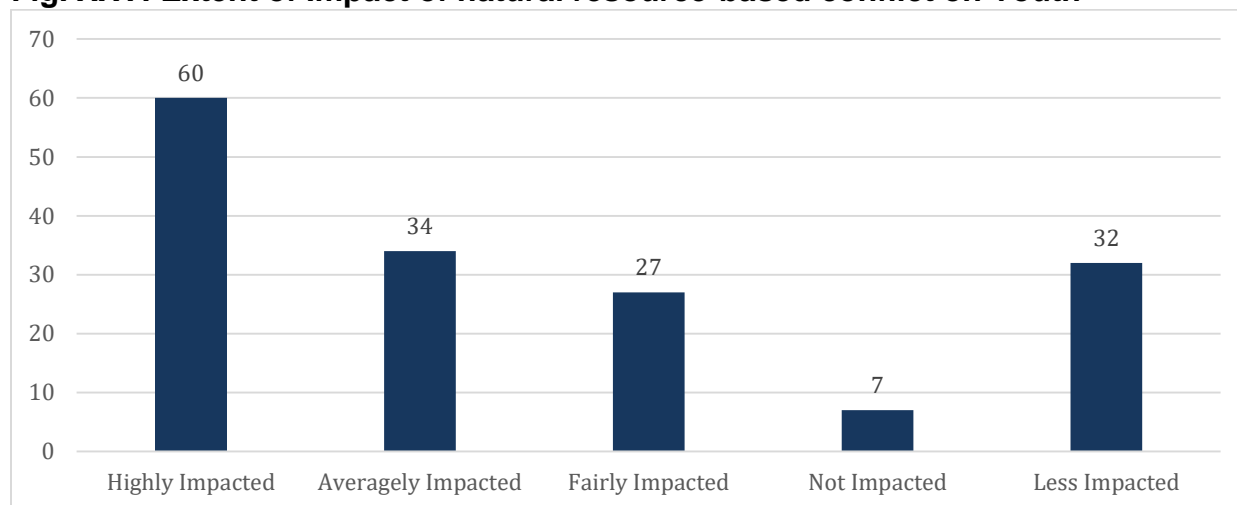
Fig. XXIV: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on Women
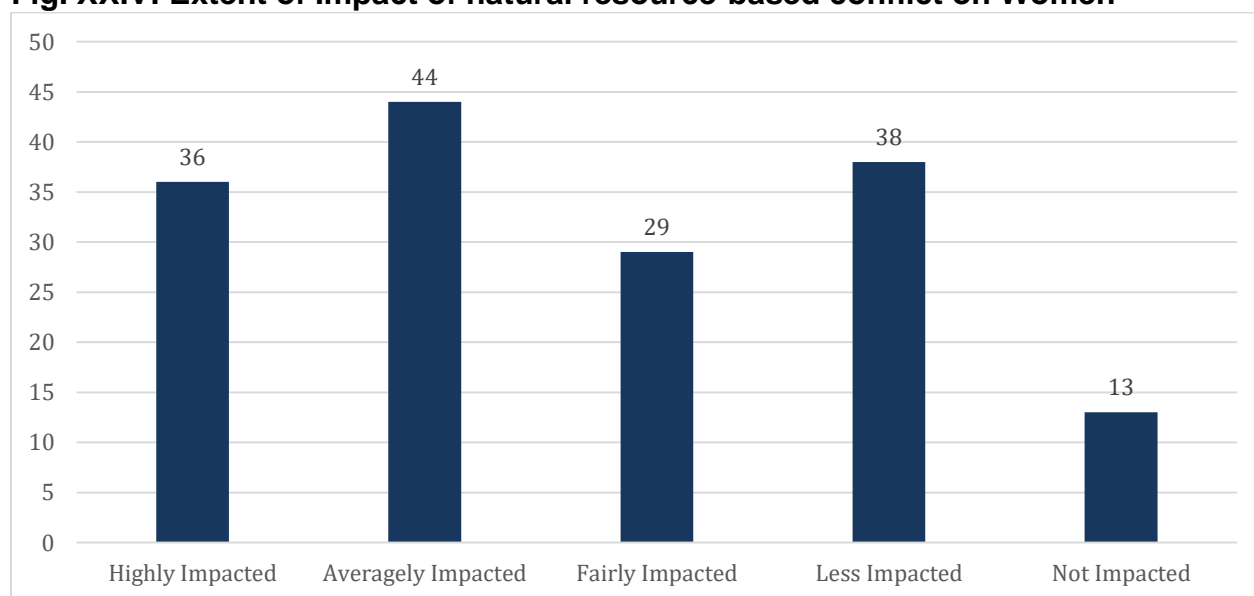
Youth

This section shows the extent of the impact of the natural resource-based conflict on youth. Table XV shows that the majority of the respondents expressed that the youth population were highly impacted (60; 37.5 percent). This is followed by averagely impacted (34; 21.25 percent), less impacted (32; 20 percent), fairly impacted (27; 16.88 percent) and not impacted (7; 4.38 percent). This shows that youth are highly impacted in the natural resource-based conflict. This is not surprising because the youth population always plays a significant role in the outbreak of violent conflicts.

