

STAKEHOLDERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF AGRICULTURE AS A GATEWAY TO PEACE IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

BY

DORCAS TONGNA MUTFWANG

STUDENT ID: 5917810002

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BY:

DORCAS TONGNA MUTFWANG

ADVISOR:

DR. EMMANUEL NWEKE OKAFOR

DEGREE:

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria experienced a devastating civil war that lasted 30 months, from 1967 to 1970, the after-effects of the war (Biafra War), coupled with an oil boom in the petroleum sector, saw the country shift its focus away from agriculture and into oil exploration and trade. The growth of the oil industry and surge in national income through oil exports began from the early 1970s had some negative impacts on Nigeria's earning power from non-oil activities, and also for the security situation in the country. From a socioeconomic perspective, agriculture impacts the sustenance of life through feeding and gainful employment as it remains the largest employer of labour globally, especially Nigeria, and has enormous potential as a producer of food, both for the local economy as well as for international trade. A troubled economy (in this case, Nigeria's agricultural economy) often breeds social problems, such as hunger and poverty, in addition to other social vices. Against this background, the research set out to study how agriculture impacts peace and security in Northern Nigeria using quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Keywords: Agriculture, economy, peace, poverty



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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my uncle, (late) Mr Paul Mutfwang an embodiment of knowledge, you will forever be in our hearts.



DECLARATION

I, Dorcas Tongna Mutfwang hereby declare that this thesis is solely mine and it is original unless acknowledgements verify otherwise.

S	ignature:		
v.	izmature.		

Name: Dorcas Tongna Mutfwang



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AYCF Arewa Youth Consultative Forum

FNM Fulani Nationality Movement

FAO Food and Agricultural Organisation

GTI Global Terrorism Index

IDP Internally Displaced Person

ILO International Labour Organisation

MASSOB Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra

MACBAN Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria

MODIS NDVI MODIS Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI)

NDVF Niger Delta Volunteer Force

NST Nigeria Security Tracker

OPC Oodua People's Congress

UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UN United Nations

UNSDG United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The primary source of revenue for Nigeria in the years leading up to its independence from Great Britain was agriculture. The export of agricultural produce was the mainstay and contributed substantially to the national revenue. Following independence, in the years from 1960 to 1965, agriculture continued to attract patronage and contributed 55 percent of the country's GDP and accounted for about 70 percent of the country's work force (Malton, 1981, p.8). By 1970, crops like cocoa, cotton, groundnut, palm kernel, palm oil, and rubber, contributed between 65 and 75 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings on average, while creating a vibrant source of income for all tiers of government in Nigeria through commercial activities in agriculture (Ekundare, 1973, p.15).

Shortly after independence, Nigeria experienced a devastating civil war that lasted 30 months from 1967 to 1970, the after-effects of the war (Biafra War), coupled with an oil boom in the petroleum sector, saw the country shift its focus from agriculture to oil exploration and trade. The impact of this diversion from agriculture into petroleum made a positive impact on the national economy as the country recorded huge gains with oil accounting for over 97 percent of export earnings and 80 percent of income accrued to the federal government (USDS, 2005, p.12).

Despite the economic gains recorded from oil boom, the agricultural sector suffered. The poor state of the agricultural economy became a threat to employment and availability of food resources in the country. The popular notion is that the discovery of crude oil in commercial quantities in the mid-1950s undermined the agricultural sector, subsequently leading to its neglect. While this led to a loss of jobs in the labour market, it also created a

recipe for increase in the rate of hunger in the country as people stopped engaging in agricultural practices both for commercial and subsistence purposes. The United Nations observe that the food and agricultural sector provides vital solutions for development, as well as reducing hunger and eradicating poverty (United Nations, 2015). However, these ideals can only be attained with workable and realistic agricultural programmes and policies. Besides helping to eradicate hunger, agriculture also provides an ample means of employment and income generation, it also supports rural and urban development, as well as environmental protection and preservation.

Prior to the discovery of petroleum (crude oil) in commercial quantities in 1956, and much into the 1970s, agriculture was the primary revenue earner for Nigeria (Walker, 2009, p.52). While agriculture served the twin purposes of generating revenue and providing food for millions of Nigerians, oil generated huge revenue for the country. The discovery of oil subsequently led to the neglect of the agriculture sector, both by the government and members of the civil society.

From a social perspective, agriculture impacts on the sustenance of life through feeding and gainful employment. The United Nations estimate that one in nine persons around the world, living in developing countries, are undernourished (United Nations, 2015). Also, agriculture remains the largest employer of labour globally. Nigeria, which has enormous potential as a producer of food, both for the local economy as well as for international trade, is positioned to make a strong impact in this regard as it pertains to reducing hunger and poverty. Globally it is estimated that women about 44 percent of the workforce in the agricultural sector of developing nations (more than 50 percent in Asia and Africa; United Nations, 2015). Undernourishment and malnourishment are leading causes of infant mortality with about 3.1 million children dying as a result every year (United Nations, 2015). This reinforces the need for food security through a robust development of the agricultural sector. From an economic

dimension, agriculture impacts on the earning potential of Nigeria. The revenue from the Nigerian petroleum industry accounts for about 80 percent of the national income (Omoregie, 2015). The emphasis and scramble for oil wealth has, however, caused great strife, socioeconomic unrest and violence, as well as environmental degradation in the Niger-Delta region where oil is extracted from in Nigeria. The devastation on the ecosystem in the Niger-Delta region due to oil exploration and extraction has made agricultural activity almost impossible as both farmlands and aqua-culture have been depleted from numerous oil spills and other forms of environmental pollution. According to the Department of Petroleum Resources in Nigeria, there were 4,835 incidents of oil spill in the Niger Delta region over a twenty-year period (1976 to 1996), with about 1.9 million barrels of oil spills (Vidal, 2010, pp.8-10). Another report, by the United Nations Development Programme, estimate the total oil spill in the oil-producing region in Nigeria between 1976 and 2001 to be about three million barrels in about 6,817 incidents (UNDP, 2006, p.56). The numerous oil spills in the Niger-Delta area have had severe impacts on the ecosystem, making agricultural activities impossible. About 7,500 km² of Nigeria's rainforest has been lost due to environmental degradation as a result of these activities (Manby, 1999, p.21).

Oil spills have far-reaching impacts on both land and aquatic life, destroying fish and other organisms as well as making water unfit for human consumption (Baird, 2010, p.85). The economic deprivation in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, caused by a substantial decline in agricultural activities due to environmental degradation has often been the reason for sociopolitical unrest, people in the region become increasingly idle and disengaged from fishing and farming, taking up arms in protest of what is perceived as a parasitic exploitation of the resources of the area causing depletion of the land and aquatic ecosystem. This continues to have dire consequences not just on the sustainability of life in the Niger-Delta region in Nigeria as a whole.

In the years since the discovery of oil, Nigeria continues to have a growing need for food security to cater to a teeming population of its citizens. This makes the case for a working agricultural policy in Nigeria an imperative one for the purposes of solving food security challenges, providing alternative sources of national revenue, and solving employment problems in the country.

A troubled economy (in this case, Nigeria's agricultural economy) often breeds social problems such as hunger and poverty in addition to other social vices. The inability of Nigeria to integrate a teeming youth population who are mostly unemployed or underemployed into its agricultural sector is a precursor to social ills (Adebayo, 2013, p.20). Unemployment is a major problem affecting the growth and development of the country as it renders a large number of people unable to provide the basic resources necessary for the sustenance of life. According to Adebayo (2013, p.19) one of the ways through which crime can be controlled is through government's efforts and investments to get youths engaged in agricultural practices. Nwajiuba (2013, p.26) explained that despite the huge financial gains recorded in Nigeria's oil sector, the country remains largely an agrarian economy, noting further that the instability in the international oil market as well as Nigeria's vulnerability to volatility in the oil market make it imperative for Nigeria to shift emphasis to the agricultural sector both as a means of generating revenue, solving the problem of poverty and stifling an impending food security problem.

According to a study by RSSDA, (2012), the southern part of Nigeria is not the only region that has been affected by the shift of focus from agriculture to petroleum. The northern part of Nigeria too has been affected by the oil industry because the federal system of governance which shares state wealth with all 36 states of the federation depend on oil exports.

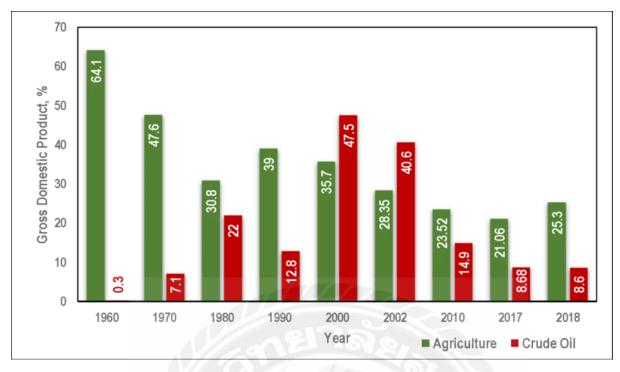


Figure 1.1Comparative contributions of Agriculture and Crude Oil to Nigeria's GDP (1960-2018) (Source: RSSDA, 2012)

The growth of the oil industry and surge in national income through oil exports beginning from the early 1970s has had some negative impacts on Nigeria's earning power from non-oil activities. Most affected from the non-oil sector was agriculture, which suffered neglect and poor policy from government that saw Nigeria decline on the world map. Prior to the discovery of oil, Nigeria was the second largest producer of cocoa, which was its primary revenue earner in the agriculture sector. However, the growth of the oil industry and consequent neglect of agriculture saw Nigeria slip to the fourth position on the global map of cocoa producers. By 2010, cocoa contribution to the agricultural GDP was a meagre 0.3% (IFPRI, 2010, p.37) compared to 15% in 1970 (Adebile and Amusan, 2011).

The region known as Northern Nigeria is comprised of two main sections – the northern part, consisting of the Hausa ethnic group who are predominantly of the Islamic religion, and the southern part, also referred to as the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, made up of people who are mostly non-Muslims. People in the northern area of northern Nigeria are predominantly of the Hausa, Fulani, and Kanuri stock, whereas the southern part is made up of diverse ethnicities

(over 200) spread across Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Kaduna (south), Kogi, and Plateau states. These two areas of northern Nigeria have, over centuries, engaged in trades and violent conflicts aimed at territorial expansion and religious aspirations in the form of Islamic Jihad in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ado-Kurawa, 2010).

