

**That is (not) who we are: class and open grazing in Nigeria**

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**ABSSTRACT**

*The main thrust/thesis of this study is that open grazing is simply a CLASS Act. In pursuit of this thesis; the study seeks to; i. Indicate the essence of grazing ii. Examine the factors that predispose communities to open grazing as grazers and as host communities. iii Examine the possibility of alternatives to open grazing. Now, humans are social beings. Removal from society simply translates into the end of humanity. Be that as it may, we live in a world of traits and tendencies, nature, nurture, processes and styles. There are individual as well as group differences and nuances. In all this maze, we make sense out of it all in the recognition that circumstances alter cases and that behaviour is largely environmentally-determined. Every society is the sum total of its sub-units. The maintenance of dynamic equilibrium, booms or bursts depend on the manner of social relations/interactions that subsist therein. It is in that regard that we need to bring in the tendencies and dispositions of the open-grazers visa-a-vis the host communities, whether already overrun or still standing. Accordingly, the following questions are thrown up: 1. What is the essence of grazing? 2. What factors predispose the open grazers to that manner of economic activity? 3. What factors predispose the host communities to accept or acquiesce to open grazing? 4. Is there no alternative to open grazing? To guide the study, the political economy perspective was adopted: The focus here was on class and the allied issue of class character and contradictions; the issue of the primacy of material conditions as well as the significance of history. All in all, the study recommends and concludes that it is left for each unit (individually and collectively) to determine her class – whether of domination or the dominated. Furthermore, the current and the sustainable ways to take good care of animals and remove this particular source of insecurity and turbulence include Ranching, The European Paddock Approach or Mix of the Indian Model tied with Ranching.*

**keywords:** Class; Open Grazing; Violence; Material Conditions, Stability, Justice, Consciousness, Sustainable Development,

**Here we come!**

Class is a concept, nay, a category that is inextricably intertwined with the production process. It is intrinsically connected with production. If it is not about performance (for example, a class/classic performance), then, it is about output – First, Second, Third Class or Top Class or High Class and so forth. If it is not about performance and productivity, then, it is about ownership of the means of production and the attendant social relations of production. A corollary to the foregoing is that class is also about production/performance related attitude and/or consciousness. It is in this regard that we have such concepts, perceptions, usages and therefore clauses such as: Act with class!. One with class! The Act was in a class of its own!

In regard to consciousness which is intrinsically connected with attitude we come across situations that define – Proletarian consciousness, Peasant consciousness, Bourgeois consciousness, Petty Bourgeois or Petty Proletarian or Lumpen-Proletarian or Lumpen Bourgeois consciousness and so forth. This takes us to the superiority – inferiority dimensions of attitude and consciousness or vice-versa. The Superior-Inferior Class Attitude; the Bully-Victim Consciousness and so forth. So where do you place yourself and/or where do people and/or circumstances place you? Lest we forget, class has a lot to do with the role, function or structure and/or placement where/how people find or perceive themselves in the production process. In this connection, it has to do with the ownership and share of values that derive from the production process. For the avoidance of getting enmeshed in the literature on class, let us summarize our thoughts in this opening section with these thoughts of V.I. Lenin on class as put together in Boguslavsky B.M. *et al* (1978 p. 363):

In his work *The Great Beginning*, Lenin writes: Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and consequently, by the

dimension of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it.

So, how does this concern open grazing? To begin with, socioeconomic relations are primarily, property relations. Relations over who gets what, how, where, when and why? These are, intrinsically conflict-prone relations. However, under conditions of enlightened self-interest driven by rationality and dignified consciousness, perception and conduct, conflict takes a nefarious and inglorious *anathema* seat while cooperation, good sense of judgment and conduct with the attendant coordination take over the driving seat and wheel and be observed and celebrated, satisfactory, decorum or stability is thus achieved. The social correlates of genuine decorum of stability include; the rule of law, order, equity, respect, decency, openness, freedom of expression, and so on.

Put differently, although a modicum of entropy is necessary for the continuance of chemical reactions, that must be distinguished from setting the laboratory ablaze. Although, we are not unaware of certain random crisis in the past, the exponential dimension of the current conflicts characterized by savagery with a nefarious orgy of violence involving sack of whole communities, cattle rustling and killing of cows, loss of lives and other valuables, and the attendant displacement of communities in manners reminiscent of the Dark Ages. In-short, the current situation is a menace to society.

