THE IMPACT OF BORDER COMMUNITY CONFLICTS ON INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN WEST AFRICA:

A CASE STUDY OF LOLO AND MADECALI COMMUNITIES OF NIGERIA AND BENIN REPUBLIC

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ZARIA, NIGERIA

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation entitled The Impact of Border Community Conflicts on Inter-State Relations in West Africa: A Case Study of Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republichas been performed by me in the Department of Political Science and International Studies. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other Institution.

_____ _____

DanganaLukman ABDULRAHMAN Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled THE IMPACT OF BORDER COMMUNITY CONFLICTS ON INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN WEST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF LOLO AND MADECALICOMMUNITIES OF NIGERIA AND BENIN REPUBLIC by DanganaLukman ABDULRAHMAN, meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Science of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its' contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies Signature Date

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those who devoted their lives to the peace processes of the borderlands between Lolo and Madecali.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AB:	Astronomical Boundaries
ACAN:	South American Community of Nations
ACP:	African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries
AEBR:	Association of European Border Regions
AfB:	Artificial Boundaries
AfDB:	African Development Bank
ALTMC:	Abidjan-Lagos Transport and Migration Corridor
APCBT:	Action Plan for Cross-Border Trade
ASEAN:	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU:	African Union
AUAHSG:	African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government
AUBP:	African Union Border Programme
AU-CSSDCA:	African Union Memorandum of Understanding on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
BCDA:	Border Communities Development Agency
BIBMA:	Benin Integrated Border Management Agency
BIS:	Boundary Information System
BMR:	Boundary and Military Relations
BW:	Barbed Wire
CACM:	Central American Common Market
CAN:	Andean Community of Nations
CARICOM:	Caribbean Community
CB:	Cultural Borderland
CBC:	Cross-Border Cooperation
CBCS:	Cross-Border Cooperation and Security
CBM:	Confidence-Building Measures
CBSI:	Cross-Border Security Initiatives
CBT:	Cross-Border Trade
CCM:	Cross-Cultural Misunderstandings
CEAO:	CommunauteEconomique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest(IvoryCoast,Benin,BurkinaFaso,Mali,Niger,MauritaniaandSenegal)
CEMAC:	Central African Momentary and Economic Community (the Republic of Congo (RoC), Gabon, the Central African Republic (CAR) and Chad)
CEN-SAD:	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CEPGL:	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries
CET:	Common External Tariff
CFA franc	Franc de la CommunautéFinancièreAfricaine(a commoncurrencywhich integrated the member countries inthefranczone)
CIHN:	Communal Identity and Human Needs

CIS:	Commonwealth of Independent States(Russia/Commonwealth of Independent States, about thirteen states)
CO:	Commanding Officer
COMESA:	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CP:	Cheerful Posters,
CPP:	Center-Periphery Polarization
CR:	Coercive Repression
CSO:	Cultivated Spill-Over
CW:	Concrete Walls
DG:	Director-General
DIP:	Digital Image Processing
DR:	Diplomatic Reorganization
EAC:	East African Community
ECCAS:	Economic Community of Central African States(Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire)
ECOWAS Vision:	ECOWAS Vision 2020
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo)
ECOWAS-CFMRRE:	ECOWAS Compendium on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment
ECOWAS-CIP:	ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme
ECOWAS-DPA:	ECOWAS' Directorate of Political Affairs
ECOWAS-DPS:	ECOWAS' Directorate of Peace and Security
ECOWAS-DTFM:	ECOWAS' Directorate of Trade and Free Movement
ECOWAS-EWD:	ECOWAS' Early Warning Directorate
ECOWAS-MTZ:	ECOWASMonetaryZone
ECOWAS-P:	ECOWAS Passport
ECOWAS-TC:	ECOWAS Travel Certificate
ECSC:	European Coal and Steel Community(Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands)
EEBC:	Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission
EEC:	European Economic Community
EMS:	European Monetary System
EU:	European Union
EU-ECOWAS PSS:	EU-ECOWAS Regional Peace, Security and Stability
FB:	Fluvial Boundaries
FGDs:	Focus Group Discussions
FSO:	Functional Spill-Over
GB:	Geometrical Boundaries
GD:	Guard Dogs
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GE:	Geomatic Engineers
GFDRE:	Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

GIS:	Geographic Information Systems
GPS:	Global Satellite Positioning
GSE:	Government of The State of Eritrea
GTZ:	GesellschaftfürTechnischeZusammenarbeit(German Technical Cooperation)
GW:	Glass Windows
HRW:	Human Rights Watch
HTBE:	High-Tech Biometric Equipment
IC:	Instrumental Co-option
ICRC:	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs:	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD:	Inter-governmental Authority for Development
IGC:	Intergovernmental Conferences
IR:	International Relations
JBP:	Joint Border Patrol
JCBTR:	Joint-Cross-Border Trade Relations
JER:	Joint-Exploration of Resources
JPA:	Joint Parity Agreements
JPP:	Joint-Provision of Projects
JSCE:	Joint Standing Committee of Experts
KAIPTC:	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center
KII	Key informant Interview
LACR:	Latin America and the Caribbean Region
LAFTA:	Latin America Free Trade
LAIA:	Latin American Integration Association
LB:	Lacustrine Boundaries
LGA:	Local Government Area
MERCOSUR:	Common Market of the South (Argentina Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay)
MG:	Metal Gates
N/GB:	Natural (or geographical) Boundaries
NAFTA:	North American Free Trade Agreement (Canada, Mexico, The United States)
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC:	National Boundary Commission
NBJBC:	Nigeria-Benin Joint Border Commission
NBJBV:	Nigeria-Benin Joint-Border Visit
NBTCA:	Nigeria-Benin Technical Cooperation Agreement
NBTT:	Nigeria-Benin Trade Treaty
NcLB:	Non-colony Land Borders
NCS:	Nigerian Customs Service
NDCCFP:	Nigeria-DahomeyConvention on Common Frontier Posts
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIPSS:	National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NIS:	Nigerian Immigration Service
OAS:	Organization of American States

OAU:	Organization of African Unity
OAU-SD:	OAU Solemn Declaration
OB:	Orographic Boundaries
OVC:	Overt Conflict
PASB:	Pan-African Survey of Borders
PDCAE:	Process Dynamics of Communal Actions and Events
PSC:	Protracted Social Conflict
PSO:	Political spill-over
PZNcB:	Proximity-Zone None-colony Borders
QET:	Quadripartite Extradition Treaty
RECs:	Regional Economic Communities
RPS:	Regional Power Status
RSC:	Regular Sensitization Campaigns
SACU:	Southern African Customs Union
SADC:	Southern African Development Community(Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe)
SAF:	Sudan Armed Forces
SC:	Security Cameras
SICA:	Central American Integration System (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica)
SPLA:	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SU:	Sober Uniforms
TBA:	Trans-Border Agreements
TBCW:	Trans-border Cooperation Workshops
TFCMA:	Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance
TVT:	Trans-Volta Togoland
TWCs:	Third World Countries
UK:	United Kingdom
UMA:	Arab Maghreb Union
UN:	United Nations
UNISCI:	UN Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation
UNISFA:	UN Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNODC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USA:	United States of America
VAA:	Visa Abolition Agreement
WAC:	West African Citizens
WAEMU:	West African Economic and Momentary Union(Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo)
WNcB:	Water Non-colony Borders
WSDS:	Weak States and Disputed Sovereignty
WWI:	World War I

Abstract

This study examines the Impact of Border Community Conflict on Inter-State Relations in the West African Sub-region. Specifically, it focused on the 2009 conflict between Lolo and Madecali border communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic. The border conflict between the two communities over "TunganKungi" area threatened the long history of interactions that hitherto existed between the two settings; weaken socio-economic activities; and introduces various claims to land(farmland) based on political definitions of identity, citizenship and nationalism. The objective of this study was to examine the nature of the 2009 conflict and its impact on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin Republic.The study employs the qualitative research method through an empirical survey by conducting specialized interviews (Key Informant Interviews), focus group discussions and direct observation. Both the primary and secondary sources were explored for analytical discourse. While primary data were collected from affected community leaders, victims, youths, marketmen and women using FGDs; Key Informant Interviews with staffs from the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin, the ECOWAS Commission; the Benin Embassy in Nigeria; and Security officials (Gendarmes, Customs and Immigration) provided further research data. The study adopts some of the ideas of the Neo-Functionalist Theory(which underscore the significant role of actors in inter-state relations) and the PSC Model (whichassumes that, lack or deprivations of basic human needs are fundamental causes of communal conflicts).Findings showed that, due to the arbitrary nature of the boundary designed by the French and British colonialists, the towns of Lolo and Madecali were decided unilaterally in favour of the two powers without taking into cognisance the dynamics of the affected communities. Despite its identity dimension, the conflict did not seriously affect the nature of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin (diplomatic relations in particular), due to strong political commitments by authorities of both states. Strong mechanisms which include regular joint border visits; regular sensitization campaigns; etc. were put in place. However, the instrument to be adopted in definingthe border and the problem of re-integration with communities across the two entities remain unresolved. This study recommends among others thatauthorities should reflect clearly and agree on the appropriate instruments to be adopted in delimiting the Lolo-Madecali border; identify local peace-building priorities that would address the strategic issue of farmland; and also adopt the culture of prevention, while mechanisms for dialogue and peaceful resolution of the border conflict must be made more appealing and accessible.

CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Border conflicts have been a regular feature of state interactions in West Africa. The pattern of state-making in West Africa clearly explains why territorial entities go into war with one another. The reason for this is that the whole of West Africa (with the exception of Liberia), was colonized by the European states particularly Britain, France and Portugal. These colonialists separated socio-communal settings and their ethno-linguistic groupings as well as their socio-political structures and institutions that regulate inter-communal relations. This led to the creation of numerous intra and inter-states boundaries that gradually emerged from a series of agreements and conventions between the colonial powers (Ahmad, 2014).

The origin of the Nigeria-Benin boundary was from the Anglo-French Conventions of 1889, 1896 and 1898 (Brownlie, 1979:166).This provides the basis for the delimitation of their respective possessions to the West of the River Niger and of their respective possessions and spheres of influence to the East of the River. The Nigeria-Benin boundary was demarcated (by the Whiteman) in the southern (the Onigbolo Sector) from the River Niger up to the Sea using pillars and geographical features. In the Northern (the Illo-BorguSector), the border however, was not fully demarcated.

These colonial origin of political frontiers in West Africa led to cross-border conflicts which mostly revolve around the legal status of nationhood or the identity, being and belonging syndrome; the reterritorialization of communities in terms of migration and the mass movement of people through trans-border processes; clandestine activities; disputes over land, vital interest or territorial waters; problems of boundary demarcation, etc.

Despite the incessant cross-border conflicts and the fractured pattern of socio-communal interactions in West Africa, inter-state relations across territorial borders in the sub-region have taken a new dimension particularly from the 1970s onwards. The leaders of the West Africa sub-region (through the formation of the Economic Community of West African States ECOWAS) recognized in the early seventies that promoting strong inter-states relations among member-states would have an impact on the structure of the Western-imposed boundaries and would provide a new approach for peaceful cohesion among ethno-communal settings for better relations along border zones in the entire region (ECOWAS Annual Report, 2000:105).

The Lolo-Madecali border of Nigeria and Benin Republic is one of the busiest socio-economic routes for inter-state relations between the two states in the Western axis. Although, the border is not a major route, socio-economic activities (fishing, farming and trading as well as cross-border trade) and inter-communal marriages between the two communities has a long historical origin.

However,as a result of the vagueness in the definition of the international boundary between Nigeria and Benin, the area between Lolo and Madecali became the source of disputes by the two communities. Based on the Anglo-French convention of 1898 (the General Delimitation Instruments between the British and French), the Lolo-Madecali border is define by a line from “pillar 35” (which is on top of a hill about 2 km south of Madecali) to River Niger (National Boundary Commission, 2006:6).Thus, the area remain undefined, while the mathematical lines of the two countries by which the spheres of influence of the colonial powers as were defined by the Anglo-French conventions are variously modified.

Due to the absence of clear boundary separating the two communities, issues relating to farmland remain the major bone of contention. Claims and counter-claims to the disputed area of

Tungan-Kungi were laid by the two communities attributed to values embedded in identity, citizenship and territorial question.There is deep sentimental attachment to oral traditions handed over from one generation to another.

Although, neither Benin nor Nigeria has contested the alignment,an area called “Tungan-Kungi” straddling the two communities is the main area of contention. At a point in 2009, the people of Madecali raized down the village and chased out all the farmers in that area. This led to communal conflicts, demolition of houses and destruction of propertieswhich affected the nature of interactions between the two communities. This study therefore, unearths the nature of the 2009 border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali and its impact on inter-states relations between Nigeria and Benin.

1.1 Statement of Research Problem

Many of the borders in West Africa were imprecise due to the haphazard natureof the West African boundaries designed arbitrarily by European colonialists. Some of these boundaries were drawn as straight lines, while others often cut across ethnic and linguistic lines. In other words, communities who are previously related and politically united found themselves on opposite sides of the boundary lines. This creates room for community cross-border conflicts along the border regions in West Africa.

As such, Lack of clearly demarcated boundary between Lolo and Madecali over Tungan-Kungi area presents a challenge to cross-border relations between Nigeria and Benin Republic. The British and French Colonialists dividedthe two entities unilaterally without taken into cognizance the dynamics of the affected communities. Based on the Anglo-French convention

of1898, the Lolo-Madecali border is defined by a line from “pillar 35” (which is on top of a hill about 2 km south of Madecali) to River Niger.

The two towns remain undefined while the mathematical lines dividing the two communities are variously modified bytheAnglo-FrenchAgreement of October 1906; the Demarcation Agreement of July 1912; the Exchange of Notes of February 1914 and the 1960 Description. However, claims over farmland became an issue of great concern for both communities. Both communities lay claims to the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi. While Lolo residents cited both historical sentiments, migration trends and marital linkages to justify their claims; Madecali residents on the other hand attached factors which include land rights and original occupancy as well as administrative control of the area.

Strong patriotic zeal and the expression of nationalist philosophy further complicate tension in the border area of the two entities. This led to community cross border conflict between Lolo and Madecali in 2009 over the actual boundary demarcation, the legal status of nationhood, and the claim of ownership of the territorial land.

Other factors which include: socio-economy (agricultural and food insecurity, poverty and decrease flow of trans-border traders, as well as unemployment and significant increase in prices of imported goods); humanitarian consequences (forced displacement, problem of reintegration and upsetting of civilians); as well as educational factor and lack of clear policies to administer the border (underdevelopment, shortage of infrastructure and disorganization of the family system) threatened the living standard of the border residents.

However, these affected the nature of cross-border relations between the two communities despite the strategic location of the area for cross border activities. This research

therefore examines the nature of the 2009 border conflict between Lolo and Madecali and its impacts on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin.

1.2Research Questions

i. What are the factors responsible for community cross-borderconflicts in West Africa?

ii. What are the causes of the border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali communities of Nigeria and Benin?

iii. What are the impacts of the Lolo and Madecali border community conflict on Nigeria and Benin inter-state relations?

iv. How effective are the mechanisms put in place for resolving the conflict between Lolo and Madecali?

1.3Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

i. To examine the factors responsible for community cross-border conflicts in West Africa.

ii. To examine the causes of the border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali communities of Nigeria and Benin.

iii. To examine the impacts of the Lolo and Madecali border community conflict on Nigeria and Benin inter-state relations.

iv. To assess the effectiveness of the mechanisms put inplace for resolvingthe conflict between Lolo and Madecali.

1.4 Research Assumptions

i. Borders between sovereign states are essential mechanism for cross-border interactionsdepending on the nature they were constituted.

ii. Lack of clear border demarcation in West Africaconstitutes major source of conflicts in theregion.

iii. Communal conflict inthe Lolo and Madacali border region affects the nature of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin.

iv. Joint cross-border integration projects will help to overcome the conflict and maintain peace and stability in the border area of Lolo and Madecali.

1.5Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is purposely for knowledge contribution.The study adds to the existing literature,an understanding of the nature, causes and impacts of the Lolo and Madecali border conflict on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin Republic. This is because there is no sufficient literature which actually addressed the conflictbetween the two communities. In other words, the researcher undertakes a grass root approach that reflects the real problems of the border communities of Lolo and Madecali as well asthe spill-over effects of the conflictto both communities and their states.

1.6Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of the area covered in the study is the Kebbi State border in the Nigerian side,with Malan Ville Communeborder in the Benin Republic. The specific area is the borderlands of Lolo and Madecalirespectively. In other words, the study is restricted to 2009 community cross-border conflictbetween Lolo and Madecaliover the Tungan Kungi area.

The rationale for focusing on 2009 is that,it was the year cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali became intensified as residents of Tungan-Kungi were forced to flee their

homes and many individuals were displaced. Lolo and Madecali were also incorporated in the research because the communal conflict emanated from Tungan-Kungi straddling the two communities and due to the centrality of the border towns for cross-border activities and socio-communal relations.

Undoubtedly, the research has been conducted under enormous limitations, caused primarily by the security problem, deep hatred and animosity between the two communities.This made it almost impossible to travel to nearby areas to collect data. In addition, the crossing of River Niger through boat, presents another challenge to the researcher.

Conversely, challenges were also encountered in the process such as absence of full cooperation from respondents who were fearful for their own lives and those of their family members and relatives. Some names have been omitted to protect identities. The researcher was constantly aware that his motives might be misinterpreted; hence he was careful to be as straightforward as possible about the purposes and scholarly nature of the research. It is not surprising that most of the respondents (informants) agreed to talk, provided that they remained anonymous.

Another problem with some of the respondents was a higher degree of emotional involvement with their communal settings. Although they largely lack neutrality, this group of interviewees provided valuable information about the communal conflict.

Restrictions on travel outside the towns of Lolo and Madecali for environmental and security reasons however, presents the most serious challenge. Fear of insecurity in large parts of the border area of the two communities rendered data collection in the region an unpredictable and cumbersome undertaking.Nevertheless, attempts were made to overcome these challenges by tracking down some informant residents in Lolo and Madecali towns.

1.7 Chapter Organisation

To address the central issues of this research, the study is arranged in five chapters as follows: Chapter 1 begins by providing a general introduction which consists of the background to the study; statement of the research problem; objectives of the study; the research questions; research assumptions; the scope and limitation of the study; the significance of the study; and the plan of the study / chapter organization.

In chapter two, the focus was on literature review where the researcher reviewed the related extent and relevant literature on border studies; general pattern of inter-state relations across territorial borders; as well as issues arising along border-zones such as migration, refugee influx, drugs and human trafficking, arms transfer/circulation and transnational organized crime etc. Also, claims over the legal status of nationhood, identity, being and belonging; couple with the issues of territorial questions that creates room for cross-border conflicts were also explored.

The literature on cross-border conflicts pays attention to some selected border regions that often witnessed boundary disputes, while that of inter-state relations was drawn from the experiences of some regions in the world that set paced to inter-states relations (notably, the EU and some Latin American countries). The nature and dynamics of inter-state relations in West Africa drawing from the example of the ECOWAS and its borderless policy was also taken into cognizance.

Thus, the review was thematic in nature thereby examining the contemporary debates, dominant perspectives, and theoretical approaches to the study of borders and borderlands. A critique on borderland discourse were also been made. The chapter also adopts some of the ideas of the Neo-Functionalist Theory and the PSC Model for analytical discourses.

Chapter three presents the research methods employed in the study. It outlines the method and sources of data that were used, as well as the instruments adopted in analyzing the data. A detailed presentation of field experience is also presented, including the strategies used in overcoming some of the difficulties that the researcher encountered.

The chapter further looks at the historical background of the Lolo and Madecali border communities as well as the pattern of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin. In other words, it examines the geographical and socio-economic profiles of the borderlands straddling Nigeria and Benin as well as the politico-administrative restructuring of the area. It analyzes the nature of inter-state relations between the two states from 1960 to date thereby drawing attention to instances of border clashes and border closures as well as issues of cooperation, integration and cross-border security.

In chapter four, data presentation and analysis were made. It contains a detail presentation of the field experience and the answers to the research questions. The researcher presents vivid analyses of the legal instruments defining the delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin boundary as corroboratedby official documents and views from the NBCs officials. It begins by deepening understanding of the nature of border community conflict and its impact on inter-state relations in West Africa with particular attention to Lolo and Madecali border communities of Nigeria and Benin.

The chapter also provides a snapshot of the relationships between the border communities of the two states and between authorities and communities across the borderlands of Lolo and Madecali. More specifically, it identifies the nature of the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali over Tungan-Kungi area; analyses the relationships, attitudes and

perceptions of the border communities towards each other; assesses trust levels; identifies tensions between the two communities and the 2009 border conflict between the two entities; identifies the measures put in place by authorities of Nigeria and Benin in resolving the conflict as well as examines the effectiveness of the mechanisms.

Building on the preceding analysis, Chapter 5 summarizes and concludes the major findings of this study regarding the nature of community cross-border conflicts and its impact on inter-state relations in West Africa with particular attention to Lolo and Madecali border communities of Nigeria and Benin. It also recommends major priority areas that might inform a new, comprehensive and integrated approach to the Lolo-Madecali border conflict and peaceful inter-state relation between Nigeria and Benin. Lastly, lists of references, appendixes and plates were made for reference purposes.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapterexamines some of the relevant literature on general pattern of inter-state relations across territorial borders; border studies; as well as issues arising along border-zones such as migration, refugee influx, drugs and human trafficking, arms transfer/circulation and transnational organized crime etc. Also, claims over the legal status of nationhood, identity, being and belonging; couple with the issues of territorial questions that creates room for cross-border conflicts were also explored.

The literature on cross-border conflictspays attention to some selected border regions that often witnessed boundary disputes, while that of inter-state relations was drawn from the experiences of some regions in the world that set paced to inter-states relations across territorial borders (notably, the EU and some Latin American countries). The review was thematic in nature thereby examining the dominant perspectives on borders andborderlands;and also making a critique on borderland discourse.

2.1 Contemporary Debates on Borders and Borderlands

Geographically, the study of borders in society and across nation-states (with the understanding of space and its social significance) has progressed remarkably since the 19th Century with particular attention given to formal state frontiers and ethno-cultural areas. Border studies have also become a research field that encompasses a wide range of disciplines which include: International Relations, political science, sociology, anthropology, history, law, geography as well as philosophy and ethics. Boundary studies have been the concern of scholars since classical times, through the middle ages to the present times.

There is a vast body of material concerning borders and borderlands. For instance, Olujimi (2010:29), traces the emergence of modern boundaries as finite delimiters of geopolitical space evolved gradually over the ages, beginning from zones of separation or “no-man’s land”,

to the frontier, and finally, to the definite “line on map”. Olujimi demonstrate how the Treaty of Westphalia was crucial to the development of the finite boundary.

The Treaty provided for the sovereignty of each state and made provisions against external interference in the domestic affairs of the state. Article 64 of the Treaty of Westphalia codified the basic principles of territorial integrity, border inviolability, and supremacy of the state (rather than the Church); effectively establishing the basis of territorial sovereignty (Olujimi, 2010:29).

Adequate explanation is expected in classifying borders according to geographical location (regional or continental), physical attributes (like natural waters and concrete pillars), and tangible as well as socio-economic, cultural and religious borders. In other words, even though, borders are normally identified and defined within the context of frontiers and boundaries, a distinction should be made between the two phenomena.

Conceptually, a border implies an area or region closer to a boundary. It refers more commonly to the boundaries between politically sovereign and territorial entities across nation-states. It is viewed in terms of the main line that demarcates one country from the other.

To Prescott, (1972:54-57) both frontiers and boundaries are respectively “the zones and lines which separate areas of different political authority characterized by the position of the frontier itself, the extent to which it is marked by defensive walls, ditches or palisades, its physical nature, the density, distribution and cultural characteristics of the people living in and near the frontier, and economic activities associated with the frontiers and adjoining areas”.

Even though, these lines define geographical boundaries and legal jurisdiction of political entities such as sovereign states, federated state, governments and sub national entities, Prescott

pay little emphasis on national borders which go beyond a line delimiting the territory of a state and its territorial waters.

The national border of a state includes all border spaces which are no longer exclusively at physical limits of the state. This is why Sosuh (2011:6), identified three variance of territorial borders namely "land, air and the seaports". But Sosuh focus less on the key features that physically demarcate borders which make it so valuable and even influential in inter-state relations or regional integration.

However, Anderson (2003:6); Anderson and O'Dowd (1999:17) refers to frontier as synonym to borders and as both institutional and a process showing the limit of a state's sovereignty, simultaneously, being an instrument of its policy and also "markers of identity". For Anderson, the boundary "acquired a mythical significance in building nations and political identities". In terms of building nations and political identities, boundaries could be classified into two principal categories, one based on "origin" and the other on "cultural relationship" which will further enhance our understanding of the nature and implications of boundaries on divided societies.

Alexander (1963) in his study of the boundary between the United States and Canada distinguishes between"generic and functional" boundaries. The generic classification is based on origin and consists of four types: "physical, ethnic, historical and geometric". The functional classification is based on "cultural relationships", which is related to the ethnic type under the generic classification.

Alexander(1963)'s classification is based on anthropological perspective in that it considers boundaries in relation to the human aspect of the landscape such as patterns of settlement, land utilization and population distribution. His category is sub-classified into:

antecedent, superimposed and consequent. For Alexander(1963), antecedent boundaries were created before the present cultural landscape developed. The territory had been pre-partitioned before the development of human societies or cultural features of the area, such as the pattern of economic activities, arrangement of roads, settlement patterns and so on.

Contrarily, Kapil (1966:657) contends that antecedent boundaries refer to the situation "where political boundaries have been formally allocated before human settlement has taken place, or at least before socio-cultural features, such as industrial growth, markets or regions of articulation and movement have had time to develop".

The aforementioned works (Sosuh, 2011; Anderson, 2003 etc) explain the origin of superimposed boundaries and how they cut across cultural settings superimposed on pre-existing social formations. Anderson's work fall short of explaining boundary away from real features that physically demarcate territorial borders either between societies or communities, nation-states within a geographical setting or even across regional or continental arrangement.

For Tandia (2010:20), the physical or geographical border or the frontier is a barrier by which criteria of nationality are defined. Borders appear as "identitary markers, exclusive and inclusive at the same time, but also lines of demarcation that sanction the state's sovereignty and authority". Tandia's work is a starting point for analytical discourse, but he is silent in explaining the nature, pattern and variables of boundary delimitation and demarcation and in identifying the limits of sovereignty and the power over territorial control.

A typology of border was proposed by Martinez (1994), in *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands,* where he spoke of "Alienated"(border that divide or separate communities);"Co-existent"(independent parallel borders);"Interdependent"(mutually supporting or dependent borders);and "Integrated borders"(incorporated or included borders)".

In sharp contrast to Martinez, Payan, (2011:4) for example, presents another classifications of borders that include “hard”(fenced and guarded wall, or Berlin or Korean-type division) and “soft” (regulated but open like the EU) borders as well as a classification that consists in “open”(where no visas, passports, or even inspections are required), “controlled”(where passports and inspections and sometimes visas are required) and “fortified” (where physical barriers, such as walls, are erected and border controls are militarized) borders.

Payan’s classification on the other hand, centered on the physical appearance of border which is mainly from the artificial demarcation of boundariesrather than the long histories of ancestral ties and identity formation. His work fall short of investigating what happens at physical spaces, and how differences are constructed in order to properly police and control territorial borders. In short, Payan only explain Martinez’s typology rather than proposing a new one that might be applicable to all borders.

Starr and Most (1976:12) identify two basic categories of borders namely, “Non-colonial and colonial”. The Non-colonial borders refer to the boundaries of the major powers subdivided into “Non-colony Land Borders (NcLB); Water Non-colony Borders (WNcB); and Proximity-Zone None-colony Borders (PZNcB)”. The colonial borders on the other hand, refer to those boundaries between two colonial possessions or between a colonial and non-colonial territory. Colonial boundaries are therefore drawn to eliminate potentially dangerous situations and to secure peace by neighbouring groups.

For Prescott (1965: 58), war was prevented between Britain and France in the Niger Basin in the closing years of the 19th century, especially in the hinterland of Lagos where there were protracted territorial contact and struggles until the boundary determination of 1898 . Indeed, the Berlin West African Conference was convened in order to regulate the inter-imperial

territorial scramble in Africa to prevent war in metropolitan Europe. The reason for colonial boundaries is the need to gain economic advantage, especially in areas of strategic or economic potential.

The classification set above, is just a nomenclature that explains the natural and the artificial borders. It is based on the superiority of the colonial powers whereby their territorial boundaries are not subject to artificial construction while the boundaries of the colonized societies of the Third World are subject to the permanent demarcation and delimitation. In other words, they build their explanation based on the Center-Periphery Polarization (CPP) which explains the reasons for border conflicts in post colonial Africa.

Another category of boundary differentiation in the literature is the conception of boundary as either "artificial or natural". The debate was between two schools of thought: the artificiality school (Asiwaju, 1984; Williams, 2006) and the natural boundary school (Cukwurah, 1967; Malaka, 1989).

Cukwurah (1967) posits that, human society began from the most rudimentary form of social organisation made up of several independent bands of people who had no prior contact with one another. As population grew with a concomitant pressure on land, adjoining territories became assimilated until such a point that contact was made with another band or group of people. In this case, there had been no mutually agreed mode of spatial interaction as well as inter-group relations; what followed would be a struggle for space with the weaker group either expelled from the land or assimilated into the stronger group.

For Jumare (cited in Yakubu, 2001:23), natural boundaries otherwise known as "good boundaries" are those boundaries marked by "natural features such as oceans, seas, lakes, rivers,

swamps, forest, deserts and mountains". While the artificial boundaries on the other hand are often referred to as "bad boundaries" in that, they are not marked by natural features rather manmade (the Whiteman construction).

Even though, these classifications provide a better understanding of boundaries particularly in Africa, the explanation is simply myopic in that, they solely consider physical elements of boundary demarcation as well as geographical line of delimitation of territorial sovereignty as the central theses in approaching border, boundary, and frontier discourses. In other words, the classification given above did not put into cognizance the technical and concrete meaning of artificial and natural boundaries.

Boudjema (2014:62-63), further explain the two concepts. Artificial boundaries (AfB) are laid down often when "no clear natural obstacle separates the physical terrain". Such boundaries are two types: (a) Astronomical boundaries (AB) "delineated according to parallels of latitude or longitude" e.g., the boundary delimiting Algeria and Mauritania; the boundary separating Alaska (USA) from the Yukon (Canada) etc. and (b) Geometrical boundaries (GB) which consist of "either a straight line connecting two known points, or an arc of a circle".

The Natural (or geographical) boundaries (N/GB) on the other hand, are categories of borders which are by far the most preferred by states and is subdivided into different types: (a) Orographic boundaries (OB) pertain to "mountainous regions" and can be configured in three different ways: (i) Crest lineswhich is seen as "the ideal line that links the highest summits of a single chain of mountains". For example, the southern segment of the Algeria-Libya border; etc (ii) Watersheds situated between two hydrographic basins and passes along the physical division of the two catchment areas (for example, the Franco-Italian border); (iii) Line along the foot of mountains which passes along the base of mountain massifs (Boudjema, 2014:62-63).

Among the mong the natural boundaries, there is (b) Fluvial boundaries (FB) are drawn where river watercourses serve as borders". In this, there are three different types: (i) thethalweg which places the dividing line in the deepest point of the riverbed or sometimes sinuous line of the navigable channel. Otherwise, a central line can run equidistant from each bank (for example, the Rhine between France and Germany and the Rio Grande between the USA and Mexico); (ii) The riverbank boundarysystem utilises one of the riverbanks as the border and, as such, the entire river falls under the sovereignty of a single state; (iii) Delimitation by reachesorsectors (used in the past for delimiting colonial possessions). (c) Lacustrine boundaries (LB) whichpasses normally "through the centre of a lake when that body of water is shared between just two states" (Boudjema, 2014:62-63).

Even though, the author is silent on issues of land rights, grassing rights, citizenship, and territory; as well as varieties of actors with vested interests (governments or even external actors) in his classification of borders and boundaries, it is clear that all boundaries are man-made, whether or not they follow natural features. His explanation is partially applicable in explaining the nature of Africa borders as were imposed by the whitemen.

However, borderlands are known as "geographical spaces straddling the national territories of two or more countries, where peoples are closely tied up together by socio-economic ties" (Tandia, 2010:20). They are transnational territories cross-cutting state territories. They appear more as socio-cultural territories, that is, "the ethno-regional spaces drawn by linguistic and religious boundaries, and homogenous areas in terms of level of development.

Tandia's analysis did not capture other aspects like the width and position of the frontier itself as well as its physical nature, the density distribution and cultural characteristics of the people living in and near the frontier, and economic activities associated with the frontiers and

adjoining areas. In short, the author only looked at the necessary elements of borderlands in anthropological settings.

From another dimension, Horstmann (2011:203-204), viewed borderlands as "exceptional and liminal spaces where various sovereignties and laws are competing with each other; where local, national, and global actors have vested interests in and sometimes compete over, sometimes collaborate on the control of areas and people in the borderlands between states".

This explanation view borderlands as a territorial zone and a special region where communities involved have their own specific political spaces in which "citizenship, law, and sovereignties" are contested. Horstmann's conception of borderland as a constant or likely place of territorial dispute caused by passage way and the struggle to have absolute control of border spaces did not realize the fact that societies cooperate, overlap and conflate together shaping the specific topography of border spaces with each other even before the introduction of the legal conception of citizenship, law and territorial sovereignty.

Even though, borders are traditionally defined as international boundaries between nation-states, the issues of "borderland identity; cultural and ethical identities; and community settings" become one of the major areas of research by scholars (Alvarez, 1995:443; Martinez, 1994:27; Asiwaju and Adenyi, 1989:21; Wilson and Donnan 1994:31; 1995:12; 1999:17).

In other words despite the fact that borders are subject to permanent re-interpretation in daily practices and discourses, recent research on borders and borderlands have shown that, "identity and territory" are the two ingredients of the same process. These scholars stress the contradiction of anthropological status of borders in terms of "culture and identity". They focused mainly on "peoples, ideas and actions in localities as well as how politics and economics

intersect with local society and culture". In this regard, identity and identification (being and belonging) as well as the way in which people chart their courses became the focus of their analysis.

Unfortunately, they were silent in explaining the nature of ethnic identity across territorial boundaries; and how ethnic and cultural citizens create cultures of ethnicity as well as nation or state of their own affiliation. They were unable to advance a comprehensive and general acceptable criteria in determining the actual forms of being and belonging across border zones.

In the contemporary period, the present state of debate in the field of border studies is between those who understand "borders as institutions, processes and symbols" (Williams, 2012:23; Murphy, 2010:12; Anderson, 1999:2; 2003:5) in contrast to those who view borders through "socio-spatial processes of border-making or bordering that take place within society" (Heyman 1995:4; 2014:7; Wilson and Donnan 1995:22).

The former are of the view that "state symbols, signs, narratives like natural features, concrete pillars, beacons" etc are extremely important in bordering. This is so because in many regions of the world, the situation in border areas is determined by the "geo-politics of memory" which include what can be seen in museums, the erection or the destruction of monuments and the renaming of streets or even towns.

The latter are of the opinion that borders are thus not given, they "emerge through socio-political processes of border-making or bordering that takes place within society" (that is, either ethno-cultural identity formation or legal political demarcation). In the entire perspectives, they both realized borders as a strategic point of interaction that gain socio-cultural and political

influence between societies across territorial entities but their attempts to link the interconnectivity of territorial symbols along with societal reconfiguration was unable.

In other words, the authors neglects the question of how formal (e.g. state) and informal (social) processes of border-making relates to each other in terms of reconfiguration and construction of social borders and thus, this still remain their major line of distinction.

From the constructivist perspective, particularly the work of Van Houtum and Naerssen 2002:12-128), the notion of bordering has emerged as a general context for comprehending borders as something continually"being made". In other words, borders are made from "the existence of human society and their interaction across territorial entities as contrast to nature or natural laws". The constructivists view borders as a physical and often static geographic outcome of socio-spatial dynamics. Unfortunately, understanding borders in this direction negates the importance of elite construction as well as the reinterpretation of boundary alignment.

Another overarching framework of analysis developed by scholars in contemporary border studies is the "power component". Kolossov and Scott, (2013:5) also appear in this area. Their framework focuses on the role of power elites in border studies both at the local or state level as well as the visible or the invisible type.

Power elites decide "when, and in whose interest it is, to construct and constitute borders", and they also decide "when and how to open and remove borders". Power elites also determine how "stringent the management and the crossing of borders will be, what document are necessary for the crossing process to take place, be it a passport or visa". This was as a result of the state system and the relations between sovereign states as determined by the Westphalian norms and treaty. Analyzing the pattern of African borders can partially be made by adopting this framework.

Traditional border-making processes (e.g. delimitation, demarcation, management and control) are largely functions of state power, while the concomitant power to sort people according to the degree of their belonging to certain ethnic, cultural, political, and social groups is embedded within society itself. This does not simply mean political elites have the absolute power over societal ethno-cultural identification because their interests in boundary demarcation and delimitation overlap simultaneously.

Many instances in Africa show that, political boundaries do not reflect the current reality of ethnic formation of the societal settings particularly in the West and Horn of Africa. This is why Kolossov and Scott, (2013:3); Asiwaju 1984:10; Asiwaju and Adeniyi (1989:56); Tesfamichael (2011:11) argues that, many people do not recognize or associate themselves with such ossified and fixed divisions of political boundaries which represent Western political elites or colonial demarcation.

Another central theme in border literature is the role of globalization in world politics. Some authors have argued that no debate on boundary is complete without examining the concept of globalization (Brown 1995; Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999). In other words, the nexus between "borders and national sovereignty" constitutes the heart of contemporary geopolitical orders in border and borderland discourse.

The nature and character of the state system with regards to the issue of sovereignty in the globalized world became the major focus of contemporary border scholars. The argument of "borderless world or the Europeanization" in the globalization discourse contributed much whereby capital flows across national frontiers as well as transfer of global technologies along with cyberspace become the major concern.

Current debates suggest that, state sovereignty is absolute but of course contingent upon many factors (Flint and Taylor, 2007:11; Agnew, 2009:7; Wilson, 2009:3). The idea that political boundaries are being eroded by "crises of state sovereignty" (who has the power over territorial borders, states or international organization?) and the new forms of "globalized political authority" with liberal policies as well as the networked nature of the world system (regulating the behavior of states and new patterns of cooperation in terms of openness of the economy and the free market system) indicates a relative shift of political power away from the states hence, affects the nature of the state system.

In summary, there is a clear distinction between frontier on the one hand and boundary on the other hand. A boundary denotes a line whereas a frontier is more properly a region or zone having width as well as length and therefore merely indicates, without fixing the exact limit, where one state ends and another begins. In effect a boundary girds a frontier and more often than not, it is "the expansion of a frontier owing to pressure from within which so frequently renders a boundary necessary".

A frontier is but a vague and indefinite term until a boundary is set putting a hedge between it and the frontier of a neighbouring state. The term Boundary therefore, denotes a line such as may be defined from point to point in a treaty, boundary commission report, agreement etc, while a frontier is more properly a region or zone having width as well as length.

Boundaries whether natural, geographic, strategic, secure or artificial should at all time remain ascertainable. The importance of international boundary delimitation however transcends the defense and security factor. In the long run a boundary may determine for millions the language to speak and the laws that govern their lives, the kind of money they shall use, the

markets in which they must buy and sell and perhaps the kinds of food they may be permitted to eat are all factors of the territorial boundaries in which they belong. The boundaries of a state also determine the lateral limits of the airspace pertaining to that State. Many such opportunistic approaches to boundaries exist.

