

**EFFECT OF CONFLICT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT OF KOGI AND ANAMBRA BORDER  
COMMUNITIES OF NIGERIA**

**BY**

**SULE, JUMMAI COMFORT  
NSU/GDP/SSS/0026/17/18**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE  
STUDIES, NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY KEFFI, IN  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
AWARD OF DOCTORATE DEGREE IN SECURITY AND  
STRATEGIC STUDIES**

**INSTITUTE OF GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
NASARAWA STATE UNIVERSITY, KEFFI  
NIGERIA**

**AUGUST, 2019**

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is written by me and that to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award for any other degree of the University except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

**SULE, JUMMAI COMFORT**

.....

**NSU/GDP/SSS/0026/17/18**

**Signature      Date**

## CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this thesis titled, “*Effect Of Conflict On Socio-Economic Development Of Kogi And Anambra Border Communities Of Nigeria: 2007-2017*” agrees with the regulations governing the award of Doctor Of Philosophy (Ph.D) in Security And Strategic Studies, School of Postgraduate Studies of Nasarawa State University, Keffi, Nasarawa State Nigeria, for its contribution to the knowledge and literary presentation.

---

Prof. S.A.S. Aruwa  
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

---

Date

---

Prof. M.A. Filba  
Member, Supervisory Committee

---

Date

---

Prof. Andrew Zamani  
Head, Dept. of Security and Strategic Studies

---

Date

---

Prof. A. N. Maicibi  
Internal Examiner

---

Date

---

External Examiner

---

Date

---

Prof. J.M Ayuba  
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

---

Date

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to GOD ALMIGHTY and to my boss at work Dr. Ernest A. Umakhihe who has encouraged me financially and morally to trudge on as the work progresses.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I ascribe all honour and gratitude to God Almighty who has once again faithfully seen me through it all.

I am eternally grateful to my supervisors Professor S.A.S Aruwa, and Prof. M. A Filabia, my Internal Examiner Prof. A. N Maicibin who have tirelessly read all the manuscripts at each stage and made valuable contributions. I am very grateful, and may God Almighty continue to energize and strengthen you two.

The completion of this work would not have been possible without the help of other lecturers in the Institute of Governance and development studies of Nasarawa state University, Keffi. To this end, I wish to specifically thank; Prof. A. O. Akinwumi, Prof. Onoja, Prof. Andrew Zamani, Prof Humphry Asisi Asobie, Prof. Akindele, Prof. Eugene Aliegba, among others for preparing the necessary academic environment.

I am heavily indebted to all the organization and individuals who made useful contributions in the provision of data needed for the completion of this study. I want to single out National Boundary Commission (NBC) for providing necessary materials that helped largely in enriching the contents of this study.

I wish to also appreciate the efforts of all my colleagues in Security and strategic studies (course 2) for their support and inputs. Specifically Mrs. B Rufai, Bishop Jatau, Hassan Ibrahim and Peter Afunanya

To my family members I say thank you all for your prayers and support.

Finally, my appreciation goes to my field assistants Obumneke Ezie, and Bridget Omoarelojie for their patience and immense contributions.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page .....	i
Declaration .....	ii
Certification .....	iii
Dedication .....	iv
Acknowledgements .....	v
Abstract .....	vi
Table of Contents .....	viii
List of Tables .....	xi

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study .....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	12
1.3 Research Questions .....	15
1.4 Research Objectives .....	15
1.5 Statement of Hypotheses .....	16
1.6 Significance of the Study .....	16
1.7 Scope of the Study .....	18

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Framework .....	19
2.1.1 Concept of Inter-communal Conflicts .....	19
2.1.2 Concept of Socio-Economic Development .....	23

2.1.3	Causes on inter-communal conflicts .....	27
2.2	Empirical Literature .....	63
2.2.1	Inter-communal Conflict and Economic Activity.....	63
2.2.2	Inter-communal Conflict and Socio-cultural factor .....	72
2.2.3	Inter-communal Conflict and literacy level .....	77
2.3	Theoretical Review .....	83
2.3.1	Human Need Theory (HNT).....	83
2.3.2	Conflict Theory .....	85
2.3.3	The Conflict Identity Theory .....	87
2.3.4	The Social Conflict Theory (SCT).....	88
2.3.5	Psycho-Cultural Conflict Theory .....	90
2.3.6	Theory of Evidence on Geography and Conflict .....	92
2.3.6	Resource Theory .....	94

### **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.1	Research Design.....	95
3.2	Population, Sample and Sampling Technique .....	95
3.3	Method of Data Collection .....	98
3.3.1	Reliability Test .....	99
3.3.2	Validity Test.....	100
3.4	Techniques for Data Analysis and Model Specification.....	100
3.5	Justification of Method .....	102

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

4.1	Data Presentation .....	103
4.1.1	Inter-communal conflict and economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria .....	103
4.1.2	Inter-communal conflict and Social activity of Anambra-Kogi border zone of Nigeria .....	106
4.1.3	Inter-communal conflict and literacy level in Anambra-Kogi communities zone of Nigeria .....	108
4.2	Data Analysis and Results .....	109
4.2.1	Inter-communal conflict and economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria .....	110
4.2.2	Inter-communal conflict and social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria .....	112
4.2.3	Inter-communal conflict and literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria .....	114
4.3	Discussion of Findings .....	115

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

5.1	Summary .....	119
5.2	Conclusion .....	121
5.3	Recommendations .....	124
5.4	Limitations of the Study.....	126
5.5	Suggestions for further studies.....	127



References.....	128
Appendix I .....	135

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>TABLE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1. Youths of Selected Areas in Kogi-Anambra State, Nigeria .....	62
2. Youths of Selected Areas in Kogi-Anambra state, Nigeria .....	64
3. Result of Reliability Test .....	65
4. Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Economic activity .....	69
5. Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Social activity .....	71
6. Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Literacy level .....	72
7. Regression Result on inter- community conflict and economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border community of Nigeria .....	73
8. Regression Result pointer-community conflict and Socio-cultural factor of Anambra-Kogi border community of Nigeria.....	75
9. Regression Result on Inter- communal conflict and literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border community of Nigeria .....	76

## ABSTRACT

*Over the years, inter-communal disputes among communities in Kogi and Anambra border communities have increasingly become destructive and less manageable. Regular raids have been fueled by historical rivalry between the communities, deep-seated cultural values, land issues, political incitements, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth, proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and ineffective state security arrangements and diminishing role of traditional governance systems. Despite government's efforts at securing these areas, the level of conflict still persists. The study thus examined the effect of conflict on socio-economic development of Kogi and Anambra border communities of Nigeria. Descriptive survey design was utilized, while questionnaire was used for data collection. The method adopted in analyzing the data and testing of the research hypotheses is the regression technique and t-value. Findings from the study revealed that inter-communal conflict has had a significant effect on economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. In addition, the study revealed that inter-communal conflict has a significant effect on socio-culture of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. It was found also that inter-communal conflict has a significant effect on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. Based on these findings, the study recommends that Kogi and Anambra state governments should meaningfully engage the youths at various skill acquisition programs so as reduce the poverty and youth unemployment that have grave threat to national security and socio-economic development. The governments and other stakeholders should also provide scholarship opportunities (and other life enhancing opportunities) in the affected communities to further help to improve the literacy rate among people living in Kogi-Anambra border communities. To help improve the income level and economic activities in Kogi-Anambra borders, comprehensive strategies should be adopted to avoid reprisal attacks in these communities*

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the study**

Conflicts in pre-colonial period in Nigeria had a particular nature; this was more of inter-communal clashes arising from disagreements between two or more groups posing certain differences, interest and control (Nwanegbo, 2005). In Nigeria, these disputes and conflicts ranges from ownership of lands (fishing, farming, solid minerals and oil deposits) to political and customary control. These disputes sometimes brought destruction of lives and the destruction of properties and could be passed unto many generations (Nwanegbo, 2005).

The 16<sup>th</sup> goal of the United Nation (UN) 17 SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) is made to promote inclusive and peaceful societies for sustainable development. This finds expression in critical areas of human lives namely, the cutting down of all nature of violence and deaths connected to violence, capital flows and illicit arms reduction, the return of all properties that are stolen, and the fight to stop all nature of crime including many others. Insights into the impact of conflict clarify the connections and inter dependence of the objective of peace and the realization of the majority of the sustainable development goals. Nigeria is one of the countries who agree to all resolutions of the UN general assembly, it has for years passed through series of inter communal clashes which sometimes arises from competition between communities for

ownership and control of unique natural resources, violence related to election, and also violent conflicts related to disputes over land boundary. The United Nations world leaders General Assembly in September 2015 adopted the post 2015 development agenda. This General Assembly agreed on seventeen Sustainable Goals and one hundred and sixty-nine (169) targets. These Goals and targets seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and equally ensure the achievement of unachieved goals by 2015. These goals and target set by the General Assembly where set out as the transformative steps to move the world towards resilient and sustainable path in a structural framework where no nation is left behind.

Five areas of critical importance for the planet and for humanity are expected to be stimulated by these Goals; these include people, peace, prosperity and partnerships. Regarding the matter of peace, world leaders want to foster peaceful, just and all-inclusive society which is void of violence and fear. This is based on the fact that sustainable development cannot be achieved without security and peace. The leaders committed to make sure that all the factors which bring about violence, injustice and insecurity are firmly addressed and tangible efforts are made to resolve or prevent conflict and support post conflict countries (United Nations 2015). Nigeria is part of the nations that pledged to carry out activities towards the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals. In the independent history of Nigeria, she has enjoyed peace in significant part of the years. Regrettably, various forms of ethnic conflict have been experienced with

increasing intensity in many of the recent incidences. This conflict have manifested in the form of control and competition over the utilization of scarce resources, cattle's and raids rustling among the pastoralists most those in the north, land boundary disputes and election violence among many others.

Aguleri, a community in Anambra East local governments of Anambra state, shares common boundary with Odeke, and Echeno communities in Ibaji local Government Area of Kogi State, and Igga community of Uzo-uwani Local Government Area of Enugu State. History has it that these communities have existed as fishermen and farmers in their respective present swampy forest settlement from historic times. These communities, as expected, interact with one another in many ways. They inter marry and share other socio-cultural symbols. These intercommunity relationships come with different communal clashes, as these communities are engaged in one conflict or the other with each always at the fore front of settling the disagreements through dialogue, threats and even bloody war (Daily Trust, 2014).

Studies from empirical literature showed that the constant raids are fuelled by historical rivalry between the communities, land use, increasing level of poverty, deep seated cultural values, political incitement, inadequate policing, idleness amongst the youth and state security arrangement and also diminishing role of the traditional governance system (Huho, 2012 Odhiambo, 2012; Ruto, 2003; Opiyo, 2012). Massive deaths occur during

the raids, this involves the civilians and also security agents of the government, (Schilling, 2012; African Development Bank, 2009). Destruction and loss of property are equally experienced, this usually involve burning of houses and displacement of people as the people seek to be in a more secured place (Schillings, 2012). Retaliatory raids are sometimes engaged by the young men of the affected communities thereby fuelling further loss of lives and destruction in the process.

Border communities or boundaries and inter communities and interstate relations generated across them, have been known to be major sites for the interplay of different types of economic social, and political dynamics.

Perceived as lines defined by man, boundaries which mark the geographical limits of a state, as well as the extents of its sovereignty (Imobighe, 1987). This also explains why boundaries are jealously protected and defended. The implication of this protection is incessant territorial disputes among states. Some of the inter-state boundaries have been traced, resolved and beaconed while some are still in tracing stage.

Kogi and Anambra States have been living harmoniously together and engaged themselves in inter-marriages and so many social activities together but now things have fallen apart and the center can no longer hold. Anarchy and hostility have become the order of the day within the area till now.

Nnoli, (2006) observed that the ceremony of foundation laying for the first private refinery in Nigeria, Orient Petroleum Refinery (OPR) took place in Aguleri Area. Orient Petroleum Resource Limited, owners of OPR, was issued license in June 2002 by the government to build a private refinery which will have a production capacity of 55,000 barrels per day. With the Governors efforts Peter Obi and other relevant stake holders of Orient Petroleum in 2012 recorded a breakthrough in their oil prospecting in the border River basin.

President Goodluck Jonathan on a state visit to Anambra in 2013, declared that Anambra state an oil producing state. And since then, Anambra and Kogi states have been in a running battle over ownership of land on which oil deposits were found on the border between the two states, resulting in skirmishes between the border communities. Crude oil was discovered in border Basin which is a geographical area which covers some part of Kogi state, Anambra and Enugu state. This geographical area has resulted to a boundary dispute which had claimed more than seventy lives and about 152 houses reportedly burnt. The people of Aguleri and Enugu-out in Anambra East Local Government area of Anambra state and Echeno/Odeke in Ibaji local government area of Kogi state had a violent land dispute clash on their oil rich borders. Ownership of the locations of the oil wells are also claimed by the Enugu state. These oil wells are OPL 916 and 915 which is located in the border Basin. Just like most places



where oil wells are located in the country, since then, the place, the people, the government and the oil company have lost their peace. According to Ibaji Development Association the area where the oil well is located is not in Anambra state but in Odeke community in Ibaji local government area of Kogi state. Another community from Uzo-Uwani of Enugu state which is known as Igga community claim that the oil well from which the Orient Petroleum Resources is expected to commence crude oil production are not located in Aguleri-otu as declared by the federal government but in Igga community land. This claim of ownership usually sets the stage for violence and bloodshed that has commenced in Anambra/Kogi boarder communities.

The National Boundary Commission (NBC, 2014) reveals that the crisis on the border zone between Kogi and Anambra State poses major danger to peace, to economic development, business activities, literacy level, poverty and unemployment in the southern east and the northern central and has a significant potential of destabilizing Nigeria because there are sectional and ethnic undertones that can amplify the crisis. Kogi state belongs to the northern part of Nigeria which in its area has been desperately looking for oil while Anambra state border the north from the southern Nigeria. The emerging feud is not going to be a negligible clash in all consideration. This is because every sign point to the fact that the cost of this skirmish is going to be monumental on Nigeria.

The history of Aguleri-Odeke Crude Oil Ownership Feud can be traced to Orient Petroleum Company's report around 2001. Following the pronouncement, each of the mentioned communities within the basin laid claims over the border River Basin and the crude oil found beneath. Igga community of Enugu state had been reported to have instituted litigation against Aguleri community of Anambra state over the basin and lost the case as the court ruling went in favour of Aguleri community (Daily Post, 2014). Ibaji Local government of Kogi State was reported to have in the past brought a law suit against Enugu-Otu Aguleri over the ownership of some portion of land in the border River Basin and won the case.

However in recent times, the conflict between Aguleri and Odeke community of Anambra and Kogi states respectively has escalated and taken a different dimension, signalling war. Although it appears to be boundary dispute issue, the immediate cause could be traced to the pronouncement of Orient Petroleum Company in 2001 that it has discovered crude oil in commercial quantity in the border River Basin area and subsequent naming of Anambra State as oil producing state by the then president of Nigeria Dr Goodluck Jonathan in 2012. Consequently, armed conflict erupted in the area. This unresolved crisis' otherwise known as "Aguleri-Odeke feud" or "War Over Crude Oil" has led to the death and displacement of many people from these communities;

destruction of property; destruction of farm lands and the activities of oil drilling is not going on smoothly as expected (Daily trust, 2014).

It is going to be a war of crude oil and not just a communal conflict over cheap farm produce such as fish, yam or garri or worthless piece of land. Crude oil has a big price tag that can easily attract mercenaries to fight and this will surely spin the crisis out of control of the authorities and overstretch the men of security agencies and their resources.

History and comments by stakeholders from both communities show that main factors that account for the conflict are:

The Odeke and Aguleri communities of Kogi and Anambra state as well as Uzo-uwani in Enugu states claim that they are exclusive owners of the oil in the disputed area. This has led to mutual suspicion. The management team of the oil exploration company that is involved in oil drilling in the area are from Anambra state, and this lead to the erroneous belief that the oil belongs to Anambra state alone. Another cause of the conflict could be Orient's inability to state clearly the areas of inclusion and exclusion of their current activity in the border Basin areas.

Reports and presentations have shown that parties from both communities have their own reason for the disagreement. Below is direct quotation

from the speeches and actions of some stakeholders from both sides of the conflict as they go about seeking ways out of the conflict.

The former chairman of Ibaji Local Government Area, Hon Dave Ogwu, was reported to have said in his address to his fellow Ibaji citizens that “during the exploration activities which includes among other things like cutting of trees, shot hole drilling and exploration well compensation were paid to the people of Odeke, Echeno and Ihile in Ibaji local Government Area of Kogi, state for damages caused on their land, economic trees fish ponds and shrines in the area, this is a mark of ownership of the land and we must do everything possible to reclaim our land from Anambra people. On the other hand Idigo II representing the views and position of Aguleri was quoted by a press conference report to have stated that “*the disputed land is clearly identified in the map of Nigeria as Eastern Forest Reserve in old Anambra state which is currently in the present Anambra state thus [it]belong[s] to our people*”. we are people of justice and cannot allow anybody to trespass our land or claim our inheritance without fighting back".

Hon. Hassan of Kogi and Hon. Uche Ekwunife, both of Nigeria’s House of Representatives were reported to have clashed on the floor of the Nigerian House of Representatives in Abuja, while the former was moving

motion for the Nigerian Federal Government to stop Anambra people from killing Kogi people in border River Basin Area.

Also Senator Isaac Alfa recently promise his senatorial district that he must do all things humanly possible to ensure his state was included as an oil producing state and further call on the federal government at the Senate chamber to name Kogi state as Oil producing state, shows that critical stakeholders in both states are not employing diplomacy in their bid to end the feud.

Poor communication hurt feelings; causes anger, frustration, and tend to erode relationships, sometimes to the point where the relationship is not fixable. Many times, we call these situations personality conflicts, when in fact they are a result of poor communication. This poor communication skill appears to hold court from both sides in the Aguleri- Odeke feud. Another institution pressed into service, apart from the state and local traditional institutions, which also accounts for the escalation of the conflict, in the conflict zone of Anambra and Kogi, is the media. The role of the media, conventional and new media, in Nigeria under democratic rule is noteworthy. There has been a significant progress in media proliferation and diversification due to the relative freedom afforded to the media in the country. This transformation has given the citizen the media for self-expression. However, the conduct of the media in the country has attracted many criticisms over the years due to polarization of the media

houses, inauthentic publications, inaccurate reporting and other misconduct. This is also noticeable in the report of Aguleri-Odeke feud in which the media, depending on the owners and reporter's ethnicity, reports one sided account of the cause and positions of the communities engaged in a feud.

