

# **Land Resource Contestations and Management of Communal Violent Conflicts in Ebonyi State of Nigeria: Implications for Governance and Development (1999-2016)**

**Nwobashi, Humphrey Nwefuru**

*Corresponding Author's, Department of Political Science  
Ebonyi State University, P.M.B 053, Abakaliki  
E-mail: nwobashih@gmail.com*

**Nnaji, Fidelis C.**

*Department of Political Science  
Ebonyi State University, P.M.B 053, Abakaliki*

## **Abstract**

Various degrees of eruptions and spread of communal violent conflicts over claim of ownership of land resources by communal groupings in Ebonyi State since 1999 when Nigeria achieved democratic rule have created a state of palpable fear among Ebonyians with the attendant loss of lives and property and displacement of thousands of people. Communal violent conflicts have caused huge disarray in the state's internal security situation and reached critical proportions, yet no systematic effort has been made to analyse their implications for governance and development of the state. This study examines communal violent conflicts in Ebonyi State between 1999-2016, the efforts of government in addressing the menace and the implications they have posed for good governance and overall development of the State. The study is descriptive and data were obtained from secondary sources. The study is anchored on a theory of cognitive dissonance. The study argues that lack of extensive and systematic peace building and peace advocacy blueprints as well as the reactive mechanism instead of proactive mechanism employed by government are responsible for the continual outbreaks and persistence of communal violent conflicts in Ebonyi State. The study recommends that Ebonyi State should develop peace building and peace advocacy blueprints for the State and develop a proactive mechanism that can detect early warning signals where communal violent conflict may likely occur in the State.

**Keywords:** Communal, violent, conflict, governance, development

## **Introduction**

Ebonyi State was one of the six states created by late Gen. Sani Abacha's military government on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1996 after thirty nine (39) years of intense struggle for the realization of the State (Elechi, 2000). The State was shortly under the military rules of Navy Commodore Walter Faghabo (Rtd) October, 1996-1998 and Assistant Inspector General of Police, Simeon Oduoye (Rtd) (1998-1999) before it transited to democracy on May 29, 1999 under the watch of His Excellency, Dr Samuel Ominyi Egwu.

Ebonyi State has a landmass of approximately 5,932 square km and lies approximately 7<sup>3</sup>°N longitude and latitude 5<sup>0</sup>4'E and 6<sup>0</sup> 45' E (EBSG, 2005). It has a population of 2.3 million people (National Population Commission, 2006). It is bordered in the East by Cross River State, in the North by Benue State, in the West by Enugu State and in the South by Abia State. The vegetation of the State is a mixture of savanna and semi-tropical forest (EBSG, 2005).

The areas that constituted Ebonyi State before its creation in 1996 had several rashes of communal conflicts notably, the Ishinkwo – Abaomege, Oshiri – Ezzama, Mgbalukwu – Ogboji, among others. These communal conflicts were traceable to contestations of ownership of land or issues of boundaries. This has been corroborated by Nigeria Watch Report (2016:17) that “approximately 65% of incidents of communal violent conflicts across the country were primarily land dispute”. The terms “border and boundary” are always physical in origin. This prompted Johnson and Machelson to observe that the term boundary in communal land has a wider meaning in political and economic geography than “frontiers” which relates to a special case of border used to divide the sovereign limits of adjacent independent countries. These assertions imply that land disputes have remained one of the major causes of communal violent conflicts in Ebonyi State.

The persistent re-occurrence of communal violent conflicts in several communities in Ebonyi State has devastating implications for the governance and development of the state. Given credence to this, Oji, Eme and Nwoba (2015:1) state that “conflicts have the capacity to severally constrain development endeavours by destroying infrastructures, interrupting the production process and diverting resources away from production uses.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Prior to the creation of Ebonyi state on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1996 and its transition to democratic rule of the country – Nigeria on May 29, 1999 in which the people that constituted the state had several rashes of communal violent conflicts that were land induced. It was believed that the incessant clashes between the warring communities within the area that later became Ebonyi State and some bordering communities from neighbouring states would be the two turning points – the realization of a state and the subsequent transition to democratic rule which gave the people the opportunity to be governed by their own people. Equally, it was believed that it would give room to the creation of more local government, more autonomous communities, the State Security Service Command, the Office of Special Adviser on Internal Security, the Ministry of Border, Peace and Conflict Resolution, and the Judicial System, which are institutions for checkmating and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Despite the creation of these institutions, the spate of communal violent conflicts has remained increasingly alarming and these conflicts have defiled all management and resolution mechanisms put in place by the state government.