In the contemporary border studies, there exists no consensus as to what constitutes a boundary in borderland discourse. Neither is there clear guidance as to the criteria for measurement or delimitation. There is however a distinction between boundary and frontier. In its geographical sense a natural boundary consists of such features as water, a range of rocks or mountains, deserts, forests and the like. In contrast artificial boundary includes such signs as have been purposely put up to indicate the way of the imaginary line.

Natural boundaries would apply mostly to land territories, whereas artificial boundaries are more suited for the delimitation of airspace and maritime zones. Indeed, natural boundaries are difficult to determine in a totally natural environment where there are no visually perceptible differences in features. Most boundaries today result from conscious and arbitrary delimitation exercise.

For this reason some scholars are of the view that nowadays no boundaries can be regarded as “natural boundaries” and that consequently all boundaries are artificial (Boudjema,2014). According to this view, rivers, mountains, deserts etc. are “derived artificial boundaries” as distinct from the more commonly referred to “artificial boundaries” such as parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude. In other words, simply because a line is marked along natural or geographical lines does not necessarily imply that it is a natural line of separation between neighbouring peoples or territories.

Maritime boundary litigation for instance, involves exceptionally high open and hidden costs. There would usually be the need for experts on geography, cartography, oceanography, geologists, and other specialists in addition to costs for exhibits, memorials and lawyers. Land boundary demarcation may also be equally prohibitive. Acquisition of satellite imagery, ground surveys, mapping and erection of boundary pillars would require immense sums to accomplish. In many cases both land and maritime issues are at stake from litigation through to implementation.

2.1.1 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Borders and Borderlands

Three broad approaches have been advanced in studying international boundaries (the Structuralist,the Functionalist and the Neo-Functionalist), which have influenced perceptions both in border theory and practice. They serve as analytical approaches in understanding the interactions between border communities along the border zones.

2.1.1.1 The Structuralist Approach

The Structuralist approach manages a state's boundaries with "one rule for all" policies, while the Functionalist approach employs integrative trans-border mechanisms to manage everyday trans-boundary realities of the borderland communities (Stoddard, 2002:45). In other words, the Structuralist treatment of boundaries is a "state-centric approach" whose exclusive preoccupation is with the maintenance of the sanctity of the integrity of the state while other considerations are relegated to the background (Olujimi, 2010:40).

For the Structuralist, international boundaries are barriers and filters, separating foreigners from nationals. In short, the state (government) and state elite regards boundaries as an immutable feature of the state from which the character and essence of the state derives; it

marks the extent of its territorial jurisdiction, beyond which are foreigners whose access into the state must be controlled and within which are citizens who must be protected and provided for (van Creveld, 1999).

The Structuralist approach regards the international boundaries of the state as the juridical extent of state territory and sovereignty. While the Functionalist perspective is centred on issues of "low politik", the Structuralist approach focuses on the "high politik" of the realist school of international relations. Central to the Structuralist approach in the study of international boundaries are the twin concepts of "territoriality and sovereignty".

The Structural approach emphasises the doctrine of territorial integrity, which refers to a preoccupation of the state with the issues of self-preservation and accumulation of power aimed at maintaining territorial and political continuity (Losch, 1954:200). The approach is hinged on three core assumptions:

1. Nation states are homogeneous coercive entities where all subgroups accept their respective national goals and objectives;
2. Formulating policies affecting the survival of the state is the exclusive preserve of national leaders with the basic assumption that interests of the various sections are aggregated as the interests of the state;
3. The singular function of every international boundary is the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the state it encloses. The responsibilities of national leaders include the preservation of territorial integrity by protecting the people and its land from external encroachment (Stoddard, 2002:42).

The Structuralist framework (particularly, the works of Boggs, 1940; Kristof, 1959; Prescott, 1965 and 1970) is employed mostly in finding solutions to boundary related issues of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

However, this approach has proved inadequate in the study of contemporary international boundaries, particularly those that partition previously existing homogeneous culture groups or ethno-communal identities along borderland regions. The preoccupation of the approach with the maintenance of territorial integrity over every other consideration ignores the every day realities of the people around the boundary region as well as the age-old history of relationships and affinities that had existed prior to the colonial demarcation, which colonisation and subsequent (independent) state system have not been able to completely eliminate (Boggs, 1940).

Another important criticism of this approach is its assumption that state and society, or state and nation are necessarily synonymous and therefore, the application of "one-rule-for-all" approach of the state. This assumption informs the aggregation of the interests of the people by the political elite as the interests of the states. In other words, the interest of the state in policing (and maintaining) the boundary is equated with the interests of the people (Olujimi, 2010:43).

However, this attitude is constantly queried as the same people cross the same boundary for sundry reasons and circumvents state policies in spite of the strictures imposed by the state. This dichotomy in perception between the state/government on one hand, and the people/groups (communities) on the other and subsequent policy by the state have contributed in no small measures to the failure of the Structuralist approach in transforming the barrier challenge of boundaries (which are often conflict prone) to cooperative and integrative advantages (Kristof, 1959).

Another challenge for this approach is that, it fails to take into cognisance the contrasting perspectives between the state (and government) and the society (people); thereby highlighting

the implications of such situations for both the state and the people as well as for inter-state relations.

2.1.1.2 The Functionalist Theory

The Functionalist theory to the study of international boundaries was developed by Mitrany, Jones, Stoddard and others as a reaction to the failure of the Structuralist school in the study of boundaries. It takes off on the premises that certain research endeavours could not be effective if restricted to formal institutions, but they must spread to include informal groups and organizations.

Functionalism involves the employment of sociological and anthropological techniques and conceptual frameworks in the understanding of certain political phenomena which traditional political science techniques alone would not be able to adequately address. It provides tools for the analysis of informal, non-institutional politically relevant activities; it reduces value orientation to an insignificant degree; it is concerned principally with what happens, and not such ethical judgment as what ought to happen (Jones, 1967:10).

The Functionalist theory contrary to the Structuralist views boundaries as points of "differential converters" to ameliorate socio-economic and political differences between people and institutions across international boundaries. It is based on "the doctrine of mutual necessity or symbiotic reciprocity, which promotes cooperation and integration" (Stoddard, 2002:45). It acknowledges and employs informal functions and affinities between people straddling a bi-national boundary.

The perspective promotes permeable boundaries, which allow unfettered mutual cross-boundary interchanges (Asiwaju, 1984). In other words, the Functionalist approach views

boundaries from the perspective of the people whose interests are secondary or ignored in the statist approach.

The Functionalist theory is a dynamic view of contemporary boundaries based on land-use and ownership customs. At the primitive stage of the development of human social organizations, primeval societies were essentially nomadic. They frequently moved about in tribal bands in search of fruits and game as well as land to be used in the simplest form of tillage.

Also, at initial stage of human development, life was essentially insecure, "nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes, 1991). Travels and communications were hazardous and hampered by natural obstacles and wild beasts (Cukwurah, 1967:10-11). In their continuous search for fertile land, they came into contact with other groups from whom they must have been separated by natural barriers. Competition and conflicts necessarily ensued over access to land and other resources. Subsequently, some forms of crude limits of territories were worked out, usually in the form of frontier zones insulating neighbouring groups from each other. In these buffer zones, a whole range of interactions including annexation (of the frontier) went on without necessarily violating each other's designated ancestral lands or territoriality (Stoddard, 2002).

When modern state boundaries (with precise locations and as the absolute limits of state territoriality) were imposed in the New World, Africa and much of the Third World, frontier zones disappeared but indigenous borderland peoples continue to use them in surmounting the disruptive impact of boundaries as well as exploiting them for economic gains through trans-border arbitrage among others (Asiwaju, 1984).

The Functionalists view frontier networks as continuous trans-boundary linkages, the so called "cultural borderland (CB)"; a permanent non-state system for coordinating activities of

contiguous cultural areas separated by colonial boundaries (Olujimi, 2010:46). Since boundaries in Africa are colonial impositions with little or no regard for pre-existing boundary situations, local trans-boundary cooperation usually subsists in spite of the structurally-induced strictures imposed by states.

Thus, there are three fundamental postulations of the Functionalists on boundaries (Stoddard, 2002:62), namely:

1. A contemporary nation-state is made up of a sundry array of interest groups and social classes as well as a complex mosaic of ethnic, racial and religious categories
2. Trans-boundary interfaces involving cultural, economic, political and ideological influences preserve important channels of communication between local populations straddling international boundary. These local informal networks allow local authorities to coordinate common regional goals while reducing bi-national tensions between the states.
3. Whenever centrist structural policies for the borderland are ineffective, local functional practices are employed in attempts to find solutions to current border problems. Regional and local jurisdictions, more familiar with chronic boundary irritations are more appropriate to support functional policies which reflect realistic solutions to boundary problems.

These functional assumptions about the nature of boundary are important in the understanding of the primacy attained by functionalism over structuralism in boundary studies in recent years. While the Structuralists believe that the nation-state is coterminous with the society and as such, collective policies are made on such bases which have had grave repercussions for the borderland communities and regional integration; the Functionalists on the contrary, see the modern state as being comprised of a mosaic of interests and social groups. State decision makers must necessarily factor in these multifarious interests and aspirations in the decision making process about boundaries and borderland people.

To the Structuralists, the singular function of the boundary is "territorial maintenance with its attendant separation and exclusion tendencies". Indeed, to this school of thought, any amount of "boundary leakage" is a measure of the state's ineffectiveness in asserting its territoriality. This perception of boundary by the state fosters rival territoriality and competition between neighbouring states that should rather be involved in cooperative and symbiotic relationships (Olujimi, 2010:47).

However, the Functionalists advocate permeable boundary to cater for the realities of everyday interactions with the boundary by people who live along and are directly affected by the boundaries. The livelihood of these people are tied to the boundaries as they are largely left to their own devices by the state whose policies toward the border are largely characterized by neglect, as these regions are considered peripheral zones.

The Functionalist approach to boundaries and borderlands is based on community oriented and bottom up approach in understanding boundaries and borderland communities. The Structuralist approach with its one rule-for-all approach has proved to be inadequate in understanding and handling the dynamics of every day reality of the borderland communities as well as their interactions with the boundary.

The Functionalist approach, with its focus on historical, social and cultural linkages and affinities of the people as well as its view of frontier networks as continuous trans-boundary linkages have proved to be very useful in the contemporary globalized system as well as inter-state relations. As many inter-state boundaries in West Africa are colonial creations with little or no regard for pre-existing boundary situations, local trans-boundary cooperation usually subsists in spite of the structurally-induced strictures imposed by states.

The bridge-building characteristics of functionalism is also significant in terms of cooperative inter-state relations between geographically contiguous states hosting fractions of the same ethnic group or communal settings partitioned by an international boundary, ultimately fostering sub-regional integration.

However, as boundaries remain central to the essence of the state and inter-state relations remain a preserve of the central authorities of the state, the Functionalist fails to explain the strategic reasons for communal conflicts along border frontiers. In other words, they did not address the issues of identity settlement, identity belonging and the claim of ownership over geographical spaces along border communities.

2.1.1.3 The Neo-Functionalist Theory

The theory of Neo-functionalism began to take shape with the works of Ernst Haas' *The Uniting of Europe (1958);* Haas' *Beyond the Nation-State (1964);* Lindberg's *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration (1963)* etc. Neo-functionalism is an off-shoot of the functionalist theory of integration proposed by David Mitrany with some significant departure.

The main departure from functionalism relates to one of the main criticisms of functionalism that is, its inability to see the relevance of political processes in international cooperation (Rosamond, 2000:55). However, Neo-functidonalism reintroduced territorialism in the functional theory and downplayed its global dimension.

Neo-functionalists focused their attention on the process of integration among states, that is, regional integration. The theory places major emphasis on the role of non-state actors (especially, the secretariat) of the regional organisation involved and the interest associations and

social movements that are formed at the level of the region (in providing the dynamics for further integration). Integration is seen as a gradual and self-sustaining process, a functional spillover, political spillover and supranational institutions.

Neo-functionalists defined integration as a process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states (Haas, 1964:16). The end result of the process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones.

Ernst Haas is the central figure who theorized the community method pioneered by Jean Monnet. It argues that states should begin integration modestly in areas of low politics, and a high authority should be set up as a sponsor of further integration; the first steps will create functional pressures for integration of related sectors and the momentum would gradually entangle national economies and social interests; deepening economic integration will create the need for further institutionalization, making political integration and a long-term system of peace inevitable (Rosamond, 2000:52).

While building up its theoretical construction with the description of political community, the founding father of neo-functionalism, Haas (1961) describes the political community as a condition in which specific groups and individuals show more loyalty to their central political institutions than to any other political authority, in a specific period of time and in a definable geographic space.

Neo-functionalists accept that the integration starting in an economic sector would spread over to other sectors by creating a strong interdependence and wealth. Neo-functionalists call this automatic process (functional spill-over /FSO) and attach very big importance to that concept.

Spillover is a way of describing the central dynamic of that process where successful integration in an area of lesser salience leads to a series of further integrative measures in linked areas so that the process becomes increasingly involved with issues of greater political importance (Taylor, 1983:9).

In his original formulation of the term, Haas defined it as a situation where the creation and deepening of integration in one economic sector would create pressures for further economic integration in other sectors of the economy (Haas 1961:283). As a result of this process, economic integration starting in a limited sector spreads primarily to other sectors of the economy and eventually covers all spheres of national economies participating in the integration. In his book, Lindberg tried to define the concept even more generally but in a more compact form:

> Spill-over refers to a situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and a need for more action, and so forth (Lindberg 1963:10).

For Haas, the spill-over of integration from one field to another was not only based on economic determinism but rather on changes in the attitudes of key decision-makers and interest groups (Haas 1964). Hence, Haas sees the political field in two distinct parts as high and low politics. High politics, including diplomacy, strategy, defence and national ideologies, is the hard field to start integration. In other words, areas of low politics refer to economic and social life

while areas of high politics refer to those concerning national defence and governmental structures, and are highly related to the security and survival of a nation state (Mattli, 1999:23).

In the neo-functionalist concept, nation-states are reluctant to lose their sovereign authority in the field of high politics. Therefore, Haas proposal is based on starting the integration process by low politics embodying economic and technical spheres. The integration in the field of high politics would be a natural consequence for regional integration process.

As such, Haas identified three background conditions that were preconditions for successful integration namely: pluralistic social structures, substantial economic and industrial development and common ideological patterns among the participating units (Haas 1961:374-375). To explain the conditions vividly, Lindberg (1963:7-13) emphasises four preconditions for integration in inter-state relations as follows:

i) Central institutions and central policies should be established and developed, because only they can assure that someone represents and promotes the (inter-state, cross-border or regional view) as well as solves disputes between member states;
ii) Their tasks and capacity to implement those tasks should go well beyond the mandate of normal international institutions;
iii) Their tasks should be inherently expansive;
iv) There should be some link between the interests of member states and the process of integration.

Besides functional spillover, there is another kind of spillover called “cultivated spill-over / CSO” (Nye, 1971:202). Cultivated spillover refers to the situation that the achievement of new policies is not because of functional pressure or package deals, but cultivated by leaders representing the international institutions (Cini, 2003:86).

According to Nye, this type of spill-over takes place when some sort of driving forces behind the integration (for example, politicians or technocrats) form coalitions, which

deliberately promote increased integration (Nye 1971:202). The upgrading of member states' common interests relies on the services of an institutionalized autonomous mediator (Mattli, 1999:26).

Political spill-over (PSO) is not necessarily about political integration, but refers to political linkage of package deals that can be very complex. The emphasis is on actors and their (often haphazard) interaction. The process emerges from a complex web of actors pursuing their interests within a pluralist political environment (Rosamond, 2000:55). Thus, the concepts of cultivated spillover and political spillover bring in new factors that shape the process of integration particularly, the institutionalized autonomous mediator and a complex web of interest groups.

Although neo-functionalism provides a more predictable approach than functionalism and it analyses the actual policy-making process, it underestimates the importance of nation states and, to a certain degree, the legitimacy of policies. It seems to stress too much on the sub-national and international actors across territorial borders.

The interactions between interest groups and governments, the concerns of political leaders, and the governments adapting to the changing needs is significance in neo-functionalists view. However, nation states' preferences and the hostile relations between states are overlooked. Even when relation between states is gainful, the lack of trust may still prevent nation states from cooperation in high politics.

Other perspectives have emerged in explaining the reality and root causes of borders in relation to the social construction of space (human geography) as well as the legal explanation of

borders and borderlands. To begin with,Boudjema (2014:59) explains three perspectives to the study of borders and frontiers. They include:

(1) The Terminological Perspective which distinguished between “boundary” (the linear concept) that describes a line as it traverses the land and maritime regions of the earth’s surface, and “border” (a spatial concept) that relates to the zone extending along either side of the line set forth. This perspective fails to put into account the reality of territorial borders which defines both the boundary as well as the delimited zone, not only the line delimiting the area under the jurisdiction of each of states.

(2). The Legal Perspectiveviewed borders from the legal viewpoint as “the line that separates the territory of one state from the territories of neighbouring states”. In other words, each of the state exercises its sovereignty within the confines of its territorial space.

This perspective clashes with the idea of borderless zone or the neo-liberal policies of free movement as well as openness of political frontiers. It is also refer to as “the pragmatic approach” (Kolossov and Scott, 2013:3) because it sees border as “a dynamic functional process of every day construction through or as a result of political discourses and institutions, media representations, school textbooks, stereotypes and everyday forms of transnationalism”. It suggests that borders are not only “semi-permanent institutions” but are also non-finalizable processes.

(3). The Doctrinal Perspective perceive borders as “an artificial line drawn by humankind in order to separate or share human entities between themselves, or as a line describing the boundary of the territory occupied by the state and over which it exercises sovereignty”. This neglects the role of political elite in border construction.

Kolossov and Scott (2013:3) called the Doctrinal perspective a "critical approach" arguing that, it is the process of "theorizing, questioning, and contesting the conditions that give rise to border". It generally focused on highly critical re-evaluation of the relationship between states, societies and the borders they create. Their works focused mainly on land borders and the relationship between societies across territorial borders, but they failed to link the perspective or provide ample analysis of other classification of boundaries either at air space, seaports, or territorial waters. In other words, they are one sided in their analyses.

However, Alvarez (1995:449) identifies two main approaches to the study of borderlands. The first is known as the "literal approach" which focuses mainly on the actual problems of borders as its affects concrete social and economic realities of communities and people between nation-states. In this, the major concern is on cross-border migration (CBM), national versus individual (ethnic) identity, trans-border settlement along with environmental policy, as well as labour and health policy.

For Alvarez, problems along border and between peoples are often defined as "cross-cultural misunderstandings (CCM)". This approach neglects issues of territorial integration, openness of territorial borders for international cooperation, as well as border governance in terms of security cooperation. In other words, the approach challenged some of the assumptions of liberal policies of international cooperation and integration in the contemporary global context.

The second approach is the "a-literal approach" otherwise known as the metaphorical approach to borderlands studies. This approach focus on social boundaries on the geopolitical border and also on all behaviour in general that involves "contradictions, conflict, and the shifting of identity". This approach is too myopic in addressing the issues of borders and

borderlands. In other words, it fails to take into cognisance the nature, pattern and dynamics of the contemporary world system where identity is less emphasized in inter-state relations across regional or territorial boundaries (though with little exception to less developed countries, where they see border identity as social practices and cultural beliefs and where they separates borderlands from social forms of peoples and regions).

Finally, most research on borders and borderlands perceived borders either as markers of historical memory and local identity or as conditioners of local setting and everyday attitudes (community routines that develop around borders). In other words, they specifically focused on factors that led to mass movement of peoples across border frontiers, smuggling, refugees, forced migrants, as well as cross-border kinship, marriage and other social relations that affect the nature and dynamics of territorial borders. But they pay little attention to the impact of cross border community interactions as well as the dynamics of socio-communal conflicts in inter-state relations particularly in the third world countries.

2.1.2 Determinant of Borders and Borderlands

Borders can be determine from a number of distinctive angles depending on the nature and pattern of the boundary (land, seaports, or air space) as well as the dynamics of inter-states relations across ethno-cultural or linguistic settings. Several determinants have been proposed by scholars.

Payan (20011:9) for instance, identified some determinants of borders which include: historical baggage (the birth of the border itself, its history and evolution); cultural bonds (such as language, religion, power, and other variables that can determine interactions at borders, places where cultural differences often both meet and clash); resource claims (whether it be water, valuable minerals, fertile land, free passage, etc.), demographic trends (issues such as

overcrowding, natural disasters, economic opportunity, migration and the like); by degree of institutionalization (degree of control over border policies); economic development gaps (development gaps between two peoples facing each other at borders in terms of what sort of capital flows in and in what direction, legal and illegal flows); domestic environment (the dynamics of domestic politics in terms of power competition and contestation); and global context (variables as diverse as trade and investment and security and war in understanding the forces that shape borders today).

The work of Payan stresses the important of socio-economic, cultural, and political variables that determine borders at any geographical setting, but fall short of explaining the nature and dynamics of borders across societies and territorial entities and the reasons for such determination. In other words, Payan pays little attention in extrapolating the relationship between territorial borders and the variables he set aside.

Scholars like Brownlie, (1979); Boudjema, (2014); Macdonald, (2014); Ali, (2014) etc, explain two processes in determining territorial boundaries namely: "delimitation and demarcation". According to Brownlie (1979:4), Delimitation "denotes description of the alignment in a treaty or other written source", or by means of "a line marked on a map or chart" while demarcation denotes "the means by which the described alignment is marked, or evidenced, on the ground, by means of cairns of stones, concrete pillars, beacons of various kinds, cleared roads in scrub and so on".

Brownlie explain how delimitation came into effects, the procedures it entails and the actors involve in actual delimitation and demarcation exercise. Brownlie's work however, approached the concept of border comprehensively because, he begins and ends his explanation from the legal perspective where parties (states involved) have to agree on the alignment

demarcating their sovereignty and also sign a formal treaty for proper documentation. But the central questions to ask are: who or which body has the actual power to determine and demarcate territorial borders? What if the state(s) fails to recognize the authority of such body? How can such body demarcate entities and ethno-cultural settings from their ancestral affinities (for instance, the African societies)? Nevertheless, Brownlie's explanation is a starting point of analysis in approaching borders and frontiers particularly in the contemporary period where territorial sovereignty matters.

From another perspective, Boudjema (2014:61) is of the view that, delimitation as an operation enters into effect by "means of an international legal instrument and in accordance with international rules of a general settlement (determination) of the borderline between neighbouring states whether land, maritime, lacustrine or fluvial". Its main interest is to "legally (and therefore politically) establish a previous or new placement of the said borderline".

The execution of the delimitation (and subsequent demarcation), on the contrary, means "physically translating the line described in legal texts and maps on the terrain usually undertaken using physical signs (boundary markers, illuminated signs, floating markers, etc.), surveying geodetic coordinates and mapping the border area, among other activities".

Although, Boudjema explain in details the central meaning of delimitation and demarcation in boundary determination, his explanation is silent in pointing out the stages involves in demarcation exercise. In other words, he did not look at the necessary requirements for any demarcation process.

In response to this, Macdonald (2014:107) analyzes five stages of demarcation exercise which involve assembling all the necessary documentation otherwise known as the "documentary evidence". This material can be classified as: "Legal documents" (copies of all the

relevant treaties, administrative orders and legal Judgments, decrees and laws as in the French colonial decrees defining the line that is now the boundary between Burkina Faso and Mali); "Maps in use at delimitation" (a useful picture of the route of the line which will reflect the state of knowledge of the topography at the time of the delimitation); "Maps from the modern era" (maps available of the border area, constructed from aerial photography or satellite imagery); "Imagery" (aerial photography, both old and new, and satellite imagery); and other "Archival material".

This classification centered on physical evidence that helps explain the dynamics of border arrangement and the nature of territorial delimitation agreed by parties across sovereign entities. But it put less emphasis to the role of power elites as well as the geomatics engineers in delimitation and demarcation exercise. In other words, Macdonald aptly introduces critical stages in boundary exercise but he ignore the politics involve in boundary delimitation and demarcation as well as the practical and technical knowledge of demarcation exercise as against documentary and other juridical or archival materials.

Thus, Ali (2014:122), shed more lights on the actors involve in boundary delimitation and demarcation exercise. According to him, the principal boundary-makers are "statesmen, politicians, diplomats, lawyers, federal government officials", etc. In other words, statesmen and other government officials are the actors who initiate boundary line, while geomatic engineers (GE) ("who provide the technical background knowledge in surveying, cartography, geodesy, remote sensing, global satellite positioning GPS, digital image processing DIP and geographic information systems GIS") must be involved to bring field experience in boundary demarcation and also to provide the various levels of geographic information. He makes an assertion that, during the compilation stage of the boundary delineation (delimitation) "documents and

geomatic engineers carry out the fundamental preliminary geodetic work in order to prepare the complex data interpretation and analysis" for the management boundary line.

Though, Ali pointed out the actors, who initiate and design border frontiers in actual sense, he approached borders from mathematical and scientific point of view where numerical objects are expected to play a vital role. Ali's proposition did not stress the ambiguities relates to geomatic engineers in bordering process as well as the appropriate steps for boundary line maintenance (in terms of the validity of map scales and symbols), and reaffirmation services along with trans-border development projects.

Additionally, Grassiani and Swinkels (2014:8) analyse the physical features that concretely demarcate borders arguing that, "physical borders focus on at different levels of scale: borders between continents, nation-states or even between different parts of cities and public and private spaces". It is characterized by "a world-wide mushrooming of comparable barriers such as security fences, apartheid walls and anti-terrorist fences by which states, gated communities, neighbourhoods, and even luxury resorts attempt to guarantee their sovereignty and (economic, political or existential) security".

For Grassiani and Swinkels, specific border designs and materialities which include "concrete walls (CW), metal gates (MG), glass windows (GW), barbed wire (BW), security cameras (SC), cheerful posters (CP), sober uniforms (SU), guard dogs (GD), high-tech biometric equipment (HTBE) enable distinct sensorial experiences in terms of sight, smell, sound or touch".

Indeed, the authors focused solely on land borders and their key features with tight security measures for effective control of national entities as well as having absolute power over

territorial jurisdiction. The explanation pays little attention to other features of territorial boundaries which cut across national entities either by air space or territorial waters.

In a nutshell, borders can be determined from different angels depending on the nature of the border and the circumstance that led to the emergence of territorial frontiers. In some instances, it can be from ethno-linguistic or communal setting based on long ancestral linage and kinship ties; in other direction, it can be from religious setting.

However, contemporary IR borders have their origin from the Treaty of Westphalia which stresses the significance of territorial sovereignty. This is aptly design by the delimitation and demarcation exercise in order to clearly demarcate the territorial jurisdiction of sovereign entities. But problems arises in determining modern states borders particularly in Africa and other Third World Countries (TWCs) where the Western colonialists separate socio-communal societies that hitherto existed as one territory with strong allegiance to the ruling emperor. Thus, any analysis of boundary determination must not ignore the historical, legal and contemporary dimension of boundaries in IR discourse.

2.1.3 Causes of Boundary Disputes and Communal Conflicts

The literature available with regards to the causes of boundary disputes often showed how leading scholars attempt to explain factors that lead to territorial disputes from general to specific. Border conflicts usually emanates from boundary problems particularly from delimitations and demarcation of a boundary.

A boundary dispute is essentially “a disagreement between two states on a point of law or fact which is normally manifested by the making of a claim or protest, and the claim or position expressed in the form of a protest must be opposed by the other state concerned” (Brownlie,

1979:12). This definition did not explain the reasons for territorial disagreement and the technical factors that may likely inspire territorial entities to undergo boundary disputes.

Despite the fact that conflicts in Post-Cold War era are generally explained as being internal (Tesfamichael 2011:4), conflicts over geographical territories and boundaries are increasingly significant in literature. To quote Curzon (cited in Prescott 1972:3), “Frontiers are indeed the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war and peace”.Simply put, they serve as a means for peaceful cooperation of territories as well as the conflictual disharmony of entities across nation-states. They are important because, they create the basis for conflicts or cooperation as well as peaceful or hostile relations among sovereign entities.

Curzon explanation explainsthe dynamics of territory and its significance on inter-state relations. His analysis clarifiesfactors that determine territorial disputes such as the historical baggage of the conflicting border; socio-cultural bound of ethnic identities; demographic trends in terms migration and over crowding; as well as the dynamics of domestic environment along with international politics.

Other scholars like (Prescott 1972; Donnan and Wilson 2001; Cohen 2009; Flint and Taylor 2006 etc) explained vividly the causes and dimensions of boundary disputes. Prescott (1972:66) for instance, identified four main types namely: “territorial disputes; positional disputes; functional disputes and resource disputes”.

Territorial disputes are “those disputes where a state lays claim to land or territorial waters belonging to another state and as such arose from some quality of the borderland which makes it attractive to the initiating the dispute”. That is, a situation where a state want to get or retain a particular territory for whatever reason(Prescott 1972).

As such, positional disputes are those disputes “over discrepancies between the definition of the boundary” (its strategic location) and the boundary demarcation (for example, the Eritrean-Ethiopian border conflict in the late 1990s or better put, the Eritrean claimed of the Badme-land and the overlapping issues of statehood and settlement between the Eritreans; and the Tigrayans on the Ethiopian side) (Donnan and Wilson 2001).

Two sub-types of disputes exist in explaining the positional boundary disputes namely “boundary issues and territorial disputes”(Gbenga, 2011:163). Boundary issues are involved when two (or more) adjacent governmental entities contend about the line to be drawn between their respective territorial domains. In such cases it is common ground that both (or more) states have lawful claims to adjacent territory. The real question to be decided is how the territory can be divided between them.

In order to properly handle the Eritrea-Ethiopia boundary issues, Gbenga show how the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) was set up in accordance with the provisions of the 12 December 2000 Agreement Between The Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (GFDRE) and the Government of The State of Eritrea (GSE) in order to delimit and demarcate the colonial treaty border based on pertinent colonial treaties of 1900, 1902 and 1908(Gbenga, 2011:163).

While for Prescott, territorial disputes may not always involve the drawing of lines between adjacent territorial communities,Gbenga is of the view that, conflicts relating to territorial acquisition will involve the intent by one party to exercise sovereignty and jurisdiction over either the entire territory or large parcels of it, belonging to another state including a denial of the rights of the competing party to that territory. His analysis centered on the assumption that,

disputes about the acquisition of territory are strictly competitive between the claimants in the sense that, one must lose completely.

Functional disputes concern "state functions applicable to the boundary, such as the conduct of security agencies at the border posts" (Cohen 2009). Resource disputes on the other hand, are "territorial disputes which aim at giving the party initiating the disputes access to trans-border resources" (Flint and Taylor 2006). In other words, resource disputes concern the "use of some resources which spans the boundary such as, a river, oyster bed or oil field" (Yakubu, 2001:24). Practical example is the Nigeria-Cameroon border conflict over the Bakassi Peninsula.

For Gbenga, (2011), territorial questions would ordinarily involve the traditional rules governing modes of acquisition of title (e.g. discovery, occupation, conquest, cession or prescription) whereas boundary questions involve only those rules, which are relevant to specifying functions performed in the fixation and maintenance of boundaries (e.g. determination, delimitation, demarcation and administration).

The Iraqi's attempt to annex Kuwait in 1990 is a classic case of a dispute relating to territorial acquisition. So also is the continuous challenge by Turkey of the sovereignty of several hundred Greek islands, Greek territorial waters, and of Greek national airspace. The Land and Maritime Boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria case is an example of a boundary dispute that involves territorial (Bakassi Peninsula) and boundary (land and maritime) aspects.

These classifications are not suitable for general or comprehensive approach in that, they did not take into cognisance, the dimension of political borders in Africa, the political interest attached to such borders by Western imperialists and the consequences of such border creation in the African politics, economy, and society.

Cohen (2009:405) explanation is often used in understanding the causes of contestation concerning the African continent. He explained it as being the result of never clearly demarcated territories. He emphasizes that border conflicts are due to dynamics of multiple disputes such as "control of natural resources, access to the sea and reunification of peoples".

The explanation above provide the basis in the understanding of border conflicts across territories, but it pays little attention in addressing the impacts of such disputes in the International Relations of states in the contemporary world system where liberal policies of international cooperation; peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation, mediation and reconciliation prevails.

In addition, Brownlie (1979:14), explain further the main causes of border conflicts as: "competition for mineral resources; grazing land or access to water sources; a policy of territorial expansion based upon current power and historical arguments; irredentist policies based upon ethnic affinities; and the use of boundary problems as a pretext or vehicle for forms of pressure designed to further policies having no connection with territorial claims". This is just a further explanation of Prescott's classification. It is paradoxical to assert that states behave in patterns consistent with norms established by their patterns of behavior. Nevertheless, it is difficult to create general criteria for defining or identifying causes of border conflicts.

A typical example of a territorial dispute is the Israeli-Palestinian border conflicts which were basically a struggle over land. Following the war of 1948–1949, the land was divided into three parts: the State of Israel, the West Bank (of the Jordan River) and the Gaza Strip.

Scholars like Beinin and Hajjar (2014:2-4); Fillmon (2007:8); Nir and Friedman (2011:2) points out the root causes of the boundary disputes arguing that, "the Palestinian territory was

under the control of the Ottoman Empire before World War I. After the war, the area became under the British (British Mandate) until it became independent".

Nir and Friedman (2011) demonstrates how a declaration was issued in 1917 (the Balfour Declaration) by the British foreign minister Lord Arthur Balfour, announcing his government's support for the establishment of "a Jewish national home in Palestine." Britain obtained a mandate over Iraq, as well as the area that now comprises Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jordan.

Beinin and Hajjar (2014:2) suggests that, looking at the natural flow of behavioral events allowing for fluctuations in the timing between events and responses will reveal cycles that better describe the interactions. They emphasize a structural review of the area arguing that, the Israeli-Palestinian borderland is a small area approximately 10,000 square miles. The UN partition (separates) the area into two countries of Israel (Jewish State) and Palestine (Arab State). 55 to 56% of land goes to the Jews while 43 to 45% goes to the Arabs excluding Jerusalem, on the assumption that increasing numbers of Jews would immigrate there.

Beinin and Hajjar show how the UN partition planportioned the area where the area of Jerusalem and Bethlehem was to become an "international zone". In this arrangement, Jerusalem "international city" was under the control of UN. Their analysis show how the mandate was accepted by the Jews but rejected by the Arabs. The Arabs opposed the British Mandate because it thwarted their aspirations for self-rule, and they opposed massive Jewish immigration because it threatened their position in the country.

Nir and Friedman(2011) explain the gravity of the conflicts and since then, disputes over the land became the dominant feature of Israeli-Palestinian interactions. The Israeli typically refer to a range of threats, including: the threat of Arab armies invading Israel by land, through

the Jordan Valley, across theWest Bank; the threat of Arab armies attacking Israel from the skies, taking advantage of West Bank airspace; and the threat of terrorists (Palestinians and others) using the West Bank high ground as a launching pad for attacks on Israeli cities, infrastructure, military installations, and airport.

Simply put, Nir and Friedman (2011) provides another useful point of analysis that helps aggravate the problem demonstrating the arguments of both entities. Jewish claims to the land are based on the "biblical promise to Abraham and his descendants", on the fact that the land was the historical site of the ancient Jewish kingdoms of Israel and Judea. They have also argued that Israel has no legal or moral obligation to give an inch of land to the Palestinians, since Israel won the land in a war forced on it by the Arab world and no "nation is ever required to give back land acquired in such a case". On the other hand, Palestinian Arab claims to the land are based on their continuous residence in the country for hundreds of years and the fact that they represented the demographic majority until 1948.

The above authors looked at the causes of the borderlands disputes and its consequences on inter-state relations as it affects the lives and livelihood of both the Israelis and Palestinians. In other words, they points out the political dynamics of the June 1967 war (the six days war); the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories; the October 1973 war (the Suez Canal war/ the Arab-Israeli war); the First Intifada or "the shaking off" of December 1987 (witnessing Palestinian demonstrations, mass uprising, strikes, boycotts, rock throwing and gasoline bombsagainst the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza involving hundreds of thousands of people including children and teenagers); as well as the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada (Fillmon, 2007).

However, Fillmon (2007)in particular, pay little attentionto the strategic location of the disputed land in his analysis. He totally ignored the Israeli policies and practices in the West Bank and Gaza which include extensive use of collective punishments such as curfews; house demolitions and closure of roads, schools and community institutions; as well as the deportation of hundreds Palestinian political activists to Jordan or Lebanon. Nevertheless, the aforementioned scholars provide an insight in understanding border conflictsalong the Israeli-Palestinian border.

As such, other contested borders are between Sudan and South Sudan (mainly Abyei and the two areas of Southern Kordofan and Southern Blue Nile). While Abyei is monitored by a UN Mission (UN Interim Security Force for Abyei UNISFA), the border itself (Abyei) is contested and is a source of conflict.

Craze (2013:9-73), points out the nature of the border arguing that, "Abyei is a small territory nestled between Unity, Warrap, and Northern Bahr el Ghazal states in South Sudan, and the Sudanese states of South Kordofan and East Darfur". The area's primary inhabitants are the Ngok Dinka "a transhumant group that is a branch of the Padang Dinka, and part of South Sudan's larger Dinka people".

For Craze (2013), the issues for both states are oil reserves in the border region as well as some of the most fertile land in the two countries, while the conflicts in Abyei is between the two communities of the "Ngok Dinka" and the "Missiriya" supported by the government of two countries respectively.

A national border cut across through shared grazing land and results in the absolute demands of national sovereignty. In this complicated arrangement, every entity claims exclusive jurisdiction over a territory as a definition of its existence, and fluctuating transhumant

movements in a zone of shared rights where “community antipathy, armed militias, intensified nationalism, and trade blockades create new lines of division” (Craze, 2013).

Craze adds another dimension to this aspect of border conflicts. He emphasizes the rich oil reserves endowed in Abyei, clashes between the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) was intensified leading to a series of attacks on the communities along the border, notably at Kiir Adem between Northern Bahr el Ghazal and East Darfur, and in Unity state of Jonglei. At the same time, rebellions in South Kordofan and Blue Nile benefits from weapons in circulation.

However, the work of Craze (2013) analyzes the central argument behind the border conflicts in the Abyei border region, given much more attention to factors which include mineral resources that surrounds the area(at the expense of ethno-communal settings across the border), as well as the impact of tribal loyalty inconflicts situation couple with low level of development along the bordercommunities.

In response to the dynamics of Sudan and South Sudan border conflicts, the work of Schomerus, et al., (2011:7-17) is of particular importance. Their study took another dimension away from mineral resources as the major source of the conflict. Rather, they provide a comprehensive approach to community cross-border conflictsalong the border region.

They are of the view that, tribalism as well as volatile ethnic mix; lack of internal border demarcations based on fractured political landscape between the two communities of the Ngok Dinka and the Missiriya; population migrations (caused by Missiriya,a transhumant Arab people, who traditionally pass through Abyei en route in the dry season of November to April, to areas of what is now South Sudan, in search of pastures for their cattle); cattle-raiding; competition over pastures or claims over land; lack of state reach and access to rural areas; availability of small

arms; and lack of economic opportunities constitutes the major causes of boundary disputes along the Sudan and South Sudan border region.

