

**THE EFFECT OF KALTUNGO / DADIYA CONFLICT ON THE SOCIO -
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF GOMBE SOUTH**

BY

DAVID, Patrick

MA/PCS/16/0386

DECEMBER, 2019

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE CENTRE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY
STUDIES, MODIBBO ADAMA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, YOLA, IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES**

DECEMBER, 2019

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis was written by me and it is a record of my own research work. It has not been presented before in any publication for a higher degree. All references cited have been duly acknowledged.

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Signature

.....

Date

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty for His favour and abundant grace upon my life. This research work is also dedicated to my beloved mother, Mrs Hauwa Wasa Benety, who is my mentor, role model and a mother I can always depend on. May God bless you.

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis entitled “The impact of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state” meets the regulations governing the award of master’s degree of Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola. And is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic conflict is a pandemic security threat in Nigeria. It has led to loss of many lives and valuable properties worth several billions. To this end, this study investigated the impact of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state. The research objectives that guided the study include to: examine the nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict; investigate the factors responsible for the incessant nature of the conflict; assess the impact of the conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state; identify measures that were employed to manage and resolve the conflict; and to ascertain the challenges of the measures put in place to curb this menace. Descriptive Survey Design was adopted in the cause of this research. Data were collected through Key Informants Interview (KII), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), observatory method and descriptive study. A sample size of 100 informants were made and 20 respondents were selected from each study locations. The data collected was analyzed qualitatively involving the use of content analysis. The study discovered that the nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict include countless burning of houses and farm produce, looting of animals and other valuables, violent killing of people including innocent children, helpless woman and aged people. The study also revealed that the causes of the conflict are contestation over agricultural land, the lingering court battle between the acclaimed owners of the land, indigene/settler dichotomy, youth unemployment, negative oral history, hate speeches, proliferation of arms, identity consciousness and the desire to champion ethnic interest. The study further discovered that the conflict has severe effects on interpersonal, communal and tribal relationship, outright closure of schools, health care and worship centers, loss of lives, business investment and other means of livelihood. Displacement of people as well as disruption of farming and other related economic activities, and the consequent fall in the living standard of people. Based on the research findings, the study recommended that there should be improvement in the level of social relationship through inter-ethnic marriages, cross-tribal and cultural associations, as this will cement the broken wall of ethnic tolerance and accommodation between and amongst ethnic groups. The study also recommend empowerment, formal education and employment opportunities to the teeming youth of Kaltungo/Dadiya and other communities that are prone to acts of violence. The study further recommended diversification of Nigeria's economy to address the problems of poverty, joblessness, native-settler dichotomy particularly on agricultural land and other environmental resources, which are the root cause of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict and many other crises in the Nigeria.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Works of scholars and human experiences have shown that conflict is inevitable in all human societies; it is a worldwide phenomenon that has long historical antecedent. Rahim (2002), defined conflict as an integrative process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities (i.e. individuals, groups, organizations, etc). Davies (1962), described conflict as an inevitable outcome of human diversity, and he further state that a world without conflict is not desirable because it would mean a world without diversity. Lee (nd), averred that a society without conflict is a dead society. This perhaps is the reason why Loomis and Loomis (1965), posited that conflict is an ever present process in human relation. Conflict is understood to mean a condition of disharmony in social interaction which is an outcome of human dynamics and diversity. It is a phenomenon that people experience in their daily relationship with others. Thus, conflict usually occurs as a result of clash of interest, goals, opinion, and values between and among individuals, groups and nations state.

Today, ethnic conflict is one of the major threat to global peace and security. Ethnic conflict however, is not only a menace to peaceful coexistence but has proven to have the potential to destabilize the socio-economic and political development of a nation. Saad (1988) posited that all the world's armed conflicts since 1988, with the exception of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait have been over internal security issues. He further argued that since the year 1945, ethnic conflict alone has claimed over 16 million lives worldwide, several times more than those deaths in inter-state wars. According to recent findings ethnic conflict span three old continents: Asia, Europe and Africa (Saad, 1988). Examples of such countries are Burma and Srilanka, Israel, the west bank, and Gaza Strip in Asia; the former USSR and Yugoslavia in Europe; Burundi, Somalia, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sire lion, Sudan, Darfur and Rwanda in Africa etc. Clement (2010) opined that there is a general perception that Africa is trapped in a never-ending cycle of ethnic conflicts listing the

Rwandan genocide, Darfur crises, indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, cote D'voir crisis and the violent aftermath of the Kenyan general elections among others to substantiate his assertion.

There is no gain saying that Nigeria like other countries in the world had had its share of internal wrangling, with severe effects on the country's socio-economic development. Nigeria ranked high on the list as one of the most unstable state in Africa. Since its return to civil rule in 1999, not less than 150 types of conflicts have been recorded in Nigeria (Matudi, 2017). Agbede (nd) estimated that there have been 250 ethno-religious conflicts between 1980 and 1999. Okwueze (1995) observed that, Nigeria is one of the countries of the world where religious and inter-ethnic conflict have wrecked much havoc on the advancement, unity and prosperity of her citizens and the development of the nation as a whole.

It has been debated by many scholars as to what point did ethnic conflict in Nigeria got to its alarming rate. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2008), the turning point in Nigeria's fall into internal conflict is identified by some analysts to have dated back to 1987 Kafanchan-kaduna riots, from which old tensions between Muslim Housa-Fulani and Non-Muslim communities gradually spread throughout the north and the middle belt of the country. Contemporarily, it is not an overstatement to say that ethnic conflict in Nigeria have attained a situation of pervasive phenomenon. It has turn our rural and urban communities into a battle field and a fertile ground for blood shed, with severe impact on lives and the socio-economic development of the nation. Examples of the violent ethnic conflict that have occurred in the country includes but not limited to the Ife-Modakeke communal conflict in Oyo /Osun states 1999; Hausa/Fulani and Kataf of Zangon Kataf in Kaduna State 1999; The Ijaw and Itshekeris of Wari in Delta State 1999; the crisis between the members of Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and House/Fulani in Oyo/Lagos States 1999/2000 respectively; Jukun/Chamba and kuteb, Jukum and Tiv in Taraba state 1998, 1999 and 1991; Aguleri/umuleri crisis in Anambra East Local Government Area of Anambra State 1995; the ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa-Balewa Local Government Area of Bauchi State; the recurring ethno-religious crisis in Jos, Plateau state in 2001, 2002 and from 2008, to 2011; the protracted and seemingly never-ending conflicts between the kith and kin

ethnic groups of Billiri and Shongom in Gombe State; the LO and Banguji leadership crisis; Tula and Awak; Dadiya /Waja and Tula also in Gombe state and the recurring violent land clashes between kaltungo and Dadiya in Gombe south senatorial zone, which of course, is the central focus of this study. These among other ethnic conflicts have claimed so many lives and valuable properties worth millions of naira.

Due to its tendency to spread like wild fire, ethnic conflict has gain notoriety as one of the most violent crises in Gombe south. In recent times, ethnic conflict particularly on land for agriculture has reached unimaginable and deadly heights such that neighbors in Gombe south who have coexisted in harmony for decades have turned against one another with murderous effect, a situation reinforced by population explosion, unemployment, and scarcity of land for agriculture coupled with mutual hatred, suspicion, and unhealthy rivalry rooted in ethno-linguistic divide. Consequently, the ever increasing and continuing bloody land dispute between Kaltungo and Dadiya which began in 2007 has left scars visible and invisible. Some of the ugly scars are graves of men, women and children, geometric increase in the number of widows and orphans, burn out houses, farm produce and domestic animals, closed business, schools, health care and worship centers, poor relationship, trauma, displacement and mass exodus as people fled their homes in panic, interruption of agricultural activities, poverty, wide spread starvation and famine since the war mostly broke out during rainy season, and so prevented people from farming. Therefore, it is against this background that this research work intends to examine the impact of ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state, a study of Kaltungo-Dadiya land dispute.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Socio-economic activities are the life-blood of all human development, it is the bedrock of development in all human societies. Modern Nigeria emerge through the merging of two British colonial territories in 1914. The amalgamation was an act of colonial convenience, it occurred mainly because British colonizers desired a contiguous colonial territory. The amalgamation made little sense otherwise and has often invoked by Nigerians as the

foundation of rancorous relationship between the two regions, religious groups and ethnic nationalities in the country.

Between 1947 and 1959 Nigerian nationalists from different regional, ethnic and religious communities came together in a series of conferences and parliaments to negotiate the transition to self-rule and to map out a common future. During the interactions and in the few years after independence in 1960 the jarring effects of arbitrary colonial unification manifested has seemingly irreconcilable difference of aspirations, priorities, and visions. So deep were these ethno-religious antagonism that ethnic and religious minorities harbor grievances against ethnic and religious majorities they see as hegemonic oppressors. These grievances are sometimes expressed through bitter political complaints, ethnic and religious conflict, through sectarian crisis stocked by political elite and incendiary media rhetoric, and through violent insurgencies. There is seems to be rapid rise in the frequency of ethnic conflict since Nigerian's returns to civil rule in 1999. Neither Federal, State nor Local Government effort to curb this menace have had significant impact, rather enormous amounts of public resources were wasted, which surely could have been used for developmental purposes.

Over the years and in recent times, Gombe South like other parts of Nigeria has had its share of ethnic violence. For instance, within a decade or two Gombe south has consistently witnessed several ethnic clashes of different magnitude and intensities. Examples of these conflict includes the protracted violent conflict between Billiri and Shongom; LO and Banguji leadership crisis; Kaltungo-Dadiya land dispute; Awak-Tula conflict; Dandiya/Fulani, Tula and Waja clashes. These and other ethnic conflicts too numerous to mention were characterized by destruction, bombing, killings and maiming several persons, stealing of domestic animals, loss of business investment and destruction of farm produce and other valuable properties worth millions of naira.

Of concern, is the incessant episode of bloody land dispute between Kaltungo and Dadiya, with its attendant's consequence of massive loss of lives and properties worth several millions. In fact the effect of this conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe

state is quit alarming. Expectedly, the trend, dimension, and casualties associated with the cycle of violent conflict between the two ethnic groups have generated serious concern and calls for urgent needs to address this ugly trend that seek to destabilize the peaceful coexistence and the socio-economic development of not only the parties in conflict, but Gombe state and Nigeria as a whole. Thus, it is in the light of the above that this research work attempt to uncover the impact of ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state using Kaltungo/Dadiya land dispute as a case study.

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

The basic aim of this research is to examine the impact of ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state. The following are the specific objectives. They include to:

- i. examine the nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict
- ii. investigate the factors responsible for the incessant nature of the conflict
- iii. assess the impact of the conflict on socio-economic development of Gombe state
- iv. identify measures that were employed to manage and resolve the conflict
- v. ascertain the challenges of the measures put in place to curb the menace.

1.4 Research questions

Based on the research objectives, the following questions were raised to guide the study. The study seeks to provide answers to the following:

- i. What is the nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict?
- ii. What are the factors responsible for the incessant nature of the conflict?
- iii. How does this conflict impact on the socio-economic development of Gombe state?
- iv. What are the measures employed to manage the conflict and how effective are these measures?
- v. What are the challenges of the measures employed to manage and resolve the conflict.

1.5 Significance of the study

This research seeks to investigate the impact of ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state, and as part of the general trend militating against the peaceful coexistence of Nigeria as a political entity. Zeroing in on the protracted land dispute between Kaltungo and Dadiya ethnic groups in Gombe south senatorial zone. Therefore, the important of these study cannot be overemphasized as its findings will provide information for decision making to the government of Gombe state, policy makers, political, traditional and religious leaders, security men, NGOS, business people as well as individual and groups who are interested in the pursuit of peace in Gombe state and Nigeria as a whole.

Finally, recommendations will be made to enable the parties in conflict, the people of Gombe State and Nigeria to appreciate the value of stable and peaceful atmosphere for socio-economic and political development.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study will explore the impact of ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state. The researcher used Kaltungo and Dadiya ethnic group both in Gombe south as a case study. Thus, five (5) communities from each ethnic group will be selected for a close study.

1.7 Operational definition of terms

The key concepts that need to be defined in the course of this study for the purpose of clarity and guidance on conceptual framework include:

Conflict: this is a struggle between individual and groups who pursue incompatible interest or goals.

Ethnic groups: this are groups of people who share similar socio-cultural attributes such as history, decent, language, culture, geography, norms and values and the interest of the

members of the group is to organized themselves to compete for political, economic and social resources necessary for the survival of the group.

Ethnic conflict: this is a situation that results when ethnic groups pursue goals or interest that are incompatible, parochial and they interpret the issue involved in ethnic terms. It is also seen as a conflict in which the objectives of at least one party are defined in ethnic terms and the conflict, its antecedence and possible solutions are perceived along ethnic lines. The conflicts are usually not about ethnic differences themselves but over political, economic, social, cultural, or territorial matters.