The continued rise in the re-emergence of communal conflicts among people who are seemingly same ethnically, religiously and culturally homogeneous group has continued to be a serious source of worry to both academics, Ebonyi state government and all stakeholders in the peace project. Notwithstanding these worries, the magnitude of loss of lives and property with the attendant displacement of thousands of people and the serious implications this menace has for governance and development has not attracted the much needed studies. Very few scholars have narrowly focused on some cases of the conflict such as Itumo (2014); Oji, Eme and Nwoba (2014); Oji, Eme and Nwoba (2015), without a comprehensive study of these communal violent conflicts in the state and their implications for governance and development of the state. It is this lacuna that this study has filled.

### **Conceptualizing Communal Violent Conflict**

Conflict is generally seen as inherent in both nature and society. It has remained a generic human challenge from the historical antiquity to present times. There is always the possibility of the presence,

emergence or manifestations of conflicts whenever people interact (Lewis, 1990). Nnoli (2003:1) rightly alluded to it by stating that “human history is a succession of conflicts and conflict resolution”.

The New Webster’s Dictionary (2003) defines conflict: as a struggle between opposing principles or aims”, a clash of feelings or interests. Viewing this definition, Omah (2013:2) says that “conflict suggests a kind of struggle class or contention”. For Beals and Siegel (1966:703) conflicts could be verbal and non-verbal. The verbal or non-verbal behaviours symbolize opposition to each others’ views or interests. Ritzer (2007:271) refers to conflict as antagonism between individuals and groups in a society. In a more broadened manner, Coser (1956:8) regards conflict as “a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. It is worthy to note that infliction of physical injury or attempts to eliminate rivals only imply when conflicts have escalated to the point of violence. In all conflicts situations, not all can be said to be violent. Violence is a stage in the conflict cycle and not all conflicts attain the level of violence.

Anytime the interests or values of contending groups are challenged or failing to meet the needs of the contending groups in a society, conflict then arises. In this way, Deng (2000:835) remarks that conflict emerges due to the fact that human interaction has shifted from “a harmonious and cooperative groups’ level to “disruptive and adversarial” one. Some scholars are of the view that conflicts are only disruptive of the social systems but have a function within systems as they are essential creative element in human relationships (Coser, 1956; Burton, 2001; Calhoun, 1997; Oyeshola, 2005). This means that conflicts, if properly handled can be used as a tool for improving relationships, and mutual benefits.

Conflicts in most cases get out of control and escalate to the point of violence. Conflicts enter into the point of violence due to the fact that different societies and different individuals respond differently to conflict when they emerge. Violence is the aggressive use of physical or psychological force to achieve a goal. It involves the abusive or unjust exercise of power. It is always destructive to both immediate parties in conflict and other members of the society who may not be directly parties to the conflict. People outside the parties in the conflict could get caught in the web of violence and become victims of conflict between other parties (Atang, 2010).

Communal conflicts refer to those conflicts in which the people involved are communal groups. A communal group is a grouping in which primary identity prevails. Membership of the group is not attained but ascribed. The communal group defines each member whose identity as the totality of individual’s involvement in life is defined by the group (Oji *et al.*, 2015). Communal groups include the family clan, ethnic group, religious group and regional group. The group manifests a collective sense of belonging as well as self-realization and self-affirmation within the sufferings remains a critical component of the communal members, which increases the propensity for exclusiveness feeling of uniqueness and the solidarity of the group. It engenders communal identity which poses the symbolic capability to define for the individual the totality of his/her existence such as his/her hopes, fears and characterizing his/her sense of future. As the groups’ constituents are always sensitive to matters of communal concerns, any thought or action that appears to threaten or undermine communal group identity evokes very holistic response. The communal group is a pseudo-family (Goor, 1994).