The above explanation focuses on local dynamics that triggered border conflict like the impact of tribal affiliation in cross border relations as well as the dimension of governance in resource control and distributive justice, but theanalysis pay little attention to the historical origin of the Sudanese communities and the forceful imposition of political frontiers by the Western colonialist (notably, Britain) and its impact to present reality of the people, politics and economy of both Sudan and South Sudan.

It should be pointed out that, both authors studying border conflicts along Sudan and South Sudan border region come to agree that, detailed maps showing demarcated boundaries at local levels as they were at independence, do not actually exist. Even if they did, using such maps to solve present day problems along the borders, disregards the fact that the "social and political landscape has been drastically changed by decades of war and displacement".

While a series of agreements were signed in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the UN/AU, the status of the contested areas of the border and the explosive question of Abyei were left unresolved even after the independence of South Sudan. At issue for both states are oil reserves in the border region, as well as some of the most fertile land in the two countries.

However, the aforementioned scholars provides a systematic approach to boundary disputes and its dimensions by taking into cognisance the life histories of border demarcation, boundary disputes, contested lands and sovereignty as well as identity settlement into account.

In Africa, particularly Western Africa, due to already developed trade and social networks across border communities, the border regions are expected to be areas with great

potentials in enhancing peaceful inter-state relations that could lead to practical integration in the entire sub-region.

Paradoxically, the barrier effect of such borders and their artificial condition creates numerous cross-border conflicts that mostly revolves around the question of national identity and the legal status of nationhood; problems in boundary demarcation witnessing disputes over land, vital interest, or territorial waters; issues of cross-border migration and refugee flows; as well as circulation of heterogeneous armed groups and illegal trafficking etc. For example, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and many countries in West Africa experienced or are experiencing cross-border raids and attacks based on pastoral disputes between cattle herders and settler farmers.

This is why Williams (2011:19) explains the realities of national borders in Africa (Western Africa) as constantly challenged by cross-cutting socio-cultural dynamics. He aludedthat, cross-border conflicts in Africa are caused by some cross-cutting issues which include the "centrality of local (sub-state) dynamics; the importance of the region's borderlands and frontier zones and the impact of resources, particularly land, oil, and water". His research is thus an important contribution to the study of border, border conflicts and border issues in Africa but he did not show the linkage between territorial borders and disputes on the one hand; and the peaceful cooperation of territories as well as the conflictual disharmony of entities and interests on the other hand.

However, in a social anthropological perspective, Tandia (2010:26-27) comparethe root causes of border conflicts in the Western Senegambia borderlands (encompassing Senegal, The Gambia and Guinea Bissau) and explain thus, how local representation of identities and territories in the border regions between Senegal-Gambia (the northern frontier straddling the North Bank Division of Gambia where the Keur Aly village is located; and the Communaute

Rurale of Madina Sabakh in the Nioro Department of Senegal where the Keur Ayip village is situated) and the Senegal-Guinea Bissau (the trans-boundary space straddling the four Communautes Rurales of the Kolda Department and the neighbouring Bissau-Guinean area of Citato-Cuntima and Contuboel in the Regulado of Gabu region) produce new meanings and perceptions to borders and borderlands.

Tandia (2010) extrapolates how specific communities are inter-related by networks of clientelism, religious and economic solidarities, configurations which produce conflicting dynamics that can either strengthen national unity or, in the contrary, decrease interdependency among the states and their peoples. Though, both areas shares the same spatial characteristics and socio-cultural patterns, Tandia pointed out that, the two settings are different in matters relating to peopling and cross-border social mobility, migration patterns, local histories, social structuring and integration, political control and stability, and leadership regimes.

Tandia (2010) also show how the two villages of Keur Aly (Farafegni North Bank Division of Gambia) and Keur Ayip (Sous-prefecture of Madina Sabakh of Senegal) in The Gambia-Senegal borderland are made up of the Wolof Communities founded by Aly and Ayip (two brothers whose descent constitute the whole trans-boundary community) where ancestral brotherhood ties reinforced and strengthened the common economic activities "of farming, trade in natural resources, weekly markets, and cattle raising" prevalent in the region; as well as sharing of one cemetery and sanitary districts that help to integrate the border communities. In short, there is a higher degree of acceptance of national belongingness among the Wollof communities in the Senegal-Gambia northern frontier.

However, on the Senegal-Guinea Bissau borderland, of Kolda (Senegal) and Sitato-Cuntima and Cambaju (Guinea Bissau), the situation is rather different in many respects. This

area is the ancient Gabu kingdom which reached the republic of Guinea and the Futa Jallon. It stretches towards the central part of Guinea-Bissau, which relativizes the ethnic homogeneity of the community formed by the Fula people, called the Fulas of Gabu (Tandia, 2010:27).

Migration flowing from central Senegalese farmers; western and central Bissau Guinean Balanta people fleeing political instability and poverty constitutes the major challenge to borderlanders. Also, the territory is marked by the liberation wars in Guinea Bissau, the long Casamance forgotten civil war as well as political instability in the Bissau Guinean State.

Thus, the insecurity system of land mines (erosion and criminality), cattle rustling, fraudulent trading and growing armed robbery, destructions of fertile wetlands and the intense use of land and forestry by the migrants coming from central and western Guinea Bissau and central or northern Senegalese in the Saloum area, are the major causes of border conflictswhich affects the pattern of political control, socio-economic solidarities and cultural integration of the borderland communities.

Shortly, due to the weak integration of the Casamance region in Senegal and the long history of war of the Bissau Guinean failed state, rejection of national belongingness characterizes the nature of Senegal-Guinea Bissau borderland of Kolda and Sitato-Cuntima and Cambaju.

From a comparative perspective, Fall(2010:4) provides new dimension to cross-border conflicts in the Senegal area. He pointed out that, Senegal borders with Mauritania to the North along the Senegal River, with Mali to the East and with Guinea-Conakry and Guinea-Bissau to the South. These borderlines have been engendered through historical negotiations and disputes.

As Fall(2010) explains, during the colonial period the country's borders had to be settled with Portugal for the case of Guinea-Bissau, the United Kingdom in the case of The Gambia, and

through confrontations between civil actors and the French military for the territories that currently belong to Guinea-Conakry, Mali, and Mauritania.As a result of these demarcations, the Soninke ethnic group was divided by the borderlines separating Mauritania, Mali and Senegal, and the Wolof and Mandinga separated by the Senegalo-Gambian border (Fall, 2010:6; Fall 2010:11).

The impact of the colonial legacy is evident as the major cause of the conflictsbecause, Senegal has been involved in border-related disputes with The Gambia. Relations between the two countries were difficult (since independence in 1960 and particularly, in the period 1969-1974) due to boundary disputes and Senegal's concern with smuggling from The Gambia. In 1976, Senegal handed over 26 villages claimed by The Gambia (Fall et al., 2010:12).

The works of Tandia and Fallanalyses the causes of border community conflictsin West Africa as well as the differences between ethnic differentiation and national differentiation showing that, the possibility of constructing a communitarian and cosmopolitan collective identity out of multiple identifications is questionable.

In short, they are of the view that, socio-cultural and regional solidarities that back ethno-regional identities cannot be isolated in the construction of collective identities. But how border communities interact, through absorption or rejection, with other forms of belongingness such as national and ethnic identities is not really demonstrated. Also the authors did not put into cognisance the consequences of ethnic or communal identity over national identity and the intermingling nature of cross-border communities in inter-state relations.

Scholars like Boukhars, 2012; Pézard, and Glatz, 2010 explain how the community cross-border conflict between Mauritania and Senegal over herdsmen's grazing rights in 1989 quickly degenerated into mutual ethnicity-based repatriations and at times expulsions. In other words, the

incident of ethnic violence on the northern border separating northern Senegal from southern Mauritania (border towns of Diawara and Matam, situated on the river's left bank of Senegal River), witnessed a violent clash of neighbouring riverine. These scholars illustrate how multiple ethnicities, tribes, and sects faced a bloody confrontation between the black Haalpolaar fishers / cultivators; and the black Haratin Maures.From the view of Boukhars (2012:8),thecommunities across the border have been divided along ethno-racial lines, which increased the salience of identity-based conflict.

However, smuggling across the common border between Ghana and Togo is also a case in point. It is geographically clear that, Ghana shares international boundaries with Togo in the East (877 km), Cote d'Ivoire in the West (668 km), Burkina Faso in the North (549 km) and the gulf of Guinea in the South (539 km) (Ghana Report, 2013: 3).

Ghana was formed from the merger of the British colony of the Gold Coast and the Togoland trust territory. While Togoland came into being in 1884 when Germany declared a protectorate over the coastal zone and the hinterland, the British and French forces conquered German Togoland at the outset of World War I and split it into two occupation zones. After 1918, following the defeat of Germany, the League of Nations divided the German colony of Togoland from north to south, a decision that divided the Ewe people among the Gold Coast, British Togoland, and French Togoland (Brownlie 1979:3).

The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 decided that Togoland would be split 60/40 into British Trans-Volta Togoland (TVT) and French Togo. Under the terms of treaty France and Britain had the right to administer countries "as integral portions of its territory" and for most practical purposes they were treated as if they were colonial possessions (Ghana Report, 2013: 3).

The Milner-Simon agreement of 1919 set the new border between Ghana and Togo. The agreement was made of straight lines running between border stones and in other parts followed small rivers or watersheds. Although it avoided splitting villages, geographic or tribal considerations were not paramount and the paper border cut through cultural areas. Ethnic groups divided by the frontier include from north to south the Moba, Anufo, Konkomba, Adele, Akposso and Ewe (Cogneau and Moradi 2011:5).

During the 1950s when the independence of Ghanawas in sight, demands grew for a separate Ewe state. Following a UN plebiscite in May 1956, in which a majority of the Ewe voted for union with Ghana, British Togoland became part of the Gold Coast. Due to the arbitrary nature of these boundaries, some of the Ewe lives in Ghana, some in Togo and some in Benin (Cogneau and Moradi 2011:5).

Relations between Togo and Ghana deteriorated (particularly in the 1960s) and aggravated by political differences and incidents such as smuggling across their common border. At times, relations have verged on open aggression (Final Report 2012: 19). Thus, the Ewe peoples of Eastern Ghana justified their demands for separation from Ghana to join their kith and kin in Togo (Ahmad, 2014:16).

In a nutshell, there is no doubt that many states in West Africa were artificial creations. This artificiality has created a number of problems that led to cross border conflits in the region. Factors which include the colonial legacy; arbitrary and haphazard border creation; distortions of socio-cultural territories; and the amalgamation of different socio-communal settings into single political entities etc explain the critical causes of border conflicts in West Africa. As such, identity conflictsacross territorial borders emerge in situation where a significant minority groups are discriminated.

Tensions over land rights are strongly interconnected with tensions over citizenship and identity. This affects the ways in which rights to land access and identity are distributed among ethnicities across territorial borders. The pervasiveness of ethnic identity-based politics leads to perpetual ethnic agitation with communities straddling territorial borders.

However, as a matter of fact, most research on the subject "causes of boundary disputes and communal conflicts" deals with one or more of the following topics: competition for mineral resources; grazing land or access to water sources; processes of inclusion and exclusion; the notion of the stranger and the question of self-identification in relation to strong external pressure; affections of place and social space; and the reconstruction and re-imagination of community in the contested spheres of borderlands. But in the entire process, they are silent on the relationship between border community interactions and the impacts of boundary disputes on inter-state relations. In other words, they look at the issue of border conflicts from general perspective.

2.1.4 The Berlin West Africa Conference

While the Berlin conference mainly discussed the boundaries of Central Africa (the Congo Free State), contemporary international boundaries in West Africa emerged following the Berlin West African Conference where the groundwork for the partition of the entire African territories was laid (Koponen, 1993:3). In other words, the new geopolitical map of West Africa evolved after about a generation of systematic boundary-making and military occupation that gained it origin from the Berlin Conference.

The conference assembled at Berlin on the 15th of November 1884, and after protracted deliberations the "General Act of the Berlin Conference" was signed by the representatives of all

the powers attending the conference, on the 26th of February 1885. The powers represented were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Turkey, to name them in the alphabetical order adopted in the preamble to the French text of the General Act (Boahen, 1985:783).

In West Africa, the most important arrangements were the Say-Barruwa Agreement (1890) and the Niger Convention (1898) by which Britain and France concluded the partition of that region. The Berlin West African Conference was convened at the instance of Otto von Bismarck, where ratifications were deposited by all the signatory powers with the exception of the United States (Uzoigwe, 1985:21).

The General Act dealt with six specific subjects as advanced by Uzoigwe, (1985:23): (1) freedom of trade in the basin of the Congo, (2) the slave trade, (3) neutrality of territories in the basin of the Congo, (4) navigation of the Congo, (5) navigation of the Niger, (6) rules for future occupation on the coasts of the African continent. However, Uzoigwe did not emphasize the principle of effective occupation which is seen as the cardinal princple of the conference.

In answering this, Olujimi (2010:104) argues that, at the conference, the principle of "effective occupation" was adopted by rival European powers as the basis of territorial claims as well as for ordering inter-colonial relations and that; the signatory powers undertook that any fresh act of taking possession on any portion of the African coast must be notified by the power taking possession, or assuming a protectorate, to the other signatory powers for such occupation to be valid and effective.

The German chancellor (then), Otto von Bismarck, at the intent of Portugal, first summoned the Berlin Conference. The purpose of this conference was to negotiate and set up rules to guide the control of Africa. The reasons that precipitated this conference came because of outcomes of the scramble for Africa. The initial goal was to discuss the Congo and Niger River basins, after question arose whether they should be neutral and open to free trade(Ahmad, 2014:14). This is because various countries, which had claimed territories around the region, were getting into conflicts with each other, most notably Portugal, about the use of the river for trade.

The conference needed to set up rules allowing free trade in the regions if free trade was the policy that the Europeans chose to establish for the region (Boahen, 1985:783). More often the imperial powers were interested in one resource or the other, the control of commerce and markets or access to trade routes and rivers transport systems (Ahmad, 2014:14).

To understand vividly the nature of the Berlin Conference, it is worth necessary to point out the specific questions raised at the contenders in the conference as shown by (Koponen, 1993:123).

1. What is the specific foreign policy, as a whole, that your country is employing at this time? What is their foreign policy in terms of African affairs?
2. What limitations do you have in the official capacity you are in? How much power does your character have in his government, and how much larger influence does your character exert on the domestic populations of your state?
3. What is your state's policy, both de jure and de facto, on the institution of slavery? Has the government officially abolished it in your country, and what are public opinions of it?
4. What is your state's view of free trade? Is free trade a policy you should be advocating in favor of it, or are their limitations to free trade for the sake of national interest?

Prior to the Berlin Act, European powers had acquired spheres of influence in Africa in a variety of ways through settlement, exploration, the establishment of commercial posts, missionary settlements, the occupation of strategic areas, and by making treaties with African

rulers (Uzoigwe, 1976:189-93). However, the principle of effective occupation adopted by the Europeans in determination and delimitation of African boundaries led to the haphazard and arbitrary nature of political boundaries in present-day West Africa.

The conference ended up disposing of territory, passing resolutions pertaining to the free navigation of the Niger, the Benue, and their affluents; and laying down "the rules to be observed in future with regard to the occupation of territory on the coasts of Africa" (Uzoigwe, 1985:29). By1885 in fact, the broad lines of the final partition of West Africa had already been drawn.

The European powers had partitioned the continent into a number of different political units. The new boundaries have been regarded by some scholars as unacceptable because they were deemed to be arbitrary, artificial, precipitate and haphazard (Asiwaju, 1984). A number of reasons and criteria were responsible for the determinations of these boundaries. In some instances, they were political and reflected "the political considerations of metropolitan government back in Europe and in some other instances, they emanated from administrative and economic considerations in the colonies" (Afigbo, 1985:489).

Nugent (1996) presents a dissenting view on colonial boundaries in West Africa. His argument hinges on the assumption that West Africans could not have been isolated from the boundary making process. This argument is based on what he terms a "new revisionism"deriving from the questioning of borders elsewhere in the world and the threatened disintegration of many states in West Africa. Nugent (1996)'s study reiterates the partition of West African communities by the colonial imposition of boundaries. He made an instance of partitioned groups from the Yoruba between Nigeria and Benin, to the Hausa of Nigeria and Niger, to the Ewe between Ghana and Togo, and so on.

Herbst (1989:679) challenge the current perspectives that African boundaries are haphazard and arbitrary, and contends that the present boundary system represents "a rational response" by both the colonialists and independent African political leadership. To him, it is paradoxical that in spite of criticisms of external imposition and the partition of pre-existing societies, as well as the high mortality of political institutions in the continent, these boundaries have not only survived but they have been reified as the basis for ordering interstate relations in independent West Africa states.

However, this explains why the Organization of African Unity (OAU) succumbs to the Berlin West African Conference of 1884-85 in order to sustain the African boundaries respectively. In other words, the inference of his claim is that the OAU ratified what was done at Berlin, thus ascribing credibility to the Berlin misadventure.

Even though, several European Powers show interest in the West African societies, a closer analysis reveals that, countries in the region are categorized into either Anglophone (Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone), Francophone (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo), or Lusophone (Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau), in view of their colonial past and official languages (Apogan-Yella, 2005:2);

Despite the strategy of confrontation (which involved open warfare, sieges, guerrilla tactics, scorched earth policies as well as diplomacy), alliance and acquiescence or submission adopted by the people of West Africa, it is quite clear that the French (from1880 onwards) adopted a policy of extending their control over the whole region from the Senegal first to the Niger and then Chad and linking these are as with their posts on the Guinea coast in Ivory Coast and Dahomey. However, in their occupation of West Africa, the French resorted almost exclusively

to the method of military conquest rather than the conclusion of treaties of protectorate as the British did (Egueye and Boahen, 1985:117).

While the French resorted mainly to warfare in their occupation of French West Africa, the British by contrast, used a combination of peaceful diplomacy and warfare. Using the former approach, they concluded a number of treaties of protection with African states as they did in the northern parts of Sierra Leone, the northern parts of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and in some parts of Yoruba land(Egueye and Boahen, 1985:117).

After West African states obtained their independence, two options presented themselves to post-colonial African States at independence. They could either maintain the status quo by accepting the imperfections inherent in the colonial partitions with the attendant consequences of managing separatists' and irredentists' tendencies, or make the effort to re-design the borders. African countries opted, and rightly so, for maintaining the status quo (Ahmad, 2014:16). This generated two schools of thought, the revisionists and the anti-revisionists (Asiwaju 1985; Brownlie 1997; Nugent, 1996 and Ikome, 2012 etc).

The revisionists argue for the urgent reconstitution of the West African and indeed African inherited borders and state system to rid states of their sociological incongruity, make them more economically viable and help to resolve the multiple crises of legitimacy, identity, development and integration (Ikome, 2011:3).

The anti-revisionists, on the other hand, argue strongly for the maintenance of the status quo, claiming a) that borders all over the world are artificial and that the case for African exceptionalism is therefore weak, and b) that while African and perhaps West African boundaries could indeed be arbitrary, they have actually had fewer deleterious consequences,

have presented more opportunities for the West African and Africa people in general and have, in some cases, been a greater asset for state consolidation than the border revisionists have been willing to concede(Ahmad, 2014). The imprecision of the delimitation and the inordinate apportionment of territory principally along the lines of mere convenience of colonial rule, have produced untold confusion, conflict, tensions and wars among African peoples.

2.1.5 The African Union Border Programme (AUBP)

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963 as the regional organisation for all the independent states in the continent. Its objectives includes: the promotion of unity and solidarity among Member States; the eradication of all forms of imperialism and minority rule in Africa as well as the promotion of the quality of life of the average African (OAU Charter, 1963).

The OAU at its First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments at Cairo in 1964 made a "Solemn Declaration" which solemnly declared that "all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence" (OAU Resolution, 1964:1). This declaration ended the debates regarding the status and future of African boundaries between those who argued for a wholesale readjustment of boundaries or their virtual abolition in the formation of a Union Government (the Casablanca group), and those who advocated for a gradual but functional integration of the states in the continent, based on the inherited colonial boundaries (the Monrovia group).

Since 1963, the OAU was criticized because it failed to address the problem of borders and territorial questions in Africa. This led African leaders like Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria etc, to begin the process of transforming the organization from the

OAU to the African Union (AU) in 2002. The AU chose to adopt the "Solemn Declaration" of 1964 as its mantra on boundaries (AU Constitutive Act, 2002).

The Union went a step further to establish a standing programme on borders known as the "African Union Border Programme" (AUBP) under the direct supervision of the African Union Commission (AUC). It clearly underscore the crucial importance of boundaries to the issues of "peace, security, progress and integration" in the continent in accordance with the principles of: (a) sovereign equality and interdependence among member states of the Union; and (b) respect of borders existing on achievement of independence (AU Constitutive Act, 2002). In other words, the defense of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of member states became the central focus of the organization. The AU regards boundaries as the basic building blocks of effective Regional Economic Communities (RECs) which are crucial to the integration project of the Union.

The AUBP hinges on the principle of the respect of the borders existing on the attainment of national independence (the inherited colonial boundaries) as enshrined in the OAU Charter, the "Solemn Declaration" of 1964 and the Constitutive Act of the AU. The principles of negotiated settlement of border disputes as well as the shared commitment to delimit and demarcate inter-state boundaries as the basis for peace and security are also crucial foundations of the AUBP (Olujimi, 2010:198).

One of the major objectives of the AUBP is the task of demarcating every un-demarcated boundary in Africa by the year 2012 (AU Report, 2007). This claim hinged on the fact that many of the boundaries were ambiguous, un-demarcated, porous and un-patrollable and hence, they

would be sources of conflicts among neighbours regarding territorial extent. Thus, realizing this objective will reduce boundary-related conflicts in the continent.

Similarly, the African Union (AU) Assembly of Heads of State and Government at their eighth ordinary session in January 2002 mandated the AU Commission to pursue efforts towards the structural prevention of conflicts particularly through the implementation of the African Union Border Programme (AUBP) on the delineation and demarcation of borders of African borders. The Commission in furtherance of the border programme immediately produced a 2004-2007 "Plan of Action" which aimed inter alia at identification of trans-border areas that would serve as a basis for cross-border co-operation, consolidation of trade and free movement of people and goods (Declaration on The AUBP, 2007:07).

The Commission correctly noted that the transformation of border areas could be achieved through effective demarcation and monitoring by way of control logistics and infrastructure capacity building at both national and regional levels. Other objectives of the AUBP include: harmonization of the integration policies of regional and sub-regional organizations, strengthening the capacity of decision-makers in the area of border management and regional integration, and funding of cross-border development projects (Gbenga, 2011:141).

The declaration on the AUBP and its implementation modalities as adopted by the conference of African ministers in charge of border issues is therefore, one of the most significant efforts in delimitation and demarcation exercise. It was stated:

> The delimitation and demarcation of boundaries depend primarily on the sovereign decision of the States. They must take the necessary steps to facilitate the process of delimitation and demarcation of African borders, including maritime boundaries by respecting the time-limit set in the Solemn Declaration on the

> CSSDCA (Declaration on The African Union Border Programme, 2007: 5 (a) (i).

The determination of the AU was to address the problems of boundary and frontier determination and demarcation as tensions, skirmishes and outright war over boundaries have since the independence era (late 1950s and early 1960s) caused severe problems among African states and its peoples. The problems are indeed as rife in inter-state relations as they are in intra-state affairs. Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone continue to trade accusations of boundary incursions (some involving aerial raids) and many civilians have lost their lives, abductions have taken place along the Angolan-Namibian border and not even aid workers are not spared violence (AU Mission in Sudan, 2008:21).

Similar problems exist between Chad-Sudan, Mali-Mauritania Burundi-Tanzania, Equatorial Guinea-Gabon, Eritrea-Sudan, Ethiopia-Kenya. Togolese rebels create refugee problems in Ghana by shelling border villages, Sudanese Lord's Resistance Army, frequently attack Ugandan border villages (AU Report, 2007:03).

The African Union Border Programme (AUBP) emerged as a basic component of the 2004-2007 Plan of Action, derived from its Vision and Mission as well as the Strategic Framework with three major objectives:

> (i) To complete the delimitation and demarcation of African land and maritime boundaries, so that they may cease to be potential sources of problems, tensions, and crises;
>
> (ii) To strengthen institutional integration dynamics within the frame-work of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and other wide-scale regional initiatives by means of cross-border cooperation and cooperation between state services, civil society associations and NGOs; and
>
> (iii) To develop Pan-African capacity building mechanisms to engage in research and training for a pragmatic border management that promotes regional integration (Declaration on the AUBP and its Implementation Modalities, 2007).

The implementation of the AUBP was designed to be effected at several levels national, regional and continental. It is also notable that the responsibility of each of these levels should be determined on the basis of the principle of "subsidiarity and respect for the sovereignty of States" (AU Report, 2009:1).

In this regard, the Declaration specifies the respective roles to be played by Member States, the Regional Economic Communities and the AU with respect to the various components of the AUBP, namely border delimitation and demarcation, local cross-border cooperation and capacity building.

In launching the AUBP, the African Ministers in charge of Border Issues identify a number of initial measures to be taken by the Commission which include: launching of a Pan-African survey of borders (PASB) through a questionnaire to be sent to all Member States in order to facilitate the delimitation and demarcation of African borders (covering issues relating to the status of Member States' continental and maritime boundaries, as well as the contact details of the institutions responsible for border issues); identification of pilot regions or initiatives for the rapid development of regional support programmes on cross-border cooperation (on the basis of an inclusive governance involving the Member States, the RECs, locally elected representatives, parliamentarians, and civil society)(AU Report, 2009:3).

Critical measures also include support for the establishment of regional funds for local cross-border cooperation; working out modalities for cooperation with other regions of the world to benefit from their experiences and to build the necessary partnerships (especially, the European border movement, particularly the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR), the United Nations and other AU partners); initiation an assessment with regard to capacity building; preparation of a continental legal instrument on Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC); and

the launching of a partnership and resource mobilization process for the implementation of the AUBP (Gbenga, 2011:152).

The real work of the AUBP started in 2007 when the AU Commission, with the financial support of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), the German Technical Cooperation organized a stakeholder workshop on border cooperation in Africa. The workshop was held in Djibouti on 1st and 2nd December 2007, with the main aim of assisting in elaborating a three-year plan of action for the implementation of the AUBP (AU Report, 2007).

The workshop elaborate an implementation matrix which covers a number of areas: capacity building; popularization; delimitation and demarcation, including the survey of African borders, the mobilization of resources and exchange of experiences; cross-border cooperation, including the elaboration of the required legal frameworks and the establishment of regional funds; partnership and resource mobilization (AU Report, 2009:3).

Thus, representatives of RECs and other African integration organizations, African river basin institutions, the African Development Bank (AfDB), the UN Secretariat and other UNinstitutions, the European Union (EU), the Organization of American States (OAS) and a number of specialized institutions and experts brainstormed on the programme. As (Olujimi, 2010; Gbenga 2011) argues, the establishment of a Boundary Information System (BIS) was also set with the core functions of providing an overview of the status of all African borders.

2.1.6 Issues Arising from Territorial Borders

2.1.6.1 Cross-Border Migration, Refugee Influx and Transnational Organized Crime

Until recently, the US-Mexico border was the focal point of discussion in analyzing issues across territorial borders that affects inter-state relations. The US-Mexico international boundary (from San Diego-Tijuana on the Pacific to the Brownsville-Matamoros area on the

Gulf of Mexico) is the backbone of a distinct region in Latin America where modern border issues of migration and inter-states relations traced its origin (Martinez, 1994).

From the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, the Mexico-US border is characterised by the fusion of cultures, geographies, and economies that the common voice of the region is found. Scholars like Martinez, (1994); Chavez, (1994); Wilson and Lee, (2013); Lee and Wilson, (2015), discusses the economic realities, needs and enormous potential of the US-Mexico border region.

Martinez (1994:352) for instance, has noted that although the US-Mexico border shares many characteristics with other border regions in the world, the region is unique because it comprises a territory where millions of citizens of "two very dissimilar nations" live shoulder to shoulder and interact with each other in a very intense and diverse way.

For Chavez (1994:62), the border is viewed through the lenses of "migration and security".In other words, cross-border migration, drugs and border security are among the most politically charged issues in both countries while the US and Mexican economies (particularly, border cities of San Diego; Tijuana; El Paso; Ciudad Juarez), depend heavily on binational trade and where interactions between the people and economies of the two countries are the most intense as well as the most diverse.

By examining the significance of the US-Mexico border, both Martinez and Chavez identifies the dominant form of interactions across the border axis even though little attention was paid in terms of coordination and collaboration and the important role played by state governments and public-private partnerships in promoting trade, tourism, investments, educational exchange, or law enforcement cooperation at the shared border.

This is why Wilson and Lee, (2013:6-7) shows the level of commitment by the two countries to build a 21st Century Border thereby strengthen domestic and especially binational coordination of both governments; interagency border management processes; a framework that asserts border security and efficiency along with a series of implementing strategies (reducing congestion such as trusted traveler programs, customs preclearance, lane management techniques, and new scanning and identification technologies) which has generally advanced.

Wilson and Lee(2013)test the connection between the government and inter-agency groups present at border axis. They conclude that the alliance commitment is likely an additive influence that is one aspect in understanding the nature of the border and the activities that affect the border communities like trade, migration, and tourism.

Another border with serious issues where cross-border interactions and inter-states cooperation is becoming particularly relevant is the Triple border of Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay located in Latin America (specifically, Southern America). National governments in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay demonstrate a strong ambition to develop real inter-states relations anchored on the agenda of cross-border cooperation (CBC) amongst their borderlands.

In other words, the border areas between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, are by far the most dynamic continental border area in South America. According to a report of experts on border studies titled *"Final Report" (2010:33-39),* the land border between these states and particularly, between Uruguay and Brazil is characterized by "illegal immigration, smuggling, drug traffic and related crimes".

But recently, the border area is considered to move from "informal to more formal relations" without undermining national sovereignty due to the significance of Brazil, which

shares more than 16.000 kilometres of borders with almost all South American countries (with the exception of Chile and Ecuador) (Final Report, 2010).

Simply put, the Report stresses that, the Uruguayan-Brazilian inter-states relation aims to develop border areas as "free-trade zones" and they have proposed to create a "border citizenship" (a border statute), which means, free movement of people, manpower, goods, services and capitals; common services for urban infrastructure, more flexible controls, single customs in check points, tax exemptions for personal goods, simplification of trade, elimination of double taxation for citizens, cultural integration, etc.

In other words, agreements covering right to residency, study and labour for border citizens "within 20 km at every side of the border", with access to social benefits were implemented in 2005 by four working groups "Health, Sanitation and Environment, Police and Justice, and Integral Development",while cooperation along the Brazilian-Uruguayan border is to improve border infrastructure in order to "facilitate the mobility of cereal production particularly rice, and sawmills along the river Uruguay".

Although, little attention was paid to the historical development of regional cooperation and integration in the Latin America with particular attention to political and socio-economic integration, the composition of the states involved, the dynamic processes of bilateral and multi-lateral agreement for functional cooperation and mutual integration as well as the issue of complex security; the Report shed more lights on the philosophy behind the establishment of The Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) created in 1991 by Argentina and Brazil, together with Paraguay and Uruguay as proclaimed in 1994; as well as the creation of the South American Community of Nations announced in 2004, supporting major projects in "transport, energy, and communications" (Final Report, 2010).

In the West African sub-region, research (Adepoju, 2000; 2002; 2003; 2005; D'Onofrio, 2001) have shown that, contemporary patterns of migration in the West Africa are rooted to the historical, socio-economic, political, and cultural factors; as well as the limited capacity of the public sector to provide viable employment opportunities for unemployed citizens. This resulted to large numbers of cross-border migration that cut across the entire sub-region. In other words, West Africa has experienced a variety of migrations caused by population pressure, poverty, poor economic performances and endemic conflicts.

In their analysis of the West African cross-border migration, Elumelu, (2012:2-8); Adepoju (2003:8; 2005:5), points out that, migrants regarded the sub-region as "an economic unit within which trade in goods and services flowed, and people moved freely" and that since the pre-colonial times, migration occurred largely in search of "security, new land safe for settlement and fertile for farming".

Elumelu (2012)'s work provided arguments for the idea of forceful migration, the notion that colonial regime altered the motivation and composition of migration by introducing and enforcing various blends of political and economic structures, imposing tax regimes and establishing territorial boundaries. The sub-region encompasses countries of immigration and emigration as well as those that combine both; and some serve as transit routes for migrants.

The work of Carling (2002:7) "Country Profile: Cape Verde: Towards the End of Emigration",represents one main reason of migration. Carling points out the main traditional countries of immigration in the West African sub-region namely, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. He shows how Nigeria in the early 1970s, became a major migration receiving country buoyed by oil-led employment in various sectors of the economy, while the major labour exporting countries are "Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea Conakry, Cape Verde and Togo". Senegal has been a

labour exporting and labour receiving country. Thus, Senegal and Niger Republic has become a transit country for migrants seeking to enter the European Union countries clandestinely via Las Palmas to Spain and Arlet to Italy respectively. This analysis is silent about concrete reasons for cross-border migration and its impacts on inter-state relations in the West African sub-region.

However, (Adepoju, 2000:16; 2002:12), responds to such assertion arguing that, the deteriorating socio-economic conditions and deepening poverty in the late 1960s and early 1970s propelled a wide variety of migration configurations. In other words, macro-economic adjustment measures as well as the collapse of oil price, a sharp decline in oil revenue, rapid deterioration in living and working conditions, wage freeze, devalued national currency, declining real incomes, authoritarian military rule and the vacillating economic situation creates a sustained pressure for emigration.

Notable countries in circulation include Ghana, Gambia and Nigeria; Togo and Cote d'Ivoire; Burkina Faso and Senegal. This explanation did not put into cognizance the contemporary dimension of cross-border migration which mostly revolves around refugee and humanitarian crises (Adepoju, 2000).

On the other hand, D'Onofrio, (2001:14) is of the view that commercial migration in the West African sub-region, helped in promoting intra-regional trade and serves as the lifeline for small-country economies of especially Benin, Gambia and Togo. Thus, he did not shed more light on the relationship between migration and inter-state relations as well as the effects of refugee influx and transnational organized crime across territorial borders.

Numerous attempts were made in explaining the structures of transnational criminal networks in West Africa. Bassey and Oshita (2010:312) for instance, point out that, West African crime networks are characterized by a high degree of flexibility and an organizational

structure that is non-hierarchical. They allude that "the criminal enterprises in West Africa use similar techniques to that of legitimate traders and business people, typical of lineage-based societies". This makes them difficult to detect and observe and thus affect the pattern of inter-state relations across the sub-continent.

Also, the 2006 study of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) on "Cross-Border Criminal Activities in the West Africa: Options for Effective Response" edited by Addo, states that, regional cross-border crime in West Africa is very different to crime networks for example in America. This is due to its limited hierarchy and a structure that does not resemble classical corporations. The study portrayed that, in West Africa, it is more common to have loosely structured, project-based and non-permanent criminal activity which is difficult to detect since there is hardly ever permanent membership in gangs.

Addo further demonstrates that, normally, West African transnational networks consist of recruited relatives or friends living across the border that come together for a specific project. The average size of the gang is small, usually three to five people, who are "desperate to make quick money" (Asiwaju et al., 2015:4-5). This is a predictable view from the contemporary activities around the sub-region in that, newly recruited members often do not know their employer directly.

The 2008 study *"West Africa Under Attack: Drugs, Organized Crime, and Terrorism as the New Threats to Global Security",* by UNISCI (Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation) edited by De Andrés and Philip, asserts that secrecy and loyalty to the group are key. This is ensured through cultural pressures (village, ethnic group) as well as through the use of religious rituals threatening supernatural punishment in case of betrayal.

One key ingredient is having a close relationship with border officials or politicians in order to facilitate and engender complicity or if caught to ensure acquittal. This is clear that even today, West Africa is not only an attractive location for criminal gangs, but regional groups even export their "business model", what Blum (2014:6) called "a very loose, fragmented, business oriented system" that proves itself successful in "the global village of modern disorganized crime".

In a nutshell, cross-border migration, refugee influx and transnational organized crime have become a major phenomenon in inter-state relations. This is caused by various activities either as a result of hardship in the economic sector, political instability, military dictatorship and/or authoritarian regime prevalent in most developing countries of the world. As such, inflow of refugees particularly from neighbouring countries led to circulation of arms and ammunition (to be addressed next section) and thus threatened the security arrangement of states in regional setting. These affect the pattern of interaction as well as the nature of relations amongst states.

2.1.6.2 Arms Smuggling, Drugs and Human Trafficking

Circulation of heterogeneous armed groups and illegal trafficking across the West African border frontiers constitute the dynamics of cross-border crimes in the entire sub-region. In other words, the porous nature of borders in West Africa, continue to engender cross-border crime and instability across the sub-continent.

In their report of the West African border issues, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC Document, 2005:4), points out that "cross-border crimes in West Africa have been in existence since the 1960s owing to the fact that, such border crimes were manifested in the form of individuals or groups of traders and business men and women who smuggle goods across the borders as well as trans-national syndicates who engage in trafficking of drugs, small

arms and human beings, among other things, as a means of livelihood". Such report points out the nature, forms and modes of operation of the West African criminal networks across the border frontiers of the sub-region.

In addressing the issues of smuggling, Addo (2006:4), for instance argues that, "the smuggling of goods especially cocoa, timber, ivory and petroleum products across national borders is most prevalent along the Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana-Togo-Benin-Nigeria and Burkina Faso corridors of the sub-region". For Addo, goods are smuggled in vehicles or on foot, using secret and illegal routes across the borders to evade special regulations, levies or taxes, thereby making more income through the transaction of these products. This analysis did not capture vividly the activities of ordinary business men and women as well as rebels and criminal gangs in the sub-region who engage in such enterprise.

However, Aning (2005:79) have shown that, fire armed trafficked across the sub-region are eventually used by rebel combatants and criminal gangs for either fighting civil wars, as in the case of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire among others, or used for armed robbery including vehicle theft and trafficking, and for committing highway robberies of passengers moving from one ECOWAS state to the other. In other words, since the 1990s, cross-border criminal activities have become widespread and very complicated (Elumelu, 2012:9).

For Addo (2006:6), these weapons are recycled between Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone and among belligerents in other conflict zones such as the Casamance province and the rest of Southern Senegal, Northern Ghana, Nigeria and Guinea Bissau. His work provided arguments for other cross-border destabilizing activities that cut across refugee movement and other humanitarian conflicts.

Similarly, the 2003 Human Rights Watch's Report stresses that, the scope of the human trafficking problem is widespread in West Africa whereby child trafficking in particular, spreads across eleven of the fifteen member-states of the ECOWAS including Ghana, Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Gambia and Mali.

The Human Rights Watch Report of (2003) also argues that trade in drugs or narcotics is believed to be gaining ground in West Africa with Ghana (the Aflao border) being considered as a major transit point in the sub-region (Human Rights Watch, 2003:8). Though, the report did not explain the actors involve in drug trafficking, the covert contribution of government officials, politicians, business tycoons, and unemployed youths who are desperate to be prosperous at all cost in order to break the chain of poverty; it put into cognizance the efforts of individual member state in curbing the activities of drug traffickers across the sub-region.

In the Nigeria-Benin border axis, Adegoke (2014:89); Ahmed and Chilaka (2013:59), unravel the nexus between the contemporary trend of globalization and the crime of smuggling activities carried out by the border town dwellers and the consequences of such institutionalized behaviour on human security, socio-economic growth and development of both countries.