Socio-economic development: this refers to the sum total of social and economic activities that promote quantitative and qualitative advancement of a given society.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The review of related literature is organized under the following subheadings:

- 2.1 Conceptual clarifications
- 2.2 History of ethnic conflict in Nigeria
- 2.3 Causes and drivers of ethnic conflict in Nigeria
- 2.4 Consequences of ethnic conflict in Nigeria
- 2.5 A brief history of Kaltungo/Dadiya ethnic conflict
- 2.6 Theoretical framework

2.1 Conceptual clarifications

2.1.1 Ethnicity: There is no universally accepted definition of ethnicity, for example Ismayilov (2012) Opined that there is little consensus in the literature regarding the terminology and basic concepts about ethnicity. He further argued that “Ethnic group,” “ethnic community,” “Ethnic Minority,” or sometimes “Identify groups” are used by different authors in different ways. However according to Irobi (2005) ethnic groups are defined as a community of people who share cultural and linguistic characteristics including history, tradition, myth and origin. Modood; Berthoud; Lakey; Nazroo; Smith; Virdee and Beishon (1997:22) Defined ethnic group as a community whose heritage offers important characteristic between its members and which makes them distinct from other communities. There is a boundary which separate “us” from “them,” and the distinction would probably be recognized on both side of that boundary. Similarly Quaker – Dokubo (2001:44) perceives ethnic group as pertaining to organized activities by persons linked by a consciousness of a special identity, who jointly seek to maximize their corporate political, economic and social interest. Willigenburg (1995:13) refers to ethnic groups as cultural “nations which are bound together in the first place by a common culture and which lack the

internationally recognized organization of a sovereign state'.’ In the same vein, Suberu (1996) conceptualize an ethnic group as a ‘social collectivity whose members not only shares such objective characteristic such as language, territory, ancestral myth, culture, religion, and/or political organization, but also has some subjective consciousness or perception of common decent or identity.” This identity result from contact with other groups. But he argues that ethnic pluralism is necessary but an insufficient condition for ethnicity.

Thus, an ethnic group could be referred to as group of people who share similar socio – cultural attributes such as language, culture, geography, norms and values and the interest of the members of the group is to organized themselves to compete for political, economic, and social resources necessary for the survival of the group. This supposed competition for resources either within or between ethnic groups for group survival is what produces ethnicity.

Ethnicity therefore, is a ‘social phenomenon associated with interactions among members of different ethnic groups’ (Nnoli, 1978). It emerges when the members of an ethnic group become characterized by a common consciousness of their identity in relation to other group with in-group and out-group differences becoming marked with time. Such exclusivist, identity–based discrimination undoubtedly results in conflicts over scarce economic resources and socio- political goals. However, ethnicity hardly exists in pure form. It is a consequence of ethnic group identity mobilization and politization especially in a competitive ethnically plural environment or context (Suberu 1996, Nnoli1978).

As a social construct, ethnicity can be regarded as the employment of ethnic identity and differences to gain advantage in situation of competition, conflict and corporation (Osaghae, 1995). The formation of ethnic group therefore, assists members of ethnic group to forge a common front in articulating the interest of the group in the competitive situations involving other ethnic groups. Broadly speaking, Bloomfield and Reilly (1998) have argued that ethnicity “is a broad concept covering a multiplicity of elements: race, culture, religion, heritage, history, language and so on. But at the bottom, these are all identity issues. What

they feel is termed identity–related conflict. In short, conflict over any concept around which a community focuses its fundamental identity and sense of itself as a group and over which its chooses or feel compelled, to resort to violent means to protect that identity under threat’’. Ethnicity is therefore, about creation of distinctive ethnic identity by an ethnic group capable of distinguishing it from other ethnic groups in situation of competition for whether economic or political or environmental resources. Thus, Bulmer (1996) Observed that ethnicity is socially constructed and related to several dimensions of person’s identity---such as kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance.

2.1.2 Ethnic Conflict: This is a situation that results when an ethnic groups pursue goals or interest that are incompatible, parochial and they interpret the issue involved in ethnic terms. It is defined as a conflict in which the objectives of at least one party are defined in ethnic terms and the conflict, it’s antecedents and possible solutions are perceived along ethnic lines. Ethnic conflict is also seen as the breakdown of accommodation of ethnic minorities within the state. This definition has a number of shortcomings. First, ethnic conflict can also result from failure to accommodate ethnic majorities within the state. Secondly, ethnic conflict can results from insufficient accommodation within the state for different ethnic groups. Breakdown may not occur if the different ethnic groups can accommodate one another. Lastly, ethnic conflict may not necessarily be caused within the state but by external influence, which then triggers off ethnic conflict (Adebayo, 2006).

Irobi (2005) asserts that ethnic conflicts within a state belongs to identity conflict that are a type of internal conflict. He goes on to state that besides identity conflict, there are other types of internal conflict such as ideological conflict, governance conflict, racial conflict, and environmental conflict. However, most of the conflict generally referred to as ethnic conflicts in Nigeria are not really so. In fact most of them have nothing to do with ethnicity as they did not arise because the parties belongs to different ethnic groups. Many factors such as religion, demographic explosion and struggle for scarce resources or state power could precipitate these conflicts. But what makes them look like ethnic conflicts or lends credence to the claims that they are ethnic conflicts is the fact that contestants belong to different ethnic or sub -ethnic groups (Adebayo, 2006). The contestants do not attack each

other because of their ethnic backgrounds, but rather on mere personalized or personified issues. And such issues may not in any way have direct effects on the whole ethnic groups. The conflict starts on an individual rather than ethnic bases but usually when such issues escalate, the close ethnic members become fully involved (Adebayo, 2006).

2.1.3 Development: is a concept and multi-faceted phenomena, it is a complex issue, with many different and sometimes contentious definitions. Although its history goes back to the antiquities, development exceptionally preoccupied states after the Second World War in the late 1940s. There have since then been efforts for social, political and economic progress all over the world facilitated by the quick technological evolution. There are numerous definitions of development. Different scholars advanced more or less the same arguments pertaining to this rather wide concept. Below, are some of the commonly used definitions.

Tayebwa (1992:261) states that development is a broad term which should not be limited to mean economic development, economic welfare or material wellbeing as per Tayebwa, development in general includes improvements in economic, social and political aspects of whole society like security, culture, social activities and political institutions.

According to Todaro (1981:56) refers to development as a multi-dimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social systems. He continues to argue that development is a physical reality and a state of mind in which society has, through some combinations of social, economic and political process secured the way of obtaining better life. Similar to the one given by Tayebwa, Todaro's definition is applauded for its wider view of the development concept as related to social, economic as well as political changes in the society.

Nevertheless, a careful analysis reveals that at each level, a country can have different definitions of development. Just because development is a multi-dimensional process involving qualitative and quantitative changes in social, political and economic domains of society and it is undertaken essentially to lead to a better state of life.

According to Perroux (1978:65), defines development as "the combination of mental and social changes among the population which decide to increase its real and global products, cumulatively and in sustainable manner."

Rogers (1990:30) adds "development is a long participatory process of social change in the society whose objective is the material and social progress for the majority of population through a better understanding of their environment"

However, the United Nations Organization Development Program (U N D P), uses a more detailed definition – according to them Development is to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in life of the community. It is a process of economic and social advancement in terms of quality of human life. It can be measured in terms of culture, wealth, education, healthcare, opportunities and can be commonly classified by the following terms: HDI – Human Development Index, a U.N. standardized measure based on three factors: life expectancy, literacy /education and standard of living. GDP – Gross Domestic Product, this is the value of goods and services divided by the number of people in the country. Development therefore, is empowerment: it is about local people taking control of their own lives, expressing their own demands and finding their own solutions to their problems.

2.2 History of Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria

We have noted that conflict is part of man's history, a constant fate of life, and an inevitable phenomenon in all human societies. William Zartman in Muhammed (2014) averred that conflict is inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant choices and decisions. Also Stedman (1991) described conflict as arising from the interaction of individuals who have partly incompatible ends in which the ability of one actor to gain his ends depends to an important degree on the choices or decision another actor will take. He further opined that although conflict may result into violence, violence is not an inherent aspect of conflict but rather a potential form that conflict may assume.

Talking about ethnic conflict, Irobi (2005) asserts that ethnic conflicts within a state belong to identity conflicts that are a type of internal conflict. He goes on to state that besides identity conflict there are other types of internal conflict such as ideological conflict, governance conflict, racial conflict, and environmental conflict. Ethnic conflict is a form of conflict in which the objectives of at least one party are defined in ethnic terms. The conflict is usually not about the differences per se but over political, economic, social or territorial matters. Wolff (2006) observes that ethnicity on its own does not cause conflict as several factors are always at play in each conflict situation, arguing that ethnicity is a fact of human existence, and that it is what people make of it or to what use they deploy it that makes the difference between ethnic cohesion, harmony or conflict. It's about group identity the manner in which activists define the in-group and out-group relationship (the 'us' versus 'them' sentiment is crucial in conflict dynamics). "the more confrontational the definitions--- --that is the more 'our' poor situation is a result of 'their' oppression, or the more superior 'we' are compared with 'them' the more likely intergroup relations take a turn for the worse" (Wolff, 2006)

Nnoli (1978), observed that in Nigeria, the Colonial urban setting constitute the cradle of ethnicity. It provides the converging point for members of different pre-colonial politics and diverse linguistic and cultural formations; It was here that ethnic groups acquired a common consciousness. He went further to show that contact alone did not cause ethnicity, but the competition for scarce resources among different groups enhance people being conscious of the ethnic group they belong to. Nnoli tried to show how ethnicity does not exist in a pure form; It is always closely associated with political Jurisdiction, religious and other social view which constitutes its important ingredient as well. To him ethnicity is a social phenomenon associated with interaction among members of different ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are social formation distinguished by the communal character, maybe language, culture or both.

Ethnicity is generally regarded as the most basic and politically salient identity in Nigeria. This claim is supported by the fact that both in competitive and non-competitive settings, Nigerians are more likely to define themselves in terms of their ethnic affinities than any

other identity. Indeed, according to Lewis and Bratton (2002) ethnicity “is demonstrably the most conspicuous group identity in Nigeria”. Their survey found out that almost (48.2%) of Nigerians choose to label themselves with an ethnic identity, compared to almost one-third (28.4%) who opted for class identities and (21.0%) who choose a religious identity (Bratton and Lewis, 2002). Achebe (1982) argues that ethnicity has proved a largely fertile wall around us and will stay around us there is work for us to do. A Nigerian child seeking admission into federal schools, students wishing to enter college or university, graduate seeking employment in public service, a business man tendering for a contract, a citizen applying for a passport will have to fill a form to state or confess his state of origin. He goes further to state that the formation and participation of politics are also based on tribal and ethnic affiliation.

In the same vein Barango (1983), affirms that the dominant characterization of Nigerian politics, such as intense ethnic and elites conflicts, the recurrent tendencies of crisis in governance and development, the trend toward centralization of power and the excessive use of political repression, with the dependent nature of Nigeria on the operation and manipulation of the international capitalist system. To him ethnic conflicts have their origin in an antagonistic relation of production and exchange introduced into Nigerian societies first by mercantilist system. Barango (1983) argued further that conflicting material interest in the society tends to divide society into hostile camps and structured themselves through organized institutions such as political parties, workers, trade union or informally through the façade of ethnic and religious sentiments. That in Nigeria all the vagaries of crisis that usually develop into situation of bad governance are ethnic or elite kind. And this conflict are reflection of material interest of various groups in the society, which in the context of scarce resources, manifest in a sharp and intense political competition which brings about crises in governance and development in political system. According to him, ethnic prejudices and antagonism are most prevalent and most violently express in situation where employment in the civil services, Industry, in Universities and in the other places that one may suddenly be conscious of one’s ethnic-tags and one’s difference from competitors, depending on how one’s employment needs and interest are satisfied or denied Barango(1983).

Modern Nigeria emerged through the merging of two British colonial territories in 1914. The amalgamation was an act of colonial convenience. British colonizers desired a contiguous colonial territory stretching from the Sahel Savana to the Atlantic coast. Being an ethno - religiously divers society, the amalgamation made little sense otherwise and has often been invoked by Nigerians as the foundation of the rancorous relationship between and amongst various ethno-religious nationalities in the country. Between 1947 and 1959 Nigerian nationalist leaders from different regional, ethnic and religious communities came together in series of conferences and parliament to negotiates the transition to self-rule and to map out a common future .During this interactions and in the first few years after independence in 1960,the jarring effects of arbitrary colonial unification manifested as seemingly irreconcilable differences of aspirations, priorities and visions deep were these religious and ethnic antagonisms that one Northern Nigerian Muslim nationalist leader declared Nigeria “the mistake of 1914”, while a prominent Southern Nigerian Christian nationalist figure called Nigeria “a mere geographic expression “. Colonialism did not cause the primordial conditions and identities that have generated tensions and conflicts between different ethno-religious societies in Nigeria, but it made them worse.

