ELITE AND COMMUNAL CONFLICTS IN TARABA STATE: A PERCEPTION STUDY OF PEOPLE IN WUKARI AND TAKUM LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS.

BY

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M.SC/ADMIN/16803/2010-2011

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF SCIENCE (M.SC) DEGREE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
ZARIA, NIGERIA

JANUARY, 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation entitled "Elite and Communal Conflicts in Taraba State: A Perception Study of people in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas." has been carried out by me in the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and the list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another degree or diploma in this or any other institution.

Timothy Agyo LUKA _____ _____
M.Sc/ADMIN/16803/2010-2011 **Signature** **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled ELITE AND COMMUNAL CONFLICTS IN TARABA STATE: A PERCEPTION STUDY OF PEOPLE IN WUKARI AND TAKUM LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS by Timothy Agyo LUKA meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Science–M.Sc of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Prof. Usman Tar Chairman, Supervisory Committee	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Dr. Musa Idris Member, Supervisory Committee	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Dr. H.A. Yusuf Head of Department	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Prof. Kabir Bala Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies	_____ Signature	_____ Date

DEDICATION

The work is dedicated to God Almighty the omnipresence and omniscience. He has and always been there for me all the time. I again dedicate this work to my wife Mrs. Mary T. Agyomy children – Bright T. Agyo and Amatsaka T. Agyo who has been the solid rock behind my ever endeavour in life, encouraging me, providing for me and above all constantly praying for me. You all are the reason why I persevered and fought hard to achieve this for all of us. I appreciate your sacrifice and understanding.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the perception of people to Communal Conflicts and Elite interests in Taraba State with specific reference to Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas. The objectives of the study were to determine the factors responsible for the persistent and perennial conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas, identify the roles played by the elite in escalating or de-escalating conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas, identify the attitude of government towards resolving the conflicts and determine the effects of those roles for peaceful coexistence. The theoretical framework adopted for this study is the elite theory which clearly outlines the extent of influence which the elite have in the decision of their societies. The methods of data collection were through questionnaires, interviews, textbooks, journals, archives among other (Primary and secondary sources of data). The study reveal Chieftaincy tussle, struggles for land, fear of marginalization and domination between the political, traditional, religious elite against each other and among others as the major factors. The study proffered recommendations on ways that both the government and the people of the areas can adopt to ensuring peaceful coexistence in the areas because peace is indispensable to development.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The world over, societies are riddled with conflicts arising from factionalization, distinctive identity and class formations. This renders societies into perpetual struggles and competitions which often manifest in structural socio-political inequalities and eventually lead to conflicts.

In other words, conflicts are direct results of class formation and struggles within the society by the ruling class or elite for access to and the control of power and resources. This, the ruling class tried to achieve sometimes by employing absurd or unsuitable means such as manipulation of people along ethnic, religious and other identities in their quest to consolidate their dominance of the economy.

The Marxist view of the state (society) is expressed in the communist manifesto as "merely the organized power of one class oppressing another class''. This organized power of one class are not only competing for political control, but also pose a fundamental threat and challenge to the state (society). Thus, at the root of the gathering crises bedeviling a society, are economic crisis and mass deprivation of the masses which render them susceptible to manipulation by fractions of the ruling class.

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation with more than 400 ethnic groups and as a result, has witnessed a lot of communal conflicts. Most of these conflicts have long history and are recurrent thereby creating "conflict zones'' all over the country. For instance, the Jukun/Tiv 2001 communal conflict in Wukari Local Government Area and the Chamba/Kuteb 2006 communal conflict in Takum Local Government Area, all in Taraba State; the Ijaw/Itsekiri 1998 communal conflict in Delta State; the Ife/Modakeke 1998

conflict in Oyo/Osun State; the Zangon Kataf conflict in Kaduna State among others have turned Nigeria's Urban and rural communities into battlefields and killing grounds.

A Report of internal conflicts in Nigeria published by the Federal Ministry of Information and National Orientation (FMINO, 2002) identified perceived marginalization, poverty, unemployment, fear of political domination, increased pressure on land, improper delineation of boundaries among others as key factors responsible for communal conflicts in an area. Alemika, (2002) pointed out that, most of the conflicts in the middle belt region of Nigeria have almost the same factors as being responsible due to the presence of several small tribes who want to identify with their culture, protect their political, economic and religious interests. It is therefore difficult to isolate which conflict is primarily engendered by economic, ethnic, religion and political competition.

The communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas, which forms the focus of the research work were caused according to scholars like Adda (1993); Yawe (1999); Best (2003) among others by both remote and immediate factors. The scholars pointed out marginalization, poverty and improper delineation of boundaries as the "remote factors'' while increased pressure on land, unemployment, leadership or chieftaincy tussle, fear of political domination, factionalization and class formation as the "immediate factors''.

The regular communal conflicts in the areas due to interests from the elite of the numerous ethnic groups over the years have led to the destruction of lives, properties and basic infrastructural facilities thereby creating more hardship to the people as it affect both their income and poverty level negatively.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Recent studies on contemporary forms of violence in Nigeria noted claims to land, crisis of governance, chieftaincy tussle, oppression, fear of marginalization and domination etc as factors that have given vent to communal conflicts. This has not only questioned the extent of identities but has also increased identity manipulations among elites especially in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas of Taraba State.

This work centres on investigating the interests the elite have for the persistent and perennial conflicts in the study areas despite the similarity in language, culture, value and other related identities. Although, it has been alleged that the interests of the elites is connected to the contest for political powers, which is always staged between members of the majority groups and those that belonged to the minority groups. In such situation, the dominance of a particular group depends largely on manipulation in which the elite uses patro-clientele relationship to confer some advantages to their respective clients while the opposition or minority group suffers great deal of neglect and frustration. This explains why and how kinship ties are far stronger than any form of ideological front at a moment in the study areas. It also explain why any manipulative attempt by the opposition groups is view as an attempt to shift powers and always ended up with destruction of lives and properties.

The destructions of many villages such as Kente, Rafin-Kada, Rogo and Takum town, among others, rendering so many people homeless and making them live as refugees in bushes and other villages has far reaching consequences. Mamman (2000:19) cautioned that, violence does not only impose loss, injury and emotional trauma on individuals, but breeds insecurity which lead to distrust, intolerance, isolation, and in some cases violent

reactions. There is no doubt that such atmosphere could bring a setback to the overall development of the area and consequently falling standard of living of the in habitants.

This study examines the causes of the incessant blood-letting in the area despite efforts by government and individuals to resolve the conflicts. What are the factors responsible for the persistent and perennial conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas? What were the roles played by the elite in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas? What does the elite make of a conflict by using ethnic identities as a front to achieve? What were the roles of governments toward resolving the conflicts? What have been the effects of those roles to the people of Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas? To date, several studies have describe the features using as plethora of theories but with far too little empirical data to explain these problems

The study relied on the cases of communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas to examine analyze and capture the linkages between elite interests and struggles for dominance, power and control of the areas.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main aim of this study is to explain the role of elite in the escalations or de-escalations of communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas of Taraba State. This will be done through the following specific objectives:-

i. examine the factors responsible for the persistent and perennial conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas
ii. identify the role played by the elite in conflict escalation or de-escalation in Wukari and Takum local government areas.
iii. Identify the attitude of government toward resolving the conflicts.

iv. determine the effect of those roles to peaceful coexistence of the people in the areas.

1.4 Research Assumptions

i. There is a relationship between elite' interests and the escalations or de-escalations of communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas.

ii. Government attitude towards conflicts resolutions leads to the persistent re-occurrence of conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas.

1.5 Significance of the study

Studies pertaining to conflicts in Nigeria require more development especially in area of theoretical explanations and understanding. This is especially so in multi-ethnic communities like Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas of Taraba State where individuals defines their identity first by ethnicity and are divided along such identity which affect community development due to primordial feelings.

The work encompasses more than just the characteristics of conflict in the areas but provide a distinctive sample of a new form of critical link between the theoretical concept and empirical problem of this form of conflict through provision of primary data from the field.

The study is significant because, it seeks to establish the relationship that exists between elite interests and communal conflicts in the study areas. For instance, Adamu (2002), wrote on "the issues in Tiv/Jukun conflict'' and dwelt most of his attention on land, history and political matters of the conflicts, Best (2003), focused on the motives and effects of the Tiv/Jukun conflicts in Wukari local government area and Isa (2010), focuses his attention on class formation and how state can resolve conflicts emanating as

a result of these formations with special interest on the Chamba/Kuteb conflicts in Takum Local Government Area.

In view of the above, this study (Elite and Communal Conflicts in Taraba State: A perception study of the people of Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas) is significant for the purpose of bridging the gap by examining the generic relationship between elite interests and communal conflicts in the areas. The study is also significant because it will serve as a reference material to future researchers and stakeholders on communal conflicts resolution and management in Wukari and Takum local government areas and beyond.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study

The scope of this study is expressed in too context geographical coverage which covers some villages that were adopted during the topographic gridding of the areas which include among others: Kente, Rafin-Kada, Va'ase, Rogo and Takum town due to the level of damages and occurrences of conflicts in those areas Vis-à-vis there composition of different ethnic groups, and the temporal coverage which is restricted to the recent conflicts from 2001-2011 as the period witnessed a lot of communal conflicts manned by suspected elite involvement despite efforts by the government and individuals to resolve the conflicts.

The limitations of this work are time constraints and full access to data to sufficiently explore the subject matter across board due to unwillingness of respondents to freely express their opinion as a result of the sensitive nature of the study. The study is limited to the role of elite and communal conflicts in Taraba state: A perception study of the people of Wukari and Takum local government areas to determine its consequences to peaceful coexistence and development.

1.7 Definition of concepts

For the purpose of this study, the following key concepts are defined as they are used in the work.

State: A distinct set of political institutions whole specific concern is with the organization of domination in the name of the common interest within a delimited territory. In other word, a political community that formed part of a country and controlled by the government. An administrative unit that form part of a country.

Violence: a direct or indirect physical attack, injury or psychological abuse of a person or animal. It is the direct or indirect destruction or damage of property or potential property. In other word, it is an act or behavior intended to forcely exerted to impart physical harm or hurt somebody.

Conflict: a condition in which one identifiable group of people engage in conscious opposition to one or more other identifiable group(s)

Conflict Resolution: The method and process of negotiation arbitration and institution building which promote the peaceful ending of social conflict and war. In other word the process of intervention to change the course of conflict.

Elite: The group of people always and everywhere confined to government. A powerful ruling monitoring group whose composition reflects the balance of power between competing social groups and forces in society, in other word, a section of people that have powerful influence over the decision of their ethnic group in the study areas.

Community: A group of people who are socially related by virtue of identity with a particular location. In other word, a group of different people in a particular community of the study areas.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Conflicts are inevitable part of human association. Although, it is an unpleasant phenomenon but as long as people compete for jobs, resources, powers, recognition and security which often results into a situation whereby they frustrate each other in an attempt to achieve their objectives makes it inevitable (Henry, 2009:21).

Most of the existing studies on conflicts in Nigeria are limited to the starting and ending of any conflict. Scholars often dwelt on the conceptualization of conflicts in terms of factors, impact (negative or positive) on the society without establishing any causal relationship between the roles of elite in conflicts. This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study but starts with an expository review of literatures on conflicts in order to identify the research gap.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Conceptualization of conflict

Conflicts are universal phenomenon and thus pose some difficulty to define due to its centrality and effects on man and his activities. Their occurrence differs in gravity as the factors' motivating them also differs in complexity. Conflicts do not occur in vacuum; there must be some forms of mistrust and misunderstanding before it can occur. Furthermore, as an enduring feature of multi-ethnic societies, communal conflict becomes exacerbated when it goes under the carpet of ethnicity.

Robbins and George (2009:31) see conflict as "a process that begins where one party perceives that another party has negatively affected something that the first party cares about". This is an apt definition as it only relates conflict to perception and not real facts. The definition also only looked at the negative aspect of conflicts without considering the positive aspects. A party interest in any setting or society can be affected both negatively and positively depending on the circumstances that surround the situation (s). Conflict involves situations in which differences are expressed by interdependent peoples in the process of achieving their needs and goals (Donohue and Kotti, 1992:3).

Park and Burgess (1921:574) are of the view that, conflicts are designed to resolve interest among ethnic groups and achieve some kind of unity even if it be through the annihilation of one of the conflict parties. However, the choice of word like "designed" in the definition, subject conflict to structured or planned events. Conflict on the contrary does not have a single paradigm or specific period for its occurrence. It occurs as a result of competition for spatial resources of interests to different groups. It is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, values or goals (Albert and Watson, 2006:29). It is also important to note that, before conflict could occur, it has to exceed the threshold level of intensity before the parties experience any conflict. Saal (2007) elaborated further that, opposing interests must be recognized by both parties for conflict to exist.

