RELIGION AS A TRANSFORMATIVE AGENT IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FARMERS AND FULANI HERDERS IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Purpose of the Study: This article aims to investigate the conflict between herders and farmers and the need to approach the problem from a religious perspective. The study aims to systematically examine the implications and necessity for interfaith mediation in resolving the dispute between farmers and herders in Nigeria.

Method/Methodology: A qualitative method was employed. As a component of qualitative research, an in-depth individual approach to the interview was adopted. Data were thoroughly analysed using a descriptive approach.

Findings: The study reveals that in a multi-religious country such as Nigeria, conflict is often linked to religion. The fear of *fulanization* has produced significant threats resulting in panic, unrest, attacks and counter attacks among Christian communities hosting Fulani herders in Nigeria. This shows that whenever religious sentiments are involved in a conflict, reprisal attacks are often fuelled. Faith-based mediation has been employed by religious actors/institutions to mediate the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria. Yet, the dispute continues to escalate. Therefore, the study observes that faith-based actors often exclude civil society groups during mediation, thereby making faith-based mediation inadequate and inefficient in this context.

Conclusion and Recommendation: Many researchers who have sought to investigate the conflict between farmers and Fulani herders from a religious perspective have limited their investigations to religious tenets and teachings alone, excluding civil society organisations. However, this has become the bedrock of the problems with including religious leaders in peacebuilding. In this article, I argue that traditional and civil society groups should be integrated into the religious movement addressing the conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria to achieve conflict transformation and reconciliation.

Keywords: *religion, peacebuilding, conflict transformation, interfaith dialogue, farmers and Fulani herders.*

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Nigeria, being a multi-religious society, is frequently confronted with disagreements over beliefs and practices. Nigeria's primary religions include Christianity, Islam, and African Traditional Religion. The struggle between farmers and herders has progressed through time and is currently wreaking devastation, particularly in Christian areas. Between 2016 and 2018, up to 3,641 individuals have been killed, 406 wounded, 5000 houses destroyed, and 182,530 people have been displaced in the clash between herders and farmers. The majority of these problems occur in Nigeria's northern region (Amnesty International, 2018). Therefore, this study focused on the violent activities between farmers and herders and the interventions by religious groups in the northern region.

The conflict between farmers and herders is not a newcomer in the history of Nigeria. The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a time when people involved in manual farming suffered from herder's domination. This supremacy over lands and farms were tied to religion, ethnicity, and politics. The fight for power and land ownership gave rise to herding polities where herders take up settlement through military and political means. In the 1970s, there were conflicts between farmers and their neighbouring herders who were sedentary. Thus, in the post-colonial era, the dominance of herders prevailed in villages, mainly in the northern part of Nigeria. Through this, communities were conquered and converted to Islam. During the colonial era, power moved away from the herders and oppression towards peasant farmers minimised. The British colonial government saw herders as a threat to their colonial administration. They were considered a danger to their peace and quiet administration due to their authority over farmers. To control them, herders were required to obtain written permission before moving their cattle and were also required to pay tax on each head of ranch animals (Toulmin, 1983). Their unacceptance by the British colonial rule made them feel marginalised and distanced from power. This resulted in their spreading out in groups into grazing areas (Kratli & Toulmin, 2020).

After the colonial era, the famous drought of the 1970s and 1980s revived the movement of herders within local farmer's communities. Pastoral groups began to institute official settlements within rural communities (Reynaut, 1997; Kratli et al., 2018). This movement gave rise to the current cohabitation between farmers and herders in Nigeria and the conflict that followed, as discussed in this article. However, most people still believe that the primary reason for the conflict is not far from jihadism. Herders are armed and cruel because they are believed to have a solid political backup (Turner & Hiernaux, 2008; IOM, 2019). Obviously, there are elements of historical, political and religious connection fueling the rise of conflict between farmers and herders, which should not be ignored. Upon this background, this article systematically investigates the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria and the need for reconciliation and tolerance through a religious lens.