Ahmed and Chilaka (2013:59) argue that, "local rice production suffered seriously as a result of the inundation of imported rice smuggled through the borders". Also the smuggling of "fake substandard and expired drugs, oil bunkering as facilitated by a globalized market economy etc", led to the incorporation of the cross-border communities into such illegal activities.

These works portrayed the roots causes of smuggling, drugs and human trafficking in West Africa particularly, in the Nigeria-Benin border axis. They established the fact that, border posts were constructed at border communities between Nigeria and Benin not only to control and

prevent smuggling but to prevent irregular entry into the sister country. In short, they looked at the available potentials across border communities of Nigeria and Benin for socio-economic integration and cooperation of the two countries in their inter-states relations.

2.1.7 General Pattern of Inter-State Relations across Territorial Borders

2.1.7.1 Nature and Dynamics of Inter-State Relations

Inter-state relations have become a regular pattern of interactions among states particularly after the end of the cold war. Critical to the understanding of inter-state relations, Wendt (1994:391) writes that "it is a process in which states engage themselves in cooperation and to a larger extent, integration with other states, which will bring them all the time closer together". In this loose definition, the term inter-state relations gives equal consideration to both cooperation and integration and is mostly use to explain the pattern of interactions states embarked upon in regional or sub-regional arrangements even though, a vivid analysis of inter-state relations is not well captured.

Literally, the balanced interpretation of inter-state relations is also evident in Baylis, et al.,'s work (2008). They commences in apologetic fashion noting that inter-state relationsis "a process by which states or nation-states, usually in the same geographic region, agree to cooperate and share responsibility to achieve common goals that requires coordinated or collective action".

Maintaining this philosophical approach, inter-state relations emerge as a logical response to problems that are too big for one state to solve by itself or problems caused by the actions of one country having the spill-over effects. Like Wendt,(1994:391), Baylis, et al. (2008), concisely defines inter-state relations, describing it as a process that can "convey many and different things".

Thus, inter-state relations have become so central and often, inevitable to states in the conducts of their international affairs. The pattern of relations across political frontiers varies (in nature, scope, and character) from region to region depending on the nature of the states involve, as well as their historical background and cultural contexts.

So far it has been identified by Best and Christiansen (2008:436-437) that, relations among states can occur within various different fields for example, political, economic or military. They noted that the term inter-state relations feature two different dimensions: it can be "formal"or "informal" by its nature which should be reserved for the way in which accredited representatives of sovereigns contribute to the making and implementation of foreign policy. In addition, they allude that if we want to understand the value of inter-states relations, we cannot ignore the historical and contemporary experience of relations between sovereign states.

Formal inter state relations is "a state-led process", whereas in the informal process, "non-state actors are predominant". In the former, relations cover different mixtures of agreements be it "economic, social, political and security concerns" using different forms of interaction between the states concerned as well as various ways in which they may promote inter-state cohesion (Best and Christiansen, 2008:436-437).

In the latter, relations are based on activities undertaken by non-governmental organizations or non-state actors in the areas of economic cooperation, humanitarian assistance and environmental affairs. In some cases, state-led actions have been responsible for an increase in "real interaction" (Best and Christiansen, 2008:436-437).

In others, the development of ties has been more one of "market-led integration" across territorial borders. Also activities involving smuggling, money-laundering, illegal and undocumented migration, drugs and narcotics trafficking, terrorism and trans-border organized

crimes etc, falls within the category of informal relations which affects the pattern of relations between states. But a proper distinction between formal and informal relation remains the major issue of contention.

However, Wallace (1990) makes a distinction between "formal" and "informal" relations. A formal relation according to Wallace is an outcome of deliberate political actions and includes, for example, the establishment of institutions, policies or legislation. An informal relation, on the other hand, refers to a process that has effective consequences without formal, authoritative intervention (Wallace 1990:9-11). Formal inter-state relations do not necessarily always precede informal relations; in some situations, cooperation of non-state actors can also create pressures for deepening the formal process of inter-state relations.

Significantly, Wallace notes the term inter-state relations is applicable to groups, not necessarily states but nascent actors such as NGOs or MNCs who have an equal interest in a stable International Relations system (IR). What Wallace suggests is that inter-state relations must be considered in relation to the transformed environment of actors, issues, and modes of communication within which diplomats and non-state representatives function to most of what happens in contemporary IR system (Wallace, 1990).

The works of (Olson, 2002; Lindberg 1971; and Schmitter 2006) are important steps for analytical discourse. They argue that, formal inter-state relations centered on the areas of "cooperation and integration". For Schmitter (2006:259), inter-state cooperation has various forms namely "functional, economic, political, and cooperation in foreign and security policy".

Functional cooperation refers to "limited arrangements which are agreed between states in order to work together in particular areas of transport, energy, or health". Economic cooperation refers to "agreements which foresee some degree of commercial preferentialism, but

with no harmonization of domestic rules nor any obligation for common action in international affairs" (Olson, 2002).

Political cooperation entails "mutual support and commitment regarding the implementation of certain values and practices within the countries involved". Thus, cooperation in foreign and security policy means that "governments systematically inform and consult each other, try to adopt common positions in regional affairs and in international organizations, and may even implement joint actions elsewhere"(Olson, 2002; Lindberg 1971).

What Schmitter (2006) is suggesting here is the presence of four possible areas of analysis relating to contemporary International Relations system: functional (practical), economic (monetary, trade and industry), political (administrative), and cooperation in foreign and security policy (defense). To understand inter-state relations, it requires an examination of these areas. He emphasized the need for a balanced approach to theorizing on inter-state relations, combining the merits of both statist and non-statist observations.

In inter-state relations, (Lindberg 1971) is of the view that, economic cooperation between states can occur on three levels. "Co-ordination" is the lowest level of economic cooperation. It usually involves the voluntary alignment of national policies and investments in certain sectors of the economy. Inter state relations "is not only ever-closer cooperation of states in a political field, or evolution of a collective decision-making system among states over time" as Lindberg described political integration (Lindberg 1971:46), it can also take place, for example, in the field of "economics, security, and environmental questions".

Furthermore, when states relate and co-operate in the field of economic policies and remove tariff barriers, they create opportunities also for actors in the private sector to initiate

cooperation or activities that cross national borders. Thus,"Harmonization"is a higher level of cooperation, and it usually involves "harmonization of national legislation or the adoption of common legislation" (Schmitter 2006).

On this level, all legislation is still national, and all policies and instruments are nationally controlled and implemented, although they might be regionally agreed. "Integration" is the highest levels of economic cooperation in inter-state relations. In a regionally integrated market, "some of the traditional decision-making powers of nation states have been handed over to the regional level, and regional rules and decisions supersede national legislation". Furthermore, at least some economic policies are formulated on the regional level (Olson, 2002 and Schmitter 2006).

For Lindberg, a continuous appreciation of inter-state relations is necessary, alongside an approach which centers on the range of economic cooperation, and diplomatic activity related to the widening set of actors and agenda of international, regional or inter-states politics. In other words, inter-state relations promote understanding of both diplomatic and economic actors, their agendas, techniques and relationship(Lindberg 1971).

Olson (2002:925) considered integration as a process of inter-state relations. He highlights the formal process of inter-state integration arguing that understanding inter-state relations requires proper understanding of inter-state integration. Inter-state integration, he writes, is "a process by which states go beyond the removal of obstacles to interaction between their countries and create inter-state space subject to some distinct common rules".

For Olson (2002), several degrees of ambition are usually distinguished "free trade area, customs union, common market, economic and monetary union" leading to the harmonization of

tariff policy, having a single voice internationally, together with a new level of governance above the nation-states. This emphasizes the nature of the world system across territorial borders.

Arguing for a different perspective on the standard debates, Olson's evaluation concerns the introduction of the term "inter-state integration" which he claims transcends the understanding of inter-state relations discourse. Inter-state integration stresses the importance of state and economy rather than the distinctiveness between official and unofficial relations within sovereign entities. He suggests that there is a growing symbiosis between the activities of state and non-state representative, in which the foreign policy community engages in pursuit of common objectives.

In a nutshell, inter-state relation is a multidimensional phenomenon, which takes various forms. It can be functional cooperation in some field of inter-state relations (for example economic or political integration). It can take also a broader form when participating states try to incorporate convergence of their policies with different sectors under a single framework. This broader cooperation can be called "regionalization". This is also the type of regional integration that is dominant in the present-day world.

Regional integration today usually involves integration processes in several sectors (for example, the economy, security, and the environment). Because of this multidimensionality, inter-state relations can be approached theoretically from several different directions. These processes are naturally interrelated, and if one is interested in regionalization, that is, integration in the broader sense of the term, these aspects should be considered in the analysis.

2.1.7.2 Levels of Inter State Relations

2.1.7.3 The International System

Relations amongst states in general are processes which involve different phases towards an "ever-closer community" (Deutsch et al., 1957:29). However, at some point when the process achieves a rather advanced stage, it can be referred to as inter-state relations leading to integrated community. This stage is what Etzioni called integration (Etzioni, 1965:60-62). An inter-states relation is multifaceted phenomenon. The nature of relationship is dependent on several factors on different levels of the international system.

First of all, relation among states occurs in the international system and therefore the global level. The nature of the international system determines the room for manoeuvre that the participating states enjoy. This can vary over time, and therefore structural changes of the international system have a direct impact on inter-state relations processes. Etzioni (1965) is suggesting a theoretical level of inter-state relations. Within such an equally weighted, world system of different actors and interests can be found alongside different types of relationships.

Describing the nature of the international system, The CIA, (2008:2) report argues that, there are about 351 separate geographic entities in the world today. This includes 194 independent States; several dependencies and areas of special sovereignty, such as the Australian-Ashmore and Cartier Islands, Christmas Island, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Coral Sea Islands, Heard Island the McDonald Islands; and areas of indeterminate sovereignty such as Antarctica, Gaza Strip, Paracel Islands, Spratly Islands, West Bank, and Western Sahara (The CIA, 2008:2).

As such, the land boundaries in the world total add up to approximately 251,060 km (not to count shared boundaries twice). Some states are landlocked (Afghanistan, Mali, Niger,

Uzbekistan etc), while others are Islands. This diversity led to a variety of conflict situations ranging from traditional bilateral boundary disputes to unilateral claims of one sort or another. Hence, the need to relates and interacts with the world communities for peaceful coexistence and functional cooperation emerged (The CIA, (2008:2).

The phenomenon of inter-state relation is affected by factors on different levels of the international system. The global level is common for all regional integration processes in the world. This means that the changes on the level of the international system that affect the possibilities of inter-state relations will do that in every region of the world. In principle, these changes can be any structural transformations of the international system that have a direct impact on states in their arrangements (Lindberg, 1971:32).

Inter-state relations in the global politics led to the creation of the League of Nations and the present United Nations Organizations (after the World War II) with its specialized agencies covering economic, security, socio-cultural, environmental and humanitarian affairs etc.

2.1.7.4 The Regional / Inter-Regional System

Another level has emerged with successful regional integration processes. This is called the Regional/inter-regional level (relations within the regional context). It refers especially to the effect of the European integration process on other integration processes. Like states, regions are not given in the international system.

Hettne and Söderbaum (1998; 2000) point out that “they are created and recreated in the process of global transformation, which also means that the level of regionness can both increase and decrease, and some regions can also cease to exist as international actors”. This also means that regionalization processes do not necessarily follow the same path everywhere. Regions by themselves are not weak or powerful, but their weakness or powerfulness lies in the states that

they are comprised of. On the other hand, regions also affect how strong or vulnerable certain states are.

Regionally, the world according to Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011:24-25), is divided into nine geographical regions namely: North America (comprising the United States, Canada, and Bahamas); Europe (consisting some forty states); Japan/Pacific (consisting some eighteen states); Russia/Commonwealth of Independent States, CIS (about thirteen states); China (comprising China and Taiwan); Middle East (consisting some nineteen states); Latin America (consisting thirty eight states); South-Asia (comprising some nineteen states); and Africa (composed of fifty four states).

Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011)tries to explain that, even though regions differ from each other in terms of the number of states they contain, their cultural mix, geographical realities, and language formation; each has a peculiar pattern of states interactions along its territorial borders, and together they reflects the dynamics of inter-states relations. In other words, inter-state relationships across geographical regions are diverse, but special links with nation, territory or population form the basis for interactions between border societies and their nation states.

By adopting this approach, we can reveal that, the process of inter-state relations in regional arrangements are closely related to the international system. Regional relations take place in the international system and thus the changes in that system change also the context where relations occur. But this approach did not focus much the contemporary changes in the international system which has a direct impact on inter-regional relations in integration processes.

For Hettne (1999), three factors or sectors of the international system stand out as having more importance in relations among states in regional arrangements “the political, economic and

security structure of the international system". The process of political relations occurs within the international system; therefore the political macro properties of the system to a certain extent constrain the process. As Hettne describes the situation, this political superstructure determines the room for manoeuvre that regional actors have when they carry out the actual processes of inters-state relations, that is, regionalization (Hettne, 1999:14).

Another key feature of inter-state relations is the dominance of economic integration. This stems from the fact that economic integration is one of the sectors of cooperation where the immediate benefits of integration are relatively easy to achieve (Haas 1961:372), and therefore it also holds the greatest attraction for the participating states.

This analysis help us to appreciate the fact that, economic interdependence among states has made national economies increasingly dependent on each other, at the same time this means that the relevance of the international economic system in the development of national and regional economies has increased. However, analysis on economic development on the lower levels of the international system which has increasingly become dependent on the changes occurring on the global level is yet to be discussed.

Similarly, the post-cold war period saw the significance of security relations among states in regional or sub-regional arrangement in order to address the issue of "regional security complex". The term regional complex has originally been developed by Barry Buzan (Buzan 1991), to describe the development of regional security systems in a situation where the security interests of states within a certain region are so closely linked that they can no longer be treated separately, but those states have not yet been able to form a security community. This is anchored on what Deutsch et al., (1957:5) called "security communities".

Security communities as proposed byDeutsch et al., (1957:5) simply means, a “sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for along time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population”. Two types of security communities are distinguished here: the so-called “amalgamated and pluralistic security communities”.

In amalgamation, integration is a merger of two independent units into a single larger unit, which would have a common government after amalgamation. In pluralistic security communities, its constituent parts retained their independence, but were yet able to establish a security community. As an example of an amalgamated security community, Deutsch pointed out the United States. Deutsch himself appeared to prefer the latter type of integration that is, the establishment of pluralistic security-communities (Deutsch et al., 1957:5). The preferability of pluralistic security communities arose from the fact that they were easier to attain and easier to preserve than their amalgamated counterparts. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) can be taken as an example.

However, the most prominent example of inter-states relations within a regional context dates back to the 1950s and the 1960s. This period saw the emergence of inter-states and regional collaboration organization notably, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which eventually evolved through the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Union (EU).

In Europe, the nature and process of inter-states relations was very unique due to the harmonization of trade policies, market and monetary integration as well as close political cooperation hence formal relations that led to formal integration. In other words, inter-states

relations were on the basis of establishing customs union and trade liberalization schemes across the entire European states (Simon, 2011).

According to Laursen (2008), formal inter-states relations (after the 1945) led to the European integration in the early 1950s with the foundation of the European Coal and SteelCommunity (ECSC) in 1952 and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in early 1951 by the six founding states (the "original Six" member states of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands). Laursen (2008)asserted from strong analyses of data that the significance of the formal European inter-state relations dates back to early 1950s whereby various summits were held in order to encourage a differentiated pace for the implementation of regional programmes.

The work of Bache, et al., (2011:45) addresses the reasons for inter-states relations in the European context. They argue that, the main priorities of the European states (after 1945), were "the supranational management of coal and steel, the creation and regulation of an internal market, and common policies in trade, competition, agriculture, and transport" while, the Maastricht Treaty (the 1992 Treaty of the EU with effect in 1993), centered on regional dimension to integration with emphasis on "the adoption of both stronger forms of unification (monetary union) as well as other forms of cooperation such as non-binding coordination in economic and employment policy, or more intergovernmental cooperation in foreign and security policy".

In short, formal process of inter-states relations in Europe has been ongoing and migrated from common energy agreements to common agricultural policies (in 1962); cooperation in foreign policies (in 1970) to the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS in 1979);

launching of the single market program (in 1987) to proper admittance of further 21 states; making it a unique case of regional integration.

Bache and his associates looked at the impact of the European states arrangement on the formation of the later EU. In other words, they extrapolate the intricate interplay of changes and continuities in the European states as well as the various levels of the European integration process particularly, the signature and reforms of the basic treaties resulting to "Intergovernmental Conferences"(IGC) where representatives of national governments negotiate the legal framework within which the EU institutions operates.

However, Simon (2011:29) moves the subject of inter-state relations in another useful direction. He examines the EU's development as embodies an overlapping process of integration, where steps taken in one area have "spilled over into others over time". For Simon (2011) the EU pattern of inter-states relations exemplified both "functionalism and neo-functionalism". It encompasses aspects of both "supranationalism" (sometimes also referred to as federalism) and "intergovernmentalism".

The EU's development as argued by Simon (2011) also involved both "the widening of membership and the deepening of ties among the member states; integrating their economies and societies more closely; expanding the authority of the community institutions over the member states; free movement of million citizens between most of the member states on daily basis and carry burgundy EU passports; and citizens in eleven member countries use a common currency, the euro, launched in January 2002".

Simon did not use statistical analyses in making his assertions but identifies from the historical evidence the significance of the "Original Six member states" of the EU and their contribution to inter-states relations in Europe, their economic development, democratic norms

and other liberal explanations in resisting territorial revisions and the associated risks of a major war. This is in line toward achieving specific, agreement-dependent goals by enhancing regional cooperation.

Most of the above writings with regard to inter-state relations in Europe are silent about the issues of border community interactions across territorial borders, informal relations along border zones, the nature and dimension of inter-states relations as well as the sovereignty question in borderland discourse.

In the American Continent, inter-states relations across territorial borders were taken with serious commitment. In Central America for instance, Balaam and Dillmaan, (2011:34) show how collection of entities formed the independent states of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica and thus led to the creation of the Central American Integration System (SICA). In other words, it comprises a number of small countries with a common history, a relatively high degree of common identity where nationalism grew.

However, Balaam and Dillmaan (2011) show how strong inter-states relations led to the formation of regional organizations like: the Organization of American States (OAS); the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); the Central American Integration System (SICA); the Central American Common Market (CACM); the Caribbean Community (CARICOM); the Andean Community of Nations (CAN); the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR); the South American Community of Nations (ACN); and the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA). Promoting a global approach to integration, with political, economic, socio-cultural and security was the primary aim of these organizations.

The work of Balaam and Dillmaan (2011) provides a definition of relations among states and how they operate in an international political system to reduce levels of conflict. Although

the absence of a central force makes a significant difference, Balaam and Dillmaan still believes that the observed behavior of nations often mirrors that of individuals in a society.

Best and Christian, (2008: 438-440), add to the analysis of inter-state relations in the American Continent. They argued that, several agreements on "peace and security", as well as negotiation on free-trade (the US-Canada; US, Canada and Mexico), led to the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, covering issue of "agriculture and accompanied by a supplementary agreements on labour and the environment" while deepening cooperation in "drugs, corruption, terrorism, hemispheric security, sustainable development, and the environment" became the major concern of the contemporary inter-state relations. Here, Best and Christian interprets inter-state relations as modern, flexible and dynamic.

Schmitter (1970:21) and Chwieroth (2007:448) pointed out that, the model of "state-led, import substituting industrialization" shaped the Latin American inter-state relations. A combination of protection and planning strategy was adopted by member states in different regional organizations across the sub-region.

The Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) was created in 1991 by Argentina and Brazil, together with Paraguay and Uruguay with focus on "Common External Tariff (CET)" supporting major projects in "transport, energy, and communications". Thus, little attention was given to the dynamic processes of bilateral and multi-lateral agreements as well as the issue of complex security system along territorial borders in the American Continent (Schmitter, 1970:21).

Within the Africa continent, research (Adepoju, 2005; ECOWAS Annual Reports; Karns and Mingst, 2004) have shown that, the nature and the complex composition of African societies enhanced member-states to develop and promote strong relations mostly in political, economic,

socio-cultural and security. They emphasize how relations among states transformed the pattern of political and economic realities of the region.

This is evident in the formation of sub-regional organizations which include (apart from the wider African Union), the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA); the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the West African Economic and Momentary Union (WAEMU); the Central African Momentary and Economic Community (CEMAC); the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the East African Community (EAC); the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); the Inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD); the Southern African Customs Union (SACU); and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Their common targets include: fighting colonialism; reduce the level of economic dependence from the western imperialist countries; eliminate poverty; develop a strong and stable democratic society etc; for the betterment of their citizens.

The nature of African societies and institutions are clear because the pattern of inter-state relations across territorial borders in the region have many dimensions ranging from political liberation accompanied by strong dedication to end colonialism; to functional cooperation that deals with the problems of economic growth and inequality, proper integration to achieve a common monetary policy, and a customs union aiming at creating single market; as well as conflict management and peace-building mechanisms to resolve intra and inter-states conflicts.

Karns and Mingst (2004:206) for instance, observed that, the African States have established a large number of overlapping regional and sub-regional arrangements, mostly for economic purposes. They have “approved grandiose agreements, often molded after the

European experience, but they lack most of the factors that brought the European states together, such as a high level of economic interaction, multiple products in commerce, and relatively advanced transportation and infrastructure networks".

In short, Africa lacks many of the requisite conditions for successful regional cooperation. Karns and Mingst (2004) portrayed the African states as cynical institutions, self-serving, introspective, morally corrupt and stubbornly resisting change. They promote change to the African system of inter-state relations through the inclusion of a moralistic, idealistic and utopian agenda, which pushes the system towards international civil society where the state is gradually replaced by non-state actors.

Finally, inter-regional relations exist between the EU and ACP-countries (African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and former European colonies).The intra-regional level instead is one of the most important levels, because this is also the level on which the actual integration process takes place.

Therefore, intra-regional dynamics have a direct effect, for example, on the economic integration process. The analysis is highly Eurocentric in that, few attempts was made in looking at the strategic efforts made at various sub-regional levels for political, economic, socio-cultural, and security concerns as well as the significance of the ECOWAS Border Community Programmes (ECOWAS-BCP) and its impact on borderland communities across border zones.

2.1.7.5 The National / State-to-State Level

The final level of relations among states is the"national or state-to-state level". According to Milward (1992:5), relations among states were initiated because nation states were facing both internal and external pressures. Inter state relations was thus, a means to rescue the nation-states in international system.

All states in IR have something in common, but at the same time there are vast differences between states. States differ in their size and in the power that they possess. For example, the small size of a state can play an important role in the decision to enter a regional integration process and also in the strategy that states decide to follow during the process of inter state relations. This stresses the necessity for inter-state relation because states cannot live in aloof.

These notions are evident in the work of Milward and Sorensen (1993:12), who views state-to-state relations as "reflecting the values and prejudices of an international order that promote change, particularly fundamental change, to the IR system itself". In this level, governments select a strategy, which included different policies, which could ensure the achievement of this goal (reassertion of the state).

Furthermore, there were issue areas where effective policies could be pursued only in the international context, which thus direct these states towards integration. These policies, in turn, had to satisfy the demands of a much broader spectrum of constituents than previously, because the objective was to reassert the state as securely as possibly. For Milward (1992:29-31), what was common for all post-war governments was that they had to find ways to eliminate long-term mass employment, support the agricultural sector and create the welfare state. Some of these policies could be better pursued on an international forum than on a national level.

Most inter-state relations among and between regions include in their framework of cooperation also other sectors, such as security and environmental questions. Some analysts like Hettne (1999) suggest that for developing countries, it is necessary to follow the path of "multidimensionality". This is because the peripheries of the world are characterized, among

other things, by political instability, military conflicts, stagnated economic development, and ecological problems.

Because of these problems they are at a risk of being marginalized on a global scale and to avoid further marginalization these regions should find ways to tackle these problems. But since these problems are too big for weak and relatively powerless states in the peripheries, the only available option seems to be to tackle these problems is by common action, that is, relation between states in sub-region or regional level and perhaps, at the global stage. As Hettne (1999) summarizes this problem:

> The issues of security, development and ecological sustainability form one integrated complex, at the same time as they constitute as many imperatives for deepening regional cooperation, if not regional integration (Hettne 1999:45).

This emphasizes that, states needed wider political and security support in inter-state relations. When they had reasserted strong democratic systems and mechanisms for the protection of the human rights they had offered new ways for enhancing and consolidating relations among states as Milward (1992:2-7; 21-45) has to point out.

In this situation for instance, most states in the international community were able to pursue a wide range of different policies due to their adherence to liberal policies of IR. Some of these policies could be more effectively pursued on the international forum than on the national level. This decision was thus affected at least by the democratic regimes and methods to protect human rights, the need for wide public support for governments and the modes of production, which for their part contributed to the maintenance of legitimacy.

From above analyses, it implies that inter-state relations are not a result of only regional and international factors. The national level (political, economic and security systems) of the modern states also shaped the outcome. This is why Barry Hughes (1995:230) has to argue that European inter-state relations (integration) would not have been possible without democracy and the protection of human rights on a national level.

2.1.8 The ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives and the West African Inter-State Relations

In analyzing the nature and dynamics of inter-state relations in West Africa, research (Adepoju, 2005; ECOWAS Annual Reports) have shown that, the nature and the complex composition of West African societies enhanced member-states to develop and promote strong relations mostly in political, economic, socio-cultural and security concerns.

This is evident in the formation of sub-regional organizations which include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the West African Economic and Momentary Union (WAEMU). Their common targets as advanced by the ECOWAS Annual Report (2000:105), is to reduce the level of economic dependence from the western imperialist countries; eliminate poverty; develop a strong and stable democratic society etc; for the betterment of their citizens.

In other words, due to the nature of the societies in the West Africa sub-region, the pattern of inter-state relations across territorial borders have many dimensions ranging from political liberation accompanied by strong dedication to end imperialism; to functional cooperation that deals with the problems of economic growth and inequality, proper integration to achieve a common monetary policy, and a customs union aiming at creating single market; as

well as conflict management and peace-building mechanisms to resolve intra and inter-states conflicts (Adepoju, 2005:3).

However, the leaders of West Africa sub-region in particular, recognized in the early seventies that promoting strong inter-state relations among member-states leading to regional integration could be an important step towards the sub-region's collective integration into the global economy. According to Elumelu (2014:5); Adepoju (2005:5), the leaders realized that, efforts to enhance living conditions of their people across territorial borders as well as achieving an egalitarian distribution of income, combating poverty, and so on, can be achieved faster within the framework of regional economic integration.

The complementary of neighbouring countries' economies, close socio-cultural ties across borders, and historical record of free labour migration, made ECOWAS' inter-state relations and integration imperative (Elumelu, 2014:5). The author shows the linkage between inter-state's economies and the socio-cultural ties that existed across territorial frontiers that make the ECOWAS regional integration so imperative.

Elumelu (2014) reinforced how experiences in other parts of the world made ECOWAS to emulate and pursue its integration agenda notably: the Latin America Free Trade (LAFTA); Caribbean Community (CARICOM); Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); the Central American Common Market (CACM) in Latin America and the Caribbean Region; European Union (EU); and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, among others.

Similarly, to buttress the significance of inter-state relations in the West African sub-region, the ECOWAS Annual Report, (2004:23-24), have shown that, the Community secretariat

has, since 2003 been rising the ECOWAS programmes to promote formal inter-state relations across territorial borders in the sub-region.

This creates the "necessary synergy with the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) plans of action in order to embark on effective implementation of the NEPAD programmes and projects among member states particularly in the areas of road transport, telecommunications, energy, monetary and fiscal policies, agriculture and food security, intra-regional trade development and external market access, as well as in the area of political governance with particular focus on enhancing regional peace and security" (ECOWAS Annual Report, 2004: 24).

Though, the ECOWAS Community members have creates a strong synergy for inter-states relations in West Africa, the Report put little attention in addressing border town problems of hunger, malnutrition, lack of access to portable water etc that leads to insecurity, organized crime and terrorism across territorial boundaries.

ECOWAS comprises 16 member countries which include: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. Eight of these countries form a distinct group belonging to the UEMOA which has attained a monetary and customs union. The UEMOA countries have as their common currency the CFA franc, which is tied to the French franc; and through it, since January 1999, to the Euro (ECOWAS Annual Report, 2004:23).

The second group of countries is made up of the non-UEMOA countries, each with its individual, non-convertible currency (ECOWAS Annual Report, 2001:9). In order to achieve the stated objectives, five countries outside the CFA zone, namely, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea,

Nigeria and Sierra Leone took the decision to create a second monetary zone by 2003 to promotes formal inter-state and regional relations. This zone merged with the CFA zone to form a single ECOWAS Monetary Zone (MTZ) in 2004. (ECOWAS Annual Report, 2000:41).

As far back as1992, the revised Treaty of ECOWAS among others, affirmed the right of citizens of the Community to "entry, residence and settlement" and enjoined Member States to recognize these rights in their respective territories (ECOWAS Compendium on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment, 1999) (ECOWAS Annual Report, (2005:12).

Subsequently, the Heads of State and Government adopted "an ECOWAS passport" as a symbol of unity and progressively replace national passports in circulation over a transitional period of ten years. The decision to foster free movement of goods and persons across the borders of ECOWAS member countries and the abolition of the mandatory residency permit as well as the granting of the maximum 90-day period of stay to ECOWAS citizens by immigration officials at entry points took immediate effect from April, 2000 (ECOWAS Vanguard, 2014: 15).

In other words, the "rights of entry, residence and establishment" abolished requirements for visas and entry permit. Community citizens in possession of valid travel documents and international health certificate could enter Member States without visa, for up to ninety days.

However, the adoption of the "fast track" approach at the twenty-second summit of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS, held in Lome on 9 and 10 December 1999, provides a road map for the establishment of borderless ECOWAS Zone towards achieving the stated goals. In this, seven Member States (Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo) held a mini-summit of Heads of State and Government in Abuja on 27 March 2000, to discuss the creation of a borderless zone between their countries. Pursuant to the mini-summit, a

series of meetings was organized at expert and ministerial levels on the subject of the free trade area(ECOWAS, 2005).

In other words, the meeting of heads of State and Government, held in Abuja at the end of March 2000, had as its major agenda the creation of a borderless sub-region (ECOWAS Final Communiqué, 2000). The inadequacy and poorly maintained transport and communication facilities across territorial borders constitute major hindrance to cross-border trade, economic activities and movement of persons and goods which the Community leaders did not put into cognizance.

Regional infrastructure was boosted to foster economic integration with the feasibility study, and later construction/and or completion of a "coastal route from Lagos to Cotonou, Lomé and Accra and a Sahelian route linking Lagos to Niamey and Ouagadougou to facilitate free movement of persons and goods" (Adepoju, 2005:7).

With regards to integration project, Adepoju further emphasized that, the ECOWAS Commission assessed implementation of the decisions adopted at the various summits, particularly those pertaining to the establishment of a trade area by 30 April 2000. Other decisions taken at the Summit include "the elimination of rigid border formalities and modernization of border producers through the use of passport-scanning machines"; immigration officials are instructed to accord the maximum 90-day period of stay to ECOWAS citizens at entry point by 15 April 2004; and personnel at border posts would be limited to essential staff such as customs and immigration (Elumelu, 2012:23-24). It is agreed at the conferences that, numerous roadblocks and security checkpoints on international highways were to be removed to reduce delays, harassment and extortion.

Also, themeeting suggests that, “Joint Border Patrols (JBP)” by neighbouring states of Niger, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali are mounted to monitor and police national borders. Henceforth, a closer collaboration is forged between the police and internal security agencies with regard to “exchange of information, staff exchange programs, and organization of frequent coordination meetings, training courses etc” (The ECOWAS Annual Report, 2004:24).

The Report pointed out the strategic issues discussed at the meeting, but to test the validity of the decisions adopted and the concrete reality on ground is the main problem. Also, authorities put little consideration to the implication or otherwise in the abolition of the rigid border formalities for security reasons; as well as the effects of the 90-day period of stay accorded to ECOWAS citizens.

Thus, the free movement of persons without visa within the ECOWAS Community is an enduring achievement of the organisation. On May 12, 2000 the ECOWAS ministers responsible for internal affairs and national security met in Bamako and agreed to introduce a new passport, in three categories, for citizens of the sub-region “red for the diplomatic, blue for the service and green for the ordinary group”(ECOWAS Executive Summary’s Report, 2000).

According to the report, passport would not replace the ECOWAS travel certificate (a more cost-effective and cheaper document for travel within the sub-region). Though, they provide the necessary measures for inter-states relations across the region, they creates serious obstacles to cross-border trading activities between and among communities located at the border zones(ECOWAS Executive Summary’s Report, 2000). In other words, they realize the roles and

dynamics of trading activities along border communities in regional integration but proper solution to cross-border problems is still needed.

In order to facilitate formal inter-state/regional relations, the Authority of Heads of State and Government at its twenty-third meetings in Abuja on 28 and 29 May 2000, adopted and launched a "uniform format passport" meant to established ECOWAS identity before the rest of the world, and to underscore the fact that "West African Citizens" (WAC) are citizens of the same community (ECOWAS Annual Reports 2000:56; 2005:47-49).

It was agreed that, "The ECOWAS Passport (ECOWAS-P) shall be used in Member States alongside the ECOWAS Travel Certificate (ECOWAS-TC)" (ECOWAS Council of Ministers, 2005: 10). This was designed in order to facilitate inter-state and regional cooperation in areas of "market and monetary integration (liberalization of labour market and the free movement of Community citizens through the abolition of visa and entry requirements as well as provision of the right of residence and establishment in any member-state); physical and product integration (supporting market integration in areas of transport, telecommunications and energy); as well as close political cooperation" (Elumelu, 2007:4-15).

This acknowledges the significance of member states in the integration process as well as communities and business entrepreneurs that cut across territorial borders. In other words, they stress the strategic roles of critical stake holders in integration process.

As such, transport is a key sector in the ECOWAS integration efforts. The ECOWAS Secretariat developed a plan of action for cross-border movements through the implementation of "road transport facilitation measures" (The ECOWAS Annual Report, 2005:60-61). The Reportrevealed that, main components includes "the construction of joint border posts to

expedite immigration formalities and the clearing of goods; the creation of observatories along inter-state corridors to detect mal-practices; and awareness campaigns to educate all stakeholders in the road transport sector; harmonization of road legislations; evaluation of the physical status of road networks; and managing poor security and advanced cargo information system". The plan thus, incorporates the inhabitants or the residents of border zones in West Africa for proper detection of malpractices and illegal behavior which in one way or the other affect inter-states relations.

In a nutshell, the ECOWAS Conventions as well as protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Goods and Services provides a necessary step in the formalization of cross-border trade and the promotion of inter-state/regional relations. The treaty signed in Lagos on 28 May 1975 creating the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) covered wide areas of economic activities among member states in their inter-state relations. Article 27 of the Treaty affirms a long-term objective to establish a community citizenship that could be acquired automatically by all nationals of Member States.

This reinforced the preamble to the treaty that outlined the key objective of removing obstacles to the free movement of goods, capital and people in the sub-region. It is in that context that the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment of May 1979 capitalized on free mobility of labour. Phase 1 of the Treaty, the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons (the first to be ratified and put into effect) was ratified by Member States in 1980 and put into effect forthwith.

It guaranteed free entry without visa for ninety days, ushering in an era of free movements of ECOWAS citizens within member countries. It is important to note that, the

Commission plan deepens regional economic integration and strengthens domestic economic growth. Inter-states relations and thus regionalisation are increasingly present in the political agenda of the ECOWAS Community. But relations across border communities runs mostly informally and not structured enough. It is however essential to develop a clear strategy, specific and common financial resources in the inclusion of border communities; and a distribution of tasks and responsibilities between the different levels of governance (supra-national, national, regional and local). However, much attention is needed in addressing border issues along border communities across the region for proper relations, functional cooperation and mutual integration.

2.1.9 Trends in Nigeria-BeninInter-State Relations

Since independence, Nigeria seeks to maintain cordial relations with all its immediate neighbors. It also strives to have good relations with other countries in the West African sub region known as the Good Neighbor Policy (Akinterinwa and Ate, 2011:12). In other words, this guiding principle is one of neighborliness and friendship. The intent is to help resolve conflicts in the West African sub region and to stabilize relations with its immediate neighboring countries. Several factors have shaped and influenced the Nigerian foreign relations anchored in its foreign policy agenda.

The evolution of Nigerian foreign relations was based on factors which include the decolonization process; party politics and Nigerian federalism, regionalism; the state of the economy and economic development; the problem of domestic unity as well as the nature and the structure of the external environment that is, Africa and the international community (Izah, 1991).

Elsewhere in West Africa, Nigeria has always pursued the Big Brother foreign policy with its neighbours of which Benin is a part. The Big Brother foreign policy had its foundation in the initial thrust of having Africa (West Africa in particular) as the focal point of Nigeria's foreign policy, and was driven by the perception of Nigeria being the Big Brother to several African nations less endowed with economic resources and manpower development, and those threatened by environmental and political instability (Eddy and Kingsley, 2013:100-104).

However, the Nigerian government shortly after independence was in a dilemma over the costs and dividends of the prevailing foreign policy thrust of Big Brother or, in effect, good neighbourliness (Ate, 2011: 86) in the conduct of its with its immediate neighbours. The Nigerian government's good neighbourliness foreign policy towards the immediate neighbours had seriously encouraged irregular migration of nationals from Benin seeking improved socio-economic welfare into Nigeria. In other words, this foreign policy, driven by the natural resources endowments in Nigeria made the federal government to accommodation of aliens from Benin.

This section analyzes the character, nature and pattern of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin from independence of both countries to date. It presents the interactions between these two states in a chronological order stressing points of cooperation as well as those of tension in their inter-relationship.

Three distinct phases has been identified by scholars (Olujimi, 2010; Ola, 2012; Omede, 2006) etc, in analyzing the formal inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin indicating the direction and character of such relationship. For Olujimi 2010, these phases are identified as:

"the challenge of independence" characterized by the tension between France's neo-colonial interest and Nigeria's anti-imperialist stance in the continent.

The second phase was "the normalization and consolidation era" largely between the 1970s and the 1980s characterized by the growth of bilateralism and multilateralism underpinned by the growing realization of cooperative and interdependent relationship. The final phase began from the 1990s to the present; it is characterized by what has been described as "co-prosperity and co-security" relations, signifying the acknowledgement of the ever growing need for collaboration and cooperation between the two neighbouring states. Thus, it is essential to analyze these phases accordingly.

2.1.9.1 Tension between France's Neo-Colonial Interest and Nigeria's Anti-Imperialist Stance in the Continent

Nigeria-Benin relations began shortly after the attainment of independence by the two states in 1960. The relationship was nurtured within the context of Nigeria foreign policy which sought to make Africa its centerpiece. The nature of Nigeria's inter-state relations was based on some cardinal principles governing the pattern of Nigeria's relations with her immediate and other African countries namely: "sovereign equality of all African states; respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every African state; non-interference in the internal affairs of other African states; commitment to functional cooperation as a means of promoting African unity; total eradication of racism and colonialism from Africa; non-alignment; and peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, conciliation or arbitration" (Yakubu, 2014:93).

Nigeria as a sovereign state began to conduct her foreign relations under the leadership of the Prime Minister Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa whose administration emphasizes Africa to be the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy as expressed in his words "we belong to Africa and Africa most claim first attention in our external relations" (Omede, 2006). This proclamation made by Balewa, paved way for the rise of Nigeria to the "Regional Power Status (RPS)" in the later years, by spearheading the formation of the Organization of African Union in 1963 (Dangana, 2013:16).