Smith (2000:35) sees conflict as an endemic feature of human history. The definition opined that, conflicts is an act involving human beings and not a struggle against physical environment which therefore means that, it is an avenue for expressing feelings and thoughts of one group to another on issue(s) of interest. In conformity to the above assertion, Nnoli (1998:77) argues that, we do not speak of conflict when "two asteroids collide" or "the collision of two stones or "the killing of an antelope by a lion". He says,

these activities or acts are less seen as conflict. On this note, conflicts are restricted to the activities or acts carried out by human beings who are mutually inconsistent but inevitable. Harry Mill categorically highlights criteria which differentiate conflicts from other situations thus;

> Conflict may only exist where the participants perceive it as such, a clear difference of opinion exists regarding values, interests, aims or relations, and the outcome of the conflict must be considered extremely important by the parties. What constitutes a reason for the genesis of conflict in one area might be regarded as a normal way of life in other society (Harry1992:33).

From the criteria highlighted above, conflict is limited to or occurred as a result of the importance or values attached to situation. For example, issue of chieftaincy title that brought about Chamba/Kuteb conflict in Takum local government area may mean a mere issue to other community although, many scholars have argued that, conflicts are part of social existence of human beings and is needed for social progress. It helps people to learn how to recognize and benefit from their differences (Deer, 2006:19).

Gani (2008:8) opines that, from year 2002 to 2007 not less than 3500 lives and property worth several millions of naira has been lost to conflicts ranging from communal to ethno-religions conflicts in Nigeria. It is worth noting at this juncture that, the tendency for human being to suppress and dominate their fellow human beings cannot be done smoothly without some forms of struggle, is the source of conflict (s) in any society. Beyond that, as long as people lived together in groups, they are likely to have differences of interests, aspirations, needs, wants and ambitions. The traditional definition of conflict regards it as “a struggle over values and claims to such status, power and resources to which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals (Coser, 1956:8)

From Coser's definition, conflict is regarded as a way of suppressing or weakening of rivals to achieve desired goal (s) any means. The definition also provided us with the thought that, conflicts are phenomenon associated with human community where violent communication and expression of interests are expressed. On the contrary, Deutsch (2005:153) in his cooperation and competition approach explained that, cooperative goals lead to conflict and mutual exchange of diverse views which strengthens quality decision, productivity trust and success in future collaborations. He maintained that, conflict is a way of settling disagreement that originate from divergent interests and values but may restrict concessions and cooperation among members of different groups if not properly resolved.

Alemika (2002:4) viewed conflict as "a product of antagonistic interest between two or more opposing forces or groups within a society due to scarcity of resources''. This definition affords us with the notion that, conflicts are not only restricted to human activities but part of society. For instance, conflict exists even in the ecosystem where the taller trees in the forest often compete with the shorter ones for light, nutrients and space. Conflict though regarded as dysfunctional and unpleasant but a natural condition and an inevitable part of societal growth and development.

Isa (2010) contended that, conflict is "an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions in which the ability of one actor to gain his ends depends to an important degree on the choices or decisions another actor will take (Isa, 2010:35)". Human being must live and interact with each other and such interaction involves mobilization of the scarce resources to achieve ends which may also be of interest to another group. However, Jega (2000:29) opined that, conflicts emerged as a result of class formation and fictionalization in society through regional, ethnic and religious mobilization against the other. The conflict between Chamba/Kuteb,

Tiv/Jukunamong others in the study area avers us with a good example where ethnic fictionalization was used.

According to Mohiddin (1998:66), conflict arises when parties disagree about distribution of material or symbolic resources and act on the basis of these perceived incompatibilities. There are about four points worth noting in this definition. First, the definition emphasizes that, conflict is both perceptual and behavioral (perception of the incompatibility and the importance attached) second, it suggested that, the incompatibilities are subjective. Third, it assumes that, conflict makes no distinction between the different social levels. And fourth, it emphasizes that, conflict is an interacting and a dynamic process rather than a static condition of event. In a sharp contrast, the above definition is more mechanistic in nature with the use of the word "symbolic" which is more referred to something static.

Conflicts may occur in a particular place but for different reason. For instance, the conflict between Tiv/Jukun and Hausa/Jukun in Wukari local government area has different reasons for its occurrence. In addition, the definition portrayed conflict as economic affairs than socio-cultural and political affairs by using the word "distribution of material". Conflict is a purposeful struggle between collective actors who use social power to defeat or remove opponents in order to gain status, resources and other social grouping (Anstey, 1991:88). Therefore, conflicts are normal process of interaction particularly in complex societies and cannot continue to exist without some adjustment in the positions held by the parties in the conflict (Jordan, 1990:4).

Whichever angle and perspective one attempts to look at conflict, the central point is that, it involves a serious disagreement over opinions, wishes, needs, values and interests between individuals or groups, social organizations, political parties and even states

especially in situations where those goals cannot be achieved simultaneously. However, the explanation raised above highlighted several important factors for communal conflicts. It is true that, some of the central factors causing many communal conflicts are crisis of government, fear of marginalization and domination, disregards for cultural symbolic, availability of resources and control among others, but how can peaceful relations prevail among communities living under such conditions?. Many of the explanations presented are fairly general and fail to identify the role of elite in communal conflicts and why the elite are involved in the communal conflicts has not been properly addressed. Thus, from our perusal life rapture explanations above, it is obvious that communal conflicts depend on the social, economic and political environment coupled with the legitimacy in which such differences are discussed.

2.2.2 Types of conflicts

It is no exaggeration to say that, the only place where conflict does not exist is grave yard. This means that, conflict is almost omnipresent in all human groupings. As a tool of competition, conflict is not supposed to be viewed as a total negative affair like some scholars often did. This is because, one party's looses warrant another party's gains. Darling and Waiker (2007) and Olakunle (2008) opined that, conflict could be classified as functional or dysfunctional. The functional entails the conflict that favoured the goals and aspirations of a group while the dysfunctional entails the conflict that unfavoured a group.

Constantino and Merchant (2009:17) identified two types of conflicts viz:

i. Constructive conflict
ii. Destructive conflict.

Constructive conflict explains a situation whereby the outcomes of the conflicts are satisfied by the participants as gained, while the **destructive conflict** explains how other participants feel dissatisfied by the conflict. For example, the communal conflict between Fulani/Tiv (2001) in Wukari local government area where the Fulani gains (constructive) while the Tiv lost (destructive).

The scholar's further identified five categories of conflicts. viz:

i. **Relationship conflict:** According to the scholars, this occurs due to the presence of strong negative emotions, misperceptions, poor communication among others, example of this kind of conflict in Nigeria includes the Fulani/Tiv (2001) conflict in Wukari local government area.

ii. **Data conflict:** This occurs when people lack information necessary to make wise decision or disagreement on which data is relevant as information differs. For example, the Chamba/Kuteb conflict in Takum local government area.

iii. **Interest conflict:** Conflict of interest result when one or more of the parties believed that, the interest of the opponent should be sacrificed in order to achieve their goal mostly caused by competition over perceived incompatible needs. Example, Ife/Modakeke conflict.

iv. **Structural conflict:** this entails external alliance with one of the conflicting parties. On the other hand, it occurs as a result of forces outside to the conflicting parties. Factors such as limited resources, geographical constraints among others are advanced; example includes Nigeria/Cameroon Bakassi Peninsula issue.

v. **Value conflict:** Values are belief that people cherishes most. A value conflict arises only when people attempt to force one set of values on the other. In other words, when people lay claim to exclusive value system that does not allow divergent belief, example includes Sharia conflicts (2000) in Kaduna State.

2.2.3 Causes of conflicts in Nigeria

According to Nnoli (1998:12), the inability of the society to accommodate and resolve contradictions through arrangements or procedures that eliminate their negative effects and maximize their positive effects are the root cause of conflicts. Brown (2001:32) argued that the origins of conflicts in Nigeria are traceable to the nation's colonial experience, particularly the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914. He maintained that the two regions were brought together for cost reduction and administrative convenience, and not a federal idea. Much consideration were not given to the effects of the amalgamated units with regards to smaller ethnic groups, population size, land space among others. these variables create the conditions which trigger off conflicts at any time and place in Nigeria (Adda, 1993:14).

The FMINO, 2002 reports indicated that, the key causes of conflicts in Nigeria includes but not limited to the following

2.2.3.1 Crisis of Governance

Governance concerns the way in which societies are governed, the distribution of authority and resources as well as its legitimacy in the eyes of the society. The aged long political conflicts associated with electoral process in Nigeria have assumed an even more worrisome dimension. The struggle for power, dominance and control become more prominent in our today's Nigeria. Barongo (1980:64) observed that, where there is an acute scarcity of resources, politics is not only organized around the competition for the control of these resources but also the struggle to acquire them. He further explained that, whoever controls state power, controls the means of distribution of jobs, contracts, schools, amenities among others and influence to the detriment of the people of his choice.

In a related reasoning, Nwosu (2000:10) concluded that, the political elite in Nigeria have fanned religious and ethnic factors in the pursuit of their selfish and acquisitive interests. He maintained that, the struggles for ethno-territorial constituencies by the elite particularly the governing class within these constituencies are purely for access to those resources that are devolved from the central treasury.

To be specific, Weekly Trust News Magazine Succinctly captures the power tussle that always generated questions in the case of Kaduna State politics, thus;

> …however with confrontation posture adopted by southern Kaduna people is disturbing reflection of the intense political rivalry that resulted to the bloody conflicts in 1987, 1992, 1999 and 2000. Even if there was no introduction of Sharia, some local Chieftaincy affairs and market relations could have triggered these conflicts (*Weekly Trust,* 2000:21-27).

The Nigerian political system is characterized by ethnification and regionalization held as the most important asset and not the performance and competence of the person. The crisis of governance in Nigeria is a direct product of re-enforcing ethnic differentiation and widening of social horizon among the different elite groups to achieve desired or specific interest.

Comparing these scholars views to the situation in the study areas, there are reasons to believe that, actions by key elite in the areas have explanatory value for communal conflicts in the areas. For example, the conflicts between Chamba/Kuteb in Takum Local Government Area follows ethnic reinforcement to control the means of distribution of Jobs, contracts, amenities among others in the area. Similarly, the Hausa/Jukun conflict in Wukari Local Government Area follows the manipulation of people through religious pattern by the elite. It is widely believed in the study areas that, any group that controls

the political activities of their community, controls the apparatuses for the liberation of his group and loyalties.

Beyond that, the failure to provide succor to development at the grassroots by the political elite created room for provoking mockeries and verbal confrontations between the loyalists and as such communal conflict becomes inevitable in the area (Bagudu, 2003:47). Jega (2002:36) formed a strong conjecture of the situation; elite contestation for political power is characterized by cutthroat competition in a sort of zero-sum game manner. Sentiments are organized around ethno-religious and communal identities which are negatively messaged and manipulated so as to achieve selfish and parochial objectives.

2.2.3.2 Fear of Domination and Marginalization

Inadequate and inequitable distribution of resources, claims to economic control, political control and other opportunistic position often generates opposition from other groups or community who have not been apportioned a fair share of resources or appointed to equitable positions. Anyebe (2001:2) opined that, much of the conflicts in Nigeria can be attributed to alienation and marginalization of the young people by the government which made them to be easily drawn to the group that promises total revolutionary change.

Expanding the argument further, Kazah-Toure (2003:30) pointed out that, the demand for the creation of more chiefdoms, local government and state in Nigeria increases because they are championed by the elite of different groups due to fear of domination and marginalization. In other words, all the agitations remain the quests for power and struggle for self-determination by the communities' elite.

Looking at the situation of fear of domination and marginalization in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, Adamu (2002:18) citing Usman (1979) revealed that, it was the continuous expansion of the Tiv to the north which was posing a big threat to the security of the Emir of Lafia and his subordinate Chiefs that compelled the Emir and his vassals to take steps in trying to check the Tiv menace. This by extension means that, as population of any group increases, the more famed it becomes in the socio-political and economic affairs of the area and as such may dominate and marginalize the other groups in decisions that affect the community which may not be acceptable to other groups and may lead to conflict.

Relating the above assertions to the situations in the study areas especially Wukari local government area, Adamu (2002:13) cited Usman (1979) revealed that, it is likely that the Jukun rulers were beginning to fear that the Tiv and Abakwa (Hausa) would eventually gain control of all the trade routes in the Benue region and were determined to put an end to their menace. The fastest growing population of the Tiv in the area led to increased demand and pressure on land which threatened the other ethnic groups and makes them to resist. This perception of threat also account for most of the communal conflicts in the area including the Tiv/Jukun conflicts (Otite and Albert, 2001:106).

2.2.3.3 Land Disputes

Land refers to farmlands from which rural agricultural communities made their living (Otite and Albert, 2001:103). Most communal conflicts in Nigeria are as the result of high pressure on land arising from high rate of population growth. The division of the country into local governments and states favoured communal conflicts as terms like original settler and intruders are used to differentiate and deter people from claiming a portion of land. Communal conflicts often erupt when the claims of one party to a territory become

incompatible with the desire of another within the same physical territory (Otite and Albert, 2001:88). Territory according to Ardrey (1967:5):

> Is an area or space which an animal or group of animals (including human) defends as an exclusive preserve. It is within such territory that the basic needs and interests of such animals are gratified and will strive to keep out those who undermine their interests and needs.

As earlier noted, the original settlers tend to fight off those regarded as intruders. The former may voluntarily or in voluntarily allow those regarded as strangers to settle as tenants with or without some periodic symbolic payments as recognition. Those claims accounted for numerous communal conflicts in Nigeria including the Mangu/Bokkos conflicts in plateau state, Tiv/Azara conflict in Nasarawa state, Numan/ Demsa conflict in Adamawa State. And other conflicts in the study areas were the Tiv/Jukun and Hausa/Jukun conflicts in Wukari local government while, the Chamba/Kuteb and Tiv/Kashimbilla conflicts in Takum local government.

