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Insecurity and National Development in Nigeria: Critical Appraisal of Herders/Farmers Conflict in Benue State

Celina Udude Chinyere¹, Eze Onyebuchi Michael² and Nweke Abraham Mbam³

Department of Economics, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki, Ebonyi State, Nigeria. Email: onyimikey88@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

The study studied the effect of insecurity on national development in Nigeria, using the case study of Herders/Farmers conflict in Benue State. The research focused on examining the nexus associated between herders-farmers conflict and insecurity in the country; determining the impact of herders-farmers conflict on national security; and as well identify measures taken by Nigeria in addressing the herders/farmers conflict in across the country. Content analysis was employed in the analysis using secondary data extracted from Journals, Textbooks, Newspapers and online organizational publications. From the results, the study found the causes of herders-farmers conflict in Nigeria to include insufficient resources such as farmland, grazing fields, destruction or grazing on crops by cattle, long-standing disagreements between the herders and the farmers, lack of access to farm or grazing fields and scarcity of fresh water. Consequently, the resultants of these herders-farmers conflicts include loss of lives and properties involving human, animals, crops, displacement of persons and, distrust between the herders and the farmers. The situation also gave rise anti-Fulani cattle sentiments and breakdown of law and order in the country, particularly in many communities of Benue State. Thus, the research concluded by suggesting for absolute co-operations between the herders and farmers in the country. In that, peace, increased food production, national security and growth would be achieved in the economy. To achieve these targets, the research recommends for peaceful or the two parties' embracing-sponsored government establishment of cattle colony across the six geo-political zones; however, prohibit open grazing in the country.

Keywords: Insecurity, Herders, Farmers, Grazing, Conflicts, Development, Benue state

INTRODUCTION

Internally, insecurity has become one of the major problems facing Nigeria, just like other countries of the world, especially in the recent time. Both the developed and the developing nations faced the same problem of insecurities. the difference between insecurities in the developed countries, boiled down on how they manage the threats and scourges of the insecurities. Nigeria as a nation has been under the threat of insecurities ranging from Niger Delta Avengers in the Niger Delta to kidnappings in the South-East, and Boko-harm insurgency and Herders-Farmers clashes in the North. situation, has no doubt threatened the socio-economic and security of the nation. On a general note, the security threats in the country have economic,

political, social and environmental dimensions. Each of these dimensions greatly affected the stability. They have been traced to the Fulani herders-farmers clashes, ethnic ethnic-religious militant armies. conflicts. insurgency, poverty, corruption, economic sabotage and environmental degradation [1]. socio-political and economic landscape in Nigeria has been blighted the endemic twin evil of crime and violence. abysmal failure of successive administration in Nigeria to address the challenges of unemployment, poverty inequality among ethnic and nationalities often causes anger, agitation and violence, crimes and breakdown law and order among some individuals and groups in the country.

Today, a very huge of the part of the Nigeria's revenue is devoted in fighting such armed robberv. kidnappings, militancy, bombings. destructions of government properties, among others in the country [2]. Scholars have argued that if something urgent is not done to right the wrong; Nigeria is definitely sitting on a keg of gunpowder that can explode within the shortest possible time. Without painting a gloomy picture, I want to believe that the criticisms enveloped the reports of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of 2005, which predicted the collapse of Nigeria in 15 years time, must be undergoing a review from those who have Nigeria interest at heart.

In the words of [3], [4], conflicts in most part of Nigeria, especially the herdersfarmers crises are to some extent unnecessary as there is no need for the conflicts. The situation has aggravated in such a manner that the farmers can no longer go to farm peacefully for the fear of being attacked by the herders. Consequently, the spillover effect of the conflict has spread among the religious believers. In that, the Christians have seen the attack on Christians as an attack on the Christendom by the Muslims believers thereby aggravating tensions in the country. It also had devastating effects on inter-group relationships, especially in Egor L.G.A. in Nasarawa State and Agatu L.G.A in Benue State. Apart from the loss of lives, farmlands. food products properties, it also had influence on residential relationships, which leads to new trends in the polarization of communities. The evidence of this claim is shown by the physical manifestation of mono religious areas in Nasarawa and Benue States, with Christians and Muslims living in dominant religious clusters [5].