Right from the beginning of independent statehood, Nigeria sought actively to carve a niche for itself in Africa, but more especially in the West African sub-region. To the Francophone bloc, Nigeria's economic ambition which sought to exploit the West African sub-regional integration was considered with trepidation. To France and its ambitions in Africa, Nigeria was the major stumbling block and France guided its African satellites to oppose and undermine Nigeria's ambition at every turn (Olujimi, 2010:205).

For instance, the earlier initiatives, sponsored by Nigeria, towards the creation of a common market in West Africa were frustrated at every turn by the Francophone elements of the sub-region, especially with the French sponsorship of the Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO). It was within such inauspicious milieu that Nigeria-Benin relations began. Though, Benin was a prominent member of the Community of the French West Africa, the relationship between Nigeria and Benin began on a tentative note(Omede, 2006).This stage was characterised by Nigerian ambition to secure its national interest as envisaged by the historical pattern and direction of the country's foreign policy. In securing its national interests however, Nigerian leaders operate within four "concentric cycles" of national interest.

The innermost circle represents Nigeria's own security, independence and prosperity centered on its immediate neighbours mainly Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger. The second circle revolves around Nigeria's relations with its West African neighbours, the third circles focused on continental African issues of peace, development and democratization and the fourth circles involve Nigeria's relations with organizations, institutions and states outside Africa (Nuamah, 2003).

As it is widely known that, the core national interest of any country are concerned with the fundamental issues relating to national self preservation which includes the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a nation. In the case of Benin, some of the basic elements of national interest include: the protection, preservation and defense of core national interest, the promotion and protection of economic, military, political, diplomatic and cultural interest; the promotion and maintenance of national honour, prestige and power within the international system; and the protection and propagation of national values, attitudes and interest, in order to influence world events (Alkali 2003). Evidence shows how leaders of both states worked toward attaining these objectives.

Relations between Nigeria and Benin were in cordial in the early independence period because linguistic and ethnic commonalities drive intimate cross border interaction between the two states. This encourages natural economic ties and generates business between the two countries. Few months after independence, Nigeria concluded treaty agreements with Benin within the context of its foreign policy of "emphasizing and building upon cultural links which already exist" (Asiwaju, 2011:12). These treaties included "the Nigeria-Dahomey Convention on Common Frontier Posts (NDCCFP)" as well as "the Visa Abolition Agreement (VAA)".

Although, Nigeria and Benin signed a joint agreement in 1962 establishing a common custom tariff along their shared boundaries (an agreement aimed at creating a common market for the two countries in order to speed up the integration agenda), it should be noted that, in 1961, relations with Benin were put in jeopardy following the diplomatic face-off between Nigeria and France occasioned by France's atomic weapon test in the Sahara, in spite of opposition led by the independent African states. Nigeria severed diplomatic relations with France and further banned French aircrafts and ships from its territories (Aluko, 1977).

Given the overwhelming influence of France in its former colonies, which depended on French technical and other forms of support, the potential impact of the ban on Benin was significant. As it was in the process of constructing the Cotonou harbour at this time and depended on the Lagos port for the offloading of the equipment needed (mainly French originated), Benin was to suffer untold hardship. However, following appeals from Niger, Chad and Benin, Nigeria lifted the ban on French vessels a few weeks later (Olujimi, 2010: 203).

In the midst of the instability leading to the Nigerian Civil War in 1967, Benin closed its diplomatic post in Lagos along with those in Kinshasa and Accra in what its authorities termed a "Diplomatic Reorganization (DR)" (Aluko, 1977:37). Meanwhile, in the outbreak of the Civil War, France actively supported the break-away Republic of Biafra and influenced its Francophone satellites to support the secessionist republic. Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Gabon were some of the Francophone countries which supported Biafra's secession from Nigeria (Olujimi, 2010:204).

As the instability in Nigeria led ominously towards a total outbreak of war, Benin in the spirit of African brotherhood, sought to mediate through its foreign affairs minister in the

conflict, but to no avail. The conduct of the civil war later strain the relationship between the two countries as Nigeria accused Benin of complicity with France over the latter's support for the breakaway Biafra Republic(Alkali, 2003).

The allegation stemmed from the permission Benin granted to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to use its territory as a transit point for the airlifting of relief materials to Biafra (Alkali, 2003). Besides the weakening of Nigeria's economic embargo on Biafra, Nigeria accused the ICRC of clandestinely shipping weapons and other logistic supports to Biafra under the cover of humanitarianism (Yakubu, 2014).

Since then, Benin has committed itself to the ideals of La Francophonie as it hosted La Francophonie Summit in Cotonou in 1995. The major decision of the summit was a commitment by the Heads of State and Government to concentrate the operating agencies' activities on the five major cooperation programs of La Francophonie: freedom, democracy and development; culture and communications; knowledge and progress; economics and development; and La Francophonie in the world (Olujimi, 2010:204). This threatened the level of official visits to Nigeria following the commitment of Benin to the ideals of La Francophonie.

In a nutshell, this phase of the inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin initiated formal relations as sovereign entities following independence. The challenge of French neo-colonial aspirations and the tension generated by the clash of ambitions between Nigeria and France affected relations between Nigeria and Benin, which culminated in the Nigeria's allegation that France used Benin as a launching pad to airlift weapons to the breakaway Biafra Republic under the guise of humanitarian intervention. In other words, the section explains the

nature of hostile relations between the two countries after the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-70 and the significant role played by the authorities in Benin in aiding the secessionist Biafrans.

However, inter-state relationship between the two countries changed significantly following the end of the Nigerian Civil War and the growing dependence of the Benin economy on Nigeria.In other words, relationship between the two states began to blossom following the civil war in Nigeria in spite of the influence of France on Benin, along with the other Francophone West African states. The rapprochement came from the acknowledgement of mutual importance by the two states. Following its experience during the war, Nigeria realized the significance of friendly neighbours in the maintenance of its territorial integrity and sought vigorously to encourage cooperation with all its neighbours.

2.1.9.2 The Era of Cooperation and Interdependent Relationship

The second phase of the inter-state relationship between Nigeria and Benin began immediately after the Nigerian Civil War in 1970. This was accomplished with the task of revamping the war-ravaged economy as well as viable foreign policy that revolves around the strategic importance of neighbouring communities along border regions. In other words, the Nigerian authorities acknowledged the strategic importance of Benin to Nigeria's economic progress, politics and security being the "gateway" between it and the rest of the West African sub-region (Olujimi, 2010:208). A new pattern of relationship was thus initiated between Nigeria and the Benin Republic in that, Nigeria acknowledged the importance of Benin to its security and stability.

Nuamah (2003) pointed out that, the impact of the civil war on Nigeria's foreign policy was significant, causing Nigeria's leaders to draw five major lessons from the experience: (1)

that the country's survival as a sovereign state could not be taken for granted; (2) that based on France sending arms to secessionist Biafra through Gabon and Cote d'Voire, there was a compelling need to have friendly governments in neighbouring countries (a reality which partly explains why Nigeria in the aftermath of the civil war spearheaded the creation of ECOWAS); (3) that the existence of minority white-owned regimes in southern Africa, which backed Biafran secessionists during Nigeria's civil war, was a threat to Nigeria's security; (4) that it was dangerous to depend disproportionately on one power bloc for the supply of arms required to maintain internal security (Britain had been slow in providing arms to the Nigerian government which turned to the Soviet Union for arms), and (5) that publicity and propaganda were vital in the conduct of external relations.

However, following the overthrow of the Beninese president who had permitted the ICRC the use of Cotonou port as a transit point during the Nigerian civil war, a three-man Presidential Council from Benin made an official visit to Nigeria in June 1970 during which commitment to the re-opening of the Beninese embassy closed in 1967 was made. Subsequently, in August of the same year, Nigeria's head of state reciprocated the visit and a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed (TFCMA); heralding the beginning of particularly mutually beneficial and buoyant inter-state relations (Asiwaju, 2015:12; Aluko, 1977:34).

The renewed relationship thrived on the threat of the CEAO; Nigeria courted Benin and concluded bilateral economic and military agreements, which removed Benin from the CEAO orbit and effectively laid the foundation (together with Togo) for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Aluko, 1977:156). This marked a landmark achievement in intra-African relations in spite of the France strategic influence in the sub-continent.

Similarly, a Trade Treaty termed Nigeria-Benin Trade Treaty (NBTT) was concluded in 1971 between the two countries whereby agreements were reached in the areas of economic harmonization. This treaty spurred the growth of trade relations between Nigeria and Benin although, the bulk of exchanges across their international boundary are mostly unrecorded (through smuggling) (Asiwaju, 2011:12).

Nigeria sought the assistance of Benin to divert Nigeria bound ships to the Cotonou port as a result of the Nigeria's cement armada of 1975. During this period, Nigeria's main ports were clogged with countless ships with hardened cement owing to congestion emanating from excessive government order of cement for the bourgeoning construction industry (Olujimi, 2010:209). But the Nigeria's Third National Development Plan included the revamping and expansion of six ports which have been able to handle all of Nigeria's import export transaction leading to the end of the transit arrangement with Benin (Olujimi, 2010:210).

In July 1976, Nigeria and Benin signed a Technical Cooperation Agreement (NBTCA) under which joint venture projects (like the Save Sugar Company and the Onigbolo Cement Company) both sited in Benin Republic, were established. Nigeria also granted an interest-free loan of over One Million Pounds (£1m) to Benin for the reconstruction of the Porto-Novo-Idi-Iroko road in almost the same period (Asiwaju, 2011:13).

However, as a reaction to the growing spate of smuggling and other illegal cross-border activities, the Nigerian government adopted import prohibition as a trade policy instrument which uses the border as a point of enforcement. Border closures and expulsion of illegal immigrants were other policies adopted by the Nigerian state, which use the border as sites of state power and control. In other words, linguistic and ethnic commonalities drive intimate cross

border interaction between Benin-Nigeria. This encourages natural economic ties and generates business between the two countries.

Unfortunately, this close relationship contributes to the conditions conducive to illicit activity and trade (Babatunde, 2014:539). Private individuals conduct a large amount of the business and Nigeria-Benin smuggling occurs on a monumental scale. Petroleum products, stolen vehicles, and narcotics are some of the most prevalent items moved across the border on a routine basis (Akindele and Akinterinwa, 2011:199).

Thus in 1978, Nigeria introduced its first import prohibition lists and the volume of recorded trade between the two countries. The impact of this on the economy of Benin has been significant prompting that country's ambassador to Nigeria to raise issues regarding the prohibition. The ambassador issued a statement complaining about the ban on importation, especially of textiles claiming "it has dealt a blow on the economy of the Republic of Benin" and "constitute a violation of the memorandum of understanding between the two countries regarding trade liberalization" (Olujimi, 2010:211).

Consequent upon the ever growing spate of smuggling and related cross-border crimes, the Nigerian authorities closed its border with Benin twice between 1984 and 1986. As the Nigerian import prohibition lists of 1978 continued to increase in the number of items, it led to a simultaneous increase in smuggling activities. Certain agricultural as well as petroleum products are being smuggled out of Nigeria to Benin across their porous inter-state boundary (Aluko, 1977).

In other words, due to the activities of globalization, the Benin Republic is a transit point for dumping Asian goods on the Nigerian economy. This activity complicates the illegal business

problem and adds additional pressure to the virility of Nigerian economy (Ola, 2012:31). This indicates a smuggling situation thriving under the veil of social and cultural ties (Adams, 2012:10).

Even though, the increased in smuggling to Nigeria has been a constant problem for Nigeria, the Nigeria-Benin Joint Border Commission (NBJBC) was reactivated in 1981 to control smuggling, illegal aliens, and harassment of people, the constant suspicion between the two countries' security agents did not only jeopardize their action, but also create tensions (Johnson, 2014:214). The consequence of this is that lack of cooperation from the security agents from Benin to supply adequate information about these barons did not only bring antagonism from Nigeria's security agents, but also lead to conflict.

Thus, between 1983 and 1984, Nigeria expelled millions of illegal immigrants, the bulk of whom were from the West African sub-regional countries of Ghana, Togo, Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroun. A small fraction of Beninese nationals were expelled. During the enforcement of the expulsion order in Nigeria, the Beninese Yoruba simply got integrated into the households of their Nigerian Yoruba kith as has always been the practice (Olujimi, 2010:212).

In spite of the border closures and the forceful expulsion of illegal aliens in the early 1980s, Nigeria was able to conclude the "Quadripartite Extradition Treaty (QET)" with Benin, Togo and Ghana in 1984. The treaty was aimed at securing Nigeria's border against fleeing fugitives and to ensure their repatriation (Alkali, 2003). In order to contain the spate of border crimes across border regions, the Nigerian government established about one hundred additional border posts in 1986 to deal with this hydra-headed problem (Olujimi, 2010:213).

In 1988, a major international conference was jointly organized by the two countries to brainstorm on issues of cross-border cooperation and security (CBCS) (Asiwaju, 2011:13). The conference was motivated by the acknowledgement that the border between these two countries remained both a potential source of conflict as well as of cooperation. One of the major fallout of the conference is seen in the agreement to relax border regulations by both countries later in that year to allow local cross-border cooperation on issues of "immigration and security" (Olujimi, 2010:213).

At the close of the decade in 1989, spurred by the need to eliminate ambiguity at its border, the Nigerian government began the re-survey of its boundary with Benin, which would then be followed by (re) demarcation. In that same year, Nigeria granted Benin emergency financial relief to assist in that country's economic crisis (Asiwaju, 2011:13).

The relationship between these countries for the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s was conducted within the context of West African integration (ECOWAS) (Asiwaju, 2011). Economy was the binding force that linked the two countries together. In other words, cooperation and collaboration with Nigeria especially in the area of trade and industrialization were desirable to Benin owing to the fact that, the economy of Benin had grown to depend on the Nigerian market.

In a nutshell, inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin during this phase were based on inter-state cooperation even though, various compelling policies like the border closures and the forceful expulsion of illegal aliens from Nigeria in the early 1980s threatened such relationship. Other factors like smuggling and illegal activities mitigate the underlying desire of the two states in trans-border cooperation and inter-state relations. Hence, the final

phase in this periodization represents a period characterized by the deepening of inter-state cooperation and collaboration given the growing interdependence between the two states.

2.1.9.3 The Era of Co-security and Co-prosperity Relations

Even though, Nigeria's relations with Benin in the period 1993-1999, centered on "incessant border disputes among neighbouring communities" (Omede, 2006:9) from the late 1990s onwards, the relationship between Nigeria and Benin according to Asiwaju (2014) was a period characterized by the acknowledgement of growing interdependence both in terms of security and prosperity, the so called "co-security" and "co-prosperity" relations. This era witnessed smooth inter state relations in order to address frequent cases of arms smuggling between the two states as well as political tensions over the cancelation of the 1993 presidential elections in Nigeria (Alkali, 2003:174).

In this period, "boundary and military relations (BMR)" (Omede, 2006:9) remain the major topics of discussions in analyzing the dynamics of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin. Benin thus became "an escape corridor for anti-government element which caused a lot of concern among official circles in Nigeria". It also witnessed the activities of Beninese gendarmes who forcefully collect taxes from Nigerians along the Nigeria-Benin border villages as well as the incessant removal of the Nigerian flag (a sign of their occupation), threatened the pattern of security relations between the two countries (Alkali, 2003).

Similarly, the period saw how networks of informal socio-economic ties and cultural linkages between Nigeria and the Benin was strengthen particularly, in the Lagos-Seme border that link the two countries together. For Blum (2014:3-4), cross-border vitality linking numerous local markets and big cities of Porto Novo, Cotonou and Lagos as well as Badagry, Seme Podji

has been a focal point of economic activities along the region. Apart from being an essential transport vein in the ECOWAS sub-region, the route serves as "an essential part of the Abidjan-Lagos transport and migration corridor (ALTMC)". In other words, frontier towns and border markets also facilitates the transport of agricultural goods such as rice and cooking oil; while Benin imports goods from Europe and Asia and exports them to Nigerian markets.

Cross-border trade / CBT (formal/informal or illegal) along the border frontiers between Nigeria and Benin constitute the main point of contact and exchange of goods and services(illegal and legal trade activities) for both countries. This is not to ignore the fact that, majority of the traders along the border are women who usually encounter serious difficulties ranging from armed robbery attacks; excessive taxation; high level of corruption by security officials (particularly, Customs); intimidation; harassment; as well as stealing among some drivers, fellow women in cross border trade; fraud in market; charging of land money and the like (Jawando et al, 2012:33-35).

These however, jeopardized the activities of the women traders forcing them to employ new strategies of "bribery; treachery; and manipulation as well as transporting goods in different vehicles" in order to earn a means of sustenance. However, the interconnectivity of community cross-border interactions provides the reason for relatively peaceful relation and mutual understanding the sister countries enjoined. It also serves as an engine room for inter-states mutual integration and functional cooperation.

In sum, inter-state relations between Nigeria and the Republic of Benin centered much on the issues of cross-border security; criminality and armed attacked; illegal migration and porous border arrangement; as well as the dynamics of socio-economic development; the interactions of

different identities as well as the harmonization and integration of states policies toward national development of both states. However community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali straddling both Nigeria and Benin affected this peaceful relation hence, analyzing the nature of the conflict and its impacts to both states in the conduct of their relations is worth necessary.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Despite the fact that the Neo-functionalist theory underscore the significant role of actors in inter-state relations andviewed border communities as a trans-boundary interface involving different cultural, economic, political and ideological influences that preserve important channels of communication between local populations straddling international boundary, thetheory partially explain the Nigeria-Benin inter-state relations.

However, adequate explanation to the Lolo-Madecali border community conflict is yet to be explained. This study therefore, adoptsperspectives that use a combination of both the Neo-functionalist theory and theProtracted Social Conflict (PSC) model.

The PSC modelwas developed by Edward Azar in the 1990s. It explains the nature and dynamics of socio-communal conflict and the spill over-effects of such conflicton inter-state relations. The model concentrates on the genesis and maintenance of protracted conflicts and the role of communal identity in conflict situation.

Edward Azar is one of the leading Conflict Resolution and International Relations scholar who offered one of the first analytical attempts to comprehensively analyse and explain the protracted nature of socio-communal conflicts.

The influential seminal work of Dr. Edward Azar titled "TheManagement of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases (1990)", provides a theoretical conceptualization and foundation from which many PSC scholars have built on. Notable among them include: Fisher (2001); Oliver (2008); Rothman and Olson (2001) etc.

PSC is generally refers to conflicts described by such scholars as "protracted or intractable" that is, as complex, severe, commonly enduring, and often violent. Thus, Azar's work on PSC, offered an important explanation for the protracted quality of contemporary communal crises. He suggests an approach that is more appropriately suited to the characteristics of contemporary conflicts in territorial borders across nation-states. His work as argued by Miall (2002:5), concentrates on the genesis and maintenance of protracted conflicts.

The PSC as Edward Azar termed it denotes hostile interactions between communal groups that are based in deep-seated racial, ethnic, religious and cultural hatreds, and that persist over long periods of time with sporadic outbreaks of violence (Fisher, 2001:308). In other words, it is a conflict situation characterized by a prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, fair access to political institutions, economic participation and distributive justice (Oliver, 2008:84). When a group's identity is threatened or frustrated, intractable conflict is almost inevitable (Fisher, 2001:307).

Protracted conflict by its nature is distinct from other conflicts because of associated causes, actors, dynamics and processes that step by step create a very complex behavioural pattern between the contending entities or parties. For Azar, it is neither possible to trace the "clear starting" point nor to draw a clear terminating point of the conflict. This is because of the presence of a "mutually incompatible goal" between the conflicting parties that not only gives

birth to spirals of conflict but also deters any effective resolution initiatives. This kind of conflict is generally, resolution resistant due to its nature and process. Any attempt of resolving incompatibility in such conflicts mostly becomes unsuccessful due to the influence of existing national and global structural and systemic factors (Touhidul, 2013:2).

The hallmark of PSC is that the conflict lingers over a long period of time. Azar identifies the nature of PSC through the following statements:

> Protracted social conflict entails a vicious cycles of fear and hostile interactions among the communal contestants. With the continued stress of such conflict, attitudes, cognitive processes and perceptions become set and ossified… Meaningful communication between or among conflicting parties dries up, and the ability to satisfy communal acceptance needs is severely diminished (Azar, 1990, 17).

For Azar, the critical factor in PSC is that, it represented "the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fairaccess to political institutions and economic participation" (Azar, 1991:93). A PSC emerges "when communities are deprived of satisfaction of their basic needs on the basis of their communal identity". This makes a PSC "a societal problem for all those parties involved in conflicting socio-cultural-ethnic relationships amidst chronic underdevelopment" (Azar and Moong, 1986:31).

Roots of deep-rooted conflicts are very deeply "embedded in interpretative dynamics of past history, psychological relationships, cultural norms, social values and belief systems of identity group". These are primary issues that arrange a platform, which creates a nature of "hostile interactions" among individuals and groups within a nation-state or even outside it territorial borders (Touhidul, 2013:3).

The basic assumption of the PSC model lays emphasis on the fact that, the denial of basic human needs to a large portion of the population initiated instances of protracted social violence. Even though, the model did not show clearly the starting and terminating points of PSC, it emphasizes that the sources of such conflicts lay predominantly within (and across) societies or communities rather than between states.

In this, four preconditions are set forth as the predominant sources of PSC with variables identified as preconditions for their transformation to high levels of intensity namely: "communal content, deprivation of human needs, governance and the state's role, and international linkages" (Azar, 1990:6; Oliver, 2008:85-87).

The communal content of a society is the first and the most useful unit of analysis in PSC due to the existence of different identity groups like racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural etc. It argues that, people involved in PSC create their own identity groups which explain the reason why many people rely on their communal groups for easy identification and for the attainment of communal goals and objectives.

This is exclusively applicable to societies where governments are often unable, incapable or unwilling to provide basic human necessities to the population across the territorial jurisdiction. In this situation, individuals turn to their social groups for stability and survival. This led to the domination of certain identity groups over others across communal settings.

For Azar, the disjunction between societies and communities is linked to a colonial legacy which artificially imposed European ideas of territorial statehood onto *"*a multitude of communal groups" based on the principle of "divide and rule" (Oliver, 2008:85-86).

Secondly, Azar's model of PSC identified deprivation of human needs as the underlying source of PSC arguing that, conflict is viewed by the collective grievances of a group of people.In other words, all individuals aim at fulfilling their collective needs through their collective identity group.

The model distinguishes between different forms of needs such as "politicalaccess needs; security needs; and acceptance needs" (in their religious and cultural expression). Political needs are the right to have fair access and participate in societal politics; security needs is the material needs for the attainment of physical security, nutrition and housing; while acceptance needs point to the need for "distinctive identity" and its social recognition. Therefore, expressions of these needs are not negotiable. Failure to meet these needs necessitated the escalation of PSC which by its nature would lead to:

> a prolonged conflictual relationship characterized by the intermittent violent interactions between at least one non-state actor and another entity over an extended period of time sufficient to have become fully embedded into the social fabric of the conflict group(s) wherein issues of contentionare perceived by both actors to be inseparably linked to national, individual, and/or, societal needs, and are considered to be non-negotiable (Azar et. al. 1985:59, 1986:4; Friedman 1999:35).

Perhaps, if these human needs are not met, people will inevitably want a "structural change" to take place (Oliver, 2008:85; Touhidul, 2013:2) in the entire society. Such a need for structural change is likely to result in a violent conflict.

Thirdly, the model of PSC perceived government as the sole institution being "endowed with the authority to govern and use force where necessary in order to regulate society, protect citizens, and provide collective goods" (Azar, 1990:10). In other words, governance and the

state's role are critical factors in the satisfaction or frustration of individual and identity group needs.

The model argues that, wherever PSC exist, it is as a result of a "crisis of legitimacy" where "incompetent, parochial, fragile, and authoritarian governments fail to satisfy basic human needs" (Oliver, 2008:87). Such government is unbiased and impartial dominated by the leading identity groups or those groups that have been able to monopolise power within a community or territorial entity.

As such, there is the role of what Azar (1990:10) called "international linkages", which involves the "political-economic relations of economic dependency within the international economic system, and the network of political-military linkages constituting regional and global patterns of clientage and cross-border interest" (Oliver, 2008:87).

For Azar, (1990:11) modern states, particularly weak states who involve in PSC, are porous to the international forces operating within the wider global community whereby, "the formation of domestic social and political institutions and their impact on the role of the state are greatly influenced by the patterns of linkage within the international system".

However, Azar sets out some necessary determinants of PSC which provides the basis for open communal conflicts. This is what he called "Process Dynamics of Communal Actions and Events" (PDCAE) (Azar, 1990:12-15). The determinants are of three groups which include: "communal actions and strategies; state actions and strategies; and built-in mechanisms of conflict".

The first category involves the various processesof identity group formation, organisation and mobilisation, the emergence and nature of leadership, the choice of political goals (access,

autonomy, secession, revolutionary political programme) and tactics (civil disobedience, guerrilla war), and the scope and nature of externalities.

State actions and strategies form the second main element, with governing individuals and elites at any one time theoretically facing an array of policy choices running from different forms of political accommodation at one end of the spectrum to "coercive repression (CR)" or "instrumental co-option (IC)" at the other. In other words, the role of the state (as also linkages with other states) was to satisfy or frustrate basic communal needs, thus preventing or promoting conflict (Azar, 1990: 10-12).

Finally, there are various self-reinforcing built-in mechanisms of conflict which Azar traces the processes through which mutually exclusionary experiences, fears and belief systems generates reciprocal negative images which perpetuate communal antagonisms and solidify PSC. In other words, antagonistic group hostilities, exclusionist myths, demonizing propagandaand dehumanizing ideologies serve to justify discriminatory policies and legitimize atrocities.

To point out the strengths of the PSC model,it should be noted that, the model stresses the importance of national identity over individual group identity. In other words, it clearly explains the necessity of addressing the problem of communal conflict that has long historical origin rooted from the colonial imposition of territorial boundaries particularly in the West African settings.

It points out the need to design a conflict resolution framework that specifically address the grievances, needs, and identities of the conflicting parties along border zones so as to promote social harmony, societal cohesion and integration for peaceful co-existence and functional co-operation across territorial entities.

The model also looks at security on a multiplicity of levels involving human and material security towards realizing the potentials of particular societies, states and territorial entities. Thus, achieving greater level of security will prevent socio-communal conflict and will help in promoting corrupt free society where constituent population enjoins distributive justice and tranquility. In other words, the PSC model points out that, the structure of the government needs to be changed so that all citizens (particularly, the border communities which are often neglected) are equally cared for and equally represented without bias or corruption.

Azar's model of PSC also advocates the need for governing authorities to build strong institutions that can ease global dependency and stimulate domestic economic growth. This stresses the relevance of the NBCs of Nigeria and Beninand their programmestoward development of the border communitiesfor proper integration of the people across the border.

However, the over-recognition of "communal identity and human needs (CIHN)" is the major criticism of the PSC. The model assumes that managing communal conflict across territorial borders will be achieved through addressing the underlying concerns of the conflicting parties or communities involved such as needs, grievances, fears and identity, but itdid not properly spelt out the strategies for addressing such communal conflict.

Azar's framework is not a theory of conflict, but a model for locating the chief sources of contemporary conflict. He pointed out the significance of mobilized identities (MI), weak states and disputed sovereignty (WSDS) as chief sources of major armed conflict but he fails to categorically prioritize the underlying concerns of the conflict parties involved in any PSC.

Similarly, Azar emphasizes the notion of "deprivation of human needs" as the root source of communal conflict. But he did not put into cognisance the issue of rationality, what "to" and

what “not to” in societal interactions. In other words, the question of who deprive “what” should be explained in details in analysing the entire groups of people who engaged in PSC. In short, he fails to strategize how to achieve the needs and values of different communal groups that engage in identity conflictwhichcan lead to PSC.

Even though, Azar acknowledged the significance of reducing the levels of underdevelopment as a conflict resolution mechanism in overcoming communal conflict (particularly in reducing “overt conflict (OVC)”), he fails to explain the clear strategy for conflict resolution. In other words, Azar took the credit of pointing out the problematic issues involve in communal conflict, but he did not strategize how to ameliorate underdevelopment in conflict situation; and also in reducing communal conflict.

Unfortunately, instead of viewing conflict resolution through the traditional techniques like principled negotiation and facilitative mediation or problem-solving initiative, the PSC model points out three preconditions in managing communal conflicts as proposed by Azar and Burton, (1986:12; Azar 1990:11) namely: “the importance of managing ethnic dominance; countering lack of economic opportunity; and remedying government inability to protect minorities”. Proper analyses of such phenomena in border community conflicts remain controversial. Nevertheless, Azar’s model of PSC offered a hopeful beginning in border conflict discourse and analysis.

The appropriateness of Neo-functionalist theory and the PSC Model to this study is reflected in the fact that, the two theories involve individuals, the networks of social relations, bordereland communities as well as institutionalised structures (such as the NBCs, the ECOWAS, local and national governments).

Both the Neo-functionalist theory and the PSC Model help explained the reasons for inter-state relations thereby facilitating cross-border relations between Nigeria and Benin and integration agenda of ECOWAS in the West African region. Both the neo-functionalist theory and the PSC Model are appropriate in analysing this study because they emphasises the central role that state actors plays in shaping inter-state relations.

Starting with the Neo-functionalist theory, the theory explains the multiple ties and interactions linking people and institutions across the borders of nation-states, which is a factor in analysing the Nigeria-Benin inter-state relations within the regional integration agenda of the ECOWAS Commission and its Cross-border initiative Programmes.

The Neo-functionalist theory is appropriate in analysing cross-border cooperation, functional governance, effective institutions, greater linkages and expanded cooperation in politics and economy between the Lolo and Madecali border communities straddling Nigeria and Benin.

The PSC model was found relevantto this study because, it helped the researcher to understand the complex nature and dynamics of communities and their identity formation prevalent in the Lolo and Madecali border region of Nigeria and Benin.

In other words, it gives an ample understanding of the factors necessary for communal interactions and their inter-relationships across political borders that have their root from the 19th century by the Western colonialists. In this, the PSC model provides the reason behind retorritarialization of Lolo and Madecali border communities based on their identities, being and belonging. Also, the issue of communal acquisition of territory and their claim, the legal status of

nationhood as well as the question of identity or ethnic settlement along the Lolo and Madecali border zone was explained properly.

Similarly, the right to, and claim overland in the border region of Lolo and Madecali isexplained appropriately using the PSC model. This provides a detail background of the reason for the 2009 communal conflict over farmland in the vdisputed area of Tungan-Kungi. In other words, the perceived tension over land ownership and the struggle to have access to farming activities among the peasants in the two communities of Lolo and Madecali is analyzed accordingly.

Additionally, the PSC model provides an understanding of the nature and characteristics of ethno-communal relationships across Lolo and Madecali border zone thereby tracing the historical origin of such communities and their pattern of interactions. The model helpedthe researcher to analyze in historical perspective, the forces that determine the increasing nature of border community conflict, its impacts, and the pattern of interactions (formal and informal) between Nigeria and Benin Republic within the Lolo and Madecali context. This is by the use of more critical understanding of the dominant characteristics and major changes that took place in the two communities (particularly, socio-economic) which spills-over to broader relations between Nigeria and Benin.

As such, building on the fact that both Nigeria and Benin belongs to a regional organisation (the ECOWAS) that its community members have been hitherto splitted into different entities creating intra and inter-states boundaries by the Western colonialists, understanding how these countries attempt to address the menace of communal disputes across their political frontiers is worth necessary. Thus, Azar's model was found suitable in addressing

the dynamics of inter-state relations along borderlands of Lolo and Madecali as well as cross-border economic cooperation programme between Nigeria and Benin.

In a nutshell, the Neo-functionalist theory and the PSC model remain the powerful tools of analysis in explaining the fundamental sources of cross-border community conflict and the nature of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin. In order words, theyhelped the researcher to examine vividly the nature and the root causes of the cross-border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali; analyse the pattern of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin as well as emphasising the significance of incorporating the border communities of Lolo and Madecali to cross-border cooperation and mutual integration.

CHAPTER THREE:METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methods employed in the study. It outlines the method and sources of data that were used, as well as the instruments adopted in analyzing the data. A detailed presentation of field experience is also presented, including the strategies used in overcoming some of the difficulties that the researcher encountered.

3.1 Research Design

The study employs the qualitative research method through an empirical survey by conducting specialized interviews, Focus Group Discussions and direct observation. In other words, interactions with respondents are organized systematically and information was sourced through specialized interviews.

The interviews focus on three social groups: administrative bureaucrats (namely, governmental officials from the Lolo and Madecali border communities; state actors (principally, the National Boundary Commissions of Nigeria and Benin NBCs (being the statutory body responsible for managing international boundaries) and ECOWAS Commission, Abuja the sub-regional organisation responsible for inter-states/regional cooperation and integration); and members of the two communities who are the victims of the 2009 community cross-border conflict. In the entire process, premium wasplaced on the identification of root causes of the border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali and its impact on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin.

3.2 Sources of Data

This research was conducted using both the primary and secondary sources of data. For the primary sources, data were collected from an empirical survey in the ECOWAS Commission,

the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin, and the border communities of Lolo (in Bagudu Local Government Area of Kebbi State) and the MadecaliCommune (in the Benin Republic). The objective of the field surveywas to obtain data through observation and direct request.

The research also makes use of secondary sources which addresses factors that include geographical conditions and basic statistics of the border area, their infrastructural conditions, socio-economic structure and development. Secondary data sources include the NBCs Legal Documents (The Act establishing the Commissions; Proceedings of the Joint Standing Committee of Experts (JSCE) on the Delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin International Boundary; Joint Parity Agreements / JPA (Trans-Border Agreements / TBA duly signed by the two countries); As well as the ECOWAS instruments and official reports namely:

The ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiative Programmes; the ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Person, the Right of Residence and Establishment, (this Protocol has significant implications for the role of boundaries in inter-state relations and cooperation); ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security (1999); ECOWAS Vision 2020; ECOWAS Communiqués (that is, official minutes of deliberations of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Governments, as well as Council of Ministers, Mediation and Security Council, ECOWAS Commission etc) and ECOWAS Annual Reports.

Also, the propositions, works and the Preparatory Meeting of Experts on the African Union Border Programme (AUBP) as well as the 2002 African Union Memorandum of Understanding on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA),

leading to the delimitation and demarcation of African boundaries were found as of immense sources of data.

The study also utilized official records from the two countries toward preventing border conflict, promoting and enhancing inter-state relations and socio-economic development; as well as relevant information from published and unpublished documents, journals, books, magazines and newspapers. Kashim Ibrahim Library and J. F. Kennedy Libraryat Kongo (all of ABU Zaria)as well as the Libraries of the ECOWAS Commission and that of the NBC of Nigeriawere of great significance to this study. In the entire process, both primary and secondary sources of data were applied where suitable.

3.3 Population of the Study

The respondents for this study are thirty-one (31) individuals from Lolo and Madecali border communities;seven (7)border security officials (Customs, Immigration and Gendarmes present at the border area); as well as seven (officials) officials from the ECOWAS Commission, five (5) the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin (being the standing institutions in charge with the responsibility to liaise with neighbouring states to ensure a good and friendly border region).

A purposive sampling was chosen with regard to officials in the ECOWAS, NBCs etc while informant interviews and focus group discussions were the basis for gaining responses from the residents of the two communities of Lolo and Madecali. This is because the communities are the victims to the 2009 conflicts and whoundertake recurrent daily activities along theborder route.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

The study employs Qualitative research method in understanding the nature of the Lolo and Madecali border community conflicts and its impact on inter-state relations between Nigeria

and Benin. The study was carried out in Lolo and Madecali border communities of Nigeria and Benin whereby individual interviews and FGDs was conducted in each community of the two countries.

The study gathered data from the national and sub-national levels in Nigeria and Benin: At the central level, individual interviews were conducted in Abuja and Porto Novo with representatives of the NBCs. At the sub-national level, interviews were conducted in Bagudu Local Government and Malanville Commune with representatives from the authorities in the area.

At the local level, interviews and Focus Group Discussions were conducted in Lolo and Madecali. Interviews were conducted following consultation with local authorities regarding sensitive areas along the border. Thus, individual interviews with government personnel and security providers, like the FGDs, were conducted in the communities of Lolo and Madecali.

Primary data was collected from affected community leaders, victims, youths and religious leaders comprising members from both communities of Lolo and Madecalias as well as market men and women using focus group discussions (FGDs). Key Informant Interviews (KII) with staffs from the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin, the ECOWAS Commission; Security officials (Gendermerie, Customs and Immigration) and the residents of the border communities of Lolo and Madecali provided further primary research data.

The number of key informant interviews varies as well, based on purposive sampling conducted. Officials from NBCs and the ECOWAS Commission were selected based on the special knowledge they have on the subject matter and of their official designation. In total, 26 KII were conducted in the study while six (6)session of FGDs (comprising 5 participants each

and with 1 FGD where 6 participants participated), were also conducted. Totaling the number of participants in the FGDs and KII, this research collected primary data from 57 individuals.

The perception of respondents on the border conflictsbetween Lolo and Madecali were gauged through asking specific questions to the target group. By capturing multiple voices and perspectives about the conflicts situation, the researcher was able to deduce salient features of the structural causes of border conflict in Lolo and Madecali and its impacts on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin.In a chronological order, the study was carried out using the following methodological tools:

3.4.1 Individual Interviews with Officials in the ECOWAS Commission

The researcher carried out seven (7) individual interviews with officials in the ECOWAS Commission. They comprisedfour (4) from the Directorate of Political Affairs; one (1) from the Directorate of Trade and Free Movement; one (1) from Peace and Security Directorate; and one (1) from Early Warning Directorate.

The reason for these interviews was to generate accurate and reliable data from experts who specializes on inter-state relations and cross-border security and integration. In other words, proper attention was given to officials in the ECOWAS Commission to understand the pattern of West African regional integration and functional cooperation.

3.4.2 Individual Interviews with Officials in the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin Republic

The study carried out five (5) individual interviews with officials in the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin. They comprisedthree (3) from the Nigerian NBC and two (2) from the Integrated Border Management Agency (formerly NBC) of Benin.

In other words, interviews were conducted with key officials in different Departments of the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin particularly, the Departments of International Boundaries and

Inter-State Boundaries being established to "resolve boundary disputes, define the boundary, determine the boundary in one hand; and to handle issues related to cross-border cooperation as well as to research on matters related to borders" (Interview, 09/06/2016).

The aim of these interviews was to better understand the border security context and the opportunities and constraints in the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi. The interviews focused on key issues with regard to the border conflictsbetween Lolo and Madecali, its impact between Nigeria and Benin as well as border management issues and recommendations for improving border management.

3.4.3 Individual Interviews with Security Officials (Gendarmes, Customs and Immigration) in the Lolo-Madecali Border Station / Dole-Kaina Control Post

The study carried out seven (7) individual interviews with personnel from various services stationed at border posts. This included two (2) representatives from the gendarmerie (Benin); three (3) from immigration (NIS) and two (2) from the customs (NCS), who are responsible for the provision of security to border communities.

The aim of the interviews was to enhance understanding of the perceptions of security personnel stationed at the border regarding security issues. The interviews focused on each interviewee's perception of their role and responsibilities, training and equipment needs, and communication methods with other security providers and local communities.