Now, concerning the defining incidents Abdulbarkindo A and Alupsen B. (2017) approached the matter from the point of view of Fulani herdsmen and (Christian) Community classes. A graphic picture of the *path of destruction* was painted as presented by them in the tables below.

**Table 1: Estimated number of Christians killed and injured in the Benue State LGAs under consideration (2014-2016)**

LGA	NO. OF CHRISTIANS KILLED	NO. OF CHRISTIANS INJURED
Agatu	967	1051
Gwer-East	15	21
Gwer-West	772	264
Makurdi	494	248
Guma	1426	606
Tarka	52	16
Buruku	25	0
Katsina-Ala	91	0
Logo	204	721
Ukum	42	24
Kwande	72	6
Obi	34	0
<b>Total for all LGAs listed above</b>	<b>4194</b>	<b>2957</b>

*Source: ACSAN fieldwork and data collected from Benue State Emergency Management Agency (BSEMA) and Young Professionals Association in Markurdi (in Abdulbarkindo A and Alupsen B. 2017, pp. 23-24).*

**Table 2: Number of Christians homes and churches reported damaged or destroyed per LGA under consideration (2014-2016)**

LGA	No. of thatched and tin-roof Christian homes damaged or destroyed	No. of churches damaged and destroyed.
Agatu	7,663	4
Guma	63,718	5
Gwer-East	447	0
Gwer-West	37,416	7
Katsina-Ala	11,399	1
Kwanda	21,443	2
11Logo	28,807	4
Markudi	24,683	7
<b>Total for all LGAs listed above</b>	<b>195,576</b>	<b>30</b>

*Source: ACSAN fieldwork and information obtained from documents made available by Benue State Emergency Management Agency, Benue State Chapter of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Benue State Chapter of Jamatul Nosril Islam in Makurdi in Markurdi (in Abdulbarkindo A and Alupsen B. 2017, pp. 23-24).*

Concerning this path of carnage, S.B Morgan (2016), in the introduction of her work “**Death and the Herdsmen**” stated *inter alia*:

In the early hours of Monday, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016, destruction was unleashed upon Ukpabi-Nimbo, a sleepy village in Uzo-Uwani LGA of Enugu State. Scores of heavily armed Fulani herdsmen executed a ferocious attack on the community, killing dozens and seriously injuring a large number of others. According to eye witnesses, at least fifty people were killed and about thirty seriously injured by the time the attack was over.

This same gory picture is painted in the work by Ofuoku A.U and Isife B.I (2009) concerning Delta State, Nigeria. Now, concerning the first quarter of 2018, *wanepnigeria.org* as regards the killing fields of Plateau, Benue, Edo, Ebonyi and Kogi States put the situation thus:

Nigeria continues to be affected by recurring violent conflict between farmer – herders in some states posing a grave, threat to national security and destruction of the sources of social and economic livelihood of people.....

As at 16<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 a cumulative fatality of 149 people including women and children were recorded in violent confrontations and attacks arising from the Farmer – Herdsmen conflicts in Plateau, Benue, Edo, Ebonyi and Kogi States. Several people were allegedly injured with houses burnt down during the incidents. Residents have abandoned their ancestral homes to seek refuge in neighbouring communities and states for fear of attacks and safety.

There is a vast array of literature on the matter (Amadi D.C and Amadi A.I 2017); Umoh, N.R, 2017. Mensah J.V, Adamtey R and Abdulai A.R. 2016; Aliyu, A.S; 2015 and so forth).

Be that as it may, before we turn fully to why we are here, let us from what we can glean so far, as part of our preparations, highlight some of the factors underscored as contributors to the exponential dimension of the clashes that now attend upon open grazing. Come to think of it, if we accept that *Eziokwu bu Ndu*– that the truth is and promotes life – then, these clashes and the aftermath result from open grazing. It is said that to cure an ailment one needs to address the

root causes. Though the symptomatic features deserve and demand attention and treatment, without addressing the root causes, the infirm, may die as a result or remain pathological to the end. Be that as it may, the factors that have been highlighted thus far may for our limited purposes be categorized into three namely: **Economic, Social and Political** Factors.