Dimensionally, the pattern of insecurity in Nigeria is purely regionalized. For example, there is case of insurgency in the north, kidnappings in both Eastern and Southern part of the country. There are also ritual killings in the west, and political and non-political calculated assassinations cut across the nation. The regionalized structure of insecurities gave rise to regionalized unlegislated security formation across states in the country, with the aim to curtail high level of insecurities

experienced in the nation [6]. The conflict between herders and farmers often arise when the former invade community farmland with their cattle and graze unrestricted thereby destroyed valuable food and cash crops which are the mainstay of the host communities; and any attempt to resist the herders by the farmers from destroying their farms always result in violence between the parties.

For instance, earlier in January, 2018, local Government (Ghajimba, headquarters of Guma L.G.A) in Benue State were under attacked by herders in which hundreds of people were killed, sacked some communities and properties destroyed and looted. Strangely, the invaders (herders) in another occasion ambushed exchanged gunfire with the security operatives of the convoy of the Benue state Governor, Gabriel Suswan who visited the attacked area to see things him. for The Governor and entourage were lucky to escape with their lives to tell the glory story [7]. However, fresh crises in Benue as herders left 33 Persons death barely 24 hours of after the State Security Council meeting which held at the Government House in the state capital [8]. Hundreds of youths on Wednesday stormed the popular Food Basket Roundabout in Makurdi to protest the alleged killing of at least 33 people by herders in Benue State which has increased overtime since the early 2018 [9]. According to [10], the disturbing sense of insecurity in Nigeria poses a daunting challenge towards efforts to national economic development; and consequently, wonder the readiness of Nigeria to be ranked the twenty (20) developed among countries of the world by 2020 [11].

Fulani herders armed The with sophisticated weapons usually attack their target communities at the time they are most vulnerable such as midnight or on Sundays when they are in their places of worships, killing people indiscriminately, mostly women and children, burning houses and looting properties. Benue, Taraba, Nassarawa, Plateau, Kaduna, Katsina have been the worst hit of late having tasted the devastating attacks by the herders with heavy toll in human lives and properties and still counting their loses [12]. Most worrisome is the brutality and impunity

with which the assailants operate without regard for the law and the sanctity of life coupled with the inability of the Nigerian Police and even the military taskforce to defend the victims mercilessly slaughtered in their homeland [13]. It is against this background therefore, that this study investigates the effects of insecurities

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Review

Frustration-Aggression Theory: Theoretically, this research is based on the theory of Frustration-Aggression. The adoption of this theory becomes imperative to this study due to its effectiveness and merits, among other usefulness to the research in view of its associated relationship with crises and other related social phenomena. Frustration-aggression theory otherwise referred to the frustration-aggressiondisplacement theory is a theory of aggression proposed by John Dollard, Neal E. Miller et al. in 1939, and which was further developed by Miller et al. in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969.

The theory postulated that aggression result from blocking or frustrating a person's efforts to achieve a specified set objective. As opined by John Dollard and colleagues in their postulations, the theory stated that frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. In the view of [14], frustration is the "condition which exists goal-response а interference." while aggression defined as "an act whose goal-response is injury to an organism (or organism surrogate)." However, aggression is not often the response to frustration. substitute response Rather. a employed when aggressive response is not the strongest on the hierarchy.

However, there are some problems associated with this theory. Basically, there are little empirical supports for it, even as scholars have researched on it for more than six decades. Another identified problem is that this theory suggests frustrated and prejudiced individuals should act more aggressively towards out groups they are prejudiced against, but studies have shown that there are more aggressive towards everyone. The theory also has limitations, for example it cannot say

on national development in Nigeria, with specific objectives including to examine the impacts of herders-farmers clashes on national security; investigate the nexus between herders-farmers conflicts and insecurities Nigeria; and to identify measures adopted by Nigeria to address herders-farmers conflict in the country.

why some groups are chosen to be scapegoats and why others are not. The frustration-aggression theorists argued collective behaviour aggressive response to feelings of frustration. Central assumption of this theory is that all aggression has its root cause in the frustration of more actors' goal achievement. In other words. conflict can be the product of the unfulfilled personal or group goals and frustration that this However, it is the aggression and frustration that leads to the formation and insecurity in Nigeria.