The blame-game between the parties involved in conflict, based on the publications were further deepened by the media; by regular publishing of letters/articles; organizing press conferences of interest groups from the communities like the one from Odeke Progressive Union, Idigo dynasty, in the attempt to frame the other as contemptuous of peace, law and order. These are seen as contradictory publications by the media which according to Gyamfi, (2009) escalates conflict instead of resolving it. This in no small measure is capable of fuelling the Aguleri-Odeke crises instead of mitigating it. Negative body languages and presentations of the stakeholders in Aguleri-Odeke in both communities and media reportage and framing which are in the domain of poor communication are observed to be the major factors that escalate the feud around border Basin oil ownership in recent times.

Despite much litigation by different communities in border River Basin to determine the real owner or boundaries and as well end conflict in the area, it is rather becoming endemic with each community or state groaning

under acrimonious conflict without an alternative commitment to resolve it.

Since conflict is preventable and transformable through application of effective communication strategies, anchored on dialogue and negotiation, it's expected that the stakeholders in the various communities should resolve this age-long conflict.

Given the foregoing, there is need to examine the effect of the inter- state disputes on the economic activity, employment rate and literacy level of the people in the area.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Inter-communal conflicts in the Kogi- Anambra border communities have been responsible for the lack of socio-economic development in the communities. Individuals are displaced from their homes as a result of the conflict they have equally suffered destruction of their properties. They remain unproductive in the new settlement because they have lost the resources; they need to be able to fully participate in any meaningful economic activities. The people do not have the motivation needed to carry out any meaningful activities because they have been socially deprived. Many wish to go back to the activities but are discouraged by fear due to increased insecurity and also experienced in the inter-communal conflict. In these circumstances few who strive to move to nearby urban centres resort to menial jobs to survive.

Their standard of living remains low due to a low-income level. The basic needs of most households are not met this therefore move them into poverty. There are several cases where conflicts lead to the closure of markets and trading centres, dispensaries and schools. Due to the closure of schools the communities experience low literacy level rates and the cost of important commodities increases because of the cost of running the business and also individual exploitation who understand the limitations of the choices of the people (Odhiambo, 2012). This closure of schools causes reduction in educational achievement and the equally access to health services. Additional responsibilities are assumed by the women, responsibilities outside the traditional ones provided for the family. The coping mechanisms are disregarded therefore engendering general decline of education (Odhiambo, 2012).

The inter-communal conflict affects the behaviour of the people, their perception, relationship and way of life, and their existence and survival. In other words, the social cultural environment consists of all elements, influences and conditions which shape the individuals personality and attitude is potentially affected as also his behaviour, disposition, activities and decisions. Such elements include values, beliefs, habits, forms of behaviour and life styles of the person as developed from religious, cultural, social and educational conditioning, (Adeleke, 2003)

The prevalence of violence and conflicts has pervasive dislocation on the society; conflict undermines the structure of development, brings societies



and states under pressure and also aggravates poverty (WHO 2002; UNDP, 2006). This therefore, necessitates a thorough examination of the effect of the inter-community conflict on socio-economic development of Kogi and Anambra border communities of Nigeria.

In addition, several empirical works in this area has been on ethno-religious conflicts and socio-economic development in Nigeria, challenges of conflict in Nigeria, causes of conflict in Nigeria. However, no studies have been carried out on the effect of inter-communal conflict on socio-economic development of Kogi and Anambra border communities of Nigeria. This is the gap this study sort to file.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The following research questions will guide the research:

- i. What are the effects of inter- communal conflict on economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria?
- ii. What are the effects of inter- communal conflict on the social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria?
- iii. What are the effects of inter- communal conflict on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective of this study is to find out the effect of inter-communal disputes on the Economic activity of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria.

The specific objectives are to:

- i. Identify the effects of inter-communal conflict on economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria
- ii. Identify the effects of inter-communal conflict on social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria
- iii. Identify the effects of inter-communal conflict on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

### **1.5 Statement of the Hypotheses**

The hypotheses for this study which shall be tested at 0.05 level of significance are:

#### **Hypothesis One:**

**Ho:** There are no significant effects of inter- communal conflict on Economic Activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

#### **Hypothesis Two:**

**Ho:** There are no significant effects of inter- communal conflict on social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

#### **Hypothesis Three:**

**Ho:** There are no significant effects of inter- communal conflict on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

In view of the fact that the area of study in this research is a microcosm of Nigeria, solutions proffered in this study shall be relevant in solving inter-communal disputes in Nigeria.

Therefore, the significance of this study can be summarized as follows:

For the academics, this study will provoke further academic discussions on communal clashes in view of their impacts on the economic growth. The need for further studies on conflict resolutions becomes inevitable because of the paucity of studies on this all- important issue.

From the policy point of view, the research will serve to direct the government attention to focus towards provision of adequate security as a way of preventing communal clashes through appropriate policies/legislations; the study finally established their relevance as vehicles for stimulating economic growth and development in the areas.

Lastly, the study will serve as a guide or tool for National boundary Commission and Nigerian Security Agencies in handling Boundary conflict and challenge them to be proactive.

Consequently, this study will fill these research gaps and is also expected to yield the following contributions to the body of knowledge:

- i. The findings of this study will assist policy makers on the process of peace practice that will assist Nigerians to improve on living together in harmony despite differences in religion, ideologies and culture.

- ii. Significantly this study will assist relevant state organizations, and non-government organizations, both local and foreign, to evolve effective systems of conflict resolution thereby preventing escalation of crisis situation.
- iii. Also, it will enlighten policy makers on the dynamism and continuous review of strategy preparation, formulation and implementation as it relates to conflicts and counterinsurgency.
- iv. Finally, this study will form a strong basis for further research on various insurgencies on the globe.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The study confined analysis to the study of four communities in two states (Anambra and Kogi) of the Federation to represent area with high conflict. The scope of the study covers a period of 10 years as from 2007 to 2017 to enable long period information about the effects of inter-communal conflicts on socio-economic development in the study area as a standard requirement for assessment. The choice of period further reflects the period when different policies were introduced by democratic regimes to improve socio-economic development in Nigeria.

The conceptual/contextual scope of this study would centre on those schemes which provide structural meaning and linkages among major concepts or variables of the effects of inter-communal conflicts on socio-economic development such as; inter-communal conflict, socio- economic

in study area. FAO, (2007) within the limit of the community decision making and that of national or regional scales and its relationship with domestic and international policy (Kandlinka & Risbey, 2000) which could be micro or macro.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Conceptual Framework**

##### **2.1.1 Concept of Inter-Communal Conflicts**

Inter-communal conflicts are the terms used to describe conflict that occurs between one group and another. This conflict may be motivated by disputes concerning access to political power or scarce resources. These conflicts can lead to violent warfare between the two or more communities that are involved. It is the product of strained political, social and economic conditions; it could also be a product of ethnic tension and also political objectives of people in power. These inter-communal clashes have recently grown in status. The international community primary concern is that the sovereignty of the state and also with the domestic nature of the conflicts poses as a barrier to effective intervention of international community. Thus such conflict poses a rare challenge to the attempt of international community to bring peace to the affected areas and to equally put an end to the suffering of the people (Wfu.edu article, 1999)

Conflicts that occur between competing groups within a state is regarded as inter-communal conflict. These conflicts can start over struggle concerning political power or access to scare natural resources. Communal

conflict is defined as a violent conflict between two groups or defined communities that share a communal identity.

Further clarification is given to this definition. Communal conflict is connected to the obvious fact that lethal weapons are used by the communities involved to gain control of indivisible and disputed resources. This therefore follows a generally accepted conceptualization of armed violent conflict (Galtung, 1965). Galtung, (1965) further highlighted the positive effect of conflict which could be through inter-tribal marriages, opening of new business locations and generating new jobs. Non-state groups are the groups or communities involved, this implies that they neither act nor they are in control of the state or armed forces (even though state act or may be a part as a relevant supporting actor in the violent conflict). Lastly, these groups causing conflict are organised in a share communal ethnic identity, this means that formally they are not organised rebels or militants, however the confrontation happens along the group identity line.

Groups struggle over political power, status and resource control, in which the intentions of the opponents are to neutralize, eliminate or injure their rivals. Factors that influence communal conflicts in many local government areas include factors such as political inequality, insufficient inclusion in associational membership, intolerance of intergroup, imbalances in power-sharing, factional rivalries and inter-clan. The study area as communal conflicts includes violent struggle between groups

typically organised along religious, ethnic and political lines. Issues at stake in some occasions might not be cultural rather it may involve struggle for political, economic power and land or boundary disputes. Apart from the destruction of properties and loss of life and also the displacement of individuals usually come with communal conflict, their effects on the environmental scarce resources are devastating.

Faleti, (2004) is of the view, through needs theorist overtime have observed these issues of deprivation to be the main causes of conflicts. Burton (1996) pointed out a connection between aggression, frustration and efforts to satisfy their fundamental needs. People can really not be taught to embrace and accept practices that are contrary to their identity, this is also related to other objectives that are connected to their fundamental needs for this reason therefore; they are pushed to resist the groups and institutions that have been identified to be responsible for their perceived threat to such needs.

Burton, (1999) postulated that the survival needs of human, his protection, participation, affection, identity creation are share by everybody, irrepressible components that are not easy to surrender. Despite how hard a social system or a political system works to suppress or frustrate those needs, it will fail or in the long-run cause far more damages. Lack of economic opportunities, penury and hyper-inflations are manifestation of imbalance in the economic system, while an imbalance in the political system breeds fear, xenophobia (this means fear of foreign people and



their cultures and customs) violence and crime, forced or voluntary exile, forced migration, and marginalization. These, collectively make up the fundamental causes of conflicts. Despite the fact that some scholars identify many other human needs, source which they recognise to be basic, they have agreed that frustration of these needs hinders the actualization of the potentials of individuals therefore leading to conflicts.

As a social phenomenon, conflict occurs in situations where a minimum of two (2) groups doggedly work to obtain at the same moment and at the same time scarce natural resources. Communal conflicts are violent and non-violent conflicts which occur between groups that form along a shared community identity. Lethal force is used by the group to take possession of disputed and indivisible scarce resources. Being non-state actors, they don't control the state and its appurtenances such as the armed forces; they are not formally organized rebel groups and are not pitched against the state but along group identities - communal, ethnic and religious. Communal identity means subjective group identification based on common ancestry, descent or historical experience or background, culture or core-values. This is the basis of indigenes versus strangers or settlers syndrome as a causative and predisposing factor of ethno-communal conflict in Nigeria. In this context, ethno-communal conflict means the strained relationships between and among the ethnic and/or communal constituents of local government areas. They could be contained within a particular local government (intra local government ethno-communal

conflict) or across local governments (inter-local government conflict). It could occur over differences in access to resources (grazing land, farmland, water, powers etc), along occupational lines (pastoralist versus agriculturalists) or values (cultural, religious etc).

### **2.1.2 Concept of Socio-Economic Development**

The social and economic development process in the society is regarded as socio-economic development. Indicators such as life expectancy, GDP, employment levels and literacy levels are human development index (HDI) indicators used for its measurement. Also considered are changes in factors that are less tangible, this could personal dignity, personal safety, freedom of association, freedom from physical harm or fear and they civic participation of the people. Factors that cause socio-economic impacts include changes in law, technologies, ecological changes and changes in physical environment (Mac Ewan & Arthur, 2014).

Development that is said to be Socio-economic is a process that identifies both the economic and social needs of the community, it seeks to draft strategic plan that will provide identified needs in practical ways and in the best interest, the community is over a long period of time. The main idea is to discover how to enhance the living standard of the people living within the area and at the same time ensuring that economic activity is capable of sustaining the people (Lechner, 2010).

Socio-economic development is an important concept pertaining the problem of change in the socio-economic sphere. Environmental changes taking place in socio sphere is embraced by socio-economic development. Despite the fact that economic aspect comes to the fore in carrying out studies on the changes in the economy, they however, from the social aspect they can't be isolated. "It protects its functioning in connection with the economic aspects of a society's life. This branch of economic theory has its primary interest in the types of socio-economic systems, ownership relations and interest and also motivation behind economic activity" defining socio-economic development as a chain of changes has to do with identifying what are the features of those changes and what are their determinants. This therefore means that we need to know what could be counted as socio-economic development. In order to represent the exact features of socio-economic development, we are implored to identify the nature of process and goals of changes that are part of this type of process or/and developmental agenda. This process, generally, are ordered sequences of changes in state of affair, where certain state decides other states that will follow them. Its dynamic component is structured to achieve its target.

To Sztompka, (2002), the process of development "differs from the other target oriented process by two additional properties;

- a) The direction of a process is Positive, that is, as time passes that will be an increase in the level of variable or a set of variables in

terms of which we consider the process (for example, when there is growth in the number of the population, we speak of demographic development; when the global product of the society increases, we speak of economic development)

- b) Set in motion is a directional sequence of social changes, this is driven by intra social mechanisms (that is, immanent, endogenous, or added within the system in question)". In addition, be informed that this is as a result of exogenous factors; this is because environmental factors affect the workings of the system via different exogenous factors. Hence, socioeconomic development built with process influenced by exogenous and endogenous factors that influence the direction and the course of the development. Note that socioeconomic development does not function without other process and often proceeded by or are influenced by other processes. In general terms, socioeconomic factors cannot be defined any clearer because they vary since it depends on the circumstances provided by reliable geographical and historical situations where the developmental changes happen. Factors of regional development of socioeconomic transformation of Poland are as follows; business environment, institutional environment, social climate, foreign investment and innovativeness (Chojncki & Czyz, 2004).

Socio-economic developmental goal characterization seems to be difficult. Generally, it is assumed that we can discuss about them in the circumstances where it can be able to support the developmental strides in a rational and purposeful way, steer or create them. The features of the measures which are taken to implement the socioeconomic development are determined by the goals. The question, however which arises are the relationship between goals and values. If we are to accept the commonly held opinion which states that values (norms, evaluation) are not separate from activity of human, that they are stimulated by it and that it gives it a direction, this then means that values sets the goal of the described activity and it is evaluated in normative terms. Socio-economic goals are equally referred as such.

The relationship between social life and economic activity is referred to as socio-economic development. The declaration of NEPAD states that socioeconomic development is the continues positive changes in the standard of living of the people and their well-being.

The process of people's interaction with other people around their environment is regarded as social development. As their individuality around the community is perceived and developed, they equally acquire the communication skills to interact with other people and process action of the people. Most times social development is referred to as ways friendship is developed by people and other relationships, and also how they manage friendship and conflicts.

Social development covers the human activities in the community, the people and many other factors that affect the people's life and their living standard. Attempt is made by social development to provide explanations to significant changes in the framework and structure of the society that increases the chances and opportunity for the society to realize its aims and objectives. Development is defined in such a way that it could be applicable in all the societies irrespective of the historical periods with a continuous improvement which signifies a greater level of efficiency, productivity, creativity, comprehension, quality, accomplishment mastery and enjoyment. Development is regarded as the process of social changes, not just as a set of programmes but policies that are formulated to achieve specific results.

### **2.1.3 Causes of Inter-Communal Conflicts**

**Identity- Based Politics and Conflict:** Despite the long history of human act of destruction based on national identity, religion, or other group membership, it is observed that identity based conflict has happened many times in recent decades. Violent conflict is continuously carried out on people based on their belongings to a specific group (for example, religion, caste, clan, ethnicity), mostly by people obviously acting for another group. Disheartening is the continuous increase in the number of ordinary innocent people who are caught up in the violent conflict both as victims and perpetrators. In observed cases it is seen that individuals who for many years has lived in peace, who has intermarried, built friendship,

all of a sudden fight each other with unreserved brutality (Hilka, 2008). As cold war ended, violent conflict engulfed African States, from Liberia to Burundi, DR Congo down to Sierra Leone, Rwanda to Somalia and several others. Identity linkage is the mark of the wars, especially ethnicity problem.

There are many markers of identity like language, religion, geographical area, cultural preference, nationhood, age, location and occupation (such as herders), military function, by and large ethnic identity is observed to be the most dominant (Hagg & Kagwanja, 2007). In examining the “New war” as it was called, Kaldor, (1999) is of the view that in the modernist sense, the new conflict are not wars between organized political groups or between states for political targets. Instead it is related to resurgence to identity politics the Berlin wall collapsed. For this reason, claims to power are being made by around the area of modern nation. The ubiquity of war of identity is rested on the basis that ethnicity is actually tight in traditional societies which has the deep sense of belonging to a specific community with different identity markers like common ancestry, traditional and symbols, cultural values, shared memories and territory ownership (Endalew, 2002). Many studies on religion and ethnicity in Africa exists, however, they are yet to be grounded in the study on current identity issues. The study carried out by Adekanye, (1995) and Rasmusen, (1993) are important but neither is grounded in the concept of identity. A study

worthy of note as an exception is the Lemarchand's study on construction of identity in Burundi between the Tutsis and Hutus (Lamarchand, 1994). Many literatures between violence, identities and security have to some extent polarized the two (2) perspectives. First perspective views "identity base" conflict as a product of different primordial culture (Gerts, 1963); religious ties or preexisting kinship (Smith, 1986); insurmountable differences among civilizations like Islam and the West (Huntington, 1996); or long standing antipathy between other groups or different ethnic groups (Kaplan, 1993). On different levels, the researcher views ethnicity or other identity as culturally determined immutable or important part of the society.