From the economic stand point, the fundamental principle is that socioeconomic relations are primarily, property relations. Accordingly, from the literature, it is obvious that most of these clashes stem from the struggles and claims over resources (Umoh R.N, p.18; Mensah J.V; Adamtey R. and Abdulai A.R. 2016, p. 36; *news@wanepnigeria.org* 2018,p.1) In fact, to make matters more specific as regards the relationship between economic necessities and these clashes, Ofuoku A.U. and Isife B.I. (2009, p. 050); Baidoo I. (2014, pp. 47-53; Ajibefun, M.D, 2018, pp. 136-138 and Aliyu, A.S 2015, pp. 47-53) provide specific details of economic causes of these clashes.

A combination of the details from these sources have been presented below (with brief explanation where perceived necessary):

1. Destruction of crop/farm produce by cattle
2. Contamination of River Bodies and streams by cattle. These pose health hazards.
3. Over-Grazing of fallow land
4. Spraying of farms with weedicides and insecticides.  
Herdsman see such practice by farmers as directed at killing their cattle.
5. Inelasticity of Land – It does not expand, though the use of land may be enlarged through science and technology innovation. Scarcity breeds inhumane, bad and undignified conducts.
6. Burning of Grassland indiscriminately
7. Theft of cattle/cattle rustling
8. Killing cattle in retaliation for damage to farms/crops
9. Land tenure system
10. Climate change – The shrinking of Lake Chad Basin.

So long for the economic factors, we now turn to the **social** factors.

The **social** factors have to do with the imponderable social infrastructure that provide society with a sense of values, mores, ethos, morality as well as sense of worth and dignified conduct and so forth. Here we find the customs, traditions and character. Here we find the ideological underpinnings of the community. It is here that we locate the value of schools or equivalent structures.

This dimension to the matter is crucial. It is inextricably intertwined with consciousness, and hence, perceptions and therefore social action(s). It is crucial in this regard to appreciate values and the context and content of ideas. It is said that ideas rule the world. Hence, *the pen is mightier than the sword*. Further along this road, looking at the matter from the perspective of ecology, we have predators, preys, hosts, parasites, symbiosis and so forth. In this connection, some communities see themselves as *superior* or *inferior*, *connected* or *disconnected* or *unconnected*, *involved* or *not involved*, *fearless* or *docile* and *cautious* and so forth.

From this angle and allied matters, we have some causes of conflicts associated with open grazing and allied pastoralist-host community crises. These include:

1. Rape/abuse of women and girls
2. Disregard for customs and traditions of host communities. For example the indiscriminate defecation by cattle in certain traditional/dedicated or sacred sites or locations.
3. A corollary to one and two above is the response by restive youths of host communities who move to confront or harass the herdsmen has determined by the context and allied circumstances.
4. Several centuries and decades ago, herdsmen were transitional nomads and not settler communities. Times are changing, sometimes with devastating effects on the host communities. This realization is crucial as we think of cattle routes and all that. Time has changed. We should therefore respond in appropriate and proper ways to the changing times.

5. A corollary to the above is the exploitation of weaknesses and discontinuities in the policy structure(s) of the host communities. This is certainly the product of centuries and decades of engagement across several lands and climes. All the same, life is all about the ability to see and gainfully utilize opportunities. Though there be other considerations of morality and ethics. More on that tomorrow.

What matters however, is that when certain things go wrong, calculations go wrong, people lose their lives, communities are sacked and displaced and will return to the Hobbesian State of Nature where life is nasty, brutish and short.

6. Lest we forget there are the issues of negligence, ignorance and trap. In this connection, according to Yahaya (2008) herdsmen often left a large number of cattle in the care of children. As children, their sense of proportions/responsibility as regards the consequences of destruction of farm produce is heavily compromised. This could ignite matters. Ignorance is bliss, while underdevelopment is cruel. In this regard, some of the farmers out of ignorance or lack of space or store houses leave their crops in the farms, when cattle chance upon the farms, they are gone. From another angle, Aliyu A.S. (2015, p. 19) also points to another matrix farmers who internationally leave poor yield crops not harvested as trap, for cattle to graze, “so that they could claim heavy compensation.”

So long for social factors, we now turn to the *political* factors or causes.

Concerning the *political* factors, there are three core dimensions– manipulation, complicity and institutional incapacity and the attendant undue and more often than not, irresponsible use of *referent* power.

With regard to manipulation as a political factor, there is no gainsaying the reality that a considerable proportion of the conflicts between the herdsmen and host communities is attributable to manipulations by politicians. These politicians make political capital out of these incidents in order to win the support of the electorate in their constituencies as well as intimidate others into line or into hiding (Bardoo I, 2014, p. 53).