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study aimed at examining the roles of religious actors/institutions in the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria. The study investigates the three religions in Nigeria - Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion and sought to find out how these religions could be integrated to efficiently address the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Religious conflict has over time been one of the major issues confronting the unification of any nation. Askerov (2020) argues that the nature of conflict can be simple and, at the same time, complicated. This is owing to the uncertainty of when conflict appears violent or non-violent—likewise, the concept of peace. For him, it is more appropriate to describe the opposite of peace

as war or violence than as conflict. *Conflict transformation* is a concept that is different from conflict resolution and conflict management. A conflict is a deliberate act whereby individuals or groups contrast (Dickson & Musa, 2020). Conflict often erupts in a society where there is resource scarcity (Duesch, 2000).

Accordingly, Askerov (2020) states that conflict transformation is a means of addressing conflict through intervention and creating good relationships to attain long-lasting positive peace. Conflict transformation centres on individual, collective, cultural, relational, and constructive means of achieving positive peace. In conflict transformation, peace is an evolution that is growing continually regarding how people relate with one another. In addition, Askerov describes mediation as a way of intervening in conflict processes based on trustworthiness. In mediation, a third party who is considered impartial comes between conflicting parties to advocate for peace by helping conflicting parties reach an agreement. He added that the most notable form of conflict transformation is mediation. However, in a situation whereby the third party is considered partial and unreliable, reaching an agreement becomes almost impossible. Askerov (2020) defined interfaith mediation or dialogue as a means by which religious institutions with diverse beliefs and practices come together to address conflict issues on a social platform. In this work, the necessity of viewing interfaith mediation through an interdisciplinary lens was highlighted. Augsburg (2016) defined interdisciplinary as a common phenomenon where different disciplinary views are brought together or integrated.

The problem of getting a generally accepted definition of religion has resulted in numerous definitions of the term. Many scholars have, over time, defined religion from a different perspective. Sandberg (2018) noted that there is no single universally accepted definition of religion. However, it is important that the term religion is understood in the context with which it is applied. Agha (2012) defined religion as a deliberate and unconscious moral conviction in spiritual beings and fundamental forces with power. According to Ede (2020), religion is a system of beliefs and practices connected to a supernatural being that unites believers into a single moral society. In this context, religion is defined from a sociological perspective. Therefore, it is a way whereby members of the society are united based on their beliefs and practices.

Farmers in this work refer to those whose primary occupation is farming. Farmers involved in manual farming in rural areas in Nigeria are mainly affected by the conflict. Fulani herders are people who originated from the Fula ethnic group whose principal occupation is nomadic pastoralism. They occupy most parts of the northern region of Nigeria. Fulani herders operate under the umbrella of the Myette Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) (Dickson & Musa, 2020).

2.1 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT CONTEXT OF THE CONFLICT

In most communities, the conflict between herders and farmers is either caused by the issue of cattle grazing and crop destruction or by the issue of land ownership. However, many have concluded and believe that the nomadic movement of herders is not solely based on the search for greener pastures; rather, it is an attempt to introduce what is called fulanization, which is the belief that nomadic movement by the people of the Fulani tribe is geared towards conquering other tribes and the forceful conversion to the Islamic religion. Amnesty International (2018) observed that most of the conflicts that occurred were birthed out of retaliation. During their research in Zamfara, Benue, Adamawa, Kaduna, and Taraba (some of the states that are highly affected by the conflict), they reported that farmers and herders were previously living in peace not until the issue of crop destruction by grazing cattle and the stealing and killing of cattle came up. In Benue and Taraba, it was reported that several villages

were burnt down with farmers fleeing from their communities because of the attack by herders. Tse-Ajaver in Wukari L.G.A, ashes and seeds of yams were seen in one of the villages, indicating that the village was attacked and burnt down, leaving it deserted. Another community in Numan and Demsa L.G.A. of Adamawa state was also reportedly deserted, leaving many houses and property damaged by herders.

Other factors have been attributed to the causes of the conflict between herders and farmers, which include fear and hate speeches, insufficient governmental actions, acts of retaliation, the rapid expansion of small farms, lack of security in the Sahel geographical areas, rustling of cattle, frequent acts of banditry in rural areas, lack of knowledge about grazing, desertification, climate change unemployment and among others (Blench & Dendo, 2003; Fasona & Omojola, 2005; Adekunle & Adisa, 2010; International crisis group, 2017; Umoh, 2017; Chukwuma, Aloysius & Enah, 2018 & Mawoli & Adamu, 2020). Causes of this conflict revolve around the encroachment into communities by herders, damaging crops and farmlands by grazing cattle, water pollution, disapproval of lands and intimidation of herders by farmers (Musa, Shabu & Igbawua, 2014).