Communal conflicts are intrinsically generator of more violent scale and are more difficult to manage than other conflicts. This is buttressed by Carmet (1993) who opined that they are less amenable to diplomatic intervention or stand and methods of crises management and peaceful settlement. Violence arising from communal conflicts has a more pernicious character than other variants of violence, thereby creating a certain xenophobic collectivism that characterizes participation in it. It is attracted to it by a collective sense of belonging and added willingness to contribute to the success of the collective mission, in which self realization and self actualization within the group is expected. Communal violence turns every individual within the groups into a soldier due to the sole virtue of his/her group identity (Chipman, 1993).

## **Conceptualizing Conflict Management**

Scholars of peace and conflict studies have always attempted to distinguish between conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation (Fetherston, 1994; Otite and Albert, 2001; Imobighe, 2003). Efforts have also been made to differentiate conflict settlement, conflict termination, conflict suppression and conflict freezing (Vayrynen, 1991; Zartman, 1989; Burton, 1990). Otite and Albert (2001) noted that “the concepts of conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation do overlap both in content and in practice”.

Conflict management consists of the mechanism, styles and strategies that are put in place so as to prevent the outbreak of conflict in one hand and to control and regulate a conflict that has manifested in the other hand. The essence of management is to achieve a conscious reduction of the negative or deleterious impact of such conflicts. In line with this, Zartman (1989) opines that conflict management “seeks to prevent conflict from erupting into crisis or cool a crisis in eruption.

Therefore, conflict management;

- interferes in an on-going conflict;
- attempts to contain the conflict;
- tries to reduce the level of destruction and violence;
- attempts to prevent vertical and horizontal expansion in other theatres (Oyesola, 2005:153).

## **Conceptualizing Governance and Development**

The concept of governance is a contested one. This made Pierre and Peters (2007) to observe that the concept is notoriously slippery. However, it is imperative that we subsume the range of definitions that have appeared on governance into two broad categories. On one hand, governance is viewed as a technical term. This refers to the efficient management of state institutions. It involves issues of public accountability, transparency in government procedure, rule of law and due process (World Bank, 1989; 1994, 2000). The second conceptual view on governance transcends the state and its institutions. Governance in this sense is seen as a process of steering both the state and society towards the realization of collective goals. It directs its attention to the dynamic and often-times contradictory relationship between state and society (Pierre and Peters, 2000; Balogun, 1998; Hyden, 1999; Stoker, 1999; Alcantara, 1998).

Development was initially regarded almost exclusively in terms of economic growth targets with little or no attention to those who are regarded to be the beneficiaries of the economic growth – human beings. Development was seen primarily in terms of economic growth, measured with the increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Development in this sense was synonymous with modernization. There is a paradigm shift to a greater emphasis on the general well being of individuals in a given society; their life, sustenance, self-esteem and freedom. Following this perspective, Okereke (2005) sees development as the qualitative improvement in the living standard of members of the society. Anikpo (2008) corroborates this by stating that development is the overall efforts and results of transforming the physical and social environment so as to achieve a more fulfilling life.

Development should be people-oriented that is geared towards the satisfaction of the needs and desires of individuals and groups within a given social system. Based on this, Wabon and Perepreghabofa (2008:1159) amplified thus:

development is man-centered and can be seen as a multi-dimensional process involving the fundamental transformation of society in its totality – economy, polity, culture etc ..... development implies also growing self-reliance both individual and collective.

Development therefore has to be an effort of by and for the people.

Development ensures the availability of basic needs which the individuals require to survive and live a meaningful life, and bail people out of poverty, misery, ignorance and unfreedom. Development should be sustainable and meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability

of the future generations to meet their own needs. It must meet the various needs of both the present and future generations.

### **Development and Security: The Synergy**

Contemporary scholarships have established a close synergy between security and development. These studies show a widely accepted view that security is closely interlinked with development in a mutually reinforcing manner (Omah, 2013; Collier, 1999; UNDP, 2003). As there can be no development without security, just as there can be no security without development. Security and development mutually reinforce, support and promote each other. This made Fayeye (2011) to state that security is development and without development there can be no security.

Development and security are positively related in that the goals of development and synchronise with the objectives of sustainable security. Maniya (2011:275) aptly captures the objectives of sustainable security thus:

to purposely pre-empt, prevent and rapidly respond to signals or manifestations of threats capable of destroying and/or distorting the well being of an individual or a community or the entire nation-state. Sustainable security is therefore, the perpetuity of the state of well being, happiness, assurance, collective harmony and belief in the protection afforded by the system.