Insecurity and National Development in Nigeria: After several years of nationhood. Nigeria still ranks among the poorest countries in the world. It also ranked low in all socio-economic indicators such as life expectancy, death rate, access to water, poverty rate, mortality rate, and crime rate, as well as still tagged developing nation [15]. Nigeria is a classic illustration of an oxymoron, a poor country in the midst abundant human and natural resources. This scenario has contributed to security challenges, which bedeviled the country since 1960, with grave consequences for socio-economic development. There is no nation that achieve socio-economic development in an environment of socio and physical insecurity. The increasing challenge of insecurity in Nigeria has also been attributed to failure of leadership to deliver good governance, and secure the welfare of persons on the principles of freedom, equality, and justice. The ruling elites in Nigeria, both military in the and democratic dispensation are dependent, verv nature. corrupt in and maladministration [16]. The various constitutions that Nigeria has operated including the 1999 constitutions make provisions for the rights of citizens to embrace right to social security, right to life, right to livelihood, right to work, <u>www.idosr.org</u> Celina *et al*

right to a standard of living, just and favourable remuneration, adequate for the health, and well-being of individual and his family. It also right to food, clothing, housing, and right to education.

No doubt, the country is endowed with abundant human, and natural resources to guarantee the achievement of these [17].Unfortunately, rights successive governments in Nigeria have failed to guarantee these rights. Thus, the onus is on individuals to cater for the means to providing the basic necessities of life for themselves. The government's inability to provide a secure and safe environment for lives. properties and the conduct of business and economic activities has resulted to resentment and disaffection among ethnic groups in the country. In the light of this, communal clashes, ethnic violence, and religious violence have become the order of day in different parts of the country; and which have led destruction of lives properties, disrupted businesses and economic activities, and as well retard economic growth and development of Nigeria [18].

Thus, it has been argued that, in the unsafe and unsecured environment, no investor whether local or foreign that will be ready to invest their funds in such conditions. In a globalized world, investors are not only looking for high returns on their investments but also safe haven for their investments. Hence, the alarming level of insecurity in Nigeria has made the economy unattractive for foreign investors. This has negatively affected the economic growth and development in the economy. In recent time, there has been an increase in the rate of theft, armed robbery especially in the banks, kidnapping and assassination different parts of the country [19]. However, these vices are not equally distributed in the country. For instance, the South East states of Nigeria have the highest incidence of kidnappings, the South-South and South West states of Nigeria have the highest incidence of armed robbery and fraud, while the Northern states are characterized by bombings by the Islamic sect, Boko-Haram [20].

Empirical Review

[21], examined the insecurity and outbreak of community crisis in Niger State. The objective of the study was to explore the security challenges in Niger State. The study adopted qualitative analysis. The result of the study revealed that herders contributed to insecurity in the state. The study recommended that grazing farm land should be provided to herders to avoid further occurrence of attack. However, this study failed to include other major areas that are seen as the main hit of herders/farmer conflict in Nigeria such as Benue State and other state thereby narrowing his study to a particular community.

[22] studied herders and farmer conflict in Nigeria. The study was to identify the root causes of herders/farmer conflict in Nigeria. The study used qualitative study as such was used to gather data through secondary (publications). The content analysis was used for data analysis while the theoretical framework that anchored the study is frustration theory, the study found out that the root cause of conflict between herd/farmer include damaging of farmers crop by herders, lack of access to clean water by the herders etc. the study recommend that law should be made to protect live and property hence provide land for grazing cows and access to fresh water for herders cows in order to end conflict in Nigeria.

[23], showed that, serious conflict erupt between Fulani herders and farmers leading to loss of lives, valuable properties and destruction of vast expanse of arable agricultural farmlands thereby posing serious threat to food security since farmers for fear of attack could no longer go to farm and harvest their farm produce. The recent attacks by Fulani herders is on the increase, with the most recent attacks in June 2016 occurring in Ossissa community in Ndokwa East and Abraka community in Ethiope East Local Government Areas of Delta State and three more communities (Ugondo, Turan, Gabo Nenzev) in Logo Local Government Area, Benue State, with total killings no fewer than 60 persons.