Before the discovery of oil, Northern Nigeria was very much known for its agricultural activities, especially in the production of groundnuts, millet, and other grains. The discovery of oil consequently led to a distraction from agriculture, plunging the northern region into a surge in high youth unemployment, which eventually manifested in the spate of violence and terrorism that has become synonymous with the region. There is no doubt that the decline in activities in Nigeria's agricultural sector has resulted in a surge in unemployment, consequently increasing poverty and hunger in Nigeria. This further makes it imperative for immediate action(s) to tackle the crises in addition to helping Nigeria to attain food security and eradicate poverty in line with the United Nations Sustainable Goals. Thus the stakeholders' attitudes towards the restoration of agriculture as a gateway to peace in northern Nigeria.

1.2 Research Objectives

This study seeks to emphasize the impact of agriculture on the peace and security of a nation. The context of agriculture in peacekeeping is significant hence the outcome(s) of the study is/are expected to contribute invaluably to national security.

The specific objectives are to:

- 1. Explore how insecurity undermines agricultural development.
- 2. Exploring the factors that foster agricultural growth to influence economic stability
- 3. Explore how peace can be attained through agriculture.

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4. Contribute practical knowledge to the body of academic research

1.3 **Research Hypothesis**

Based on preliminary library research conducted in the build up to the literature review of this

study, the researcher observed certain biases that lend credence to the potential of agriculture

as a means to resolving security challenges, thereby effectively ensuring peace and stability in

a given society. As such, a hypothetical position was formed, which will be tested on the

strength of outcomes generated from the third research question of this study. The hypothesis

is used here in this study to test predictions and help to describe relationship between two

variables (dependent and independent). Thus, an effect can be predicted from the two variables

of this study, which are:

Independent variable: Agricultural activities and development

Dependent variable: Peace in Northern Nigeria

Based on those observations from the preliminary library research, an Alternative Hypothesis

(H₁) and a Null Hypothesis (H₀) were developed, which are explained in clear and concise

statements:

Alternative Hypothesis (H₁): Increase in agricultural activity and development helps to

promote peace and reduce incidences of violence and restiveness in a society.

Null Hypothesis (H₀): Increase in agricultural activity and development does not help to

promote peace and does not reduce incidences of violence and restiveness in a society.

The premise of the Alternative Hypothesis (H_1) is linked to the third research question (RQ3).

In the event that the outcome of the survey process confirms the Alternative Hypothesis (H₁),

the third research question (RQ3) will help to generate responses to reinforce that notion.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions form the basis for understanding the role of agriculture in attaining lasting peace in Nigeria:

- 1. How can agriculture influence the attainment of peace in Northern Nigeria?
- 2. How can agriculture influence economic changes in Northern Nigeria?
- 3. What are the factors that foster agricultural growth?

1.5 Research Methodology

This research will explore the agricultural sector in Nigeria and will examine the state of the country's economy in the years prior to the discovery of crude oil and after by reviewing published works. A mixed method of research that relies on both quantitative and qualitative techniques will be deployed.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Research

This research is conducted with a particular focus on Nigeria's agricultural sector and how the problem of insecurity, specifically terrorism, affects it. This study will only consider those areas of research that are concerned with how terrorism continues to affect productivity within the agricultural sector from the perspective of an outsider, using empirical research methods.

1.7 Outline of the Research

This paper contains five chapters. The first chapter introduces, and the second chapter reviews related literature, while the third Chapter is devoted to the research methodology used, sampling procedure, and methods of collecting data. The fourth Chapter is devoted to the presentation of data and analysis, while the fifth Chapter includes a summary of findings, Conclusion and Recommendations.

1.8 Definition of Terms

Boko Haram - is really Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad, which in Arabic means "People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad".

Conflict Principle – the extent people are willing to negotiate terms to get what they want and the means they use.

Cooperation Principle – a situation whereby expectations are accompanied by the knowledge of existing powers, impacting on negotiation and resolution of conflicts.

Gap Principle – the vacuum existing between expectations and power, which may lead to conflicts.

Hausa - People who live mostly in northern Nigeria and southern Niger.

Helix Principle – a situation where conflict has graduated to the extent whereby parties are able to cooperate more effectively due to increasing knowledge about each other.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter of the research focuses on analyses and review of relevant studies conducted on the relationship between agriculture and security with references to the Nigerian environment. Studies carried out by researchers on the intersection between violence and agriculture formed part of this review in a bid to give an historical insight into the nature of conflicts as it pertains to agricultural endeavour. In establishing a framework for this, the work of Jared Diamond titled 'The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race' formed a basis. From this, studies on how terrorists hijacked agricultural activities in Syria and Iraq were also considered before delving into how the situation plays out in Nigeria.

2.2 Review of Empirical Studies

An essay written by Jared Diamond titled 'The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race" noted an early relationship between agriculture and security, particularly as it breeds conflicts among people. The essay observed that the growth of agriculture often brought about competition and animosity between people who have abundant wealth, accrued from agricultural activities, and those who had little or not, due either to deprivation by powerful members of the society or as a result of poor accessibility to viable resources. The author notes:

"As population densities of hunter-gatherers slowly rose at the end of the ice ages, bands had to choose between feeding more mouths by taking first steps towards agriculture, or else finding ways to limit growth. Some bands chose the former solution, unable to anticipate the evils of farming, and seduced by the transient abundance they enjoyed until population growth caught up with increased food production. Such bands outbred and then drove off or killed the bands that chose to remain hunter-gatherers, because a hundred malnourished farmers can still out-fight one healthy hunter (Diamond, 1999).

That excerpt highlighted in Diamond's essay shows how a seeming peaceful and productive agricultural activity such as farming could breed conflict. Nevertheless, it underscores the absence of even economic development in a society, reflecting a need for economic equality to reduce the possibility of conflicts. While that study casts a view on how early agricultural practices bred conflicts, a recent work, which was the subject of research into how armed conflicts affects land use and agricultural activity was carried out by researchers across the North Africa/Middle East zone. Specifically, the study considered how conflicts affect agriculture in areas hijacked by terrorists in Syria and Iraq (Eklund *et al.*, 2017). The methodology used by the researchers was mostly of a scientific nature and it involved data samples collected manually over a twelve-year period using Landsat imagery and MODIS NDVI. To enable the researchers, track the changes in land use and agricultural activities by some countries affected by internal insurgency, they tracked the dynamics of agricultural farms by generating 200 random points within the territories controlled by the Islamic State and also by calculating the average amount of rainfall experienced during the rainy season, which would help understand how non-conflict factors impacted on agricultural activities.

Perhaps the most relevant cases regarding the relationship between agriculture and insecurity have been documented by researchers who studied how youth unemployment, in the context of the agricultural economy, creates a condition for social unrest, violence, and chaos. Despite the abundance of wealth generated from the oil sector over the years, agriculture is reputed to be the most important as well as the largest sector of the Nigerian economy (FAO, 2018). The agricultural sector in Nigeria is also regarded as the largest employer of labour (Agro Nigeria, 2016), capable of providing employment for over seventy percent of the population (Evbuomwan & Okoye, 2017). This is the same globally, where about one billion people, out of the earth's total seven billion, are estimated to be employed in the agricultural sector (FAO, 2011), accounting for 14 percent of the earth's workforce.

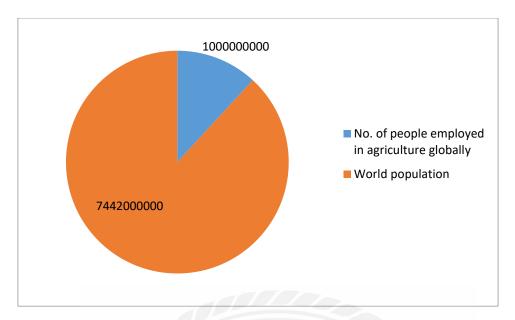


Figure 2.1 Key indicators of the Labour Market Source: KILM (ILO) 2011

Despite agriculture providing the capacity for employing large numbers of people, the sector lacks adequate human resources to enable it function properly. Historical data reveals a steep decline over the years in the percentage of the labour force working in Nigeria's agricultural sector. For the record, the percentage of workers in the agricultural sector between 1990 and 2002 hovered around an average of 58 percent before it began to fall sharply to an all-time low of 30 percent in 2010. Since then, it has gained slight traction but still hovers around the 36.55 percent mark (World Bank, 2017), The implication of this is that the sector is underproductive due to the dearth of workers, which is despite a growing population that has seen the country peak at 190.9 million people in 2017 from about 98 million people in 1990 (Trading Economics, 2017).

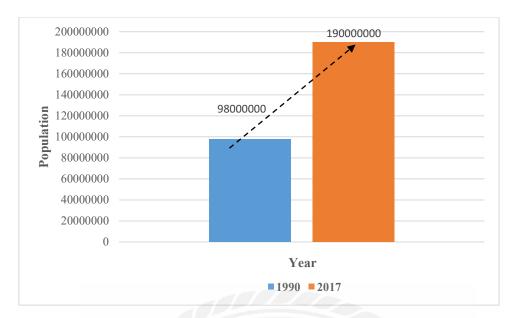


Figure 2.2Nigeria's population in 1990 and 2017 Source: Trading Economics (2017)

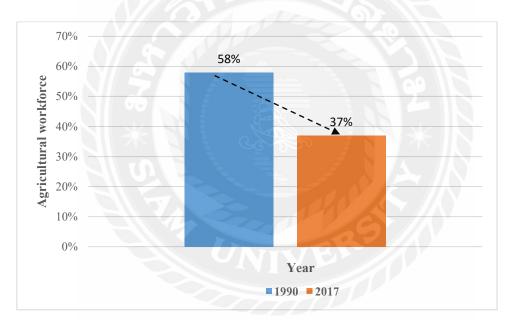


Figure 2.3 Nigeria's agricultural workforce Source: Trading Economics (2017)

Data obtained from historical documents revealed a mismatch between the trends in population growth in comparison to that of the agricultural workforce. Hence, the poor state of the agricultural economy. Further review of studies conducted on the state of the agricultural sector and the reason it experienced a decline showed interesting findings. Some of these studies highlighted the problems bedevilling the agricultural sector, noting the following as

setbacks: shortage supply of labour and inadequate skills where they are available, storage and processing challenges, unfriendly and inconsistent policies, logistics and infrastructural problems, and technical constraints (Oni, 2013).