Fig. XXV: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on Youth

People Living with Disability

This aspect of the questionnaire shows the extent of impact of natural resource-based conflict on people living with Disability. Table XVI shows that the majority of the respondents expressed that PLWD are less impacted (46;28.75 percent). However, 39 (24.38 percent) expressed that they are highly impacted while 30 (18.75 percent) expressed that PLWDs are fairly impacted and 29 (18.12 percent) believed they were averagely impacted. Meanwhile 16 (10 percent) believed they PLWDs are not impacted at all

Fig: XXVI: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on People Living with Disability
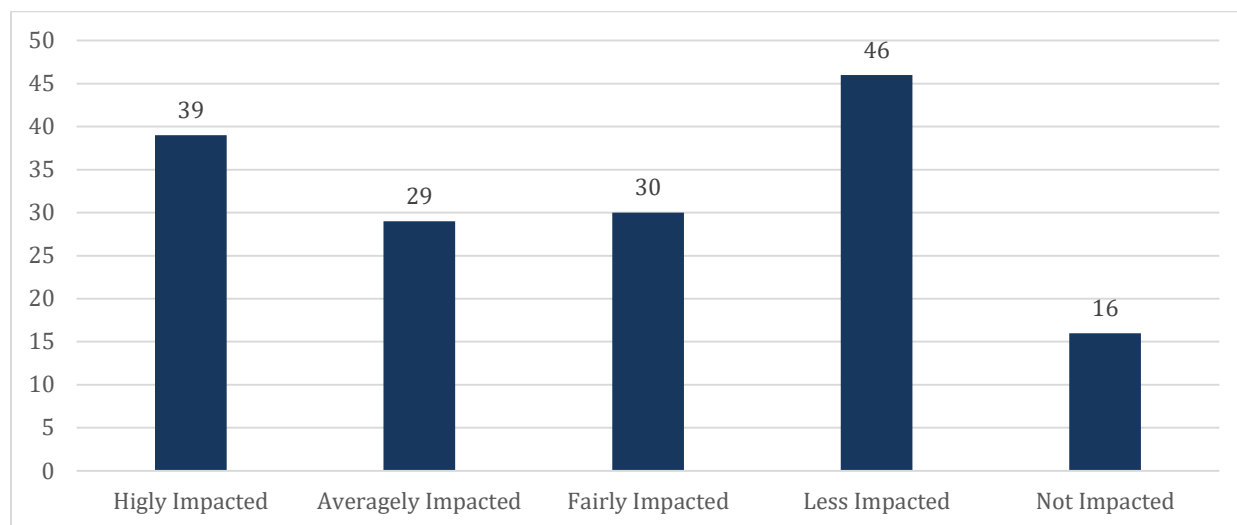
Aged/Elderly

This section set out to know the extent to which the natural resources-based conflict impacts on the aged and elderly. Table XVI revealed that 42 (26.25 percent) respondents that aged/elderly were highly impacted. Furthermore, 36 (22.5 percent) expressed average impact. These were followed by less impacted (33; 2062 percent), not impacted (25;15.62 percent) and fairly impacted (24; 15 percent). This shows that the elderly and aged were significantly impacted by the natural resource-based conflict in the area.

**Fig: XXVII: Extent of Impact of natural resource-based conflict on Aged/Elderly**
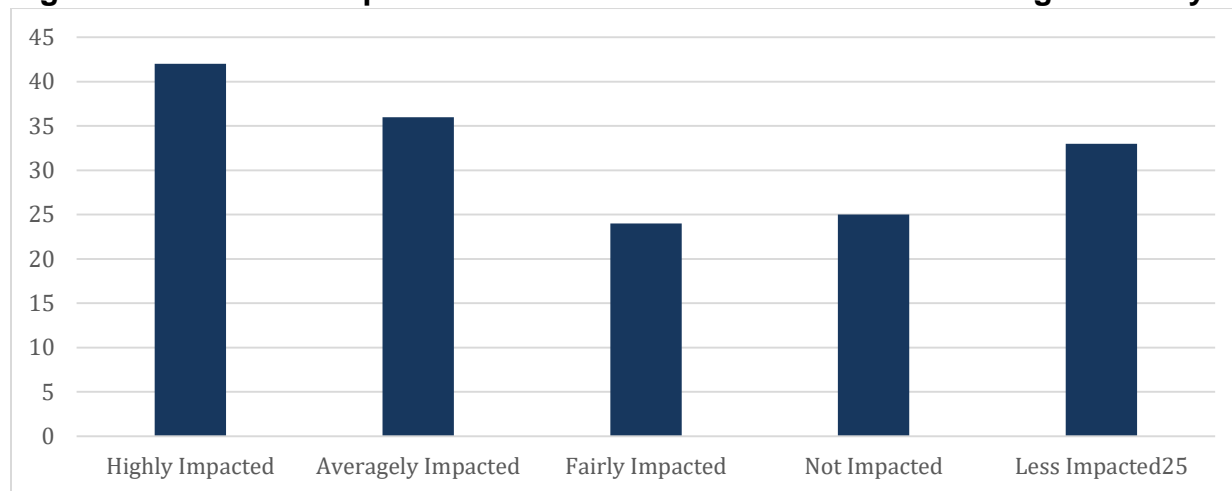
Factors Responsible For Increase Or Decrease In Natural Resources Conflict