2.2.3.4 Resource Control and Availability.

According to Barongo (1980:66), the intense violent competitions and communal conflicts towards aggrandizement of power defined the character and structure of the political elite's interaction in a competitive bargaining situation in the polity that determines their relative importance, influence and power. He maintained that activities of elite in Nigeria are interplay of three factors namely; the condition of the material base, the historical experience and the perceptions of the environment by the elite.

Working with the same perception, Egwu (1998:16) contended that, the deliberate discrimination of one group against another is all about mobilization to foster and advance the cause of individual or groups interest, which takes greater meaning in

conflicts and competitive situation, in which available resources are scarce, relative to the interests that grow around them. The simple analogy of Egwu's assertion is that, communal conflicts erupt due to the forces of elite interests in their quests for power.

In virtually all the communal conflicts in Nigeria, the role of entrepreneur elite who mobilize ethnic grievances in pursuit of their material interest has been decisive. The conflict entrepreneur elite of these groups mobilize people for personal objective which are subversive to collective interest (Isumonah and Gaskia, 2001:74). The conflict entrepreneurs (elite) encourage communal conflict in order to promote their products (e.g. selling of weapons) or to get community recognition for either political or traditional appointment after the hostility period as compensation for their hard work and contribution. Communal conflicts while bloody are now channeled towards garnering more economic gain for the group concerned.

Linking the scholarly views with the situations in the study areas, it is obvious to discover that, the elite of the different ethnic groups organized and supported their various groups to gain economic advantage during or after the conflict period. It is worth noting that, majority of the people of these areas are farmers and are not too exposed, as such could not have enough financial resources or exposures on how to get the sophisticated weapons used during these conflicts.

2.2.3.5 Disregard for Cultural Symbols

The categorization of Nigerians according to tribes and culture by the Europeans during their domination period created a condition favorable for disregard to cultural symbols. Nigerians have unconsciously internalized this ominous and discriminatory classification of their countrymen in which both Africans and Europeans are made to believe that certain ethnic groups are more important, superior or inferior and worthy of respect than

the others (Nnoli, 1978). Beyond that, when an individual or group of individuals from one group threatens the faith and believe of another group, such an act could easily be interpreted as against the entire group and consequently might generate communal conflict. In addition, the punishment of an individual considered to be from the more important group by the one considered inferior in that community could also lead to conflict (Otite and Albert, 2001:7).

Relating the assertions to the study areas situations, it is obvious that, the under estimation and lack of respect of the cultural symbols of the Jukun by the Tiv in Wukari local government area that prompted them (Tiv) to agitate for representation in Wukari Traditional council. Relatively, the Chamba people have the same thought toward the Kuteb or vice-versa in Takum local government areas.

In a concise form, the communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas in history have variously manifested as a result of chieftaincy tussle, religious, political, land (native/settler) disputes as well as manipulation of people for economic motives by the different elite.

2.2.4 Problems of Communal Conflicts in Nigeria

Conflict has been a reality of human coexistence since pre-historic times, due to struggles between various factions of elite in the society to satisfy their interests and needs. The last few decades have witnessed a lot of communal conflicts throughout Nigeria. Babangida (2002:17) explained that, the resultant effects of communal conflicts among other things are wastages of enormous human life and properties as well as a threat to human existence. Communal conflicts affect corporate existence and development of any society that experienced it.

Looking at the Nigeria situations carefully, Osaghae (2001:18) concluded that, the pervasiveness of ethnic politics in Nigeria is as a result of aggravated communal conflicts that has engulfed the country and is explained in terms of proven efficacy of the elite's strategy that created the prevailing milieu of lawlessness. Nnoli (1978:22) pointed that, the various ethnic groups in Nigeria often directed their aggressive impulses against other ethnic groups whom they competed with before the colonial era for dominance and supremacy. He explained further that, the recurrence of communal conflicts in Nigeria is entangled with the Nigerian politics which presented an image of struggles among the various elite groups for the sharing of the national resources. The implication of this is that, communal conflicts threaten harmonious relationship and group existence.

Relating the scholars views to the situation or problem of communal conflicts in the study areas, it is not an over statement to say, it has encouraged struggles among the elite on the promotion and agitation for the superiority of their beliefs, values and norms over those and others. Beyond that, it has created structural suspicion among the elite and the ethnic groups due to sentiments and hatred for one another. Commenting on the effect of tribalism to societal development and peaceful coexistence, Sklar noted that:

> Most of the people who differ from each other in language, race, and religion; lived side by side in a long tradition of mutual hostility, restrained only in the past by imperial power. They are mutually antipathetic not because of principles disagreement but; simply because they are historic enemies. Sklar (1971:2).

The forgoing statement portrays how long historic hostility between different groups may affects decision (s) that involves the development of their area. Communal conflicts are a social phenomenon that encourages cultural identities and often affects social identities (Bisin and Verdier, 2000:4).

Relating the assertions to the situation in the study areas, an interview with a Jukun man in Wukari town (21-7-2014) revealed that, a responsible Tiv man will find it difficult to get the support of Jukuns in terms of intermarriage, election among others. This is just because of the perceptions that are accorded to the other group's culture as well as the kind of conflicts that occurred between them.

In the past, much of economists' attention was not given to the effects of communal conflicts on economic outcomes and policies. Kormedi and Mequire (1996: 338) pointed out that, communal conflict affects economic growth through Investment-Income Ratio (IIR). Easterly and Levine (1997:105) pointed that, the negative trends of economic outcomes in Nigeria are connected with series of communal conflicts in the country. According to them, communal conflicts negatively influenced social sanctions, individual's preference as well as abolitions and destruction of goods and services due to norms, beliefs and values in a constructive conflict.

Using the research areas as a case study, Adamu (2002:7) and Best (2003:6) pointed that, communal conflicts in the areas affected economic outcomes through the in ability of the people to go to farms due to fear of attack by their opponents. Beyond that, most of the farm produced are destroyed either at home where the opponent over power the other group or in the farm when the farmers could not go to their various farms. The conflicts between Tiv/Fulani in Wukari local government saw the mass destructions of Tiv farms by the Fulanis. Such mass destruction of properties does not allow for rapid development of an area.

Development cannot be achieved in the state of instability or conflict environment. However, Swingewood (1975:13) pointed that, conflict is part and parcel of human community and is the basis upon which development takes place. Conflicts are

ubiquitous, not necessarily dysfunctional and can be required to defy people to perform and stimulate progress (Adi, 1993:14). That is, conflicts are not the opposite of cooperation, but a mechanism that allows perceiving benefits of cooperative work. Adamu (2002:23) opined that, conflict is psychologically and socially healthy. By psychologically healthy, he meant, it provides a feeling of participation. And by socially healthy, he meant, it encourages opposition to the status quo and provides condition for social chances and respect to diversity.

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

Scholars are divided in their views and analysis of the concept conflict. While some of the scholars are of the view that conflict is a way of human life for development, others believed it doesn't bring development.

Coser's most popular idea on conflict refers it as anti-development, hence, individuals or group of individuals employed every means to achieve their desired goal even by eliminating the opponents. Robbins and George also averred with Coser's view that, conflict is any activity that brings only negative impact to the society. The perceptions of these scholars avers us that conflict start with mobilization of resources against another and end with elimination of opponent that also have interest in such resources. Ardrey's work on territorial imperative further solidified the argument when he says, animals (including human) tends to preserve, protect and defend their territory all the time because it provides and gratifies their needs. This implies that, every community can be hostile to any form of change or encroachment against existing protocol.

Barongo, Egwu, Nnoli and Mill contended that, it is the forces of the elite interest in their guest for power that is responsible for our modern day's conflicts. Conflict occurred due to different perceptions of event by people especially when it comes from opposing

interest. This means that the collision of two stones or killing of antelope by a lion is not a conflict as it portrays a natural way of life.

In the work of Smith, Deutsch, park and Burgess, conflict is a hegemony affairs as such is a way of exerting influence over others. They scholars totally deviates from the earlier scholars views. They viewed conflict as a way of selling disagreement from divergent interests. It is an endemic feature of human history and such is designed to resolve interests, feelings and thoughts among different group's action or inaction. It has been with human existence and is the basis upon which development is built on. It also provided societies with both psychological event (feeling of participation) and sociological event (encouragement of opposition of status quo). Looking at the whole scenario, Isa concluded that, conflict is an unavoidable concomitant of choices in which the peaceful gains of one actor depend on the degree of importance attached by another actor event with the introduction of Liberalism which succeeded in creating more in-equality gap among the social classes.

Conclusively, in each of Nigerian community, there are individuals who have the power or clout to start or stop conflicts. These individuals could be politicians, religious leader, youth leaders, professional body, businessmen, and traditional leaders. These figures are capable to pull the strings that make communities either function or dysfunction where ever they are. In addition, Nigeria is a hierarchical society and social relations within the hierarchical structures are bound in socio-cultural traditions marked by top-button patterns of different groups to mobilize, manipulate and channel their members to their desired inclinations. Beyond that, the low level of literacy and poverty worsen the gullibility of the masses, who are often induced with petty rewards and promises. Once again, peace is indispensable for human existence and any community or society that strives to develop.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Broadly speaking, there are three major theories often used by political scientists to explain conflict in any socio-political setting. These are: social class theory (Marxian), pluralist theory and elite theory.

For the purpose of this research work, elite theory is used. The theory was developed in response to Marxian theory which viewed conflict as the basic source of social evolution. The theory depicts that powers flows not from the ownership of property but from political and bureaucratic organisations. The central argument of the theory lies in the affirmations that power configuration is basically the configuration of competing and struggling and struggling interest organized into groups. Major proponents of the theory are Marvin, Pareto, and Mosca among others.

Pareto (1937), for instance, in his work on elite divided society into two distinct groups; the elite and the masses. He argued that, the governing elite are dominated by the instinct for combinations, while the masses are dominated by the persistence of aggregates. This provides a stable situation since the masses are not likely to have enough initiative to challenge the rule of the elite. Any revolution which pretended to abolish elite would end up by simply replacing one set of elite with another.

Mosca (1945) in differentiating between political systems argued that, many societies depend largely on two strata, those that rule and those that are prepared to be followers. To him, it is possible for families to be in an elite position for several generations thereby controlling the affairs of things in the society.

Marvin (1971) pointed out that in any society; oligarchy exists as few small sets of people dominate the many. He maintained that, the elite group constitutes a very tiny percent of

the total population but because of the political and economic powers, they control the many members of the society.

Elite are necessary and inevitable in society. The high level of socio-political organization of the elite makes them highly necessary and needed for any large organization to function. Elite are endowed with certain abilities or qualities, which enable them to exploit certain situation to their own advantage. Of course, not all abilities lead to economic wealth or political power. But those who have most of the abilities which societies reward become the political elite. In specific term, elite may really exploit ethnic or sub-ethnic cleavages in cornering scarce desirable socio-political and economic resources through the manipulation of the masses that are mostly uninformed.

However, the use of Elite theory has not been able to give a water tight explanation on the relationship that exists between the community and other communities. Critiques of the theory like Elmer Eric, Dye Thomas, Seymour Lipset etc. criticize the theory of not giving room for normative consideration due to the presumption of limited and peaceful competition among member of the elite while citizen are only allows with passive role in the society. It was also criticize of being scientific and mechanistic in it analysis of residence power. They also criticize the theory of overemphasize on controls by few group over the many. The critiques also criticize the theory for undermining the role of the media and other institution in creating awareness to the masses on trend of events globally that could reduce the elite influence over the masses. The theory could operate in oligarchical or monarchical community where the rights of the masses are undermined during leadership selection. But all the same, the relevant of elite theory to our work cannot be overemphasized as it helps in explaining whose interest the elite represent and why we always have conflicts due to divergent elite interests the world over.

In an attempt to relate these theoretical postulations to the situation in the study areas, the theory helps us to explain why the elite of the various groups in the study areas manipulated ethnic loyalties as they are absorbed in the struggle to remain relevant in the community which divides the communities into hostile camps. The increasing influence of the elite in creating communal conflicts in the areas can be explained as having to do with the character of poor value towards other in the study areas. That is, the continuous ruralism of the areas by the elite and their desired to get what they want at any particular time makes conflict inevitable.

Consequently, the elite in their quest to sustain their tricks among hegemonic groups on what they promised and what they have done created class formation which subjected these areas to constant communal conflicts. Beyond that, the factionalization that emerges within the elite created in-fighting even among the elite and they resulted to mobilization of the masses along ethnic and religious line to achieve their goals. Even within the circle of the same elite groups, there are elite at the centre and the peripheral (Local) actors. The center elite sometimes used the peripheral elite to fulfill their mission (Kalyvas, 2006). The elite at the centre use resources to side with local elite who detect to their followers for which relationship between them will characterize by cooperation or conflict to achieve their mission. In this case, none of the groups want to allow the other group chance to dominate the community's affairs as their elite encourage them not to relent on their efforts to always control the communities.