Inextricably intertwined with manipulation is the issue of complicity. In this connection, the comments by Amadi D.C. and Amadi A.I (2017, p. 5) capture the situation:



A lot has been said about the silence of Buhari's Government over the activities of the herdsmen. The fact that the President is Fulani appears to be fueling the rage. But we ought to see it with the common sense it deserves. We cannot overlook the mindset of the group that is basking in the euphoria... Clearly, the attacks of the herdsmen are threatening the unity of the country.

A corollary to the two foregoing factors are the issues of institutional incapacity and the attendant undue and irresponsible use of *referent* power. These have given rise to situational ethics and crass state-of-nature reflexes or instincts. Ordinarily, what obtains in civilized or developed societies is the recourse to the rule of law for the guaranteed human rights and accordingly, the maintenance of order.

Be that as it may, we conclude this introduction by highlighting the several initiatives, measures and mechanisms by government(s) to end or at least control and reduce to insignificance the clashes between herdsmen and host communities. What we provide below is an outline or a sketch of these initiatives, mechanisms or measures:

1. **Nomadic education and the building of schools:** This programme that was set off in the 1980s by the Minister for Education, Prof. Babs Fafunwa, under the government of Rtd. General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida received much support and innovative programmes under the Goodluck Jonathan Administration between 2011 to 2015.
2. **Cattle grazing routes:** According to *www.fao.org*, this was a practice long before colonialism. However, since there was no legal instrument, this traditional practice which sufficed for the relatively small community disappeared with increasing population and cropping intensity.
3. A corollary to the foregoing is the Nigerian Government's Grazing Reserve Act of 1964. This was certainly a consequence of the alienation of grazing lands (*www.fao.org*). It is crucial to note that this was during the days of relative regional autonomy: There were considerable challenges and, the policy never really took off in a significant manner. Instead, the regions adopted the option of cattle ranches. These include the Obudu Cattle

Ranch etc. The transition from nomadic to settler community dynamics also throws in more hard balls into the game.

Be that as it may, sequel to the Federal Land Act of 1978 and in pursuit of the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) only 10% of the estimated quantum of land was granted. Furthermore, only few of those covered have been cleared by the official gazette, leaving the original aims largely compromised. Again, the targeted core nomads never realized much of the opportunity (*www.fao-org*). This clarification is important in view of the current circumstances, debates and policy options being canvassed or on the ground. It is equally important, in view of Machiavellian manoeuvres being applied with insinuations directed at attenuating the appropriate response of certain relevant others as a result of disinformation and misdirection. All the same, life goes on.

4. The Enactment of the Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law by Ekiti, Benue and Taraba States were intended to promote peace. It seems that it exacerbated matters and Taraba State had to back down.
5. The Cattle Colony Proposal by the Federal Government which has generated much controversy depending on points of view. Meanwhile, this study has helped in putting into clearer light certain ideas concerning the cattle route as well as the grazing reserves, currently put forward by certain interests, as justifications for the cattle colony proposal.
6. In regard to peace enforcement, we recognize the deployment of police and armed forces personnel to the areas or communities where there are or there have been clashes in order to curtail matters and help work for the recovery of communities.
7. In regard to peace building initiatives and mechanisms, several have been set in motion. For example, there is the leadership and inauguration of the National Food Security Council to prevent or at least mitigate herdsman – host community clashes. Accordingly, they are expected to address issues relating to climate change, grazing areas, oil spillage etc (*www.wanep.org*). Infact, several states have come up with several initiatives in order to build and promote peace : There are myriads of states stakeholders’ meetings. In this connection, in the Local Governments, the leaders of the herdsman communities

participate in the peace and security or the police community relations committees. Several states provide the armed forces and the police with vehicles and other critical logistic support aside from covert operations by governmental agencies.

The crux of the matter is that notwithstanding these initiatives, measures and mechanisms, the problem continues to worsen. Why? That is the question this study attempts to grapple with from the class angle.

ii. What we have come to do here?