The other perspective has to do with the argument that the violence is not connected to identity it has to do with group competition over access to resources and power (for example Cohen 1974; Collier & Hoefler, 2004). Scholars with this perspective are of the view that nationalist, ethnicity and other means of identity are only important as long as they remain an instrument for the exploitation of economic or political benefit as they interact with other groups. Certain scholars elucidate the role played by ethnic entrepreneur-political heads that use cultural values, religious symbols and ethnicity as a tool to gather the backing of the people for their claim. (Brass, 1985)



These two perspectives bring the conclusion it's relevant to give attention to identity politics. First, it is because of the basis of identity that conflict is viewed as unavoidable. We should therefore focus on intervening and put a stop to the utilization of violence. On the second reason, identity really don't matter, more attention should be directed towards resolving underlying grievances and effectively mediating on conflicting interest among groups in such a way that violence will be completely avoided. Speaking on the first perspective, contexts on violence has made it clear that their articulation through violence is inevitable or about the purported nature of differences in identity (for example Baringa, 1995, Valentine 1996, mamdani, 2001). Equally, in many contexts, the absence of violence with religious, cultural differences suggest that there is a flaw in this perspective. On the latter perspective, even though there are few doubts that collective violence is strongly rooted in the competition over resources, livelihoods, territorial claims and power, often this argument fail to ask where a particular religion, ethnic group originate from, or even question why religious symbols or ethnic symbols hold this level of sentimental appeal to the large population (Baringa, 1995). Evidence does exist which is of the opinion that struggles over values, beliefs and ideas in a particular way are important not just instrumentally speaking (for example Barton & Mack, 2001). In addition, in two ways the assent that the cause of conflict is ethnicity is faulty. First, communal command is not well explained by the ethnic identity. Certain nations who are homogenous

in nature like Somalia is entangled in war, on the other hand many heterogeneous nations live peacefully as opined by (Osman, 2007). Furthermore, the traditional identities of Africa are quite recent, the traditional identity construct is either by post-colonial successors or it is by colonial powers,, amounting in mythology of the culture of Africa (Bayart, 2005).

While trying to account through research the sudden increase in conflict backed by ethnicity, Apadurai, (1998) connected the proponents of conflict of identity to globalization forces, noting that the violence of ethnicity is concretely attached to the anxieties, disillusion, uncertainties and the chaotic environment which is inspired by economic globalization. Many analysts, according to Hagg and Kagwanja, (2007) view identity of ethnicity as a brand new trend by one-party leaders plan to switch to absorbing surrogates to violence against the people. Salih, (1989) reveals the way tribal militias were recruited by Sudan to bring violence against the people in an effort that brought conflicts.

Utilization of tribal authorities as agents to carry out politically motivated violence has become popular in diverse countries like Nigeria, Malawi, Kenya, and Cameroon. Our stand in this regard is that if identity is not politicized conflict cannot be generated in the state. With this position discussed above, it will be important to base conflict on the identity of the people during the pre-colonial periods, and equally colonial and

postcolonial periods. A review of the history of conflict during pre-colonial period as a significant time of the identity relation, referring to the less politicized ethnic identities. During trade, provisions of skills and wealthy group are often mixed (Bayert, 2005). However, the most outstanding mark attached to the pre-colonial societies was the absence of singular identity elevation, gender, age group, clan and it is not the absence of multiple identities or conditions which could ignite conflict (Hagg & kagwanja, 2005). Tribal wars as against moral ethics which is known to form foundation of the civic order is strongly connected in the politic of the colonial period. Significant part of the problem in Africa as posited by Eke, (1975) is the dichotomy among the primordial and the civic public. The Later is seen as a moral zone of right and the primordial is viewed as moral which is governed by custom.

From Eke's view point, Mamdani, (2002) argued that political participation starts with the building and forming of ethnicity as a legal entity which is promoted over fluid and the loose character of the population. Tribal and race is turned to fixed dominators in the legal structure of the colonial period. Identity of ethnicity was adopted as a mechanism to the divide and rule strategy of colonial period which was used particularly for political control, taxation enforcement, wealth extraction (Broch-due 2005, Rubin, 2006). Through appointment of administrative staff in the colonial offices or local authorities, preferential

treatment was given to certain identity groups. Take for instance the French and Belgian ascribed Hamitic identity race to the Tutsis against Bantu tribal group of the Hutus. The flaw in this tribal preferential structure built the foundation of ethnic conflict and rivalry that eventually led to the genocide in 1994 (Pruneir, 1997).

Ethnicity manipulation during the colonial period bequeathed post-colonial societies in Africa with polarities of the natives (indigenous) and settler (Migrant) categories. This has therefore become the point in which Rwanda violence or the recent one in Kenya revolves (Mamdani, 1996). Within this category also is the conflict between Modakeke-Ife, Jukun-Tiv, Berom-Hausa in Jos among several others. Post-colonial states in Africa inherited this divisive pattern of power and stereotypes and with a particular identity of ethnicity, therefore laying the foundation of conflict and competition along flawed lines. Unfortunately, to protect their power, many elites in the postcolonial period still adopt this divide and rule legacy. There has been a contradiction on the argument by certain authors that differences in ethnicity lead to conflict. The analysis of Moe, (2009) of the study carried out by Paul and Collier, (1999) even though that there is strife between groups, evidence has revealed that ethnicity is seldom the fundamental cause of war. Fractionalization as they posited, influencing the possibility of war cannot be sustained. The reason for this is that the societies which are divided to several groups can experience less civil war. Societies that are heterogeneous in nature are dominated by a single group.

According to Moe, (2009) the analysis of their study revealed that diversity in Africa is war deterrents. This is based on the idea that an increase in heterogeneity leads to an increase in different competing interest which hinders the organizational ability of the rebel force. However, Osaghae, (2001) and Suberu, (2001) are not convinced. They insist that the varying nature of the ethnicity is not responsible for the conflict, that instead identity is the main cause of the conflicts in African nations. Regardless of the connection among violent conflict and ethnic identity, some are of the opinion according to Hagg and kagwanjaa, (2007) that for conflict resolution, identity has a role to play. Organizations such as UNESCO, (2005) and African union, (2005) accepted diversity in culture and expression of varying identities as an essential asset in union building and peacemaking. Scholars such as Tan, (2006) viewed the identity diversity as a valuable tool in the civic order re-engineering. It goes without saying that sub-ethnicity might not bring conflict if the differences are not used for political reasons. Onuoha, (2011) is of the view that even though conflict might be viewed to be religious or even ethnic in nature, still there are elements of political manipulations. It is important to state that sub-ethnicity or the exploitation of political differences is the reason for these violent conflicts. This is similar to the findings of Human Right Watch, (1995) where they opined that tension in the community is really not the cause of continues

communal conflict or violence. In as much communal tension is a necessary part of the causes of the conflict, it is important to understand that alone is not enough to bring the wide spread conflict. Instead, the government exploitation of communal differences is the actual cause of the communal violence. Regards to causes of conflicts, scholars are not convinced. While emphasis are laid by some on economic benefits as the main cause of conflict some are of the opinion that it is as result of colonialism.

Others feel it is as a result of structural conditions, marginalization, democratization, electoral condition and many others. This study contends that while the factors stipulated above are relevant, they are mostly influenced by politics. Stewards, (1998) opined that political power is a means to an end and also an end in itself. It is a significant tool of economic power. The controversy, at this juncture, regarding factors that cause conflict will be further studied. Nwolise, (2004) is of the view that conflict generally emanate from political and socio-economic irregularities in the society both in inter-group and in inter-personal and state interaction. These injustices may be in the resource sharing including privileged positions, the manner in which human rights and freedom are managed, or on the managing of demands and assets that are collectively owned. Pattern of injustices identified can lead to opinion clashes, interest and values. Observation of this argument seems to be in accordance with

the argument of Stedman, he stated that “conflicts emanates from problems which are regarded as being fundamental to all the people, pulls and tugs or varying identities, the differences in the resources distribution, access to power and also competing definition of what is regarded as right, just and fair” (Nwolise, 2004).

From the above, we can observe that violation of human rights or perpetration of injustices creates the foundation for conflict. This is because human rights and justice are highly valued by people over peace. The importance of the words of wisdom by Julius Nyerere is validated; “peace and injustice is incompatible in the long run” stability in the changing world must mean ordered change towards justice and not a mere respect of the status quo (Nyerere, 1973). We agree injustice breed conflict through an illegitimate path can birth violence. Nevertheless, the importance of Nwolise’s study is that resource sharing such as leadership in an acceptable way to group or groups in a state or community can create the basis for violent conflict. Furthermore, in our contention to this study, we observe that in as much as politics of identity does not really matter, we argue that if violent conflict is to be wrestled to a stand-still at the global, state and local levels, we need to take the politics of identity serious, to search deeply into the process that leads to the violent conflict. All possible measures need to be explored to respond and prevent violence in the society. We need to have a clear understanding; particularly, the

circumstances politics of identity is carried out that are viewed as exclusionary or violent instead of empowering and inclusive. It is important to note that politics of identity is not the sole factor which gives rise to conflicts, another factor implicated in this is colonialism.

**Colonial Induced Conflict:** Colonialism in African has been mainly blamed by some scholars since they seem to believe it is part of the root causes of conflict. This means that, bequeathed on the African people by the colonialism are the debilitating legacies and destructive post-colonial disruption. According to Zola, (2008), contemporary Africa has rarely experienced any conflict which can't be traced to colonial history. For example, Kastfelt, (2005) observed that the state of Sudan and Uganda, Congo, Burundi and Rwanda and Burundi, were genocide scene and civil wars. It was observed that these places has a long standing history of colonial violence which are in several nature such as slave labour and trade, plantation terror, violent gun culture and labour, when explaining the contemporary situation these has to be taken into account. It is important to note that colonialism and the brutality associated with it created the foundation for the liberation struggles. Furthermore, contribution of African to the world war wars produced the contradiction and conditions that structured the anti-colonial nationalism (Osuntokun, 1979, Kerslake, 1997, Sainsbury 1979; Rathbone 1986; Page, 2000). Even though, in some regions, experiences from colonial period may be the



causes for violent conflict, this is to say that the flawed pattern of delimitation and inordinate territory apportionment especially because of the convenience of the colonial rule, have created huge war tension and conflict among the people of African (Oduntan, 2011).

To Nnoli, (1978) colonialism increased ethnic consciousness, while struggling for benefit from the creation of colonialism competitions between African have reawakened the common consciousness between several competing ethnic group. Sometimes the competing aspect and the historical nature of this consciousness are connected. Nnoli argued further that even though historical competition between groups might have re-strengthened their various identities, but to him contemporary competition might have equally re-strengthened historically identity which was inherited. Expression of ethnicity can be done via job discrimination, educational institution admission, housing, transactions in business, marriages and distribution of social services. In summary, ethnicity or tribalism in Nigeria is created by both colonial and post-colonial order. In as much as this perspective focuses on the important part of political history in Africa, it has failed to explain completely the main cause of conflict. Some countries, as observed, such as Liberia and Ethiopia were not colonized yet they were entangled in conflict at different times. We completely agree that colonialism increased conflict in Africa through the

aggregation of people with different ethnic background into a monolithic whole and destabilization of monolithic entity between desperate entities.

The fact yet remains that pluralism is a global phenomenon. Therefore, the study of conflict should be positioned around the context of socio-economic and political factors which usually give impetus to conflict.

The cold war was another source of conflict in which indirectly and directly Africa was enmeshed including militarily and ideologically (zeal, 2008). Out of the contraption of colonialism Africa desperately wanted to forge nation-states and to wipe clean itself the features of colonialism discovered itself between two polar powers. From Congo, as noted by scholars, to Southern Africa, conflict and war was also facilitated by the cold war (Kalb 1982, Noer 1985, Oyebade and Alao, 1998; Akinrade & Sesay 1999; Percox, 2004 Gordon et al 1998). This perspective did not really explain the intentional manipulation of ethnic and sub-ethnic differences by bankrupt and cynical political leaders as a main cause of violence. Inter-communal conflicts are usually episodic burst of conflict ignited by particular incidences of long simmering, aggression, antagonism and anxieties.

This can lead to loss of life and property and if it remains unabated it can evolve to prolong war among regional and ethnic militants, in turn it can mutate to guerilla armies that will shake the foundations of the state.

Periodic burst of genocide violence in Burundi and Rwanda showed most horrifically in the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, revealed the possibility of great destructive ability inherent in inter-communal violence abetted by the state and strengthened by the devastating economic condition, manipulated and used for political gains by the political leaders (Zela, 2008). To acquire a full understanding of the nature of conflict, it is important to study African states beyond its colonial nature. Countries in Africa seem to have experienced more violent conflict after the colonial period. As a matter of fact democratization which occasioned decolonization and its associating tough struggle for political power seems to have lots of surge of violent conflicts.

**Democratization, Political Competition and Conflict:** it has been observed that as regards to the role of democracy in conflict and peace some scholars do not agree. Some are of the view that democracy fosters peace, some do not agree, in fact the opposite is their argument, they believe that democracy precipitates violence. An assumption prevailing within practice and theory has been that democracy and peace are reinforcing mutually. While in the long run the answer to political violence will be more democracy, democratization process particularly post conflict societies as contended by expanding body of scholarly work are observed to be conflictual. Under certain circumstances democratization will likely make a return to war (Synder 2000, Paris,

2004. Mansfield & Synder, 2001). Studying the argument in details, we are made to believe that democracy and peace are inexorably connected; this means democracy causes and lead to peace and that in the absence of democracy peace cannot be achieved.

One of the strongest and earliest proponents of this view is Woodrow Wilson. On April 2, 1917, in his war message he said: only through a partnership by a democratic process can a steadfast concert for peace be maintained. Government with an autocratic ideology cannot be trusted to keep faith within it; it cannot be trusted to keep its covenant. Democratic nation should be led with honor, an opinion with collective participation and contribution. Its vitals will be eating away by intrigue; inner circles plotting, leaders who will do as they are pleased and show no sign of accountability will be regarded as a corruption seated in the heart of the government. Only leaders who are free of all corrupt practices can hold their honor and purpose to the end and choose to protect the interest of the people rather than their own selfish interest.

Therefore statesmen and scholars draw expectation and inferences from the peace theory of democracy to predict the global system (Hermann & Kegley, 1996, Star 1992). Scholars have established that, under democracy, the probability of two states to go into conflict with one another has been overtime proven to be low (Kadera, crescenzi &

Shannon, 2000; Russet 1993) with the increase in democratically ruled regimes in the global system one is expected that it should result to a more peaceful international system. One possible path, therefore, to a global peace is through democratization. Several studies have shown that militarized inter-state disputes scarcely happen with states under democracy after World War II (Moaz & Russett, 1993; Bremer, 1993). These authors attributed this to domestic institutions and existing norms in democratic politics and that restricts their recourse to using force when there are disputes between them. Russet, (2007) observed that democratic peace theory is a statement on two democratic countries. Interactions between democratic politics apply to its claims. Its main view is that democratic institutions and democratic norms of the state interacting in such a way that none of the state will switch to violence for the settlement of any conflict of interest that arises between them (Morgan, 1993; Renner, 1998). However, no constraints like that which operates when there are disputes between other states. Cross national variation is a norm controlling resolution of domestic conflict has an important part to play in democratic peace theory. In states under democracy, the norm demands the people to settle dispute among them without the application of force. However, in relation to other states the weapon of choice is more often the use of force (Moaz & Russet, 1999).

This is because the state leaders externalizes the domestic norm, international conflict resolution is equally affected by the latter, their political leaders and voters understand that it is not necessary and equally irrational to go into conflict with another state whose authorities and people are used to non-violent conflict resolution in their country and they have the capacity to use that ability to resolving international conflict (Russet, 2007). There is no surprise when Stewart & Osullivan, (1998) argued that the sudden choice of democracy by countries that are desperate is as a result of its proclamation that it provides the resolution of both domestic and international problems to mutual advantages.

Ray (2001, 2007) criticized the above stipulated position as an exercise in ecological fallacy. Sambanis, (2001), Ellingsten, (2000), Hagre et al, (2001) and Relal-querol, (2002) discovered that few democratic nations have war tendencies than even full autocracies and full democracies. The likelihood, as it seems, of reducing or preventing violence in a situation of potential conflict ridden society do not depend on the state's democratic nature alone instead it's important to explore possible connection between inclusiveness and the political system social conflict.

Reya-querol, (2005) saw inclusiveness as the systems way of dodging democratic political exclusion and this is just one dimension of the concept. Multiple decision makers in democratic government are regarded to be more inclusive than that which has a single decision maker. It should

be noted that even though there is no conflict between democracies yet it should not be disregarded that they do fight other non-democratic states, thus, the United States war on Afghanistan, Korea, Iraq and several others. It has come to the attention of scholars that democratization in a militarized society that is ethically divided has been identified as an additional reason for conflict. Militarized ethnicity which is clearly seen in several countries that are undergoing democratization usually has tension and twist which is coming from the competitive nature of democracy which usually find articulation in the identities of the society. Institutions of ethnic solidarity and idioms. For example Nigerian democratization has brought the revival of ethnic identities and proliferation of regional and local struggle for the entitlement of the citizens shown in the language of citizens and settlers. This type of struggles has continuously spread into the formation of ethnic militias that have brought destruction on the country's civil society (Osaghae, 1996; Agbu 2004; Vicker, 2000).

An integral characteristic of democracy is competitive election and it is a way of taking care of governance issues. Normally, they are expected to allow the peaceful transfer of power and make it possible to assign accountability to individual in governance. Other methods for providing for governance succession could also be through violence or hereditary (Rapoport & Weingerg, 2001). Election facilitates interaction between the citizens and the political leaders. By giving the power to vote to the public

is equally has symbolic purpose. As a matter of fact, voting right has been part of international law (Hoglund, 2006). In democratic countries, election violence attracts attention because they are scandalous and extraordinary in a system that is expected to be non-violent (Reif, 2005). Nevertheless, the higher relevance of election in states that are conflict ridden has given electoral violence a new dimension. It is important to note that international peace building has absorbed election as a strategy, which firmly connects peace to democratic development (Paris, 2004). This therefore implies that many international backed peace agreements usually outline the conduct for credible election. New channels ideally are opened up by democratization for people with political demands by peaceful means to be accommodated. Gurr, (2000) nevertheless, stipulated that the transactions process uncertainties that threaten certain groups of people and range of political opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs.

It is noted by some scholars that societies recovering from conflicts normally don't meet up with the conditions that are required for effective democratization and this will help clear all uncertainties around the process such as building a strong economy, reliable and stable institutions. Political competition with its fundamental prerequisite for democratic election also brings with it new methods for organized violence. For elections to be upheld as credible it must protect the fundamental right of the people, this fundamental rights includes the freedom of speech and the



freedom of movement. These rights however can be abused as they can be used as a means for illegally armed political organization. The competitive nature particularly the election may worsen existing societal cleavages and conflicts. In state that has passed through protracted conflicts, political mobilization might be carried out along the conflict lines (Paris, 2004). To win election, similarities and not differences are expected to be used as a strategy to win the acceptance of the people. After all, it is common in the electoral process the adoption of military metaphors; campaigns are waged by the parties, adopting tactics and strategies. Cadre is used to refer to party members while strong hold is used to identify region with many supporters (Rapport & Weinberg, 2001).