3.4.4 Focus Group Discussions with the Residents of Lolo and Madecali

The study conducted six (6)sessions of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) in the border communities of Lolo and Madecali, with approximately thirty-one (31) individuals participating in the FGDs. Two sessions (2) of FGDs were conducted with market women; two (2) with

businessmen;one (1) with community leaders / elders; and one (1) with the victims of the 2009 conflicts.

With the exception of the adult (community leaders), each FGD included five participants. The adult FGDs included six participants in order to allow for each community to feel adequately represented and to gain qualitative information about the community's attitudes to the conflict and territorial claim over Tungan-Kungi.

The purpose of the FGDs was to seek first hand information and listen to the residents of Lolo and Madecali border communities so as to build an understanding based on their ideas and experiences about what has happened or what is happening within their communities.

Another reason for the FDGs with the residents of Lolo and Madecali is because the research was qualitative in nature. Qualitative research however, deals with "explanations of social phenomena and find answers to the questions like: how opinions and attitudes are formed; why people behave the way they do; how and why cultures have developed in the way they have; how people are affected by the events that go on around them; and the differences between social groups" (Hancock, et al; 2009:7). In other words, a Qualitative research method as argued by Creswell (2003:21), is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (that is, the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed) or advocacy/participatory perspectives (that is, issue-oriented, collaborative, or change oriented) or both.

Prior to conducting the FGDs and KII, ethics approval was sought and obtained. Participants at the FGDs explained their rights regarding the research and each participant gave informed consent verbally and was recorded accordingly.

In Lolo, data was collected in the new settlement of the victims of former Tungan-Kungi; the Lonzon Palace; market area; worship centre; and city centre where many IDPs still live. However, in Madecali data was collected from the Meyr's Palace; City centre and Market area. A summary of categories of persons interviewed was listed in Table 1 while appendix G provides a full list of those interviewed.

Figure 1: Categories of Persons Interviewed

COUNTRY	AGENCY	COMMUNITY	NATURE OF INTERVIEW	NUMBEROF PERSONS INTERVIEWED
	ECOWAS		KII	7
BENIN	NBC (BIBMA)		KII	2
	Gendarmerie		KII	2
	Community Leaders	Madecali	KII	3 (2)
	Businessmen	Madecali	FGDs	5
	Market women	Madecali	FGDs	5
NIGERIA	NBC		KII	3
	Benin Embassy		KII	2
	NIS		KII	3
	NCS		KII	2
	BCDA		KII	1
	Community Leaders	Lolo	FGDs	3 (2)
	Businessmen/ Youths	Lolo	FGDs	5
	Victim(s) / Peasants	Tungan-Kungi	FGDs	5
	Market women	Lolo	FGDs	5
TOTAL:				**57**

Source: Compiled by the Researcher (2017)

NB: Numbers in brackets indicate that, in a situation where expected numbers of participants of the FGDs are not available, other categories are incorporated to fill the vacant.

In sum, the researcher undertook a qualitative research method (which involves the In-depth interviews, FGDs and direct observation) in order to gain a broader understanding of the nature of community cross-border conflict and its impact on inter-state relations within the West African sub-region, and more specifically, the Lolo-Madecali border region of Nigeria and

Benin. The researcher was able to deducefrom the perceptions of the Lolo and Madecali border communities, the nature of the border conflict between the two settings and its impacts on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin.

3.5Method of Analysis

The method of analysis adopted in this study was the descriptive research method based on analytical skills. A descriptive research involves a detailed rendering of information about people, places, or events in a setting (Creswell, 2003:195). Data were organized categorically and chronologically whereby taped interviews were transcribed accordingly. Field notes and diary entries were reviewed regularly in order to validate the accuracy of findings.

Also, the research questions and the interview guides were afterwards analyzed through information obtained from the respondents. Valid inferences were made based on similarities and differences in the responses.

CHAPTER FOUR
BORDER COMMUNITY CONFLICTBETWEEN NIGERIA AND BENIN REPUBLIC

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of the data collected in the field. It focuses on the Lolo and Madecali border communities of Nigeria and Benin. The chapter dwells on the relationships between the border communities of the two states and how that affects the pattern of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin. More specifically, it identifies the nature of the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali over Tungan-Kungi area; analyses the relationships, attitudes and perceptions of the border communities towards each other; assesses trust levels between the two communities and specifically, the 2009 border conflict between the two entities.

Data was also presented and analysed to show the effectiveness of the mechanisms put in place in resolving the border conflict between Lolo and Madecali for peaceful cross-border interactions and inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin. As highlighted earlier in chapter three, the researcher generated both primary and secondary data including interview, FGDs, etc as utilized in the course of analyses.

This chapter is divided into the following sections: the first section provides an analysis of the factors responsible for community cross-border conflict between Nigeria and Benin.The second sectionanalyses the legal instruments defining the delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin boundary as well as the nature and impacts of the border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali communities.

While the third section section examines the effectiveness of the mechanisms adopted by the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin in resolving the border conflict, the chapter concludes by

summarizing the major findings of the study and verifies the research assumptions vis-à-vis the available data.

4.1 Factors Responsible for Community Cross-Border Conflicts in West Africa

4.1.1 The Colonial Legacy and the Fragmentation of West African Societies

Despite the fact that, almost all the border communities straddling political frontiers in the West African sub-region lies in a region of mixed communities, data obtained from the field clearly shows that, colonial legacy and the fragmentation of the West African societies are the major factors responsible for community cross-border conflicts in the region. This view corroborates probably with some writers (leading scholars) on the West African boundaries.

For instance, Ahmad(2014) who is of the opinion that, it was purely the colonial delimitation and demarcation of boundaries in the sub-region that led to present outbreaks of conflicts; others, for instance (Barkindo, 1992), as well as research like (NIPSS, 1987; NBC 2007) has no hesitation about the nature of the colonial imposed boundaries (its impact was on balance either a blessing or at worst not harmful for West Africa).

Others like (Asiwaju, 1984; Dunmoye et al, 2014; Adetula, 2014; Fawole, 2014 etc) who have devoted themselves virtually to the defense of the West Africa institutions, concluded that the imposed boundaries stands out as one of the most powerful engines for separating as well as segregating socio-communal and territorial settings in the history of independent states in West Africa.

To buttress the view on the arbitrary nature of the West African borders, Asiwaju, (1984) and Dunmoye et al, (2014) argued that, West African colonial boundaries were decided upon in Europe by negotiators with little consideration for local conditions. Territories were carved up

and carved out in spite of pre-existing social formation that cut across different ethno-cultural areas; dividing pre-existing economic and social units and distorting the patterns of interactions.

The resultant boundary regime on the one hand, lumped together diverse (and at times, conflicting groups) in the same territorial configuration, while on the other hand, it sliced through homogenous culture areas, dividing some groups into contrasting spheres of European interests (Afigbo, 1985:493). In other words, numerous independent clan and lineage groups, city-states, kingdoms and empires, are arbitrarily marked as political boundaries (Interview, 09/06/2016). Thus, colonial history bequeathed to West Africa some legacies that have contributed to shaping the structure of border conflicts in the region.

Asiwaju (1984),Afigbo (1985) and Dunmoye et al(2014) agreed that, some of the borders in the region were drawn as straight lines, while others often cut across ethnic and linguistic boundaries. In other words, communities who are previously related and politically united found themselves on opposite sides of the boundary lines. This creates room for community cross-border conflicts along the border regions in West Africa. Afigbo (1985:493) alludes that, foreign rule transformed the political map of West Africa whereby countless sovereign states and communities that hitherto existed as independent territories were now partitioned arbitrarily with shifting and at times vague frontiers.

Colonialism however, haphazardly segregates territories that are initially one and the same. As a result of these demarcations, the Wolof and Mandinga ethnic groups were divided by the borderlines separating Senegal and The Gambian; while some of the Ewe lives in Ghana, some in Togo and some in Benin.

One important consequence of this situation has been the chronic border conflicts that have plagued the relations between these independent states. The boundary disputes between these entities are directly or indirectly related to the artificiality and arbitrariness of the inherited colonial boundaries. The Ghana-Togo border conflict mirrored irredentism whereby Togo supported the unification of Ewe-speaking peoples within the ambit of Togo, while issue of smuggling remains the focus discourse in the Senegal-Gambia inter-state relations (Asiwaju, 1984).

4.1.2 Inter-Group Competition for Scarce Environmental Resources

Inter-group competition for scarce environmental resources (land and water) is also another factor responsible for border community conflicts in West Africa. Most border communities fight for control of farmland that is not properly delimited and demarcated.

Scholars like (Alao 2007, Maze, 2015 etc) argued that, farmland as well as land ownership, management and control have been linked to conflict across territorial borders in various ways: scarcity of useful land; conflicting laws governing land tenure; boundary disputes and conflicting claims over specific portions of land; arguments over landlord-tenant arrangements; racial imbalance of land ownership; the clash of spiritual considerations with economic and political realities; increasing population densities especially when a rapid influx of outsiders occurs; and land-labour relations among others. However, large expanse of fertile land and huge surface, rendered West African geographical space best suited for agricultural development hence, creates room for communal conflicts.

In any communal setting, different groups consider different pieces of land important for different reasons which affect the nature of communal interactions across territorial entities.This

is because, “territory might be considered crucial because of what it represents: national homeland, or for what commodities are located there, or because of its agricultural fertility. Land and natural resources are key assets for economic development, food security, and poverty reduction” (Interview, 09/06/2016). This is the case particularly between cattle herders and settler farmers in the Sahel region mostly in Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Burkina Faso, and Niger Republic etc.

Claim over land by communities in West Africa has strong historical attachment which shaped the pattern of activities in the region as farming became the major source of income and means of sustenance. In other words, scarcity has also increased the value of farmland in the region, making its ownership all the more desirable. This is why Alao (2007:63) pointed out that, farmland is “undoubtedly the most important natural resources because land and resources are vital for the livelihoods, income, and employment of a large portion of the population”.

The strategic issue of territory and resources was thus addressed by scholars for quite long. Bujra (2002:5) for instance, emphasized that, claims over borders could be said as one of the major sources of territorial disputes or border conflicts in West Africa. This is because “many borders were imprecise; some borders were straddled by a large ethnic group considered strategic by one side of the border; some borders passed through strategic terrain desired by countries on both sides of the border; some borders passed by areas rich with mineral resources all of which fell on one side of the border, thus excluding the other country”. In short, most of the boundary lines and shared resources are not clear for the affected border communities.

4.1.3 Underdevelopment of Borderland Communities

Another factor responsible for the community cross-border conflicts in the West Africa is the underdevelopment of the borderland communities. Absence or shortage of infrastructures like roads, water schemes, schools and healthy institutions stands as a motivating factor for border conflicts.

This is why scholars like (Asiwaju, 1984; 2014; Ola, 2012; Dunmoye, 2014 etc.) agitated for well planned development of the border communities in terms of all infrastructural facilities such as physical infrastructures, economic facilities, social amenities and government presence. For Asiwaju (2014), the neglect of border areas especially when it comes to the provision of infrastructure and core state services has been a contributory factor responsible for border community conflicts.

In explaining the gravity of the situation, Dunmoye (2014)illustrates that the situation is similar to most border communities in West Africa where lack of socio-economic infrastructure is present. Because of their geographical location, communities across the border are neglected in terms of access to essential public services such as health and educational facilities, security services, lack of strong and adequate institutional capacity etc.

Paradoxically, the consequence underdevelopment of borderland communities and their artificial condition creates numerous cross-border challenges like cross-border migration, refugee flows, as well as circulation of heterogeneous armed groups and illegal trafficking etc.Critical example includesthe long Casamance region in Senegal. Due to the weak integration of the Casamance region in Senegal and the long history of war of the Bissau Guinean state,

community cross-bordr conflict characterizes the nature of Senegal-Guinea Bissau borderland of Kolda and Sitato-Cuntima and Cambaju (Ola, 2012).

Thus, the Lolo-Madecali border exemplifies the fludity of West African borders. The border was divided by the British and French colonialists. However, due to its haphazard nature, it threatened interactions among the two communities even long after decades of independence. This forms the discussion in the next segment of our analysis.

4.2 The Lolo and Madecali Border Communities of Nigeria and Benin: An Overview

This section looks at the historical background of Lolo and Madecali border communities as well as the pattern of interactions between the two communities. It begins by examining the geographical and socio-economic profiles of the borderlands as well as the politico-administrative restructuring of the area.

4.2.1 Socio-Economic and Historical Context of Lolo and Madecali

The study area comprises of two different communities namely Lolo and Madecali. The Lolo-Madecali border communities were settled along the banks of the River Niger that passes through Dole-Kaina and Bakin-Wuya. Based on observation and interview conducted with community leaders, two ethnic groups (namely, Dendi and Zarma) consider themselves natives to the area (Interview, 30/03/2017). The region was situated on the fringe of pre-colonial socio-political entities of the Hausa and the Borgu territories.

Far from being an autonomous political entity, the Dendis are connected by a similar language known as Dendi. The term Dendi means “down the river” in Songhay which is used to refer to two different regions in West Africa: the southernmost historical province of the Songhai

Empire (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries), located downstream from the capital of Gao, and the contemporary border area intersected by Niger River between Niger, Benin, and Nigeria (Walther, 2012:77). It is argued that conquerors coming from the declining Songhai Empire of Gao are said to have "come on foot" and form the Dendi identity (Walther, 2012:77).

Observation from the field clearly shows that other ethnic groups like the Hausa and the Fulani are present in the area. In other words, all the ethnic groups in the area live on either side of the border area of Lolo and Madecali. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted with community leaders showed that, the Fulani and some few Dendi graze their cattle on either sides of Lolo and Madecali in the dry season (approximately November to May), and move to lands along the Dole-Kaina and Bakin-Wuya area of River Niger during the rainy season (June to October).

In addition, they engage in simple cultivation. The Fulani had thus developed a pattern of movement with their cattle during the dry season from their area to the rangelands of the banks of the River Niger in the Illo district of Lolo area (Interview, 30/03/2017). Both the Zarma and the Hausa had relatively good relations with the Dendi.

Community leaders in the area opined that all the ethnic groups lived in varying degrees of cross-cultural cooperation and ethno-linguistic integration. The Dendi married Zarma girls; Hausa boys were given Zarma girls too; the Zarma lived in the nearby Dendi villages straddling Lolo and Madecali; milk and grain were thus exchanged, which benefited all the groups. There was frequent intermarriage, exchange of cattle and mingling of settlements. (Interview, 30/03/2017). In this way, many Hausa and Zarma came to live permanently with the Dendi in the area.

Participants in the FGDs conducted with community leaders in both Lolo and Madecali also confirmed that, the Zarma are central to the socio-political fabric of the area. They traced their origin from Niger Republic in the ancient times. The incorporation of the Dendi into the Zarma of Madecali introduced a new category of people of largely Hausa origin (mainly from Argungu), the number of whom has grown in the course of time through spontaneous migrants of diverse ethnic backgrounds making a living as peasants, fishermen, traders and civil servants (Interview, 30/03/2017).

The major trading activities in the border region of Lolo and Madecali is farming (mainly rice, maize and millet); fishing along the River Niger cutting across Bakin-Wuya, Dole-Kaina and Lolo; as well as cattle rearing and ranching (cattle for farming mainly cows; and others for rearing) (Interview, 30/03/2017). In other words, they are predominantly pastoralists, fishermen and cattle-rearers. This physical and numerical setting partly explains its socio-economic activities and strategic sensitivity.

In spite of its historical importance as a frontier between highland business areas, political analysts have generally ignored the region. This economic opportunity was attributed to the nature of the area been fertile, loamy and flexible for market oriented society (Interview, 30/03/2017).

The rise of Lolo and Madecali as regional commercial centres,arosed from their strategic location on the border with three West African countries namely: Nigeria, Niger and Benin. Both Lolo and Madecali however, were divided between French and English colonial powers in the early twentieth century and then by three nation-states of Nigeria, Benin and Niger in the early 1960s. Petty trade had been present since colonial times, but it was only after the independence

of these states that the region emerged as a commercial hub specialized on regional agricultural products (rice, millet, maize), manufactured goods (second hand cars and clothes, cement, cigarettes), and oil (Mangut, 2013:12).

Such development was mainly due to alien traders activities in Lolo and Madecali. In other words, the area witnessed arrival of businessmen from elsewhere in Niger, Benin and some part of Nigeria. These new immigrants were strongly attracted by opportunities in the border region and turned the Dendi into a regional economic centre. (Interview, 30/03/2017). Some of the large entrepreneurs of the region have become important actors in the local urban market.

Majority of Zarma and Hausa merchants that settled in Dendi area came from other regions of Niger Republic and West African countries. This is expressed in an Interview conducted with the Village Head of Lolo who illustrated that these merchants contributed not only to the growth of Lolo and Madecali, but also to the prominence of the three main border markets of Dendi: Malanville (Benin), Kamba (Nigeria), and Gaya (Niger)(Interview, 02/04/2017). The area has both a strong chiefdom and a booming border market dominated by recent immigrants.

Also business/market men confirmed that, since the 1980s when Lolo-Madecali emerged as an international commercial center, the merchant elites have become more active in local real estate markets (Interview, 05/04/2017). They illustratedhow investors became most interested in agricultural land situated in the Niger River Valley on the periphery of the towns of Lolo and Madecali.

For new immigrants from other parts of Niger and neighboring countries, acquiring land is one of the only ways to invest in agricultural production. Internal growth and the influx of

migrants encouraged by the trading opportunities close to the border subsequently reorganized the dense urban space of the neighborhood (Interview, 30/03/2017). Traders became important actors in the urban real estate market as land speculators but also as developers of industrial areas for warehouses that supported booming commerce.

In a nutshell, micro trade links among cross-border traders between Lolo and Madecali has long historical origin. In other words, there is strong economic interdependence between the border communities. This played a significant role in enhancing mutual cross-border cooperation, integration and peaceful coexistence in the past. However, both communities are clog under the conflict of farmland and territorial claim.

4.2.2 Administrative and Political Restructuring of Lolo and Madecali

Due to the ethnographic nature of Lolo and Madecali which are traced to the Illo ancestries and to their close proximity to the Nigeria-Benin-Niger tri-point on the River Niger in the Borgu area, the borderland of both communities were situated along Dole-Kaina of Niger Republic and Bakain-Wuya along River Niger in north-western area. Based on interview conducted with the respondent, it is clear that, the Lolo-Madecali border region is located in the north-western Nigerian lowlands, bordering the Malanville Commune of Benin (Interview, 30/03/2017).

As an area of old Borgu, Lolo-Madecali border stretched from the north-western part of present-day Nigeria to the north-eastern part of present-day Benin Republic. It stretched from Illo to the north in Kebbi State of Nigeria, to Malanville Commune to the west in Benin Republic (Mangut, 2013:1). Both the Lolo-Madecali people still share similarity in cultural traits and

language despite their divergent domiciliation. Starting in the late nineteenth century the British and French worked to expand the dominion of their colonies of Nigeria and Benin respectively.

Be that as it may,the splitting up of Lolo-Madecali communities into smaller units started from the partitining of Africa following the Berlin Conference of 1884 and 1885. Thus France secured Malanville and almost two-thirds of Borgu Kingdom territories in the present-day Benin Republic while the remaining portion went to the British in present-day Nigeria (Brownlie, 1979:171; International Boundary Study, 1969: 6-12).

The British on their part named their own portion as Borgu Province and further split it into a northern and a southern division. It was however in the administrative reorganization of 1991 that the Northern Division was cut out and it became Borgu Local Government Area in Niger State while Illo and Kaoje became Bagudu Local Government Area in Kebbi State (Mangut, 2013:2).

The Lolo-Madecali area is known for Deni and Zarma with different means of survival. The agrarian Zarma had developed a more centralized political system, consisting of village heads led by nobles known as Myer, whereas the agro-pastoralist Dendi were led by clan chiefs called Lonzon, and the Hausa were more egalitarian with traditional socio-political organizations.

This was captured in an interview conducted with community leaders in both communities who stresses that. although they are linguistically interrelated and engage in various forms of social and economic exchanges, they nevertheless form distinct ethnic communities, the Dendis are peasant farmers of rice, maize and millet; the Zarmas are predominantly cultivators;

while the Hausa practice transhumance pastoralism (Interview, 31/03/2017). Also, they all combine fishing actives along the banks of River Niger close to the area.

Observation from the field clearly indicates that, from the south-west of Lolo (about fifteen kilometers), to the north-east of Madecali (along the right bank of River Niger) is a small settlement called Tungan-Kungi (the disputed settlement between Lolo and Madecali notably known as a small community of farmers and fishermen). Tungan-Kungi is so sensitive to both Lolo and Madecali leading to border conflict in 2009.

The community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali erupted on March 1st, 2009 over the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi straddling the two communities of Nigeria and Benin. The borderconflict was based on territorial claim over boundary, lack of clear delimitation and demarcation of the borderlands, communal identity along with national identity as well as competition over scarce resources (mainly, farmland).

It is clearly shown by the observation conducted by the researcher that, to get to the abandoned settlement one would have to make a journey of about fifteen minutes or more by speed boat, when leaving directly from the present-day settlement, or travel by road to Dole-Kaina, a village at the extreme eastern edge of the River Niger, and then for about ten minutes by speed boat to get to the island.

The Niger River has made the place to be an island stretching for about some minutes in all directions, when the River is at its fullest. The vegetation of the island (where the seasonal flooding of the River does not get to), appears sparse with more shrubs than tree plants (Interview, 30/03/2017).

However, from Madecali to Tunga-Kungi, most of the area is affected by flooding from the Niger River. What is left is only an area from north-west to south-east along the River. Observation from the the field shows that, the area is sandy in some places and rocky in others. Seen on the surface are pieces of pottery, glass, nails and other materials associated with the present-day settlements. Also conspicuously seen are remnants of a market place, some worshipping centers as well as a public well.

The disputed area called Tungan-Kungi is a border settlement between Lolo and Madecali. It is a small settlement with rich natural resources which attracts attention by the two communities. Strategic resources particularly the large expanse of fertile land and huge surface rendered the region best suited for agricultural development.

Interactions with community leaders of formerly Tungan-Kungi vindicates that, Tungan-Kungi is made up of three (3) social groups namely: Dendi (with Dandanci as their local tribe); Zarma (with Zabarmanci as their tribe) and the Hausa (with Hausa as their tribe). The real residents of Tungan-Kungi are Dendi even though their language and culture have intermingled slightly with the Zarma (who are linked to Niger Republic particularly in the Department of Doso, Diffa and Agadez) (Interview, 30/03/2017). The Hausa on the other hand, are from Argungu of Kebbi state in Nigeria (with their tribal mark as a symbol of identification).

Historically, those in control of political authority in Tungan-Kungi are the Zarma while those in major trading activities are the Kenga-Kwai and Kenga-Kwaira but the real residents of Tungan-Kungi are the Dendi (Interview, 30/03/2017). Participants who participated in the FGDs with the former residents of Tungan-Kungi indicate that, these various groups inhabiting the area pursue diverse livelihood strategies including farming, fishing and cattle rearing.

In a nutshell, it is clear that, the Dendi and the Zarma make up the political setting of Lolo and Madecali. These ethnic groups pursue diverse livelihood strategies including farming, fishing and cattle rearing. From the south-west of Lolo to the north-east of Madecali along the right bank of River Niger is a small settlement called Tungan-Kungi.

Tungan-Kungi is a small settlement with rich natural resources notably known as a small community of farmers and fishermen. Strategic resources particularly the large expanse of fertile land and huge surface rendered the region best suited for agricultural development. The area is strategic to both Lolo and Madecali due to their agro-pastoralist nature. However, the area is contested to both communities each claiming right of occupancy and claim over farmland.

4.3 Causes of the Border Community Conflict Between Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic

4.3.1 The Strategic Claim Over Tungan-Kungi

The Lolo-Madecali border region has seen factional fighting and inter-communal violence in 2009. Claims over farmland and long history of resource-based clashes attributed to values embedded in identity and culture was regarded as the major cause of the conflict. As noted in the above section, a small area called Tungan-Kungi is a border settlement between Lolo and Madecali that is endowed with natural resources that are of benefits to the two communities. This led to the 2009 conflict. What is striking in recent years is the impact and consequences of the 2009 community cross-border conflict between the two communities and the socio-communal interactions affecting Lolo and Madecali. This section therefore analyses the context, identify the origins, and explain the causes of the 2009 border conflict between Lolo and Madecali.

As noted earlier, both communities of Lolo and Madecali lay claims to the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi. The Lolo residents cited both historical, migration and marital linkages to justify their claims over the land. There is a deep sentimental attachment to oral traditions handed over from one generation to another. Respondents variously show that history, human migration and marriage shaped the pattern of human settlement in the area which provides a basis for claim over ownership.

Historically, Lolo attached their claims to four personalities who established the area. This was captured in a Focus Group interactionsconducted with the residents. The personalities include: Mai-Shanu, Kungin, Duguji, and Kyanu. All these personalities where claimed to have come to Tungan-Kungi for farming activities with the exception of Kungin who was a housewife married to all personalities respectively. Mai-Shanu was regarded as the founder of the area (Interview, 31/03/2017).

As with marital linkages, FGDs conducted with Lolo elders shows that, based on their existing history, Tungan-Kungi are residents of Lolo with strong historical linkages. The area was initially named as Tungan-Mai-Shanu; to Tungan-Duguji; and later, Tungan-Kyanu respectively (Interview, 30/03/2017).

Due to business activities of the area, migration played a significant role claimed by Lolo residents. Local trans-saharan Fulani cattle herders pass Lolo through Tungan-Kungi to Iloua, Madecali, Dole-Kaina, Bakin-Wuya and Waira. They at times buy some local foods and cigarettes (Interview, 31/03/2017). This led the Fulanis to call the area “Chiel-Kungi” which was later transformed to Tungan-Kungi.

Madecali residents on the other hand attached their claims that, access to Tungan-Kungi is an integral part of their social relationships based on factors which include land rights and

original occupancy as well as administrative control of the area. Information obtained from Madecali residents pointed out that, they usually lease their land to peasants of Lolo to help cultivate Tungan-Kungi.

In other words, the land cultivated in Tungan-Kungi is rented out by the Madecali residents. The people of Lolo are only hired to clear the land hence, they comply with their local traditions and customs, refrain from getting involved in political affairs, and pay their respects to the landlord's family of Madecali (Myer) through regular gifts (Interview, 07/04/2017).

Administratively, the Madecali residents stresses that, Tungan-Kungi is under the jurisdiction of Madecali since ancestral times. This is because the Myer of Madecali do appoints his representative in the disputed area. Interview with community leaders in Madecali vindicates that, before the Dendi of Lolo settled in Tungan-Kungi, they seek the permission of the then Myer who granted them the permission to settle in Tungan-Kungi on the condition that, Tungan-Kungi is under Madecali and they are regarded as settlers in the area (Interview, 07/04/2017).

Thus, the two communities have a significant degree of historical cohesion which was brought about by two overlapping factors. The first factor was the body of traditions about supporting migrations and the network of connections between Lolo-Madecali's old trade histories, which made the region a commercial area. Other issues which include right of occupancy, administrative control etc. presents a new dimension to the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi as claims and counter-claims were laid by the two communities.

Both Lolo and Madecali show strong commitment to the affected area while issues relating to farmland remain the major bone of contention. They all attached value to historical sentiments, migration trends, marital linkages, and administrative control etc. But in actual sense,

there is no clear boundary which separates the two communities. This is largely attributed to colonial legacy.

Data obtained from the field shows that, border conflict between the two communities occurred as a result of construction of Government Primary School in Tungan-Kungi by the Nigerian authorities (under the administration of Sama'ila Abdul Mumin, Bagudu Local Government Chairman of Kebbi State), who see Tungan-Kungi as part of the Nigerian territory. Madecali on the other hand saw the attempt as an encroachment into Beninese frontier. Some signs of instability were shown in the area by the two communities.

Despite the ethnic, kinship, and cultural networks that transcend the two communities, various claims to land along with political definitions of identity based on citizenship have affected ownership of land and socio-communal relations in the area.

Victims of formely Tungan-Kungi explained that they did not participate in the conflict because Madecali outnumbered them. As expressed by elders who participated in the FGDs, after the school was fully constructed, on Sunday 1st March, 2009, around 12:30 pm, the people of Madecali came to Tungan-Kungi enmass, demolished the school, carried the aluminum roofing, chased all the peasants and their households, burned all the houses (about 109 houses), and destroyed heavy properties (resources like rice and millet) (Interview, 30/03/2017).

As such, victims of the conflict stressed that the Madecali residents forced them to flee their homes to nearby areas of Lolo, Dole Kaina and Bakin Wuya. Observation clearly shows that, Tungan-Kungi was empty of human beings. According to the former spiritual leader of Tungan-Kungi:

> They attack us because they overshadow us. They join forces with almost five villages namely: Iloua, Waira, Madecali, Dorawa and Naffa. (Interview, 30/03/2017).

While most respondents believe that this was not the first incident of fighting between Lolo and Madecali, significant minority were of the view thatsince the 1980s there was a problem of communal conflict. Although no body was killed, both communities believed that the fighting between Lolo and Madecali was purely claim over territory(Interview, 05/04/2017).

In summary, the 2009 Lolo-Madecali border community conflict over the Tungan-Kungi area can be explained as a claim over territory. This was largely expressed by the residents of both communities. The boundary between the two communities witnessed strains and stresses caused by territorial claim.

4.3.2 Lack of Clear Legal Instruments Defining the Delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin Boundary

Lack of clear instrument defining the delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin boundary is also a major cause of the border conflict between Lolo and Madecali. Geographically, the Nigeria-Benin boundary is approximately 480 miles in length. It extends between the Gulf of Guinea (Bight of Benin) and the Republic of Niger tripoint at the median of the Niger River. Inland from the Gulf of Guinea, the boundary is demarcated by pillars to the Okpara and then follows the thalweg of the Okpara for about 100 miles (Babatunde, 2009).

The remainder of the boundary consists primarily of straight-line segments, arcs of circles, and sectors parallel to roads (International Boundary Study, 1969:2, Babatunde, 2014:539). This boundary just like other colonial boundaries gradually emerged from series of agreements and conventions between the British and French colonialist. However, it is essential

to examine these instruments defining the Nigeria-Benin boundary in details in the following sub-sections.

4.3.2.1 The Anglo-French Conventions of 1889, 1896 and 1898

The current status of Nigeria-Benin boundary get its origin from the Anglo-French Conventions of 1889 which provide the basis for the delimitation of their respective possessions to the West of the Niger, and of their respective possessions and spheres of influence to the East of the River. The Anglo-French convention of August 10, 1889 delimited the boundary between the territories from the Gulf of Guinea northward to the parallel of 9° N(International Boundary Study, 1969).

In other words, Article IV. Section 1 described that the line of demarcation between the spheres of influence of the two powers shall be identical with the meridian which intersects the territory of Porto Novo at the Ajarra Creek (Adjarra), leaving Pokrah or Pokea to the English Colony of Lagos (International Boundary Study, 1969:2).

On October 12, 1896, a joint report by British and French Commissioners delimited the boundary northward to the ninth parallel. In other words, Article II of the Anglo-French Convention of June 14, 1898 accepted the delimitation of October 12, 1896 in which the frontier between the British Colony of Lagos and the French Colony of Benin, was delimited on the ground by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission of 1895, and thus, described in the Report signed by the Commissioners of the two nations on the 12th October, 1896, as the frontier separating the British and French possessions from the sea to the 9th degree of north latitude (International Boundary Study, 1969:5).

With regards to Lolo and Madecali border area, the 1898 convention signed by Sir Edmund Monson and M. G. Hanotaux on 14th of June of that year (as a result of the diplomatic negotiation between officials in London and Paris) adjusts the conflicting claims of boundary in the northern area (National Boundary Commission, 1979:166).

The frontier separating the British and French possessions proceed in a northerly direction. From the most westerly point of the lands belonging to Dekala (in the south), the frontier shall be drawn in a northerly direction and shall strike the right bank of the Niger at a point situated 10 miles (16.093 metres) upstream from the centre of the town of Gere (Guiris) (the port of Ilo [Illo], measured as the crow flies (Brownlie, 1979:166).

The significance of these agreemetswas captured in an interview conducted with the Deputy Director International Boundary, Nigerian NBC who argued that, the convention introduces some changes in some settlements. France withdrew from Bussa, Gomba and Illo, the frontier line west of the Niger being drawn from the 9th parallel to a point ten miles, above Giri, the port of Illo. By accepting this line Great Britain abandoned Nikki and a great part of Borgu as well as some part of Gando to France (Interview, 09/06/2016).

However, following the delimitation survey conducted later by officials of the two Powers, it was discovered that the boundary as described in the Treaty at certain points, was unrealistic as it would cut through many coherent settlements which fell along the straight line. Hence, river courses were preferred to the astronomical line as the mutual boundary. The boundary delimitation was accepted by the Anglo-French convention of 1898 and was later ratified in 1906 even though; the Lolo-Madecali border was not under proper consideration.

4.3.2.2 The Anglo-French Agreement of October 1906; The Demarcation Agreement of July 1912; and The Exchange of Notes of February 1914

The Anglo-French agreement of October 19, 1906 and the amendments made by the demarcation protocol of July 20, 1912 (approved by an exchange of notes on February 18, 1914) determine the Benin-Nigeria boundary as was earlier adopted by the two powers with minor modifications. In other words, Article III of the 1906 Anglo-French agreement of October 19th established the present Benin-Nigeria boundary along with minor changes made by the demarcation protocol of July 20, 1912.

This agreement was based on the construction of pillars and beacons carried out by the Anglo-French boundary commission along the boundary from the Bight of Benin to Okpara in 1912 (International Boundary Study, 1969:5). The new arrangement of 1912 stresses that starting on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, the frontier runs north along the meridian until it reaches the middle of the mouth of the River Ajara (Brownlie, 1979:166). This is how the boundary delimitation goes from the southern part of Nigeria to the northern areas though, the northern area of Lolo and Madecali were not well captured.

However, the entire boundary alignment between Nigeria and Benin depends upon the Anglo-French Agreement of October 19, 1906 which was also based on the August 10, 1889 Arrangement, signed by the Great Britain and France dividing their spheres of influence adjoining Porto Novo (Benin) and Colony of Lagos(National Boundary Commission, 2006:5).

Article II of the Anglo-French Convention of June 14, 1898 show how the line separating Nigeria and Benin was demarcated by an Anglo-French Boundary Commission of 1895-6 from the sea northwards to the intersection of the River Okpara and the ninth degree of north latitude.

This same provision also described a division northward from the ninth degree to the right bank of the Niger River (where Lolo-Madecali boundary lies) (The Federal Surveys, 1979:299).

It should be noted that, the Anglo-French Agreement of October, 19, 1906, covered not only the boundary between Southern Nigeria; the Shore of the Gulf of Guinea; the Okpara River but also extended to Northern Nigeria including the Borgu Kingdom where the Lolo-Madecali border lies. The Franco-British Agreement show how the boundary passes from the thalweg of River Wan (Oua) up-stream to its intersection with a line passing through to Samia. The Agreement stresses that:

> Thence it runs in a straight line to a point 8 kilom. south, 23^0 west (true), of the cairn situated at the junction of the roads from Madekale (Madikale) to Tuandi and Madekale (Madikale) to Lolo, which cairn is about 3,000 metres from, and south of, the River Niger (Brownlie, 1979:171; National Boundary Commission, 2007: 6-12).

These documents defining the delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin boundary provides a broad or general outline of the boundary of the two states from the Coast of the Gulf of Guinea up to a point on the median line of the River Niger. The terms of the Demarcation Agreements were influential for future developments because, both the colonial powers of French and British set up a Commission to demarcate the boundary based on the 1906 Convention. The British and French colonial administrators recognised that, there were some "discrepancies or divergences between the 1898 and 1906 Conventions", owing to the fact that, some villages and footpaths mentioned in the earlier documents had disappeared or had ceased to exist (The Federal Surveys, 1979:299).

Consequently, the exercise which was originally meant to be a demarcation exercise to include further delimitation of the border, the attempt did not provide a comprehensive

demarcation as it affects the nature of communal settings between Lolo and Madecali. Although, provisions were made for frontier modification,the Lolo-Madecali border was designed at some length unilaterally without proper inclusion of communities straddling the territorial entities of Nigeria and Benin. This however, creates room for cross-border conflict between the borderlands of Lolo and Madecali.

4.3.2.3 The 1960 Description of the Section of the Nigeria / Benin Boundary

By Article I of the On Shore Boundary which was clearly described in the Draft Agreement on the International Boundary Description between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin, the portion of the land boundary between the Atlantic Coast and the South of the Badagry-Creek (Nigeria) or the Oueme River (Benin) has been located, re-demarcated and surveyed, based on the agreement signed in London on February 18, 1914 between France and the United Kingdom on the boundary demarcation between the British and the French possessions from the Gulf of Guinea to the Okpara River and the subsequent decisions of the Nigeria-Benin Joint Boundary Commission(National Boundary Commission, 2006:6).

However, based on the Appendix VI.2 of the 1960 Description, the boundary mark continues towards the south-east up to a confluence situated 3 km west of Tabira, then it follows the main thalweg in a general north-east direction for about 5 kms up to a confluence situated 3 kms due north reaching Tabira-Kenu to a line parallel running between north and south-north direction (The Federal Survey, 1979:299).

The instrument defining the 1960 description further stated that, the boundary runs far to north-east crosses a watershed from the village of Kabogourou (from Okuta) to Kuso-Boso;

Suya-Goure; Mori River; River Lossi (as its confluence with the Wolei River); to Sebou River; all through Mossi River to River Sebou where it reaches boundary mark No. 17 and 19 (specifically east of Gawazini-Basso track) which is situated on the watershed (The Federal Survey, 1979:300).

From the north-north east direction of which Lolo stretches, the frontier line follows the straight line (from River Moi downstream about 2 kms); it reaches a west-east tributary of the Sora River (about 14 kms) follows a straight north-west line as far as boundary mark No. 27, situated on a gap, 3 kms north-east; it runs in a straight line up to the south-north of the Wara River (The Federal Survey, 1979:299-300).

However, from the village of Samia in the north-north west (where boundary mark No. 29 is situated), it follows a tributary of the River Ilogourou (Quora near the village of Sein where it reaches boundary mark No 31); it travels along the a straight line to Gadou River; to Gogue-Kpara boundary mark No. 33; to north-east of a village of Kassa (4 kms east of Sende, boundary mark No. 34); runs toward boundary mark No. 35 (5.5 km north-east) to west of the village of Lolo. Finally, the frontier line travels along a straight line to the village of Dole (Dole-Kaina / Niger Republic) as far its intersection with the median line of the River Niger where it joins up with the frontier line drafted in the 1906 Treaty (The Federal Survey, 1979:299-300).

Thus, community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali remain issue of great concern to both Nigeria and Benin Republic. The main bone of contention is the instrument to be used in defining the two entities. However, having explored the causes of the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali, a closer analysis of the impacts of the conflict to both communities and their states is worth necessary.

4.4 Impacts of the Lolo-Madecali Community Cross-Border Conflict

This section highlights the impacts of the border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin. Some of these consequences are humanitarian crisis, socio-economic etc. The data sought are analysed as follows:

4.4.1 Humanitarian Impact

The Lolo-Madecali border conflict posed a challenge to both Benin and Nigeria's ideals to peaceful co-existence, good neighborliness, and their adherence to the relevant provisions of the ECOWAS Treaty and itsProtocol on Free Movement of Person, the Right of Residence and Establishment, which emphasises the significant role of boundaries in inter-state relations and cooperation. In other words, humanitarian impact of the conflict is of considerable significance within the two communities.