From our endeavour so far, it may seem obvious. Yet things are not always what they seem. Accordingly, we have to specify our purposes:

- a. Indicate the essence of grazing
- b. Examine the factors that predispose open grazers to that manner of economic activity
- c. Examine the factors that predispose host communities to accept or acquiesce to open grazing
- d. Examine the possibility of alternatives to open grazing.

iii. Our Guides – In order to reasonably grapple with the objectives, these research questions are to guide us:

- a. What is the essence of grazing?
- b. What factors predispose open grazers to that manner of economic activity?
- c. What factors predispose the host communities to accept or acquiesce to open grazing?
- d. Is there no alternative to open grazing?

iv. Our Map – This study arose from an understanding of social reality upon which the aims were thrown up: By ordinary everyday application, “perception” as a concept underscores observation(s) and the attendant understanding (or on that matter misunderstanding). When perception gets structured across time, it translates into “consciousness”. On the other hand, across time, consciousness enables us to perceive or understand the world around us. Among the

several presentations of consciousness, the one that most fits into our endeavour is that knowledge or understanding that is shared among a group or collectivity. Layers of perception translate into consciousness-whether it be of individuals or of groups. Bearing the foregoing in mind, we state our hypotheses thus:

- a. Human beings are rational beings
  - b. The manner of perception/consciousness of the herdsmen predisposes them to the practice of open grazing
  - c. The manner of perception/consciousness of host communities predisposes them to an acceptance of open grazing by herdsmen.
  - d. The manner of perception/consciousness of the host communities makes them vulnerable or acquiesce to open grazing.
- v. The theoretical framework- In this respect, the political economy tool in regard to social analysis was adopted. Political economy as an approach to the analysis, interpretation or understanding of social reality focuses on a number of extricable, though intricately intertwined elements. These include the material conditions with special reference to the production/distribution dynamics, the historical context as well as the class configurations that are thrown up with the attendant effect on social relations-individually and collectively.

The relevance of the foregoing is crecive in the *Wealth of the Nations* (1776). In this classic of Political Economy and later on, Economics, Adam Smith underscored Political Economy as the “Inquiry into the Origin and Causes of the Wealth of the Nations”.

The critique of political economy by Karl Marx brought into clearer relief the issues of class and consciousness. In this regard, in the “Preface to A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy”, Karl Marx put matters *inter alia*:

The general result at which I arrived and, which once won, served as a guiding thread for my studies can be briefly formulated as follows: In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations..... The sum total of those relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation,

on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness... (Marx K and Engels F, 1977, pp. 503/504).

Today, we know better. For one, we know that the answer is neither here nor there. Nurture is as critical as nature in the determination of the dynamics of social reality. Hence, today we know that to a great extent, “man”, according to Protagoras (400 + BC) is the measure of all things”.

Accordingly, in addition to material conditions, productive forces, social relations/economic structure (classes), we have definite forms of social consciousness. This element of social consciousness is very pervasive in the references in political economy to *Genuine and False Consciousness*. It is noteworthy in this regard, that all the issues of pedagogy and allied matters revolve around consciousness. All the issues of motivational speeches, conferences, workshops, retreats and so forth – are directed at making people conscious of their environment and accordingly our responsibilities. According to Miewald – *Knowledge is a stimulus to action*. It is in this regard that Shakespeare in **Macbeth** Act III paints this picture:

Murderer 1: We are men, my Lord!

Macbeth: Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men; As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs, shoughs, water-rugs and demi-wolves are clapped. All by the name of dogs: The swift, the slow, the subtle, the house keeper, the hunter, everyone, according to the gift which bounteous nature hath in him closed; wherein he does receive particular addition, from the bill that writes them all alike, and so of men.... (Geddes and Grosset, 2013/pp.527/528).

For the purposes of this study, therefore, and to bring about peace and progress, it is the genuineness of our vision vis-a-vis the material conditions that matters. Put differently, as with independence, autonomy or freedom, peace has never been free-of-charge, no. There must be

commitment for its realization and sustenance. So, where do you place yourself and/or, where do people and circumstances place you? How are you treated? What is the treatment you get vis-a-vis your neighbours? Are you welcomed by your neighbours or are you treated with disrespect and/or disdain?

According to Tina Turner, the R & B Star – *“I left America because in America, I will always be a Black R & B Singer. In other places, I am seen and treated with respect for what I am – a Star”*.

From the sections above so far in regard to class and consciousness, do you see your consciousness and response in regard to the situation as appropriate and inclusive? Is your position the product of exclusivism and/or other dark reflexes?