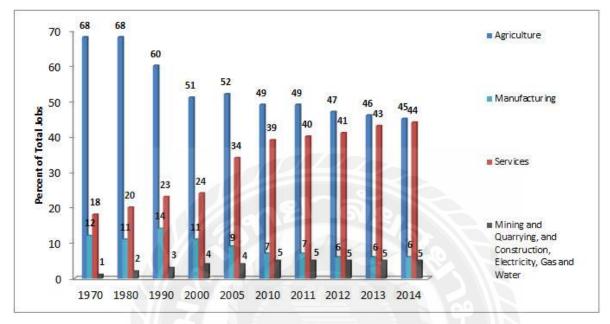


Figure 2.4 Nigeria's agricultural labour compared with other key sectors (Source: NISER, 2015).

2.2.1 Conceptualizing peace and the nature of conflicts

Understanding the nature of terrorism requires conceptualizing first what peace (or the absence of terrorism) denotes. The concept of peace implies a social situation, with economic implications, whereby people are able to carry out their normal activities and engage in socio-economic relationships and transactions without fear of potential or actual and imminent threat to their lives and properties (Dugan, 1989). It implies that people are able to express unconditional freedom within the confines of what constitutes legality in the framework of the laws governing their society. Conflict, on the other hand, is a situation that implies that peace is under current or imminent threat (Dugan, 1989) Though conflict could present itself in the form of disagreements in non-violent terms, it could, however, degenerate into chaos if parties involved are unable to reach a compromise and one or more parties feel exploited or

disadvantaged (Galtung & Jacobsen, 2000). Rummel (1976) describes peace as a "social contract", which can be explained through certain social principles, such as:

The Conflict Principle – Rummel (1976) explains that the Conflict Principle refers to the extent people are willing to negotiate terms to get what they want and the means they use in getting their desires or needs met through hostile actions, violence, or war. It prescribes a balancing of powers among differing interests. This implies that some of the violent crisis or terrorism that have been meted to workers in the agricultural sector in Nigeria were borne from the conviction of the attackers that violence yields their intended interests.

The Cooperation Principle – this describes a situation whereby expectations are accompanied by the knowledge of existing powers (Rummel, 1976). Cooperation, in this context, relies on the anticipation of certain outcomes as well as the knowledge of existing powers, thus setting the tone for negotiations and how conflicts or the possibility of such are handled. The Gap Principle – Rummel (1976) notes that the Gap Principle highlights the gulf that exists between expectations and power, which may lead to conflicts. When conflicts do happen, they serve the purpose of redefining relationships between expectations and power. Cooperation, therefore, involves how expectations are merged with power. The Helix Principle – According to Rummel (1976) this describes a situation where conflict has graduated to the extent whereby parties are able to cooperate more effectively due to increasing knowledge about each other. These principles, when considered, acknowledge that the existence or absence of violence and other forms of conflicts, including their frequency, are as a result of the generally accepted principles within the state. This refers to what is considered as normal to the extent that attackers either consider the effects of the law and consequences of violating such, or outright disregard for such laws where they exist.

The notion of peace and conflict do not necessarily reflect words and opposites; rather, they imply that one can only exist in a given period. On this basis, therefore, peace is regarded as the absence of conflict, while conflict is a situation that, though devoid of peace, may be a pathway to the actualization of peace. To put the subject of conflict and violence within proper context of Nigeria's agricultural economy, a discourse on what the concept of security and insecurity means becomes imperative.

Nigeria's agricultural sector is regarded as a significant aspect of development to the country's economy and even with impacts on much of Africa (Olukunle, 2013). The rationale behind this economic perception of Nigeria's agricultural sector is borne from the fact that it is a major contributor of food and agro-allied materials that are central to its economies and that of neighbouring states. This is in addition to the fact that the sector also contributes towards providing vast opportunities in the labour sector through direct and indirect employment of people. The export of agricultural commodities, also, creates an avenue for the country to earn income through foreign exchange with neighbouring states. This impact of agriculture on multiple sectors across the economy has been studied to the extent that it is seen to enhance economic growth, create sustainable wealth, improve the state of the environment, as well as provide valuable opportunities for sustainable governance (WDR, 2008). On this premise, therefore, it is observed that agriculture can serve as the economic driver on which a nation can build sustainable programmes for economic growth, which further highlights the rationale for countries to prioritize the agricultural sector (Ogen, 2007).

Dating back across many generations, the regions before Nigeria was created have always relied on agriculture as a source of livelihood. Till date, many are still engaged in agriculture as a means of occupation, which contributes towards the economic viability of Nigeria. The difference, however, is that agriculture has become more mechanized today compared to the past, enabling farmers to produce high yields of excellent quality and in

considerable shorter time periods. It is on this backdrop that Nigeria was able to generate massive foreign exchange from cocoa produce for many years up until the discovery of oil when the latter took over to become the primary source of national income.

The whole gamut of agricultural endeavour includes production of food crops, cash crops, livestock, aquaculture, and value addition in the area of processing. The key function of agriculture in any economy is very well covered in diverse studies and has been demonstrated to be a significant contributor towards employment, food security, and expansion of trade and commerce. Additionally, the sector increases the financial buoyancy of the country's economy by shoring up the capital base. The economy of Nigeria is still largely agriculture-based despite its dependency on oil production in recent decades. It is estimated that about 80 percent of the country's population are engaged in agricultural practice, either directly or indirectly (CBN, 1997; Usman, 2006).

Nigeria's array of cash and food crops includes commodities such as cocoa, millet, sorghum, cashew, oil palm, dates, cassava, and many such other root crops. Additionally, livestock production is vast, including cattle rearing and aquaculture among others (Abdulahi, 2003).

The areas comprising the northern region of Nigeria are mostly deserts and as such not exactly suitable for all-year round farming without adequate irrigation systems. The geographical challenges in the north with regards to farming is further complicated by the ongoing problems of insecurity and widespread violence as a result of terrorism by Boko Haram elements, clashes between farmers and cattle herders, and ethno-religious crises bedeviling the area. These spates of crises have both displaced and led to the deaths of thousands. These problems have had stifling effects on food and crop production in Nigeria as the growing state of insecurity has hampered the ability and safety of farmers in the region.

While it can be argued that the state of insecurity in the northern region is caused by poverty, it is certainly clear that the challenges of insecurity of lives and properties will further aggravate the poverty epidemic as thousands will become impoverished due to inability to engage in farming activities, consequently breeding scarcity of food for those depending on food commodities from the region.

Before delving into what constitutes a state of insecurity from a conceptual perspective, one should consider what it means for a state to be secure. As the scholar Hobbes postulated, the constituted authority of the state is the entity that is saddled with the responsibility and constitutional power to ensure and provide security for its people and their properties, which is done through provision of adequate security as an endorsement of its authority (Gaskin, 1996). In this regard, the security of a state can be said to be upheld by the ability of government to protect and sustain the social and economic fabric of its society despite existential threats, and the development and promotion of a diplomatic international policy for the purpose of protecting its political and economic interests both at home and abroad (McGrew, 1988). In this vein, Otto and Ukpere (2012) are of the view that the concept of security refers to the existence and entrenchment of peace and safety of people and properties at all times. Similarly, Omede (2012) argues that security can be described as that situation whereby a state holds the power and ability to detect and combat any such threats to its interests and existence. Another scholar conceives the subject of security in a military sense, noting that it describes all those affairs that requires a nation to employ, deploy, and utilize martial engagements to protect its sovereign entity and physical borders (Nwolise, 2006).

While it is established that security refers to a state where there is existence of peace, accord, and safety of lives and properties guaranteed and provided for by legal powers of acceptable authority, and backed up by martial force, the concept of insecurity would, therefore, be described as everything that security is not. Thus, insecurity implies the existence

of danger, threats, violence, intimidation, fear, kidnappings, homicide, proliferation of arms, and all such other activities that threaten the existence of human lives and property ownership despite the presence of or in the absence of state powers (Ajodo et al., 2014). In clarifying what constitutes a state of insecurity, Saliu et al. (2007) noted that this should not be limited to the use or existence of violence, pointing out that conflict situations where the express use of violence is not readily used can also be described as an insecure one so long as the possibility of violent display subsists or is imminent, thus putting people in a morbid state of fear and intimidation.

In this regard, one can observe that insecurity comprises any of, all, or a combination of one or more of these and other such activities and atrocities that could be used synonymously: danger, intimidation, fear, absence of safety, threats to life and property, absence of protection, violence, and anxiety. A simple description put forward by Beland (2005) notes that insecurity is a current state of anxiety or fear as a result of inadequate or outright absence of safety and protection. Also, another description was offered by Achumba et al. (2013), noting that it comprises of two notable elements, namely: one, insecurity refers to a state of exposure to danger or imminent danger, where the subject is vulnerable to physical attacks or death from another person. Two, insecurity refers to a vulnerability to anxiety and fear due to the expectation of probable physical harm. Another definition offered for insecurity describes it as a condition of anxiety or fear borne from an overt or covert absence of safety (Beland, 2005). It buttresses the situation where there is absence of safety from danger. It further refers to a situation where the threat of physical harm is present. But this is not limited to physical insecurity alone; insecurity exists and presents itself in other such forms as economic and social, which hampers the ability of people to function as human beings where they live in constant worry of survival.

This academic discourse provides a narrative of the problems of insecurity vis-à-vis Nigeria's agricultural economy and the state's ability to ensure food security that relies on the protection of lives and properties.

2.3 Historical Analysis of Conflicts in Nigeria

Though this study is focused on the northern region of Nigeria, it is imperative to cast a cursory look at the country in its entirety as regional conflicts usually have dire consequences beyond their immediate area of occurrence. Conflicts in Nigeria typically have socio-economic and political themes as their root causes and they could fall in any of the following four main classes: riots, coups, civil wars, and terrorism.