However, Doward (2012) succinctly put it, “as a nation Nigeria is fractured along ethnic, religious and class lines, encompassing more than 158 million people and 450 ethno-linguistic groups”. All the ethnic groups complain of one form of marginalization or the other. The Hausa/ Fulani accused the Yoruba’s of dominating the economy and civil service, the Igbo blame their woes on the Hausa/Fulani political domination and also blame the Yoruba’s for domination of the economy and federal bureaucracy. Minority group accused the majority ethnic groups for political, religious and cultural oppression. Minority ethnic groups in the oil producing Niger Delta regions feel they are victims of a gang up by the 3 major ethnic groups who share the nation’s oil wealth among themselves. Ethnic sentiments permeate national life in Nigeria. Everything in the country has its own ethnic tag, there is allegation of ethnic discrimination in appointment into jobs, admission into schools, business transactions and sharing of amenities, and this cut across and can be heard in every state of the federation (Musa, 2009)

Ethnic crisis has taken the front banner in contemporary discuss on Nigeria's democracy. Since the commencement of democratic government on May 29, 1999, ethnic violence has come to occupy the center stage. The prevalence of ethnic violence is attested to by the sheer dramatic rise in, the incidences as well as the volume of destruction of lives and properties that have accompanied them and the palpable tension and animosity it has generated in the relationship between religious and ethnic groups in the country (Egwemi 2010). The chronology of significant categories of violent ethnic crisis experienced from 1999 to 2011 is enumerated below. Nigeria's fourth republic stands out as a uniquely violent and conflict era. Imobiglie, (2003), maintained that the beginning of the new democratic dispensation which was enthroned on May 29, 1999 led to the escalation of violent clash in Nigeria, both religious and ethnic wise. To capture this more graphically, Ugoh (2004) noted that within the first three years of Nigeria's return to democratic rule, its witnessed more than forty violence communal and ethnic clashes. Atubo (2006), added that over 80 major eruption have been recorded in the various sections of the country in the 55 months of civilian rules with September 2001, witnessing more than 6,000 persons killed in violent clashes. Atubo, further calculated that because of the persistence of the violence and disturbance a figure of over 30,000 deaths would not be overestimated from (1999-2011), which has never happened in any period of Nigeria's history (excluding the civil war)

On the 29th may 1999, has president Obasanjo was taken the oath of office, fight broke out between the Ijaw and Itsekiri in Delta over the location of local government headquarters at Warri. Soon after the Warri boiling, a similar conflict broke out between the Hausa and Yoruba worshipers in Shagamu in July 1999 as a result of the brutal killing of a Hausa Woman by the "Oro" masquerade for afoul of their cult rule. More than 4,000 people reportedly were killed in the process of the various conflict put together, and properties worth millions of naira were destroyed. Similarly, in October 1999, the OPC attacked Ijaw, Itsekiri and Urhobo indigenes (Egbesu) in Ajengule, Lagos, over disagreement between resident and the vigilante (OPC). On 16th may, 2000, also, a bloody ethnic feud between Akasa and Igwama Communities in Bayelsa state claimed many lives on both side. Ethnic crisis championed by militant youth, which resulted in the killing on both side sparked up the ethnic feud (Thovoethin, 2005). The Kuteb and the Chamba of Taraba state clashed on

august 11, 2000 of which about 2,000 persons were reportedly death. The violent was closely followed by a clashed in Lagos involving O'dua People Congress (OPC) on the 9th of September 2000. Okirika and Eleme in River state took the stage on October 4th 2000, a fight over land ownership (Egbenyi, 2005 and Imogigbe, 2003). Other conflict worthy of note between the year 1999 and 2000 are the conflict in Tafawa-Belewa square and other part of Bauchi state (2000), the conflict in Mushin, Ajegule, Ketu, Agege and other part of Lagos (1999-2000), Conflict in Kaduna metropolis in may (2000), the conflict in Gombe state, in September (2000), and the conflict in Aguleri and Umuleri areas of Anambra state in 2000 (Adabayo, 2006).

In May 2001, the Tiv, Jukun and Fulani militias engaged in a feud over disputed land in Taraba state. Also in June 2001 many lives were loss and properties destroyed in Azara town Nasarawa state, when the people revenged the killing of their Traditional leaders by the Tiv (Olukorede, 2002 and Thovoethin), worthy of note also is the Zaki-Biam case in Nigeria's continue inter-ethnic violence. On October 22nd 2001, government troops carried out a brutal attack to avenge the killing of its 19 soldiers in Tiv land (Zaki-Biam), Benue state. The army mission went away when 19 soldiers were abducted by a Tiv militia group and murdered apparently because the Tiv assumed that the soldiers were disguised Jukun tribesmen. The federal government later sent soldiers for reprisal killing which were targeted at civilians as well as Tiv militia men, with helpless civilians including women and children becoming the major victims (Thovoethin, 2005). On 12 February, 2002, conflict sacked the Hausa resident in Idi-Araba, Lagos. Misunderstanding between Hausa resident and Yoruba degenerated into an OPC violent attack on non-indigenes. More so, in June 2002, about 15 people were killed and many injured when ethnic youth and militias of Ozoro and Okpaile community clashed in Isiko, Delta state (Thovoethin, 2005). Also the protracted intra and inter-ethnic feud between Billiri and Shongom; Tula and Awak; and of course, the outlandish violent land clashed between Kaltungo and Dadiya all in Gombe south are other example of violent conflict which have grave consequences on both lives and properties (Patrick, 2007).

Furthermore, the situation in the Niger Delta at that time and in the recent past is a thing of concern with the action of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND),

and the struggle for the Biafaran nation state under the leadership of Kanu which has negative effect on the Nation's Economy. The Niger Delta problem is as old as the minority cry of marginalization and neglects as well as the resource control controversy that has trailed the political equation of Nigeria's nation state. Nigeria within this period, that is from 1999-2011 has also loss a lot to various militant ethnic youth movements, which are majorly used as war tools by the elites and ethnic groups to press home their demands, which more often than non are political and by extension economic control. Such militant ethnic youth movements include O'dua People Congress (OPC), The Arewa People Congress, The Ijaw Youth Council, The Egbesu Boys of Africa, The Niger People Volunteer Force, The Bakasi Boys, The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign state of Biafra, The Hisba or Sharia Vigilante Groups in the Muslim north and the militias of the Tiv, Jukun and other ethnic groups in Nigeria's many conflict zone (Ambe-Uva, 2010).

The reality of conflict in Nigeria has become so stark has Ukoha (2003), clearly noted that the outbreak of conflict and political violent in various part of the country has become so frequent that Nigerians, rather than been surprised at the outbreak of conflict, have adapted to their reality. He further asserted that such adaptive strategy has been described as everybody is sharpening his knife, to him this strategy has also generated more conflicts as it lead to a situation where such a seemingly innocuous act as a child defecating in a bush is loaded with ethnic meanings and can ipso factor ignite violence. This is not surprising, considering the fact that ethnicity and religious sentiment is perhaps the most historically enduring behavioral pattern in Nigeria, and were further reinforce by colonial and post-colonial regimes.

2.3 Causes and Drivers of Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria

No conflict has ever occurred without a cause. All across Nigeria there is ever lengthening thread of ethnic violence: the Ife/Modakeke ethnic conflict, Ogoni and Adonis, Shagamu, Kano, Zango-kataf, Jukun/ Tivs, Shongom/Billiri, Tula/ Awak, Kaltungo/Dadiya, etc. These are not isolated events but are interconnected. And of course they do not drop from the sky; powerful social and economic factors give rise to them. Thus, the main causes of conflict

and crises in Nigeria according to Albert (2010) are competitions for resources. Resources as a cause of conflict refers to all forms of human possessions such as land, money, power and influence that are often in limited supply. This cause conflict in three ways:

- i. when is not enough to go round everybody/people fight for the little that is available
- ii. people fight over resources when it is unjustly distributed or allocated
- iii. it is believed that excessive lack (poverty) makes people to become pliable instrument in hands of conflict entrepreneurs.

In light of the above it is therefore, pertinent to note that causes of ethnic conflict in Nigeria are numerous. Ekeh (1975) opined that the problems are caused by existence of two “publics”, the state and the tribe, with the tribe as the “moral” public, while the state is a “moral”. Therefore, while most Africans bend over backwards to benefit and sustain their primordial publics – tribes, they seek to gain from the civic public. This establishes a competition between the state and the tribe, with its greater moral imperative, eventually wins. The commitment of loyalty to the tribe at the expense of the state ultimately leads to the insufficiency of the public sector, corruption, and tribalism.

Economic factor has been identified as one of the major source of conflict in Africa. Theorists believed that competition for scarce resources is a common factor in almost all ethnic conflict in Africa. In multi- ethnic society like Nigeria, ethnic nationalities violently compete for property, rights, jobs, education, language, social amenities and good health care facilities. In his study, Nnoli (1980) produces empirical examples linking socio-economic factors to ethnic conflict in Nigeria. According to Furniral, cited in Nnoli (1980), “the working of economic forces makes for groups with competing interests”. Another major cause of ethnic conflict is psychology, especially the fear and insecurity of ethnic groups during transition. It has been opined that extremists build upon those fears to polarize the society. Additionally, memories of past traumas magnify these anxieties. These interactions produce a toxic brew of distrust and suspicion that leads to ethnic violence. Gur’s (1970) relative deprivation theory offers an explanation based on an ethnic groups

‘access to power and economic resources. This is closely related to Horowitz (1985), who writes that group worth is based on the results of economic and political competitions.

According to Lake and Rothschild (1996), ethnic conflict is a sign of a weak state or a state embroiled in ancient loyalties. In this case, states act with bias to favour a particular ethnic group or region, and behaviors such as preferential treatment fuel ethnic conflict. Therefore, in critical or difficult political situations, the effectiveness of governance is dependent on its ability to address social issues and human needs. Ethnic conflicts are usually contagious and can spread quickly across borders like cancer cells. Gurr and Marshall asserts that most African conflict are caused by the combination of poverty and weak states and institutions. In recent times the government of Nigeria has taken bold constitutional steps to reduce tensions, but the continuing ethnic and religious conflict rise questions about the effectiveness of these mechanisms. Ethnic conflict has been at the heart of Nigeria's development problems. Politicized ethnicity has been detrimental to national unity and socio-economic well-being. It is important to note that most of these ethnic conflict were caused by colonialism, which compounded inter-ethnic sentiment by capitalising on the isolation of ethnic groups. The divide and conquer method was used to pit ethnicities against the colonizers.

Distribution of economic resources was often skewed to favour a particular group, pushing marginalized groups to use their ethnicity to mobilize for equality. These are the seed of conflict. There are some common conflict patterns. They includes the demand for ethnic and cultural autonomy, competing demands for land, money and power, and conflicts taking place between rival ethnic groups. Otite (1990) identifies seven likely causes of ethnic conflicts in our communities, these are: (i) The struggle for land space and the resources available; (ii) Disputed jurisdiction of certain traditional rulers and chiefs. Where a king of one ethnic or sub-ethnic group claims rulership over people belonging to another ethnic groups; (iii) Creation of new local government councils and the location of their headquarters; (iv) Ethnic and individual or sectional competition over access to scarce political and economic resources; (v) The micro and macro social structures in Nigeria; (vi) Population growth and expansionist tendencies to sustain ethnic- bound occupations- a type

of conflict popular amongst the users of land resources; and (vii) The perception or disregard for cultural symbols and the “pollution of cultural practices.

A major dominant and perhaps powerful factor is poverty, which is manifested in unemployment and deterioration of infrastructure. Both unemployment and deterioration of infrastructure provide the bedrock for ethnic conflicts. Many people are out of jobs and those who are visibly working are underemployed. Many functional factories are not working to full capacity, leading to retrenchment of workers and an increase in the unemployment figure. This phenomenon is not limited to the private sector alone. Government establishment at federal, state and local government levels, all periodically retrench workers without adequate financial records.

Government’s idea is to reduce the labour force and conserve public funds. The consequences of this is an increase in the unemployment rate. Those who luckily escape retrenchment and are still working find it increasingly hard to collect their salaries. Sometimes, salaries amounting to many months or at times years owed workers by their employer's with no hope of payment. Consequently, most families find it difficult to feed themselves and cater for other essential services like shelter. The family norms and values have gone and most parents could therefore not control their children, Kith and kin. This situation provides ample opportunity for ethnic conflict. The unemployed youths and wayward children become ready tools to be used by selfish leaders in inciting trouble and causing ethnic conflicts all over the country. The promise of paltry sum of money with little enjoyment makes the youths more than willing to undertake such a venture. They are carried away by the goodies and booties they enjoy without having a serious thought about the implications of their actions (Adebayo, 2006).

Poverty, also typified in deteriorating infrastructures such as bad roads, lack of portable water, electricity, proper medical care facilities, social infrastructure, food, schools, and so on generate fear, distrust, hatred, frustration, hunger, jealousy and other vices. Under this situation, communities scramble for limited resources and it is very easy for some to believe that they have been marginalized in the scheme of things or they have been short -changed in

the sharing formula. There may also be scramble among the communities to edge out one another in order to gain control of the resources or have more resources accruing to themselves. The general belief is that if the other ethnic group (s) goes away, there will be enough for those left behind (Adebayo, 2006). For instance, the Niger Delta crisis arose out of the refusal of the multinational oil companies to re-channel some of their profits to improve the lot of the communities as well as to rebuild the environment that suffers the direct consequences of their operations. The resultant effects is the restiveness among the youths, who are either jobless or underemployed, and so are ready to agitate on nearly a daily basis for money from the oil companies. A refusal on the part of the companies could mean seizing their workers (expatriates and Nigerians alike) as hostages and disrupting production of oil and allied products. It also results in vandalization, and Wanton destruction of properties, disruption of oil flow stations, and pipeline vandalization among others. This, in the long run, affects the generality of Nigerians as shortage of oil leads to increase in the pump price and hoarding of the commodity to create scarcity and hardship for the citizens (Adebayo, 2006)

Conflict could also ensue when a community or ethnic group's feel that it has not been properly compensated or has not benefited from what government or companies are deriving from its lands or localities. Such people believe that they have been short-changed by the companies operating in their localities and what they get in return is not commensurate to what they suffer for the activities of the companies. This is the case with the Niger Delta. The people of this region have clashed severally with the government forces and oil companies over what they consider to be insufficient compensation by these companies, vis-à-vis what the companies take from their land and the deprivation they suffer due to their (oil companies) activities. They are also of the opinion that, the Federal Government too has not compensated them adequately in revenue sharing and there is therefore the need for them to agitate for more money from both the companies and the Federal Government. The inability of these companies to yield to local demands could lead to disruption of their operations and holding of their workers as hostages (Adebayo, 2006).