The presence of hostility, grudge, and opposition between groups with different religious backgrounds spurs the tension of the conflict between herders and farmers (Dickson & Musa, 2020). Most conflicts usually arise out of common problems, but once religious sentiments come in, it escalates, causing more divisions, and the result becomes hugely devastating. The causes of the conflict surrounding land disputes and farming have stimulated because of the existence of religious differences. In Taraba state, Amnesty International (2018) reported a victim of herder's conflict who described how he lost his father, children, and pregnant wife during one of the attacks. He further narrated how the Fulani gunmen slaughtered his pregnant wife by forcefully tearing her stomach apart, brought out and butchered the baby while they made him watch. Many people have incurred irreversible injuries because of the conflict. Still, they continue to face terror and a series of attacks without adequate intervention from the security forces in Nigeria.

The conflict between herders and farmers is not only religiously inclined; the differences in language, custom and identity is also a significant cause of the conflict. Ethnic identity most times influence the act of violence against specific groups (Tonah, 2006). Because farmers and herders do not share the same ethnic identity, there are frequent eruptions of violence and disputes among them, categorised as ethnic conflict. Thus, there is a clear link of the conflict to ethnicity. Fulani herders, mainly Muslims from the Fula ethnic group, feel isolated from host communities chiefly comprising Christians and people from the middle belt (Mawoli and Adamu, 2020). This demarcation presents the herders as the minority in most communities because they usually spread out in groups moving from one community to another. They are often excluded from part of the community that constitutes the farming population, thereby making them feel intimidated and marginalised by host communities. In this scenario, a conflict associated with ethnicity is more likely introduced.

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

The study examines how religious actors and organisations can transform conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria. A qualitative research method was employed. This provided a better understanding of the context of the conflict and how it has been influenced by religion. As a component of qualitative research, an in-depth individual approach to the interview was adopted. Data were thoroughly analysed using a descriptive approach. Using this approach is to identify how the different religions in Nigeria perceive the conflict between herders and

farmers. The research attempted to unfold how religious organisations in Nigeria are addressing the conflict through interfaith mediation. It also shed light upon understanding interfaith mediation through an interdisciplinary approach. Six different respondents were purposively selected based on their knowledge and interest in the conflict. Individual interviews were carried out through social media platforms between 24 November and 10 December 2020. Respondents were selected from the different religions in Nigeria – Christianity, Islam, and African Traditional Religion. The table below represents the demographic information of respondents:

Table 1: Demographic Information

S/N	Names of Participants	Sex	Age	Occupation	Religion
1	Uchenna Ezeh	M	35	Civil Servant	Christianity
2	Sa'eed Danladi	M	40	Public Servant	Islam
3	Jennifer Anazodo	F	27	Nigerian Youth Corp Member	Christianity
4	Ekene Mokwenye	M	38	Lecturer	Christianity and African Traditional Religion
5	Nurudeen Muhammad	M	41	Teacher	Islam
6	Idike Amara	F	24	Graduate Trainee	Christianity

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

An assessment of the three religions in Nigeria is important to give a holistic picture of the problem and the need for reconciliation. In this regard, Uchenna stated from the Christianity perspective that Christianity has contributed to Fulani/ farmers in Nigeria in a diverse way. Conflict in Nigeria is viewed alongside religion. When Fulani attack Christians, it is because they are Christians and not because of any other reasons. There is this ideology growing about Fulani colonisation in Nigeria currently. This has resulted in more mutiny that Christians are attacked to subdue them and have this ideology realised. He further stated:

> To be honest, the Fulani attack of Christians in Nigeria is based on religious bigotry and ideology. So, it is more like Christians (farmers) and Fulani herders. So, the existence of Christianity in Nigeria means conflict between Christians and Fulani herders. Christianity is a religion of peace and love and cannot be used as an agent to transform a radical, violent, illiterate, fanatic, terrorist Religion like Fulani herders. Remember that though Islam is not a violent religion in total, there is a group or sect like the Sunnis that train their adherents in terrorist lines. Christianity can only be used as an agent of transformation if they take up arms and or a Christian president comes in power and use forces against them to attenuate their violent tendencies.