2.3.1 Riots

Conflicts and social unrests in Nigeria often take the form of riots, which usually begin with protests. In discussing the concept of riots, it is important to point out here that they should not be misconstrued with protests simply because they often begin as such. On this premise, Duignan (2021) clarifies: "a protest is a usually organized public demonstration of disapproval of some law, policy, idea, or state of affairs, while a riot is a disturbance of the peace created by an assemblage of usually three or more people acting with a common purpose and in a violent and tumultuous manner to the terror of the public." One can, therefore, safely say that protests constitute societal acceptable forms for expressing disapproval with an idea or state of affairs whereas riots, due to their violent and destructive nature, are not. To put in proper perspective on the nature of riots, it can be said that: "A riot is a form of civil disorder commonly characterized by a group lashing out in a violent public c disturbance against authority, property, or people," (Braha, 2012). These are conflicts that could either be violent or non-violent in nature and could involve anywhere from a dozen to 100 or 200 people. Their scope of influence is mostly restricted to small communities. Issues leading to riot could arise from local factors or national affairs. According to International crises group, Northern Nigeria

has seen recurrent outbreaks of violence during the previous 30 years. It has pitted Muslims against Christians and seen clashes between different Islamic sects, primarily in the form of urban riots. Despite significant progress in conflict resolution over the previous decade, the 2009 and 2010 difficulties in Bauchi, Borno, and Yobe states involving the extremist Boko Haram sect demonstrate that violence can erupt at any time. If the situation worsens considerably, particularly along Christian-Muslim lines, it may have major implications for national cohesion in the run-up to the April 2011 elections. To address the threats, communitylevel efforts must be strengthened, a subtler security response must be developed, and public resource management must be improved. While some in the West are concerned about rising Islamic radicalism in the area, the situation is more complicated and has roots in Nigeria's past and current politics. Riots and violence between insurgent groups and the police, for example, tend to occur at certain flashpoints. The cities of Kaduna and Zaria, with their religious and ethnically diverse populations, and the extremely impoverished areas of the far north east, where anti-establishment organizations have arisen, are two examples. Many of the causes that fuel these conflicts are prevalent across Nigeria, including political manipulation of religion and ethnicity, as well as disagreements over the allocation of public resources between ostensibly indigenous groups and "settlers." A factor is the state's inability to maintain public order, contribute to dispute resolution, and execute post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives. Conflict is also fuelled by economic downturn and a lack of job prospects, especially when inequality rises. The north, like the rest of Nigeria, is afflicted by a powerful mix of economic stagnation and divisive, community-based allocation of public resources.

2.3.2 Coups

Coup is an original French term that means blow, and it has a primarily political undertone. However, it usually refers to a "very successful stroke, deed, or move: a smart action or accomplishment." The phrase coup d'etat, which is also French, literally means "state blow" or "state stroke. "In politics, however, it refers to a "rapid and decisive move, particularly one that results in an unlawful or forcible change of government." To put it another way, a coup d'etat, according to this definition, is marked by "suddenness," "decisiveness," "illegality," and "force. A coup d'etat, according to Edwin Madunagu (2008), is "a violent and abrupt reformation of state policy" or "an unexpected and sudden measure of state frequently including force or threat of force." Actual force is generally "localized," "concentrated," or both when it is utilized. The force is generally exercised by a small group of people. A "sudden shift of governmental or aristocratic authority," according to another definition of coup d'etat. Therefore, a coup d'etat is a political act that generally stems from discontent with how a political government manages the state's business. "Coups refer to the removal and seizure of a government and its powers. Typically, it is an illegal, unconstitutional seizure of power by a political faction, the military, or a dictator," (Powell and Thyne, 2011). Coups are methods used in forcing out a sitting government from office and there has been a total of eight coups (successful and aborted) in Nigeria's history (Siollun, 2009). In some of these cases where such coups occurred, successful or not, they caused social upheavals and mild clashes among members of the public but were mostly quelled by the military immediately after they started. To put in perspective, some of these attempted takeovers of government through coups arose as a result of disenchantment by elements who felt marginalized in the society on the basis of their ethnic stock or dissatisfaction with the administrative governance of the day (Onwumechili, 1998). In 1960, Nigerians inherited a complicated bureaucracy from British colonialists, as well as national borders that exacerbated rather than alleviated internal strife.

Before the nascent democracy could take control of the situation, it received help from the only group that was seen to be capable of managing Nigeria. While coups d'état is obviously not a Nigerian phenomenon, they have become commonplace in the average Nigerian's life. (Akinola, 2000)

2.3.3 Civil wars

Civil wars are violent conflicts that occur internally (within the state) and could have a diverse range of features such as political, economic, religious, and ethnicity. By their nature, civil wars could incorporate a motley of riots and coups occurring in continuum over a period of time to manifest in a larger violent and chaotic situation (Bodea & Elbadawi, 2007). Since Nigeria's independence of 1960 till date, there have been series of conflicts, violent and non-violent, defining the socio-political and economic landscape of the country. A total of eight coups, counter-coups, and attempted coups took place between 1966 and 1993. The first coup of 1966 was a precursor to the Biafra War (1967-1970), the only civil war in Nigeria's political history, which occurred as a result of disenchantment and feelings of marginalization by people of the Eastern Region of Nigeria (Daly, 1986). The nature of riots in Nigeria's history is largely influenced by political issues emanating from electoral disputes or dissatisfaction with political governance and administration. No fewer than eight notable riots have been documented in Nigeria's history from 1953 till date.

Table 2.1List of riots, coups, and civil wars in Nigeria

S/N	Riots, Violent & Non-Violent Conflicts	Coups	Civil Wars
1	Kano Riot of 1953	Nigerian Coup of	Biafra War (1967 –
		1966 (January 15,	1970)
		1966)	
2	Census Crisis of 1962/63	Nigerian Counter-	
		Coup of 1966 (July	
		28, 1966)	
3	The Action Group Crisis (1962)	Nigerian Coup of	
		1975 (July 29, 1975)	

4	Federal Elections Crisis (1964)	Attempted Nigerian	
		Coup of 1976	
5	Western Nigeria Election Crisis	Nigerian Coup of	
	(1965)	1983 (December 31,	
		1983)	
6	General Elections Crisis of 1979	Nigerian Coup of	
		1985 (August 27,	
		1985)	
7	General Elections Crisis of 1983	Attempted Nigerian	
		Coup of 1990	
		(August 22, 1990)	
8	Kaduna State Executive/Legislative	Nigerian Coup of	
	Crisis (1981)	1993 (November 17,	
		1993)	

Source: Falola, 1998; Meredith, 2006

2.3.4 Terrorism

Terrorism in Nigeria has religious, ethnic, political, and economic underpinnings. While there are certain groups that have been officially tagged terrorist organizations by the Nigerian government and global institutions, there are other militant groups in Nigeria whose operations have often made them susceptible to be so classified due to the fact that they hamper economic activities, threaten and destroy lives and properties through violent operations. Terrorism has been described as "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological," (US Department of State, 2005). Whether it is kidnapping of oil and gas workers, including the destruction of oil pipelines by militants in the Niger Delta region, bombings by Boko Haram in the Northern and Middle Belt regions, or massacre of lives and destruction of farmlands and properties by ravaging Fulani Herdsmen across the country, terrorism in Nigeria has manifested in political, ethnic, economic, religious, and social forms, thus presenting a complex identity. As such, this makes the classification of terrorism in Nigeria to be ascribed an issue of socio-economic and political dimensions (Nwozor et al., 2019).

In providing a historical review of the origins and metamorphosis of terrorism in Nigeria, a study that focused on the impact of this aspect of conflict on human security noted that modern terrorism has its roots in organizations or associations that were originally established as local police (armed militias) or vigilantes, notable among them, which are: The Odua People's Congress (OPC) – in South West Nigeria, Bakassi Boys (Eastern region), Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (Northern region), Mambilla (Middle Belt), Niger Delta Volunteer Force (Southern region), Ijaw Youths or Egbesu Boys (Niger Delta/Southern region), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (Eastern Region) (Oyeniyi, 2009). The study discovered that the number of deaths, on members of these organizations and non-member civilians, accounted for 25,716 casualties between 1999 and 2005 alone (Oyeniyi, 2009).

Regarding the legitimacy of the armed militia (or vigilantes as they are commonly known), the study noted the following: "It must be stated that the traditional concept of vigilantes, which exclusively refers to armed voluntary citizen groups created in local communities to assist the police in confronting common criminality and social violence by arresting suspected criminals and delinquents and handing them over to the police, was recognized by law. The Nigerian law recognises the rights of 'any private person arresting any other person without a warrant...without unnecessary delay to hand over the person so arrested to a police officer, or in absence of a police officer to take such person to the nearest police station." (Oyeniyi, 2009).

While those organisations started out as armed militias for local security and, in some cases, agitation groups for social causes before getting out of control and becoming a threat to social peace, there were others that morphed fully and overtly into terrorist groups. A notable one is the Boko Haram terrorist group and the recent Fulani Herdsmen. But before the emergence of these two, the earliest record of terrorism in Nigeria was the *Yan Tatsine* (Maitatsine) group, which dates back to the early 1970s.

2.3.5 Yan Tatsine (Maitatsine)

The Yan Tatsine terrorist organization began as a sectarian religious organization of Islam by a radical preacher known as Mohammed Marwa. Marwa was originally from

Cameroon but migrated to Kano, Nigeria in 1945 where he began promoting extremist ideologies of Islam (Lubeck, 1985). The British Colonialist at that time rejected his presence in Nigeria, consequently sending him on exile due to his hate preaching that promoted an aversion towards materialism. Marwa, who was popularly referred to as Maitatsine – a Hausa word that translates to "the one who damns" (Adesoji, 2011) however, returned to Nigeria after the country gained independence and he organized a movement known as 'Yan Tatsine' around the early 1970s (Pham, 2006). The Yan Tatsine terrorist group grew in its membership largely due to its leader's acceptance in the Islamic community after Marwa completed the Hajj in Mecca (Lubeck, 1985). Several arrests by the Nigerian Police Force did not deter him and the group's clashes with the civil society, including the police, led to an estimated 5000 deaths that also claimed the life of its leader, Marwa in 1980 (Pham, 2006). The group would, however, continue with its murderous activities despite Marwa's death until around 1984 when it was completely wiped out. About 8000 lives are estimated to have been lost due to the Yan Tatsine's activities, while about 60,000 were believed to have been displaced due to the rampage (Omotosho, 2003).