For Annan (1998), security means far more than the absence of conflict and there is no security amidst starvation, just as there cannot be peace building without poverty alleviation” or “true freedom built on the foundation of injustice. Therefore, security promotes development while development enhances security.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on eclectic theoretical paradigms. The two theories are “Resource Competition Theory and the Cognitive Dissonance Theory”. This is to enable us grasp clearly the underpinnings of incessant re-occurrence of communal violent conflicts that are the result of contestations over the ownership of land in Ebonyi State. The proponents of resource competition theory include Wunsch cited in Osaghae (1994); Ijewere (1999) and Mbaku (2010). The underlying assumptions of resource competition theory are that there exists a system of boundaries between groups whose power and relevance are determined primarily by the nature and scope of contact for scarce resources among communal cleavages. It argues that the need to compete over resource allocation forces individuals and groups along communal lines to organize themselves in order to minimize their transaction costs and maximize benefits accruing to them thereby creating in group and out-group. In many plural or communal groupings, natural resource competition especially land remains a perennial problem in the sense that communal cleavages shape and determine whose group control the natural resources. By this, several communal violent conflicts have usually been caused by the attempt to capture or dominate another communal group so as to seize their natural resources.

This brings to focus the theory of cognitive dissonance. Festinger developed this theory known also as communications social influences, referred to as cognitive dissonance. Based on this theory, Adekanye enumerates three cardinal factors that largely explain the processes that metamorphose into conflict situation that can always lead to violence. These are the structural background conditions, precipitating and triggers factors. The underlying assumptions were aptly captured by Cunningham Jr. (2003) thus:

Men prefer a situation of stability in respect of values, behaviour and their environmental conditions. When people experience a difference between what people perceive and what they desire (cognitive dissonance), they seek to reduce this dissonance by reducing this gap through actions; filtering information or altering the perceptions.

Cognitive dissonance is said to be experienced whenever there is a noticeable gap between preferred value and actual value states. In such a situation, it produces hatred, anxiety, fear and the desire to hurt or eliminate the source, thereby culminating into violence.

## **Methodology**

The study adopted explanatory research design. This research design enabled us to test the eclectic theoretical paradigms that explained the underpinning factors precipitating communal violent conflicts in Ebonyi State.

This study which is qualitative in nature used secondary method of data collection. Basically, data collection was through secondary sources. The sources include textbooks, journal articles, government documents, periodicals and internet materials. Data for analysis exist in qualitative form. We carried out the three complementary steps of qualitative data analysis; data processing, data analysis and data interpretation.

## **State Management of Communal Violent Conflicts in Nigeria**

The state is an organized political community that possesses as one of its features – government charged with the enormous responsibility of running the affairs of the state. The state functions and carries out its responsibilities using the law of the state, ensuring and enforcing compliance or observance of the rules of law (Roberts and Abubakar, 2001). Legal order constitutes a balance of conflicts between different and differing interests. It satisfies the maximum clashes between them. The state controls the use of violence by individuals or groups through its police in order to maintain peace and order in the society (Weber, 1968). Therefore, government remains a vital supreme organ of conflict regulation, resolution and management in any state. The state should possess strong institutions in order to cope with this responsibility. Nigeria state confronts violence with greater violence which was the hallmark and philosophy of colonial patterns of conflict management (Ake, 1985). Ake (2001) argues further that the Nigerian state has always presented itself as an apparatus of violence and relied for compliance on coercion, rather than authority. Instead of achieving peace, using negotiation, mediation and consultation with the people, brutal force through dispatched policemen and the military with usual instructions to “shoot-at-sight” to quell the crises is always employed.

Conflicts are natural and real in many parts of the world. It is therefore imperative to argue that the most important issue is not the conflict itself but how it is handled, managed and resolved. Over five decades since independence in 1960, Nigeria state has adopted the same measures and strategies that have failed to yield fruitful outcomes in combating the insecurity and conflict challenges in Nigeria.

## **Legitimate Violence**

The use of force to quell crises or conflicts among rival or conflicting groups has remained the major measure Nigeria state uses. This means confronting violence with greater violence whenever and wherever there is outbreak of violence, in which trucks loaded with anti-riot policemen and most times complemented with the Nigerian Army are dispatched to the scene of the incidence to arrest and quell the situation. The moment normalcy and calmness are restored, the team of the policemen and soldiers are withdrawn, hence the several re-occurrence of the same conflict situations in the country.