Bearing the foregoing sections in mind, we now turn to the analysis of the matters raised based on a synthesis of the aims and hypotheses, but with focus on the research questions and allied matters.

vi. **Analysis**

- a. We begin by relating the situation to the thesis that human beings are rational beings. This is where perception and consciousness matter.  
Even though originally, grazing is virtually an *onomatopoeia* about cattle etc. feeding on growing grass. The essential point should not be grass. The essential point is feeding, providing for the care wellness or wellbeing of the stock(s).

Accordingly, if we are rational, that is, logical, reasonable, why do we continue a practice that by every modern standard does not make economic sense and is as well socially and politically prohibitive in terms of cost? In this regard, according to Kwagha B (2018, pp.104/105):

The grazing of animals cattle trails in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is to say the least antiquated. The focus should be on a modernization of cattle rearing which will maximize the benefit therein in terms of job creation, food security and eventually end the vexations farmers/

herdsmen conflicts. India, China, USA, Pakistan, and countries with large populations depend on milk and dairy products to fight hunger, malnutrition, unemployment and promote social harmony. India is a good example with an annual production 163million metric tonnes of milk which is about 10% of world's output. In India, cattle are reared within the confines of village communities and farmers cooperatives,...attachment to the cattle in Indian is so strong that it is called mother...the European dairy farm model is also within confined paddocks which in most cases are not much bigger than a football pitch. The animal fodder is grown on location or in other farms which specialize on growing hays, grains and other animal feeds...the milk produced in these farms are collected, pasteurized and packed in local dairy plants for local and worldwide consumption as infant foods, cheese, yoghurt, butter and other dairy products. The average milk yield per cow in Europe is between 40-50litres per day as compared to the paltry 1-2 litres yield of the Nigerian cow due to poor feeding, poor health and stress on the grazing trails... the profit in the industry is derived mainly from dairy products which by some estimates could be in excess of 15,000USD per milking cow per year....The establishment of ranches and grazing lands may seem attractive and a simple way out of the farmers/ herdsmen clashes. The constraints of land and land ownership in tribal areas are also a big challenge...the Indian and European models are therefore best suited for the Nigerian situation...

We had to quote Kwaghga at length in view of the mass of analysts who seek political correctness as well as caution. In doing this, the ignore Paul Baran's code that- The desire to say the truth is the first condition for being an intellectual. Incidentally, without addressing the circumstances that ignite the clashes, analysts would ask the herdsmen and farmers/ communities to dialogue and find mutually-satisfactory arrangements. We need to do more.

Therefore, this multi-stakeholder matter should be approached from a rational, national, common good outlook. We turn to hypothesis number two.

- b. The manner of perception/consciousness of herdsmen predispose them to the practice of open grazing.

In this connection, the Fulanis, for instance, are the main pastoral group in the world. From this angle, there comes this perception that this is who we are and what we have done across the centuries. Incidentally other insights and issues around the beginning of the Fulani and the commencement of pastoralism are never examined. The point is that there is fraudulent exploitation of the ignorance of the herdsmen by cattle owners. The herdsmen are made to believe that it is in their character to live and die as herdsmen. However, in their ignorance they fail to reason that the children of the cattle owners or Alhajis are abroad or in good universities at home. The herdsmen are, therefore, ignorant expendables- whose generations are condemned to continue the tradition of the ethnic group as Fulanis or Hausa and whatever other ethnic nationalities, while the children of the cattle owners move on. It is said-ignorance is bliss. If being a nomadic herdsman is the measure of the originality or autochtonicity of a Fulani or Hausa or any other clan or tribe for that matter the children of the dominant interests or elite or cattle owners should be leading the trail. However, if matters are not so, then, it is time for those either manipulated or ignorant and accordingly with wrong perception and false consciousness to stop, look, listen and be wise.

So long for the second element or key to the map, we now turn to the third key.

- c. The manner of perception/consciousness of the host communities predispose them to an acceptance of open grazing by herdsmen.

To begin with, though socio-economic relations be property relations, man is intrinsically a social being. There is ever the initial pull or impulse to assist, to accept fellow human beings. Therefore, it is intrinsically in the human nature to help, to assist fellow human beings in need. What comes tomorrow is not known to human beings. As Bob Marley put it :Chances are ! Who knows tomorrow?