2.3.6 Boko Haram:

The terrorist organisation commonly known as Boko Haram was officially established in 2002 as Jama'atu Ahlis -Sunna Lidda' awati Wal-Jihad, which means "People committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propaganda and Jihad" when translated. It began as a religious organization promoting puritanism in Islam across the northern region (US Department of State, 2013). Boko Haram's founder, Mohammed Yusuf was summarily executed in July 2009 during an uprising that involved the arrest and imprisonment of several of its members. The following year, a prison break led to the escape of dozens of its members, who returned to reinforce the group under its new leader Abubakar Shekau (Jacinto, 2012). The leader led a wave of killings across Nigeria and neighbouring countries since 2009 (Moore, 2015). Boko

Haram group is reportedly responsible for at least 10,000 deaths (Nichols, 2015) and the displacement of about 2.5 million people as at 2015 (Buchanan, 2015) and also the kidnapping of hundreds of men, women, and children (Ford, 2016).

The agricultural sector in Nigeria and its productivity is hampered by activities of the Boko Haram sect through their violent invasion of villages and communities where most of the farming population in Nigeria reside with violence displacing hundreds of thousands and leaving many dead in their wake (Omilani, 2014). This orgy of violence by the deadly Boko Haram sect has made it almost impossible, and in some cases out rightly so, for many of such farmers to conduct their farming operations, consequently affecting the supply of food products to the marketplace (Fadareet al., 2019). The importance of a safe atmosphere devoid of violent threats for the sustainability of food production cannot be overemphasized. The need for a productive agricultural economy is, therefore, clearly dependent on a society where there is guarantee of safety of lives and property. While the situation in the regions of northern Nigeria cannot be described as a war per se, the enormous consequences and increasing pockets of violence in different areas can be said to be descriptive of the nature of war. Scholars in the studies of war are of the view that for a situation to be regarded as war, there would be no less than one thousand deaths at a theatre of battle (Dupuy and Rustad, 2018). Bearing this in mind, vis-à-vis the number of deaths recorded over time, which continues to be in thousands within short periods of weeks and months, it is glaring that the region has been ridden with war based on the number of casualties over time (Guseh and Oritsejafor, 2019). A situation report pegged the fatalities resulting from the activities of the Boko Haram sect alone within a seven-year time frame to be around 38,000 deaths (Campbell and Harwood, 2018). Those figures do not include fatalities resulting from other forms of violent conflicts such as ethno-religious crisis and clashes between farmers and cattle herdsmen. Ukoji et al. (2019) observed that the number

of lives that were lost to other violent activities, mostly from banditry, kidnappings, and social unrest to be in the neighbourhood of 1,200 deaths.

2.3.7 Fulani Herdsmen:

Added to the spate of violent crisis meted out to the northern region by Boko Haram is that of the Fulani Herdsmen – a nomadic group of cattle herders that have been notorious in recent times for wreaking havoc on communities, mostly farmlands and farmers. The Fulani Herdsmen are a group of nomadic cattle rearers who, often, bear arms and have been responsible for several attacks in Nigeria, leading to the death of thousands and displacements in towns and villages. The earliest forms of conflicts were believed to have emanated as a result of disputes between the Herdsmen and farmers over use of the latter's farmlands for cattle grazing and consequent destruction. This has, however, reportedly degenerated to mass murders where entire villages are sacked leaving scores dead. The terrorist group is reputed to be the fourth deadliest in the world, according to a report by the Global Terrorism Index (Davies & Matthews, 2015).

The nomadic nature of the Fulani Herdsmen typically has them in conflict with farmers. This has always been the case in Nigeria. However, it was not until recently that the conflicts assumed a drastic dimension that results in loss of lives and on a massive scale sometimes. The rate at which these killings gained momentum got to a disturbing extent that the Institute of Economics and Peace labelled recorded their activities as terrorism, while classifying them as a terrorist group with a reputation for being the fourth most deadly terror organisation in the world when casualties was recorded in thousands (IEP, 2015).

The growing spate of violence by Fulani Herdsmen is not limited to killings alone as there are atrocities bordering on banditry, kidnappings, arson, destruction of farmlands, and many other such vicious crimes. Of deep concern to the public is the seeming tacit support that the Fulani Herdsmen enjoy from the organised socio-economic associations of cattle herders in the country known as the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, the Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore, and the Fulani Nationality Movement (Ilo et al., 2019). This is also in addition to the fact that the current president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is of the Fulani stock (International Crisis Group, 2017), which some have seen as a reason the atrocities are mostly unchecked. (Amnesty International, 2018)

The reason many have linked the growing boldness of the Fulani Herdsmen with the presidency stems from the fact that the group of cattle herders now brandish sophisticated assault rifles and machetes as weapons of protection in place of the bow and arrow that once characterized their vocation. This is, perhaps, a reason their victims who do not have similar sophisticated weapons are unable to defend themselves in the face of growing violence. It is on record that the fatalities resulting from Fulani Herdsmen in a three-year span from 2010 to 2013 was between 70 and 90 persons – a dismal number in comparison to about 1,300 deaths from killer Herdsmen in 2014. Observers have decried the alarming situation that has seen no fewer than ten thousand deaths from the atrocities of Fulani Herdsmen between 2010 and 2019 (Kwaja and Ademola-Adelehin, 2018). In the year 2016, the number of deaths reported to have occurred from clashes between Fulani Herdsmen and farmers was pegged at about 2,500 casualties. In another related trend over a five-year period beginning from 2011, about 2,100 fatalities were observed (International Crisis Group, 2017). Recent figures obtained from the Nigeria Security Tracker (NST) between 2017 and 2018 pegged the number of deaths arising from herdsmen/farmers clashes to be a combined 3,078 persons, according to Campbell (2018).

Though the activities of Boko Haram, the terror group preceding the Herdsmen, are largely confined to the north eastern region of Nigeria, that of the Fulani Herdsmen spread across the entire landscape of Nigeria. Nevertheless, the impact of these twin terror groups dealt terrible blows to productivity within the agricultural sector (Campbell, 2018).

Besides the wanton destruction of lives and properties, the series of terror incidents have displaced a large number of people from their communities, with many seeking refuge in neighbouring states, countries, and camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). At least, no fewer than 2.5 million people are reportedly displaced by these ongoing atrocities (UNHCR, 2018).

As at 2018, the number of persons reportedly displaced from their homes and communities across the middle belt region comprising Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa, and Kaduna states was estimated to be about 700,000 persons (Kwaja and Ademola-Adelehin, 2018). It is noteworthy to point out that the middle belt region contributes substantially to Nigeria's food basket through agricultural produce. The inability of such displaced persons and communities to further engage in agricultural practice has further undermined Nigeria's agricultural productivity, giving rise to a state of emergency in the country.

2.4 Violent Conflicts and Economics

The relationship between violent conflicts and economics has been established in different studies. There is evidence to suggest that violence and economics are related concepts in such ways that one affects the other and vice versa. A research conducted by Humphreys (2003) for Harvard University in 2003 on "Economics and Violent Conflicts" noted that some societies are more vulnerable to violence conflicts than others due to the presence of certain factors. The study identified 'poverty' and 'economic growth' as two main factors that cause violent conflicts. It also noted that countries whose economy relied on the production and commercialization of single commodities (e.g. oil) were predisposed to violent conflicts.

Another factor the study identified was that bordering on socio-economic corruption, which thrives in societies where governments introduce policies that favours a minority ruling class at the expense of the masses, thus entrenching poverty. Fearon and Laitin (2003)

reinforced that finding in a separate study wherein they noted that at the root of violent conflicts in states were dominant factors expressed in the form of poverty, which were caused by poor governance and political instability.

"The factors that explain which countries have been at risk for civil war are not their ethnic or religious characteristics but rather the conditions that favour insurgency. These include poverty, which marks financially and bureaucratically weak states and also favors rebel recruitment, political instability, rough terrain, and large populations," (Fearon and Laitin, 2003).

The notion that poverty, an economic indicator that highlights a state of being extremely poor, is a root cause of violent conflict is particularly significant in the context of this study. A 2018 report published by the Brookings Institute (Kharas*et al.*, 2018) revealed that Nigeria had become the world's poverty capital, overtaking India for first place.

The report notes: "According to our projections, Nigeria has already overtaken India as the country with the largest number of extreme poor in early 2018, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo could soon take over the number 2 spot. At the end of May 2018, our trajectories suggest that Nigeria had about 87 million people in extreme poverty, compared with India's 73 million. What is more, extreme poverty in Nigeria is growing by six people every minute, while poverty in India continues to fall." (Kharas et al., 2018)

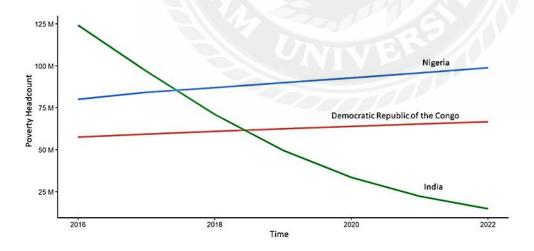


Figure 2.5 Poverty headcount in Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, and India Source: Kharas, Hamel, and Hofer (2018)

According to Humphrey (2003), there are different reasons that explain why nations that are economically impoverished are likely to engage in violent conflicts. Studies carried out by Fearon & Laitin (2003) reveals that societies considered to be wealthy have more to lose in the event that a conflict ensues and as such their wealth gives them an incentive to maintain peace and discourage violence (Fearon & Laitin, 2003). Also, when a particular region or society lacks resources that are essential to economic production, there is likelihood that persons in those societies will migrate to other regions where they can access needed resources for the survival of life.

There is evidence, also, to suggest that countries where governments are deemed to be corrupt to the extent that they undermine the economic process create a fertile ground for violent conflicts. Humphrey's study (2003) also identified some factors that arise from inefficiencies and corruption in government, which could instigate violent conflicts in a society as low levels of education and high dependence on natural resources. Collier and Hoeffler (2002) buttress this fact in their study on 'Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars', noting that societies whose economies were dependent on agricultural produce or the export of commodities were more prone to violent conflicts through greed of its administrators.

2.5 Conflict Theory

The Conflict Theory is a social theory that explains the dynamics of conflict. The theory, which was developed by Karl Marx, notes that the never-ending struggle among people and groups for economic resources often lead to conflict (Livesay, 2010). The theory explains that factors leading to wars, social unrests, revolutions and other forms of violence are influenced by competition and struggle for socio-economic resources. This very fact is reinforced in a paper by Ofuoku (2011), wherein it noted that "the causes of such conflict were destruction of crops, contamination of streams by cattle, zero grazing of land, disregard for local traditional authorities, harassment of nomads by host communities' youths,

indiscriminate bush burning, cattle theft, etc. When economic resources are scarce or when labour supply outweighs available jobs, a struggle ensues, which inevitably leads to the breakdown of law and order in extreme situations (Stewart, 2002).