During a conversation with Ekene, a Christian and an African traditionalist, he expressed three the conflict can be attributed to the coming of a foreign religion. He further claimed that Africans were formerly notoriously religious, but with the coming of foreign religions like Christianity and Islam, the value of the place of the God(s) in Africa as a factor that instilled morality has been devalued. Therefore, the killings by herders show that Arabian culture has infiltrated African traditional cultures as they are recorded facts that Islam and even Christianity went on wars and crusades. However, he concluded that Traditional rulers should

be empowered because they know everybody in their community. Thus, empowering them will help check security. He explicitly added that African forests used to be sacred with wild bees and animals chasing enemies away, but Islam and Christianity desecrated them. Thus, bandits in the form of herders have taken over.

In expressing the place of Islam in the conflict. Nurudeen explained:

> The Islamic Religion has condemned all forms of crisis and riots or conflicts more especially with the name of Religion or Ethnicity. Farmers deserved all forms of protection of lives and properties as well as the Fulani Herdsmen. So, Islam has abolished oppression against one Another. Allah S.W.T said in Hadith al-Qudsi (O My Servants I have forbade oppression upon myself, and I have made it forbidden over you so do not oppress). So, Islam will never enjoin a Muslim to cheat or oppress a non-Muslim without due right. Moreover, the Holy Prophet Has once lived with the Jews and Christians in Madinah; he has never instructed the Muslims to oppress or torture them just because they are not having the same faith with them.

In addition to this, Danladi pointed out that Islam abhors violence and fosters peaceful coexistence even among people with a different faith. According to him, the conflict was originally born out of scarce grazing land, leading to nomadic movement in search of greener pastures, which led to trespass into farmlands and destruction of farm produce, leading to attack on herders and subsequent self-defence and reprisals attack.

One of the respondents, Amara claimed that Fulani herders have a hideous purpose: to convert Christians forcefully. However, she recommends interfaith mediation as a means of reconciliation. In her words:

> Fulani herders' conflict aims to bring down the source of livelihood of farmers in South and eastern regions, which consists of Christians, thereby reducing them to be dependent on Northerners who are Muslims. Being independent on Northerners for survival, the Christian farmers could be forced to denounce their religion and join Islam. This whole aim is birthed by religion. There may not be such cases if the country has religious uniformity. I firmly believe that interfaith mediation can curb it to an extent. The religious fanatics among the Fulanis, mostly Imans, may not really concede to mediation. But belief awareness can convince citizens on how to cope with various religions among them. The people in the best position to conduct interfaith mediation are the Islamic leaders and Christian leaders.

Similarly, Jennifer believes that the conflict has a religious motivation. She mentioned that attacks by Fulani's who Muslims to southern and eastern farmers are who are Christian aroused the assumptions that Fulani herders are planning on Islamic revival in the country. She narrated that the Muslim leader denied they never had such intentions during the 2017 Benue attack by Fulani herder where Catholic priests and church parishioners were killed. Conclusively, she believes that interfaith mediation has always promoted trust and tolerance between people of diverse beliefs stating that it will play a key role as Nigeria is a country that places religion and its activities in high esteem. For her, interfaith mediation will help curb the violence between herders and farmers, especially in places like Benue state and ensure livelihood collaboration and peaceful coexistence.

4.1 DISCUSSION

Reconciliation is a significant phenomenon that brings about transformative change and saves society from destruction. For peace to be restored, a positive change in the relationship between conflicting parties is required. Religion in Nigeria plays a vital role in addressing conflict situations in as much as these situations are heavily linked to beliefs and practices. The study shows that conflict that arises in a multi-religious society is linked to religion. The ideology of pastoral life being linked to Fulani colonisation causes unrest and panic among Christian communities, resulting in hostility. Reprisal attacks are often fuelled whenever religious sentiment is involved in the conflict. The analysis demonstrates that retaliation is usually the principal concept of why people engage in violence. In a situation whereby both parties are not friendly, violence is likely to be extreme. In this context, reprisal attacks against communities are carried out without any remorse or fear.