This issue also generate intra-ethnic conflicts within the Niger -Delta region. The notion by a large majority that few leaders (minority) among them, mainly the chiefs and few political leaders are benefiting from what ought to go round the entire community, also fuels conflict. They opined that, these leaders negotiate on their behalf and embezzled what ought to go round the entire community, leaving the large population in abject poverty while they and their families live in affluence. Situations like these make the majority of the people rise against the corrupt officials, chiefs and political leaders alongside their corporate collaborators. Such agitation usually tends to be violent and at times leads to wanton destruction and killings. This was the case of the Ogonis against their leaders (Adebayo, 2006). Another problem that causes ethnic conflicts in Nigeria is that of domination and Marginalization of other groups in the sharing of amenities and political offices (Adebayo, 2006). This problem, no doubt, was engendered by colonialism and has lingered on in the country's polity. The different constitutions introduced in the country by the British and the many states created by the military leaders since 1967 were some of the efforts to free the minority ethnic groups from the dominance of the majority tribes however, every attempt at solving this problem through administrative fiat has posed new problems and the consequences of these administrative actions are the same (Adebayo, 2006). The attempts at solving the problems have created other lingering political problems in the country, dominant among which are:

(a) The emergence of new majority tribes among minority tribes. The creation of new states led to the emergence of new majorities which have driven the minorities cracked, encouraged fresh agitation and inflamed passion, giving rise to suspicion. An attempt to protect ethnic rights in the new administrative set-up soon generates serious problems, and the agitation for new political and administrative arrangements starts all over again. The creation of new states may draw the old minorities into another state where they could become a majority tribe and would naturally want to lord it over the other minority groups. These minority groups, in turn, begin a new wave of agitation against their dominance. Instances of these abound all over the country. For instance, the Tiv in Benue State and Jukun in Taraba State, who were once minorities, become majorities in their new states respectively (Adebayo, 2006).

(b) The stranger element, (better called the “non-indigene” or “son of the soil”) and stranger syndrome is also a factor. For example, the Tiv in Nasarawa and Taraba States are regarded as “strangers” or “settlers” in these states. Ironically, however, the Gwaris do not have the same problem in Niger. Kaduna and Nasarawa States. But Hausa in Jos have the same problem as the Tiv. So also the Ijaws in Ondo State and the Modakeke in Osun state are regarded as “strangers” on the land they have occupied for ages. Thus, reference to residents as stranger easily spark off conflicts and the indigene normally laid claim to ownership of the land and its resources as, in the Ijaw/Ondo and the Ife/Modakeke conflicts (Adebayo, 2006).

(c) Closely related to this “settler” element is the land question. Some of the conflicts in Nigeria have been over grazing land, farmlands, fishing zones, and forests. When farmlands become scarce, strangers who are farmers or fishermen have problems, as an attempt by them to demand for more land or fishing area could generate conflict, since this could be resisted by the indigenes. Ironically, the struggle for land among the tribes was not as vicious as when the various states were part of a single administrative unit than when new states and local government were created (Adebayo, 2006).

Land ownership has also been a contentious issue between different ethnic groups within the same state or in different states. The problem of who owns the land in Warri had become a serious one among the Ijaws, Urhobos, Itsekiris and also between the Aguleris and the Umuleris in the riverine areas of Anambra State. The conflict over land ownership has been a reoccurring problem between the different ethnics groups with its attendant wanton destruction of lives and properties. Similarly, communities in the Niger-Delta region have clashed with one another over territorial claims, most especially in area where oil exploration companies operate and for which royalties, amenities and development projects are expected (Adebayo, 2006).

(d) Population growth and expansionist tendencies among ethnic or sub-ethnic groups, or different communities to sustain their occupation or growth, could also lead to violent clashes among them. This is a common phenomenon among land and water users. The

demand for more land to sustain a growing population could lead to annexation of another group's land, whether within or across the common boundary. Such an action tends to lead to conflict as ethnic groups in Nigeria jealously guard their land and water areas. The conflict between the Tiv and Jukun in the Wukari local government area of Taraba state is a good example just as that of the Ilajes and the Ijaws in Ondo State (Adebayo, 2006).

Ethnic conflicts also arise out of a political situation. Politics is a game of number, but is also a game of financial muscle and financial base (Adebayo, 2006). Thus, politics and money go hand in hand, as they are inseparable. In some states, the majority tribes are not necessarily the kings or the kingmakers, because they lack the financial power to influence this, despite their numerical strength and superiority. In this situation, the minority tribes may possess the financial capacity and thereby become the kings and the kingmakers. Where a group is marginalized by money or raw political influence, there are bound to be problems. This is the case in Kaduna and Plateau States. It is also the latent fear in Taraba and Nasarawa States, where the Tiv are being suspected of muscling with their number and financial resources to dominate the others. If this trend is not checked, it could lead to ethnic conflict (Adebayo, 2006).

The creation of states or local governments invariably leads to the whittling down of the powers of the paramount rulers in these states. Such loss of power was never going to be taken lightly by the leaders. This was the case in Kaduna, Plateau, and Nasarawa States. Equally important is the creation of new chiefdoms, senatorial districts, constituencies and wards. These could also lead to agitations by groups that feel marginalized in the scheme of things. The indigene factor too cannot be removed as they try to prevent this. Again, we find this problem in Nasarawa State where the Tiv insist on some chieftaincy rights with other ethnic groups. Political comparative advantages tend to give political opportunities to one group or tribe, the opportunity to dominate other ethnic groups or tribes. The problem is that those with the political authority could use it in subjugating others or use it to their full political advantage by monopolizing all political offices and social benefits that ought to go round other groups. Political leaders therefore champion the cause of their tribes or ethnic groups at the expense of the others. The marginalized tribes or groups thereafter could show

their displeasure at the present political disadvantages, thereby leading to agitation and ethnic conflict (Adebayo, 2006).

Ethnic conflict could also be caused when dispute arises among traditional rulers or chiefs or between two ethnic or sub-ethnic groups over the issue of paramount chief. Issue such as this generate ethnic conflict as the subjects of the two conflicting kings or chiefs slug it out among themselves, leading to wanton destruction of lives and property. This was the situation in Warri where the Olu of Warri, a town inhabited by other ethnic groups, namely, the Urhobos and Ijaws. The killings and destruction that accompanied this conflict left the town in a devastating and desolate condition. In 1989, the Delta State Government appointed three other paramount rulers of equal status as the Olu, two for the Urhobo Kingdoms of Okere and Agbasa and the third for the Ijaws. The claims by the other paramount kings of equal status as the Olu led to another round of violent conflict in the town (Adebayo, 2006).

2.4 Consequences of Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria

Conflicts have the potential of destroying the foundation of national unity or nation-building. This is because ethnic and sub-national demands and aspirations often challenge nation-building and allocation policies and ultimately, the legitimacy of the state (Zartman, 1991). Continued ethnic conflict in Nigeria could destroy democracy and the unity of the country, and eventually can leads to total disintegration. Ethnic conflict also consumes a large and disproportionate share of national resources. In an effort to combat ethnic conflicts, government diverts a large proportion of the national resources, whereas such resources could have been channeled to the provision of infrastructure for the people. Similarly, government wastes a lot of resources on repairing properties damaged during ethnic conflicts. Multinational oil companies also suffer the same fate. A huge amount of money is spent on carrying out repairs on vandalized pipelines, damaged fuel stations and other properties destroyed during ethnic conflicts (Adebayo, 2006).

Ethnic conflicts have long-time effects on the economic activities of the country. Many of the conflict may occur during the rainy season, thereby preventing people from going to their farms for fear of being killed or kidnaped. When such situation occurs, farming and other

economic activities such as fishing and trading also suffer the same fate. During violent clashes, farm lands, grazing lands and crops meant for farming and animals are destroyed. This situation could therefore lead to famine, hunger and starvation in the country. In most cases, men abandon their economic activities to participate in the clashes, thereby leaving the farms for nobody to work on. Continued crises in the country could lead to food shortage, hunger and starvation (Adebayo, 2006). Ethnic conflict also affect business houses, manufacturing industries, small-scale enterprises and other business ventures, as they would be shut down. People would flee from the streets and town in panic and run away for their lives. Commercial vehicles too would be off the road and movement within and outside the community becomes impossible. Buying and selling too would come to a halt and communication within and outside the communities would become practically impossible (Adebayo, 2006).

Hospitals and health workers too would run away for their safety. This makes it impossible for the sick to receive medical attention. Ethnic conflict leads to displacement of people and movement of immigrants into another communities, towns, local government areas and states thereby creating refugee and resettlement problems. Displaced people tend to lose all they have and lived for. They become homeless and go in search of a new accommodation and new means of livelihood. Aside from losing their homes and properties, children and aged people who cannot run are either killed or get missing during the crises. Ethnic problems create restrictions on mobility of labor as many Nigerians cannot work in states of their choice or get employment in their chosen field. Some state or local government councils prefer to employ expatriates instead of Nigerians, thereby keeping the countries unemployment rate on the increase (Adebayo, 2006).

The continued ethnic clashes in the Niger Delta region affect the production of petroleum which is the mainstream of the country's economy. Disruption of oil production and flow, and the kidnapping of oil workers (expatriates and Nigerians alike) lead to the high price of petroleum products in the country. A slight disturbance leads to a hike in the prices of the products causing untold hardship on the people. Ethnic conflicts have led to the proliferation of ethnic-based groups with their militant wings (comprising youths) that have an avowed

mission to protect the interest of their tribes, as well as championed their political cause. Examples are the Yoruba Consultative Forum (YCF), The Afenifere and the militant O'dua People's Congress (OPC), an organization of Yoruba Youths determined to protect the socio-political and economic interest of the Yoruba's all over the country (Adebayo, 2006).

In the oil-producing region, a good number of militant and rebel groups comprising mainly the youths have emerged, with a mission to defend and protect the socio-economic and political rights of their people. The Movement for the Survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP) is the most popular in this region and it has succeeded in internationalizing the plight and neglect of the oil-producing areas (Adebayo, 2006). The Egbesu Boys, a militant youth wing, is a nightmare to oil companies. There is also the Niger Delta People Volunteer Force led by Mujahid Dokubo Asari, a rebel group styled after late Isaac Boro Group (formed more than three decades ago). The groups are fighting for autonomy in the country's oil-rich Niger Delta and have threatened an all-out war (Adebayo, 2006). The various groups in the Niger-Delta are seeking job opportunities for their youths and adequate compensation from the oil companies operating in their regions for what the host communities suffer due to oil production activities. Perhaps the activities of the Egbesu Boys and other groups in the oil producing region are not the same with other groups in the country. While the oil-producing groups are seeking outright political autonomy, employment and monetary compensation, and are gearing up for a possible war in their region if all efforts fail, the other groups are not so militant (as the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force), but merely seek to protect the rights of their people in the existing political structure (Adebayo, 2006).

Ethnic conflicts have tremendous effects on the country's political system. The country's national unity is been systematically eroded. Contest for political office has been reduced to a primitive struggle among the ethnic groups. Tribal loyalty is stronger in the country than national loyalty, as Nigerians see themselves first and foremost as Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Igala, Egba, Ijebu, Bini, Kalabari, Ijaw and Tiv, before calling themselves Nigerians. Nigerians who settled and work or make their living in other ethnic areas other than their own are not willing to contribute to the development of their host communities (Adebayo, 2006). They prefer to do this to their own home town or ethnic group than where they make their living.

The issue of “son of the soil”, “indigene” and “non-indigene” or “settler” is still very strong among Nigerians. The host communities still treat settlers as foreigners and refuse to fully integrate them, while settlers also prefer to contribute to the development of their ethnic groups and home towns rather than their host communities (Adebayo, 2006).

Contest for political offices at the local, state and national levels are ethnically based. Candidate are fielded and backed by ethnic groups in order to bring political gains to themselves and their ethnic groups. In the same vein, appointments as ministers, commissioners, chairmen of parastatals and into other political offices at all levels are ethnically based. The syndrome of “our own son is there” or “he is our son” is always the reason why people fight when an ethnic group is dominating or marginalizing the other groups or that the interest of a particular ethnic group has not been taken care of, could also trigger off ethnic conflict all these weaken the political base of a nation, and lead to political anarchy, chaos and wanton destruction of lives and property (Adebayo, 2006).