The Nigerian state is a rentier state without a productive foundation in which to integrate the forces of production and social relations of production. As a result, objective prerequisites for creating social mechanisms for a productive economy that will usher in Marx's two-class system are absent. Because of the relative structure of the economy, which is primarily agrarian in character and relies on rents from mostly oil exploits to support the state, class consciousness is limited in Nigerian society. As a result, the totality of the people's consciousness in Nigeria is determined and geared towards the state for survival, resulting in the emergence of a rentier economy without a production base in order to create class consciousness, which is a fundamental component of the Marxian paradigm for societal transformation. Gelb, Alan et al (1988) addressed how oil rents are collected, allocated, and utilised in their research of the state and rentier economy, particularly how they are frequently used to support a policy regime like Nigeria's. This system, on the other hand, has its origins in the colonial era, when colonialists deliberately degraded their colonial nations' economic capacity in order to export and perpetuate capitalism. Because there was limited opportunity for constructive activity, the production forces were weakened, resulting in clientele patronage of government and political posts. "In Nigeria, the excessive dependency on oil is exacerbated by the concentration of the commanding heights of the economy in the hands of Government," said Soludo (2000:5), putting this into appropriate context. The government therefore became the quickest and cheapest way to make rapid money, resulting in the emergence of a rentier state, which intensified the politics of 'sharing' rather than 'production. 'This resulted in a swarm of 'rent-entrepreneurs,' or 'Big men,' who had no productive source of income other than their closeness to state power." He went on to say that the bulk of Nigeria's elite rely on government favor for a living, which has distorted the value system. Though Marx was a harsh critic of the modern capitalist system, he saw capitalism as an important stage in society's development in the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, because it developed productive forces and the capitalist's ability to introduce technological innovation into production processes led to massive advancement in human societies. The production of a class-conscious proletariat, which is the fundamental thrust of Marxist theory, requires such a system of social dialectics. This example demonstrates the importance of a thorough knowledge of the state and its relationship to the capitalist production and accumulation process. As a result, Claude Ake (1981) stated, "politics is battle, and government is the spoils of war..." The state becomes the private resources of the political class's dominant group, which defends its power by any means necessary against other factions pursuing state power by any means necessary. When Marx and Engels said, "circumstances form men just as much as circumstances produce men," they were expressing Ake's viewpoint.

2.6 The High Pay-off Inputs Model of Agriculture

The High Pay-off Inputs Model is a developmental model of agriculture that focuses on the impact of investment and how it is utilized with respect to its impacts or rewards. This model has certain features that make it relevant to the subject of this research, particularly as it concerns agricultural development in a society – in this case, the region of northern Nigeria. As it pertains to the subject of this research, the high pay-off inputs model posits that sufficient investment in agriculture would invariably keep more people gainfully engaged to the extent that activities bordering on terrorism are consequently ameliorated. According to Ruttan (1977) high pay-off inputs mode are:

i. Enhance current resources –This implies that inputs made into the agricultural system in a given society should improve on existing resources and facilities, yielding productive returns.

- ii. Come from outside the agricultural sector It proposes that the resource input that stimulates development should emanate from external sources, thus eliminating the possibilities of selfish motives that may not augur well for the agricultural sector.
- iii. Accompanied by education This feature emphasizes that inputs made into agriculture should be accompanied by education for the objective of empowering the handlers with knowledge to better manage and improve on their agricultural activities.
- iv. In form peasants can use This suggests that inputs made into the agricultural sector of a given society should be such that they are not too complicated in a way that would marginalize peasant farmers. Rather, they should be in a form that can be easily used by anyone, particularly peasant farmers.
- v. At price peasants can afford—Affordability is another factor that implies the need for broad inclusion. For instance, resources such as fertilizers and pesticides that help in improving farm yields should be deemed affordable for the average peasant farmer.

The High Pay-off Input Model also implies certain policies for it to be effective, which are:

- i. Investment in research for the creation of new technology
- ii. Investment in the capacity of the local industries
- iii. Investment in capacity development for farmers

2.7 Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter reviewed research works by scholars in the agricultural industry as it intersects with issues of conflict. It also lays down the theoretical underpinning of this study, which is the High Pay-off Input Model. Studies conducted by scholars on how violence and conflicts impinged on agriculture formed part of the literature review, which provided historical perspective on the nature of conflicts in agriculture. Also, one of the profound history texts on

activities of the early humans by Jared Diamond titled 'The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race' was also included in the review. From this, studies on how terrorists hijacked agricultural activities in Syria and Iraq was also considered before delving into how the situation plays out in Nigeria where this study is carried out. An historical account of terrorism in Nigeria and its metamorphosis till date was given vis-a-vis its impact on the country's agricultural sector and the larger economy. Also, definitions were rendered on what constitutes conflict, riots, and coups to further shed light on its use within the context of this study.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter details the research method used for collecting raw data from the field and respondents relevant to the study; research instruments, data analysis, and procedure for sampling. Also, the systematic procedure used in the analysis of data is introduced and discussed. The rationale underlying the choice of the research design, population, sample size and sampling techniques employed for empiricism are spelt out in this chapter. The decision for deploying the interview method as a tool for eliciting information in the qualitative process of research is also discussed.

3.2 Research Design

There are two sources for the collection of data for this study, which are:

- a. Primary source
- b. Secondary source

The descriptive research design is employed in this study. The descriptive design was chosen because it enables the researcher to describe the security situation in Nigeria vis-à-vis the potential for agriculture to help address prevalent issues. Research designs of a descriptive nature emphasize the description of new insights rather than statistical information; it is concerned mostly with novel ideas that help to define or create meaning for subjects that have not been studied properly (Shields &Rangarjan, 2013).

3.3 Study Population

The population for this study comprises stakeholders in Nigeria's agricultural sector, which includes farmers, agricultural scientists (or researchers), (the middlemen) traders and dealers in agricultural products, policy makers in the agricultural sector, as well as academicians in the

agricultural discipline. These will form the population groups from which sample respondents will be drawn from for the purpose of collecting information for analysis.

3.4 Sampling Method

The procedure of sampling is used in this study to determine the respondents for participation in the research process. Thus, a combination of two non-probabilistic sampling methods is used. These are the Purposive (or judgmental) sampling method and the Snowball sampling method.

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling

The decision to use the purposive sampling method (a non-probabilistic method of determining a sample size) is anchored on a general knowledge of the relevant groups that are vital to the agricultural sector in Nigeria. These groups, which are comprised of public and private institutions (or individuals), are pivotal to operations in the agricultural industry. Purposive Sampling, according to Babbie (2007), is "a type of non-probability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative." On this premise, key agents in the following subsectors of the industry were interviewed using questions generated from the research questions in the introductory chapter of this study: Academic sector, Agricultural sector

3.4.2 Snowball Sampling

The snowball sampling is included as a complementary method for areas where purposive sampling was not sufficient. The snowball sampling, which is also a non-probabilistic method "is useful in field research whereby each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing" (Babbie, 2007). The rationale for selecting the

snowball sampling method was premised on its ease of use in comparison to alternative methods such as purposive or probabilistic, which would have been onerous.

3.5 Research Instrument

The research instruments to be used are the survey questionnaire and face-to-face interview. The survey questionnaire, which is a quantitative method, will be used in collecting information from respondents through a structured list of questions generated from the research questions. The interview, which is a qualitative method, will enable open and free-flow of ideas from knowledge experts in the agricultural sector, thereby unravelling insights into previously unknown areas as well as helping to proffer solutions. The interview method facilitates the ability to ask follow-up questions that may be required during the course of data collection based on information recorded by the interviewer. Due to its qualitative nature, the interview method would enable information to be adaptable to analyses from different perspectives in the course of the research (Corbin & Morse, 2003). The unstructured interview method, however, often involves a conversational form, whereby the interviewee and interviewer are engaged in normal conversation in a situation where the interviewee may not be aware that information is being elicited for research purposes (Gray, 2009). The unstructured interview, which is non-directive, is therefore used.

3.6 Methods of Data Presentation and Analysis

Information obtained from research subjects through qualitative inquiry were analysed using both inferential and descriptive analytical techniques. Presentation of data obtained from the survey procedure were analysed and displayed using pictorial charts and tables. The summary of what each data set implies will be added to enhance understanding of information contained in the tables and charts.

3.7 Summary of Chapter Three

In summary, the chapter covers the research approach and the methodology adopted on this research. Further explanation is provided on the survey design and sampling of data collection. Well defined hypotheses have been developed and discussed as well. Also, the sampling techniques used for determining the subjects who formed the basis for the population is discussed in the chapter. The analysis of data obtained from the study is also discussed. Finally, the limitations to the research methodologies chosen as well as the ethical issues have been well discussed.



CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of the analysis and presentation of data generated through the survey process, using the questionnaire according to the research methodology mapped out in chapter three of this study. The guide for the questionnaire was set in line with the research questions posed in the introductory chapter. Inferences made from the questions are also detailed here in this chapter. The three research questions were used to collate information via the questionnaire and analysed using graphical representations in the form of charts. The questionnaire was served to respondents through printed out hard copies and online with the aid of Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) an internet-based resource application for conducting surveys.

4.2 Sample Profile

Data presented here were drawn from respondents across the two backgrounds – core agricultural sector and the academia. Respondents were also selected from the agricultural retail sector and the general civil society. The rationale behind this additional group was premised on the fact that the initial two sectors did not provide considerable size for the responses and the need to reflect a more diverse population in the context of peace and security theme that runs through the research.

Most of the respondents are comprised of farm owners, farm supervisors (or managers), retailers, and experts on peace and security studies from the academic environment. The sample presented in the table below was derived from the Purposive Sampling (non-probabilistic) method and responses generated using questionnaire applied to the respondents. The inferences

made are based on the returned questionnaires considered valid for analysis, which accounts for 350 out of a total 385 possible respondents.