This question sought to understand respondents' perception of the factors that contribute to increase in natural resource conflict in the study area. Findings from Fig. XI revealed

the majority of the respondent's identified climate change as a major factor (40; 28.57 percent). This is followed by struggle for scarce resources (38; 27.14 percent), poverty (16; 11.43 percent), unemployment (15; 10.73 percent), population boom (13; 9.29 percent), illiteracy (7; 5 percent), insecurity (4; 2.86 percent), negligence by herder (3; 2.14 percent) and tribalism (1; 0.72 percent).

This shows that climate change is a significant factor responsible for the increase in natural resources conflict in the study area. This agrees with some of the points made by participants in FGD and KII as major factors responsible for increase in natural resources-based conflict. However, most of the respondents in KII and FGD stressed lack of understanding among herders and farmers with regards to taking responsibility for encroachment as well as over-charging compensation claims, encroachment of farmland and cattle routes as well as trust.

Fig. XI: Factors Responsible for increase or decrease in natural resources conflict in your community
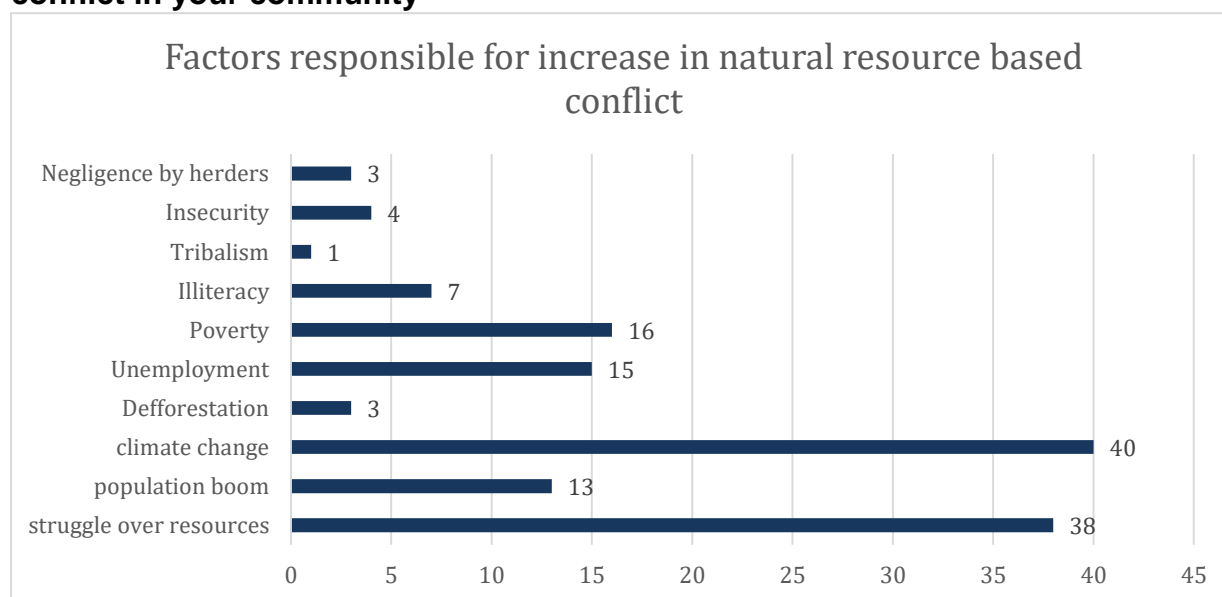
Factors Responsible for Decrease in Natural Resource-Based Conflict

