FARMER-HERDERS CRISIS AND THE QUEST FOR REGIONAL SECURITY FORCE IN SOUTH-WEST NIGERIA

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Keywords

Farmers, Herders, Crisis, Insecurity, Regional Security, Communal Conflict

Abstract

Research Problem: *The persistent farmers–herders crisis in Nigeria poses a serious threat to food security, social cohesion, and regional stability. In Oyo State, recurring conflicts over land and resources have intensified insecurity, raising concerns about the effectiveness of existing security arrangements and the need for a regional security force.*

Methods/Theory:

The study adopted a descriptive survey design to examine the causes, effects, and security responses to the farmers–herders crisis in Oyo State. A total of 300 respondents, comprising farmers, herders, community leaders, and security personnel, were selected using random sampling. Data were collected through structured questionnaires and analysed using descriptive statistics, including mean, median, and mode.

Results:

The findings revealed that competition over land and water resources, population pressure, climate change, and weak enforcement of grazing regulations are the major drivers of the conflict. The crisis has led to loss of lives, destruction of property, displacement of rural populations, and heightened regional insecurity. The study also found that the establishment of a regional security force could significantly contribute to managing and containing the conflict.

Conclusion:

The farmers–herders crisis in Oyo State requires a comprehensive regional security framework that integrates security enforcement with dialogue, sustainable land management, and inclusive policy implementation.

Key Contribution to Knowledge:

The study provides empirical evidence on the relevance of a regional security force as a strategic response to farmers–herders conflicts in Nigeria.

Recommendation:

It is recommended that government strengthens local conflict resolution mechanisms, promotes ranching systems, and enhances collaboration between security agencies and rural communities to ensure sustainable peace.

Introduction

Nigeria is currently confronted with multiple and interconnected security challenges that threaten its national cohesion and corporate existence. These challenges include persistent calls for political restructuring and secession, agitation for resource control, kidnapping and hostage-taking, insurgency and terrorism, banditry, and, most notably, the recurring farmers–herders conflict. Among these, the farmers–herders crisis has emerged as one of the most pervasive and protracted forms of internal insecurity, with profound implications for food production, rural livelihoods, social cohesion, and national stability.

Globally, scholarly literature situates farmers–herders conflicts within broader debates on resource scarcity, environmental change, and population pressure. Classical political economy perspectives, particularly Karl Marx's theory of social conflict, attribute recurring societal crises to competition over scarce resources and the structural exclusion of social groups in production relations. Applerouth and Edles (2008) reaffirm that struggles to secure economic interests often underpin social instability. Contemporary studies extend this argument by linking climate change, ecological stress, and demographic expansion to violent competition between agrarian and pastoral livelihoods, especially in developing regions.

Within the Nigerian context, scholars have identified climate-induced desertification, population growth, and weak land governance as key drivers of the farmers–herders crisis. Fabiyi and Otunuga (2016) and Onwuamanam (2016) argue that the gradual degradation of Northern Nigeria's grazing lands—exacerbated by desert encroachment and the dramatic shrinkage of Lake Chad—has compelled nomadic herders to migrate southward in search of pasture and water. These movements increasingly intersect with densely populated farming communities, thereby intensifying competition over land and water resources. Beyond environmental factors, Michael and Chinwokwu (2016) controversially attribute the escalation of herders' militancy to political manipulation, suggesting that some desperate political actors have exploited armed groups to advance partisan interests.

Empirical studies further document the devastating human and socio-economic consequences of the conflict. Nwosu (2017) notes the absence of a centralized database for accurately tracking fatalities but estimates that nearly 60,000 lives have been lost since 2001—surpassing casualties from Boko Haram insurgency. The crisis has also resulted in mass displacement, destruction of property, disruption of agricultural activities, and heightened food insecurity. While policy debates have largely revolved around grazing routes, anti-open grazing laws, and ranching systems, there remains no consensus on a sustainable and context-sensitive security response.