During the campaign, party candidates are expected to appear in public, which of course increases the chances of attack or worst, killed (Rapport & Weinberg, 2001). Electoral competition, in summary, has been observed by scholars as part of the factors that breeds conflict. Bates, (1983) for example stipulated years ago that ethnic conflict in Africa is aroused by electoral competition. The Human Right Watch, (1995) are of the view that ethnic pogrom and riots are normally motivated by the political elites who manipulate and use the existing tension in the community to solidify the selfish interest or even advance their political agenda.

Violence related to election can be defined as an act or threat of coercion, harm or intimidation carried out in order to affect the electoral process or that arises as a context of electoral competition. Violence is employed in order to influence the process of an election if it is perpetrated to influence the electoral process, this could be through efforts to intentionally delay, derail or disrupt a poll to influence the outcomes; the determining of people who win in competitive races for political position or to obtain disapproval or an approval for questions on referendum (Fischer, 2004). The contest for the pursuit of political powers or restrained and the social variations are highlighted by the parties and candidates in campaign their support is regarded as electoral process.

These observed differences sometimes degenerate into violent conflict. To the run up to election process tension usually arises as some extremist are mobilized by some candidates to draw up support as the other parties vie for votes and parties seeks to weaken or if possible eliminate in an effort to obtain or retain the political position and power (UNDP, 2009). Recent experience reveal that the electoral process can ignite conflict; Sri Lanka, Burundi, Zimbabwe are all just a few examples of nations that their electoral process has been marred with conflicts and violence. In destructive situation like that of Angola presidential election in 1992 or that of Algerian parliamentary election in 1992 and their outcome is usually a strong conflict stimulant that evolved to war (UNDP, 2009).

The strong impact a particular type of electoral system has on the management of conflict is another relevant factor in evaluating the condition in which election stimulate violent conflict (Reilly & Ellis, 2005). The existing relationship election rules and the possibility that they would either generate or ameliorate conflict has been the main topic of considerable scholarly analysis (Reilly & Reynolds, 2000). As observed by Hoglund, (2004) when parties suspect it is obvious that they may not be favoured by the outcome of the election not just once but over and over again particularly because of the voting pattern for example the controversial election in Iraq in 2005 fits this pattern, they will resort to violence. Their adoption of violence is to either prevent the success of the election or prevent their exclusion from the election.

Furthermore, the administrative structure of the electoral process, how it's managed and implemented has a strong hold on the election violence. Elections which are considered free, fair and transparent are least expected to have any violence during the electoral process, than those that were marred with flying allegation of deliberate cheating or mismanagement are prevalent (Sisk & Timothy 2006: Lehang, 2003). Expectation about losing and winning in an election, the incentives created by the process, or how the rule of the election may give return or reward particular actions or behavior is very essential. When securing a political position as a key to survival, for the candidate and his clan or faction or ethnic group,

candidates and parties mostly don't want to contemplate the consequences of failure (UNDP, 2009). In analyzing the election related violence Sisk (2008) posits that observers attribute a pattern on the violence in the country to a couple of factors like intense rivalry which is historically backed, stiff competition for political post that holds the potential for power and resources and a wider culture of violence with the utilization of arms which were observed to be plentiful. The state security posits that political elites usually have their own army and some are members of security forces who act and serve to protect the interest of their boss. In addition, armed groups in parts of the state equally increase the frequency of their attack during the electoral process in Philippines and in many other countries in the early part of 2007. Just like much observed election in Nigeria which was also conducted during this time, the electoral process was characterized by political violence.

Even though data on election violence are readily not available or on total violence related to politics, evidence obtained from this case and others reveals that violence connected to election is largely spread. As revealed by a research that tried to quantify the vast nature of this problem in a cross national research. In 2001, half of the observed electoral process showed significant election related violence, before, during or after the election (Fisher, 2002). Fragile states are more prone to election related violence. The main focus of this type of violence comes from the fact

election process are a strong violence stimulant; Burundi, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Haiti, Guyana, Ethiopia, and Sri Lanka are excellent examples of such countries. Some observers argue that process like this introduces new uncertainties and the equally make countries on war prone, transition, fragile societies with grave vulnerability to new tension and in worst situation evolve to war.

(Synder, 2000, Mansfield & Synder, 2005). Synder and Manfield, contended, for instance that the growth of political involvement in the process of democratization, most particularly within the state with weak institutions, provide the opportunity for the state elites to fight against exclusionary nationalism and the identification of external or internal enemies so as to retain or gain power. Conflict which is connected to political competitions is not restricted to the competing politicians only; it can escalate to factionalism, inter-party and intraparty conflict. However, Elkit and Svensson, (1997) don't seem to agree with the idea. They argued against the idea that conflict is induced by election instead they observe election as machinery for peaceful conflict management. Their argument is that the process offer safe method and rule bound for the arbitration of social conflict via voting in of preferred representatives. When elections are credible, they give the government authorities peoples legitimate support and consent, to make sure the security of the citizens is guaranteed, they improve the capacity of the state via legitimate authority

under the rule of law and equally to bring an improvement in the level of human development through effective and efficient service delivery. With diligent observation to all procedures, credible election brings legitimate authorities that will enjoy the popular support of the people who support their policies and programmes.

In summary, there seems to be an agreement between them that even though there are situations where the electoral process could be procedurally fair still there will be inducement of violence as a function of the stakes of electoral competition. From this we could see that the Nigerian situation where the election in 1993 and 2011 that were said to be fair and free yet it generated violence and conflict. When a direct voice is provided for the people in the state for a political life; the trust and willingness of the society to corporate with the authorities in reaching developmental goals is strengthened. For this reason, electoral process really has to do with peaceful social conflict management via public dialogue, debate and leadership selection by the people through the rules of electoral process. Thus, a credible electoral process will provide the society the opportunity to determine their differences and similarities (Ellis, 2006). Representation can be geographical, ideological, identity based (ethnicity, gender, religion) or along other lines. In certain situations, religion or ethnicity can truly be important basis for representation, however in several other situation issues like poverty

alleviation, geographical representation, gender, or economic interest may be relevant. The consequence of the quality of an electoral process is that whether it fulfills the function of the decision and voice of the people. As argued by Reynold and Elkit, (2005), the electoral process greatest failings have been the view of the election quality in primordial terms.

Election is either bad or good or when qualification is required it is substantially credible. However there is no argument on the fact that the quality of an election across time and across cases can be viewed as existing on the continuum. It is therefore expected that one needs to study the outcome and the process to measure the full picture of the credibility of the election. Obviously, those elections that are credible also serve the new government with its mandate and the legitimacy to act towards consolidation of democracy (Sisk, 2008). It is necessary at this point to give a preview of the election in Nigeria. Election in Nigerian context is mostly characterized with conflict among contending candidates and equally among parties. The starting point of this crisis is traceable to the general election in Nigeria in 1964. As observed from the Guardian, (2007) a. estimated 2000 lives were lost in the violence that erupted in the western region of the country. The crisis was caused by the selfish ambitions of the political candidates who wanted to go far beyond the capacity of their electoral prowess, to claim that they are victorious in places where there is serious intolerance to the opposition party. As a

result of this the first republic was plunged in violence. The violence was mostly characterized by lynching, looting of suspected opposition sympathizers and supporters and arson. The violence worsened the already deteriorating reputation of the western region as it was regarded as “Wild West” and the center of electoral violence in Nigeria.

What caused the region to be remarked in a derogatory manner is not farfetched. The main cause of the violence after the election in 1964 was the sharp contrast with the expectation of the people. For this reason and because of the failure of the then prime minister, Abubakar Tafawa Bewa, to swing into action regardless of the state of emergency that was declared in the area. The military seized the opportunity to remove the government in January 1966. Furthermore, the Guardian, (2007) stipulated that the victory of the National party of Nigeria in 1983 election was protested violently in several part of the country particularly in the western region such as Oyo, Ondo and other states in the region where rocked by violent. The case of Ondo was so violent that the building of suspected opponents where set ablaze. In the released result in Ondo state, party candidate, Akin Omoboriwo was declared and returned as the winner of the governorship election, in which Michael Ajasin was the runner up. The result wasn't the expectation of the people so the people saw it as they have been denied their choice, hence took to violence which resulted to the intervention of the military and the collapse of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic.



It was observed by the Human Right Watch that the election in the state in 1999 and 2003 was ridden wide spread violence and fraud (Guardian 2007). Also, 2007 elections towards the same line (Ajenaku, 2007). The general elections in 2011 were regarded as worse than the previous experiences. Alemika, (2011;5) while commenting on the election observed that; electoral violence in Nigeria is because of the perception of politics in the country and political offices or positions as investment and as the opportunity for the individual to acquire extraordinary wealth for himself through embezzlement and corruption which otherwise would not have been possible through legitimate enterprise or vocation. For this reason, the perception and the reality of politicians in Nigeria turn election and electioneering to warfare by which they adopt ethnic violence, religious violence and many other types of primordial sentiments. It is for this that then Nigerian president, President Olusegun Obasanjo counseled his party members to take the 2007 election as a do or die affair. Agbaje, (2007) is of the opinion that violence is usually sponsored by politicians who are usually desperate.

**Structural Condition and Conflict:** structural condition is regarded as that in which the political, economic and social structure of the society, particularly the presence inequalities and victimization between groups is regarded as the factors that motivate conflict. It is important to note that

while objective interest or realities actually generate conflicts, it is yet argued in several literatures that inequalities and material conditions are not enough reason to explain the ferocity, duration and intensity of conflict. Proximate cause and psycho-cultural dispositions are often provided, particularly the psychology of the victimhood and persecution are part of the indispensable fuel.

Therefore conflict can erupt or even persist when the memories of previous humiliation, marginalization and oppression both mythologized and real are awakened by new threat (Azar & Moon, 1986; Namwambah, 2004; Duetsch, 1991; Brown, 1993). This means that conflict arises from combustible interplay of subjective and objective factors which are brought by combination of political, material and psychological disposition and socio-cultural conditions.

The subjective and structural factors, mythology and history is causing protracted conflicts and this is clearly seen in the Sudanese conflicts. The conflict in Sudan is observed to be built towards dichotomy. The conflict is presented as the conflict between South and North, Christians and Muslims, Africans and Arabs and the oppressed and oppressors (Zela, 2008).

Ahmed, (2008) posits that even though there may be element of all these dichotomies, not one provides explanation for the conflict. He observed

that the analysis usually neglect the urban-rural divide, and importantly the part played by the country's opportunistic elites in causing the regional and ethnic division which is now fundamental to the Sudanese conundrum. He agreed on the complexities of the Sudanese conflict and he equally laid emphasis on the historical legacies of colonialism which left a structure of uneven development, underdevelopment and sharp political and socio-economic marginalization for the people in less regarded regions that since independence have stood against the exclusion. Primary responsibility was placed on the elite by Ahmed, thereby tracing the elites development from colonial period and the role these elites has played during varying phases of the violence in the post-colonial Sudan (Ahmed, 2008). The flaw in the explanation of the violence as seem from the literature discussed above neglects economic and several other factors as propellers of conflict.

**Socio-Economic Factors of Conflict:** the study by Senghaas, (2002) and Murshed, (2002) laid more emphasis on socio-economic bias and political exclusion as the fundamental factors that are responsible for conflict and the situated culture within socio-economic structure. Economic factors according to Murshed are the fundamental cause of conflict, and he further pointed poverty and socio-economic state of the country as other conditions which also facilitate conflicts. To them most conflict that look like cultural or ethnic are actually economic in nature, this is because to them culture and ethnic most times just serves as relaying point to fight

existing injustice in the socio-economic structure of the state. Murshed and Gates, (2003) made other observations which hinged on inequality. Part of the salient aspect of the horizontal inequality identified are described in the literature below; the disposition of poor community, asset inequality, inequality in Landmass, and limited poverty reduction in unequal societies which is connected to economic growth.

This creates for the opportunity for violence to sprout especially when the disposed are part of distinct and separate groups drawn along religion or ethnic lines. Inequality in the employment opportunities in the public sector, discrimination in public sector employment is specifically frowned at in societies where employment in the public sector is seen to be an opportunity for personal growth and development, over taxation and inequality in obtaining public services; insurrections are encouraged by over taxation of smallholders and indigenous people are usually confronted by discrimination in access to education, public sector jobs, health care services. With fiscal transfers in inter group which might be in the form of educational spending and healthcare for groups that are in disadvantage or offering the employment in the public sector, commitment to this transfer on the side of the individual in power might be imperfect.

Economic mismanagement; in low-income developing countries where poor human development and poverty are prevalent the risk of civil war is

low. States characterized by wide spread corruption, poor governance particularly between the elites, are equally prone to violence. Lack of economic opportunities, accompanied with low rate of growth, unequal educational access, and skills can contribute to the risk of civil war. As a matter of fact, lack of economic occupation between the youths has been observed to be one of the major contributors to the risk in the society. Senghaas, (2002) observed that conflict usually revolve around the distribution of income, upward mobility, participation in the political process and education. Frustration is as a result of denial to access material needs which might be a motivation for violence. This approach is flawed because it ignored the human agency dimension and the identity of conflict. Theories discussed disregarded the complicated relationship between economic, social, political and cultural factors that affects identity construction that might lead to violent conflict. The interconnection between economic, cultural and political elements in the conflict is recognized by Stewart, (2000;248) but ignored the complexities of identity formation.

Disparity of political power and socio-economic inequality, as discussed by the authors, relative political, economic and social hierarchical and exclusionary positions that could lead to conflict. Nevertheless, differentiation in identity leads to the formation of distinct group, which in turn serves as force for mobilization to challenge the inequality existing in

the society (Stewart, 2000). Political power is an important tool for economic prowess as it sets the rules and determines employment allocation, private investment incentives and social investment. This is why the tendency to lose political power usually serves as the right motivation for sponsored violence. This is because conflict is adopted to suppress oppositions and maintain power (Stewart, 1999). However, on the issue of identity formation the author glosses. As observed by Imobighe, (2003), conflict in Nigeria is caused by certain factors. The disregard of public participation principles in public affairs management and the over concentration of state resources in the center is the first factor. For this reason there has been continuous cry for marginalization by several ethnic groups in Nigeria and a stiff contest to take over the center. With view of the Nigerian situation, the analysis of Imobighe, (1998) is observed to be very relevant. One can observe that news publication on the looting of politicians set the nerves of the unemployed youths on edge. It is going to be difficult for poverty ridden youths to co-exist with the outrageous wealth acquired by political office holders which are obtained through corruption. Violent conflict can equally erupt when the humiliation memories, oppression and marginalization, both real and mythological are triggered via new threat (Deutsch 1991; Azar and Moon, 1986; Brown 1993, Ross 1993). Schwartz (1991) and Shils, (1981) have argued on existing relationship between the past and the present particularly if the present is structured by the past or the other way round.

If a particular group has been oppressed and humiliated for a period of time, any attempt or plan to subject them to that again will trigger past memories of their previous suffering, they can resort to violence in order to prevent it. Smith, (1993) is of the view that what makes a particular group to be referred to as an ethnic group among other things is the memory shared. Memory as a matter of fact cannot only play a relevant role in recreating or creating violent conflict, memory can equally reawaken the people from the state in which it might have been dormant for years (Montville, 1993). This is probably because this group of people has a sense of victimhood which flows from reconciled historic losses. In turn this becomes a strong hindrance to the normal methods of diplomacy and peacekeeping and produce new senses of injustice; hence, conflict potentials are created for the future.

The conflict potentials are present and this is because conflict involving ethnicity issues breeds violence that eventually creates the room for revenge (Chiot, 2001). Quarrel might not really be the reason for this revenge even though it might be; it might probably be on the quarrels that are generation old. No matter the length of time, ethnicity conflicts are mostly related to past events. When revenge is taken by a community on the other community, it tends to sow the seed for another and continues violent conflicts. For this reason, in order to control ethnic conflict it is

important to be grounded on the historical issues that are collectively affecting the present.

## **2.2 Empirical Review**

### **2.2.1 Inter-communal Conflict and Economic Activity**

Olabanji and Ese, (2014) examined the pertinent issue of insecurity in Nigeria and its implication for socio-economic development. They recommended that government must be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats, through modern methods of intelligence gathering, and sharing among security personnel's, trading, logistics, motivation, and deploying advance technology in managing security challenges.

Adebanjoko and Okorie, (2014) assessed corruption and challenges of insecurity in Nigeria and its political / economic implications. The findings showed that corruption is a major cause of insurgency in the country and it's therefore suggested that the Nigeria government should find lasting solutions to the crises while giving top priority to eradication of corruption in its transformation agenda.

Garba, (2014) reviewed the long term cost implication of insurgency to economic development: a study of Zaria metropolis. The result of the findings revealed that the result and effects of any uprising affects the socio-economic activities of an economy thereby thwarting it's progress. It's therefore recommended that economic opportunities should be made



available to the teeming populace via the construction of suavity social amenities.

Odita and Akan, (2014) explore the Boko Haram menace and their implications on Nigeria's stability. With their findings, they recommended that there's need for the government to improve on the state of security with all machineries at her disposal that will help identify, unravel, forestall and prosecute Boko Haram insurgents.

Using analysis of variance statistical technique, Schilling, (2012) investigated the effect of inter-communal conflicts on economic activity. The study adopted both case study and cross-sectional research designs. Study data was gathered through questionnaires and personal interviews. Pearson correlation coefficient was used for testing the study hypotheses. He discovered that the inter-communal conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana communities is felt majorly in regards to loss of life and property, dwindling in the numbers of livestock, forced migration and limited access to pasture resources and water. For this reason, the conflicts created a strong perception of insecurity which has caused ineffective utilization of resources, food scarcity, reduced mobility and the closure of schools and market. The displacement and forced movement of people from their homes and from their respective economic endeavors and huge loss of resources as a result of conflict deprive them of their means of survival.

Families lost their abilities to create resources that help them obtain basic items for their healthy and decent living.