The study also set out to know factors responsible for the decrease in natural resource-based conflict. Figure XI revealed the majority of the respondents expressed that Intervention of governments and NGOs through dialogue is responsible (12; 48 percent). However, 5 (20 percent) believed it is allocation of grazing lands. Furthermore, three respondents each believed provision of security and political will from the government led to the decrease. This accounts for about 12 percent of the respondents who expressed belief that the conflict has dwindled. Meanwhile, 2 respondents believed good government policy is responsible for the decrease and this. This shows that the intervention of government and NGOs have helped to stem the tide of natural resources-based conflict in the community.
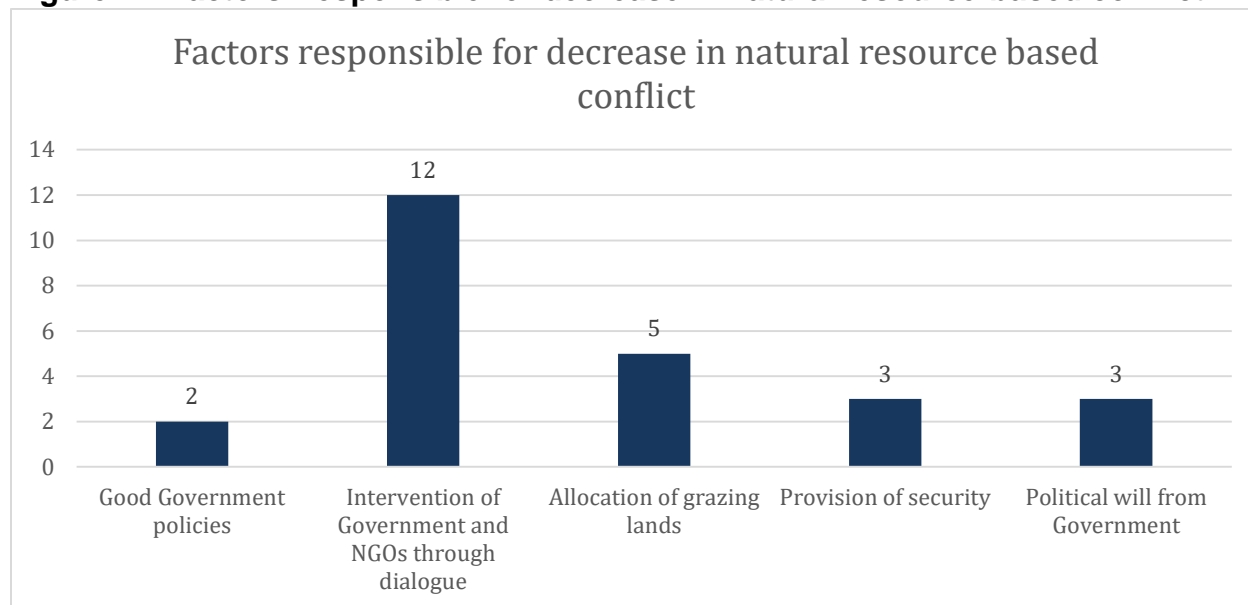
Figure XI: Factors Responsible for decrease in natural resource-based conflict

Factors responsible for decrease in natural resource based conflict

How has the effectiveness of responses by the following actors evolved, with respect to the natural resource-based conflicts in your community:

This section tends to ascertain the effectiveness of the responses of the various stakeholders to the natural resource-based conflict. These stakeholders include federal government, state government, local government, farmer-herder group, traditional/community leaders, community-based organizations, donor agencies, humanitarian organizations and civil society.

Meanwhile, 36 (22.5 percent), 20 (12.5 percent), 19 (11,88) expressed that state government efforts are fairly effective, very effective and effective respectively. Table XIX: Table XIX revealed that 45 (28.12 percent) of the respondents said local government response was fairly effective while 42 (26.25 percent) said it is ineffective. Meanwhile, 35 (21.88 percent), 21 (13.12 percent) and 17 (10.62 percent) expressed that local government response was very ineffective, effective and very effective respectively.

With regards to Farmer-Herder groups, Table XX shows that 43 (26.88 percent) expressed that farmer-herder group responses were fairly effective while 43 (26.88 percent) expressed that their responses were effective. Meanwhile 35 (21.88 percent), 20 (12.5 percent) and 19 (11.88 percent) expressed that the responses of the farmer-herder group were ineffective, very ineffective and very effective respectively. Table XXI shows that 49 (30.62 percent) expressed that the responses of the traditional leaders to the natural resource-based conflict are very effective while 47 (29.38 percent) are effective. In the same vein, 43 (26.88 percent) expressed that their responses are fairly effective while 15 (9.38 percent) and 6 (3.75 percent) expressed that their responses are

ineffective and very ineffective.