Despite the growing body of literature on causes and impacts, a critical gap persists in scholarly engagement with security architecture and decentralised responses, particularly the role of regional security forces in managing farmers–herders conflicts. Existing studies largely focus on environmental, political, and socio-economic dimensions, with limited empirical attention to how sub-national security initiatives can complement Nigeria's centralized security framework. This gap is significant given the federal system's limitations in responding promptly and effectively to localized conflicts.

Against this backdrop, regional security forces such as the Western Nigeria Security Network (Amotekun), the Enugu Forest Guards, and similar community-based initiatives have

emerged as alternative security mechanisms grounded in local knowledge, proximity, and community trust. Rooted in liberal theories of security decentralisation and community policing, these formations promise enhanced responsiveness and preventive conflict management. However, their effectiveness, legitimacy, and operational scope remain under-examined in academic literature.

This study therefore positions itself as an extension of existing scholarship by empirically examining the farmers–herders crisis in Oyo State and interrogating the potential of a regional security force as a viable conflict-management strategy. By situating local experiences within broader security and governance debates, the study contributes to knowledge by illuminating how decentralised security arrangements can address persistent communal conflicts in Nigeria's plural and resource-constrained society.

Problem of the study

The persistent farmers–herders crisis in Nigeria has become one of the most complex and enduring internal security challenges confronting the country. What was once a largely peaceful and mutually beneficial relationship between sedentary farming communities and nomadic pastoralists has increasingly degenerated into violent confrontations marked by loss of lives, destruction of property, displacement of rural populations, and heightened food insecurity. In Oyo State, the recurrence and intensity of these conflicts have exposed significant weaknesses in existing security and conflict management frameworks, raising serious concerns about the capacity of the centralized security system to respond effectively to localized and rapidly evolving threats.

Despite the adoption of various policy measures, including anti-open grazing laws, security deployments, and conflict mediation efforts, the crisis persists and continues to undermine social cohesion and economic stability in affected communities. The inability of conventional security agencies to provide timely, context-sensitive, and preventive interventions has further deepened public distrust and intensified calls for alternative security arrangements. Consequently, there has been a growing demand for decentralized and community-based security mechanisms capable of addressing the peculiar dynamics of the farmers–herders conflict.In response to escalating insecurity, regional security initiatives such as community and state-backed security outfits have emerged to complement federal security agencies. However, the effectiveness of these regional security forces in managing farmers–herders conflicts remains insufficiently examined, particularly at the state level. In Oyo State, there is limited empirical evidence on whether regional security forces can meaningfully reduce violence, enhance early warning systems, and foster peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders.

The problem, therefore, lies in the absence of adequate empirical understanding of the role and effectiveness of regional security forces in addressing the farmers–herders crisis in Oyo State. Without such evidence, policy decisions risk being driven by assumptions rather than informed analysis, thereby limiting the prospects for sustainable peace and security.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide the study,

1. What are the reasons for the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria

2. How can the regional security force help in addressing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria?
3. What are the potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria

Research Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Identify the reasons for the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria
2. Examine how the regional security force helps in addressing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria.
3. Ascertain the potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria

Methodology

The study adopted a survey research design to generate quantitative data on the farmers–herders crisis and security responses in Oyo State, South-West Nigeria. Oyo State was purposively selected from the six states in the region because of its recurrent exposure to farmers–herders conflicts and its predominantly agrarian and pastoral activities. The state is an inland state with Ibadan as its capital and shares boundaries with Kwara State to the north, Osun State to the east, Ogun State to the southwest, and the Republic of Benin to the west. According to the 2006 population census, the state has an estimated population of 5,580,894. The target population comprised male and female residents of Oyo State, including farmers, herders, and other community members with relevant knowledge of the conflict. A total of 300 respondents were selected using a random sampling technique to ensure adequate representation and minimize sampling bias. Data for the study were collected through the use of a structured questionnaire designed to capture respondents' views on the causes, impacts, and security management of the farmers–herders crisis. The questionnaire was subjected to validation procedures to ensure clarity and relevance of the items, while reliability was confirmed through preliminary testing. Data collected were coded and analysed using appropriate statistical techniques. Pearson Product Moment Correlation was employed to examine the relationships among key variables, while multiple regression analysis was used to determine the influence of selected factors on the management of the crisis. The findings were presented and interpreted in line with the objectives of the study.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored in Political Ecology theory, which provides a critical lens for understanding environmental conflicts as products of political, economic, and institutional processes rather than purely ecological pressures. Political Ecology, as developed by scholars such as Eric Wolf, Michael Watts, and Paul Robbins, challenges environmental determinism by emphasizing how power relations, state policies, and governance structures shape access to and control over natural resources. Within this framework, conflicts between crop farmers and pastoralists are not viewed simply as outcomes of climate change, population growth, or environmental scarcity, but as consequences of historically embedded political decisions and unequal resource governance.