Another state's response is the judicial litigations in managing communal conflicts. The workability of this response is anchored in a system where the citizens have implicit confidence in the ability of the courts to dispense justice without bias or favouritism. The judicial option is bedeviled by bottlenecks and judicial miscarriages in the judicial process in Nigeria (Okunola and Adeoyejo, 2013).

The third state’s alternative response is the establishment of committees on mediation, reconciliation, and Judicial Panel of Commission of Inquiry that do investigate the causes of such conflicts. The Panels or Commissions are always charged to come up with recommendations that can proffer solutions and lasting peace among the warring parties/groups (Okunola and Adeyoejo, 2013).

The use of dialogue, negotiation and or bargaining in which government seeks the services of civil society organizations, traditional rulers, opinion leaders, and religious organizations is the fourth state’s alternative strategy. In this regard, some traditional rites may be performed that are assumed to be binding on the warring parties. In all, these responses have failed to yield fruitful outcome, hence, the resurfacing of this menace.

**Table 1:** Communal violent conflicts mapping in Ebonyi State (1999-2016)

S/N	The Communal Conflict	Causes	Date of escalation of violence	Status of the conflict	Location
1.	Idim-Edda	Land contestation	2017	Being handled by a committee	Afikpo North
2.	Onweonweya vs Mkpuma Akwa Okulu	Land contestation	2017	Being managed	Izzi LGA
3.	Ekola vs Nguzu	Land contestation	2003	Committee is handling it	Afikpo South
4.	Enyigba vs Enyibichiri	Land contestation	2017	Being managed	Ikwo & Abakaliki LGAs
5.	Ezillo vs Ezza Ezillo	Land contestation	2008	Partially resolved	Ishielu LGA
6.	Adadama vs Ochienyim	Land contestation	N/A	Being managed	Ikwo LGA of Ebonyi & Abi LGA of Cross River
7.	Isobo vs Ofenagbra	Land contestation	N/A	Being managed	Ikwo in Ebonyi State & Abi in Cross River
8.	Nkalaha vs Ngbo	Land contestation	N/A	Being managed	Ishielu LGA & Ohaukwu LGA
9.	Mkpalaukwu vs Ogboji	Land contestation	N/A	Resolved	Onicha LGA/ Ishielu LGA
10.	Igala vs Ngbo	Land contestation	N/A	Being managed	Benue/ Ebonyi Ohaukwu State
11.	Akata Inyimagu vs Akata Ekpaomaka	Land contestation	N/A	Being managed	Both in Ikwo
12.	Omega Echara vs Akata Inyimagu	Land contestation	N/A	Being managed	Ikwo LGA

Source: Office of Director, Conflict Management, Ministry of Border, Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abakaliki 2017 and Updated by the author

The data in Table 1 shows that the primary cause of these communal conflicts is land contestation. However, of all these conflicts, only one has been successfully resolved. This suggests that the communal conflicts management and resolution mechanisms employed for resolving these conflicts have not yielded the desire results. Thus, the conflicts continued to rage with its attendant loss of human lives and property. Hence, the need to interrogate how these conflicts has impacted on governance and development in Ebonyi state.

## **Discussion**

### **Implications for Governance and Development**

The spate of communal violent conflicts as reflected in its mapping, intensity and scale, shows that the communal conflicts have dotted the political landscape of Ebonyi State since 1999-2016. This has

serious implications for the governance and development of the state. Some of the implications have already become discernibly manifest, others are latent. These are discussed as hereunder:

### **Implications for Governance**

#### **Loss of Power to Protect its Citizens by Government**

The primary responsibility of government is to ensure its citizens their safety by protecting their lives and property. The loss of state control over the communal conflicts of which takes a great toll on both government's resources and state apparatuses to nib the menace in the bud, do leave many people killed, displaced and property worth million of naira destroyed. Akinwale corroborates this positively by observing that the coercive power of the state has sometimes been unable to stop preventable violence in Nigeria (2011:371).