With regards to Community-based Association, Table XXII shows that 47 (29.38 percent) expressed that the responses of Community based organizations are effective while 46 (28.74 percent) expressed that their responses are rather fairly effective. Meanwhile, 35 (21.88 percent), 22 (13.75 percent), 10 (6.25 percent) expressed that their responses are very effective, effective and very ineffective respectively. Lastly, on Donor Agencies, Humanitarian Organizations and Civil Society Responses, Table XXIII shows that 81 (50.62 percent) of the respondents expressed that donor agencies, humanitarian organizations and civil society organizations responses to natural resources-based conflict is very effective while 40 (25 percent) expressed that it is effective. Meanwhile 16 (10 percent) expressed that it is fairly effective and 12 (7.5 percent) and 11 (6.88 percent) expressed that the response of the donor agencies, humanitarian and civil society organizations are very ineffective and ineffective respectively.

Federal Government

Figure XVII: Effectiveness of the response of Federal Government in resolving Natural-resource conflict
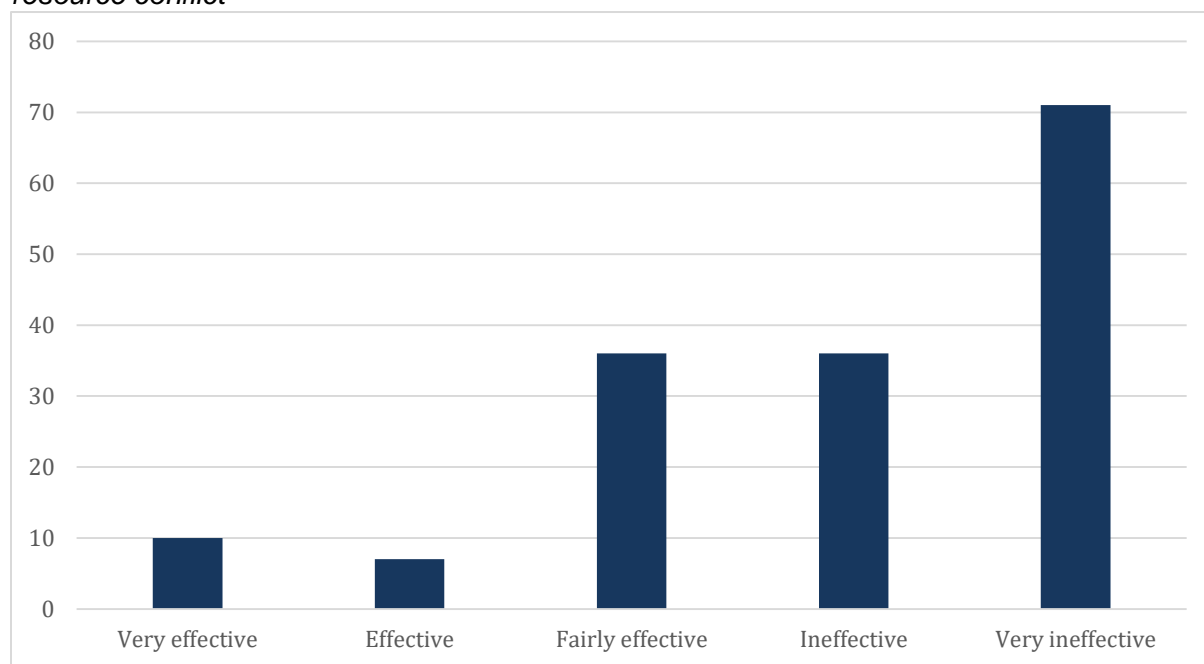
State Government
Figure XVIII: Effectiveness of the response of State Government in resolving Natural-resource conflict
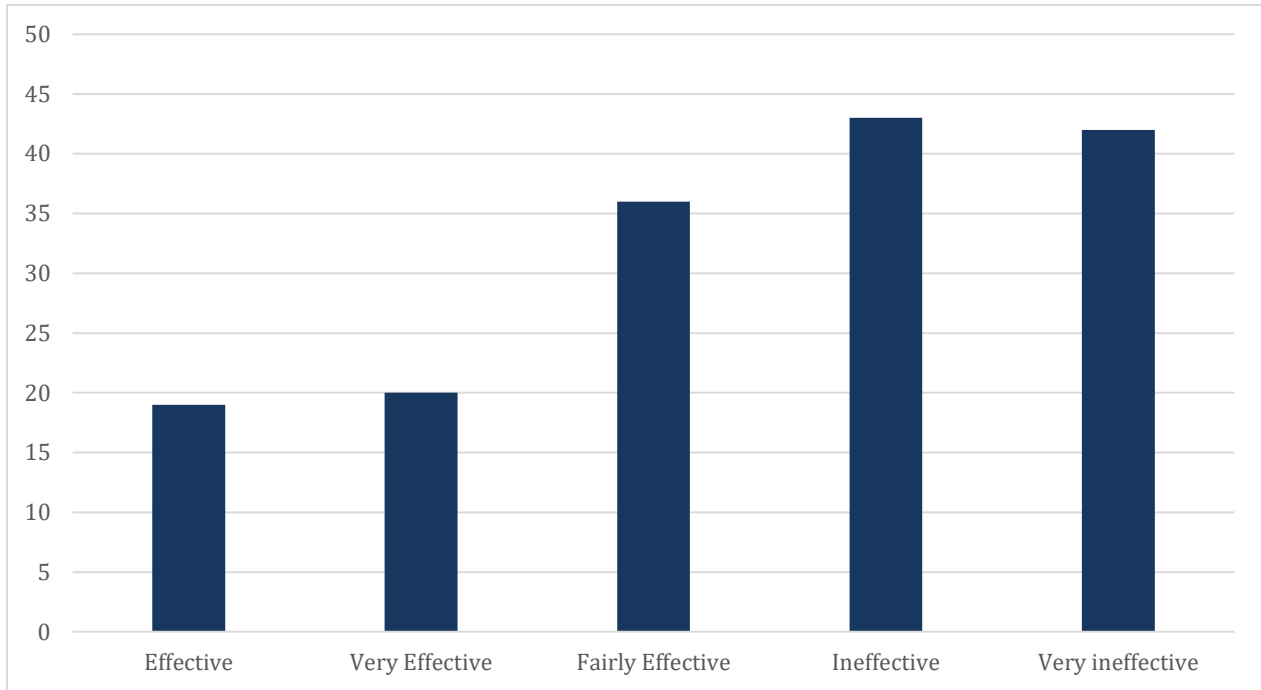
Annex 2: Survey Tools
Annex 3: Documents Consulted