Political Ecology advances the argument that state land-use policies, grazing regulations, security arrangements, and legal frameworks

often privilege certain groups while marginalising others. In the context of farmer–herder relations in Nigeria, the theory draws attention to how policy ambiguities, weak enforcement of land tenure systems, and elite capture of agricultural and livestock institutions contribute to persistent conflict. The framework further emphasizes multi-level analysis by linking local disputes over farmland and grazing routes to national political interests, historical patterns of resource management, and global economic pressures.

This study does not adopt Political Ecology mechanically; rather, it extends the theory by integrating security governance into its analytical scope. While Political Ecology has traditionally focused on environmental access and power asymmetries, this study applies the framework to interrogate the role of centralized and decentralized security structures in mediating resource conflicts. The analysis explores how perceived political influence, unequal enforcement of laws, and differential access to security protection shape conflict dynamics between farmers and herders.

By applying Political Ecology to the examination of regional security forces in Oyo State, the study contributes to theory development by demonstrating that environmental conflicts are sustained not only by inequitable resource distribution but also by institutional failures in security governance. This theoretical engagement provides a nuanced explanation of the farmers–herders crisis and offers a basis for evaluating regional security interventions as instruments of conflict regulation and power rebalancing.

Results

Answers to research questions

Research Question 1. What are the reasons for the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria?

NO		SA(%)	A(%)	U(%)	D(%)	SD(%)	$\overline{X}$	S. Dev.	Rank
1	Government failure to provide security led to farmers-herders crisis	121 (40.3)	135 (45.0)	5 (1.7)	21 (7.0)	18 (6.0)	4.07	1.11	2
2	Competition for scarce resources give room for farmers-herders crisis	65 (21.7)	97 (32.3)	18 (6.0)	100 (33.3)	20 (6.7)	3.29	1.30	5
3	Lack of quick response to farmers-herdsmen crisis led to its escalation	112 (37.3)	111 (37.0)	3 (1.0)	22 (7.3)	52 (17.4)	3.70	1.46	3
4	Climate change contributes to farmers-herdsmen crisis in Nigeria	192 (64.0)	50 (16.7)	8 (2.7)	23 (7.6)	27 (9.0)	4.19	1.32	1
5	Farmers herders crisis is as a result of power tussle	120 (40.0)	80 (26.7)	5 (1.7)	45 (15.0)	50 (16.6)	3.58	1.53	4
N=300, Average mean=3.76, Weighted mean=3.50							**3.76**	**1.34**	

Key; Strongly Agree(SA=5), Agree (A=4), (UN=3), Not sure, Disagree(D=2), Strongly Disagree(SD=1)

Table 1 present results on the reasons for farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria and findings shows that 242 (80.7%) of the respondents agreed that climate change contributes to farmers-herdsmen crisis in Nigeria while 58 (19.3%) disagreed and supported with (4.19 ±1.32) follows by 256 (85.3)% of the respondents agreed that government failure to provide security led to farmers-herders crisis, while 44 (14.7%) of the respondents disagreed supported with (mean=4.07±1.11), also 223 (74.3%) of the respondents agree that lack of quick response to farmers-herdsmen crisis led to its escalation while 77 (25.7%) of the respondents disagreed supported with (3.70±1.46). In addition, 200 (66.7%) of the respondents agreed that the farmers'herder crisis is a result of a power tussle, while 100 (33.3%) disagreed and supported with (3.58±1.53). Finally, 162 (54.0%) of the respondents agreed that competition for scarce resources gives room for farmers-herders crisis, while 138 (45.0%) disagreed and supported with (3.29±1.30). This is shown with the weighted average mean greater than the grand mean score of (Weighed Average mean=3.76, Grand mean=2.50), that is, there is a high level of reasons for the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria, as the items rated average mean (3.76) are above the weighted mean (2.50) in the table above. This thus implies that the majority of the respondents highly agreed that there are reasons for the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria.