Incidentally, there is another side to the equation, this side surges from uncontrolled and unpolished stupidity that masquerades as cleverness on the part of the nomads who usually endeavor to court the confidence of the host community or significant elite thereof. Accordingly, wittingly or unwittingly, some traditional rulers or members of the elite compromise the security of their communities through the acceptance of Greek Gifts. Be that as it may, at the appropriate time, things reveal themselves. By that time however, things may have gone beyond their control. Higher interest comes into play. This takes us to the final key.

- d. The manner of perception/consciousness of the host communities makes them vulnerable or acquiesce to open grazing.

To begin with, from the third key it is obvious that though simple human goodness may fail, a great measure of the problem of communities comes from compromises that flow from greed. Materialism eventually destroys the integrity of the community.

Be that as it may, there is another dimension to the matter. In this connection, according to Varma (1985, p.371):

Tolstoy had asked: what does it mean that thirty thousand men have subdued two hundred million....? Do not the figures make it clear that it is not the English who have enslaved the Indians but the Indians who have enslaved themselves”

Commenting furthermore on the place of thought, perception and consciousness Varma continued:

Ghandi experimenting on a large scale, with political potentialities of disobedience, emphasized most of all on a change of will as a prerequisite for a change in the patterns of obedience and cooperation. There was, first of all, he argued, need for a psychological change away from passive submission of self respect and courage. The moment that a slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others. Freedom and slavery are mental states. Therefore, the first thing is to say to yourself: “I

shall no longer accept the role of a slave. I shall not obey orders as such but shall disobey them when they are in conflict with my conscience". Secondly, there has to be recognition on the part of the subject that is only his assistance that makes the regime possible. "It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary cooperation", he wrote in Young India, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1921. Thirdly, the people have to build up a determination to withdraw cooperation and obedience". I believe, and everybody must grant that no government can exist for a single minute without the cooperation of the people willing or forced, and, if people suddenly withdraw their cooperation in every detail, the government will come to a standstill".

#### vii. Conclusion

From the foregoing, the biggest source of this scourge (seen from economic, social and political dimension) lies in the perception/consciousness matter. This matter covers the attitude, the fears, the stupidity and other allied reflexes, impulses and values. It is this consciousness that makes the herdsmen fail to see matters from any other perspective. The failure or refusal to consider other shades of interests and options carries with it critical measure of arrogance that derive from the consciousness that **WE CAN** and **THEY CANNOT DO ANYTHING TO STOP US!**

Therefore, it is time for those with national consciousness to tell the herdsmen in the words of the President of the Senate of the United States of America in the days of Woodrow Wilson as the President of the United States. Thus far, thus no further! There is a compelling need for all concerned to take another look at things.

According to Edmund Burke: The only condition necessary for the triumph of evil is for the good men to keep quiet and do nothing. In this connection generally, the evil ones are usually few. Their triumph, or at least, reign of fear, lies however, in the steady synergy among their numbers. On the side of the good, however, there is no synergy, no connection, no structures for continuous engagement on matters of strategy in regard to strengths, weaknesses, opportunities

and threats. Without the enabling structures for engagement in regard to strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, they stand relegated to the background. Accordingly, the crux of the matter lies in organization – conscientious, steady, constructive engagement. History reminds us that the price of Liberty is Eternal Vigilance.

Meanwhile, for the sake of a working peace system and sustainable development, there has to be a conscious and coordinated effort to steadily degrade and abolish the practice of open grazing. We need peace.

As already indicated somewhere above, however, peace is never won, free-of-charge. Accordingly, if people as individuals and/or collectively, choose to relegate their interests and therefore, themselves to a lower class; so be it. In the words of Robert Nester Marley – Bob Marley-

We refuse to be what you want us to be, we are what  
we are, that's the way – it is going to be!

Finally, no single paper addresses all matters. It just makes its own contribution, brings its own insight and dimensions to issues of concern. That is what we have tried to do in this endeavour.

The open grazing practice is a classic case of primitive accumulation. It is antithetical to the modernity and innovativeness of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is, by all laws of comparative advantage, uneconomical. On the other hand, it is socially and politically prohibitive – cost wise. It has no place in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, save for hidden agenda aside from the promotion of tourism in Game Reserves.

All in all, there is no other way around the matter. These palliatives and cosmetic measures will not end the bloodshed, insecurity and other allied pathologies. Abolition of Open Grazing by 2020 or at most 2022 will end bloodshed, insecurity and other allied pathologies associated with open grazing in Nigeria.

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