Nyukiru, (2015) using OLS regression analysis found that the drop-in economic activities in agro-base industries in those places that were affected by the tribal clash in 1992 caused costly imports of commodities like maize, sugar and wheat. This came with fluctuation and price hike of important commodities which include flour, salt, bread, sugar and many other goods whose price hike skyrocketed with over 50percent. The outcome of this violence is that conflicts drives individuals into unemployment, destitution, force individuals to depend on relief materials from the government and non-government agencies, also make the poor people even more vulnerable.

Nyukuri, (2016) carried out a study on the influences of communal conflicts on socio-economic development in Kenya between 1992 and 2014. The study adopted descriptive case study research method. The sampling technique adopted was the Quota sampling technique. It was used in chosen the respondents for the study. With the aid of a questionnaire and interviews data for the study where gathered. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used for data analysis. Findings from his analysis showed that prolonged conflict caused the rural economy to retreat from the market activities which caused the demand in investment good to drop, thus increasing the loss in skills. This case was

clearly during the Kenyan conflict in 1992 of which area that where affected experienced a drop in the demand of manufactured commodities because of insufficient income obtained from agricultural sector, also the huge unemployment that was witnessed in all the areas affected by the violence.

Sylvia, Benjamin and Ifeoma, (2012) investigated the causes of conflicts and their implication on national development. The study has yielded important findings showing that there is need to urgently articulate better measures of solving ethno-religious conflicts in this country. They said love for religion had made people not to think about the adverse effects of their actions. This being the case, ethno-religious conflict is fast becoming a seemingly re-occurring feature of the fourth republic and if left unchecked may result in serious economic distortions in the country.

Using survey research design, random sampling technique and descriptive statistics, African Development Bank, (2009) investigated the communal effects of insecurity on social welfare among African countries. Their findings revealed that during the conflicts, individuals tend to disregard the future more heavily because of the uncertainties arising as a result of the war, a situation leading to opportunistic behavior which in turn increases unemployment, reduces productivity in activities that depend on credit transactions. Fear and reduced opportunities induce people to withdraw themselves and their assets including skill to places perceived to

be better secured. This is mostly because the returns on investment declines as the deterioration of economic conditions persist. Also experienced is the change in the sectorial composition the height of vulnerability of all activities and the decline in demand depends on the extent to which economic activities are affected by conflict.

Similar to the study of African Development Bank (2009), Ayittey,(2015) investigated the impact of inter-communal conflict on economic activities. The study adopted a descriptive research design. Two-tailed t-test and Pearson correlation coefficient together with a simple linear regression were employed in data analysis. The findings of his study showed that the economy is significantly smaller by the end of a conflict than it would have been had peace been maintained. He also found that conflict causes economic decline in most of the African countries, and low economic activities. In Ghana the reduced economic performance and increased unemployment rates in the conflict periods are attributed to decline in agricultural output because as farmers are kept out of the farms, destruction of infrastructure which reduces the productive and employment capacity; and capital flight as investors move their resources and skills to safe areas where more returns are expected and equally shift public resources from productive sectors of the economy to security spending and provisions of relief as against support for the productive sectors as the country reacts towards the effect of violent conflict. During the period of conflict, the general economic decline is a common

experience among other countries in Africa (Serneels & Verpoorten, 2012: Hoeffler, 2008)

Using regression method analysis, Onono, (2016) examined the economic effect of inter-communal conflict in Kenya. Descriptive method or research design was adopted in the study, secondary and primary data were used in the research. Analysis of data was done using quantitative and qualitative techniques with the aid of SPSS.20. The authors finding showed that there has been general economic decline to persist conflict. This hindered local economies from growing and also caused a set back on the country's economy. As conflict leads to the displacement of individuals and properties destroyed, they remain unproductive in their new settlement because resources required to be able to participate in a productive economic activities are gone. Socially, people are denied and the necessary motivation to do any relevant activities is gone. Most times some wish to move back to their activities but are restricted due to fear as seen in the election conflict of 1992 and 2008. In situations like this, persons who try and relocate to urban areas do menial jobs to earn a living. But this cannot be compared if they still continued in their first productive economic activities before the conflict. The general effect of violent conflict is that people lose the ability to take part in any meaningful economic activities. Their low income translates to low standard of living. Some of the household are driven into poverty because they are no more able to meet to their basic needs. Many cases are

recorded where violent conflict leads to the closure of schools and trading centers. Added to the fact that cost of doing business and equally individual exploitation who understands that the people have limited alternative (Odhiambo, 2012), the community equally experience a drop in the human development prospect, and this is particularly because of the closure of schools and dispensaries.

As schools remain shut due to conflict, children in the affected areas, their counter parts in peaceful areas continues with their learning. The productive capacity of the communities reduces because of the massive death of the productive youths who engage in the violence (African Development Bank, 2008). Additional responsibility has to be assumed by the women more than the regular responsibility of making provisions available for the family. Undermining the coping mechanism endangers the general decline of economic activities (Odhiambo, 2012). As a result of continues raid between the pastoralist communities, most youth join the local vigilante as a way of ensuring that community is safe. It is important to note that even if these youths do not die in conflict community surveillance is still not a productive activity. The individuals are expected to engage in productive activities which will leave them with a better lives and more income. Furthermore, due to guns proliferation, there is this unguarded urge to sell off whatever they can so as to gather enough resource to purchase them for protection. Wiegand, (2011) regard that as an unproductive investment. It is therefore clear that households affected

by violence are not able to engage in any productive act and the resources are channeled towards consumable commodities that don't have any productive values. They therefore remain deprived economically with insufficient income for life sustenance at minimally required standard. Apart from the household and the individual effect, it has been equally observed during the time of wide spread ethnic conflicts which are known for its productive capabilities also experience reduced economic performance (Serneels and Verpoorten, 2012).

During the period of widespread ethnic violent conflict, the country simultaneously witnessed poor economic performance which is lower than the average in the previous period. This observation is similarly to that of African Development Bank, (2009) and Ayittey, (1999) in many African countries, conflicts leads to decline in economic activities such that by the time the conflict ends the economy is significantly smaller than it would have been had peace been maintained. A retreat of rural economy from the market activities are caused by prolonged conflict, this in turn reduces the demand in the sectors that manufactures investment goods, thus cause more loss in skills. This is clearly observed in the Kenyan conflict cases in 1992 where the affected places experienced a sharp drop in demand for manufactured commodities as a result of low cash income from agricultural sector and also massive unemployment that was predominant in some of the places affected by the conflict. (Nyukuri, 1997). The devastating economic impact of ethnic conflicts in Kenya as observed in

the preceding sections has shown the connection between peaceful coexistence between different communities as important for realization of the other sustainable development goals. The findings showed that the incessant raids are inspired by historical rivalry between the communities, land issues, idleness among the youths and increasing poverty levels, deep-seated cultural values, political incitements, proliferation of arms, ineffective security and state security arrangements and diminishing effectiveness on the role of traditional governance system.

Achumba, et al. (2013) examined the effect of insecurity situation in the area of communal clashes in Nigeria on the business investment, poverty rates its operations and sustainable development. Using secondary data as well as content analysis, the study underscores the need to provide a safe and favourable business climate that allows for effective business activities and a sustainable development process in order to achieve sustainable growth and development.

Nkwede, (2013) examined the security challenges in Nigeria and its impact on socio-economic development. The paper revealed that that political instability, religious intolerance and fanaticism, bad governance, ethnic rivalry, uneven distribution of development projects, poverty, abuse of power, unemployment and income inequality magnify insecurity in Nigeria.



Khan, et al. (2015) examined the impact of inter-regional conflicts on the socio-economic performance of Pakistan's economy. The study observed that the country's vulnerability index ranges from minimum 0.2 to maximum 0.94 while terrorism has retrogressed growth by 1.71%.

### **2.2.2 Inter-communal Conflict and Socio-Cultural Factor**

Higazi, (2011) carried out a study on effect of communal conflict on social activities in Plateau state. The study used descriptive statistics to analyze quantitative data using SPSS application version 19 while qualitative data was analyzed through content and context analysis. The found that "the total number of people killed in Plateau State in the decade 2001-2010 certainly runs into thousands. There have been some very wild claims, totally unsubstantiated, stating that tens of thousands of people were killed in the first period of the violence from 2001-2004". Best, (2006) observed that Chamba/Jukum and the Kuteb conflicts in August 1998, few months the conflict began about 269 lives were already lost, 43 villages destroyed, and 3000 people displaced. The volatile nature of the conflicts in the community in the north comes from the illegal utilization of sophisticated weapons.

Dunmoye, (2015) examined the impact of inter-communal conflicts on social activities in Nigeria. The study used a survey research method and utilized a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to get responses. He found that the boundary or dispute over land is a

major factor causing communal conflict in the middle belt of Nigeria. This means that crisis is triggered by scarcity of factors of production which brought about population pressure, concentration of lands in the hands of the few. Inter communal conflict in Nigeria is made worst by economic crisis while manipulation of religious differences and ethnicism, hunger for land, population increases, chieftaincy disputes and the settler/native syndrome are the main causes.

Malik and Zaman, (2013) examined the impact of inter-communal conflicts on the social activities between 1975 and 2011 in Pakistan using Granger causality, Co-integration and variance decomposition. They found macroeconomic factors like price level, population growth, political instability and poverty as the main causes of terrorism in Pakistan. However, unemployment, inequality in income and openness of trade has no long-run relationship with terrorism.

Similarly, Shahbaz, (2013) assessed the link between social activities and terrorism using annual data over the period 1971-2010. The study makes use of the bound testing approach to co-integration and vector error correction model. The study revealed the existence of a long-run relationship amongst the variables. It was observed that an increase in per capita income raises the attacks of the terrorist while another major contribution of terrorism is the economic condition. The result also showed the existence of a bidirectional causal link between inflation and

terrorism while the variance decomposition result supports the findings from the causality analysis.

Ali, (2017) investigated the impact of inter-communal conflicts on social-activities in Pakistan. The study used a survey research design and utilized a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to get responses. The study identified that the whole process of social-activities relies on the culture which provides a guide on how to socialize and identify the standard of norms and values which needs to be internalized. The culture equally transmits the experiences, tradition, customs and the whole literature from generation to generation. History of conflicts are equally transmitted in that transmission and tales of destruction commonly taught to members which creates revenge spirits and which reemerge the conflict for the cost of revenge as a result of strong values of group reputation and shame.

The most important element in the society are the social activities, this is because it leads the individual mind. Blindly, communities practice and believe it, they practice it in their routine life and through norms and cultural values they socialize their members. Social activities play main role in building of peace, for this reason it affects peace positively and negatively. Mostly, the respondents are of the view that it is culture that transmits disputes from generations to another while revenge exists in society answered by more than two thirds of the respondents. Results

obtained are supported by (Alawi, 2008) who is of the view that the main cause of sectarian violence in Iraq was an old revenge is underlying in Iraq society. While most of the respondents are of the view that normlessness in society equally brings disputes and also conditions like that create civil war in the study area revealed by the respondents.

Durkheim, (1897) explained that the anomie situation is the cause of the weak regulation of the society; hence it cannot maintain their social order and won't be able to enforce its decision. These results are closely related to (Weiss,1986), conflict, as it concluded, between ethnic groups such as Suni and Shia give strengthens extremist groups. A large sample size are of the view that sectarian conflict equally created provocation and aggression in people which contributed to restrain in social relations and generate sensitivity shown by the respondents. Likewise, most of the respondents had said that sectarian violence pave way for extremism among masses and consequently disrupt welfare in community supported by the respondents. Furthermore, over two third of the respondents agreed that occupying properties of the rival group is legal.

Using logistics regression method, the study by Abuul and Abuul, (2013) concentrated on impact of inter communal crisis on social activities. They found that over 30 cases of ongoing or recent intra and inter-communal crises that the Tiv, major crisis related to land dispute payment. Many cases were omitted probably because they were not known to them, and

ever since the study was conducted many more has happened. The frequency, intensity and persistence to which communal crises happen in Tiv-Land compel careful attention, hence the need to explore their political and economic causes in this review of related literature.

Erena, (2013) examined the impact of inter-communal conflict on social activities. The study adopted a descriptive survey research design. It was observed from his study that the main determinant of communal conflict is population. This is the case in Obubra LGA of Cross River state. Also, in the state, the Etono and the Biakpan 11 communal group clashed over land. The people of Ezillo/Ezza communities in Ebonyi state are entangled in communal crisis. In Akwa Ibom, Eyo Abasi and Idua have been entangled in communal crisis over an oil rich piece of land which is in the boundary of the two communities.

Shahbaz et al, (2013) examined the relationship between insecurity and social activities in Pakistan from 1973-2010. The bounds testing approach of co-integration was used to analyze the long run relationship between terrorism and economic development. Findings suggest that terrorism is caused by economic development while a feedback effect is found between terrorism and trade openness.

### **2.2.3 Inter-communal conflict and literacy level**

One of the greatest threat to mankind since the dawn of civilization is disputes. Those severely affected by this are the children, poorest communities, and educational sectors, especially in developing countries. Whether conflict affects educational development or whether education creates conflict in an inconclusive debate till today (Ofoeze, 2015).

Achumba, Igbomerho and Akpor, (2013) study security challenges in Nigeria and the implication for business communities and sustainable development. They recommended the need to evolve a safe business environment that allows for effective and a sustainable development process. The security management models recommended to achieve this are aimed at combating the creators and perpetrators of situation of insecurity and simultaneously addressing and removing the sources of dissatisfaction and discontentment which spun security breaches and the involvement of all stakeholders both in public and private capacity, government, business organization, society, religious groups, communities and individuals to supply resources, expertise and information that are required to ensure a safe government.

Iyoboyi, (2014) carried out a study on the impact of economic growth on conflicts in Nigeria, using annual data for the period 1981 to 2011 and employing the Dynamic OLS methodology. The results indicate that there

is a long-run equilibrium relationship between conflict, inflation, poverty, economic growth and unemployment.

There is evidence in support of a direct relationship between conflicts and Nigeria's economic growth, in that the incidents of violent conflicts are partly due to the drive for control of national wealth. It was found that macroeconomic instability, poverty and unemployment are significant variables influencing the nature and dynamics of conflicts in the country, suggesting that the nature of growth experienced is not one that is conflicting-reducing. The CUSUM and CUSUMSQ plots indicate parameter constancy in the estimated model. It is recommended that, while economic growth is accorded priority, policies which promote equity, foster mass employment, minimize distortions and reduce poverty need to be enacted and vigorously implemented.

Agu, Amujuri, and Okwo, (2012) in their work, *Causes and Impacts of Ethno-Religious Conflict on National Development: A Case of Plateau State*. A sample of eight hundred (800) respondents was drawn from Plateau state. The mean age of the respondents was 24.89 and SD = (5.98). The sample was made up of 302 (37.75%) respondents from the urban areas and 498 (62.25%) from the rural areas. About 60% are married while 40% are single.

They are a combination of Christians and Muslims. Slightly less than half were employed. (46%), 15.7% were students while 38.5% were unemployed. The findings show that majority of the respondents agreed to the plural nature of the Nigeria state as the cause of ethno-religious conflicts. It also shows that the negative impact of unemployment, illiteracy and poverty was also observed were among other factors that cause ethno-religious conflicts. The implication of these are waste of enormous human and material resources, threat to security, lives and property, disinvestment of local and foreign companies with continuous capital flight and loss of confidence in the economy.

Onuoha, Gaiya and Namji, (2010) examined Jos Conflict and National Security using descriptive analysis. The study was anchored on eclectic model of conflict analysis and with heavy reliance on secondary data; this study examined violent conflict in Jos. The study found that conflicts in Jos and elsewhere are caused by confluence of factors and as such solutions to conflict should embrace the various manifestations of conflict so as to proffer workable solutions.

Aliyu, Rozilah and David, (2012) in their work, Impact of violent conflicts on residential property value determination in Jos Metropolis of northern Nigeria: Data were collected by interviews, self-administered surveys through questionnaire and direct observation. The stratified random



sampling technique was employed in order to generate the data for the research. Simple percentage distribution tables and regression analysis were used to analyse the data for the research. A total of 1000 questionnaires were administered to the respondents. 876 valid responses were used to analyse the information pertaining to the impact of violent conflicts on residential property value determination in Jos metropolis of Northern Nigeria. Data on property value were obtained from records of known transactions within the areas under study.

Data obtained from twenty-five (25) randomly selected properties were used to test the effect of violent ethno-religious conflicts on residential property values in the study area. The results of the analysis show that there is a strong relationship between violent ethno-religious conflicts and people's choice of where to live or where not to live. This result suggests that policies that encourage social integration, psycho-social healing and psychological transformation could enhance the attainment of peace in the study area.

Serneels and Verpoorten, (2012) study used both a quantitative and qualitative analysis to assess the status of educational development in the midst of conflict in Manipur, north eastern states of India. An assess is equally made to determine if the development of education resolves conflict or if the state educational development is restrained by conflict.

By adopting comparative growth analysis between conflict and education in the state and also through the help of secondary and primary data the study revealed that conflict does not affect the growth of education, rather it pushes the children out of the state for their studies. As the rate of conflict in Manipur increases and also the development of education level has grown at a faster rate the state is expected to return to normalcy and enjoy a peaceful life (Serneels & Verpoorten, 2012)

Odhiambo, (2012) using Tobit regression method of analysis investigated the effect of communal crisis on economic development in Nigeria and found that inter communal violence leads to the closure of dispensaries and schools. Regardless of the fact that the cost of basic commodities increases as a result of high cost of conducting business and also the exploitation by individuals who understand that the people have no alternatives, the region equally experience a fall in the prospect of higher human development because of the closure of dispensaries and schools, in other areas, however, their counterparts are learning.

In addition to using descriptive analysis, findings from the African Development Bank, (2014) revealed that the deaths of youths who engage in raids reduce the productive capacity of their community. The women have no choice but to take up additional responsibilities which are more than their normal responsibility of providing for the family and taking care of the children's school fees. By undermining the coping level, the general

literacy level is endangered. As a result of the constant violent raids in the communities, youths in the community continually participate in the community surveillance as a means of keeping it secured. It is however important to note that this is not a productive activity, i.e. if the conflict doesn't cause the young men their lives.

The people are expected to be more productive which in turn will give them better lives through higher and constant income. It has been therefore clearly seen that conflicts keep households out of their productive and meaningful activities and resources are used for the consumption of commodities no productive value thus they remain deprived economically with insufficient resources to sustain life at minimum required standards.