The formula for determining the sample size based on the population is the Yamane method: $n = N/(1+Ne^2)$ – Where N is the population size, and e is the margin of error (0.05 – based on the research environment)

 Table 4.1 Sample split

Respondents	Universe	Sample Size	Returned
	Population		Instruments
Agricultural Sector and Academia	>10,000	385	350
TOTAL	>10,000	385	350

4.3 Presentation of Results

Data presentation is done with the visual aid of tables and graphs in accordance with quantitative methods. Graphs and charts are structured to ensure easy interpretation and inferences made to enhance understanding where necessary. The analysis and presentation are presented here according to the structure and order of the research questions.

4.3.1 Research Question 1

To explore how peace can be attained through agriculture in Northern Nigeria. Questions 3, 4, 6, and 7 were used to arrive at responses for Research Question (RQ1) which inquired 'How can agriculture influence the attainment of peace in Nigeria?

Question 3: Which of these ways do you think agriculture can best help to promote peace and security in Northern Nigeria?

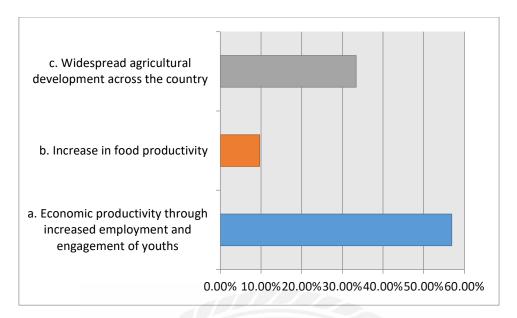


Figure 4.1 Factors that help to promote peace and security in Northern Nigeria

Table 4.2 Respondent's responses to factors that help to promote peace and security in Northern Nigeria

Answer Choices	Responses	Number of respondents
a. Economic productivity	56.9%	199
through increased		
employment and	B. E. Consus	
engagement of youths		
b. Increase in food	9.7%	34
productivity		20//
c. Widespread agricultural	33.4%	117
development across the		
North		
Total Respondents		350

Inference: Most respondents (56.9%) opted for "Economic productivity through increased employment and engagement of youths" when asked which was the preferred option for promoting peace and security in Northern Nigeria. Another set of respondents, accounting for 33.4% of the population, opted for "increased agricultural development across the north" as a solution to security crises, implying the need for economic policies that focused on task-

intensive endeavours that would engender economic growth and ameliorate unemployment among the population. The third set of respondents (9.7%) favoured an increase in food productivity, implying the need to improve living conditions of people and reduce of poverty.

Question 4: Which of these do you consider the most effective option in tackling insecurity in Nigeria?

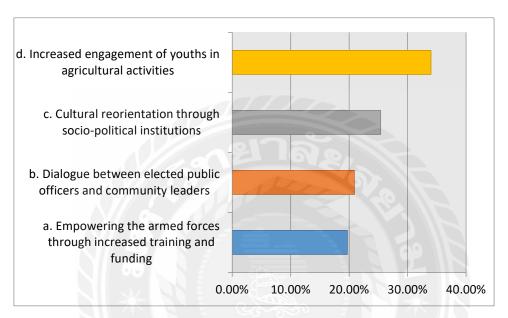


Figure 4.2 Options to tackle insecurity in Nigeria

Table 4.3 Respondents' response to options to tackle insecurity in Nigeria

Answer Choices	Responses	Number of respondents
a. Empowering the armed	19.7%	69
forces through increased		
training and funding		
b. Dialogue between elected	20.9%	73
public officers and community		
leaders		
c. Cultural reorientation through	25.4%	89
socio-political institutions		
d. Increased engagement of	34%	119
youths in agricultural activities		
Total Respondents		350

Inference: When queried about the option they considered most effective in tackling insecurity in Northern Nigeria, majority of the respondents (34%) opted for "increased engagement of youths in agricultural activities". Those who favoured the introduction of "cultural reorientation through socio-political institutions" accounted for about a quarter (25.4%) of the population. Those who suggested "dialogue between elected public officers and community leaders" accounted for 20.9% of the population, while the smallest group (19.7%) were those who implied the need to empower the military through increased training and funding.

Question 6: Which of these do you consider as a realistic solution to insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria?

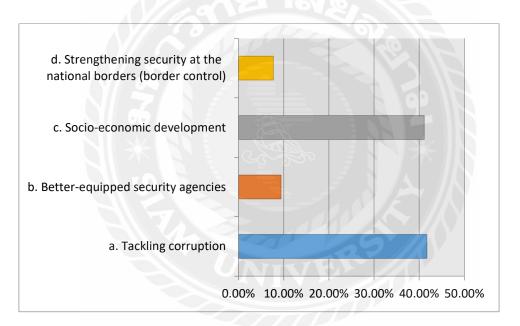


Figure 4.3Proposed solutions to insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria

Table 4.4 Respondents' responses to proposed solutions to insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria

Answer Choices	Responses	Number of respondents
a. Tackling corruption	41.7%	146
b. Better-equipped security	9.4%	33
agencies		
c. Socio-economic	41.1%	144
development		

d. Strengthening security at	7.7%	27
the national borders (border		
control)		
Total Respondents		350

Inference: Respondents mostly opted for the need to tackle corruption in the society as a realistic solution for solving the security crises in Northern Nigeria. A total 146 respondents (of the 350 valid questionnaires), accounting for 41.7% opted for option A (Tackling corruption) as a feasible solution. A second group, with a marginal difference (41.1%) from the largest, implied the need for socio-economic development in solving insecurity and terrorism problems in Northern Nigeria. Those who chose "better-equipped security agencies" and "strengthening security at the national borders" accounted for 9.4% and 7.7% respectively.

Question 7: Do you think increased agricultural activity (and development) is an adequate measure for promoting peace and tackling insecurity in Nigeria?

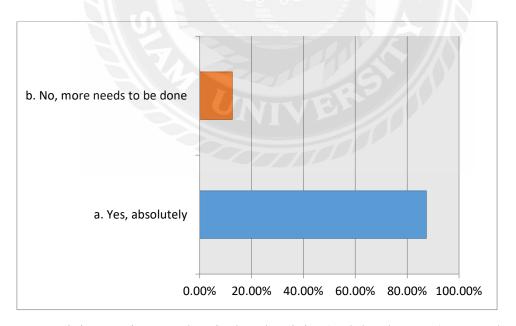


Figure 4.4 Opinions on increased agricultural activity (and development) as an adequate measure for promoting peace and tackling insecurity in Nigeria

Table 4.5 Respondent's responses on opinions on increased agricultural activity (and development) as an adequate measure for promoting peace and tackling insecurity in Nigeria

Answer Choices	Responses	Number of respondents
a. Yes, absolutely	87.4%	306
b. No, more needs to be done	12.6%	44
Total Respondents		350

Inference: On the question regarding whether increasing agricultural activity in Northern Nigeria is considered an adequate measure for promoting peace and security, a substantial number of respondents, accounting for 87.4% responded in the affirmative. Only 12.6% of the population do not consider increasing agricultural activity a viable means for solving security problems.

4.3.2 Research Question2

How can agriculture influence economic changes in Nigeria?

Interview Analysis

In an interview conducted with Dr. Abimbola Olorunfemi, a senior lecturer of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development at the Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta (UNAAB), certain notes were made regarding what Nigeria needs to do to revamp its economy through the agricultural sector. They include:

Agricultural Policy Review

Dr. Abimbola advocated the need for the executive arm of government, through the agriculture and finance Ministers, to make propositions to the legislature that would call for a ban on importation of crops that could be produced locally in Nigeria as a strategy for stimulating internal production and job creation.

"Two significant things are going to happen when a ban is placed on importation of those items that we can produce locally. First, there will be shortage, which will consequently affect the prices of those agricultural products in the market, forcing them to rise. Now, that shortage will create an opportunity for farmers to fill the demand gap by producing more. To do that, however, more workers will be required on the farm and that will drive up economic activity in this area through the creation of jobs and income for households," Dr. Olorunfemi said.

Storage: Speaking further, Dr. Abimbola state that another challenge that agricultural production faces in Nigeria, is that of inadequate storage facilities. Upon harvest, crops require storage systems that elongate their shelf life. However, in Nigeria at least thirty percent of produce are lost before they get to the marketplace. Loss of crops due to deterioration means loss of money. If farmers and all stakeholders in the food value chain are able to construct good/adequate storage facilities that can preserve the life/quality of farm produce from when they are harvested till they are consumed, then they can all get more value for their labour and efforts. Tomatoes for instance; is a crop that has a very short shelf life but which can be prolonged for more than a year through the canning method, by processing it into tomato paste and other end products like ketchup or puree unfortunately, food processing relies greatly on certain infrastructures such as electric power which is inadequate and epileptic in Nigeria, thus, increasing cost of processing if the processor has to rely on alternative sources.

The challenge increases when the local value chain has to compete with imported products which are cheaper.

Regarding the problem of infrastructure. Abimbola suggested that stakeholders should look internally to solve the problems bedevilling the sector and not rely on government. He

further noted that while the initial cost of establishing renewable energy plants may be high, the benefits accruable from the exercise are worth the investment.

Professor Abdulkarim Musa, senior lecturer of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management another expert from the same institution who doubles as a Fellow of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture also offered insights on the need for an agricultural policy framework, particularly as it concerns economic affairs for Northern Nigeria and the nation in its entirety.

He stated that there is an economic angle to terrorism noted in the north in recent times observing that idleness is largely responsible for the restiveness in the region as man naturally would apply his energies to other avenues if not engage productively. Speaking further, the Professor noted that the ongoing violent conflicts in Nigeria, can be attributed to the collapse of the agrarian economy in the northern region, which has its roots in the discovery of oil in the southern part of the country. Even though the geographical location where crude oil is being mined is nowhere close to the north, the nature of Nigeria's political system and governance structure is such that anyone and everyone in power are able to benefit from the oil wealth as state revenues are committed to the national purse before they are disbursed across board from the center in Abuja.

4.3.3 Research Question 3:

What are the factors that foster agricultural growth?

The underlying motive for this question rests on the assumption designed in the hypothetical situation under the Alternative Hypothesis (H₁), which implies that a causal relationship between agricultural development and peace would have to exist as a prerequisite in order for the inquiry on the factors engendering agricultural growth to be valid.

An interview with a former public officer in Nigeria gave insights into the factors necessary for agricultural growth and development in Northern Nigeria and also the importance of peace and security in order for it to ensue. Lieutenant General Alani Akinrinade (rtd) held sway as the Chief of Army Staff from October 1979 to April 1980, and as Chief of Defence Staff of the Nigerian Army until 1981. Before joining the Nigerian Army, he worked in the Ministry of Agriculture in the Western Region, Ibadan from 1959 to 1960 (Osso, 2016). He was also Nigeria's Minister of Agriculture, Water Resources and Rural Development from 1985 to 1986.