Research Question 2: How can the regional security force help in addressing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria?

NO		SA	A	U	D	SD	$\overline{X}$	S. Dev.	Rank
1	The establishment of regional force will help in reducing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria	150 (50.0)	62 (20.7)	5 (1.7)	43 (14.3)	40 (13.3)	3.80	1.50	2
2	The formation of regional security force will be effective in managing farmers-herders crisis	155 (51.7)	45 (15.0)	19 (6.3)	66 (22.0)	15 (5.0)	3.86	1.37	1
3	The deployment of regional security force will help in addressing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria	108 (36.0)	95 (31.7)	7 (2.3)	40 (13.3)	50 (16.7)	3.57	1.49	4
4	The regional security force will help in protecting farmers land and herders livestock	150 (50.0)	38 (12.7)	2 (0.7)	67 (22.3)	43 (14.3)	3.62	1.59	3
5	Regional security force are capable of curbing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria	100 (33.3)	75 (25.0)	5 (1.7)	60 (20.0)	60 (20.0)	3.32	1.57	5
N=300, Average mean=3.63, Weighted mean=3.50							**3.63**	**1.50**	

Key; Strongly Agree(SA=5), Agree (A=4), (UN=3), Not sure, Disagree(D=2), Strongly Disagree(SD=1)

Table 2 present results on the regional security force helps in addressing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria and findings shows that 200 (66.7%) of the respondents agreed that the formation of regional security force will be effective in managing farmers-herders crisis while 100 (33.3%) disagreed and supported with (3.86 ±1.37) follows by 212 (70.7%) of the respondents agreed that the establishment of regional force will help in reducing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria while 88 (29.3%) of the respondents disagreed supported with (mean=3.80±1.50), also 188 (62.7% of the respondents agree that the regional security force will help in protecting farmers land and herders livestock while 112 (37.3%) of the respondents disagreed supported with (3.62±1.59). In addition, 203 (67.7%) of the respondents agreed that the deployment of a regional security force will help in addressing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria, while 97 (32.3%) disagreed and supported with (3.57±1.49). Finally, 175 (58.3%) of the respondents agreed that regional security forces are capable of curbing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria, while 125 (41.7%) disagreed and supported with (3.32±1.57). This is shown with the weighted average mean greater than the grand mean score of (Weighed Average mean=3.63, Grand mean=2.50), that is, there is a high level of the regional security force helps in addressing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria, as the items rated average mean (2.84) are above the weighted mean (3.63) in the table above. Thesethingsimply that the majority of the respondents highly agreed that there is the regional security force helps in addressing the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria.

Research Question 3:What are the potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria?

NO		SA	A	U	D	SD	$\overline{X}$	S. Dev.	Rank
1	Implementing land use policies will help in resolving the farmers-herders crisis	155 (51.7)	72 (24.0)	3 (1.0)	35 (11.7)	35 (11.7)	3.92	1.43	1
2	Promoting dialogue and mediation between farmers and herdsmen can be an effective long-term plan for the crisis	98 (32.7)	102 (34.0)	20 (6.6)	36 (12.0)	44 (1.47)	3.58	1.42	3
3	Economic development policies will help in curbing the farmers-herders crisis	100 (33.3)	90 (30.0)	10 (3.3)	60 (20.0)	40 (13.4)	3.50	1.45	4
4	Creation of grazing reserves and ranches will help in controlling farmers-herders crisis	20 (6.7)	38 (12.7)	12 (4.0)	80 (26.7)	150 (50.0)	2.99	1.28	5
5	Government policies against open gazing will help in curbing farmers-herders crisis	121 (40.3)	89 (29.7)	12 (4.0)	50 (16.7)	38 (9.3)	3.75	1.37	2