Ismail and Amjad, (2014) investigated the impact of inter- communal conflicts on the literacy level. They relied on co-integration and error correction model. They found a long-run relationship between various economic and social variables, the result of the error correction model on the other hand revealed that about 89percent convergence towards equilibrium happens every year.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.3.1 Human Need Theory (HNT)**

The Human Need Theory (HNT) was propounded by Burton, (1991). The theory is particularly based on the hypothesis for humans, in order to maintain stable societies they have basic needs. The participation of human in violent circumstances is a compulsory struggle in their institutional environment in all social levels to satiate universal and primordial needs. These includes; development, identity, security and recognition. For the satisfaction of their needs, human struggle continuously to take control of their environment. This struggle is primordial hence can't be curbed. There are basic universal needs of human that must be provided in societies that are multi-ethnic in nature, except there is justice and fairness in the pattern of distribution in all society, a feeling of control and prospect to pursue all needs, conflict and instability unavoidable.

Faleti, 2004 observed that the human need theorist for some time has identified issues like deprivation to be one of the causes of conflict. The connection between acts of aggression, frustration and effort to meet fundamental needs were identified by Burton, (1999). Practices that destroy the identity cannot be taught to individuals and other pursuits that are connected to their respective needs and for this reason; individuals are forced to react towards groups, factors and institutions that they observe to be responsible for blocking such goals. Burton, (1999) posits that human needs of protection, participation, survival, affection, creating of identity are experienced by everybody, irrepressible, and have components that are

not easy to give up. No matter the pressure from social or political system to suppress or frustrate those needs. It will cause far more damages or fail in the long run. The manifestation of economic imbalance is seen from the absence of economic opportunities, penury and hyper-inflation, while on the other hand political imbalance breeds fear, violence and crime, xenophobia, forced or voluntary exile, forced migration and political marginalization. All these are the root cause of violent conflict. In as much as certain scholars identifies a wide range of human needs, needs that are considered as fundamental needs, they have agreed that the frustration of those needs tampers individuals, and groups actualization potentials and for this reason it leads to conflict.

### **2.3.2 Conflict Theory**

The conflict theory was propounded by Vasquez, (1993). The theory is of the view that the society contains people with varying interest. For this reason they posit that societal arrangement will benefit others more than some.

The existence of varying interest, the likelihood or potentials of conflict is always there. This theory posits that certain groups come with the intention of dominating others and win an inappropriate share in political competition of the country, which might include wealth and societal privileges at the expense of people who are less powerful. These set of individuals incriminate the activities of people in the society who are less

powerful while on the other hand provide protection for powerful individuals, according to the theory, such situation breeds violence. The masses, according to this theory, are not connected to the society through common values rather by activities of people who are in political power or hold the political positions. This perspective lays emphasis on Social Control and not conformity and consensus. Individuals and groups work for their personal interest or collective interest, struggling over the control of the resources of the society. People who own more resources have power over those who have less hence resulting to power struggles. In this perspective special preference is given to class, gender, race because they are observed to be the pertinent and enduring struggle in the society and this most times brings conflict (Anderson and Taylor, 2009).

This theory is of the view that the political structure in the country cuts off fundamental right of the people as institutions of the state like the political and legal structures are tools used by the political elites to dominate and advance their personal interest. Nevertheless, the peoples activities are targeted at hold on to the resistance and this could escalate political conflict in the country. Despite the imminent danger, political elites in the country create many societal problems particularly when there is an attempt by the masses to push back, for example, the 2003 election which experienced wide intra-party violent conflict which spilled into the days of the election (Human Rights Watch, 2004). The situation revealed that the

state and the federal government in Nigeria, also the local government election in Nigeria are all engulfed in serious irregularities caused the loss of numerous lives and many others injured. There were cases of serious abuse on individuals which as perpetrated by the supporters of the then ruling party. Election simply did not take place in many of the locations as armed groups connected to the political parties and candidates threatened and intimidated voters so as to falsify election results (Alemika, 2011)

The reality of current Nigerian politics is that the nation's security forces now side the most powerful party rather than staying true to their fundamental duty of prevention of crime and control. Consequently, privileged individuals are aided and abated; on the other hand they punish less powerful members of the society. As observed from the background above it has been made completely obvious that the state security forces do not give sufficient attention to prevention and control of violence as their basic duty, instead they organize to conspire with powerful and privileged elites in the state who carry out violence which brings disintegration in the country.

### **2.3.3 The Conflict Identity Theory**

The conflict identity theory propounded by Tajfel, (1981) is built on the normal psychological process in the course of building our societal identities where we mingle with our own group (ethnicity, family, nation, community) and our human need for self-esteem is reinforced, self-worth

which we obtain from belonging to our group. Several conflicts in Kaduna state can be located in the context of these theories, including the Zango Kataf crisis.

The concepts of out-group and in-group who perceived as inferior. We tend to demonize others in times of conflict and hence project on them all the “badness” of ourselves which we consciously ignore or tend to deny (Hadjipavlou, 2002 & 2004). A study of most conflicts in Nigeria will revealed that the various groups involved in such conflicts were very active, utilizing the concepts of in-group and out-group, which accounted for large scale carnage, especially conflicts that were communal, ethnic, religious, or ethno-religious in nature.

#### **2.3.4 The Social Conflict Theory (SCT)**

Theoretical explanation for competition between non-state actors and social classes in their attempt to protect their selfish interest is provided by the Social Conflict Theory (SCT). The class struggles cause the masses to obtain ammunitions and arms to protect and preserve themselves hence social conflict and threats to sustainable economic development and national security. Marx and Engel, (1848) opined; “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one



another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.”

The continued struggle for economic resources and political power between the poor and the rich, armed robbers and the police, minority ethnic group and majority ethnic group, opposition party and the ruling party justifies the existence of social conflict in the society. Chief Wellington Okrika the Bolowei of Gbaramatu kingdom in Niger-delta, is of the view that endemic conflict over resources came up in the region because despite the continuous increase in oil reserve poverty level in the region kept increasing.

The activities of oil firms and that of the government radicalized and aggrieved the youths. No roads, schools, light, hospitals, water. Since almost nothing is done about the situation, the people are fed up and tired of complaining. The youths feel becoming militants will force the attention of the oil firms and that the government. The government created this problem because for years this is because of their failure in addressing the issues of poverty and complete neglect of regions with oil producing capabilities (Fagbadebo, 2007).

Another aspect of this theory is of the view that the structures of the society like the legal institutions, economic organs, traditional authorities and political institutions are built through conflict between groups whose ideology and interest are conflicted; they also have different resource control means in the state. These structure influences the individuals and their resources and through the distribution of resources and power in the state (Knapp, 1994).

The two versions of societal conflict views security threat as motivated by the struggle between rival social groups or classes in their push for their interest on economic and political dominance.

### **2.3.5 Psycho-Cultural Conflict Theory**

The psycho-cultural conflict theory believed that individuals belong to groups and can acquire or learn deep-seated and ingrained attitudes (positive and negative) which confer an identity on the individual. At a point, one's ethnic origin and the identity so constructed may overtake the individual's own self-identity and become the basis of social categorization (we and them). Every action is interpreted on the basis of the source and the person or people taking the action.

The tenets of the theory are that conflict arises when groups feel they are discriminated against or deprived of satisfaction of their material and psychological needs on the basis of their identity. Therefore, identity

driven fear of extinction, domination, humiliation, oppression, victimization or any form of perceived degradation or denial springs negative dimensions of ethnicity. In most situations, passions overwhelm reason while the violent reaction is driven by unshakable sense of self-worth and the desire to establish group essence - a sense of security and safety to actualize long-term potentials.

The psycho-cultural conflict theory is used here to explain the remote and immediate causes and effects of ethno-communal conflicts in Nigeria. The government is entrusted with the capacity to provide practically all public goods including security and protection of the particularistic interests of all groups (Egwu, 2005). However, the basic units of socialization are family, community, ethnic and religious institutions, and they assume greater importance in the formation, organization and expressions of attitudes and culture. This is the basis of acquiring deep-seated cultural attitudes that are reflective of one's membership of the group. The resulting gap in social exchange or breakdown in communication fuels conflict. Ethno-centric behaviour fosters prejudices and discriminatory tendencies mediated by the perceptions or misperceptions of social actors. The dynamic interplay of the people's multi-cultural, multinational, multi-ethnic and multi-religious values produces an incongruence that both accentuates and perpetuates conflict.

Ethno-communal conflicts are reinforced by the tendency of members to looking inwards to other group members for support thereby creating greater internal cohesion especially in times of perceived exclusion in political, economic and social processes (Nnoli, 2013). Conversely, it increases social and psychological differentiation among ethnic group members in ideological, security and other spheres of interaction at community and higher levels (Ofoeze, 2009).

The theory is employed as an analytical tool to grasp the issues, types and dynamics of communal conflict with a view to understanding and adopting correct intervention measures. It expounds the necessity for peace building as the means to addressing the remote and immediate causes of ethnic and communal conflict. By reducing or transforming cleavages or differences of attitude formed on the basis of ethnic nationalism, actions are interpreted on the basis of national rather than one's group collective identity (Joseph, 1996).

### **2.3.6 Theory of Evidence on Geography and Conflict**

Research studies have pointed out varying observation in conflict behavior. Militarized disputes over territories are discovered to have higher possibility over other dispute matters to have a militarized response by the nation (Hensel & Diehl, 1994) sense (1996) observed territorial issues to have higher casualties than other types of disputes. Crisis that

involves important matters such as national independence or territorial struggles tends to escalate higher than disputes with less important issues (Sense, 1996). In this same way, conflicts over territory are likely to spill into full blown war or conflicts (Hansel, 1996). Observations from the result show that the decision makers are willing to risk escalation of conflict so as to protect their interest on very important issues than when it involves issues that they consider less important. Therefore territory are observed to be highly important to the leaders, justifying the risk of escalation so as to advance or protect ones interest much more than other types of issues. The issues over territory are observed to be great enough for the leaders that any challenge over it is always countered with militarized action. Beyond escalation of disputes, Hensel (1994, 1996a) observes that confrontation over territorial issues will most likely bring recurrent conflicts than disputes over issues that are less considered. No matter the type of issue, almost all militarized conflict is followed with another conflict between those same groups within 15years.

Notwithstanding, the problem which is causing the confrontation equally makes a difference in the possibility of recurrent conflict. If territorial struggle is the issue at stake about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of those conflicts are followed by another conflict, the odd of another conflict are almost twice as great. (Hansel,1996). In addition, the next conflict between the groups is observed to happen sooner than over issues those are non-territorial.

Based on the foregoing theories, the theory adopted to guide the study on the effects of communal conflicts on socio-economic development in Nigeria is the conflict identity theory. A study of most conflicts in Nigeria will reveal that the various groups involved in such conflicts were very active, utilizing the concepts of in-group and out-group, which accounted for large scale carnage, especially conflicts that were communal, ethnic, religious, or ethno-religious in nature. The concepts of in group and out-group are relevant here in that we compare our group, our community, ourselves to other groups.

#### **2.3.7 Resource Theory**

Resource-based theorists have developed certain characteristics of assets that generate sustained competitive advantage, naming them as strategic assets. Also, The RBV of the firm predicts that certain types of resources, firm owns and controls have the potential and promise to generate competitive advantage, which eventually leads to superior firm performance. Resource-based view viewpoint, different cases of companies functioning in different situations which require different government policy. Resources need to research and use their knowledge of resources in society to enhance their organizational performance in a competitive environment. The Government policy is usually effective for companies involved in high volume products.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The research design adopted for this study is the Descriptive survey design. A descriptive survey design according to Gary, (1990) is a process data collection so as to test hypothesis or to provide answers to questions which are connected to the current status of the subjects of the study. The reason for the adoption of this design is to determine and report things the way they are. Descriptive research design attempts to describe such things as possible behaviors, values, attitude and characteristics. This approach is best fitted for the study due to the fact findings and enquiries which enable the study to determine the effect of inter-communal conflicts on socio-economic development on Kogi-Anambra Communities Zone.

#### **3.2 Population, Sample and Sampling Techniques**

The population of the study comprise of frequently troubled area in Kogi and Anambra: and they are, Odeke and Echeno in Kogi state; Aguleri and Enugu-Otu in Anambra state. The combination of youths in these areas gave a population of 1728 as captured in Table 1.

**Table 1: Youths of Selected Areas in Kogi-Anambra State, Nigeria**

S/N		Locations	Population
1	Kogi	Odeke	278
2		Echeno	326
3	Anambra	Aguleri	638
4		Enugu-Otu	486
Total			1728

*Source: Ministry of Youths and Sports (Kogi and Anambra state), 2018*

Smith, (1984) formula was adopted in determining the sample size for the study.

The Smith sample was based on the formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{3 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n = Sample size

N = Population size

e= precision level required

3 = Constant

The following variables where used in determining the sample size

Confidence Interval = 95 %

e = Margin of error = 0.05

In determining the size of the sample, the variables are submitted into the formula.

$$n = \frac{1728}{1 + 1728(0.05)^2}$$



$$n = \frac{1728}{1+1728(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{1728}{1+4.32}$$

$$n = 324$$

Proportional allocation formula was applied in the allocation of sample in each zone. The formula is given as thus:

$$nh = \frac{nNh}{N}$$

Where nh = number allocated each class

n = total sample size

Nh = total population of each class

N = total population

Applying the formula, we have:

**Table 2: Youths of Selected Areas in Kogi-Anambra state, Nigeria**

S/N	Locations	Population	Sample
1	Kogi	Odeke	$\frac{278*324}{1728} = 52$
2		Echeno	$\frac{326*324}{1728} = 62$
3	Anambra	Aguleri	$\frac{638*324}{1728} = 119$
4		Enugu-Out	$\frac{486*324}{1728} = 91$
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1728</b>	<b>1728</b>

*Source: Ministry of Youths and Sports (Kogi and Anambra state), 2018*

### 3.3 Methods of Data Collection

The researcher-came up with a detailed questionnaire that was divided into different sections that also included demographic components where the respondents shall describe their personal profile, while other sections of the questionnaires was guided by the objectives of the study. Specifically, the questionnaire consists of two sections; section one shall cover the background information relating to Kogi and Anambra and the respondents; while section two was on impact of inter-communal conflicts on socio-economic development of Kogi and Anambra communities of Nigeria.

Research assistants where used by the researcher to distribute by hand questionnaires to the selected respondents. When completed, the questionnaires were collected by research assistant, high completion rate and return of the completed questionnaires was ensured. The drop and pick method was adopted so that the respondents can be given enough time to complete the questionnaires and offer the researcher the opportunity to collect all the completed responses within a short period of time.

### **3.3.1 Reliability Test**

To confirm reliability and validity the questionnaires were tested prior to administering. Reliability is the extent to which overtime the results are consistent and to the extent of its accurate representation of the general population under study. It is referred to as reliability if the results of the study can reproduce under a similar methodology, then the instrument used for the research is regarded as reliable. Validity on the other hand determines if the research really measures that which it intends to measure of how truthfully the results of the research are (Joppe, 2000). In testing the internal consistency, the most convenient method is the Cronbach's Alpha.

Cronbachs Alpha is a common test adopted for establishing internal reliability. The average of all possible split half reliability coefficients is calculated by the Cronbach's Alpha (Bryman, 2012). Under normal circumstances, coefficient of an alpha will be between 1 and 0, this implies between perfect internal reliability (1) and no internal reliability (0).

**Table 3: Result of Reliability Test**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Alpha</b>
Inter-communal Communal	0.7445

Conflicts	
Economic activities	0.7957
Socio-economic factors	0.7747
Literacy levels	0.7011
<b>Test to scale</b>	<b>0.8547</b>

*Field Survey, 2018*

In regards to this study, the alpha level is above the 0.60 level of acceptance, this indicates a high internal consistency level. As seen in table 3, the levels of alpha for the various indicators average alpha coefficient of 0.8547 and its higher than 0.60, hence supporting the reliability of the constructs.

### **3.3.2 Validity Test**

The questionnaire was given to the supervisor and security experts to ascertain the appropriateness of the research instruments. They reviewed the items in terms of their clarity, relevance, contents coverage and appropriateness; and their suggestions were then incorporated into the final version.

### **3.4 Techniques for Data Analysis (and Model Specification)**

Different analytical technique will be adopted for proper understanding and evaluations of raised research questions and ultimately achieve the objectives of the research. Majorly, the analytical technique to be adopted will be bivariate regression analysis. The descriptive statistics like the percentage distribution and frequency will be adopted to summarize socio demographic variables of the respondents and response are provided by

the respondents on inter communal conflicts on socio-economic development in Kogi-Anambra border communities of Nigeria, while t-test which (would be obtained from the regression analysis) would be used as the inferential statistics for the test of hypothesis.

The specification of model is structured to test the three hypothesis and they are as follows

$$EA = \pi_0 + \sum_{i=1}^0 \pi_1 ICC + \mu_t \text{-----(1)}$$

$$SA = \pi_0 + \sum_{i=1}^p \pi_2 ICC + \varepsilon_t \text{-----(2)}$$

$$LL = \pi_0 + \sum_{i=1}^q \pi_3 ICC + v_t \text{-----(3)}$$

Where:

ICC = Inter-communal Communal Conflicts

EA = Economic activities

SA = Social activities

LL = Literacy levels

$\pi_1, \pi_2, \pi_3$  = Coefficient of inter-communal communal conflicts

$\mu_t, \varepsilon_t, v_t$  = Random variables

$\pi_0$  = Autonomous parameter estimate

### 3.5 Justification of Methods

The choice of design is informed by the fact that the researcher adopted field method to collect data for the study. The 1728 population of the study is clearly stipulated and known. It is made up of total population of residents in the study area (2007-2017). The target population of 1724 is restricted to relevant residents of Anambra- Kogi border communities of Nigeria. Equal sample unit of 324 residents would be chosen because of their expertise and experience in the study area.

Questionnaire was used for the comfort it accords the respondent to fill and return. Questionnaires unlike interviews will be used because it gives less pressure on the respondent for immediate responses. It also gives more time to the researcher to consider the questions and answers carefully as well as easy and cheaper to construct and administered respectively; and can be documented for further reading.