Annex 4: Tables

Local Government

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Very ineffective	71	44.38
Ineffective	36	22.5
Fairly Effective	36	22.5
Very effective	10	6.25
Effective	7	4.38

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Ineffective	43	26.88
Very ineffective	42	26.25
Fairly Effective	36	22.5
Very effective	20	12.5
Effective	19	11.88

Table XIX: Effectiveness of Local Government response to Natural resource conflict

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Fairly Effective	45	28.12
Ineffective	42	26.25
Very ineffective	35	21.88
Effective	21	13.12
Very effective	17	10.62

Farmer/Herder Groups

Table XX: Effectiveness of Farmer/Herder Group response to natural resource-based conflict

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Fairly Effective	43	26.88
Effective	43	26.88
Ineffective	35	21.88
Very ineffective	20	12.5
Very effective	19	11.88

Traditional/Community Leadership

Table XXI: Effectiveness of the Traditional/Community Leaders to natural resource-based conflict

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Very effective	49	30.62
Effective	47	29.38
Fairly Effective	43	26.88
Ineffective	15	9.38
Very ineffective	6	3.75

Community Based Associations

Table XXII: Effectiveness of Responses of Community Based Associations to Natural resource-based conflict

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Effective	47	29.38
Fairly Effective	46	28.75
Very effective	35	21.88
Ineffective	22	13.75
Very ineffective	10	6.25

Donor agencies, Humanitarian organizations and civil society

Table XXIII: Effectiveness of the Responses of Donor agencies, Humanitarian organizations and civil society

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Very effective	81	50.62
Effective	40	25
Fairly Effective	16	10
Very ineffective	12	7.5
Ineffective	11	6.88

Respondents' Level of trust in the following institutions, with respect to their responses to natural resourced based conflict in your community

Government

Table XXIV: Respondents Level of Trust in Government

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Not Trusted	53	33.12
Low Trusted	35	21.88
Fairly Trusted	31	19.38
Highly Trusted	28	17.5
Averagely Trusted	9	5.62

Table XXIV shows the respondents' level of trust for the government. It revealed that 53 (33.12 percent) do not trust the government while 35 (21.88 percent) have low trust for the government. Similarly, 31 (19.98 percent) fairly trusted government and 28 (17.5 percent) highly trusted government while 9 (5.62 percent) averagely trusted government.

Security Agencies

Table XXV: Respondents' Level of Trust for Security Agencies

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Fairly Trusted	44	27.5
Not Trusted	38	23.75
Averagely Trusted	33	20.62
Low Trusted	25	15.62
Highly Trusted	16	10

Table XXV revealed that 44 (27.5 percent) fairly trusted security agencies while 38 (23.75 percent) do not trust them. Meanwhile, 33 (20.62 percent) averagely trusted security agencies and 25 (15.62 percent) and 16 (10) have low trust and highly trusted security agencies respectively.