Deducing from respondents' views, the three major religions in Nigeria perceive the conflict between farmer's and herders in diverse ways. As much as these major religions preach and promote peace, they are still intolerant and antagonistic. Christians perceive Muslims as a threat and an agent of violence, while traditionalists perceive Christianity and Islam as an element of danger that surreptitiously penetrated and defiled African culture. The inharmonic relationship between these religions poses a significant challenge to achieving a holistic, faith-based mediation in addressing the conflict in this context. This, however, questions the sincerity and reliability of religious institutions based on interfaith mediation in Nigeria. The absence of African Traditional Religion (ATR) in interfaith mediations between farmers and herders in Nigeria challenges the inclusive nature of faith-based organisations in Nigeria.

While most of the participants strongly recommend and believe in applying interfaith mediation to addressing the conflict between farmers and herders, one of the respondents, Uchenna, disagreed with the fact stating that Islamic religion in Nigeria is violent and it will only take violence on the part of Christians and political power to discontinue attacks by herders forcefully. Other respondents believed that trust and tolerance would be enhanced between farmers and herders through faith-based mediation since they share different beliefs and practices. With these views, one would discover that the conflict between the two parties is tied to religious intolerance. The continual increase of animosity between Fulani herders who are Muslims and host communities comprising Christians is an important issue requiring adequate attention. However, the concept of religious-based inequality nurtures grudges that eventually explodes into violence. Herders feel host communities marginalise them because of their religion, while host communities comprising farmers do not trust herders because of their religion. These beliefs tied with religious backgrounds are creating oppositions and violence. This raises the notion of religious diversity doing more harm than good. Communities with diverse religions are more likely to engage in conflict than communities with homogenous religions, as evidenced in the relationship between Fulani herders and farmers.

Trotta and Wilkinson (2019) opine that religious leaders greatly influence many people, especially on social media platforms. However, the increase of hate speech is a challenge to the effectiveness of interfaith mediation among religious leaders. He described that the roles of religious leaders could either influence and increase religious tolerance or religious extremism depending on the way it is applied. This is true especially in this context where many Christian leaders believe and teach that reprisal attacks from herders against Christian communities attempt to Islamize the communities forcefully. Furthermore, Paden (2015) affirms that religious leaders' voice in conflict situations is paramount; thus, if religious actors are silent, peace processes are weakened. This assertion points to the significance of religious actors and interfaith mediation in transforming conflict, especially a highly religiously influenced conflict.

Additionally, religious intervention in conflict is likely to be weak when political influences are attached. In the case of farmers and Fulani herders in Nigeria, most of the participants believe that Fulani herders are inflicting harm on farmers fearlessly because they oversee the political power in Nigeria, adding to the fact that the president of the country is from the same tribe with the herders. For an effective faith-based mediation to occur, and intervention-free from political sentiment should be adopted. Accordingly, Kmec and Ganiel (2019) argue that the inclusion of religious actors in the peace process could be beneficial when they are excluded from participating in political negotiations that produce a peace agreement. Thus, they emphasise that the limitations of religious institutions in political negotiations could lead to effective faith-based dialogue.

Religious organisations fostering peace and reconciliation in Nigeria, such as National Interfaith Council (NIREC) have addressed the conflict between farmers and herders. The council was established in 1999, consisting of 25 Muslims and 25 Christians. In 2018, during one of the conflicts between the two parties in Benue sate, 17 Christians and two catholic priests were killed by Fulani herdsmen during a mass in Mbalom. This led to a counterattack by local youths against Hausa Muslims, killing about nine people. These attacks and a series of counterattacks that ensued, especially in the middle belt region of Nigeria, led to the convergence of NIREC for the first time in five years to address the issue. On 22 March 2018, 50 reputable Muslims and 225 Christian leaders made up the summit to enforce peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders. In the same year, the National Interfaith Action Association (NIAA), comprising Christian and Muslim leaders, met and signed a peace pact to promote peaceful coexistence between herders and communities. Under the aegis of the Interfaith Council of Women (ICW), Christian and Muslim women met in southern Kaduna and declared a one-day prayer to stop the conflict in 2018 (International Religious Freedom, 2018). With these interventions, conflict between farmers and herders is still happening. Oludayo (2020) expresses that the recent conflict between herders and farmers has intensified. Therefore, there is a need for religious organisations to adopt a credible approach. In this study, one would observe that traditional religious leaders are excluded from faith-based dialogue, creating a gap where traditional matters that involve victims of this conflict are unaddressed. Interfaith groups should not just employ prayer, teachings, and mere negotiation; there is a need for collaboration and implementation in addressing the disputes bearing in mind that both parties have been affected.