Ethnic conflict in the country are usually characterized by killings, wanton destruction of lives and properties, including burning of houses, vehicles and other personal items, farm land, fishing boats, business centers, and so on. Its also lead to raping of women and young girls, starvation (as people would want to remain indoors, with no markets open and no food) refugee problem do not augur well for a democratic political setting. The recurrence of ethnic crises and the attendant sporadic killing, looting and arson could create an opportunity for a military take-over of political power (as it happened in 1966), thereby truncating the democratization process currently going on in the country (Adebayo, 2006). All this shifts emphasis in government action from providing basic infrastructure to mending of fences. It also depletes government financial resources as energy is dissipated on maintaining elusive peace in the region (Adebayo, 2006).

2.5 Brief History of Kaltungo/Dadiya Conflict

Ethnic clashes are a common type of conflicts in Nigeria and are usually caused by struggle for ownership of power, land and other environmental resources. A vivid history of the conflict between Kaltungo and Dadiya proved problematic for various reasons, chief among

which is the absence of written documents and empirical evidence upon which to build or prove the various and often conflicting oral historical accounts. An oral version has it that ethnic wars between the two ethnic nationalities began some centuries ago, especially when the two communities come in contact with one another as a result of migration which is central to the history of state formation in Nigeria. In the process of time, the conflict died a natural death, and there was a cordial relationship between the two ethnic groups with considerable level of socio-economic activities and inter-marriages between the periods of 1906 through 1970s.

However, in the 1980s and early 90s, the increase in population brings about pressure on land particularly for settlement and agricultural production. And this was when claimed and counter-claims for land between the two communities become manifest, and the ancient feud between the two communities re-emerged. Thus, the remote cause of the conflict which latter becomes a full blown war between the two communities was a lingering court case over land ownership in Lawishi village. The case was between Mr Kamba Family (a Dadiya man), and Mr Kofor's Family (a Kaltungo man). The legal battle which was in Kaltungo Upper Area Court since 1993 was finally ruled in favor of Mr Kamba, a Dadiya man, in 2007. This doesn't go well with a Kaltungo man, who feels that the court unjustly deprived him of his own land.

The Monday 21st - 23rd, May 2007 episode of bloody conflict between Kaltungo and Dadiya people, started when a Kaltungo man was killed by Dadiya people in Langwalak (one of the disputed land), while preparing his farm land for the rainy season. This was seen as an act of provocation on the side of Kaltungo people. On that same Monday evening, Kaltungo youths mobilized themselves and launched a reprisal attack on Dadiya communities. And, on that day alone 6 persons were reportedly killed and valuable properties destroyed. Within three days of the violent crises i.e. from 21st - 23rd May, 2007 many lives and properties worth several millions were lost on both side. It took the efforts of Gombe state government who deployed mobile police and other security men to restore peace and cease fire in the conflicts zone.

Despite several peace committees, peace conferences, and reconciliation programs between the two warring communities, attack and reprisal attacks has since then become an annual occurrence. Over the years, the conflicts between the two ethnic groups have received a lot of media attention. This is probably because of its resurgence and viciousness. During the violent clashes, all kinds of barbaric activities took place including countless burning of houses and rampant killings in various styles including innocent children, helpless women and aged people. In some cases, all villages were razed, some of the villages affected on both side includes: Sabon Layi, Kalakorok, Sansang, Loyilme, Langwalak, Bakkanga, Lopiyo, Kaalaw among others.

The two neighbors have had fratricidal conflicts emanating from prolonged land dispute that ensue between them. Our source who pleaded anonymity revealed that the disputed farm lands lies within Kaltungo Local Government Area along its border with Balanga Local Government, homed of the Dadiya people and has claimed several lives as a results of the lingering crises. The conflicts keep recurring on an annual basis, with varying magnitudes. In fact, the conflict of 2008 did more than strain the relationship between the two communities. It gave birth to heighten level of violence, which increased in 2009 and reached an alarming proportion in the conflicts of 2011. This was when countless houses were burned, valuable properties destroyed and thousands of people were killed. Thus, one is aware that the Gombe state government and church leaders have taken some measures to address this problem, but mutual suspicion and hatred remains largely as a consequence of political shenanigans.

In a study where the bulk of data was gathered from people who kept no notes on the past and depend solely on memory for recollection, certain discrepancies are allowed. Thus, this may not be all round facts and or an exhaustive history of the conflict between Kaltungo and Dadiya communities; however this study would serve as a foundational template and a springboard for future researchers who may have interest on the subject in question.

2.6 Theoretical framework

The theories that guides this research work is Territorial Imperative Theory and Conflict Trap theory.

Territorial Imperative Theory

Territorial Imperative theory was developed by Robert Ardrey in 1967, where he traced the animal origin of property, nations and territoriality. A territory is defined as an area of space which an animal or group of animals defend as an exclusive preserve. It is within such territory, that the basic needs and interest of such animals are gratified. These needs include: security of space and food, identity, prestige, etc. they therefore defend such an area at all costs. And strive to keep it out those who undermine their interest and needs. Following the above postulation, all animals, including man, have the natural tendency or instincts to be territorial and possessive, especially when their territories and possessions are threatened. In order to ward-off this threat, they will employ any means available to them, to defend their territories and possessions. This is the reason why Ardrey (1967:2) opined that “if we defend the title to our land or the sovereignty of our country, we do it for reason no different, no less innate, no less ineradicable, than do lower animals.”

In the same manner, Sherif and Sherif (1969) support this view by arguing that territorial aggression in animals is based on the relatively simple chemical, tactile and visual discriminations involved in detecting unfamiliar ‘opponents’ while for humans the concept of ‘territory’ depends on complex cultural symbolizations of property or ‘homeland’. People, they pointed, out are quite capable of territorial loyalty without actually living in the territory itself. Therefore, conflict may ensue in an attempt by individuals, groups or countries to defend their territories, land, traditions, culture and property they so value. This, in part, explains the reasons why ethnic and religious groups fight over land and territory. Indeed, scholars have argued that territorially concentrated groups in divided societies are more likely to demand self-determination (Saideman and Ayres, 2000 and Toft 2003; Toft and Saideman 2010) and to be engaged in violent conflict in its pursuit (Fearon and Laitin 1999; Weidmann, Rod. Cederman 2010). Consequently, Quinn (2008:33) has revealed that since

the end of the second World War alone, '79 territorially concentrated ethnic groups have waged armed conflicts for autonomy or independence, not counting the peoples of former European colonies' (Quinn 2008:33), while Csergo and Wolff (2009) identify a total of 82 groups in 28 countries who have sought a greater degree of political control over territories they consider their traditional homelands at some stage after 1945.

This also explains the situation of the Kaltungo/Dadiya conflicts in Gombe south, where both ethnic groups fought to hold on to the land in dispute.

Conflict Trap Theory

Conflict Trap Theory is also adopted as a theoretical framework of analysis in this study. The proponents of this theory are Paul Collier, V.L. Elliott, Harvaard Hegre, Ankle Hoeffler, Marta Reynal-Querol and Nicholas Sambanis. To them conflict trap denotes that once a conflict has erupted, it tends to develop momentum of its own. Peace seemingly becomes elusive and hard to restore. Even when peace is restored it often does not endure (Collier et.al 2003).

The exponents of this theory ascribed the lengthy pattern of a typical conflict to number of interlocking factors. Conflicts in multiethnic societies are enduring possibly on account of their ready vulnerability to the rallying, massaging and mobilization of ethnic sentiment for both the warring groups and the government. In addition, in a plural society, particularly where the population has significant grievances, conflict usually becomes an effective political strategy for pursuit of their interest and goals. Lastly, even if the custodians of power and authority in the society are willing to concede to the demands of the groups, they are usually neither trusted nor believed to have credible means of committing the warring factions to agreement. The warring groups might be afraid that once they hold the olive branch the custodians of power and authority would renege on any agreement (Collier et.al 2003). Furthermore, it is also contended that it is even difficult for the custodians of power and authority to concede to demands of the warring groups because such could lead to the flowering, proliferation, mushrooming and radicalization of other groups, which often have opposing objectives. Also, a significant factor to a lengthy conflict is the extremely

unequally distributed income and a very low average income, possibly on account of the cost of sustaining conflict is low if there is an expansive layer of economic destitute and possibly significantly weak institutions such as the security agencies, which are unable to deter and apprehend violators of laws. More so, sustaining conflict has become easier because the warring groups have easy access to armaments for prosecuting conflict (Collier et.al 2013).

Yet, very important to the lengthy pattern of conflict is that once a conflict has occurred a template is raised. It becomes difficult to return to status quo. Presumably, conflict reinforces hatred, and may shift the balance of influential interests in favor of continued conflict. Also, the criminal entrepreneurs that profit from the conflict would do anything including sabotaging peace process for its to continue (Collier et.al 2003). Violence entrepreneurs, whether primarily political or primarily commercial, may gain from conflict to such an extent that they cannot credibly be compensated sufficiently to accept peace. Those who see themselves as political leaders benefit from war because they can run their organization in hierarchical, military style with power concentrated in their own hands, something much more difficult to justify in peace time. Those who see themselves as extortionists benefit from the absence of the rule of law in the areas they control. However, leaders see themselves as if they will have invested in expensive military equipment that will become redundant once they agree to peace. Asking a rebel leader to accept peace may be a little asking champion swimmer to empty his pool.

Tracing from the above assumptions, the conflict trap theory is apt and relevant for the appreciation of endemic threat of ethnic conflict in Gombe south and Nigeria as a whole. It offers deep insights to the interlocking factors that sustain conflict and its implications on the socio-economic development. It presupposes that once conflict has occurred it lengthens and become challenging to restore peace on account of a number of factors such as ethnic pluralism, proliferation of arms, scarcity of resources, existence of income disparities, existence of expansive republic of hoodlums and activities of criminal entrepreneurs. The conceptual and theoretical excursion reveals various perspectives for the appreciation of violence. Notably, each perspectives may be perfunctory, deficient, incomplete and restrictive but in sum they are illuminating and complementary.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter sets out to describe the method and procedures adopted in this research. It specifically comprises of research design, population of the study, sample and sampling techniques, method of data collection, research instrument, validation of the instrument and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

A research design adopted in the course of this study is descriptive survey research. Descriptive survey research are those studies which aim at collecting data and describing the data collected in a systematic manner, the characteristics, features or fact about a given population (Nworgu, 1991).

The choice of descriptive survey research is informed by the fact that it will enable the researcher to probe the impact of ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development of Gombe state without necessarily making any adjustment to suit any interest.

3.2 Population of the Study

The target population of this research includes the parties in conflict i.e. Dadiya and Kaltungo people resident in Gombe south senatorial zone of Gombe state, the people of Kaltungo and Balanga LGA and the ministry of Economic Planning Gombe, Gombe state.

Kaltungo is a local government area of Gombe state, Nigeria. Its headquarters are in the town of Kaltungo in the west of the area on the A345 highway at 9° 48' 51" N 11° 32' E. It has an area of 881km² and a population of 149,805 at the 2006 census.

Balanga is a local government area in the south-east of Gombe state, Nigeria, bordering Adamawa state. Its headquarters are in the town of Tallase. It had an area of 1,626km² and a population of 212, 549 at the 2006 census.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques

Based on the population of the study, the sample size of this study is 100 respondents. 20 respondents were selected from each study location, and the people interviewed in the course of this research work includes village heads, farmers, security men, business men, youths, hunters and the staff of ministry of Economic Planning Gombe, Gombe state.

The sampling technique adopted in this study is purposive sampling techniques. Purposive sampling techniques involve a process of selecting specific elements which satisfy some predetermined criteria (Nworgu, 1991). The parameters that guided the use of purposive sampling techniques is based on the fact that it enable the researcher to select persons who are conversant with the subject under investigation.

Hence, the distribution of the study location and the number of respondents interviewed in the course of this research work is tabulated below:

Table 1: A breakdown of study locations and number of respondents interviewed

S/N	Population	Kaltungo LGA	Balanga LGA	Lopiyo District	Pur'mai District	Ministry of Economic planning Gombe, Gombe state.
1	District/Village Heads	2	2	2	2	
2	Farmers	4	4	4	4	
3	Security Men	2	2	2	2	

4	Business Men/Women	2	2	2	2	
5	Youths	5	5	5	5	
6	Hunters	5	5	5	5	
7	Executive members					15
8	Non-executive members					5

3.4 Method of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used in the course of this research. The instrument for primary data collection is through key informant's interview (KII), focus group discussion (FGD) and observatory method. While the secondary sources of data were gathered through textbooks, journals, articles, theses, internet sources and newspapers, etc.

3.5 Research Instrument

The instrument that were adopted in the course of this study is key informant's interview (KII), focus group discussion, observatory method, and descriptive study. The questions answered by the interviewee were developed by the researcher and moderated by his supervisor.

3.6 Validation of the Instrument

The question developed by the researcher was subjected to scrutiny and validation by the researcher's supervisor and other experts in the center for peace and security studies MAUTECH Yola

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected in the course of this study were qualitatively analyzed and pictures were used to capture events as they existed in the Field.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results derived from the respondents based on the key informant interview (KII) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Based on the sample of the study, a total of 100 respondents were interviewed, and the data collected were analyzed qualitatively.

4.1 Data Analysis and Results

Data was collected and analyzed based on the research questions earlier stated in chapter one of this project. It was collected using KII and FGD. The key informants interviewed include district head, village heads, security personnel and staff of the Ministry of Economic Planning Gombe, Gombe state. Moreso, data was collected from FGD with famers, business people, youth as well as hunters and vigilante groups.