#### **Diversion of Government Priorities**

Before assumption, every sensible government sets its priorities rights based on the campaign promises made to the people of the state. With the spate of communal violent conflicts that call for political expediency in which resources and security personnel are usually mobilized to quell the crises and maintain strong foothold on the areas devastated by such violence. It equally demands great attention to couch well thought out strategies and mechanisms in managing the crises. These take a lot of time thereby diverting attention from the priorities goals for the good governance of the state and shrinking the role of the state government that would be functionally used to pursue the collective good of the people. For instance, the Ezillo-Ezza Ezillo crisis that took place from 2008-2011, made the former Governor, Chief Martin Elechi to lament on the tragedy of the conflict (Elechi, 2008).

#### **Increasing the Dynamics of Proliferation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

Ebonyi state has for many years been the most unstable state in the country due to the number of illegal small arms and light weapons trafficked to abusive actors (Francis, 2008). SALWs are extreme tools of violence in the state. They illegal use of these arms and weapons poses an unprecedented threat to human lives. They are the major leading cases of drug abuse, human trafficking, armed robbery, rapes, assassinations, and kidnaps, which are rampant in the state in particular and Nigeria in general. This makes the state ungovernable and difficult to manage.

#### **Challenge of Unemployability Among the Youths**

The youths enlisted into warriors in communities plague with communal violence only learn to put hands on the red button – the triggers – to maim and kill their perceived adversaries. They exist in the state without the needed knowledge and transferable skills that can lead them to live meaningful life. They end up being exploited by the political elites as tugs in elections and remain a bulk of army of youths who constitute a nuisance to the society. When a greater number of youths of a population is unemployable, the productive force and base of such society becomes too small thereby creating a serious demand on the state government which makes governance very problematic.

### **Implications for Development**

Communal violent conflicts have dire and direct implications for the socio-economic and political development of Ebonyi state. Often, the scale and intensity of destruction of lives and property and the huge dislocation and displacement of people are always alarming. Worst still, the areas affected by communal violent conflicts are faced with the challenge of reconstruction which hardly come. While the communal violent conflicts wage on, the government normally refuse to carry out any developmental project in the affected area, leading to very harsh condition of living and outbreak of various kinds of diseases. The situation of agricultural production in the affected area is always brought to a standstill because the farmers of the warring groups do face the wraths of the communal warriors.



Aware that 70% of Ebonyians are farmers, when thousands of the panic-shaken farmers stop farming for fear of being killed, they become jobless which affects the economy of the state and negatively impacts on development of the state.

The state has been forced to divert its scarce resources to combat the rising wave of communal violent conflicts in the state and manage them. The individuals from the warring groups, who have been affected by the destruction of the lives and property of their family members, even their own property are also forced because of the expediency of war to commit their hard earned resources to fight the wars. This means that the funds of the state and its citizens that could have been allocated for developmental purposes are either been directed to quell or manage communal violent conflicts on the part of the state or to defence fund by the individuals of the warring parties. This is a double jeopardy as the funds of the state and its citizens are utilized for unproductive expenditure.

All these have direct consequences on the socio-economic and political development of the state. If communal violent conflicts are not checkmated in the state, the efforts of the state government to develop the state will be to no avail as the state will continue to remain at the bottom of the development and human indicator charts of the country – Nigeria. This is so because the people will continue to suffer from sustained internal insecurity and poverty.

## **Conclusion and Recommendations**

In conclusion, the study avers that there has been a rising wave of communal violent conflicts in Ebonyi state since 1999-2016. The conflicts are land resource induced. The management and resolution mechanisms put in place by government are inadequate. This menace has grievous implications for the governance and development of the state.

The study recommended that:

- (1) Ebonyi state government should put in place more robust institutional mechanisms that are proactive and have the capacity to detect early warning signals that breed communal conflict.
- (2) The state government in collaboration with local government areas and traditional rulers should work out modalities that can clearly demarcate the boundaries of the existing communities of the state.
- (3) There should be a well thought out blue prints and well trained personnel on peace advocacy for the people of the state.
- (4) The traditional rulers and town unions of the various communities in the state should institutionalize inter-community relations that can help neighbouring communities to handle incidents of issues of common concerns that can escalate into violence.
- (5) The state should embark on a more sincere arms amnesty and weapons recovery programme to get the people rid off of illegal small arms and light weapons.
- (6) The state should take inventory of the youths that have enlisted as warriors of communal conflicts, embark on rehabilitation programme, train them to acquire entrepreneurial skills.

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