The regression method is used in cases whether the explanatory and explained variables are qualitative in nature (that is, qualitative response models). It further shows a precise quantitative measurement of the degree of relationships between dependent and independent variables. As a rule of thumb, the usefulness of regression is further to assess the level, nature, and significance of the relationships among the variables, as well as to test the existence of robustness among the variables.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Data Presentation

##### 4.1.1 Inter-communal conflict and economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Economic activity						
S/No.	Items	Agreement scale				
		SA(%)	A(%)	U(%)	D(%)	SD(%)
1	Relocations of market from one area to another has hugely dropped income generations in Kogi-Anambra border communities which has reduced economic activities and development	60.6	25	5.4	3.6	5.4
2	Several businesses were relocated from Kogi-Anambra border communities during and after the crisis which reduced the level of economic activities and development in the area.	37.6	44.6	7.1	2.7	8
3	consequences of crises, especially ethnically and religiously inspired violent clashes are threat to domestic and foreign investments with continuous capital flight, and loss of	25.9	43.8	15.2	2.7	12.4

	confidence in Kogi-Anambra border communities					
4	There are less business opportunities in Kogi-Anambra border communities during and after the crisis which has slowed down economics activities and economic growth	37.5	44.6	8.2	3.7	6
5	Businesses in Kogi-Anambra border communities made less profit during the crisis which has affected economic activities and development	23.3	48.2	8.8	8.1	11.6
6	Many houses and properties were destroyed during the crisis which reduced their level of economic wellbeing in Kogi-Anambra border communities	61.6	24	5.4	3.7	5.3

**Table 4: Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Economic activity**  
**Source: Authors Computation, 2018 (SPSS, 24)**

It could be observed from Table 4 that Relocations of market from one area to another has hugely dropped income generations in Kogi-Anambra border communities which have reduced economic activities and development. This was captured by majority of the respondents (60.6 percent) which strongly agreed to that. 44.6 percent noted that several businesses were relocated from Kogi-Anambra border communities during and after the crisis which reduced the level of economic activities and



development in the area; 43.8 percent agreed that consequences of conflict, are threat to domestic and foreign investments with constant capital flight, and loss of confidence in Kogi-Anambra border communities. The implication of this results is that inter communal clashes leads to displacement of people from their homes and the also suffer destruction of their property, they remain unproductive in the new settlement because the resources they require to enable them participate in a meaningful economic activity are lost or not present.

Most individuals who experience these conflicts are deprived socially and lack the required motivation to carry out any meaningful activities, 44.6 percent highlighted that there are less business opportunities in Kogi-Anambra border communities during and after the crisis which has slowed down economics activities and economic growth; 48.2 which constitutes the majority of the respondents agreed that businesses in Kogi-Anambra border communities made less profit during the crisis which has affected economic activities and development; and lastly, 61.6 percent of the respondents agreed that many houses and properties were destroyed during the crisis which reduced their level of economic wellbeing in Kogi-Anambra border communities.

#### **4.1.2 Inter-communal conflict and Social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria**

**Table 5: Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Social activities**

<b>Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Social activities</b>
---

Variables	Items	Agreement scale				
		SA(%)	A(%)	U(%)	D(%)	SD(%)
1	Unemployment is the basis of youth involvement in violent conflict in Kogi-Anambra border communities	25.9	43.8	15.2	2.7	12.4
2	Poor educational background and economic gain are the major motivation for the involvement of youth in conflict among Kogi-Anambra border communities	29.4	54.5	2.7	7.1	6.3
3	Economic values of land has increased struggle for land ownership among Kogi-Anambra border communities	26.3	45.2	9.8	7.1	11.6
4	Inter group struggle for ownership of land ( between groups/individuals) is often attended with violent conflicts in Kogi-Anambra border communities	23.3	48.2	8.8	8.1	11.6
5	The ratio of poverty has increased in Kogi-Anambra border communities after the inter-communal conflict	13.4	53.6	10.7	8.9	13.4

**Source: Authors Computation, 2018 (SPSS, 24)**

From Table 5, it could be observed that inter-communal conflict in Kogi-Anambra border communities has rendered a lot of youths jobless and unemployed as indicated by majority (43.8%) of the respondents which strongly agree to that. 54.5 percent of the respondents acknowledged poor

educational background and economic gain are the major motivation for the involvement of youth in conflict among Kogi-Anambra border communities. 54.5 percent agreed that economic values of land has increased struggle for land ownership among Kogi-Anambra border communities; 53.6 percent of the respondents are of the view that the ratio of poverty has increased in Kogi-Anambra border communities after the inter-communal conflict. When conflict is prolonged, there is the tendency for group and individual tensions to become intensified, and unemployment increases.

This situation can easily degenerate into various forms of conflicts and clashes in an attempt to survive. More, so, social issues such as, high level of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, especially among youth is not just contributory factors, but consequences of the outbreak of ethno-religious conflicts not only in Jos, but Nigeria in general.

#### **4.1.3 Inter-communal conflict and literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria**

**Table 6: Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Literacy level**

<b>Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Literacy level</b>						
Variables	Items	Agreement scale				
		<b>SA(%)</b>	<b>A(%)</b>	<b>U(%)</b>	<b>D(%)</b>	<b>SD(%)</b>
1	Inter-communal	34.3	38.6	12.9	11.4	2.9

	conflicts have led to continuous closure of schools and high institutions in Kogi-Anambra border communities					
2	Many children are out of school because of the inter communal conflicts	37.1	22.9	14.3	21.4	4.3
3	Several schools were destroyed due to inter-communal conflicts	25.7	28.6	21.4	22.9	1.4
4	Attracting quality manpower in public schools have been difficult	14.3	52.9	2.9	20.0	10.0
5	The academic performance of people living in that region has consistently remained poor	11.4	57.1	8.6	17.1	5.7

*Source: Authors Computation, 2018 (SPSS, 24)*

38.6 per cent agreed that inter-communal conflicts have led to continuous closure of schools and high institutions in Kogi-Anambra border communities; 37.1 per cent strongly agreed that many children are out of school because of the inter communal conflicts. Several schools were destroyed due to inter-communal conflicts as captured by 28.6 per cent. 52.9 per cent agreed that attracting quality manpower in public schools have been difficult; and lastly, 57.1 per cent of the entire respondents agreed that the academic performance of people living in that region has consistently remained poor as shown in Table 6. Despite the fact that the cost of essential commodities increases because of high cost of business,

(cost relating to high cost of transportation and security) individuals are also exploited by the people who know the people have no alternatives, the communities also experience low level of prospects of higher human development because of schools and dispensaries which impede equality in educational achievement and also access to health care services.

## 4.2 Data Analysis and Results

In line with the research, the three hypotheses formulated in this study were approached with the aid of t-statistics contained in the regression results. For a two tail test, the significance level for the study is 5%.

### 4.2.1 Inter-communal conflict and economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria.

**Table 7: Regression Result on inter-communal conflict and economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria**

<i>summary statistics</i>					
multiple R	0.8736				
R square	0.7631				
adjusted R square	0.5225				
standard error	2.6674				
DW stat	1.9191				
observations	324				
<i>ANOVA</i>					
	<i>df</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>ms</i>	<i>F*</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Regression	1	447.60	447.60	811.43	0.00010
Residual	322	177.62	0.55		
Total	323	625.22			
<i>Regression</i>					

<i>Output</i>					
	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>L-95%</i>	<i>U-95%</i>
Intercept	1.12321	2.2441	0.0242	1.5883	5.4640
Inter-communal conflict	1.41142	2.1785	0.0113	1.2230	2.7089

*Source: Authors Computation, 2018 (SPSS, 24)*

As seen from the regression result in Table 7, it can be observed that calculated t-value for inter-communal conflict and economic activity is 2.56 and with an associated p-value of 0.001. Since the p-value is less than 0.05 ( $0.001 < 0.05$ ) it therefore falls in the rejection region and hence, we Reject the first null hypothesis (**H0<sub>1</sub>**). We therefore conclude that that inter-communal conflict has a significant effect on economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria.

In similar way, observing the overall fit and the significance of the inter-communal conflict model, it can be seen from the result that the model has a good fit, this is indicated by the relatively high value of the f-statistics, 12.09 and at 5% level it is seen to be significant. This means that the f-statistics value of 0.0012 is less than 0.05 level of probability.

Furthermore, the R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.7631 reveals that the model have a good fit. It shows that about 76.31% of the variation in economic activity is explained by inter-communal conflict, while 23.69% of the variation is absorbed by the error term.

#### 4.2.2 Inter-communal conflict and social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

**Table 8: Regression Result on inter-communal conflict and Social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria**

<i>summary statistics</i>					
multiple R	0.7982				
R square	0.6371				
adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.5217				
standard error	0.3145				
DW stat	1.8881				
observations	324				
<i>ANOVA</i>					
	<i>df</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>ms</i>	<i>f*</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Regression	1	198.24	198.24	287.14	0.000
Residual	322	222.31	0.69		
Total	323	420.55			
<i>Regression Output</i>					
	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>L-95%</i>	<i>U-95%</i>
Intercept	2.21147	2.34615	0.0321	2.1542	3.442
Inter-communal conflict	1.24866	1.991451	0.0422	1.3551	2.741

**Source: Authors Computation, 2018 (SPSS, 24)**

Moreover, Table 8 presents the regression result, it can be seen that the calculated t-value for inter-communal conflict and socio-cultural factor is 2.35. Furthermore, the p-value computed as 0.04 is also less than 0.05 used as the level of significance. Since the  $p < 0.05$ , we therefore reject the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) and accept the alternative hypothesis and then conclude that there is a significant effect of inter-communal conflict on Socio culture of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria.

Furthermore, by examining the overall fit and significance of inter-communal conflict model, it was observed that the model has a good fit, it was indicated by the high f-statistic value of 11.33 and it is equally significant at 5% level. That is the value of f-statistics which is 0.0041 is less than 0.05

The  $R^2$  value of 0.6371 indicates that the model has a good impact and it is equally fit. It shows that 63.71% of the variation in in socio-culture is explained by inter-communal conflict, while the remaining 36.29% unaccounted variation is absorbed by the error term.

#### 4.2.3 Inter-communal conflict and literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria

**Table 9: Regression Result on Inter-communal conflict and literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria**

summary statistics					
multiple R	0.8955				
R square	0.8019				
adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.7139				
standard error	18.448				
DW stat	1.7646				
observations	324				
ANOVA					
	df	ss	ms	f*	p-value
regression	1	39.09	39.09	31.95	0.0000
residual	323	393.91	1.22		
Total	324	433.00			



<b>Regression Output</b>					
	<i>Coefficient</i> <i>s</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>L-95%</i>	<i>U-95%</i>
Intercept	1.155581	2.16614	0.0012 5	1.117343	2.40128
Inter-communal conflict	1.425418	2.51877	0.0154 2	1.362752	3.21122

**Source: Authors Computation, 2018 (SPSS, 24)**

Lastly, the calculated t-value for inter-communal conflict and literacy level was discovered to be 1.99 and also by the rule of thumb, the tabulated value is  $\pm 1.96$  under 95percent confidence interval levels. Since the p-value was discovered to be less than 0.05 (that is;  $0.04 < 0.05$ ), we thus, reject the third null hypotheses (**H0<sub>3</sub>**) and conclude that there is a significant effect of inter-communal conflict on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria.

The F-statistics equally depicted that the overall result is significant, as shown by the value of the *f*-statistic, 6.66 and it is significant at the 5% level. This is seen from the value of the f-statistic which is 0.0032 and it is less than 0.05.

In addition, the value of the coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ) which is used to measure the goodness of fit of the model estimate is observed to be 0.8019, this value indicates that inter-communal conflict has a very good impact on literacy level, in other words, 80.19% of the variation in literacy

level is explained by community conflict, while the unaccounted variation is covered by the white noise error term.

### **4.3 Discussion of Findings**

It was observed from the research findings that inter-communal conflict has had a significant effect on economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. The implication of this result is that inter communal conflict brings about the displacement of people from their homes and they also suffer the destruction of property, these individuals remain unproductive as they move to a new settlement because the required resources to enable participation in a meaningful economic activities are completely lost. Most individuals who experience these conflicts are deprived socially and they do not have the required motivation to carry out any meaningful activities. This is in line with the research findings of Schilling, (2012) whose study revealed that inter communal conflict creates a strong and omnipresent perception of insecurity which brings ineffective utilization of resources, food insecurity, restrained mobility, and closure of schools and markets. The displacement force the movement of individuals from their homes and respective economic endeavour and this leads to massive loss of livelihoods and resources. Nyukuri, (2016) also found that areas affected by inter communal conflict experience a sharp drop in effective demand for manufactured goods as a result of low cash income from agricultural sector and massive unemployment rate. Achumba, et al, (2013) findings

also showed that insecurity situation in the area of communal clashes in Nigeria had negative effects on the business investment; poverty rates its operations and sustainable development. Their study underscores the need to provide a safe and favourable business climate that allows for effective business activities and a sustainable development process in order to achieve sustainable growth and development. Khan, et al. (2015) further found that inter-regional conflicts had negative impact on the socio-economic performance of Pakistan's economy. The study observed that the country's vulnerability index rose from minimum 0.2 to maximum 0.94 while terrorism has retrogressed growth by 1.71%.

In addition, the study revealed that inter communal conflict has a significant effect on social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. This agrees with the findings of the Agu, Amujuri, and Okwo, (2012) that inter-communal conflicts in Nigeria have led to new armies of the unemployed, highly aggrieved people with its attendant consequences and the destitute on the streets. Since these victims are mostly male who categorically belong to the economically active segment of the country. When conflict is prolonged, there is tendency of group tension and individual tension to become intensified and unemployment increase. In an attempt to survive this situation can easily degenerate to various forms of conflict.

The result is also consistent with the findings of Iyoboyi, (2014) who saw unemployment as one of the serious impediments to societal progress. Aside from representing a colossal waste of the nation's human resources, it generates loss of welfare in regards to lower output, therefore leading to lower income and low standard of living. Onuoha, Gaiya and Namji, (2010) further found out that high level of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, especially among youth is not just contributory factors, but consequences of the outbreak of inter-communal conflicts.

Above all, it was discovered that inter-communal conflict has a significant effect on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. The inter-communal conflict in the area increased out of school children, schools were destroyed and many students were displaced. It showed that a percentage increase in inter-communal conflict increased the effect on literacy level by 1.42%. This agrees with Odhiambo, (2012) whom found that inter communal violent conflicts results to closure of schools and dispensaries. Aside from the fact that the cost of important commodities rises because of high cost of doing business, that is making provisions for security and transportation, and also exploitation of people who understand that the people has no alternatives, the communities also experience a drop on the prospects of a higher human resource development because of the closure of schools and dispensaries which impede equality in the quality of educational achievement and also access to health care services.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Summary**

This study was conducted to investigate the effect of inter-communal conflict on socio-economic development of Kogi and Anambra border communities of Nigeria. The study started by looking at introduction, which is the study background, problem statement, study objectives, research questions, statement of hypothesis, significance of the study, the study scope and its limitations where examined. Review of various literature where carried out amongst which are the concepts related to the subject matter, theoretical framework of the study and reviews of empirical literatures.

The research methodology includes the research design, sampling and sample techniques, population, data collection method, procedure for analysis of data, method justification and research instrument where comprehensively all discussed. The descriptive survey research design was adopted for the study where questions were used to elucidate data from the samples which is made up of 324 respondents. Stratified sampling techniques were used in making the selection in order to allow for fair representation of respondents from the selected zones.

In chapter four, the collected data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and ordinary least square regression technique. The study found that inter-

communal conflict has a significant effect on economic activity in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. This agrees with the empirical literature whose study revealed that inter communal conflict create a strong and omnipresent perception of insecurity which leads to ineffective utilization of resources, restrained mobility, insecurity of food, closure of schools and markets. The displacement force movement of individuals out of their homes and respective economic engagements and massive loss of livelihood and resources. In addition, the study revealed that inter-communal conflict has a significant effect on social activities of Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria. This in-line with Onuoha, Gaiya and Namji, (2010) which found out that high level of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, especially among youth is not just contributory factors, but consequences of the outbreak of inter-communal conflicts. Lastly, it was discovered that inter-communal conflict has a significant effect on literacy level in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

Since the end of the second republic and throughout the period of military rule to the present time, the inter-communal conflicts in Nigeria have remained unabated straining relationships between communities. They have manifested themselves in the struggles to acquire wealth, position of power, influence and prestige. In another dimension, inter-communal

conflict leads to the break-up of societies socio-politically and economically. This can manifest in the abandonment of markets or places of social gathering by a disgruntled party to the dispute and the establishment of new ones.

One common feature of inter-communal conflicts in Kogi-Anambra border communities that's connected to their confrontational and violence dimension which led to the destruction of properties and loss of lives of people who hitherto lived in relative peace and harmony. It is not however, the emergence of conflict that matters most but the approach taken to resolve any given conflict situation since conflict is a common feature of modern societies. Sometimes the approach taken to resolve a particular conflict can escalate the conflict instead of resolving it. It is evidently clear from the findings of this study that Kogi-Anambra border communities has witnessed tremendous economic setback arising from the incessant inter-communal conflict across its length and breadth of the state. This was captured by the increasing and significant impact of inter-communal conflicts witnessed in these areas on socio-economic development among the people living in border communities. Educational sector, children and poorest communities are among those severely affected by it, most especially in the rural areas. These thus calls for methods needed to prevent these incessant inter-communal conflicts for more sustainable economic development within the affected area. Unless the state government in the affected areas addresses these problems today,

her avowed quest of becoming an economic hub in Nigeria would only end up a pipe dream. Hence, all hands must be on deck to arrest the inter-communal conflicts and save the nation for future generations.

The study has shown that relocations of market from one area to another have hugely dropped income generations in Kogi-Anambra border communities which have reduced economic activities and development. There is the need thus to ensure that peace returns in that area to enhance domestic and foreign investments to attract capital and increase confidence. Once this is done, more profit could be increased and enhance economic activities and development.

The frequency of these inter-communal conflicts and their impacts on the socio-economic, educational and security life of the Kogi-Anambra border communities; people have always challenged the government and other major stakeholders for urgent strategy to put the matter control. Therefore, deliberate attempt must be made to put a stop on all these ugly menaces, otherwise, the clamour for unity and development will remain a myth.