Data collected via KII and FGD were analyzed and discussed in this chapter in order of the research questions:

Nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya Conflict:

I.1 When and how did the conflict start?

In Lopiyo, one of the affected communities in Dadiya District, all the key informants interviewed reported that:

“The lingering court case over land ownership between Mr. Kamba, a Dadiya man and Kofor’s family in Kaltungo upper Area court sometime in the 90s was the genesis of the conflict”

3 of the KII interviewed in Kaltungo disclosed that:

“The conflict between the two ethnic nationalities date back to 1940s especially when the two ethnic groups come in contact with one another”. Two of the KII also added that, the protracted court case over land ownership, which was in Kaltungo upper Area court since early 90s fuel the fire of the conflict”.

2 of the FGDs in Kaltungo District Further opined that:

“The land in dispute was unjustly ruled in favour of a Dadiya man and this made Kaltungo people to react. 5 of the FGDs stated that “the land which was the source of the conflict was owned by Kaltungo people, and that it was least out to Dadiya people on request. They explained that Mr. Dahiru Kamba alongside his family latter claimed to be aborigines and owners of the land in dispute. This led to claimed and counter claimed of ownership between Kamba and Kofor’s family. The unjust handover of the land to Kamba family, according to them, was an act of injustice that led to grievance and full blown conflict”.

The FGDs in Dadiya unanimously stated that *“ethnic feud between Kaltungo and Dadiya is as old as the history of state formation in Nigeria, and that the court dispute between Dahiru and Kofor over land ownership was a continuation of such primordial prejudice and antagonism. They further explained that the violent conflict of May 2006 began with a mere disagreement and exchange of hate speeches between Kaltungo and Dadiya people who went to farm on the disputed land”.*

I.2 Who were the major actors?

2 of the KIS interviewed in Molding, a boarder community under Kaltungo, stated that:

“the acclaimed owners of the land in dispute, youths and ethnic militias of the parties in conflict were the key actors”. In a similar discussion with KII in Loshinto, a community in Dadiya District, 4 of informants reported that “the youths and ethnic militias of the two ethnic groups were the key actors”. 2 of the KIS interacted with in

Loyilme also reported the same thing. But added that there are shadow parties who are key players behind the scene”.

I.3 What are their interest?

The village head and 3 KII interviewed in Bandara disclosed that;

“the warring factions are interested in the ownership of the disputed agricultural land that lies within the borders of Kaltungo and Dadiya. 1 of the KII further opined that the desire to restore and maintain ethnic pride, autonomy and prestige are of great important to both ethnic groups”.

In the same vein the key informants interviewed in Balanga, reported that:

“the conflicting parties are interested in the ownership of Langualak, Bakange, Sansang and Lawishi. According to them, the struggle over the ownership of this land is tied to the fact that they are fertile plain suitable for agricultural production.

The FGDs interviewed in both communities are of the opinion that:

“The parties are interested in the ownership of land in question. But added that the strong desire to champion ethnic cause and causes are of great interest to both parties.

I.4 What is the nature and how frequent is the conflict?

The key informants interviewed in Bakalang and Sabara, stated that:

“the conflict which began as a mere disagreement and struggle over land ownership latter resort to a full blown war characterized by merciless killing, bombing of houses and valuable properties from both side of the parties in conflict. This started in 2007 through to 2011”.

On the other hand the interviewees from Purmai and Kalawa in Kaltungo explained that;

“The conflict which began as mere dispute over land ownership, latter took on ethnic dimension. They agued that the conflict mostly broke out in the raining season. And that during the violent clashes, all kind of barbaric activities took place. Violent act such as countless burning of houses and rampant killings in various styles, including innocent children, helpless women and aged people.

5 of the FGDs interacted with disclosed that:

“The Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict is violent in nature, characterized with burning of houses and farm produce, looting of animals and other valuables, plus rampant killing of men and women. The participant interviewed also disclosed that the conflict featured violent lost of lives and valuable properties worth millions.

Factors responsible for the conflict:

II.1 What is the remote cause of the conflict?

In Loyilme the 3 key informants interviewed indicated that:

“the lingering court case between Mr. Kamba and Kofor, boarder dispute, youth unemployment, rapid rise in population and the scarcity of land for agriculture are the root causes of the conflict. 2 of the KII revealed that indigene/settler dichotomy, poverty and proliferation of arms are the root causes of the conflict”.

In agreement with the above all the KII interviewed Kaltungo reported that;

“The root cause Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict include ethnic intolerance, poverty, negative oral history, increase population and the scarcity of land for agricultural production”. The FGDs interacted with are of the opinion that the conflict traced its root from the protracted court case between Dahiru and Kofor, poverty, youth unemployment, proliferation of arms, the long existing ethnic feud as well as identity consciousness and the desire to champion ethnic interest.

II.2 What are the immediate cause of the conflict?

While 5 of the informants interviewed in Losinto expressed that:

“Failure of the court to back up its proceedings with action, hate speeches and non-compliance with the court order as the immediate causes of the conflict.

In Bandara, community under Kaltungo the KII stated that:

“injustice/illegal handover of the contested land to Mr. Dahiru Kamba and the subsequent occupation of the land and other lands in the disputed area. Worst still the cold blood murder of an old man was seen as an act of provocation which resulted to a full blown conflict between the ethnic groups”.

In a similar discussion, the FGDs interviewed reported the same thing, but added that the manipulation and politisation of ethnic group by the elites, premodial prejudice, ethnic antagonism and hate speeches such as we can't afford to see our native land snatch away by migrant/alien are among the cause of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict”.

Impact of the Conflict on the Socio-Economic Development of Gombe State

III.1 In what specific ways has the conflicts impacted on interpersonal, communal and tribal relationship?

3 of the key informants interviewed in Dadiya pointed out that:

“prior to the conflict, there was a high degree of cordial relationship between the conflicting parties, but lamented that the conflict breeds mutual distrust, hatred and suspicion.

2 of the respondents mentioned that *“the conflict has led to high rate of divorce and break ups of cross-tribal manages. Worst still, engagement that were earlier contracted across tribal line were call off”.*

In Bandara, a village under Kaltungo district, the KII interviewed stated that: *“the conflict has done more than drained the harmonious co-existence and relationship between the two ethnic groups. They explained the rate at which uncles and parents withdrew their daughters from marriages that were earlier contracted across ethnic divide. They added that despite years of inter-marriages and cross-cultural ties, some women lost their lives in their husbands homes because they were accused of having sympathy and or being spies to their ethnic nationalities”*.

The FGDs interacted with in Kaltungo reported that:

“the cross-cultural and tribal relationship between the parties is broken, since friends could no longer speak, interact or visit one another. Government workers from both side were pressured to leave and relocate back to their home land. In some cases, their properties were either confiscated or burn to ashes. The FGDs in Dadiya also reported similar case, and furthered that social activities such as inter-community football competition, cultural festival and festive that were commonly shared practice is no longer practiceable as a results of the conflict”.

III.2 What are the impacts of the conflict on social institution?

While the key informant interviewed in Sabara stated that:

“the conflict has led to the closure of many primary and secondary schools. KII from Bakalang reported that churches, hospitals, school buildings and facilities were burn and vandalized. This, according to them has adverse effects on education, since pupils and teachers could not go to school because of insecurity.

The informants in Bundara lamented that:

“Sick people were left helpless, without proper medication. Since medical personnel have move out of the conflict zone to a relative safe environment. Markets and

shopping complex were damaged and closed, and people could not practice social activities including sports”.

III.3. What is the impact of the conflict on human lives?

The key informants interviewed in Kalawa indicated that:

“The conflict has led to destruction of residential homes, displacement of people and loss of valuable properties”.

In Lopiyo, KII interviewed lamented that:

“women and children suffered greatly. They explained that the conflict has led to increase in number of widows and orphans, having lost not only their bread winners but also their means of livelihood, many victims relocated to their family friends and relatives in search for means of livelihood. A KII pointed out that during the conflict many of the victims took refuge on the surrounding mountaims and helplessly watched their valuable burn to ashes”

The FGDs in purmai collectively reported that:

“the conflict has led to dislocation of families and social networks, many lives were lost, displacement of people, trauma, starvation and general fall in living standard of people. An informants added that many people were killed, and several others maimed on both side of the warring factions. An FGD in Bakalang lament the rate at which many youth resorted to idolatry and idol worship in the name of self-fortification, he however explained that the conflict has led to lost of many lives, valuable materials and that it has heighten the level of poverty and joblessness in both communities, since farmers fled for their lives, with no one to tilt the ground.

III.4. From your experience, what are the impact of the conflict on agriculture, market operation, business and other related economic activities.

The key informants interviewed in Lolamba pointed out that:

“most of the inhabitants of Kaltungo and Dadiya are farmers. Since conflict displaced farmers, it has according negative impact on livestock and crop production. They explained that many farmers and farming communities abandon their land, and relocated to fairly safe communities, leaving no one to till the land. Livestock farmers were severely affected by the conflict”. They lost many of their animals through stealing, shooting and or violent killing by the opponents.”

The FGDs interacted with in the same community explained that:

“Farming and business activities become impracticable in the conflict region for several farming seasons. According to them, when conflicts occur, fear of recurrence often deters people from farming and other economic activities for fear of attack”.

The key informants interviewed in Molding revealed that:

“There was no proper farming and business activities for almost three farming seasons, since people attention were diverted to conflict. Many farming communities fled their homes with no one to farm the land. An informants disclosed the rate at which theft was high especially during the conflict. He explained that many herders were dispossessed of their animals.

The FGDs reported that:

“the conflict has reduced human mobility, farm workers and herders feared attacks when on the field or grazing animals. They mentioned that local markets were short down for several months. People stopped patronizing market and this made many business people to incur loss. An informants added that, beside looting of animals and farm produce, many farmers, herders and traders loss most of their valuables through burning”.

Measures employed to manage and resolve the conflict.

IV.1. Who were the organization, individuals or groups that have intervened in the conflict?

The key informants interviewed in Molding stated that:

“individuals organization and groups that intervened in the conflict include Gombe State Government, peace delegate from ECWA Headquarters Jos Plateau state, council of village/district heads from Dadiya and Kaltungo, peace delegate from ECWA theological college Kufai, Billiri LGA, Gombe state”.

The KII interviewed in Dadiya reported the same thing, but added that:

“Kaltungo upper Area court, Pastors, philanthropist as well as youth in focuses for better Tangale Waja were other groups that intervened in the conflict”.

IV.2. In what specific ways did they intervened?

All the KII interviewed in Kaltungo and Dadiya reported that:

“Gombe state government intervened by deploying security personnel to ensure cease fire whenever there was conflict. Other groups and individual intervention include, provision of relief materials such as food, zinc and clothe to the victims of the conflict. They further explained that other interventions were in form of reconciliation, peace tour, seminars and conference to enable the parties appreciate the value of peaceful coexistence and stable atmosphere for sustainable development”.

IV.3. What impact does the intervention have on the conflict?

The FGDs and the KII interviewed collectively stated that:

“the intervention has succeeded in providing temporary solution to the conflict. Because at the time of this research the parties still hold grievances against one another.

What specific challenges/problems did the intervention have?

V.1. While the KII interviewed in Kaltungo stated that the challenges of the measures employed to manage and resolve the conflict include:

“non-challant attitude of the government, injustice on the side of court officials, and poor funding. The KII in Dadiya are of the opinion that the challenges of the intervention include the polarization and politization of peace process by some elites, lack of proper sharing formula of the issue in conflict, and activities of conflict entrepreneurs.

4.2 Research Findings

Based on the analysis of the study, the following findings were made:

- i. The study discovered that the nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict include countless burning of houses and farm produce, looting of farm animals and other valuables, violent killing of people including innocent children, helpless women and aged people.
- ii. The study revealed that the causes of the conflict are contestation over agricultural land, the lingering court battle between the acclaimed owners of the land boarder, dispute and indigene/settler dichotomy, population explosion, unemployment, poverty, negative oral history, hate speeches, proliferation of arms as well as identity consciousness and the desire to champion ethnic interest.
- iii. The study further discovered that the conflict has severe effects on inter-personal/inter-communal and tribal relationship, closure of schools, health care and worship centers, loss of lives and business investment, displacement of

- people, starvation disruption of farming and other economic activities leading to general fall in people's living standard.
- iv. The study discovered that the measures employed to manage the conflict include the intervention of court and peace delegation from ECWA Headquarters Jos, episodic deployment of security personnels, periodic meeting and consultation with stakeholders comprising of village/district heads, setting up of peace committee, peace tour and conference as well as prayers and fasting.
 - v. The challenges of the measures employed to manage and resolve the conflict include poor funding, lack of proper sharing formula, personal interest of some elite groups, polarization and politisation of peace committee by selfish individuals.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

The discussion of the findings was done using the following sub-headings:

- i. Nature of Kaltungos/dadiya conflict
- ii. Factors responsible for the incessant nature of the conflict
- iii. Impact of the conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state.
- iv. Measures employed to manage and resolve the conflict

4.3.1 Nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya Conflict

The study discovered that the Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict is ethnic-based, and its features merciless killing and maiming of people including innocent children, helpless women and aged people. There was countless burning of houses, looting of animals and farm produce, vandalization of schools and other public places etc. this finding is in agreement with the work of Gaye (1999), he observed that the ever-increasing acts of violence between divers ethic groups in Nigeria is such that its look like scene from a horror movie. The only thing missing was weird music. There was the disemboweled body of pregnant women, headless body of man; the list goes on. But this wasn't fiction. This was for real, it was war.