The theoretical position of this research work lies on the following assumptions:

i. The elite have influence in the decision (s) of their societies and as such pursue their interests at the detriment of the societies.
ii. The elite have the tendency to manipulate decision (s) of their societies for their selfish interest.

iii. The more access to political power the elite enjoy, the more they smile to banks and as such, any group (s) that lost out will resorts to creating problem and conflict against the other.

For peace to reign in any area including the study areas, it requires the cooperation, understanding and coming together of the elite. They (elite) are once again, regarded as fundamental figures for relationship between communities is characterized by either cooperation or conflict. In other words, they are important figures in the escalation or de-escalation of conflict in a society.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the basic research methods, principles or techniques that it we employed including historical and survey approach to aid us in information gathering on the impacts of elite in the escalations or de-escalations of command conflicts in the study areas. The historical approach used necessitates our desire to take another look at the historical evolution of communal conflict in the areas. While the survey approach used in gathering information from respondents on the role played by elite during conflicts in the study areas.

The plans, structures, strategies and procedures adopted in the investigation to obtained data and subsequent analysis of the data includes among others the research design, the study population and sample size, the sources of data and instrument of data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The research design adopted for this work was the survey design (questionnaires and Semi questions for interviews).Survey approach can be used to collect large and standardized data from the field (specified population) (Vijay and Arvind 2010:9). Quantitative and qualitative data are mostly generated through field survey research design. The qualitative method is rest predicted on the fact that, the role of elite in communal conflict escalations or de-escalations required a conscious approach that was best captured by survey approach. Further, qualitative method enables proper appraisal of process that enables critical assessment of information gathered while quantitative method enables systematic empirical investigation of quantitative phenomena using survey design in data collection and statistical techniques in the analysis of the data.

The study is survey in nature, and with survey methodology, people's attitudes, actions, behaviour or opinions toward situations are assessed. It also exposes the major element of any phenomena through exploring the views of different sets of respondents and literatures related to the study.

3.3 Study Population and Sample Size

Population in research is the collection of all considerable elements, subjects or observation relating to a particular phenomenon which is of interest to the researcher, while sample size is the process of selecting a representative number of items out of the whole population on the characteristics of the sample. The population of the study areas comprises of Kuteb, Chamba, Jukun, Hausa, Tiv, Fulani etc. who are inhabitants of Wukari and Takum local government areas and who are engaged in the communal conflicts.

The 2006 National population census conducted in Nigeria puts the population of Wukari and Takun Local Government Areas at 383,459 persons. For the purpose of efficient and effective research work, the total number of people cannot be entirely captured. Grid squares (1x1cm) were super imposed on the topographical map of the study areas (Krejcie and Morgan 1969). Each grid square constitutes a zone or subgroups that represent aggregates of individual households in each cell. The households' surveyed representation from both ethnic groups is numbered 400. Araoye, (2004:122) explained that, generalization of findings can be made from research work with reference to representative of the population.

The techniques adopted in the study involved cluster (stratified sampling method) Sample Random sampling or Area sampling method because most of the people in the areas associate physically or naturally either through farming or civil service. The communities are characterized with suspicions and mistrust due to the numbers of conflicts in the areas

and as such, the sampling method adopted was considered the most suitable to provide closer access to a fair sample.

The sample size of the study was determined based on the probability sampling method in which each unit in the population has a known probability or chance of selection. It is worth noting that, the probability needs not be equal for all the units in the population. As earlier noted, sample size means number of items selected from the many to fulfill the main criterion of flexibility, reliability, efficiency and representativeness.

In deriving the sample size of the population of the study, the Yamane's (1967) formulae as quoted by Israel (1997:22) thus:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n = Sample size

N = Total population

e = Level of significance $(0.5)^2$

Thus, $n = \frac{383,459}{1 + 383,459\ (0.5)^2}$

$n = \frac{383,459}{1 + 383,459\ (0.25)}$

$n = \frac{383,459}{1 + 958}$

$n = \frac{383,459}{959}$

n = 400 (Sample size).

3.4 Source of data

Data refers to information. It is very important in research, because it enables hypothesis testing. Normally, research are undertake to conform the validity of a claim (s). The most commonly sources of data are:-

3.4.1 Primary sources of data

The instruments used to obtain data were questionnaires and interviews conducted and administered to different individuals that were affected during the communal conflicts in the areas. This was achieved through the method of random selection (the probability of drawing any one household that was affected without replacement). The principle underlying this selection was the desire to avoid bias in the work and the need to achieve maximum precision.

Use of Questionnaires

This involves the framing of questions about a particular phenomenon or subject matter and getting group of individuals to respond to it based on their opinions on the matter. Questionnaires are list of questions handed over to different persons who are to answer the questions based on their perception of the incident (Vijay and Arvind 2010:2).

For the purpose of this study, we adopted the self-completion format of questionnaires method. A self-completion of questionnaire method is that in which the respondents answers questions by completing the questionnaires themselves. The questionnaires were designed with a combination of open and closed ended questions to elicit information from the various respondents selected randomly from the cells. This is because of the large size of the study areas and the research resorted to super-imposed grid system on the topographic map of the two local government areas (Krejcie and Morgan, 1969). In the

grid, 40 cells were produced and ten (10) individuals (in each cell) were selected randomly to respond to the questionnaires. Due to differences in land mass, population and number of conflicts, 22 cells representing 220 individuals (questionnaires) were administered in Wukari Local Government. While 18 cells representing 180 individuals (questionnaires) were administered in Takum Local Government Area.

A total of four hundred and twenty two (422) copies of questionnaires were carefully administered to different individuals that are Kuteb, Hausa, Jukun, Chamba and Tiv ethnic groups whom have engaged in communal conflict with one another in the study areas and the distribution cut across community leaders, politicians and public servants. We carefully resorted not to involve the Fulani ethnic group in the area due to their low level of literacy and nomadic nature. We ensured that their opinions are taken care of during interviewed period for fair and accurate findings. Four Hundred (400) questionnaires were retrieved after one week interval representing 95% return rate.

Oral Interview

This is the face-to-face or inter-personal situation in which one person; the interviewer asks the respondent questions designed to elicit information from them on their perception on the incident. It is the development of precision, focus, reliability and validity for getting information from respondents, interviews are categorized into personal, focused, clinical and non-direct interviews (Vijay and Arvind 2010:53-54).

For the purpose of this work, we used it to obtained in-depth information on the communal conflicts in the areas. This was aimed at given the respondents freedom to decide the sequence of the questions considered conversant. The oral interview questions were also designed to take care of the in-adequacies (e.g. literacy level, population size, among others) that the questionnaires were not able to address. The interview questions

were structured in a personal and focused categories to obtain in-depth information from some key personalities in the areas as well as to enable the researcher come up with a summarized divergent views and stance of each groups/communities through face-to-face contact or dialogue.

Over all, about ten (10) key opinion and community leaders were interviewed in and around Wukari and Takum local governments area with six (6) from Wukari Local government area while four (4) from Takum Local government area. The opinion and community leaders were selected due to their integrity, position and stance on issues without compromise. Also four (4) focused group discussion took place with youth leaders, traditional rulers, women leader and religious leaders in Wukari and Takum Local Government Area. These groups were selected because they often play vital role in conflict escalation or de-escalation. In terms of composition each focused group were represented by atleast three (3) members. It is worth nothing that discussions with each focused group were not done on a particular day.

3.4.2 Secondary Sources of Data

Secondary data for this work was gathered from textbooks, newspapers, and journals, articles among others through the examination of commission and committee reports and other documentations on the conflicts in the study areas. Data of this nature were obtained from centre for peace and conflict resolution, national Archives, Taraba state Bureau of Local Government and Chieftain Affairs, Wukari and Takum local government councils among others.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The data collected will be analyzed and interpreted through the qualitative method of data analysis. This method enables proper appraisal of processes and critical evaluations of information gathered from secondary sources of data.

Descriptive statistical techniques such as frequency tables and histogram to display percentages and ratios among others were employed to determine the characteristics and distributions of each of the parameter found in the questionnaire. The frequency tables also show the number and percentage of people characteristics, views and other variable in each category. It is worth noting that, data were first coded and classified through standard coding procedure. It is also important to note that, information in these categories was illustrated using frequency count, percentage and figures for more elaborations and any component question that received the highest percentage of responses remains the valid point for our analytical conclusion on that particular issue, although the final decision rule lies on the outcomes of the chi-square computation of result of the responses from the tables.

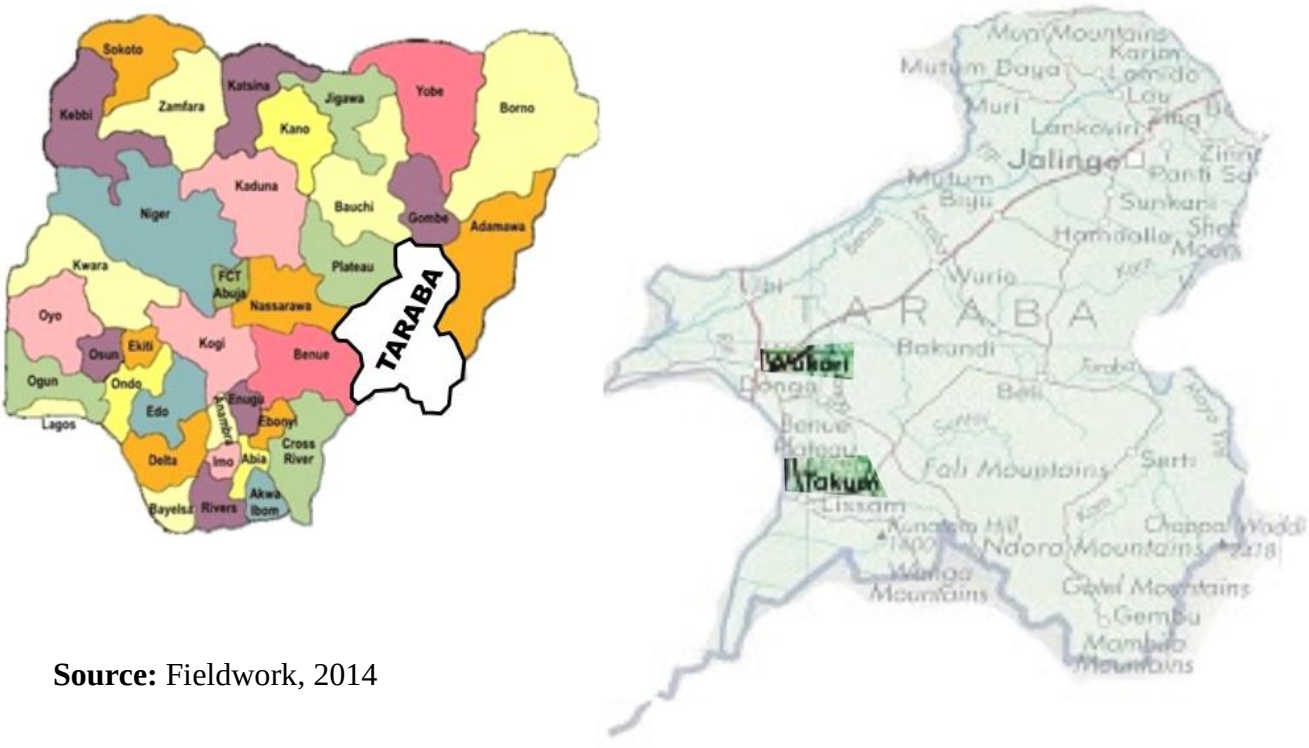
CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WUKARI AND TAKUM LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS

4.1 Location

Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas together are located at the Southern part of Taraba State and lies between latitude $6^0$30 and $7^0$36 north of the equator and longitudes $9^0$40 and $10^0$18 east of Greenwich meridian. The local government areas shares boundaries with Benue State to the west, Donga, Kurmi Local Government Areas while Republic of Cameroon to the South (See the maps below).

Figure 4.1: Maps of Taraba State showing Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

4.2 Physical Setting

The coming of other tribes such as Tiv, Hausa and Chamba people to these areas (Wukari and Takum Local Governments) is of great significance to the history of development and conflicts in the areas. For instance, histories have it that, communal conflict between Tiv/Jukun started as far back in 1954 in these areas. Reasons for these conflicts ranged from leadership struggle, economic and political control which started and reached the peak in recent years as is witnessed in recurrent communal conflicts (Adda, 1993:19).

The two local government areas fall within the Benue troughs and span to the foot of Bamanda highlands in the Republic of Cameroon. Most of the area is relatively flat especially around Wukari Local Government Area while Takum is hilly. The fairly topographical areas are about 500 meters above sea level. In addition, these areas are well drained by Ibi, Donga, Kashimbilla Rivers which also afford boat transportation for almost six months in a year (Taraba Diary, 2008).

The areas fall within the humid tropical savanna climate based on Koppen's "AW" classification. It has wet and dry seasons which are influenced by the warm moist maritime south monsoon are winds which blow from the Atlantic Ocean and the dry tropical continental dusty north mass which blows from the Sahara desert (Taraba Diary, 2008).

The areas also fall within the southern Guinea Savanna Vegetation zone which has tropical deciduous forest as its climatic vegetation cover. Although suffers from deforestation, but pockets of forest are available at deep valleys, streams and hilly environment where settlements are dispersed (Taraba Diary, 2008).