N=250, Average mean=3.54, Weighted mean=3.50	**3.54**	**1.39**	

Key; Strongly Agree(SA=5), Agree (A=4), (UN=3), Not sure, Disagree(D=2), Strongly Disagree(SD=1)

Table 3 present results on the potential long-term solutions to farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria and findings shows that 227 (75.6%) of the respondents agreed that implementing land use policies will help in resolving farmers-herders crisis while 73 (24.4%) disagreed and supported with (3.92 ±1.43) follows by 210 (70.0)% of the respondents agreed that government policies against open gazing will help in curbing farmers-herders crisis while 90 (30.0%) of the respondents disagreed supported with (mean=3.75±1.37), also 200(66.7%) of the respondents agree that promoting dialogue and mediation between farmers and herdsmen can be an effective long term plan to the crisis while 100 (33.3%) of the respondents disagreed supported with (3.58±1.42). In addition, 190 (63.3%) of the respondents agreed that economic development policies will help in curbing the farmers-herders crisis, while 110(36.7%) disagreed and supported with (3.50±1.45). Onthe other hand, 230 (76.7%) of the respondents disagreed that creation of grazing reserves and ranches will help in controlling the farmers-herders crisis, while 70 (23.3%) agreed and supported with (2.99±1.28). This is shown with the weighted average mean greater than the grand mean score of (Weighed Average mean=3.54, Grand mean=2.50), that is, there is a high level of potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria, as the items rated average mean (2.84) are above the weighted mean (3.54) in the table above. Thesethingsimply that the majority of the respondents highly agreed that there the potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria

Discussion of the Findings

The first research objective sought to interrogate the reasons for the persistent farmers–herders crisis in Nigeria. Rather than merely confirming the existence of multiple causal factors, the findings raise a more critical question: why have long-standing interactions between farmers and herders, once largely cooperative, become increasingly violent and protracted in recent decades? The empirical evidence from the field indicates that respondents overwhelmingly perceive the crisis as driven by herders' grazing activities that frequently result in crop destruction, cattle rustling, and retaliatory violence. However, these proximate triggers alone are insufficient to explain the intensity and persistence of the conflict.

Conceptually, the findings suggest that the crisis is not the result of a single factor but an interaction between environmental stressors and deeper structural conditions. While competition over land and water has always existed, the findings indicate that such competition only escalates into violence when mediated by weak regulatory frameworks, contested land rights, and ineffective security responses. This reinforces the theoretical implication that environmental scarcity becomes conflict-inducing only when embedded within unequal power relations and governance failures.The findings align with earlier studies that trace the origins of the crisis to climate variability, desertification, and declining grazing resources in northern Nigeria, which have forced herders to migrate southwards. In this regard, the present study corroborates existing literature that highlights resource competition as a central

driver of conflict. However, it departs from environmentally deterministic explanations by demonstrating that resource scarcity alone does not account for the escalation of violence. Instead, the findings reveal that institutional weaknesses—particularly the inability of the state to regulate land use, secure forests, and manage pastoral mobilitytransform competition into sustained conflict.

Furthermore, this study extends previous research by foregrounding forest insecurity and ungoverned rural spaces as critical enablers of violence. While earlier studies emphasize climate change and population growth, the findings here indicate that the absence of effective surveillance and conflict-prevention mechanisms in forest reserves significantly intensifies clashes. This shifts the analytical focus from environmental change as a natural phenomenon to environmental governance as a political and security issue.In taking a clear position, the study argues that the farmers–herders crisis in Nigeria is best understood as a governance-mediated resource conflict rather than an inevitable outcome of ecological pressure. This position reinforces the relevance of political ecology and underscores the need for security and land-use reforms that address both environmental stress and institutional failure.