Religious Leaders

Table XXVI below shows Respondents' Level of Trust for Religious Leaders

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Averagely Trusted	52	32.5
Fairly Trusted	42	26.25
Highly Trusted	39	24.38
Not Trusted	13	8.12
Low Trusted	10	6.25

The table reveals that 52 (32.5 percent) averagely trusted the religious leaders while 42 (26.25 percent) fairly trusted them. Meanwhile, 39 (24.38 percent) highly trust them and 13 (8.12 percent) and 10 (6.25 percent) do not trust and have low trust for them respectively.

Traditional/Community Leaders

Table XXVII: Respondent Level of Trust for Traditional/Community Leader

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Highly Trusted	57	35.62
Averagely Trusted	41	25.62
Fairly Trusted	37	23.12
Low Trusted	10	6.25
Not Trusted	7	4.38

Table XXVII revealed the respondents' level of trust for Traditional/community leaders. This shows that 57 (35.62 percent) have high trust for the traditional/community leaders while 41 (25.62 percent) averagely trusted them. Similarly, 37 (23.12 percent), 10 (6.25 percent) and 7 (4.38 percent) are fairly trusted, have low trust and do not trust them at all respectively.

Community-Based Association
Table XXVIII: Respondent Level of Trust for Community Based Association

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Averagely Trusted	53	33.12
Fairly Trusted	39	24.38
Highly Trusted	35	21.88
Low Trusted	18	11.25
Not Trusted	7	4.38

Table XXVIII revealed the respondents' level of trust for community-based organizations in the research area. The table reveals that 53 (33.12 percent) have average trust for the community-based association while 39 (24.38 percent) have fair trust for them. Similarly, 35 (21.88 percent) have high trust for them while 18 (11.25 percent) and 7 (4.38 percent) have low trust and do not trust them respectively.

Civil Society/Non-Governmental Groups

Table XXIX: Respondents' Perception of Level of Trust for Civil Society/Non-Governmental Groups.

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Averagely Trusted	52	32.5
Highly Trusted	38	23.75
Low Trusted	25	15.62
Fairly Trusted	24	15
Not Trusted	14	8.75

Table XXIX Revealed the respondents' perception of the level of trust for civil society/non-governmental organizations. The Table revealed that 52 (32.5 percent) have average trust for the civil society/non-governmental organizations in the research area while 38 (23.75 percent) have high trust for them. In the same vein, 25 (15.62 percent) have low trust but 24 (15 percent) and 14 (8.75 percent) have fair trust and do not trust them respectively.

Humanitarian Organizations

Table XXX: Respondents' Level of Trust for Humanitarian Organizations

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Highly Trusted	87	54.38
Averagely Trusted	28	17.5
Fairly Trusted	14	8.75
Low Trusted	11	6.88
Not Trusted	8	5

Table XXX shows respondents' level of trust for humanitarian organizations in the research areas. The table revealed that 87 (54.38 percent) have high trust in humanitarian organizations while 28 (17.5 percent) have average trust for them. Meanwhile, 14 (8.75 percent), 11 (6.88 percent) and 8 (5) fairly trusted. Have low trust and do not have trust at all respectively for humanitarian organizations. Structures / mechanisms for community cohesion developed by your community in response to natural resource-based conflicts

Fig. XII: Structure for Community Cohesion developed in Response to Natural Resource-Based Conflict.
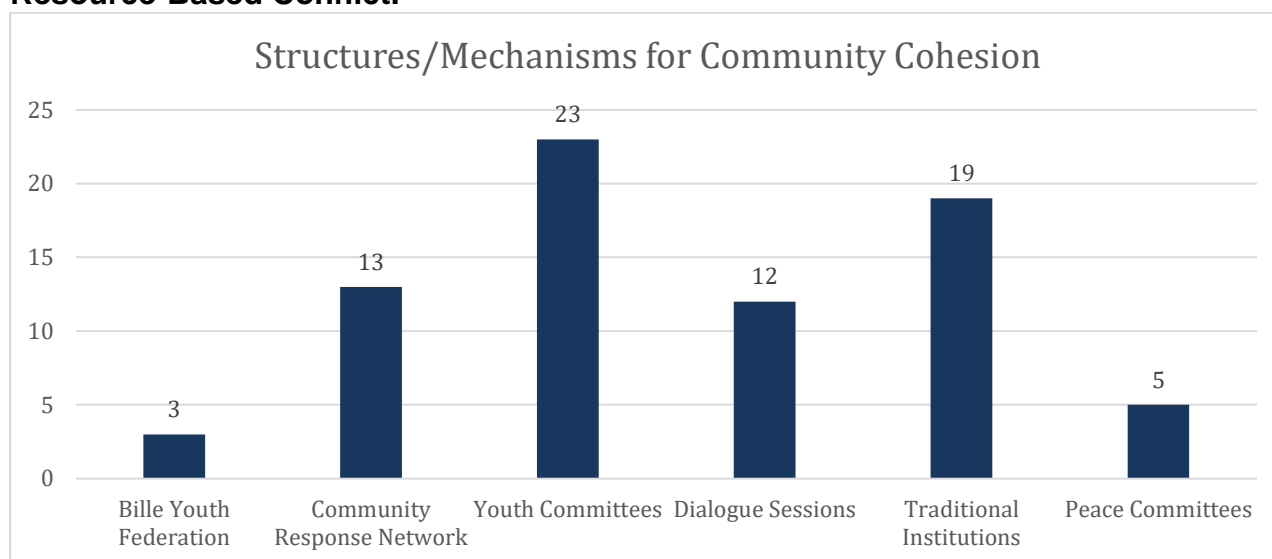