4.3 Demography

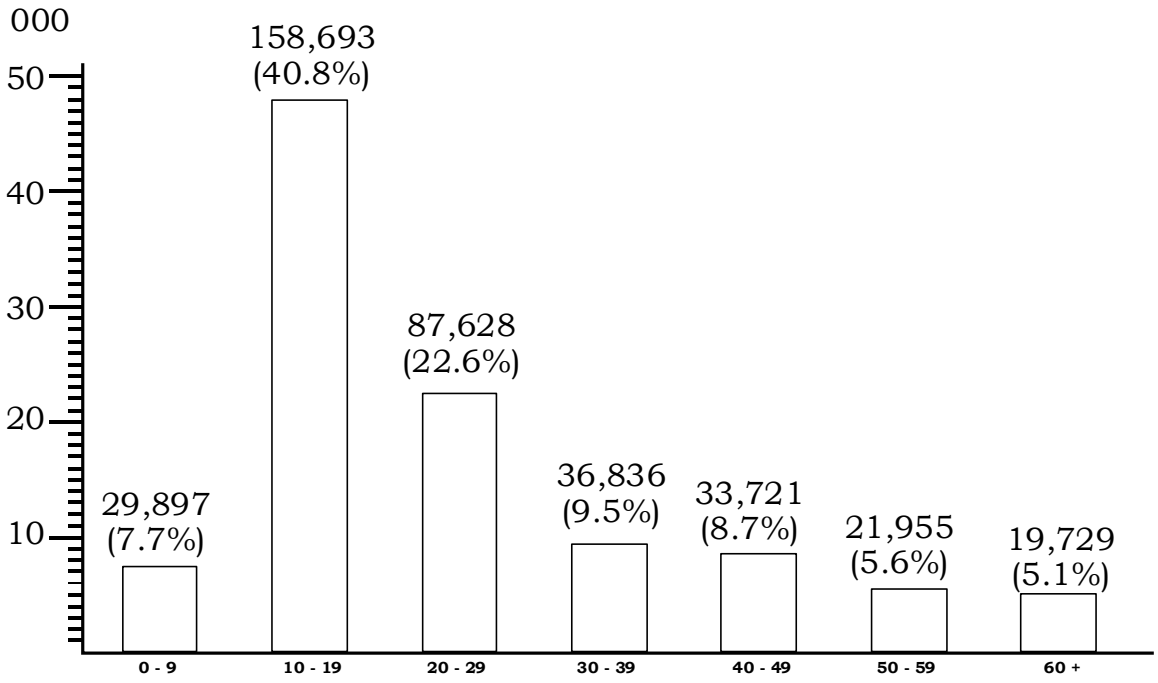
Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas have a heterogeneous population made up of Jukun, Kuteb, Chamba, Hausa, and Tiv among others. The 2006 National Population Census puts the population of the areas at 383,459 person. It has been alleged in Taraba Diary (2008) that Jukun population being the majority ethnic group in the area making 45.7% of the total population. This dominant tribe accounted for over 90% of the population in Wukari Local Government Area and 60% of the population in Takum Local Government Area. The next ethnic group of the population in hierarchy was Tiv making 13.1% while Hausa/Fulani occupied 12.4 of the total population. The Chamba, Kuteb and others were put at 10.5%, 8.6% and 9.7% of the total population respectively. The age distribution of the population of the study area is shown in the table below.

Table 4.1: Age Distribution of the population of the study area

Age	Population	Percentage (%)
0-9	29897	7.7
10-19	158693	40.8
20-29	87628	22.6
30-39	36836	9.5
40-49	33721	8.7
50-59	21955	5.6
60+	19729	5.1
Total	383,459	100

Source: National Population Commission, Abuja.

Figure 4.1: Age Distribution of the population of the study area



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The population structure of the area is a youthful one with 0-29 years of age accounted for 71.1% of the total population. Out of the 71.1% population, 0-19 years of age accounts for about 48.5% while 20-30 year of age accounts for 23.7% of the total population. On the other hand, the most production age of the population 30-59 years of age constitutes only 23.8% and the old 5.1% of the total population as shown below.

This partially makes the population to be full of children and female folk and a more dependent one probably due to the frequent communal conflicts that bedeviled the areas as most of the agile male youths are killed. It is worth noting that, the areas requires social amenities such as portable water, electricity, health and educational facilities that were destroyed during the conflicts and also to keep the population growing. Although the population growth rate is estimated at3% per annum which by extension means that, the projected population of the areas will be around 504997 by the year 2016 (Gani, 2008).

4.4 Economy

The climatic condition that is good coupled with good relief and fertile soils have made agriculture the dominant occupation of the people. Over 80% of the inhabitants of these areas are farmers (Bashir, 2000:35) producing a variety of agricultural crops for both direct consumption and industrial processing. The implication of this pattern of occupation is constant land dispute between the Nomads and agrarian farmers. This has attracted many other tribes such as Igala, Yoruba, and Igbo, among others, to the areas for trading and farming purposes. The administrative statuses of the areas as local government headquarters have generated jobs and attracted few more from other areas for civil purposes (Taraba Diary, 2008).

4.5 Social Infrastructure

Most infrastructural facilities such as electricity, health facilities, educational institutions, road network, and potable water are grossly in adequate and where they are available, they are substandard and some are destroyed due to the incessant conflict that bedeviled these areas (Gani 2008). The inadequacy of such facilities in these areas is due to Governments lack of foresight and insensitivity to the plight of the people.

For instance, Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas with a population of 383,459 had only 197 primary schools and only 39 secondary schools which lack basic teaching facilities, building structures, e.t.c. even before most of them were razed down during the conflicts. In terms of health facilities and others, they are inadequate and poorly equipped such that patients do not have confidence on them any longer. In essence, much is needed to alleviate the living condition of the people in that part of the country.

4.6 Settlement Pattern

The settlement pattern of the areas comprises of rural (villages) and urban (Local Government Headquarters).The rural areas are dominated with the three types of settlement pattern (nucleated, linear and scattered). The nucleated settlement resulted as a result of convergence of road and tracks at node, e.g. Kpambo and Kente. The scattered settlement arised as a result of farm stead which dominant the areas. The linear settlements are mostly found along the streams or road linking one village to the other. The materials used in buildings are majorly local source for the avoidance of cost, though these kinds of settlements form the origin of some urban centers today in the areas, e.g. G/Dorowa and Muji. While the urban centers are mostly the local government headquarters and few other places that are mostly business centers where people come from far and near to buy some commodities at relatively cheap prices.

The inhabitants of the area comprised of Islam's, Christians and Traditional worshipers. In terms of distribution, Islam's accounted for 30% of the total population of the study area and, they are mostly found in the urban centres and developed rural areas for their trading activities. Christians accounted for 65% of the total population in the area with many of them engaging in farming, trading, fishering among others and have large proportions of their numbers in both urban and rural areas. The remaining percentage of the population (5%) is traditional worshippers who also engage in farming, trading and other traditional activities or functions of the area (Taraba Diary, 2008).

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

Communal conflicts are perceived the world over as something abnormal and therefore, unleashed far reaching effects to individuals or communities. It is not surprising to read that, conflicts are conceived as purposeful struggle between collective actors who use social power to defeat or remove opponents in order to gain status, resources and push their values over other social groupings (Himes, 2001:35).

This chapter is concerned with data presentation, analysis of data and discussion of major findings. The researcher used both primary and secondary data in the findings.

5.2 Analysis of responses to questionnaires

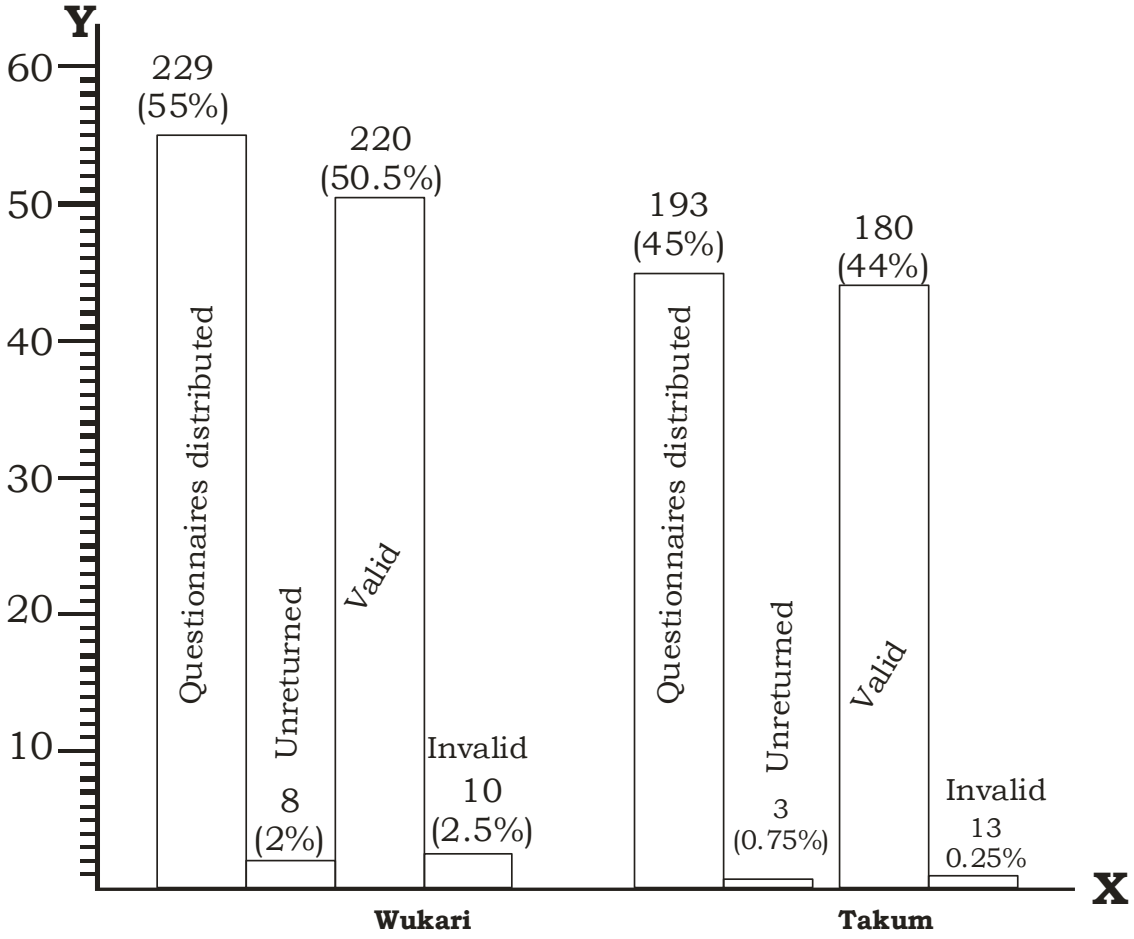
As earlier noted, the researcher administered a total of 422 questionnaires to the different selected households in the 40 cells created by the adoption of the grid system in the topographic map of Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas. Although, due to differences in land mass, population size, rate of effects among others, a total of 227 questionnaires were distributed in Wukari local government area while 197 questionnaire were distributed in Takum. The questionnaire is divided into two (2) sections. That is, section 'A' which deals with the demographic data to determine the respondent's sexes and ages .Section 'B' deals with the research questions proper. The table and figure below present questionnaires distribution pattern and the number collected.

Table 5.1: Questionnaires Administered and Collected

Local Govt. Area	Number of Questionnaires	Number collected	Number unreturned	Valid	Invalid	Total (%)
Wukari	229	221	8	220	9	52.1
Takum	193	188	5	180	13	42.7
Total	**422**	**409**	**13**	**400**	**22**	**94.8**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.1: Distribution of valid and invalid questionnaires in the Study Area



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Table 5.1 and figure 5.1 show the total number of 422 questionnaires administered with Wukari Local Government Area having 220 representing 55% of the total questionnaires distributed: while Takum Local Government Area having 180 representing 45% of the

total questionnaires distributed. Of this number, 221 questionnaires were collected from Wukari Local Government Area. 220 questionnaires which forms 52.1% of the questionnaires distributed in Wukari Local Government Area are valid while 180 questionnaires which forms 42.7% of the questionnaires distributed in Takum Local Government Area are valid. This means that 18 questionnaires which forms 4.5% and 4 questionnaires which forms 1% of the total questionnaires were invalid in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas respectively.