Based on the second research question that stated that, how can regional security force helps in addressing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria.The findings from the field shows that, majority of the respondents highly agreed that there is the regional security force helps in addressing farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria. Beyond direct security provision, regional forces facilitate mediation and dialogue, promoting sustainable coexistence by addressing underlying socio-economic drivers. Operating under a community policing model, they convene stakeholders—farmers, herders, and elders—for grievance resolution, drawing on traditional mechanisms that have eroded under modern pressures (Seddon & Sumberg, 1997; Adisa, 2011). In Enugu State, regional outfits like the Forest Guards have bridged gaps left by federal inaction, enabling inclusive platforms that reduce ethnic polarization and foster mutual understanding, as evidenced by reduced reliance on extrajudicial measures (Onah et al., 2023). This aligns with liberal security perspectives, which advocate decentralization for responsive governance in federal systems, countering the monopolistic federal police structure that has failed to adapt to localized threats (Buzan, 1991; Iwuamadi et al., 2021). Collaboration with national agencies amplifies their impact, as seen in Amotekun's joint operations with the Nigerian Police Force, which enhance legitimacy and resource pooling while avoiding duplication (Otu & Apeh, 2022).

Based on the third research question that stated that, what are the potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria? Thefindingsreveal that the majority of the respondents highly agreed that there is the potential long-term solutions to the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria. This was in line with the view of Bella and Olanrewaju (2024), who reported that the recurring farmers–herders conflicts across Nigeria have resulted in widespread destruction of lives and property, prompting increasing calls for the creation of organized, regionally coordinated vigilante and community security structures to enhance safety and peace in affected areas. Similarly, Oluro and Oluwasuji (2021) explained that the establishment of the Western Nigeria Security Network, popularly known as Operation Amotekun, emerged as a regional response to persistent insecurity in the South-West. They argue that such regional security initiatives represent a proactive and coordinated approach

to addressing localized violence and strengthening internal security collaboration across states. These perspectives collectively highlight the growing recognition that regionalized security mechanisms are essential to effectively manage conflicts such as the farmers–herders crisis and to restore lasting peace and stability within affected communities.

Conclusion

Conceptually and theoretically, the findings of this study reinforce and extend the political ecology perspective by demonstrating that the farmers–herders crisis in Nigeria cannot be sufficiently explained by environmental scarcity or demographic pressure alone. While earlier studies largely emphasize climate change, population growth, and competition over land and water as primary drivers of the conflict, the findings of this study reveal that these factors become conflict-inducing only when mediated by weak governance structures, contested land-use regulations, and ineffective security institutions. In this regard, the study aligns with existing scholarship that identifies resource competition as central to the crisis, but departs from environmentally deterministic explanations by foregrounding institutional and security failures as decisive variables.

The study further advances existing literature by empirically highlighting the role of the absence of a coordinated regional security framework in sustaining cycles of violence and displacement in Oyo State. Unlike many previous studies that focus predominantly on policy reforms such as grazing routes or ranching systems, this research demonstrates that security governance—particularly the decentralization of security through regional mechanisms—constitutes a critical but underexplored dimension of conflict management. The findings suggest that without localized and responsive security structures, dialogue and land management initiatives are unlikely to yield sustainable outcomes.

In conclusion, the study establishes that the farmers–herders crisis is best understood as a governance-mediated resource conflict embedded within Nigeria's centralized security architecture. It therefore concludes that the establishment of a well-coordinated regional security force, operating in collaboration with local communities and national security agencies, is not merely a policy option but a conceptual necessity for addressing the structural conditions that perpetuate insecurity, fostering long-term peace, and stabilizing affected regions.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

- TheGovernment should establish and support modern ranching facilities to reduce open grazing and minimize farmer-herder clashes coupled with Clear land-use policies and grazing regulations should be implemented and monitored effectively.
- Continuous sensitization campaigns should be conducted to promote peaceful coexistence, tolerance, and mutual understanding among farmers and herders. Traditional and community leaders should be empowered to mediate disputes promptly before they escalate.
- Security agencies, government, and NGOs should collaborate closely with local communities through effective intelligence sharing, community policing, and empowerment initiatives. This partnership should not only ensure

timely responses to potential conflicts but also promote alternative livelihoods and capacity-building programs that reduce overdependence on land and livestock as the primary means of survival. By integrating security efforts with economic empowerment, rural communities can achieve both stability and sustainable development, thereby addressing the root causes of the farmers–herders crisis.

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