[24] found deliberate grazing of cattle on crops, farmers' encroachment on grazing reserves, water holes and cattle paths and indiscriminate bush burning

by herders as notable causes of conflict between the groups in parts of Kano, Yobe and Borno States of Nigeria. In another study by [25] in Oyo State, about 34.2% of the farmers and 6.7% of the pastoralists indicated that crop damage always triggers conflict between [26] noted that water scarcity and insufficient rainfall are causes of social and economic ruins which have left the pastoralists at the sedentary mercv of farmers' communities. [27] observed contamination of stream by cattle have led to clashes in Yakurr, Cross River State, Nigeria.

[28] observed that the herders often left a large number of cattle in the care of children who do not know the consequences in the event destruction of farm produce. On the other hand, he posits that most farmers usually left their harvested crops on their farm unprotected while others who had poor yield intentionally left them un-harvested for cattle to graze so that they could claim heavy compensation. The Nigerian government is as well indicted in this accusation. [29] noted that government's silence or negligence on the need for increased grazing space has influenced the conflict. He also argued that the request is not new as the Fulani herders have previously called on the government to rectify the situation. He maintained that there has been little action on the part of the government to resolve these problems and some quarters believe that it is just being politicized for selfish gains. The herders therefore have grown restless and their impatience has culminated into violent actions. Disrespect of Traditional Authorities:

This study is a documentary research design. It tends to investigate the St

design. It tends to investigate the impact of insecurity on national development in Nigeria with a focus on herders/farmers conflict in Benue State. Survey research design according to [37] is utilized to enables the study obtain opinions of the representative sample from the target population in such a way that will permit inference to be made about the entire population. the research is based insecurity and national development in Nigeria within the study context. The

[30], identified that many communities usually collect levies from local crop and livestock (poultry) farmers in their domain and herders normally refuse to pay. This is often perceived as disregard and insult to the traditional authorities. The youth who constitute the local security are usually sent to collect that and the assignment is often met with strict resistance that results to clashes. Similarly, [31], equally noted that one of the major causes of the conflict in Delta State communities is the disregard for the host traditional authority by the herders.

[32], revealed that this situation, has deprived the pastoralists of valuable grassland, again forcing them to attempt to expand their "grass kingdom [33]. Other issues identified indiscriminate bush burning, sexual harassment of women by nomads, harassment of nomads by host youth, theft of cattle and indiscriminate defecation by cattle along the road [34]. Yakurr, Cross River State, [35] revealed that herders-farmers conflict has not only resulted to internal displacement of herders and farmers. especially women; but also led to reduction in income/savings and crops output. Distrust between Herders and Farmers, [36] also noted that majority of the members of the expanse Fulani ethnic group are solely pastoralists without connection to militant violence. Even these peaceful ones, however, are largely viewed with suspicion and anger by the sedentary communities on whose land they take their cattle, largely as a result of the actions of the violent group. This has created distrust and altered the mutual relationship that has existed between them and most of their host communities.

METHODOLOGY

area of this study is limited to Benue State, which is one of the states that make up the middle belt region. The state is very unique in Nigeria because of its natural resources deposit. The major resources of this area are agriculture and aquatic animals. The main occupation of the area is farming and fishing; that is why the Benue State is regarded as the food basket of the nation. Secondary method of sourcing data was used and it was sourced books. through text internet. government journals, archives.

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newspapers, government gazette and other relevant materials.

Method of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis of this study is quantitative method of data analysis. The goal of quantitative descriptive studies is a comprehensive summarization, in which everyday terms of specific events experienced by individuals or groups of individuals are utilized. This method is adopted in this study because it allows the study to extract and interpret relevant research

materials, make judgment input into the work.

Reliability of Research Instrument Method

An instrument is said to be reliable when it measures consistently over the construct it was meant to measure [38]. Therefore, the reliability of the instrument is based on past administered questionnaires on the subject matter. This reliability index was considered adequate and suitable for data collection in the study.