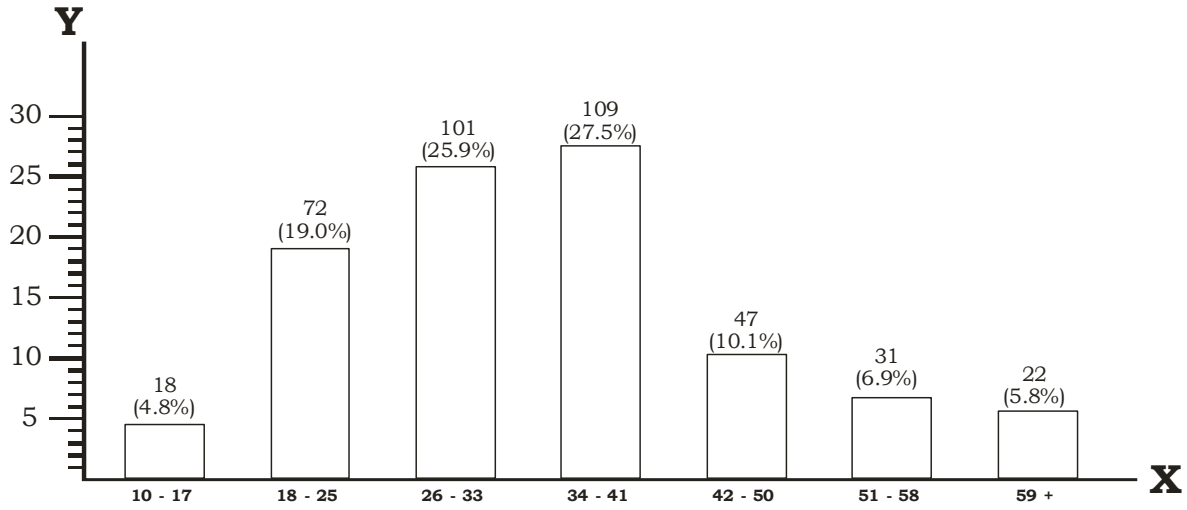
In a nutshell, a total of 400 questionnaires distributed were valid for the analysis. Hence, the valid questionnaires forms 94.8% of the total questionnaires administered.The table and figure below show the age distribution of respondents.

Table 5.2: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage (%)
10-17	18	4.8
18-25	72	19.0
26-33	101	25.9
34-41	109	27.5
42-50	47	10.1
51-58	31	6.9
59+	22	5.8
Total	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.2: Age Distribution of Respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

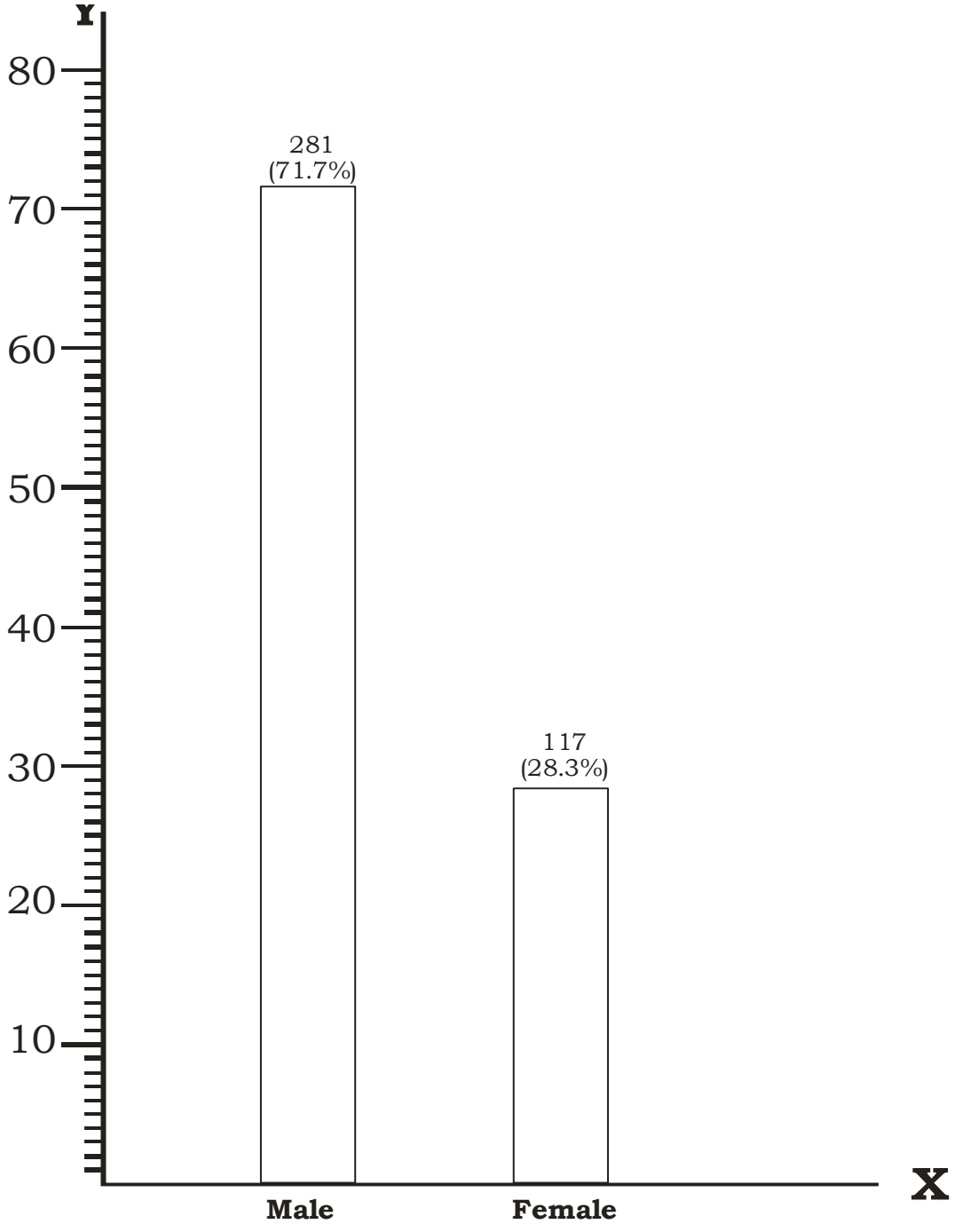
From table 5.2 and figure5.2 above, the frequency distributions vis-à-vis the percentages clearly indicates that most of the respondents selected are between the ages of 26-41 years of age with the percentage of 53.4%. The reason for this is adduced from the role of this age bracket during conflict as they are still agile and may have deeper knowledge of the conflicts as they are more involved in the battled field. The table and figure below show the gender of respondents.

Table 5.3: Gender of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	281	71.7
Female	119	28.3
Total	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.3: Gender of Respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Table 5.3 and Figure 5.3 depict that, 281 respondents representing 71.7% of the respondents are males while 117 (28.3%) of the respondents are females. The premise of the questionnaires distribution is due to the cultural values of the people where only males are recognized as family heads and are often those engaged in the battle fields. This means that, they stand a better chance to respond to issues that borders on conflicts and other general social affairs.

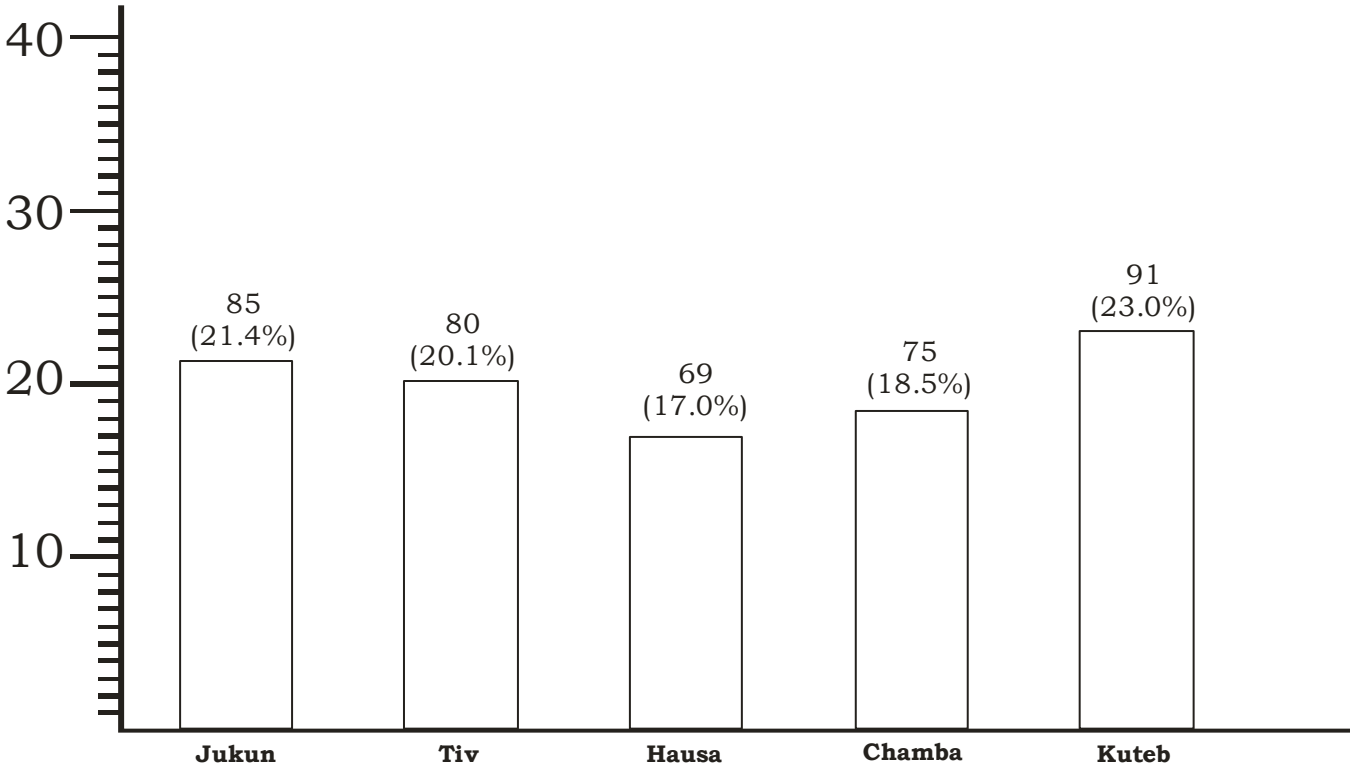
In our effort to ensure that the major ethnic groups especially those that have engaged in conflicts in one way or the other with each other are captured. The distribution of questionnaires method was carefully done to involve most of the major ethnic group in the area and might have one form of friction with any of the ethnic group to avoid biasness in our decisions. The table and figure below show ethnic distribution of respondents.

Table 5.4: Ethnic Distribution of Respondents

Ethnic Background	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Jukun	85	21.2
Tiv	80	20.0
Hausa	69	17.3
Chamba	75	18.7
Kuteb	91	23
Total	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.4: Ethnic Distributions of Respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Table 5.4 and figure5.4 show that the highest number of respondents 91 (23.0%) came from the Kuteb ethnic group. The least according to the table is the Hausa ethnic group with 69 (17.0%) respondents.

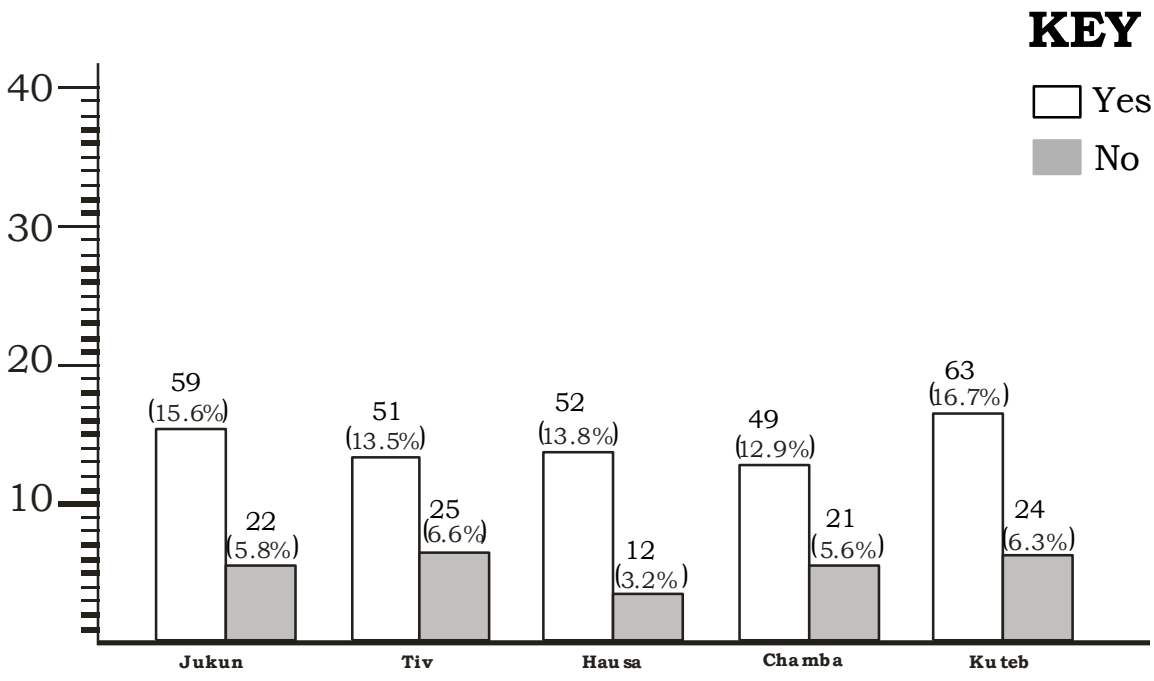
Sequel to the nature of data collected from the questionnaires, the researcher adopted statistical techniques such as calculations of percentages of the frequencies in a tabular form. Beyond that, Histogram charts are used to aid and portray the analysis further on each of the responses to a particular question. The table and figure below show respondents perception of the relationship between elite and communal conflict.