Information obtained from the field shows that the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali over Tungan-Kungi led to displacement, upsetting of civilians, miserable life condition, deplorable situation as people of Tungan-Kungi were forced to flee their homes, lands, and resources. Victims of the conflict who participated at the FGDs conducted in Lolo points out that, by March 2009, there were about three (3) Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps in-and-outside Nigeria, one third being in Lonzon Primary School, Lolo.

Victims of former Tungan-Kungi highlighted the need for emotional and trauma healing because they were forced to leave their homes (Interview, 31/03/2017). Although, there is no record of children casualty, interview with youths from the affected area shows that many children have no access to education, and there are many others who keep struggling to survive.

An estimated twenty (20) people have displaced to Dole-Kaina, Bakin-Wuya and others to Kamba since 2009 (Interview, 31/03/2017).

Even though, attempt to provide emergency relief or technical assistance to the victims was delayed until Monday 2nd of March, 2009 morning, the NBC of Nigeria in collaboration with the Kebbi state officials provides relief materials, trauma healing and first aid treatment. Evidence has shown that the Federal Government of Nigeria through the National Boundary Commission (NBC) provides cloths and some necessary assistance to the victims. Free houses were built to all with the exception of few.

While worship centre as well as public welland schoolwere constructed, rice re-bagging engine is currently under construction. A snap picture of these items is provided at the appendix section. The victims also expressed that, even though, there were about 104 residents with fully constructed houses in Tunga-Kungi, all with the exception of 9, got their houses constructed in the new settlement (Interview, 30/03/2017).

Thus, the border conflict presents a challenge to thecommunities straddling Nigeria and Benin and also to the ECOWAS Vision 2020 which aims to deepen the integration process and promote a West African identity and community among the population of the region through peaceful inter-state relations.

Victims also illustratedin a Focus Group interactionhow they suffered. One of the respondents said: “even though, this year, we were able to farm in Tungan-Kungi peacefully because Lonzon Abubakar Kanta has reached a diplomatic solution with the present Myer of Madecali, we really suffered from poverty, malnutrition and hunger for the past eight years”

(Interview, 31/03/2017). Until recently, residents cannot engage in productive activities such as farming and trading.

Forced displacement can itself fuel further instability, insecurity, and conflict. In other words, issues related to the status and return of IDPs also continue to be a source of tension within the borderland of Lolo and Madecali. Religious leaders who participated in the FGDs pointed out that, the border conflicts worsened the level of insecurity in the area. (Interview, 03/04/2017).

Although, many of the displaced persons have been resettled in Lolo town in recent years partly under the Nigerian NBC-funded projects, the need for farmland activities to support them presents a serious challenge. However, the provision of already limited government services also declined as qualified staff left or refused to work. In other words, neither should humanitarian dimension to the conflict between Lolo and Madecali be underestimated.

Also, feelings of persecution inflicted on residents of both communities; their families or relatives in the aftermath of the conflict came through interviews with the affected respondents. Fear of residents in Tungan-Kungi was also evident among some IDPs interviewed in Lolo and those who flee their homes, despite much-changed circumstances and official supports given to the victims.

4.4.2 Socio-Economic Impact

The 2009 border conflict between Lolo and Madecali presents a challenge to Nigerian state in respect tomanaging boundaries and borderlands shared with its proximate neighbours. This is because cross-border trade and bilateral concern for inter-state cooperation, peace and sustainable development is threatened.

The structure of trans-border trade in Lolo and Madecali presents the more general pattern of economic activities prevalent in the area. However, for the past night (9) years of community cross-border conflict between the two settings, both Lolo and Madecali suffered a downward spiral of economic opportunity, largely owing to a decreased flow of trans-border trade.

The impact was clearly captured in aninterview with respondents of both communities arguing that, the conflicts witnessed serious blow to Lolo and Madecali informal trade whereby cross-border good imports fell, which significantly reduce the income opportunities of local petty traders (both women and men), hence, affecting the border area economy in general.

Before the conflict, it was argued by the respondents who participated in the FGDs that, in every blessed day, they transport at least 10-15 vehicles of rice, foodstuffs etc crossing to Dole Kaina and Niger Republic. And at least 15 vehicles with modern wears are exported from Nigeria while heavy trucks of modern rice are imported from Benin respectively (Interview, 05/04/2017).

Peaceful cross-border interaction emphasises the creation of aborderless, peaceful, prosperous and cohesive region, built on good governance and where people have the capacity to access and harness its enormous resources through the creation of opportunities for sustainable development and environmental preservation (AfDB, 2011:3). The conflict between Lolo and Madecali however, contradicts this assertion.Information obtained from FGDs with businessmen shows that, the border area has experienced a significant loss in migrants and cross-border traders.

Market women also expressed their feelings that, they previously supported themselves and their children solely through their market activities, but now they turn to farming as a supplement to, or replacement of their trade (Interview, 05/04/2017).

Also, border dispute led the Nigerian authorities to relocate the victims of former Tungan-Kungi to new settlement in Lolo and to create an area intended to act as a buffer against communal conflict. Stretching along the border, this new zone received no supplies of products likely to interest neighboring communities.

This was captured in a Focus Group interaction with businessmen who clearly pointed to the fact that the conflict has a severe impact on the Lolo-Madecali's economy. The most crippling effect was increase in prices of all imported goods, including most of the packaged and preserved goods that are important commodities sent from Benin to Nigeria. (Interview, 05/04/2017).

Lolo-Madecali residents of Nigeria and Benin also raised concern over the activities of security officials particularly, Customs Services. Residents lamented how Customs officials primarily target cross-border trade between the two communities. Businessmen interviewed identified numerous road blocks and excessive checking points (at least 5 posts) across the entry points which creates setback to their businesses (Interview, 05/04/2017).

Meanwhile, residents of formerly Tungan-Kungi lay their claims in an interview conducted with their peasants that, during rainy season, they use to witness flooding and some of their settlement use to be affected. They expressed that, they are not interested in returning back to old area (former Tungan-Kungi) for settlement rather for agricultural activities. This is

because the new place is conducive for settlement but their major problem is to have a place for farming activities (Interview, 30/03/2017).

4.4.3 Diplomatic Impact

Since independence, Nigeria seeks to maintain cordial relations with all its immediate neighbours otherwise known as the Good Neighbor Policy. The intent is to help resolve conflicts in the West African sub region and to stabilize relations with its immediate neighboring countries. The Lolo-Madecali border conflict presents a new challenge to this policy posture.

Despite the identity dimension of the border conflict between the two communities, interview conducted with senior officials from the Benin Embassy in Abuja shows that, both governments of Nigeria and Benin did not support the communal conflict. This is as a result of the strong political commitments of both states as well as popular supports from their diplomatic officials. A respondent pointed out that, they did not allow the conflict to affect diplomatic relations between the two states (Interview, 09/05/2017).

More importantly are the challenges the conflict posed to a country that sees itself as a model for regional integration with a well-developed functional cooperation (Nigeria). The Lolo-Madecali community cross-border problem is more than a civil conflict rather, a transnational affair due to its territorial dimension and boundary question. If the two communities are fighting with each other, automatically Nigeria is fighting with Benin Republic. It may present a threat to both states.

However, the conflict presents little or no threat to inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin Republic. Instead, political achievements were recorded in the aftermath of the conflict where diplomatic negotiations were based on harmonising positions between the two

states. Interview conducted with officials clearly shows that, greater commitment was put in place with high consultation to ensure its compliance which made liaison and meetings easier between Abuja and representatives from the Malanville authorities(Interview, 09/06/2016). The more moderate line pursued in recent years by both states has been fully matched by peace on ground.

The actions taken by the authorities of both states clearly indicate their strong commitment to peaceful co-existence. For instance, when President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria assumedoffice in 2015, his first trip was to Benin Republic to address issues which include "cross-border security, local cross-border relationships, peaceful cross-border interactions, bilateral trade negotiation and economic interdependence between the border communities as well as functional cooperation between trans-border residents"(Interview, 09/05/2017).

As such, President Buhari was the only Head of State invited to witness the inauguration of the new Beninese President in 2017 (Mr. Patrice Talon) in which issues of cross-border relations were discussed. This is to emphasised that the conflict did not seriously affect inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin.

To properly address the dynamics of the conflict and its spill-over effects on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin, interview conducted with officials from Benin Embassy and the NBCs of both states shows that, negotiation is currently underway with stakeholders which include senior diplomatic officials, boundary surveyors, legal experts, geometric engineers and authorities of both states to facilitate contacts with the border communities in order to find a permanent solution to the conflict. As a result, peace process through coordinated action based

on certain intermediaries (notably, NBCs) led to proper advancement. This is as a result of the long mutual understanding that existed between the two states.

In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasised that, even though colonial legacies serves as an important underlying factor in explaining community cross-border conflictsin West Africa, other cross-cutting issues which include intergroup competition for scare environmental resources; identity, citizenship, and territorial questions; as well as underdevelopment of borderland communities serves as other factors that triggered the border conflictsin the region.

However, the nature of the border conflictbetween Lolo and Madecali was connected to the strategic claim over Tungan-Kungi area separating the two communities. While the 2009 border conflict did not result to a bloody confrontation, its impacts cut across humanitarian, socio-economic, etc. It led to displacement, upsetting of civilians, miserable life condition and deplorable situation as people of Tungan-Kungi were forced to flee their homes, lands, and resources.

Based on the above analyses, border communities of Lolo and Madecali suffered from the following factors namely:

1. Socio-economic factor (agricultural and food insecurity, poverty and decrease flow of trans-border traders, as well as unemployment and significant increase in prices of imported goods),
2. humanitarian factor (forced displacement, problem of reintegration and upsetting of civilians),
3. educational factor and lack of clear policies to administer the border (underdevelopment, shortage of infrastructure and disorganization of the family system).

Despite been one and the same with same traditional lineage, the border conflict was compounded with identity issues due to the partition of Lolo and Madecali by the colonial powers of French and British. In other words, tension over land rights (farmland) is strongly

interconnected with tensions over citizenship. Even though, authorities of both states did not allow the communal conflict to affect their inter-state relations, it is necessary to examine the effectiveness of the mechanisms adopted in resolving the border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali.

4.5 Mechanisms Put in Resolving the ConflictBetween Lolo And Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic

The border community conflict between Lolo and Madecali did not escalate into armed clashes or war between Nigeria and Benin. The probable reason for this could be due to Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy, respect for ECOWAS ideals or Nigeria's border management policy which is based on overall engagement with transborder cooperation for peace and sustainable development. Being strategic members of ECOWAS, both Nigeria and Benin acknowledged the impact and the multiplier effects of the border conflict on inter-state relations.

This section presents the available mechanisms and frameworks that have been fruitfully applied in addressing the 2009 conflict between Lolo and Madecali. This include: regular joint border visits; tranborder cooperation workshops; confidence-building measures; regular sensitization campaigns; market expansion and trade promotion initiatives; as well as cross-border security initiatives.

4.5.1 The Nigeria-Benin Joint Committee and Regular Joint Border Visits

The Nigeria-Benin Joint Committee use to meet in Abuja and Malanville on an alternative basis as a result of the peaceful atmosphere generated by the trans-border cooperative regime adopted by the two states. It is a forum where officials from the NBC of Nigeria and the

Benin Integrated Border Management Agency meet regularly to discuss issues related to the border in question that is, the Lolo-Madecali border.

The activities of the Joint-Committee cover different areas as was captured in an interview with respondents. The areas of consideration include: an alternative instrument for boundary delimitation and the development of projects to promote joint economic ventures and cross-border cooperation (Interview, 17/04/2017).

The meeting of officials from the NBCs of either side was carried out within three working days, usually from Tuesday to Thursday, which include spending two nights together, one night on each side of the border. The aim of the visit as expressed by respondent was to bring together officials in both the Boundary Commissions of Nigeria and Benin to undertake joint-border visit (NBJBV) to the affected border communities of Lolo and Madecali in order to be familiar with the border communities, to assure them of governments attention and support, and to solicit their cooperation on cross-border relations and activities so as to bring peace and stability in the area (Interview, 09/06/2016).

Even though, no remarkable progress was made in demarcating the boundary between Lolo and Madecali, a great deal of achievement since 2017 is underway. A strong deal for the actual demarcation that would lead to the construction of pillars is yet to materialize. The process has resulted in a certain range of policy products as explained by another respondent. The process includes the initiation of negotiation between Nigeria and Benin, and maintaining the status-quo pending to the demarcation of the boundary. That is, pending the future determination of the actual border in the Lolo-Madecali border area (Interview, 17/04/2017).

However, major problem is with regard to the instrument defining the delimitation of border between the two communities. In other words, the NBCs of both states are yet to reach a consensus on the appropriate instrument to be adopted in defining the boundary between Lolo and Madecali. To enhance peaceful inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin, this mechanism witnessed the participation of senior border-enforcement officials from the NBCs. Their activities will only be fruitful if the Lolo-Madecali border is clearly demarcated.

4.5.2 Bilateral Summits' of Presidents and Trans-border Cooperation Workshops

The second mechanism adopted in resolving the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali was a method of popular consultation deployed by the two states. A Trans-border Cooperation Workshops (TBCW) were organized in Abuja and Malanville comprising both stakeholders (officials, legal experts and surveyors) from the NBCs of both states, traditional rulers of Lolo and Madecali, high-ranking national and local authorities and operators of cross-border businesses to provide a lasting solution to the conflict.

The workshops were carried out on an alternative bassis in order to address issues of common concern. This was largely demonstrated in an interaction with the Nigerian Sectional Head, Cross-border Cooperation (CBC), NBC, that, the mechanism aims at facilitating the delimitation of the boundary between Lolo and Madecali and to facilitate peaceful inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin (Interview, 24/04/2017). So also, Bilateral Summits of the Presidents of Nigeria and Benin were conducted in 2016 planned specifically to facilitate peaceful negation, cross-border cooperation and joint-border projects.

However, the TBCW mechanism serve the unique purpose of consultation between national authorities of Nigeria and Benin and sub-national territorial communities of Lolo and

Madecali; while local government officials in each side attempts to provide peaceful cross-border relations and interactions between the two entities.

4.5.3 Confidence-Building Measures

Apart from the joint border visits by senior government officials and their counterparts across the Lolo-Madecali border, the confidence-building measures (CBM) were largely concern with activities that integrates the development of the border residents as well as supporting the on-going programmes of the NBCs in the area. In other words, the CBM creates room for sustaining support and strengthening existing bilateral cross-border cooperation mechanisms as well as the hosting of special series of bilateral relations for cross-border cooperation.

Bilateral attempts at resolving the dispute were carried out between Nigeria and Benin in several ways. Both President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria and the then President of Benin Boni Yayi agreed to strengthen confidence-building measures through mutual understanding, friendship and nonaggression between the two countries, renewed their commitment to take appropriate measures to guarantee the security and welfare of the populations affected by the conflict in areas under their respective sovereignty (Interview, 17/04/2017).

This is well developed within the framework of the NBCs activities. Typical example was the one led by the Nigerian President and his Minister of Foreign Affairs to Benin in 2016 which gives room for initiating discussions for joint-cross-border projects across the borderlands of Lolo and Madecali. Regular exchanges of visits were also undertaken by Governor Atiku Bagudu of Kebbi state, Nigeria to the Prefet of Madecali and the adjoining Commune of Malanville respectively (Interview, 24/04/2017).

However, to strengthen relations between the two states, inter-state agreements were signed by authorities of Nigeria and Benin with regard to the Lolo-Madecali border. The agreements were based on cross-border integration projects which covers areas of joint-cross-border trade relations (JCBTR) in agriculture (particularly rice and millet) for economic growth; joint-provision of projects (JPP) that include the construction of dam and inland waterways for irrigation farming, and the construction of linkages line of roads between the two communities of Lolo Madecali (Interview, 09/06/2016).

Similarly, joint-exploration of resources (JER) and the development of highly strong hydro power electricity plants using the available water resources of the River Niger along the border area; as well as the establishment of joint agro-allied investments in the agricultural sector for rapid industrial growth of both the communities and their states in general (Interview, 09/06/2016). This clearly explains the attempt by authorities to incorporate the communities to Cross-Border-Cooperation (CBC) such that even when the area is demarcated, the benefit will be shared jointly.

Even though, the Lolo-Madecali border is yet to be delimited, the above mechanisms led to active participation and interaction of stakeholders jointly organized by the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin. In other words, an atmosphere was created that drastically reduced the communal conflicts between the two communities whereby efforts to strengthen consultation with existing collaborative mechanisms is underway. The above programmes will only metarialised if the CBM's programmes are properly adhered to.

4.5.4 Regular Sensitization Campaigns

Part of the measures taken by the NBCs was regular sensitization campaigns conducted regularly along the border communities of Lolo and Madecali. Interview with respondents shows that the last sensitization campaign was carried out from 21st to 23rd June, 2016 by the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin where intimated residents around the border area of Lolo and Madecali are pledged to live on peaceful coexistence (Interview, 09/06/2016).

The regular sensitization campaigns (RSC) cover various issues which include support assistance, dialoging, and the need for peaceful co-existence between Lolo and Madecali. Resettlement projects for displaced persons and substantial compensations to residents of Tungan-Kungi were applauded. This was expressed in a focus group interaction conducted with the residents of Tungan-Kungi who stated that, they welcome the Peace-Dialogue-Forum organized by the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin aimed at having a permanent solution to the conflict (Interview, 30/03/2017).

From Madecali in the Malanville commune to Lolo in the Bagudu Local Government, the NBCs officials criss-crossed (by road day and night) the border area of Lolo and Madecali, interacting intensively and listening patiently to the people, including those on the highly volatile Tungan-Kungi area.

A respondent from the BIBMA, pointed out that the sensitization campaigns were designed to have a contact with the residents of both Lolo and Madecali organized purposely to investigate, critically assess the situation of the affected communities, and to emphasize the necessity for cross-border interaction (Interview, 17/04/2017).

Thus, the sensitization campaign guides the NBCs of both Nigeria and Benin and formed the basis for peaceful dialoging of Lolo and Madecali border communities. It paved way for the on-going delimitation talks as well as interrelated processes and cross-border activities.

4.5.5 Market Expansion and Trade Promotion Initiatives

Given the significance of trade promotion which is central to inter-state relations and economic integration, authorities in Nigeria through the NBC approached the issue with strong commitment. Even though, adopted only by the Nigerian authorities, an Action Plan for Cross-border Trade (APCBT) is underway with the construction of rice-engine-re-bagging. This is aimed at helping the peasants of Lolo to conduct their farming and trading activities effectively.

Interview conducted with respondent indicates that, rice mill would maximize Lolo-Madecali's trade potentials, reduce their vulnerability to trade shocks and enhance trade for rapid sustainable development, as well as boost Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Interview, 24/04/2017).

To explain the significance of the programme, an interview conducted with Haasan Adamu Lolo (Vice Chairman of Bagudu LGA), stated that the cross-border trade promotion programme was aimed at harnessing facilities and opportunities between different strategies and instruments in order to foster sustained functionality and growth in both the living standard of the peasants in formerly Tungan-Kungi, Lolo-Madecali and Nigeria-Benin inter-state trade relations (Interview, 30/03/2017).

Trade promotion and integration has thus been a core element of the development strategy for cross-border relations particularly in peace situation. Interview conducted with the

former Representative of Lolo to the Kebbi State House of Assembly explained that, given the size of the border economy, the APCBT center around four major issues which include:

1. Trade Policy specifically geared to the promotion of cross-border trade,
2. Trade Facilitation to ensure food security and self-sustenance,
3. Productive Capacity to promote the growth of local product and economic empowerment,
4. Factor Market Integration for cross-border trade relations (Interview, 24/04/2017).

However, the APCBT in Lolo is expected to provide the benefits accruing from trade in order to facilitate sustainable economic growth and development. It is expected that, if the disputed area is settled, the people of Tungan-Kungi can feed the nearby communities because the area is fertile and the land is loamy.

In a nutshell, after a state of communal tension in the borderlands of Lolo and Madecali,attempt to facilitate cross-border trade is underway. This was marked by the construction of rice-re-bagging engine though a Nigerian project to residents of Lolo. If fully constructed and well established, it will certainly stabilize relations and inter-communal exchanges between the two communities, and it will demonstrates that officials are ready to provide necessary facilities for cross-border trade in the area so as to reduce the level of communal tensions. It would bring the border residents together to understand the common danger facing the two communities if not properly addressed.

4.5.6 Cross-Border Security Initiatives

The NBC in collaboration with security officials at the border between Lolo and Madecali are working hand-in-hand to address the cross-border community conflict between the two settings. In other words, some level of commitments in policing the border as well as cross-border security initiatives (CBSI) is on the process. This is clearly evident based on observation

from the field and from interviews conducted with key security officials (comprising Customs, Immigration and the Gendarmes). Even though not fully furnished, Police Barracks was constructed to properly address the communal conflict.

To demonstrate the level of security in the area, interview conducted with the Commanding Officer (CO) of the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) in the Dole-Kaina Control Post (Kebbi State Command) shows that, a plan to establish an Immigration Training Academy though not specifically in Lolo but somewhere within the Bagudu LGA is under deliberation.

The proposed Immigration Academy is design to control the movement of hooligans, sensitize the communities for cross-border cooperation and to provide a platform for member communities to immigration career since majority of the border residents are traders, peasants and fishermen (Interview, 31/03/2017).

With regards to cross-border trade and security, the Customs Service is working hand-in-hand with the Immigration Service to properly control illegal movement of goods and services. An interview conducted with CO of the Nigerian Customs Service (NCS) in the Sokoto / Kebebbi / Zamfara Area Command (Lolo Border Station) shows that, the NCS is liaising with the NIS, the Gendarmes of Benin and is trying to establish a barrack (not outpost) around the area due to the sensitivity of the area for cross-border trade and socio-economic relations (Interview, 31/03/2017).

In a nutshell, authorities in Nigeria and Benin have shown enthusiasm and strong commitments to end the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali. This facilitates the support they accorded to cross-border cooperation, inter-state relations and wider regional policy formulations such as the 2005 ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme

(CIP), with a pilot project proposed for Joint cross-border activities between Lolo and Madecali. Authorities of both states acknowledged the impact and multiplier effects of the conflicts between the two communities hence; they attempt to provide a peaceful atmosphere on the border area of Lolo and Madecali. The NBCs of both Nigeria and Benin are trying to fulfill their mandates as the agencies responsible for border conflict resolution and trans-border cooperation.

4.6 Effectiveness of the Mechanisms Put in Resolving Border Community Conflict Between Lolo and Madecali

Based on the fact that geographical factors like border-size and border-space, environmental location, territory, population, natural resources among others, play significant role in inter-state relations; bilateral attempts at resolving the border community conflicts between Lolo and Madecali is underway.

Authorities in Nigeria and Benin strengthened confidence-building measures through joint-projects across the border area of the two communities, encouraged friendship and nonaggression relations as well as taking appropriate measures to guarantee the security and welfare of the populations affected by the 2009 conflict.

The NBCs of both Nigeria and Benin are in the process of tackling the issues at stake and identifying from the onset the fundamental concerns of farmland as far as Lolo is concerned and the issue of territorial claim as far as Madecali is concerned. Confidence building measures is being structured by authorities of both Nigeria and Benin.

Peaceful cross-border interactionis gatting relevance after being thwarted by communal conflict. Now, border residents see themselves as brothers who are related by geography, history, and culture. However, commitment by officials of both Nigeria and Benin clearly shows that:

(a) strong confidence-building measures and regular sensitization campaigns integrates border communities of Lolo and Madecali while regular consultation is getting much supports,
(b) local peace-building prioprities that addresses the strategic issue of farmland is getting proper attention,
(c) cross-border joint-economic ventures, joint-provision of projects andjoint-exploration of resources provides a synergy for friendship and cooperation,
(d) cross-border social networks and connection as well as traditions of socio-communal structures and kinship fostered societal cohesion among the communities of Lolo and Madecali, and
(e) cross-border security initiative is properly managed based on the visibility of security providers and joint-border patrol system.

As such, some necessary steps were taken to transform the conflicting situation between Lolo and Madecali. These include: preliminary negotiation for delimitation and demarcation process between the two communities; strong adherence to trans-border cooperation policy drive (the creation of bilateral mechanisms that facilitate local trans-border cooperation between Lolo and Madecali); as well as increased awareness among policy-making elites within the notion of cross-border cooperation and inter-state relations as ultimate strategies for dealing with the problem of the border as barrier to peaceful coexistence. The Nigeria-Benin practice for cross-border relations on the Lolo-Madecali border axis is thus an excellent achievement.However, the major instrument defining the delimitation of the Lolo-Madecali border is yet to be adopted by the two states.

In a nutshell, strong attempt was made to address the conflict between Lolo and Madecali. Authorities of Nigeria and Benin Republic are working hand-in-hand to ensure peaceful co-existence, good neighborliness and cross-border interactions. This adherence clearly reflects the provisions made by the ECOWAS Treaty which emphasises the significant role of boundaries in inter-state relations and cooperation. With these as guiding principles, the NBCs of Nigeria and Benin are in the process of reaching out lasting solution to the Lolo-Madecali border land. Thus,

through good faith, political will, and commitment of political authorities, they attempts to build bridges of friendship and cooperation.

4.7 Summary of Major Findings

In the course of the study, the researcher was able to identify five major findings as follows:

1. It is clear that, absence or lack of clear demarcated boundary between Lolo and Madecali over Tungan-Kungi area is the major cause of the 2009 conflict. This is largely attributed to the French and British colonialists who unilaterally divided Lolo and Madecali respectively without taken into cognisance the dynamics of the affected communities. The two towns remain undefined, while the mathematical lines of Nigeria and Benin by which the spheres of influence of the colonial powers (defined by the Anglo-French conventions of 1889, 1896, 1898; the Agreement of 1906; the Demarcation Agreement of 1912; the Exchange of Note of 1914 and the 1960 Description), are variously modified.
2. The right to access fertile land for farming activities in the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi is also a motivating factor for the conflict between the two communities. Various claims to land based on long history of trading and farming activities, historical sentiments, migration trends, marital linkages, and administrative control affects ownership of land and socio-communal relations in the area. The two communities fight for the control of land that is not properly protected through legislation and proper registration.
3. Expressions of nationalism also complicates tension in the border area of Lolo and Madecali in that, strong commitment of the residents of both communities exacerbates the conflict. Despite the ethnic, kinship, and cultural networks that transcended the two communities, nationality divides them; with each owing allegiance to either Nigeria or

Benin as the case may be. This contradicts the views of scholars like (Williams 2011; Boukhars 2012; Tandia 2010) who recognises the consequences of ethnic or communal identity over national identity and the intermingling nature of cross-border communities in inter-state relations. In other words, they elucidates how local representation of identities and territories produce new meanings and perceptions to borders and borderlands without taking into cognizance loyalty to national territory and how borderland communities value their governments and countries. The extent to which nationalist's loyalties, pride and biases thus shapes the border residents of Lolo and Madecali.

4. Even though, the conflict between Lolo and Madecali did not seriously affect the nature of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin (diplomatic relations in particular), humanitarian crisis and socio-economic consequences were manifested to the residents of both communities. The border conflict led to displacement, upsetting of civilians, miserable life condition and deplorable situation as people of Tungan-Kungi were forced to flee their homes, land, and resources.
5. While there has been a strong attempt among officials in Nigeria and Benin to resolve the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali, however progress in facilitating the boundary demarcation exercise has largely been slow. Activities focused by the two states were based on bilateral trans-border cooperation and regular sensitization campaigns. Many obstacles remain with regards to the instrument to be adopted in defining the delimitation of the border separating the two communities.

4.8 Verification of Research Assumptions

In the cause of this research, four assumptions were set out. They are to be tested against the available findings of the study.

The first assumption states that "Borders between sovereign states are essential mechanism for cross-border interactions depending on the nature they were constituted". This study confirms that territorial borders straddling borderland communities are notorious for their binary character in that, they facilitate or eliminate conflicts, promote cooperation or stimulate tensions across political frontiers depending on the manner they were composed.

Due to the arbitrary nature of the borders in West Africa, interactions between territorial entities usually take hostile dimension. The imprecise nature of Lolo-Madecali border is a case in point. Although attempt to transcend the linguistic and geopolitical divides is underway, these differences present challenges to cross-border interactions and inter-state relations.

The second assumption is that "Lack of clear border demarcation in West Africa, constitute a major source of conflicts in the region".This assumption was found to be true in that, lack of clear boundary demarcation is the major issue for communal conflicts across border communities in West Africa.

Legally and conventionally, most communities across border zones in West Africa did not know the exact and clear area which belongs or separates them. Numerous independent clan and lineage groups, city-states, kingdoms and empires, are arbitrarily marked as political boundaries separating socio-communal settings and ethno-linguistic groupings that hitherto form independent territories as the case of Lolo and Madecali.

In the Lolo-Madecali border, several factors intensified the nature of community cross-border conflict between the two entities. These include lack or absence of clear delimitation and demarcation exercise in the borderlands, territorial claim over boundary, and communal identity along with national identity. Communal sentiments informs conflict dynamics in the area with the communities divided along the line of pro or anti Nigeria-Benin syndrome; dividing themselves along citizenship, inclusion/exclusion or national affiliations. A heightened sense of border discord has emerged which contributed to border identity conflict. Hence, lack of clear boundary demarcation has affected the complex process of social organization and interactions between the two communities who see Tungan-Kungi as a strategic location for farming.

The third assumption is that "Communal conflict along the Lolo and Madecali border region affects the nature of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin". This assumption was found not true, because no serious threat to diplomatic relations exist between the two states. The strong political commitments of Nigeria and Benin as well as popular support from their diplomatic officials meant that, no significant challenge was posed in this respect. In other words, the conflict presents little or no real threat to diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Benin despite its identity dimension.

Significant effects of the conflict identified by residents of both communities is with regard to humanitarian crisis witnessing mass displacement, upsetting of civilians, miserable life condition and deplorable situation as people of Tungan-Kungi were forced to flee their homes, land, and resources.Also, micro trade links and economic interdependence among cross-border traders as well as regular movements across the border between Lolo and Madecali has witnessed some form of jeopardy.

The fourth assumption is that “Joint cross-border integration projects will help to overcome the conflict and maintain peace and stability in the border area of Lolo and Madecali”.This assumption clearly justifies the need for integration programme of both Nigeria and Benin with regard to the Lolo-Madecali border area. To strengthen relations between the two states, inter-state agreements between Nigeria and Benin were signed by authorities of both states. The agreements were based on cross-border integration projects and joint-provision of projects.

Even though most of the agreements were yet to be materialized, there is a gradual return of peace in the area and a better character of social interaction and cohesion exist among the border communities of Lolo and Madecali. This is notable by the integration efforts adopted by the two states.

Based on the findings of this study, the Neo-functionalist theory and the PSC Model adopted are in line with the stated objectives of the research. While the PSC Model assumes that lack or deprivation of basic human needs are fundamental causes of communal conflict, Neo-functionalismpresumes that central institutions and central policies promotes inter-state relations and resolve disputes among member states. This reflects the networks of social relations as well as institutionalized structures (mainly NBCs and ECOWAS) that facilitated cross-border relations between Lolo and Madecali border communities as well inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin Republic.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings of this research. As a concluding chapter of the work, the chapter comprises of three sections; the summary of the study, a conclusion and some recommendations which were derived from the findings of the research.

5.1 Summary

This study set out to examine the nature of border community conflictsand its impacts on inter-state relations in the West Africa sub-region. A particular attention was given to the 2009 community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali straddling Nigeria and Benin. To carry out the specific task of the study, four research questions, four specific objectives, and four research assumptions were posed. The researcher also demonstrated the justification of this study. The issues, time frame and subjects covered by the study were also highlighted.

In this study, the researcher reviewed the related extent and relevant literature on border studies; general pattern of inter-state relations across territorial borders; as well as issues arising along border-zones such as migration, refugee influx, drugs and human trafficking, arms transfer/circulation and transnational organized crime etc. Also, claims over the legal status of nationhood, identity, being and belonging; couple with the issues of territorial questions that creates room for cross-border conflicts were also explored.

The literature on border conflicts pays attention to some selected border regions that often witnessed boundary disputes, while that of inter-state relations was drawn from the experiences of some regions in the world that set paced to inter-states relations across territorial borders (notably, the EU and some Latin American countries). Thus, the review was thematic in

nature thereby examining the contemporary debates, dominant perspectives, and theoretical approaches to the study of borders and borderlands. A critique on borderland discourse were also been made.

The research adopts some of the ideas of the Neo-Functionalist Theory (that perceived border communities as a trans-boundary interface involving different cultural, economic, political and ideological influences that preserve important channels of communication between local populations straddling international boundary with significant role of state-actors); along with the Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) Model (which assumes that, lack or deprivations of basic human needs are fundamental causes of communal conflicts).

The study also discussed the background, nature and dynamics of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin, and as well, examined the legal instruments defining the delimitation of the Nigeria-Benin boundary starting with the Anglo-French Conventions of 1889, 1896 and 1898; the Anglo-French Agreement of October 1906; the Demarcation Agreement of July 1912; the Exchange of Notes of February 1914; and the Legal Situation at the time of both countries' independence in the 1960s.

As such, the researcher examines the effectiveness of the mechanisms put in place by authorities in Nigeria and Benin (Border Integrated Management Agency of Benin as well as the National Boundary Commission of Nigeria) in resolving the border conflicts between Lolo and Madecali. These measures ranges from the activities of the Nigeria-Benin joint committee and regular joint border tours; bilateral trans-border cooperation workshops; confidence-building mission; regular sensitization campaign; market expansion and trade promotion initiatives; as well as cross-border security initiative. Finally the study summarized the entire work and drew some conclusions on the basis of which some recommendations were made.

With the aid of interviews conducted with stakeholders and the residents of the border communities of Lolo and Madecali, the research established that, absence or lack of clear demarcated boundary is the major cause of the conflict between the two communities. The problem centered on access to fertile land in the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi.

Legally and conventionally, both residents of Lolo and Madecali did not know the exact and clear area which belongs or separates the two communities. In other words, lack of proper boundary in Tungan-Kungi area is the main issue for communal conflict along the border region of Lolo and Madecali.

It found that indigenous people of both communities feel that residents of either side have no right to land in Tungan-Kungi. The two communities fought for control of land that is not properly protected through legislation and proper registration. However, given the significance of land in the economy of the border area, various claims to land (relationship to territories of either Nigeria or Benin; or based on long history of trading and farming activities), along with political definitions of identity based on citizenship have affected ownership of land and socio-communal relations in the area.

The study also found out that expressions of nationalism also complicate tension in the border area of Lolo and Madecali in that strong commitment of the residents of both communities exacerbates the conflict. Even though, both Lolo and Madecali are one and the same (Dendi and Zarma by origin) however, nationality divides them; with each owing allegiance to either Nigeria or Benin as the case may be.

Lastly, the research also found that even though, the conflict between Lolo and Madecali has not seriously affected the nature of inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin (diplomatic relations in particular), authorities of both states are working together in the field to

facilitate contacts with the border communities, including politicians and community leaders so as to find a permanent solution to the conflict.

As a result, peace process through coordinated action based on certain intermediaries led to proper advancement. The communities were actively involved in the peace process and the authorities see the border communities as the main channel through which peace can be achieved. However, progress in facilitating the boundary demarcation exercise is slow.

5.2 Conclusion

Border conflicts have long been part of West African political landscape. This is largely as a result of the long colonial processes of state making that arbitrarily divided peoples and groups into diverse territorial spaces.

Throughout West Africa, community cross-border conflicts have been embedded in broader contexts that include factors like the colonial legacy and the fragmentation of the West African societies; inter-group competition over grazing land, water points and cultivable land; identity, citizenship and territorial question etc. Alone or separately, these factors have determined the severity of border community conflicts and intensify the level of communal conflicts across the West African sub-region hence, shaped inter-state relations dynamics.

In other words, the region witnessed community cross-border conflicts of varying magnitude and intensity and also hosts numerous border/boundary conflicts embedded in conflicts over resources, identity, and unaddressed grievances of inhabitants partitioned by antagonistic nation-states. The unaddressed grievances over loss of ancestral lands and citizenship rights became intertwined with community cross-border conflicts that affect the nature of inter-states relations in the entire sub-region.

However, inter-state relations have become a regular pattern of interactions among states to address issues of common concern. In West Africa, relations among states emerges as a logical response to problems that are too big for one state to solve by itself or problems caused by the actions of one country having the spill-over effects based on the nature of the political map of the region brought about by colonialism.

It presents an outcome of deliberate political actions that have become so central and often inevitable to states in the region in the conducts of their inter-state relations. The pattern of relations across political frontiers varies (in nature, scope, and character) from state to state depending on the nature of the states involve, as well as their historical background and cultural context.

Relations among states in West Africa feature two different dimensions: formalor informal. In the former, relations cover different mixtures of agreements on economy, socio-political and security concerns using different forms of interaction between the states concerned as well as various ways in which they promote inter-state cohesion. In the latter, relations are based on activities undertaken by non-governmental organizations or non-state actors in the areas of economic cooperation, humanitarian assistance and environmental affairs.

The Lolo-Madecali border of Nigeria and Benin exemplifies the fluidity of West African boundaries in that, it constitutes a challenge to the residents of the border communities. Because of the integrative forces of economic, socio-cultural and human interactions across the border communities, the border became central to socio-communal settings and interactions as well as inter-state relations even though, the geographical boundary presents a barrier to identity, citizenship as well as territorial claim. In other words, community cross-border conflict between

Lolo and Madecali erupted on March 1st, 2009 over Tungan-Kungi land. While there has been a strong attempt among officials in Nigeria and Benin on the need to resolve the border conflicts however, progress in facilitating the boundary demarcation exercise is largely slow.

5.3 Recommendations

In view of the findings of this research, the following recommendations are made:

1. Establishment of Benin-Nigeria Mixed Commission charged with the responsibility of designing and implementing peace and security measures with regard to Lolo-Madecali border;
2. Reflect and agree on the appropriate instruments to be adopted in delimiting the Lolo-Madecali border between Nigeria and Benin and move the process forward;
3. Work with the communities to address cross border issues, particularly issues revolving around land ownership in Tungan-Kungi, in a way that will ensure justice;
4. A detailed working program comprising a timetable, with regard to the following points should be made:
    (a) Demarcation of the land border between the two countries and by carrying out the demarcation process up to the complete planting of pillars in Tungan-Kungi area;
    (b) Confirmation of territorial sovereignty to either the Benin Republic or Nigeria over the affected area of Tungan-Kungi;
    (c) Resolution of the issue of the nationality (to the satisfaction of both parties) of the populations concerned who may choose to remain in the territory retrieved from either country by keeping their nationality or by applying for naturalization in the host country;
    (d) Encourage the use of ECOWAS Early Warning Action and ECOWAS Cross-border Initiative Programme (cross-border trade,economic interdependence and cross-border integration);
    (e) Ensure adequate provision of infrastructural faclilities (physical infrastructures, economic facilities and social amenities) by authorities of both states;
    (f) Strengthening communication, coordination and information-sharing systems (frequent joint patrols and joint-border security) between border security providers and local authorities;
    (g) Official and unofficial supports should be given to cross-border community networks in order to help revive traditional cross-border structures that have been disrupted or destroyed by the border communalconflict between Lolo and Madecali.