The ancient oil town of Warri has exploded in violence between hitherto co-existing communities. This explosion was left scars, visible and invisible. Some of the visible scars were corpses, burnt out houses that are no more than hallow shells. The streets had a desolate look as business closed down and people fled the town in panic. This was the outcome of clashes between the three ethnic group that make up Warri- the Ijaws and Urhobos, on one hand and the Itsekiris on the other. The scale and ferocity of the destruction are quite alarming- with hundreds of lives and properties lost. The antagonism among these ethnic groups is not new; it is a festering sore; it is merely increasing in frequency.

In spite of the government's deployment of troops to maintain peace and order, violence keeps breaking out on the surface, the present clash began in 1997 over the creation of local government councils, but on a more fundamental level deeper socio-economic factors strain ethnic relations. The past two year has been an uninterrupted process of violence killings, maiming, destruction of property, etc. In the ensuing mayhem, life has become extremely difficult. People are homeless and starving; there is no ways of selling or buying needed commodities as people have had to run and leave their jobs, business etc. Communication with outside is becoming impossible; all commercial activities have virtually come to a halt and hospitals do not function, has hospital workers have all run away for safely.

In Ondo state, it was a replay of Warri mayhem as the Ijaws and Ilajes, went for each others throat with the consequent loss of hundreds of lives and property. In most cases, whole villages were razed. Conflict is not confined to the river-rine areas. In the farming communities of Aguleri and Umuleri in Anambra state, the story is the same. The conflict over land is not new. It happened in 1933, 1964 and 1995. But, this recent one in 1999 assumed dangerous proportions with thousands of lives and properties destroyed, as more sophisticated weapons were used. These, and other ethnic conflict too numerous to mention, has had grave consequence on human lives and socio-economic development of Nigeria.

4.3.2 Factors Responsible for the Incessant Nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya Conflict

The study revealed that the factors responsible for Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict includes contestation over land ownership, poverty, indigene/settler dichotomy, identity

consciousness unemployment, poverty and proliferation of arms. This finding is in line with the work of Albert. According to Albert (2010) the major causes of conflict and crises in Nigeria are competition for resources. Resources has a cause of conflict refers to all form of human possessions such as land, money, power and influence that are often in limited supply. This cause conflict in three major ways:

- i. when it is not enough to go round everybody/people fight for the little that is available
- ii. people fight or resources when what is available is unjustly distributed or allocated
- iii. it is believed that excessive lack (poverty) make people to become pliable instrument in the hands of conflict entrepreneurs.

The most fundamental underlying forces which propel ethnic nationalism in Nigeria are those of pervasive poverty, mass unemployment, underdevelopment of productive forces, and non-absorbance of the economy. The absence of developed productive forces constraints the transformation of the structures of the economy and society. Mass poverty and unemployment create alienation and insecurity which in turn encourage Nigerians to experience and prefer accommodation within the social insurance system of ethnic nationalities. In this regard people are easily agitated about injustice of other groups against their own groups. Poverty also create frustration and divisiveness (Babangida 2002:). Poverty probably explains why unemployed youths are the cannon fodders of violent conflict in different part of Nigeria. People pay them to fight their cause.

Moreover, one cannot rule out the assumed economic marginalization of some ethnic groups as a cause of conflict. This is true of the reaction of the Ijaws and Ogonis in Niger-Delta to the economic exploitation of foreign multinational oil companies in the area with little or nor compensation to the environmental degradation of the area. In spite hanging of the leader of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP), Ken Sarowiwa in 1995, the Ogoni people continued with their quest through violence means. For economic reasons, the Ijaws, Itsekiris, and Urhobo have always confronted one another violently (Adebayo 2010).

History has it that ethnic wars overland ownership has broken out among people of the same states such as Brass and Nembe communities of Bayelsa, Jukun, Kuteb and Tiv in Taraba, Aguleri and Umuleri of Anambra state, Billiri and Shongon in Gombe state etc. In these land dispute Kith and Kin killed themselves cheaply because of land. The incessant nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict in Gombe south is so, because in both communities land is central to the continuity of life, and their attachment to land is such that places it on a unique position. In their belief that the end justify the means Kaltungo and Dadiya communities have fought ferociously to hold onto the lands in question, undeterred by the thousands of lives and properties they had lost.

Closely related to the competing demand for land is indigene/settler dichotomy. This factor provides a classic hot bed for ethnic clashes in Nigeria. This issue of indignity seems to create tension where non-existed before. The issue of indigene/settler dichotomy began to take on increase importance not longer after Nigeria's independence with regional policies that discriminated against non-indigenes in having access to land. The indigene/settler question in urban areas in Nigeria has produced violent conflict in varying degrees as witnessed in Kasuwan Magani (1980), Zango Kataf (1992), Tiv and Idoma (1993), (Bako 1994, 1994; Dung 1994). Also it has been noted for example in Nigeria that there are contests between native, indigenes and settlers in the quest for entitlement and opportunities (Mamdani, 2000:21). The indigene/settler fracas most often than non-culminate into religious violence. Example include: The Maitasine insurrections which took place in Yola and Funtua between 1980 and 1983; Kano riots (1984), Tuageo-Wagudugu (1989); Hausa-Fulani and Sayawa in Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi state (1992), Hausa and Beron in Jos (1994), Kaduna sharia conflict (2000), Jos Plateau state (2001, 2002, 2008, 2010, 2011) Bako (1994); IPCR (2003), Bogoro (2008); Gambo (2009).

This is akin to the vicious struggles over land ownership between Kaltungo and Dadiya who lay claim and counter claim to ownership of agricultural land that lies within the boader of the two communities. Both parties consider their opponent as strangers who have come to deprived them of their rights to their native land. The feeling by "natives" that stranger elements marginalized them, fuel discontent and resentment, this ultimately leads to violence

against non-native at the least provocation and quite often at the instigation of local champions.

4.3.3 Impact of the Conflict on the Socio-economic Development of Gombe State

The protracted conflicts between Kaltungo and Dadiya have impeded socio-economic development in various ways. Data from KII and FGD revealed that, virtually all communities within the conflict zone were affected in one way or the other. However, the worst affected communities are:

- i. Sansang
- ii. Langwalak
- iii. Lolu
- iv. Lawishi
- v. Kalakorok
- vi. Kaluwa
- vii. Shinto
- viii. Lopiyo
- ix. Bagalang
- x. Lokoba
- xi. Lolamba
- xii. Sabonlayi
- xiii. Pur'mai
- xiv. Am'tai
- xv. Sabara

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Timeline of the Conflict and its Impact, 2007-2015

Date	Properties Damage/Destroyed	Death rate/Other related casualties	Impact
May 2007	Over 57 residential houses were destroyed and 28 others were damaged. 5 primary schools and 2 churches were vandalized. More than 2000 bags of grains were burn, 1000 domestic animals were lost through theft, shooting and, at least 50 economic trees were destroyed	About 50 or 78 people were killed (depending on reports), 3 communities were set ablaze and over 2000 people were displaced.	Loss of means of livelihood, increased in the number of widows and orphans, outright closure of school (at least 5000 pupils/student were denied access to school). Till date, not all schools and communities are rehabilitated. Farming and business activities were disrupted
June 2008	At least 5 hectares of crop plants were damaged, 2 shopping complex and food items were burn	No death was recorded, many were injured and few others were displaced	Heighten the level of poverty, starvation and hunger, loss of business investment as well as diversion people's attention from farming and other economic activities
August 2008	Few houses and domestic properties were destroyed	Few people were killed and several other injured	Loss of means of livelihood, ruined inter-communal relationship and breeds mutual hatred and suspicion
September 2009	No lost/destruction of properties	Few people were injured	Breeds mutual fear, hatred and suspicion
October 2009	More than 20 hectares of crops plant were damaged, 50 bags of food stuff were burn. And over 1000 domestic animals got missing. Closure of schools	10 or 20 people lost their lives, other were injured, and many were displaced	Threat to life and food security, heighten the level of illiteracy, since teachers and students could not go to school because of insecurity
May 2010	No lost/damaged of properties	Few casualties	People could not freely move about and carry out their daily business. Ruined inter-communal relationship, and friend

			could no longer speak, interact or visit one another
June 2010	At least 200 livestock were lost (through theft and shooting), food stuff were burn, over 30 hectares of crop plant and economic trees were destroyed	5 or 15 people were killed, and many others injured	Loss of lives, animals and valuable properties. Disruption of agriculture, schools and business activities
July 2010	Few residential houses were burn, local markets, shopping complex with farm input such as seeds, fertilizers, and insecticide were burnt	4 people lost their lives, and more than 30 were injured	Loss of capital, farm produce and business investment
February 2011	Over 3000 houses were burnt, 2 communities were set ablaze. 5 schools, 3 churches and their facilities were vandalized. More than 2000 bags of farm produce were damaged. At least 4000 animals were lost, many shopping complex and local markets were burnt	At least 5000-1000 people were killed and several others injured. More than 3000 people were displaced	Heighten the level of poverty, hunger, increased number of widows and orphans. Many people were dispossessed of their means of livelihood. Increased number of school dropout and general fall in the living standard of people. Many youths resorted to idolatry in the name of self-fortification.
May 2015	No lost/destruction of properties	Few people were injured	Heighten mutual fear, hatred and suspicion

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Most of the inhabitants considered in our study are farmers. Their contribution to economic growth is large. However, the study discovered that the conflict impacted negatively on this occupational group. Besides countless burning of houses and farm produce, animal theft and loss of business investment, farming activities was seriously affected in most villages due to internal displacement of farmers who relocated to safer places. Schools, churches, health centers and market which serve as critical social institution are not spared in situations of arm conflict. In some of the communities investigated, it was found that there are instances

where churches, schools and health centers were vandalized and burnt. As conflict affect inter-communal relationship, displaces farmers, disrupt business and school activities, it has an accordingly negative impact on the socio-economic development of not only the communities affected but the nation at large.

In a distinguish annual lecture presented to the National Institute of Policy and Strategy Studies Kuru, Jos Plateau state in 2002, Former Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida observed that the overall consequences of contemporary ethnic nationalism consist of the following among others:

- “Wastage of enormous human and material resources in ethnically inspired violent, encounters, clashes and even battles”
- “Threat to security of lives and property and disinvestment of local and foreign companies with continues capital flight and loss of confidence in the economy”
- ---“the heightening of fragility of the economy and political process” (Babangida 2002).

Obioha (1999:16) argues that whatever the underlying factors or the precipitating context of ethnic conflict in Africa-nation states, there are bound to be consequences which are usually negative to the groups survival. One of the prominent outcomes of ethnic struggles and conflict in Africa has been civil war or violence. In countries like Sudan, Liberia, Sierraleon, Rwanda and Burundi to mention but a few, evidence of civil wars and bloody genocide are still there. Popular accounts have it that in Rwanda, half a million to a million people were slaughtered in a matter of months in mid 1994. At a time of civil strife and violence, property which is highly valued is usually destroyed. Houses are burnt and socio-economic resources vandalized. Obioha (1999) captured the effects of ethnic conflict thus:

“The ethnic tension between the Ijaws, the Itshekiris and the Urhobos has seriously affected the business of oil companies located in that area. In the process economic setbacks are usually experienced. The intra-ethnic strife in Ogoni land resulted in the loss of life of a notable contributor in African literature, Ken Saro wiwa (p’6)”

Furthermore, Ogunde (2002) averred that inter-ethnic hostilities, tribal warfare or national question has become serious dangerous signal in Nigeria, with its attendant barbaric acts. It is not uncommon to hear that during the numerous inter-ethnic (as well as intra-ethnic) clashes, all kinds of barbaric activities take place including countless burning of houses and rampant killings, in various styles. For instance, it is not uncommon for babies as young as seven days old to get their heads lift off or for older ones to get their stomachs ripped open in the course of such clashes.

There is however an inverse relationship between the rise in secular violence and the fall in the economic indices and general wellbeing of the people. The Nigerian economy has been in the state of collapse since the late 1970s through 1980s and 1990s, up till the present day. For example, the per capita income of the country in the earlier period mentioned was about one \$1000 per annum; whereas the per capita income for the latter period averages around and \$200. The above is an indication of the fact that, far less resources are now available to take care of far more people. Nigerian's main sources of income comes from the sale of oil, the real price of which has fallen by about half of what it used to be some twenty-five years ago; whereas the country's population doubled has during the same period. In the same vein, over the same period, industry collapsed. The average industrial capacity utilization has fallen from over 80% to a miserable less than 30%. The implication of this is that since industrial production has dwindled, so as the work- a clear indicator for the massive increase in the unemployment rate.

Thus, events in Gombe state and Nigeria at large confirm the fact ethnic conflict is counter-productive. Usually conflict comes with a lot of severe socio-economic impacts on both the parties involved, the locality as well as the society in general. Countless number of lives will be lost, several houses destroyed. Communities will be burnt down in the process of attack and counter-attack. Farm produce, industries and business investment will equally be burnt and destroyed. And most people will flee their homes for safety in nearby areas.