He explained that for agriculture to thrive, certain steps are deemed necessary. According to him, four factors are imperative for agriculture to thrive. One is the issue of security, which he said set the country back at the time of the Civil War of Biafra between 1967 and 1970. The second factor, he explained, was the need for favourable agricultural policies to the people in the northern part of Nigeria and the country at large. The third, he identified as the incursion of corruption into the national fabric, which consequently made public service and administration inefficient and undermined meaningful development. The fourth factor, Akinrinade said, was the political will, caused by the distraction of the oil boom in the 1970s and 1980s, making agriculture a less attractive endeavour in comparison even though that was not the case. Thus, the factors are:

- a. Peace and security
- b. Favourable agricultural policies
- c. Stemming corruption

Political will on the issue of security, Akinrinade stated that "the agrarian economy is becoming hostile both to farmers and investors who cannot be certain that agricultural activities will thrive due to the incessant attacks on farmlands by terrorists masking as Fulani Herdsmen.

There are incidences where acres of farmlands were torched, people murdered in scores, farm produce and equipment worth millions constantly destroyed. This is certainly not conducive for agricultural operations. Though it's been about half a century since the Civil War, security is still an issue and Nigeria is fighting a different war. This time it is against faceless people. Terrorists are faceless and make unreasonable demands in particular is the reason the war on terrorism has stretched to almost a decade and there seems to be no predictable timeline on when it will end. No farmer or investor can make calculated risks in this kind of condition."

Akinrinade also explained the need for favourable agricultural policies: "before Nigeria became an independent nation, the policy on ground was mostly an extractive one. However, that soon tilted towards an export-oriented economy that was constituted mostly of cocoa from the West, groundnut from the North, and oil-palm from the East. Nigeria was flourishing economically back then as a result of increased foreign exchange earnings even though oil had not been discovered in commercial quantities. The retired General noted that agricultural policies need to favour the people in a way that encourages them to take up farming.

Akinrinade further noted that the third and fourth factors were not mutually exclusive, given that where one was found, the other one was sure to be present. He stated that public office holders and leaders whom the public repose their trust in have failed to be good examples, and that their blatant disregard for the rule of law, through misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds, has not augured well with the people whose morale has been dampened.

He noted that the financial rot and corruption in both the private and public sectors have paralysed the morale of young and hardworking Nigerians who have little encouragement and incentive to acquit themselves creditably in the discharge of their duties. Likewise, administrators and officials in governance have become mostly complacent in steering the nation in the right direction for development if it is not to their personal benefit. These are

grave issues that would require all hands-on deck with sincerity of purpose and interest of the nation at heart if significant development is to be achieved through the agricultural sector. "The situation whereby the government bans the importation of rice today for the purpose of stimulating local growth and production but reverses same in another eighteen months down the line reflects inconsistency and distrust," he explained.

4.4 Summary of Chapter Four

This chapter lays out the data gathered from the field of study via the quantitative survey and the interview of respondents. Specifically, it narrows down how the responses fit into the broader framework of the research objectives as identified in the introductory chapter of this study. The presentation was done expressively with the use of texts and aided with graphic display using charts and tables.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter captures the essence of the study in relation to the discoveries made as well as provides recommendations that would be deemed beneficial to the academia. It also discusses the findings from the study in relation to the objectives of the research and provides a conclusive perspective on the problems. In its conclusive section, the research objectives served as guide that enabled concise convergence of the research thought process.

5.2 Findings and Conclusion

The study set out to explore agricultural practice as a potential solution to security issues in Nigeria. For that purpose, certain objectives were developed to guide the research process and to give the researcher a goal to aim at. These objectives were also the basis for the formulation of the research questions that were foundational in designing the questionnaire for the quantitative survey and the interview questions for the qualitative method of inquiry. Responses and reactions generated from the process of inquiry revealed the following:

RO1: Explore how peace can be attained through agriculture.

To attain this research objective, the first research question inquired "How can agriculture influence the attainment of peace in Northern Nigeria?" Having established those prevalent agricultural activities is a precursor to peace and stability through the alternative hypothesis, the findings revealed that constituted government authorities have a vital role to play through the introduction of favourable agricultural policies that would inevitably encourage more people, particularly youths, to take to farming thus dis-incentivizing violent conflicts and terrorism. There is need, also, for a review of how laws are implemented in the context of prosecution of financial fraud offenders and how corruption in government is

treated. This is imperative in order to demonstrate government's commitment to creating a morally upright system that the masses can key into in order for its objectives to be realized.

RO2: Exploring the factors that foster agricultural growth to influence economic stability.

To identify the factors that promote agricultural growth to influence economic stability, the aspect of inquiry that catered to this objective was the second research question (RQ2), "How can agriculture influence economic changes in Nigeria?" Findings revealed that a stable, safe, and secure environment that guarantees the protection of lives and properties is, first, a requisite factor enabling the growth of an agriculture-based economy. That, coupled with progressive economic policies, is considered a key driver to economic growth and stability.

RO3: Exploring how insecurity undermines agricultural development

The research was able to determine that social restiveness and violent conflicts are obstacles to people living their normal lives and engaging in productive activities. Where there is no safety of lives and properties or the guarantee of such, a tense atmosphere prevails. Such situation whereby people have to scramble first to secure their lives and are in constant fear that they could be victims of violence at any moment makes it rather impossible to engage in economic activities.

RO3: Contributing practical knowledge to the body of academic research

An underlying objective for this study, besides its need to proffer solutions to the problems bedevilling the socio-economic clime in northern Nigeria, was its need to add to the body of knowledge for the academic domain. While the literature review stage revealed a motley of works in the area of security and peace studies, there is a dearth of material that probes into that area with respect to how it intersects with agricultural economics. As such, this

study was able to draw out evidences on how insecurity impacts on the domain of agriculture and how the latter can be used in the restoration of peace to conflict regions.

These findings lend credence to the Conflict Theory, proving that the struggle and competition that results from the situation whereby unemployment is rife may lead to violence and social unrest.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings made from the study, which concludes evidently that the dwindling agricultural activities in the northern part of Nigeria is a basis for the proliferation of violent conflicts and terrorism, it is therefore imperative that certain changes be made in to stem the tide of violence leading to loss of lives, properties, and a decline in the region's social and economic stability, and by extension that of the entire country.

As such, the researcher makes the following recommendations:

- a. That the state administrators (governors) of states in the northern part of Nigeria where violent conflicts are prevalent should, as a matter of urgency, declare a state of emergency in the agricultural sector.
- b. That the state governors, through their economic advisers and commissioners, develop an economic programme dedicated to the agricultural sector on how to revive agriculture and make it productive both for the end products and to stimulate employment opportunities.
- c. That neighbouring states in the northern region should work in concert on joint policing of their borders as a means to prevent the movement of arms and weapons used in prosecuting violence.

- d. That the state governors should consider giving tax breaks and other economic incentives to prospective investors in the agricultural sector, which would inevitably attract investment as well as fast-track economic development.
- e. That stakeholders in governance, particularly the agriculture ministry, should work in tandem with agricultural research institutes in order to be privy and upto-date with latest trends and advances in the field.



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APPENDIX I

Interview Questions

- 1. What role do you think agriculture plays in helping address insecurity problems in Nigeria?
- 2. In what ways do you think agriculture can be used to intervene in a socio-economic problem such as insecurity and social unrest in Nigeria?
- 3. Do you think agriculture alone is sufficient to help address security challenges?
- 4. What are the factors you consider necessary to ensure agricultural growth, particularly in regions where youth unemployment is on the high side?



APPENDIX II

Good day Sir/Ma,

I am conducting a study into the nature of social restiveness and how it relates with the economy, particularly agriculture. Specifically, the title of the research being conducted is "Agriculture as A Gateway to Peace in Nigeria", which is a requisite for the award of a Masters' degree (MSc) at the Department of Peace and Diplomacy, Siam University, Thailand.

The objective of the study is to help determine probable causes, as well as solutions, to the spate of social unrest, terrorism, and general insecurity in Nigeria. All responses generated from this questionnaire will be used solely for academic purposes.

Thank you.

Dorcas Mutfwang

QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. Which of these do you think is a threat to agriculture in Nigeria?
 - a. Poor government policies
 - b. Hostility from farm communities
 - c. Destruction of farmlands by armed militants/Fulani Herdsmen
 - d. Inadequate supply/availability of fertilizers and pesticides
- 2. Do you think low agricultural activities in Nigeria are a reason for the high incidences of violence, insecurity, and terrorism?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 3. Which of these ways do you think agriculture can best help to promote peace and security in Nigeria?
 - a. Economic productivity through increased employment and engagement of youths
 - b. Increase in food productivity
 - c. Widespread agricultural development across the country
- 4. Which of these do you consider the most effective option in tackling insecurity in Nigeria?
 - a. Empowering the armed forces through increased training and funding
 - b. Dialogue between elected public officers and community leaders
 - c. Cultural reorientation through socio-political institutions (schools, churches, mosques, traditional monarchs)

- d. Increased engagement of youths in agricultural activities
- 5. Which of these do you think is responsible for the incidences of terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria?
 - a. Ethnic issues (ethnicity)
 - b. Poor state of security agencies
 - c. Unemployment
 - d. Corruption in government
 - e. Poverty
 - f. Uneven development among regions
- 6. Which of these do you consider as a realistic solution to insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria?
 - a. Tackling corruption
 - b. Better-equipped security agencies
 - c. Socio-economic development
 - d. Strengthening security at the national borders (border control)
- 7. Do you think increased agricultural activity (and development) is an adequate measure for promoting peace and tackling insecurity in Nigeria?
 - a. Yes, absolutely
 - b. No, more needs to be done in other areas

8.	3. Do you consider agriculture to be a lucrative economic endeavor?	
	a.	Yes
	b.	No
9. Has agriculture bee		griculture been sufficient in helping you meet your financial obligations and
	needs?	
	a.	Yes, it is absolutely sufficient
	b.	No, it is insufficient
10.	0. Besides agriculture, are you engaged in other non-agricultural businesses?	
	a.	Yes
	b.	No