Table 5.5: Respondents' perception of the relationship between elite and communal conflict

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Yes		No		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	61	15.6	24	5.8	85	21.4
Tiv	52	13.5	28	6.6	80	20.1
Hausa	54	13.8	15	3.2	69	17.0
Chamba	49	12.9	26	5.6	75	18.5
Kuteb	65	16.7	26	6.3	91	23.0
Total	**281**	**72.5**	**119**	**27.5**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.5: Respondents' perception of the relationship between elite and communal conflict



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Table 5.5 and figure 5.5 show that, 281 (72.5%) respondents agreed that elite could create communal conflicts in an area, while 1119 (27.5%) respondents disagreed that elite could create communal conflict(s) in an area.

The shaded areas in Figure 4.5 represent the portion of the respondents who disagreed that elite can create communal conflicts in an area while the unshaded portion represents the proportion of respondents who agreed that elite can create communal conflict(s) in an area. The breakdown of the percentages on Figure 4.5 shows that 15.6%, 13.5%, 13.8%, 12.9% and 16.7%of all the ethnic groups agreed with the assertion that elite can create communal conflicts. While 5.8%, 6.6%, 3.2%, 5.6% and 6.3% disagreed respectively.

The result of the analysis therefore, indicates that, elite could create communal conflict(s) in an area. This is evidenced from the responses presented and analyzed in the above table where 72.5% of the respondents admission of the assertion. Their responses could be gingered by the influence the elite have over their respective groups and communities. More so, the responses could also be engineered by the ways and manners at which powers are displayed by these elite in the areas in their quests to actualize their interests through factionalization of the people along ethnic and religious groups.

The implication deduced from the analysis is that, it created bad relationship and perception as people tend to identify and associates more with their factional groups. Another implication deduced from the analysis is that, it encourages unhealthy elite struggle as none of the elite agreed to relent efforts in actualizing their incompatible goals. It is worth stating like (Alemika, 2002) that, the study areas been part of Nigeria that has numerous smaller ethnic groups and, who would want to identify with their cultures, protect their political and religious interests, there is bound to be a lot of suspicious among the different groups, elite interests and the communities in general.

Thus, the differences between cultural values and multiple interests on common resources by the elite in a pluralist society encouraged communal conflicts.

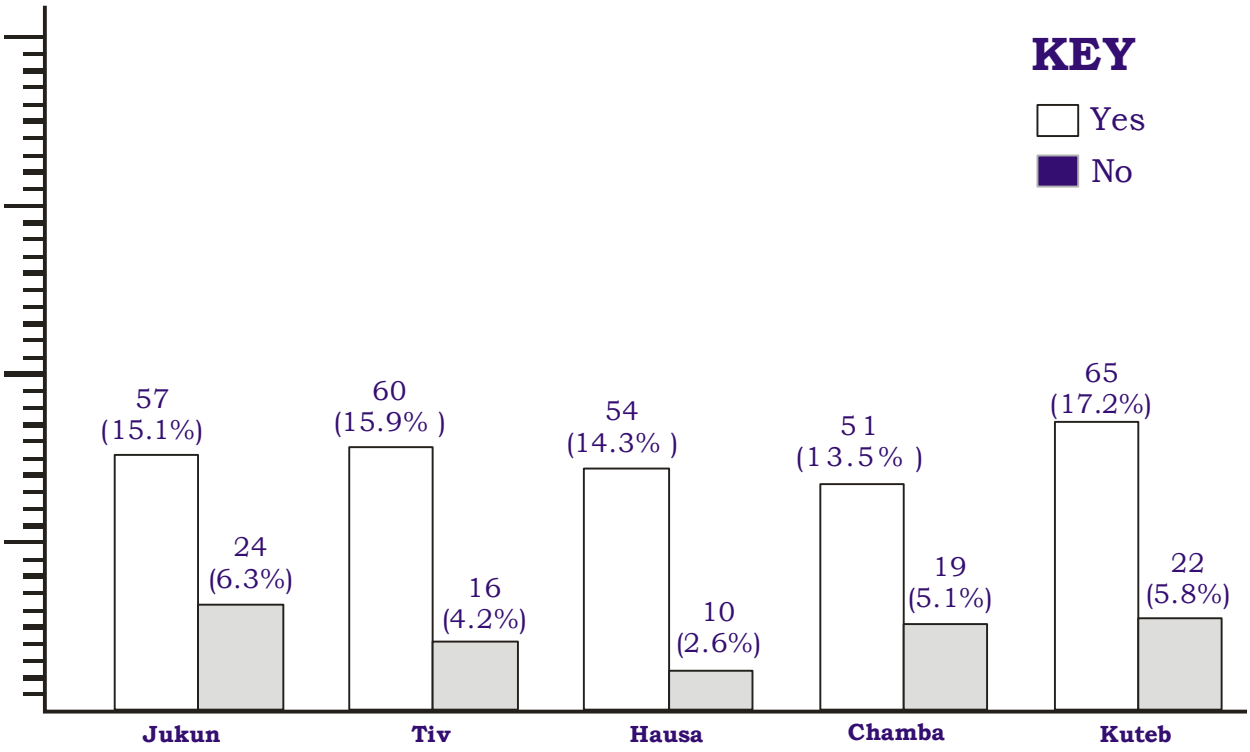
In an interview conducted at Muji village in Takum Local Government Area with one of the selected prominent personalities to be interview as earlier noted in the previous chapter (1.6) above, Elder Rimande Mamka on the 16th August, 2014 responded when asked "if elite can create conflicts in an area as quoted thus:"The elite are the brain box of any society with ours inclusive and as such do manipulate and direct people in accordance to their similar interest could amount to conflicts beyond villages". Elder Rimande's claims may have element of truth in it. FMINO (2002) have also identified power struggles among elite as a source of communal conflicts in Nigeria. The table and figure below present perceptions' of elite interest and communal conflict in the area

Table 5.6: Respondents' perception on whether there is a relationship between elite interests and communal conflicts in the study area

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Yes		No		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	59	15.1	26	6.3	85	21.4
Tiv	60	15.9	19	4.2	80	20.1
Hausa	54	14.3	15	2.6	69	16.9
Chamba	51	13.5	22	5.1	75	18.6
Kuteb	65	17.2	23	5.8	91	23
Total	**295**	**76.0**	**105**	**24.0**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.6: Respondents' perception on whether there is a relationship between elite interests and communal conflicts in the study area



Source: Fieldwork, 2014 and

Table 5.6 and figure 5.6above revealed that, 295 (76%) respondents agreed that, there is a relationship between elite interests and communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas. 105 (24%) respondents indicated that, there is no relationship between elite interests and communal conflicts in the study areas. The computation of the raw scores and the analysis of the result show that, there is a relationship or link between elite interests and communal conflicts in the areas. This is also evidence with the individual ethnic responses which shows high remark in favour of the relationship which in totality tripled that of those who disagreed as witnessed in the figure above where the unshaded portions represents the proportions of those who agreed while the shaded portions represents the proportions of those who disagreed with the assertion.

The implication deduced from the this analysis is that, group identification is paramount to the ethnic group than social grouping, fueled with fear of domination and marginalization which made the people to align more with their elite (Otite and Albert, 2002). In addition, the kind of control and influence that the elite have over the decision (s) that affect the communities in terms of co-operation and conflict subjected them to vulnerability of the elite decision (Kalysas,2006).

In a separate interview conducted in the study areas, Alh. Habu Usman (interview) revealed in Wukari Local Government are on 13th August, 2014 when asked whether he would relate the communal conflicts in the area to elite interests. His outright response in quoted thus:

> The frequent sickening conflicts in Wukari Local government area are purely masterminded by the elite for their selfish interests. They initiated people into fighting in their quest for land ownership, power struggles and fear of domination or marginalization. (Interview conducted on 13th August, 2014)

Also, Ardo Julde revealed in Takum Local government area on 16th August, 2014 when asked similar question that leadership and chieftaincy tussle between the two contending ethnic groups in the area is responsible for the conflict. In his words as translated from Hausa language to English is quoted thus:

> The conflict in Takum Local government area revolves round leadership and chieftaincy tussle although fear of domination or marginalization contributes a significant proportion to the conflicts but the elite capitalized on the first two to divide people along ethnic groups. (Interview conducted on 16th August, 2014)

It is worth noting at this juncture that, most of the communal conflicts in these areas emanates as a result of leadership and chieftaincy tussle between the elite like the Chamba/Kuteb communal conflict in Takum Local Government Area or as a result of

claims to land ownership, power struggle, fear of domination, marginalization, among others like the Tiv/Jukun, Hausa/ Jukun and Tiv/Fulani communal conflicts in Wukari Local Government Area. It is the elite that have the financial resources and influence to champion and pilot such task that require huge amount.

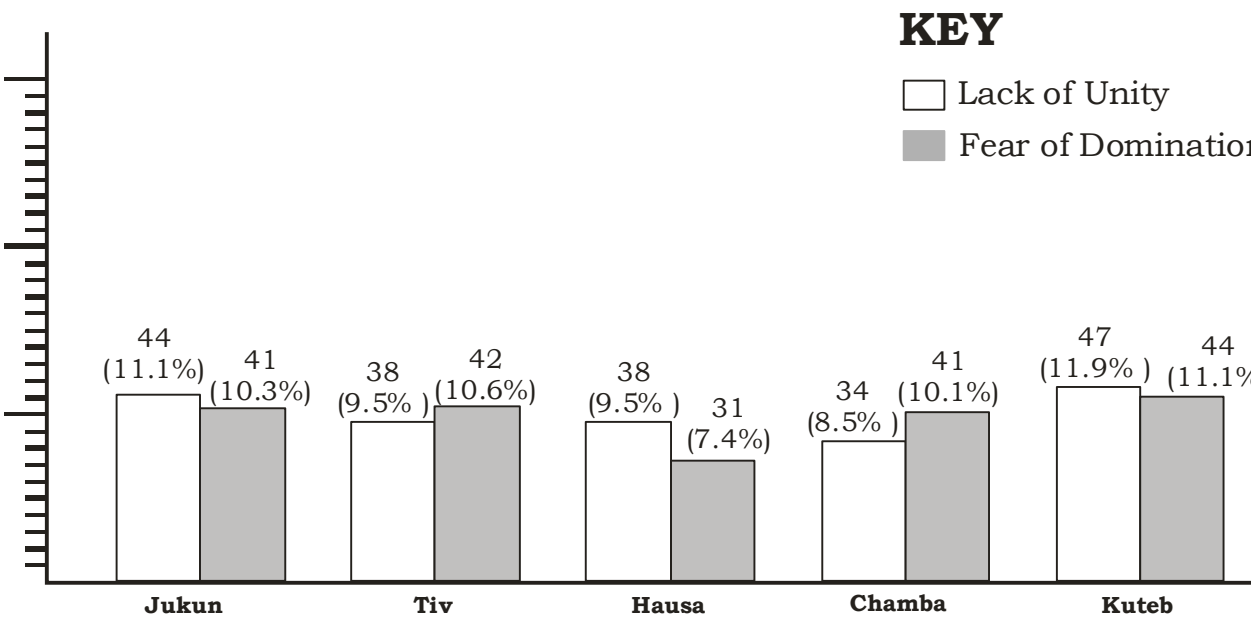
Although, Adams (1973) observed that, frustration, discontentment and discrimination could cause communal conflicts in an area especially when it follows the "blocked opportunities" or ethnic patterns. Yawe (2010) posits that, it was as a result of crisis of governance and pressure on land due to population growth that resulted to most of the communal conflicts in the areas but championed by the different elite for their selfish interest. It is important to note that, most of the people within the study areas are farmers and as such lack the exposure and financial capability to purchase the weapons used during such conflicts. Respondents were further asked on how elite created communal conflicts in the areas. The table and figure below presents the perception on how elite created communal conflicts.

Table 5.7: Respondents' perception on how elite created communal conflicts

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Lack of unity		Fear of domination		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	44	11.1	41	10.3	85	21.4
Tiv	38	9.5	42	10.6	80	20.1
Hausa	38	9.5	31	7.4	69	16.9
Chamba	34	8.5	41	10.1	75	18.6
Kuteb	47	11.9	42	11.1	91	23.0
Total	**201**	**50.5**	**187**	**49.5**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 4.7: Respondents' perception on how elite created communal conflicts



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The analysis of the results in table 5.7and figure 5.7 show that, 191 (50.5%) respondents believe the elite created communal conflicts in the areas through instituting lack of unity among the ethnic groups. While, 187 (49.5%) respondents believe the elite created communal conflicts in the areas through instituting fear of domination and marginalization among the ethnic groups. Deduction from the analysis indicates that, the elite are using different strategies to lure people along their ideology. This is evidence from the above responses as there is no much difference in the raw scores of the two options per ethnic group.

Figure 4.7 shows that, the unshaded portions represent the proportions of the respondents who believed that the elite often created command conflicts through creating issue of unity and trust among the ethnic groups. While the shaded portions represent the proportions of respondents who believed that elite created communal conflicts in the area through instigating fear of domination and marginalization on their people.