RESULTS

Number of Attacks on Benue State by Herders from 2013-2018

Table 1: Number of people killed by herders in Benue from February to November, 2013

-010				
S/N	Months 2013	Date	Communities	No of People Killed
2	February	February	Agatu burning Inoli, Ologba, olegeje, olegogboche, olegede, Adana, Inminy and Abugbe	Many lives lost
4	April	23 April	Mbasenge Community	10 lives lost
5	May	7 May	Aguta	47 lives lost
6	May	14 May	Aguta	40 lives lost
8	July	5 July	Nzorov	20 lives lost
9	July	31 July	Aguta	2 lives lost
11	November	7 November	Ikpele and Okpopolo	7 lives lost
	November	November 9	Aguta	36 lives lost
	November	20 November	Guma	22 lives lost
Total				184 lives lost

Sources: Daily Post Nigeria, 2013

The above table indicates that from February to November, 2013, a total number of 184 people were killed by herders in Benue state. While about 17

communities were attacked with their devastating socio-economic consequences for the state.

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Table 2: Number of people killed by herders in Benue from January to September, 2014

2017				
S/N	Months 2014	Date	Communities	No of People Killed
1	January, 2014	10 January	Aguta	12 lives lost
2	January	20 January	Adeke	3 lives lost
3	February	20-21 February	Gwer West L.G.A	35 lives lost
4	February	24 February	Tiv	8 lives lost
5	March	6 March	Kwande	30 lives lost
6	March	12 March	Ukpam	28 lives lost
7	March	12 March	Suswam	22 lives lost
8	March	23 March	Gbajimba	25 lives lost
9	March	25 March	Agena	7 lives lost
10	March	29 March	Aguta	19 lives lost
11	March	29 March	Shengev	15 lives lost
12	March	30 March	Aguta	19 lives lost
13	April	10 April	Ukemberaga/Tswarev	6 lives lost
14	April	15 April	Obagaji	12 lives lost
15	September	10 September	Ogbadibo	Many dead
Total				233

Sources: Daily Post Nigeria, 2014

From the table two above, shows that from January to September, 2014, a total number of about 233 people were killed by herders in Benue state. While about

15 communities were attacked with their devastating socio-economic consequences for the state.

Table 3: Number of people killed by herders in Benue from January to November, 2015

2015				
S/N	Months 2015	Date	Communities	No of People Killed
1	January	27 January	Abugbe, Okoklo, Ogwule & Ocholoyan	17 lives lost
2	January	27 January	Logo	9 lives lost
3	March	15 March	Egba	90 lives lost
13	April	27April	Mbadwem and Guma	28 lives lost
	May	11 May	Ikyoawen	5 lives lost
	May	24 May	Ukura and Gafa	100 lives lost
	July	7 July	Imande Bebeshi	1 lives lost
	November	5 November	Buruku	25 lives lost
Total				275 lives lost

Sources: Daily Post Nigeria, 2015

From the table three above, it shows that from January to November, 2015, a total number of about 275 people were killed by herders in Benue state. While

about 14 communities were attacked with their devastating socio-economic consequences for the state.

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Table 4: Number of people killed by herders in Benue from January September, 2016

2010				
S/N	Months 2016	Date	Communities	No of People Killed
2	January	20 January	Adeke	3 lives lost
1	February	8 February	Tor-Anyiin and Tor-Ataan	10 lives lost
3	February	20-21 February	Aguta	500 lives lost
	February	29 February	Edugbeho	11 lives lost
	March	5 March	Aguta	Houses burnt
5	March	9 March	Ngorukgan, Tse Chia	8 lives lost
	March	10 March	Obagaji	2 lives lost
6	March	11 March	No Causality	No Causality
7	March	13 March	Tarka	6 lives lost
8	March	23 March	Gbajimba	25 lives lost
9	March	25 March	Agena	7 lives lost
10	March	29 March	Aguta	19 lives lost
11	March	29 March	Shengev	15 lives lost
12	March	30 March	Aguta	19 lives lost
13	April	10 April	Ukemberaga/Tswarev	6 lives lost
14	April	15 April	Obagaji	12 lives lost
15	September	10 September	Ogbadibo	Many dead
Total	-	<u>-</u>		654 lives lost

Sources: Daily Post Nigeria, 2016

The above table indicates that from January to September, 2016, a total number of about 654 people were killed by herders in Benue state. While about

18 communities were attacked with their devastating socio-economic consequences for the state.