4.3.4 Measures Employed to Manage and Resolve the Conflict

The study discovered that the measures employed to manage the conflict include the intervention of court and peace delegation from ECWA Headquarters Jos, episodic deployment of security personnel's, periodic meeting and consultation with stakeholders comprising of village/district heads, setting up of peace committee, peace tour and conference as well as prayers and fasting. This is a line with the work of Rian Leith and Hussein Solomon (2001). In their work ethnicity and ethnic conflict management in Nigeria, Rian observed that ethnic conflict is an issue that, particularly during the last decade also, crept to the forefront of international political debate. Events such as those unfolding in Rwanda, Burundi and the Balkans, have brought the issues to a position of prominence, but it is not a new issue altogether, as various instances in Africa and Nigeria in particular amply illustrate. Polarization between ethnic groups and resulting conflict between them as they compete for resources, political and economic power and other goals, has spawned negative consequences of tremendous proportions, of which genocide, ethnic cleansing and civil war are but a few examples (Stremlau 1999-03-26:1). The question that now remains is what are the necessary measures required for effective management of ethnic conflict in Nigeria? When trying to offer practical solutions for the resolution and/or management of ethnic conflict, it has to be borne in mind that one is almost always faced with a multi-faceted issue containing numerous complexities the case of Nigeria being no exception. Not being intimately familiar with all these intricacies certainly detracts from any suggestions offered, but every attempt is a step closer to realizing the ultimate goal, just as every drop fills the bucket. Firstly, let us have a look at the challenges facing Nigeria under Obasanjo challenges that ethnic conflict management will obviously have to take into account. According to Solomon (2000:17), these challenges include the following:

- To forge a united Nigeria out of 250 fractious ethnic groups;
- To limit the power of the military, while ensuring its maintenance as a source of stability in West Africa;
- To inculcate a culture respectful of human rights and the rule of law;

- To increase economic performance while simultaneously developing an understanding of the need for a more equitable distribution of the country's wealth; and
- To put an end to spiralling levels of crime and corruption through effective, good governance.

Three models on ethnic conflict management have been identified in the literature on ethnic conflict: the control model, the shared homeland model, and the consociational model (Rabie 1994:60-61). The control model was developed by Ian Lustick, based on the Israeli political system in dealing with the Arab minority in Israel, and is a model to achieve political stability by allowing the majority to have a near total control over the minority “a system of majority dictatorship to enhance the interests of the controlling majority at the expense of the controlled minority, reducing it to a position of subordination and submission” (Rabie 1994:61-62). It should be clear that this model could not be applied to Nigeria, as there is no clear distinction between a ‘majority’ and a ‘minority’ in the country. Besides, attempts of one group to control another, have often elicited negative counter-reactions by other groups in Nigeria (e.g. the emergence of militant groups such as the OIC and the APC). The shared homeland model has been developed by Mohamed Rabie to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict, and recognises the political reality of nationalism and ethnicity. It therefore calls for the political separation of groups unwilling or unable to peacefully co-exist under one political system. Again, it should be clear that this model should not be applied to Nigeria. More than 200 ethnic groups have been sharing the Nigerian territory for at least many decades, and even centuries, with the result that there are no distinct boundaries to be drawn between them. Any attempts to do this will literally open Pandora's box, not only in the context of Nigeria, but in the African context as well, and will further be against the explicit international understanding of the OAU that colonial borders will be honoured an understanding aimed exactly at keeping the box closed.

The consociational model is not perfect either, but is certainly more applicable to Nigeria than the previous two. Developed by Arend Lijphart and based on the Netherlands' political experience, it is a power-sharing model that views different ethnic or cultural groups as partners interested in overcoming their differences to make the system work and therefore

willing to negotiate and make compromises. This model does not only assume the existence of a legitimate leadership to represent each group, but also that intergroup negotiations are done by these leaders who have the ability to avoid the dangers of intergroup conflict through negotiation (Rabie 1994:61). This model should further be applied by using the integrative approach. The integrative approach aims at integrating the interests of adversaries through solutions that meet their mutual needs without sacrificing their basic demands. This may be accomplished through building new cooperative relationships that facilitate the fulfilment of seemingly contradictory goals (Rabie 1994:73). How can this be applied to Nigeria, however?

In Nigeria, there are three main levels of leadership that can potentially participate in the negotiations process, namely the federal government under Obasanjo, the state governments and the leaders of the various ethnic groups outside of these structures. Under the initiative of the federal government, determining the various leaderships to participate in the negotiations process can take place both horizontally (e.g. Obasanjo and his cabinet with National Assembly or between groups on grassroots level etc.) and vertically (e.g. federal government with state governments). During these preliminary talks (as well as later on) issues such as ideology and religion should be downplayed to a minimum, as only a basis for future talks and negotiations are being formed. These talks can then be gradually intensified and broadened to encompass other issues as well. It should be stressed that this process must be as inclusive and representative as possible.

Clearly a higher degree of government centralisation should be introduced in order to circumvent many problems of the past. As an example, the number of states should be kept to a minimum, as their proliferation intensified competition for federal resources in the past, and so contributed to ethnic conflict and fragmentation. A higher degree of state centralisation will obviously be conducive to uniting Nigeria, but will not succeed in bringing this about on its own. It should be accompanied by nation-building and the forging of a common Nigerian identity based on symbolism and the spirit of ubuntu. These symbols should incorporate as many of the symbols cherished by the various population groups as possible, while combined with totally new ones. The alternative is that an entirely new set of

symbols be introduced. In the negotiation process, the details of these and other important issues such as the division of power can be worked out, but we do think that a limited party system, similar to the two party system under Babangida, will be more effective than a multi-party system, as it will force political parties to gain support nationally instead of relying on traditional bases of support, and contribute to a unified nationhood in which each person will see him/herself as a Nigerian first of all. Indeed, the powerful effects of a national pride should not be underrated.

In addition, the results of the negotiations should be contained in a constitution that clearly specifies all aspects of the political and other systems as agreed between the negotiating parties. A charter of human rights should form a main part of this document, while the constitution should clearly make provisions for establishing the rule of law principle. It is further important that the provisions of the constitution remain rooted in reality, while the judiciary should be sufficiently strengthened to uphold it.

In our estimation the economic factors should be viewed as the key to the effective management of ethnic conflict in Nigeria. Revenues from oil especially, should be managed in such a way, that each community sees substantial benefits emanating from their peaceful participation in both the political and economic processes, instead of competing with one another for federal resources. The federal government should still be the primary administrator of these revenues, and allocate at least 30% of the revenues, whether from oil or other economic activities, to the area in which it is generated. Conversely, communities can be provided with different benefits, for instance in the form of housing or infrastructure. Instead of antagonising local leaders, or the communities themselves, the federal government should involve them as much as possible in the decision-making process of how resources should be allocated. In this process, both the positions of the federal government and these leaders can be strengthened based on the principle of interdependence.

Special attention should be paid to the economic situation in poorer northern Nigeria, especially by focusing on issues such as illiteracy, development of trade and industry, better agricultural methods and the development of infrastructure. Perhaps this can be done in

forging partnership programmes between the north and the south. As the north presently fears the better-educated south, southerners might even be encouraged to participate in federally and privately funded education programmes in the north, for example. One of the most important things to bear in mind, though, is that it is absolutely crucial to bring about positive changes and improvements in the living standards of the population and to eradicate inequality among them in other words, just like with every issue tackled in managing ethnic conflict in Nigeria, there should be tangible benefits to persuade the people to actively participate in the process, including concrete signs that the government is doing its best to root out corruption and to deliver maximum benefits to its citizens.

Regarding religious issues, it is more difficult to suggest any solutions. Solutions may be forthcoming from the negotiating process, but to our mind, these negotiations should take part between the religious groups themselves, rather than as part of the formal negotiations. As religious matters are highly contentious in the Nigerian society, we think that there should be a total division between the secular state and the religious institutions. In other words, the state should not involve itself in purely religious affairs and vice versa.

The military should also be restructured to reflect the values of a transforming Nigeria. Changes in leadership of the armed forces will already be a positive step forward (as Obasanjo has already done), but a sufficient system of checks and balances should be implemented in order to ensure that the Nigerian executive maintains control over them. It might also be a good idea to include members of the armed forces in the negotiation process, and afterwards to persuade them that, by serving the interests of the democracy, they are serving the interests of Nigeria and its people

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECCOMENDATION

5.1 Summary

Ethnic conflict is a threat to political stability and socio-economic development of nation-states. It is a frequent phenomenon in several parts/communities in Nigeria. Over the years, and in recent times. Nigeria like other countries of the world has experience terrifying increase in the frequency of conflict with devastating effects on human lives and the socio-economic development of the country. Hence, it is in light of the above, that this study investigated “The impact of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe State”.

The study is structured into five chapter five in order to provide a vivid explanation on the topic in question. Chapter one consist of the background of the study, statement of the problem, aims and objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and operational definition of terms. Chapter two deals with conceptual clarifications, literature review, history of ethnic conflict in Nigeria, causes and drivers of ethnic conflict in Nigeria, consequences of ethnic conflict in Nigeria, brief history of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict and theoretical frame work.

Chapter three of the study X-rayed the methods, instrument and procedures employed in the collection and analysis of data collected. Chapter four deals with data presentation and analysis of results obtained through Key Informal Interview (KIII and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Moreso, findings of the study are also discussed in this chapter. And ofcourse, chapter five deals with summary, conclusion and recommendation.

The major findings of this research shows that the nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict include: violent killing and maiming of people, burning of houses, looting of animals, farm produce, and vandalization of public properties.

Furthermore, the findings of the study also revealed that the causes and drivers of this conflict include struggle over land ownership, proliferation of arms, upsurge ethnic militias and the stronger desire to champion ethnic cause, hate speeches, large pool of unemployed youths, poverty, ethnic intolerance and native-settler dichotomy. The study also disclosed that the protracted conflict between Kaltungo and Dadiya has led to wanton destruction of lives and valuable properties, vandalization of public institutions, disruption of farming, loss of business investment and means of livelihood, displacement of people, idolatry, mutual suspicion, fear and distrust, marriages and engagements break offs as well as distortion and disruption of inter-communal and tribal relationship.

5.2 Conclusion

The tasks of nation-building and socio-economic development is a herculean project especially in countries that are polarize along ethnic fault lines. Being a multi-ethnic and religious society, with over 120 languages spoken, Nigeria is drawn into various forms of ethno-religious and tribal warfare. This has in several dimensions served as a cog in the wheel of socio-economic development of Gombe state and Nigeria at large. Worthy of note here is that, although, ethnic identities in themselves do not ferment conflict; the rising spate of violent conflict between and among ethnic nationalities in Nigeria is associated with ethnic intolerance, struggle for resource control, bitter quest for self-determination, weakness of state institutions and other socio-economic and political factors. It is therefore, the opinion of the researcher that, if this menace is not quickly checkmated our quest for national unity, political and socio-economic development will be an effort in futility.

5.3 Recommendation

Ethnic conflict is counters-productive. It creates an atmosphere insecurity, fear and instability, thereby affecting both socio-economic and political development of the affected communities and the nation at large. An effective response to ethnic conflict would substantially affect the lives and livelihood of people in the affected communities. In light of these realities, the following recommendations are deemed necessary:

- i. Adequate conflict management strategies and measures should be provided in Kaltungo/Dadiya and other communities which are exposed and vulnerable to acts of violence
- ii. The study recommends an improvement on the level of social relationship through inter-ethnic marriages, cross tribal and cultural associations, as this will cement the broken wall of ethnic tolerance and accommodation.
- iii. Formal education, youth empowerment, and employment opportunities should be provided to people at the grass root, since lack of its breeds aggressive behavior and violent conflicts that has become pandemic especially in rural communities.
- iv. The study further recommends that the pursuit of peace and security should be given priority, as such deliberate efforts to better understand the underlying causes, dynamics and effects of ethnic violence on human lives and socio-economic development, with the aim of providing reasonably proactive measures to tackled this menace
- v. Finally, the study recommends diversification of Nigeria's economy to address the problems of poverty, unemployment and native/settler fracas particularly on agricultural land and other environmental resources, which are the root causes of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict and many other crises in the country.

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**KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEW (KII) FOCUSS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)
GUIDE:**

- I. Nature of Kaltungo/Dadiya conflict?
 - I.1 When and how did the conflict state?
 - I.2 Who were the major actors?
 - I.3 What are their interest?
 - I.4 What is the nature and how frequent is the conflict
- II. Factors responsible for the conflict
 - II.1 What is the remote cause of the conflict?
 - II.2 What are the immediate cause of the conflict?
- I. Impact of the conflict on the socio-economic development of Gombe state?
 - III.1 In what specific ways has the conflict impacted on interpersonal, communal and tribal relationship?
 - III.2 What is the effect of the conflict on social institutions?
 - III.3 What is the impact of the conflict on human lives?
 - III.4 From your experience what are the impact of the conflict on agriculture market operation, business and other related economic activities?
- II. Measures employed to manage and resolve the conflict
 - IV.1 Who were the organization, individuals or groups that have intervened in the conflict?
 - IV.2 In what specific ways do they intervened?
 - IV.3 What impact does the intervention have on the conflict?
- III. What specific challenges/problems did the intervention have