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APPENDICES

Appendix "A": Interview Guide

The interview guide follows the key questions posed by this study. It is the basis for the interviews with the key actors (the National Boundary Commissions of Nigeria and Benin; the ECOWAS Commission, Benin Embass, as well as the residents of Lolo and Madecali border communities);.

In general, the interview guide ensures that all interviewees (in specific arrangement or categorization) are asking the same questions and the explanations are consistent. As there are different interviewees, a common standard is assured, allowing a scope for additional information to be provided and this should be noted separately. In other words, data are needed for each administrative unit involved in the cross-border region on both sides of Lolo and Madecali. The analysis of the impact of the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin Republic is developed in relation to the following questions:

Appendix "B"

Interview Questions to Experts in the ECOWAS Commission (Early Warning Directorate, Directorate of Political Affairs, Directorate of Peace and Security), Abuja

Department of Political Science and International Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria - Nigeria.

Topic: "The Impact of Border Community Conflicts on Inter-State Relations in West Africa: A Case Study of Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic"

1. What is their mandate (s)?
2. What do they operate?
3. What are their current activities?
4. What are the factors responsible for community cross-border conflicts in West Africa?
5. How does the Lolo-Madecali border conflictaffects the ECOWAS CIP?
6. What roles have they played (playing) in foster peaceful relations between the communities straddling the border?
7. What is the state of cross-border integration project in the Lolo-Madecali area?
8. What is the nature of their relationship with traditional authorities in the conduct of their activities?
9. How do they receive support from the affected communities?
10. What kind of support do they receive from their respective states?
11. What are their challenges and opportunities?

Appendix "C"

Interview Questions to Experts in the National Boundary Commissions (NBCs) of Nigeria and Benin Republic

Department of Political Science and International Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences,
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria - Nigeria.

Topic: "The Impact of Border Community Conflicts on Inter-State Relations in West Africa: A Case Study of Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic"

1. What is their mandate (s)?
2. What do they operate?
3. What are the factors responsible for community cross-border conflicts in West Africa?
4. Are geographical features and scarce environmental resources reasons for cross-border conflicts in West Africa?
5. How were borders demarcated in West Africa?
6. What has been the impact of partition on the West Africans?
7. What are the consequences of such crises on inter-state relations in West Africa?
8. In what way(s) do (does) the border conflicts affect inter-state relations in the sub-region?
9. What are the instruments defining the delimitation of Nigeria-Benin boundary?
10. What is the dynamics of boundary discourse (state versus group perceptions) between Nigeria and Benin?
11. How has that affected the Lolo-Madecali boundary on inter-state relations?
12. What are the consequences of the crisis on inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin?
13. What are the mechanisms adopts to resolve the conflict between Lolo and Madecali?
14. What roles have they played (playing) in foster peaceful relations between the communities straddling the border?

15. What are their current activities in the Lolo-Madecali area?

16. What is the nature of their relationship with traditional authorities in the conduct of their activities?
17. How do they receive support from the affected communities?
18. What kind of support do they receive from their respective states?
19. How do their activities give edge for inter-state relations between Nigeria and Benin?
20. What is the appropriate level of subsidiarity between state legislation, local regulations and regional policies?
21. What are their challenges and opportunities?

Appendix "D"

Interview Questions to Officials in the Benin Embassy, Abuja

Department of Political Science and International Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Ahmadu Bello University

Zaria - Nigeria.

Topic: "The Impact of Border Community Conflicts on Inter-State Relations in West Africa: A Case Study of Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic"

1. What is the mandate of the Embassy as it relates to Nigeria-Benin border management?
2. How do the community cross-border conflict between Lolo and Madecali affects the nature of inter state relations between Nigeria and Benin?
3. What is (are) the impact(s) of the conflict on Diplomatic Relation?
4. What is the status of the Nigeria and Benin inter-state relations?
5. Are there any existing bilateral agreements concluded with regard to the border area?
6. What is the appropriate level of subsidiarity between state legislation, local regulations and regional policies?
7. How can complementarities be improved between these levels?

Appendix "E"

Interview Questions to Security Officials (Gendarmes, Customs and Immigration) in the Lolo-Madecali Border Station / Dole-Kaina Control Post

Department of Political Science and International Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Ahmadu Bello University

Zaria - Nigeria.

Topic: "The Impact of Border Community Conflicts on Inter-State Relations in West Africa: A Case Study of Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic"

1. What is the nature of security at the border?
2. What are the main security priorities?
3. How has the security situation changed?
4. What type of relations exists between communities and security providers?
5. Are their constraints faced by formal security forces (Gendarmerie, Police, Customs and Immigration?)
6. What type of communication exists between security forces?

Appendix "F"

Interview Questions to Border Communities of of Lolo and Madecali

Department of Political Science and International Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences,

Ahmadu Bello University

Zaria - Nigeria.

Topic: "The Impact of Border Community Conflicts on Inter-State Relations in West Africa: A Case Study of Lolo and Madecali Communities of Nigeria and Benin Republic"

1. How communities perceive the Lolo-Madecali border (in terms of flow of people, goods and information)?
2. Does there exist any cross-border contacts, structure or activities available at the border area (e.g. agriculture/trade; industrial sector; service sector including tourism and culture; labour market etc)?
3. Are there any cultural or family reasons for cross-border contact/activity?
4. Did you participate in the 2009 conflict over Tungan-Kungi area?
5. What is the nature, dynamics and root cause of the conflict between the two communities?
6. To what degree have land (farmland) and land-related issues contributed to the conflict in Lolo-Madecali border area?
7. At what stage of the conflict did land become a key factor and why?
8. How has this affect the communities' roles in conflict and reconstruction?
9. How have they adapted in relation to conflict and emerging from conflict contexts?
10. What concrete land-related opportunities have been created to provide sustainable and productive livelihood opportunity in conflict and reconstruction?
11. Who has benefited and who has remained excluded?
12. What has been the effect on conflict dynamics?
13. What kind of assistance did you receive from the NBCs or authorities in general?

14. Who do communities trust to resolve conflicts?
15. Which actors do communities trust (Gendarmerie, Police, Customs and Immigration?)
16. Which factors influence trust in security providers?

Appendix "G"

List of People Interviewed

S/N	NAME	AGENCY	DATE
1	Prof. Abiodun Alao	African Leadership Centre, School of Global Affair, King's College London	22/02/2016
2	Dr. Tony Luka Elumelu	Director, Directorate of Trade and Free Movement, ECOWAS	22/02/2016
3	Dr. Babatunde Afolabi	Directorate of Political Affairs, ECOWAS	22/02/2016
4	Dr. Bappah Yaya Habibu	Assistant Commissioner, Directorate of Political Affairs, ECOWAS	11/04/2017
5	Dr. Muhammad B. Ahmad mni	Director-General, NBC Nigeria	09/06,2016
6	Alhaji Yahaya Ribadu	Deputy Director, International Boundary, NBC	09/06,2016
7	Mr. Farouk Tarfa	Sectional Head, Cross-Border Cooperation, NBC, Nigeria	24/04/2017
8	Border Staff	Head, Inter-State Frontier, Integrated Border Management Agency (NBC Benin)	17/04/2017
9	Border Staff	Senior Official, Inter-State Frontier, Integrated Border Management Agency (NBC Benin)	17/04/2017
10	Mr. Brown Odige	Expert, Directorate Peace and Security, ECOWAS	15/02/2016
11	ECOWAS Official	Expert, Early Warning Directorate, ECOWAS	15/02/2016
12	Mrs. Francis Fortune	Team Leader / Institutional Development Specialist, EU-ECOWAS PSS	22/02/2016
13	Mr. Alfred Akossoun	Desk Officer, Cultural Attaché, Benin Embassy	09/05/2017
14	Hajiya Amina	Director, Admin Department, BCDA	10/05/2017
15	Mr. Andrew	Benin Embassy	09/05/2017

16	Commanding Officer	Nigerian Immigration Service, (Dole-Kaina Control Post, Kebbi State Command)	31/03/2017
17	Commanding Officer	Nigerian Customs Service, (Sokoto/Kebebbi/Zamfara Area Command, Lolo Border Station)	31/03/2017
18	Border Staff	Nigerian Immigration Service, (Dole-Kaina Control Post, Kebbi State Command)	31/03/2017
19	Border Staff	Nigerian Immigration Service, (Dole-Kaina Control Post, Kebbi State Command)	31/03/2017
20	Border Staff	Nigerian Customs Service, (Sokoto/Kebebbi/Zamfara Area Command, Lolo Border Station)	31/03/2017
21	Border Staff	Gendarmerie, Benin Republic	31/03/2017
22	Border Staff	Gendarmerie, Benin Republic	31/03/2017
23	Lonzon Abubakar Kanta	Village Head of Lolo	02/04/2017
24	Rt. Hon Ibrahim Garba Lolo	Former Member, State House of Assembly	02/04/2017
25	Myer's Palace	Elder / Figure in Madecali Palace	07/04/2017
26	Myer's Palace	Elder / Figure in Madecali Palace	07/04/2017
27	Mallam Abdullahi Sharo	Rel. lead / Elder (Wazirin Lolo)	31/03/2017
28	Hassan Adamu Lolo	Elder, Vice Charman Bagudo LGC (Lolo)	30/03/2017
29	Usaini Muhammad	Elder, Education Officer Bagudo (Lolo)	30/03/2017
30	Bala Makoda	Elder, Sarkin Noma Lolo	30/03/2017
31	Haruna Usman Tondi	Elder. Lead, Lolo	30/03/2017
32	Isa Sama'ila Gishero	Elder, Former Supervisor, Bagudo	05/04/2017
33	Abba Gana	Elder, Ret. Inspector Lolo	30/03/2017
34	Isma'ila Adamu	Rel. Lead, (Lolo	31/03/2017
35	Munka'ila Muhammad	Businessman, (Lolo	05/04/2017
36	Mallam Iro Muhammad	Businessman, (Lolo)	05/04/2017
37	Mallam Salihu Mai Hoto	Businessman, (Lolo)	05/04/2017
38	Mallam Abdullahi Muhammad	Spiritual Leader (Imam of Tungan-Kunigi)	30/03/2017

39	Mallam Hassan Abdullahi	(Rel. Lead) Lolo	30/03/2017
40	Mallam Muhammad Banzubu	Businessman, Lolo	05/03/2017
41	Tukur Garba Kamba	Businessman, Lolo	05/03/2017
42	Umaru Usmanu	Peasant/ Victim Tungan-Kungi	30/03/2017
43	Mallam Abdullahi Muhammad	Peasant / Victim Tungan-Kungi	31/03/2017
44	Mallam Ibrahim Jiba	Peasant / Victim Tungan-Kungi	31/03/2017
45	Muhammad Kabir Buhari	Peasant / Victim Tungan-Kungi	31/03/2017
46	Garba Muhammad	Peasant / Victim Tungan-Kungi	31/03/2017
47	Salisu Umaru	Businessman, Madecali	06/03/2017
48	Muhammad Sabi Mai-Yashi	Businessman Madecali	06/04/2017
49	Iliya Bawa	Businessman Madecali	06/042017
50	Habu Dan-Maciji	Businessman Madecali	06/04/2017
51	Suleiman Abubakar	Businessman Madecali	06/04/2017
52	Muhammad Musa	Businessman Lolo	05/04/2017
53	Luba Isa	Market woman Lolo	05/04/2017
54	Mero Muhammad	Market woman Lolo	05/04/2017
55	Talatu Halliru	Market woman Madecali	05/04/2017
56	Aishatu Yahaya	Market woman Madecali	05/04/2017
57	Murja Habibu	Market woman Madecali	05/04/2017

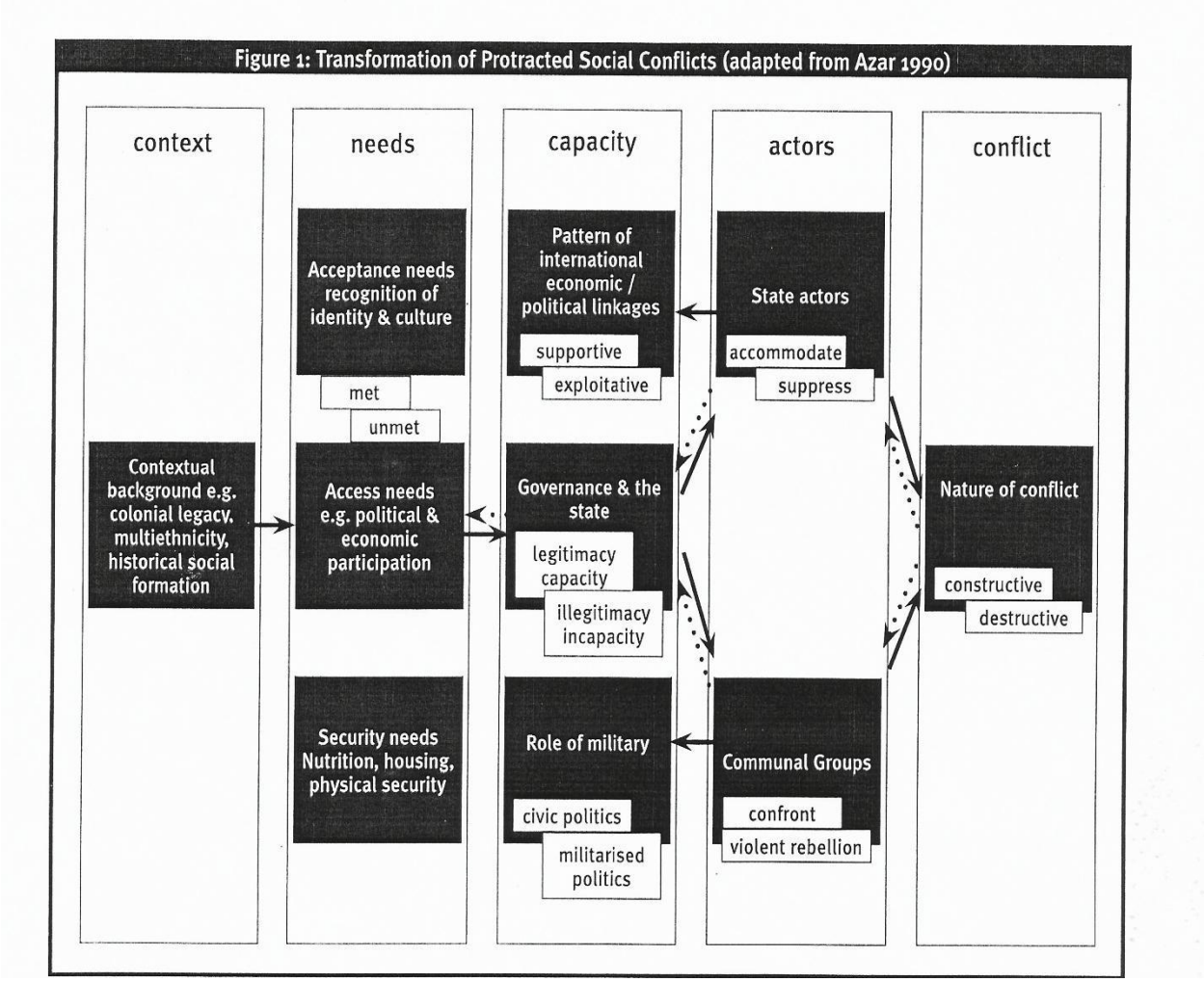
Appendix "H"

List of Research Assistants

S/N	NAME	AREA
1	Mal. Abdullahi Sharo	Lolo
2	Mal. Sa'idu Hakimi	Lolo
3	Hafiz Ibrahim	Lolo
4	Dan-Umar Kebbi	Madecali
5	Muhammad Sabi Mai-Yashi (Dan Kasa)	Madecali

Appendix "I": List of Figures

Figure 1: The PSC Model



Source:*Maill, H (2005:6) Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task*

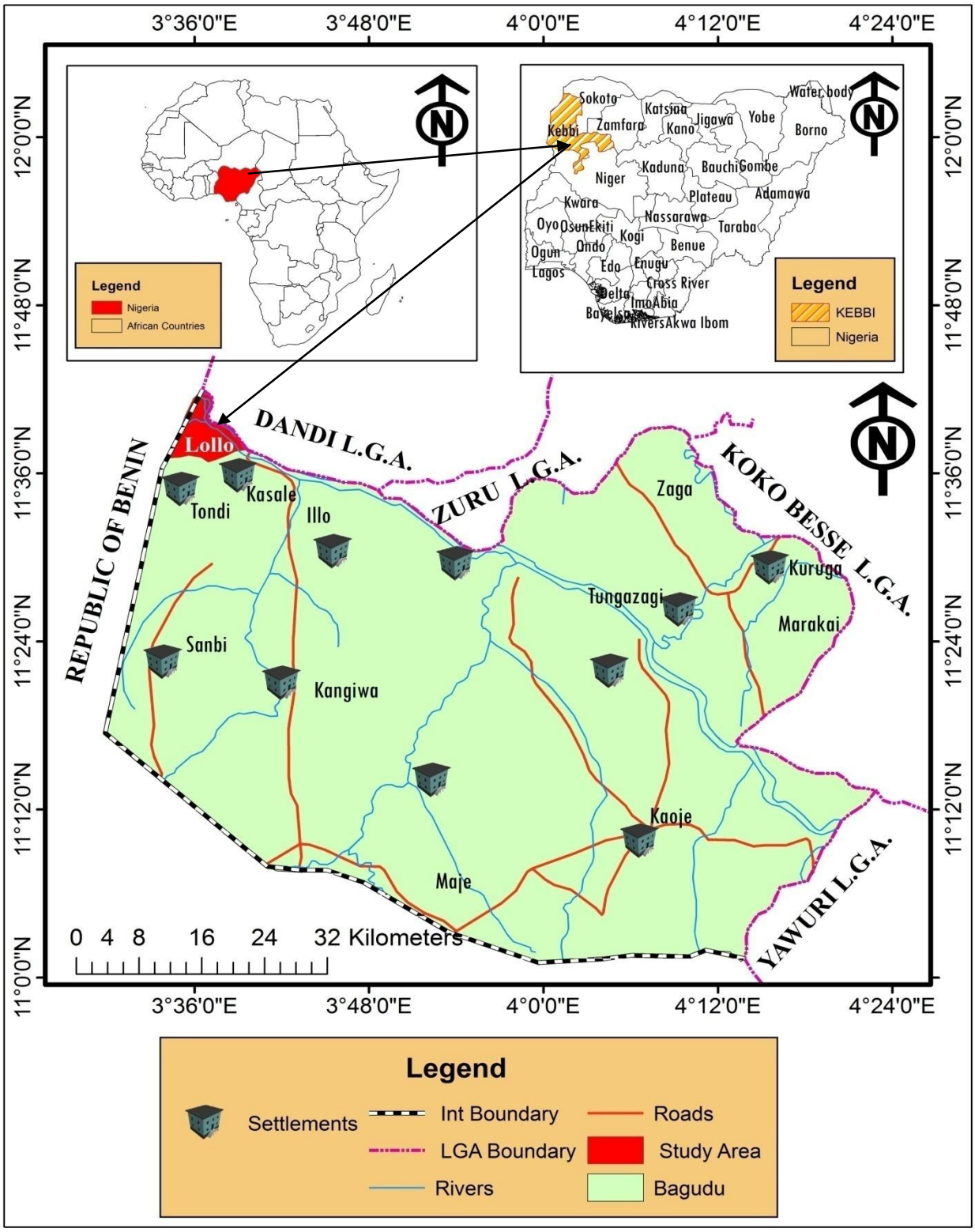


Figure: 2. Map of Bagudu L.G.A. Kebbi State Showing Lolo Town.

Source: G.I.S Lab, Department of Geography and Environmental Managements (2017). Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

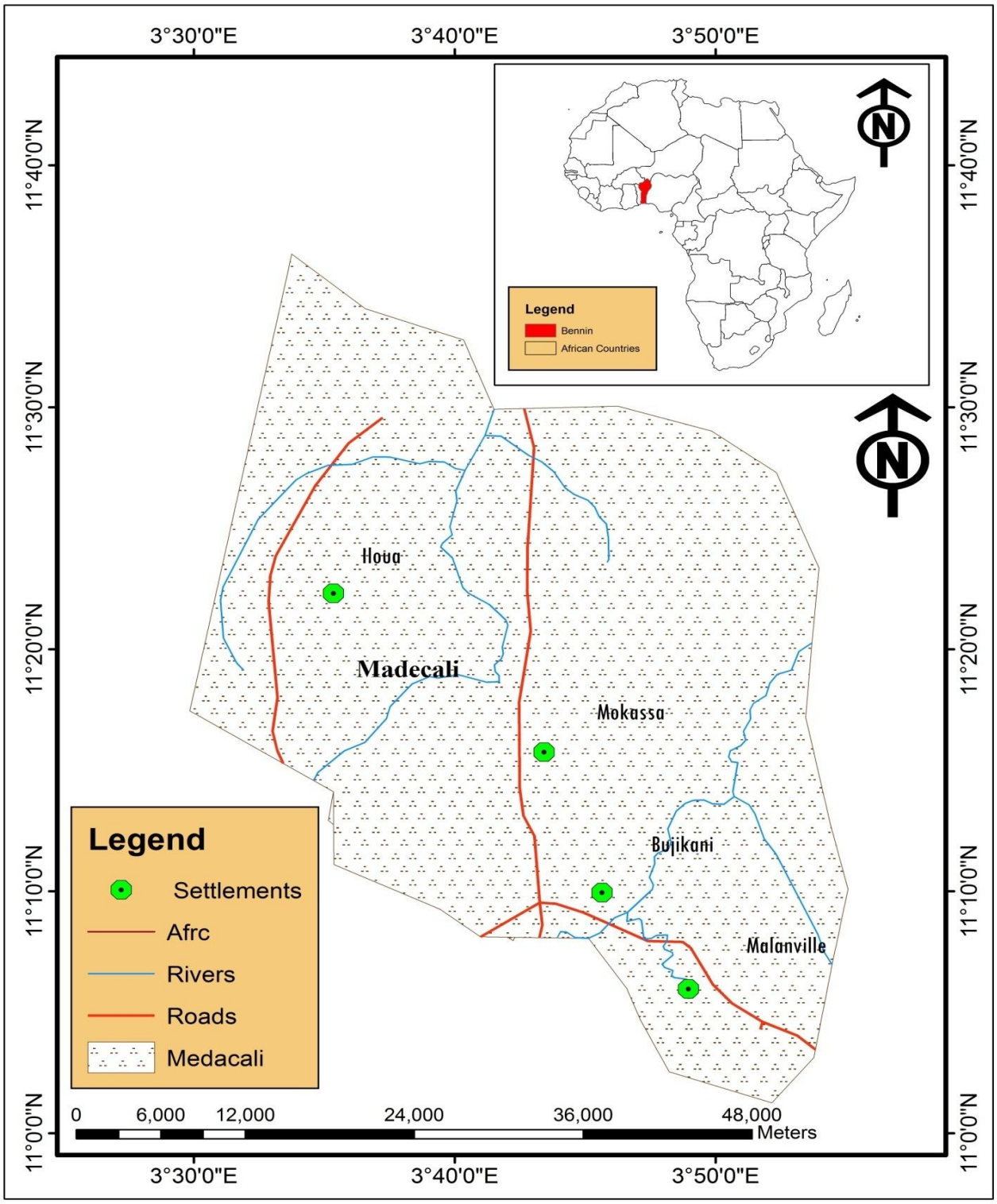


Figure 3: Map of Malanville Commune showing the town of Madecali

Source: G.I.S Lab, Department of Geography and Environmental Managements (2017). Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

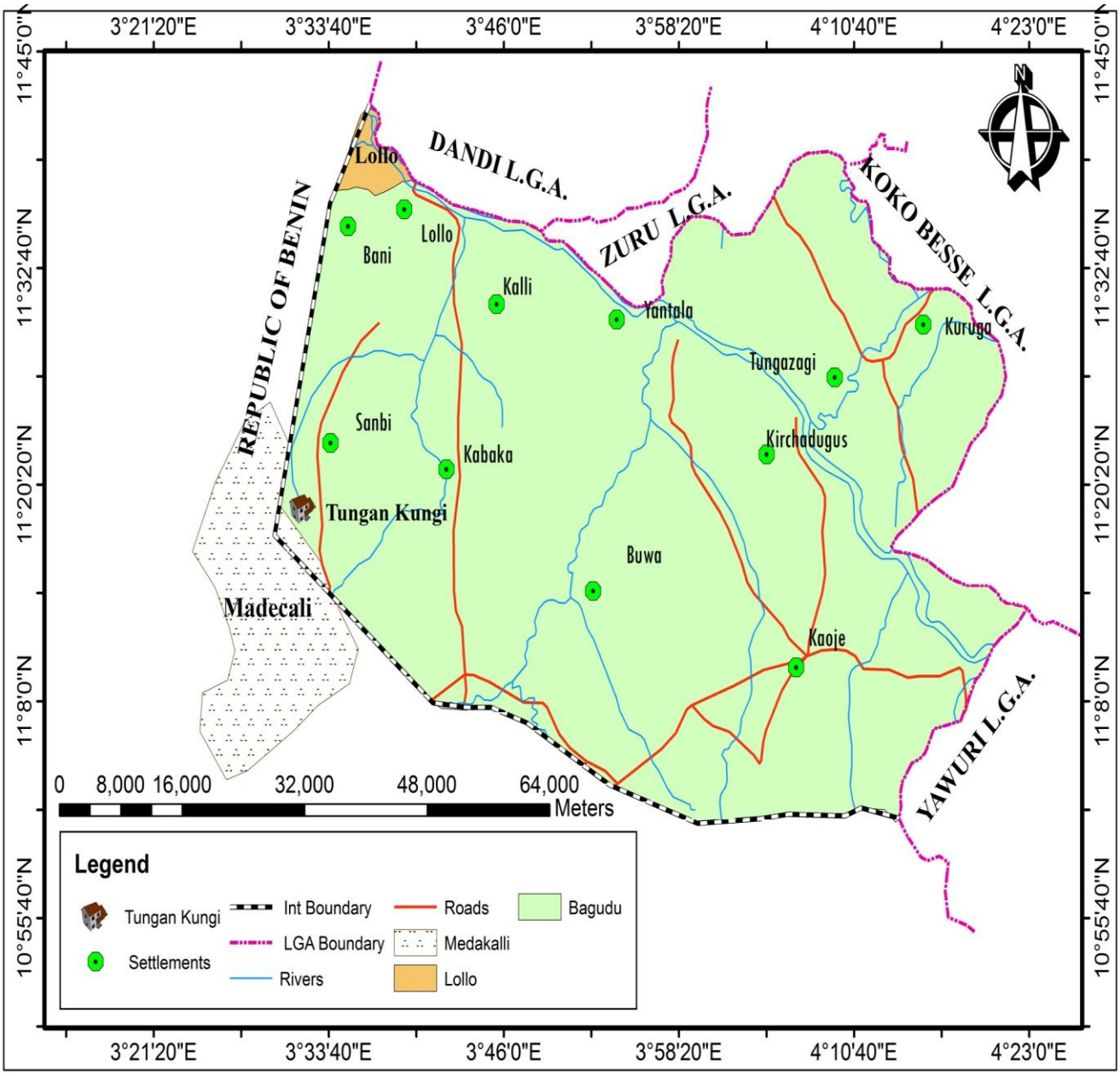


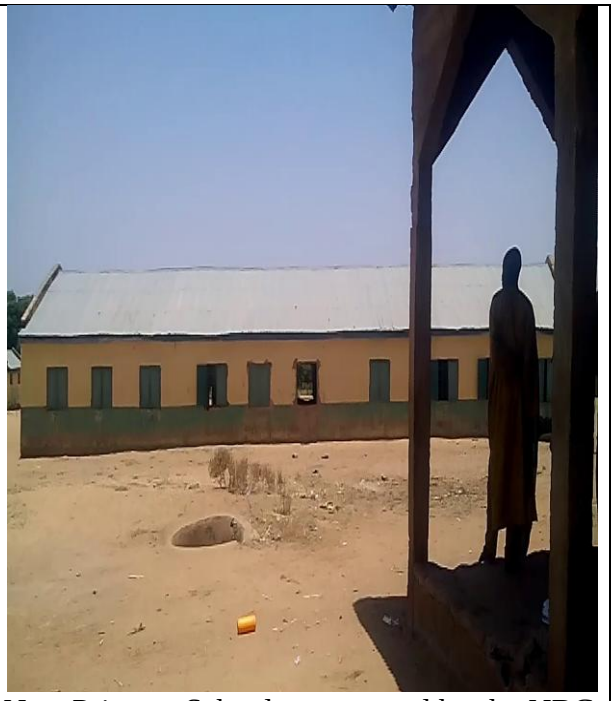
Figure 4: Map of Lolo and Madecali showing the Strategic Area of Tungan-Kungi

Source: G.I.S Lab, Department of Geography and Environmental Managements (2017). Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Appendix "J": List of Plates



New Worshiping Centre constructed by the NBC of Nigeria to the affected residents of Tungan-Kungi, as at March / April 2017



New Primary School constructed by the NBC to the IDPs of Tungan-Kungi, as at March / April 2017



New settlement of Tungan-Kungi at Lolo, surrounded by trees as at March / April 2017



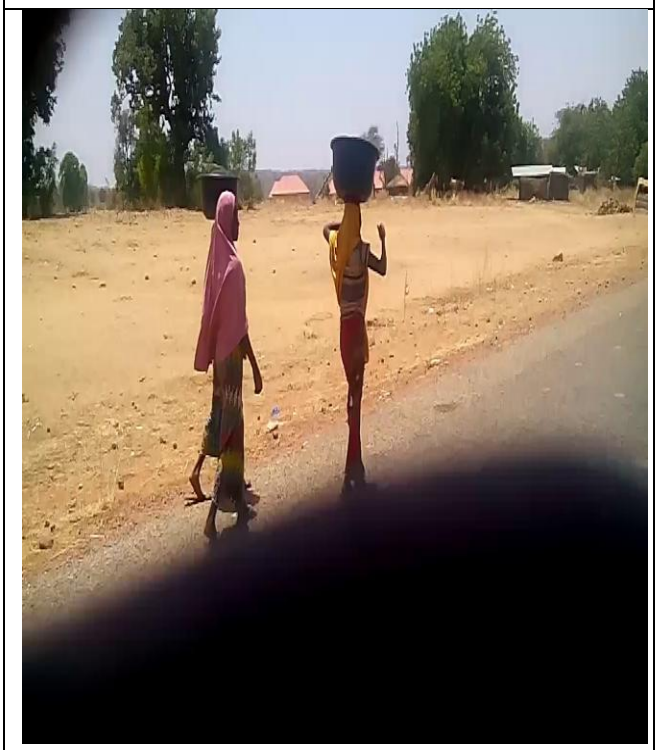
New Public Hospital Constructed by the NBC to residents of Tungan-Kungi as at March / April 2017



Way to the new settlement of Tungan-Kungi viewed from Lolo as at March / April 2017



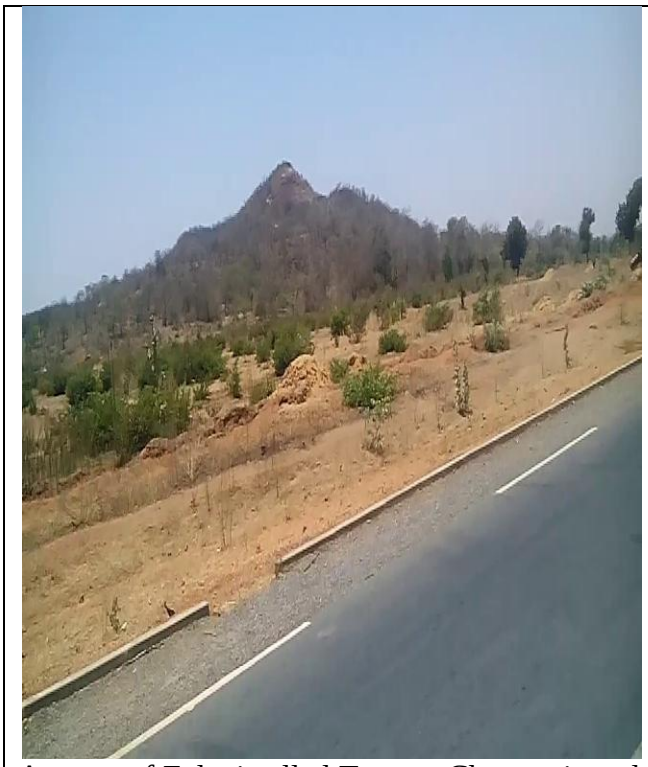
New Public-Water-Tank in Tungan-Kungi constructed by the NBC, as at March / April 2017



Some residents' women of Tungan-Kungi fetching water in the new settlement



Office of the Beninese's Gendarmerie while crossing Madecalifrom Lolo as at March / April 2017



An area of Fulani called Tungan-Chama viewed from the south-east of Lolo as at March / April 2017



Some Lolo Peasants while approaching Madecali as at March / April 2017



Remnant's of Tungan-Kungi residence.
To the left was a market place while far ahead, almost submerged by water, was a public well,as at March / April 2017



An Expressway linking Lolo and Madecali, as at March / April 2017



Foot-Path to Tungan-Kungi from the Central town of Madecali, as at March/ April 2017



Some Peasants' houses in Madecali as at March / April 2017



Foot-Path of some fishermen settlement in Madecali, as at March / April, 2017



Peasant's boy in Madecali



Approaching the central town of Madecali coming from Lolo



A Madecali market woman with her siblings



Heavy Truck of oil crossing Lolo from Madecali as at March / April, 2017



The Central Business District of Madecali as at March / April, 2017



Way to the Myer's Palace of Madecali viewed from the west of Madecali, as at March / April, 2017



Way to Madecali Central Market, as at March / April, 2017



An Expressway to Malanville from Madecali as at March / April, 2017



The South-west town of Madecali viewed from far, as at March / April, 2017



The researcher on his way to Madecali as at March / April, 2017



The disputed settlement of Tungan-Kungi as at March / April, 2017



A nearby settlement of farmers straddling Lolo and Madecali as at March / April, 2017



A Primary School near Ilua in-between Lolo and Madecali as at March / April, 2017



Security Check-Point at the border between Lolo and Madecali as at March / April, 2017



The researcher at the NIS Check-Point, as at March /April, 2017



The researcher at the Security Check-Point as at March / April, 2017



The researcher crossing the border between Lolo and Madecali as at March / April, 2017



Foot-road to the disputed area of Tungan-Kungi from Lolo as at March / April, 2017



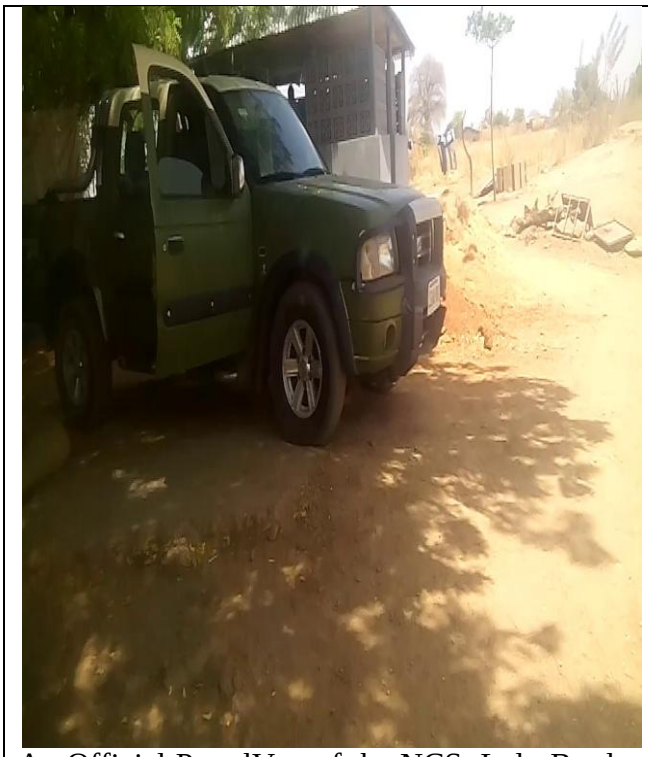
Heavy Trucks of goods stopped at the border Check-Point by Customs Officers, while crossing to Lolo from Madecali as at March / April, 2017



The researcher crossing Lolo to Madecali by foot, as at March / April, 2017



Area Command Headquarters of the NCS, Lolo Border Station as at March / April, 2017



An Official PatrolVan of the NCS, Lolo Border Station as at March / April, 2017



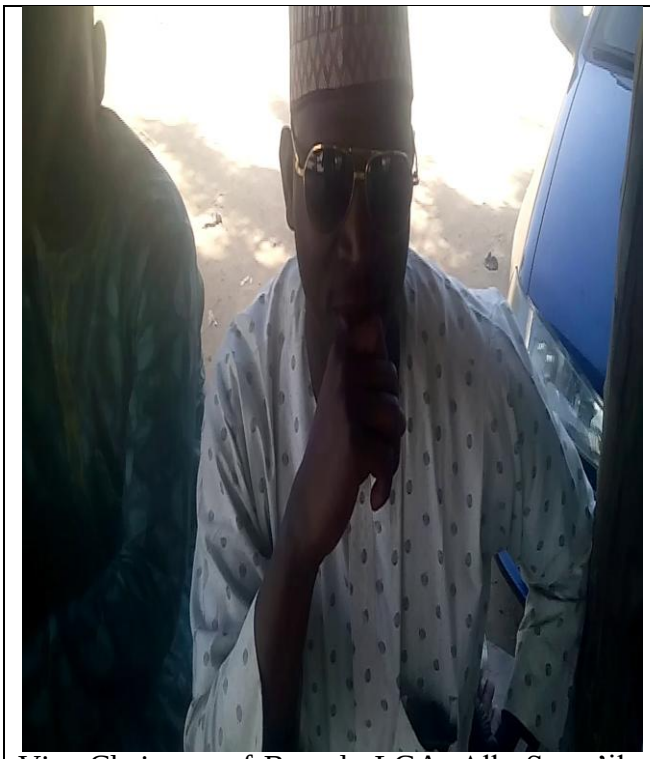
The Lonzon Primary School Lolo, where the IDPs of Tungan-Kungi were camped for a while, as at March / April, 2017



Some community leaders who participated at the FGDs held in Lolo as at March / April, 2017



Another set of elders who participated at the FGDs held in Lolo as at March / April, 2017



Vice Chairman of Bagudo LGA, Alh. Sama'ila Abdulmumin in an interview conducted in March, 2017



Some Business men from Lolo who participated at the FGDs as at March / April, 2017



An Elder statesman from Madecali who was interviewed as at April, 2017



The loamy area of Tungan-Kungi viewed from eastern Lolo, as at March / April, 2017



An area of Tunga-Kungi where flooding do affects, as at March / April, 2017



An area of Lolo along the Right bank of River Niger, coming from Dole-Kaina as at March / April, 2017



Some Victims / IDPs of Tungan-Kungi who participated at the FGDs held in Lolo as at March, 2017



New Rice re-bagging House (with engine) constructed in Lolo by the Nigerian NBC for Market Expansion and Trade Promotion Initiatives Programme, as at March / April, 2017



The disputed farmland of Tungan-Kungi viewed from south-west of Lolo, as at March / April, 2017



The disputed farmland of Tungan-Kungi viewed from south-east of Lolo, as at March / April, 2017



The Central area of the disputed Tungan-Kungi, as at March / April, 2017



Some Peasants of Tungan-Kungi on their way to the new settlement, as at March, 2017



An area of Tungan-Kungi straddling Bakin-Wuya, as at March / April, 2017