Table 5: Number of people killed by herders in Benue from January to May, 2017

- ~~-	ruble 5. Number of people kinea by neruers in behave from January to May, 2017				
S/N	Months 2017	Date	Communities	No of People Killed	
2	January	24 January	Ipiga	15 lives lost	
	March	2 March	mbahimin	10 lives lost	
5	March	11 March	Mkgovur	Many were killed	
	May	8 May	Tse-Akaa	3 lives lost	
	May 13		Logo	13 lives lost	
Total				41 lives lost	

Sources: Daily Post Nigeria, 2017

The above table indicates that from January to May, 2017, a total number of about 41 people were killed by herders in Benue state. While about 17

communities were attacked with their devastating socio-economic consequences for the state.

Table 6: Number of people killed by herders in Benue from January to May, 2018

S/N	Mont 2018	Date	Communities	No of People Killed
1	January	2 January	Gaambe-Tiev, Ayilamo and Turan	50 lives lost
	January	16 January	Guma	6 lives lost
	January	26 January	Ukum	2 lives lost
	January	29 January	Guma	1 lives lost
	February	5 February	Gov Ortom Farmhouse	2 lives lost
	February	10 February		2 lives lost
	February	12 February	Guma	2 lives lost
	March	5 March	Okpokwu	24 lives lost
	March	13 March	Guma	2 lives lost
	March	13 March	Guma	5 lives lost
	March	24 March	Makurdi	5 lives lost
	April	4 April	Gwer West	10 lives lost
	April	5 April	Gwer West	30 lives lost
	May	8 May	Tse-Akaa	3 lives lost
	May 13		Logo	13 lives lost
Total				157 lives lost

Sources: Daily Post Nigeria, 2018

The above table indicates that from January to May, 2018, a total number of 157 people were killed by herders in Benue state. While about 16

communities were attacked with their devastating socio-economic consequences in the state.

SUMMARY

The study was designed to examine the effects of insecurity on national Nigeria development in using Herders/Farmers conflicts in Benue State. Specifically, the study investigated the effect of herdersfarmers on national development in Nigeria; and the relationship associated between herders-farmers conflict and insecurity in Nigeria on the other hand. The study adopted conflict theory as the theoretical framework. The choice was informed by its analytical utility to explicate conflicts in any region. After

the empirical analysis, the discovered herders-farmers crisis has significantly promoted the spate of killings in Nigeria, Benue State particular. It also found that a positive relationship exists between herdersfarmers conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria. More so, the results also indicated that Herders-Farmers conflict has significantly led to destruction of properties public lives, and infrastructures in Nigeria, particularly in Benue State.

CONCLUSION

The recurrent clashes between herders and farmers in Nigeria portrayed a conflict of interests over resources acquisition or control. This is exacerbated by the climatic changes that continued to force the herders out of their Northern abode to other part of the country in search of pasture and fresh water for their cattle. Hence, it has been

observed that herders-farmers conflicts are prevalent and the persistence of these conflicts leads to loss of lives and properties in the country. Until this issue is amicably resolved and absolute co-operations are enhanced among the parties, food production and national security will continue to be threatened in country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends that government should establish all parties embracing cattle grazing colonies in all the six geopolitical zones of the country and prohibit open grazing of cattle in the country. This must be done through due consultation, dialogue or appeal to some

aggrieved regions of the country which may oppose or resist the move. It also recommends for the improvement of poor water management practice in the country by the Federal Ministry of Water Resources. In that, climate change cum water shortage and drought, which are

the major reasons herders migrate to southward in search of fresh water and grass for their cattle would be solved in the economy. Similarly, the study recommends that herders should be properly educated or re-oriented on the sanctity of human lives, and taught how to use better channels of communication to convey their

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grievances other than resorting to conflicts and killings of their host

communities. Lastly, it recommends

that any form of aggression as a result

of past issue(s) should be discouraged

and anyone found wanting in that

respect should be prosecuted according

to the law of the land.

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