4.2 UNDERSTANDING INTERFAITH MEDIATION THROUGH AN INTERDISCIPLINARY LENS

Despite the intervention of religious organisations through interfaith mediation, the conflict between farmers and herders in Nigeria is still rising. How then can religious actors advocate for peace and reconciliation between these conflicting parties to produce sufficient results and an agreement? This study suggests integrating religious institutions with civil society groups to address the conflict between farmers and herders. For a transformative change to occur, interfaith mediation should be viewed through an interdisciplinary lens. Religious actors and institutions involved in interfaith mediation should create a space where different non-government organisations are part of reconciliation processes. This will enhance a holistic application of mediation in peacebuilding, especially in farmers and herders in Nigeria. As seen above, the various religious organisations focusing on interfaith mediation in addressing the conflict have not applied dialogue on a social platform. This has created a weakness on the part of religious actors, thereby reducing the possibility of reaching an agreement. Nevertheless, interfaith mediation is an indispensable means to peace processes regardless of its limitations and weaknesses. Incorporating small-scale farmer's organisations and traditional leaders at the social level will promote an effective and holistic interfaith dialogue.

Creating a social space where other civil society groups such as All Farmers Organization of Nigeria (AFAN), Youth Initiative for Sustainable Agriculture, The Kulen Allah Rearers Association, Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) and among others participate in peace-making between herders and farmers will help boost the visibility and reliability of the process. This is in line with Brewer, Higgins and Teeney's (2010) argument that for achieving positive peace, religious organisations must occupy a social space in the civil society in dealing with the issue of reconciliation. They further argue that when religious groups isolate the inclusion of civil groups, peace processes are hindered. In all, religious actors and society should blend to produce an effective faith-based dialogue that will lead to long-lasting agreement between farmers and herders in Nigeria.

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This article examines the conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria and the need for religious intervention. The need to include religious actors and institutions in conflict transformation, especially in highly religious-influenced nations like Nigeria, is indispensable. In as much as the conflict between herders and farmers are triggered by religious sentiments, the inclusion of religious actors is still beneficial to society. Interfaith mediation as a means of conflict transformation in this context has been applied in addressing the conflict. Through this means, various religious organisations have been able to unite and undergo peace processes that have produced results.

However, despite the contributions and efforts of religious leaders and organisations towards ameliorating the conflict between herders and farmers, a long-lasting agreement is yet to be reached. Addressing the situation through an interdisciplinary lens becomes essential. As seen in the work, religious groups making moves for peace between the two parties isolate civil society groups, thereby ignoring the importance of interrelating and engaging these groups. For a transformative change to occur, religious institutions should incorporate civil society groups and address the conflict on a social level. Through this way, the visibility, reliability and efficiency of religious institutions in peacebuilding will be holistically achieved.

Declaration of Conflicting Interest

No potential conflict of interest with regards to this study, authorship and publications were declared.

Author Biography

Gloria Adaeze Adichie earned her bachelor's degree in Religion and Cultural Studies from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. She returned to her alma mater as a graduate research and teaching assistant after graduation. She is now completing a master's degree in Conflict Transformation and Social Justice at Queen's University Belfast under the auspices of the Commonwealth Shared Scholarship programme. She has taken courses on conflict resolution, peacebuilding, global ethics, and other conflict-related topics. In addition, she is passionate about religion and peacebuilding, gender and human security in Africa (especially Nigeria).

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