Conclusion can be drawn from the research findings that inter-communal clashes is a major driver of conflict in Anambra-Kogi border communities of Nigeria and reflects the endemic and inherent conflict of the Nigerian state. This is observed to be so because from independence till date, socio-cultural activities have generated more inter-communal conflict in Nigeria than any other factor. Most conflicts which appear ethnic have socio-



cultural undertone as the study has reflected. This, however, does not mean that economic are not embedded in the conflicts. For example, poor educational background, youth unemployment, and economic benefits from conflict, land struggle among many others are economic and socio-cultural factors that are relevant in discussing violent conflicts in Kogi-Anambra border communities.

No Meaningful development can be achieved in an environment where people cannot sleep with their two eyes closed. Human lives and properties are also destroyed as a result of conflicts; just as development structures (e.g. markets, clinics, boreholes etc.) are vandalized and destroyed. These entail serious setback and hence the underdevelopment of Kogi-Anambra border communities. Government cannot comfortably administer development in such an environment. It has a debilitating effect on the life of the entire Kogi-Anambra border communities and even visitors since Kogi-Anambra border communities is the major gate way to the heart of Southern Nigeria. This is even the more reason why government and other relevant stakeholders should rally round and hearken to the recommendations of this study and other contributions made by conflict experts in order to ensure a lasting peace in Kogi-Anambra border communities.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The following recommendations were made based on the research findings:

- i.** To help improve the income level and economic activities in Kogi-Anambra border communities, comprehensive strategies should be adopted to avoid reprisal attacks in these communities. Government could also create a comprehensive data base on households affected by the inter-communal conflict on the basis of communities they reside and also ensure that houses destroyed during the conflicts are built and assist people whose investments were affected.
- ii.** Kogi and Anambra state government should meaningfully engage the youths in various skill acquisition programs so as reduce the poverty and youth unemployment that have grave threat to national security and socio-economic development. The youths are vital and constitute important segment of the society as constitutes over 65% of the population in Kogi and Anambra region. If these youths are not productively engaged, they could be used as instrument for inter-communal crisis.
- iii.** Adequate enlightenment should be carried out by governments and NGOs on the implications of inter-communal conflicts on literacy rate among people living in Kogi-Anambra border communities. This will help create harmonious relationship among various

communities in Kogi and Anambra state. The governments and other stakeholders should also give scholarship to children to retain them in school, life enhancing opportunities, counseling services to conflict victims to improve lives of the women and children in the communities. This will further help to improve the literacy rate among people living in Kogi-Anambra border communities.

- iv.** Government should address the problem of youth unemployment in both communities because most of the problems were caused by the youths and they formed the bulk of the arsonists. The youths should be trained on business activities that could keep them away from inter-communal conflicts in the affected areas.

#### **5.4 Limitations of the Study**

The following limitation were faced during the study;

Foremost, the study was faced with constraints in respect to time since the time within which the study was to be conducted was limited. Nevertheless, the researcher countered this limitation by carrying out the research using research assistants and as a result, this limitation did not affect the outcome of the results.

Secondly, the study faced a limitation posed by apprehension by respondents in the initial stage that appeared restrained to accepting to participate freely in interview geared towards data collection. In some instances, the target respondents referred the researcher to other different

areas who then referred you to them, a fact that took time before finally accepting to give data.

Thirdly most of the respondents complained of having received many requests from different researchers from different institutions and hence appeared to be in a hurry to provide data quickly so as to be through with the researcher within a short time. This approach however did not compromise the findings of the study.

### **5.5 Suggestions for further studies**

This study investigated the effect of inter-communal conflicts on socio-economic development in Kogi-Anambra border communities. Based on this, the following have been identified as areas to be studied by future researchers so as to have a better understanding of the problem:

- i. The present study was limited to Kogi-Anambra border communities or area. Further research should be undertaken to examine impact of inter-communal conflicts in North central geo-political area of Nigeria.
- ii. Furthermore, future studies can be conducted on the economic impact of herders and farmers conflicts in North Central Nigeria since most times these conflicts end up being inter-communal in all ramifications.

- iii. Future research studies, can in addition to these variables examines the impacts of ethno-religious conflicts on government revenue and expenditure in the North central geo-political area of Nigeria.

## REFERENCES

Abuul, C.N. & Abuul, J.N. (2013), Effects of Political Violence and Land Disputes on the Development of Tivland. In Hembe, G.N. (ed), Issues in the Development of Tiv land: *the North-South Development Gap*. Makurdi, Onaivi Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.

Africa Development Bank, ADB (2009) African Development Report 2008/2009. *African Studies Coalition Conference, University of California, Sacramento, CA. May 2-5*

Ake, C. (1995). *The New World Order: A View from Africa*. In Holm, Hans-Henrik and Sørensen, Georg Eds., *Who's World Order: Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War*, Boulder: Westview.

Alemika E.E.O (2011). Post-Election Violence in Nigeria: Emerging Trend and Lessons, CLEEN Foundation, <http://cleenfoundation.blogspot.com>

Anderson, M.L. & Taylor, H.F. (2009): *Sociology: The Essentials*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth. CliffsNotes.com. Three Major Perspectives in Sociology 22 Jun 2011. [http://www.cliffsnotes.com/study\\_guide/topicArticleId-26957,articleId-26837.html](http://www.cliffsnotes.com/study_guide/topicArticleId-26957,articleId-26837.html)

Arnoldy, B. (2010) Global Warming as Peacemaker? Disputed Island Disappears under Rising Sea, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 24 March 2010, available at [www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2010/0324/Global-warming-as-peacemaker-Disputed-island-disappears-under-rising-sea](http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2010/0324/Global-warming-as-peacemaker-Disputed-island-disappears-under-rising-sea).

Attali, J. (1991). *Millennium: Winners and Losers in the Coming World Order*. New York: Times Books.

Ayittey, G. B. N (2015). Economic Impact of Africa's Conflicts. *Paper presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Bahá'í International Community*. "Turning Point for all Nations: A Statement of the Bahá'í International Community on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations." October

Barber, B. R. (1992). Jihad V. McWorld. *The Atlantic Monthly*, March.

Barnet, R.J. & Cavanagh, J. (1994). *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Burton, J. (1991). Conflict resolution as a political system. In Vamik Volkan, Demetrios A. J. Joseph M. eds. *The psychodynamics of International Relationships: Tool of unofficial diplomacy*. Lexington, MA, Lexington Books.

Burton, J.(1990). Conflict: Resolution and Prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Castells, M. (1993). The International Economy and the New International Division of Labor. In Carnoy, Martin, et. al., Eds., *the New Global Economy in the Information Age: Reflections on our Changing World*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Chellaney, B. W. (2011): *Asia's New Battleground*, Washington, Dc, Georgetown University Press.

Choucri, N.R.C.(1975). *Nations in Conflict: National Growth and International Violence*, San Francisco, CA, W.H. Freeman and Company, 1975.

Commission on Global Governance. (1995). *Our Global Neighbourhood*. New York: Oxford Press. *Comprehensive Assessment of Water Management in Agriculture, Water for Food, Water for Life: A Comprehensive Assessment of Water Management in Agriculture*, London, Earthscan and Colombo, International Water Management Institute, 2007.

De-Launey, D. (2014). Thailand' admits cluster bombs used against Cambodia', BBC News <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12983127>

Egwu S.G. (2008). Beyond revival of old hatreds: The State and Conflict in Africa" in Shedrack

Erena, A. (2013). Prevention and management of conflict. In honour of Prof. Segun Odunuga. Ibadan: Loud Books Publishers.

Faleti, S. (2004). *Theories of social conflict in Skadraill* (ed.), Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa". Ibadan: Spectrum Book Limited.

Falk, R. (1995). *On Global Governance: Toward a New Global Politics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press.

Forsberg, T. (1996). Explaining Territorial Disputes: From Power Politics To Normative Reasons, «*Journal Of Peace Research*», 33(4), 433-449.

Fuhrmann, M.J. (2015) Territorial Dimensions of Enduring Internal Rivalries, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 26(4). 307-329;

Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End Of History And The Last Man*. New York: Free Press.

Fuller, G.(1995). The Next Ideology. Foreign Policy, Spring 1995.

Furlong, K.N.P. & Gleditsch, M.(2003), *The Boundary Dataset*. Conflict Management and Peace Science, 20(1), 93-117.

Gary, G., & Paul F. D, Hensel, D., Kocs., K., and Vasquez. J. (2009). The most recent studies include research by Rongxing Guo and by Krista Wiegand.

Gaya B. (2005). *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

Giddens, A.(1990). The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gurr, T.R. (1994). "Peoples against States: Ethno political Conflict and the Changing World System." *International Studies Quarterly*,. 38, September.

Hannerz, U (1991). Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures." In Anthony King, Culture, Globalization, March 3.

Hensel, P. (1992) Charting a Course to Conflict: Territorial Issues and Interstate Conflict 1816- in *The Road Map to War* , ed. P. DIEHL, Nashville, TN, Vanderbilt University Press, 115 146.

Hensel, P.R. (2008). Bones of Contention: Comparing Territorial, Maritime, and River Issues, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52 (1), 117-43.

Hensel, P (2000). *Territory: Theory and Evidence on Geography and Conflict*, in *What Do we Know about War?* ed. John Vasquez, Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield, 65.

Higazi, A. (2011). The Jos crisis: a recurrent Nigerian Tragedy. Discussion Paper No.12, January. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Abuja.



Hirst, P, & Graham, T..(1992). The Problem of 'Globalization': International Economic Relations, National Economic Management and the Formation of Trading Blocs. *Polity and Society*, 21(4)

Hoeffler, A (2008). Dealing with the Consequences of Violent Conflicts in Africa. Background Analysis, *Journal of Management Review*, 22(2), 23-25

Holm, H.H & George, S. (1995). Introduction: What has changed. In Holm and Sørensen, Who's World Order: Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War.? Boulder: Westview.

Human Rights Watch (2004). *Nigeria's 2003 Elections: The Unacknowledged Violence*. New York: HRW; 1. June

Huntington, S.P. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), 22-49.

Ikejiani, C.(2009) *Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Institute for Agricultural and Trade Policy. (1996). NAFTA and Inter-American Trade Monitor, [trade-news@igc.apc.org](mailto:trade-news@igc.apc.org), November 14.

Johnson, C. (2014) Partition To Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, And Ethnic Civil Wars , *International Security*, 32 (4), 140-170.

Joseph R.A., Taylor SD, and Agbaje A.(1996). Nigeria in Kesselman M, Krieger J, Joseph WA. (eds.) *Comparative Politics at the crossroads*. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co;

Kapstein, E. B. (1996). Workers and the World Economy. *Foreign Affairs*, 75(3), 16-37.

Knight, D. (2014). Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72 (4), 514-531.

Lechner, F. (2010). Fundamentalism Revisited. In Robbins and Anthony, *In Gods We Trust*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Liberman, P. (1993). Spoils of Conquest, *International Security*, 18(2), 125-153.

Lubbers, R. (1997). The Globalization of Economy and Society. Retrieved from: <http://www.globalize.org/globview.htm>, March 30.

MacEwan, A. (2014). Globalization and Stagnation. *Monthly Review*, 45(1), 1-16.

Nnoli O. (2003) Ethnic Violence in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective. Available: <http://www.indiana.edu/~workshop/paper/nnoli-021003.pdf> (accessed on 16/5/13).

Nyukuri B. K (2015). The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development. *A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa June.*

Odhiambo, M.O. (2012). Impact of Conflict on Pastoral Communities' Resilience in the Horn of Africa: *Case Studies from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda*. Reconile/FaoReport

Ofoeze H.G.A. (2015). The State and Conflict in Nigeria: A Public Policy Perspective" in Miriam

Khemakorn, P (2006). Sustainable Management of Pelagic Fisheries in the South China Sea Region Un-Nippon Foundation Fellow, New York, November.

Ritchie, M. (1996). Globalization Vs. Globalism: Giving Internationalism A Bad Name. Conference Trade-Strategy, Trade-Strategy@Igc.Apc.Org, February 26.

Robertson, R.(1992). Globalization: Social Theory And Global Culture. London: Sage.

Rongxing G.U.O (2012) Territorial Disputes and Conflict Management, London And New York, Routledge, 26-27.

Rosenau, J. (1990). Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Schilling, J, F. E., Opiyo, K.andScheffran, J. (2012). Raiding pastoral livelihoods: Motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya. Springer International Publishing Ltd

Scholte, J.A.(1997). Constructions of Collective Identity in a Time of Globalisation. <http://nexxus.com.cwru.edu/amjdc/papers/76>.

Schumpeter, J..(1942). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. New York:Harper.Rongxing Guo, Op. Cit., 49.

Serneels, P &, M. (2012). The impact of armed conflict on economic performance Evidence from Rwanda. Center for the study of African Economies (CSAE) working Paper

Sorokin, P.A. (1937). Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol III, Fluctuations of Social Relationships, War and Revolution. New York: America Books Co.

Spybey, T.(1996). Globalization and World Society. Cambridge U.K.: Polity Press.

Starr, H.B.(2015). The Substance and Study of Borders in International Relations Research , *International Studies Quarterly*, 20(4), 581-620

Steingard, D.S.andDale E. F. (1997). Challenging the Juggernaut of Globalization: AManifesto for Academic Practice. Retrieved from: <http://nexxus.com.cwru.edu/amjdc/papers/85>, April 6

Fearon, J. (2015). Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others? ,*Journal of Peace Research*»,41(3), 275-301.

Todd, L. A.& Paul K. H. (2014). The Pursuit of Legal Settlements to Territorial Disputes, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 23 (4), 285-307.

Toynbee, A. (1960). The Dwarfing of Europe in Toynbee, Arnold, Civilization on Trial and theWorld and the West. New York: Meridian Books.

Toynbee, A. (1956). *A Study of History*. Abridgement of Volumes 1-6 by D.C. Somervell. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vasquez, J. (1993).*The War Puzzle*, Cambridge, Ma, Cambridge University Press, 307.

Welch, D. (1993). Justice And The Genesis Of War, Cambridge, Ma: Cambridge University Press.

Wiegand, E. (2011)*Enduring Territorial Disputes: Strategies of Bargaining*, Coercive Diplomacy,andSettlement, Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 2-12.

## Appendix

### Questionnaire

#### **Examining effect of inter-communal conflict on socio economic Development of Kogi-Anambra Border Communities of Nigeria**

After reading each of the items, evaluate them in relation to your inter-communal conflict on socio economic development of Kogi-Anambra

Border Communities knowledge and then tick against the choices below:

**Keys: 5=strongly agree; 4=agree; 3=undecided; 2=disagree; 1=strongly disagree**

**Table A: Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Economic activity**

Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Economic activity						
S/No.	Items	Agreement scale				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	Relocations of market from one area to another has hugely dropped income generations in Kogi-Anambra border communities which has reduced economic activities and development					
2	Several businesses were relocated from Kogi-Anambra border communities during and after the crisis which reduced the level of economic activities and development in the area.					
3	Consequences of conflict, are threat to domestic and foreign investments with continuous capital flight, and loss of confidence in Kogi-Anambra border communities					
4	There are less business opportunities in Kogi-Anambra border communities during and after the crisis which has slowed down economics activities and economic growth					
5	Businesses in Kogi-Anambra border communities made less profit during the crisis which has affected economic activities and development					
6	Many houses and properties were destroyed during the crisis which reduced their level of economic wellbeing in Kogi-Anambra border communities					

**Table B: Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Social activities**

<b>Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Social activities</b>						
S/No.	Items	Agreement scale				
		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Inter-communal conflict in Kogi-Anambra border communities has rendered a lot of youths jobless and unemployed					
2	Poor educational background and economic gain are the main motivation for youth involvement in conflict among Kogi-Anambra border communities					
3	Economic values of land has increased struggle for land ownership among Kogi-Anambra border communities					

**Table C: Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Literacy level**

<b>Effect of Inter-communal conflict on Literacy level</b>						
S/No.	Items	Agreement scale				
		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Inter-communal conflicts have led to continuous closure of schools and high institutions in Kogi-Anambra border communities					
2	Many children are out of school because of the inter communal conflicts					
3	Several schools were destroyed due to inter-communal conflicts					
4	Attracting quality manpower in public schools have been difficult					
5	The academic performance of people living in that region has consistently remained poor					

**APPENDIX 2**

**Table A: Timeline of attacks in Anambra and Kogi State from 1927-2017**

S/No.	Date of Attack	Reasons	Location of Attack	Impact
1	2-Apr-13	Kogi community claims attack by Anambra community over oil wells	Kogi-Anambra	4 person killed
2	2012-2016'	Boundary dispute.	Ikenga Village, Nkpor-Ogidi in Idemili LGA of Anambra state	46 person killed
3	June and July 2016	Boundary dispute.	Amaikwo/AguluAwka, Anambra state	12 person killed and many injured
4	2013	Boundary dispute.	Nibo/Isiagu in Awka South LGA of Anambra state	10 person killed
5	2007	Land dispute (acquisition of land without due compensation to owners)	Urualla, Umuejimofor and UrukpaleriNawfia in Njikoka LGA, Anambra state –	7 person killed
6	August 2015-March	Town union leadership (PG)	Adazi-Nnukwu in Anaocha LGA of Anambra state –	8 person killed
7	2012	communal conflicts	Okene Central Mosque	2 soldiers were killed
8	2014 to 2016	Boundary dispute.	Oraifite vs Ozubulu in Ekwusigo LGA of Anambra state –	13 person killed and 40 injured
9	June, 2016'	Land dispute	Ukpo and Abagana communities, Anambra state –	5 person killed and several injured
10	2012	Chieftaincy tussle and Town union leadership.	Adazi-Nnukwu, Anambra state	7 police person killed and 2 security men
11	March, 2014'	Chieftaincy tussle	Amanuke in Awka North of Anambra state	5 person killed and many

				injured
12	April, 2014'	Chieftaincy tussle/Town union leadership.	Osumenyi in Nnewi South LGA, Anambra state	5 person killed
13	July 2016	Market association leadership.	Onitsha south of Anambra state –	8 person killed
14	June 2015	Market leadership feud.	Obosi in Idemili LGA, Anambra state	5 person killed and 9 injured

Source: Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja, 2016

### APPENDIX 3

#### Pictorial images of Kogi-Anambra conflict effect









## APPENDIX 4

Map of Nigeria Capturing how Kogi and Anambra share Boundary