Fig. XII revealed the structure and mechanism developed by the community in response to natural resource-based conflict in the research area from those who answered in the affirmative to the question on whether they have created structures for community cohesion to address natural resource-based conflict. From the 75 respondents that answered in

affirmation, 23 (30.67 percent) said they created a youth committee and 19 (25.33 percent) said they created traditional institutions. Meanwhile, 13 (17.33 percent) and 12 (16 percent) said they created a community response mechanism and dialogue session to address the conflict. Similarly, 5 (6.67 percent) and 3 (4 percent) created peace committees and Bille Youth Association to address the conflict.

Respondents' perception of Level of Impact external actors' intervention on natural resource-based conflict have on the conflict. This question examined the extent to which the external actor's intervention, especially Search's programme, have impacted the natural resources conflict in the research areas, as shown in the respective tables below.

Table XXIV reveals the respondents' perception as to whether conflict reduction in the past years is connected with the activities of Search intervention activities in the communities. The response revealed that 76 (47.5 percent) strongly disagree with the activities of Search. However, 27 (16.88 percent) agreed while 25 (15.62 disagree). Meanwhile, 24 (15 percent) are undecided while 8 (4) strongly agreed.

Table XXXI: Respondents' Perception on COMITAS Project Has reduced conflict in the research area

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agreed	92	57.5
Agreed	35	21.88
Undecided	18	11.25
Strongly Disagreed	10	6.25
Disagreed	5	3.12

Table XXXI shows the respondents' perception on whether Search intervention has reduced conflict in the area. This shows that 92 (57.5 percent) strongly agreed that the Search intervention programme has reduced conflict. Also 35 (21.88 percent) agreed while 18 (11.25 percent) are undecided. Meanwhile 10 (6.25 percent) and 5 (3.12 percent) strongly disagree and disagree respectively.

Table XXXII: Respondents' Perception on Whether COMITAS Project has increased conflict in the research area

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagreed	93	58.12

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Disagreed	38	23.75
Undecided	24	15
Agreed	3	1.88
Strongly Agreed	2	1.25

Table XXXII shows respondents' perception on whether Search intervention has increased conflict. It shows that 93 (58.12 percent) strongly disagree that Search intervention in natural resource-based conflict has increased conflict in the area while 38 (23.75 percent) disagree. Meanwhile, 24 (15 percent) are undecided while 3 (1.88 percent) and 2 (1.25 percent) disagree and strongly disagree respectively.

Table XXXIII: Respondents' perception on whether COMITAS Project Programme has not changed conflict situation

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagreed	93	58.12
Disagreed	33	20.62
Undecided	16	10
Agreed	12	7.5
Strongly Agreed	6	3.75

Table XXXIII shows respondent perception on whether Search intervention has no impact on conflict situations in the study area. This reveals that 93 (58.12 percent) strongly disagree while 33 (20.62 percent) disagree. Further, 16 (10 percent) are undecided while 12 (7.5) and 6 (3.75 percent) agreed and strongly agree.

Table XXXIV: Respondents' Perception as to whether increase in conflict in the past years is connected with the COMITAS Project

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagreed	76	47.5
Agreed	27	16.88
Disagreed	25	15.62

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Undecided	24	15
Strongly Agreed	8	5

Table XXXV: Respondents' Perception on whether reduction of conflict during the past year has not connected to the COMITAS Intervention

Value	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagreed	91	56.88
Disagreed	30	18.75
Undecided	26	16.25
Agreed	10	6.25
Strongly Agreed	3	1.88

Table XXXV set out to know Respondents' perception on whether reduction of conflict during the past years has no connection with Search intervention programme. The table revealed that 91 (56.88 percent) strongly disagree while 30 (18.75 percent) disagree and 26 (16.25 percent) undecided. Meanwhile, 10 (6.25 percent) agreed while 3 (1.88 percent) strongly agree