It is worth noting that factors such as discrimination, marginalization and domination in plural societies deepens negative perception of social horizons. The implication of the analysis is that the elite are not united to influence developmental projects to the entire communities. The elite manipulated people along ethnic and religious differences to achieve their goals thereby created suspicious among the people (Adamu, 2002). Another implication of the analysis is that, the tools used by elite to achieve their desired goals in the areas are tools favourable for unrest and tension in any place. Jega (1996) observed that, the driving force behind ethnic conflagration is power struggle among elite. It is important to note that the elite division of the people of the study areas along ethnic and religious is for personal gains and not community gains. As a capitalist society, communal conflicts caused by perceived inequality of control, ownership and distribution of scarce resource are elite oriented. Causes of such conflicts are often relative deprivation where a dominant group attempts to enforce its symbols, value system and language over others especially in heterogeneous societies. It is widely believed that conflict is inevitable phenomenon with human existence as witnessed even in ecosystem, due to struggle between the various factions to satisfy their interests and needs, even though conflict do not bring solution to the problem rather imposes losses, injuries, emotional trauma, distrust, intolerance and isolation.

Adam (2005:148) argues that, conflicts are designed to resolve divergent dualism and to achieve some king of unity. Swingewood (1975) further elaborate that class conflicts are necessary element of civilization and is fashioned by the strength of dominant class ideology and tactics of working class leadership. Galtung (1990) sees marginalization and deprivation in societies as being responsible for communal conflicts orchestrated by the elite.

Interview conducted by the researcher with Torsaa Gur (in Wukari) revealed that some elite are after what they could benefit at the expense of the entire community; they often mislead their people which often led to conflicts. Although, other interviewees attributed that it was fear of domination and marginalization that generated the Tiv/Jukun conflicts in Wukari local government area. In essence, the interviewees' revelations show that it was as a result of Tiv population growth and expansionate that made the Jukun elite to instigate and divide the people to achieve their desired goals.

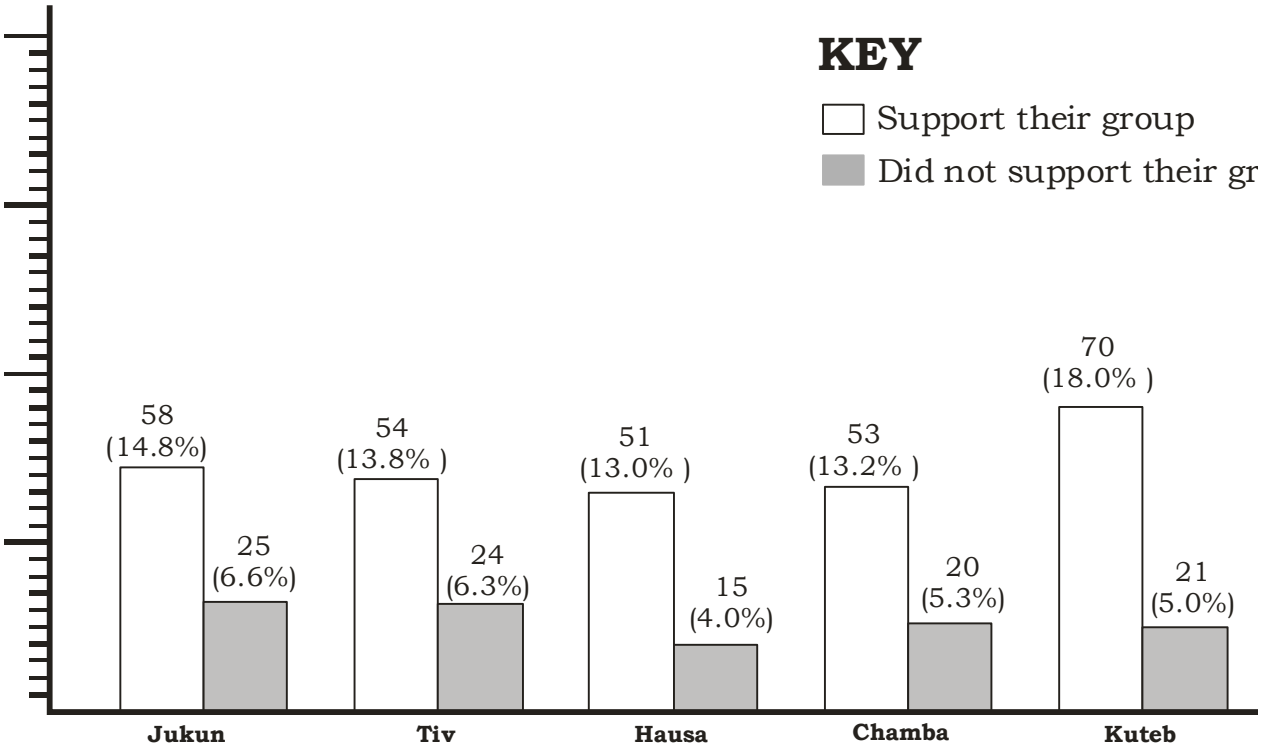
The role of elite in determining the kind of relationship that exists in the community cannot be over emphasized. Kalyvas (2006) pointed out that, elite only determines whether community relationship end up hostility (conflicts) or cooperation. In order to determine the reaction of the elite based on the above assertion. The table and figure below presents respondent perception of elite attitude during conflict.

Table 5.8: Respondents' views on Elite attitudes during communal conflicts in the study area

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Support their group		Did not support their group		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	56	14.8	25	6.6	81	21.4
Tiv	52	13.8	24	6.3	76	20.1
Hausa	49	13.0	15	4.0	64	17.0
Chamba	50	13.2	20	5.3	70	18.5
Kuteb	68	18.0	19	5.0	87	23.0
Total	**275**	**72.8**	**103**	**27.2**	**378**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Figure 5.8: Respondents' views on Elite attitudes during communal conflicts in the study area



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The result of analysis in table 5.8and figure 5.8 show that, 286 (72.8%) agreed that elite supported their groups during communal conflicts in the areas.114 (27.2%) disagreed and that, the elite did not support their groups. Observing the nature of the responses critically, it is clear that all the ethnic responses are high in favoured of the elite supported their groups. This may be as a result of the weapons used which are beyond peasant farmer's purchasing power.

Figure 5.8 above shows that the shaded areas represent the proportions of the respondents who believed that the elite did not support their groups while the unshaded portions represent the proportion of the respondents who believe that the elite supported their groups.

The implication deduced from this analysis is that, government efforts may not yield desired result as most of the elite are involve either directly or indirectly in those communal conflicts in the areas. Another implication from this analysis is that the use of identities by the elite to achieve their self desired interests is dangerous and difficult for solution as most of the decisions lies with them.

In an interview conducted with Biliya Galiya in Utiku village of Takum Local Government Area on 16th August, 2014 when asked "how the elite reacted to their groups action during the communal conflicts in the area"; He responded as thus:

> All the elite mobilized and supported their group in their various capacities to ensure success comes to their side at the end. They also make us believe that; it is the surest way of our liberation from the opponent group.(Interview on 16th August, 2014)

To further compliments Biliya's view, another interview was conducted in Wukari Local Government Area with Torsaa Gurin Gbangi village on 19th August, 2014 when asked "how the elite react to their groups' action during the communal conflicts in the area". He made the following assertions;

> The elite are the master minded of all the conflicts in the area so what did you expect of them. They make every effort to ensure that their opponents are defeated so that they could achieve their desired goals. In fact they make people believe that, it (conflict) is the surest way of liberation from the other group.

Biliya and Torsaa both emphasize the use of group identification to achieve and extract resources from the society. This is also in line with Michael Keating (1996) assertion that: "individuals define themselves collectively and identify with persons that largely satisfy their fundamental demands in order to extract resource or defend themselves from oppression".

It is important to note that, at that part of the world, it is widely believe that, ethnic identification especially during conflicts is the surest way of exploiting the group. The use of conflict to maintain identities, claims to territorial space and other resources encouraged the elite to exploit the opportunity in any society (Otite and Albert, 2001:23). And the hypothesis that all such conflicts are part of the inevitable competition for scarce by the elite is the most in this country.

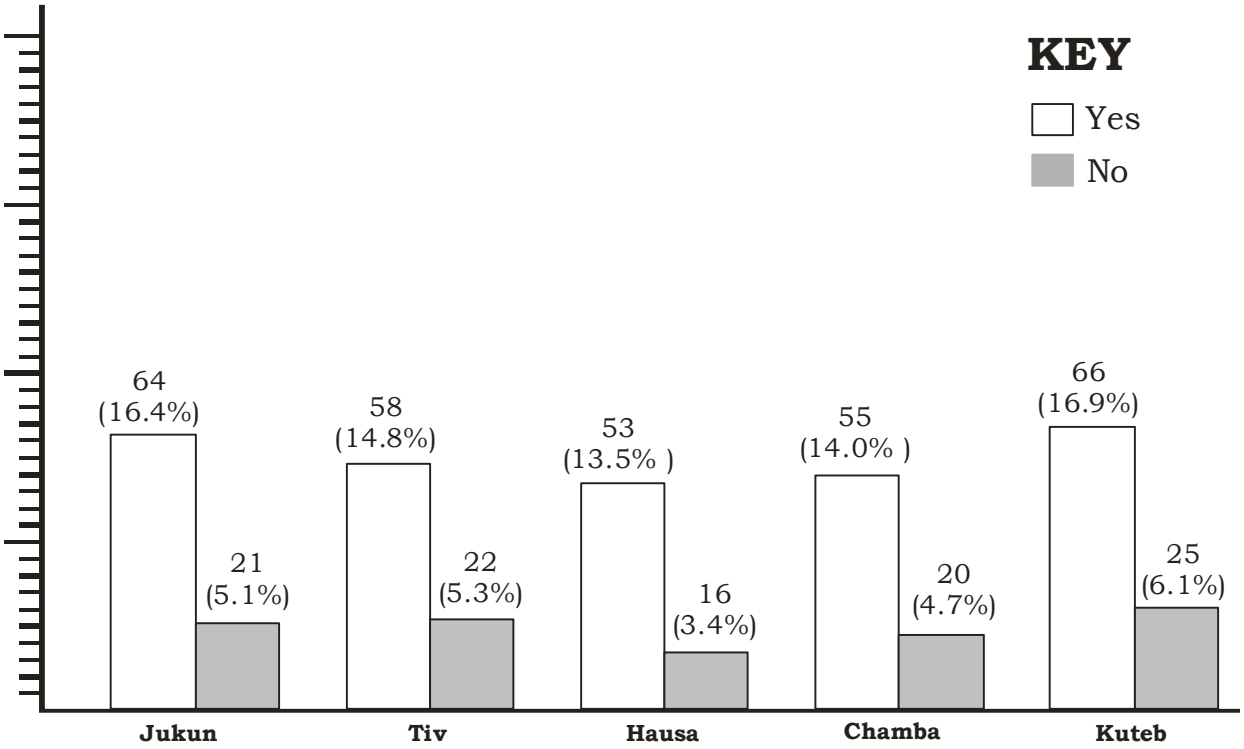
The occurrence and re-occurrence of communal conflicts between Tiv/Jukun, Hausa/Jukun, Tiv/Fulani, Chamba/Kuteb, among others, over land ownership, leadership and chieftaincy tussle, marginalization and fear of domination was a product of the support from the elite of the different group. The "Us" versus "Them" syndrome is historically significant in the identified policy by the elite to achieve their desired goals. The ideology that all such religious and ethnic conflicts are part of the inevitable societal liberation by the modernizing elite is perhaps the most popular in these areas. Respondents were asked to state whether there were incentives provided by the elite during conflict in the areas, and table and figure below presents the outcome of their perception.

Table 5.9: Respondents' views on whether Incentives were provided by the elite during conflicts

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Yes		No		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	64	16.4	21	5.1	85	21.5
Tiv	58	14.8	22	5.3	80	20.1
Hausa	53	13.5	15	3.4	69	16.9
Chamba	55	14.0	20	4.7	75	18.5
Kuteb	66	16.9	25	6.1	91	23.0
Total	**296**	**75.6**	**104**	**24.4**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Figure 5.9: Respondents' views on whether Incentives were provided by the elite during conflicts



Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The analysis of the result in table 5.9and figure 5.9 show that, 296 (75.6%) respondents agreed that, incentives were provided by the elite to their groups during communal conflicts in the areas. 104 (24.4%) respondents disagreed and that, incentives were not provided by the elite to the groups during communal conflicts in the areas. Critical assessment of the results shows that, incentives were provided to groups by the elite. This is evidenced as all the responses by the different groups are high and positive towards the question. The positive responses toward the question far out stripped the negative responses.

The implication from this analysis is that, it subjects the masses to laziness and encourages them to create turmoil in the areas with little provocation. Another

implication from this analysis is that, such groups do not know what it takes to get those incentives and as such, might not embrace peace quickly. Osaghae (1994) cautioned that, once conflict has begun, the possibility of defeat by the groups is a further threat to peace and social identity.

Figure 5.9 also simplified the analysis further as the shaded portions represent the proportions of the respondents who disagreed that incentives were provided by the elite to their groups. While the unshaded portions represent the proportions of the respondents who agreed. Critical observation of the chart shows that the proportion of the unshaded portions is more than the shaded portions by the various elite groups probably due to suspicion among themselves.

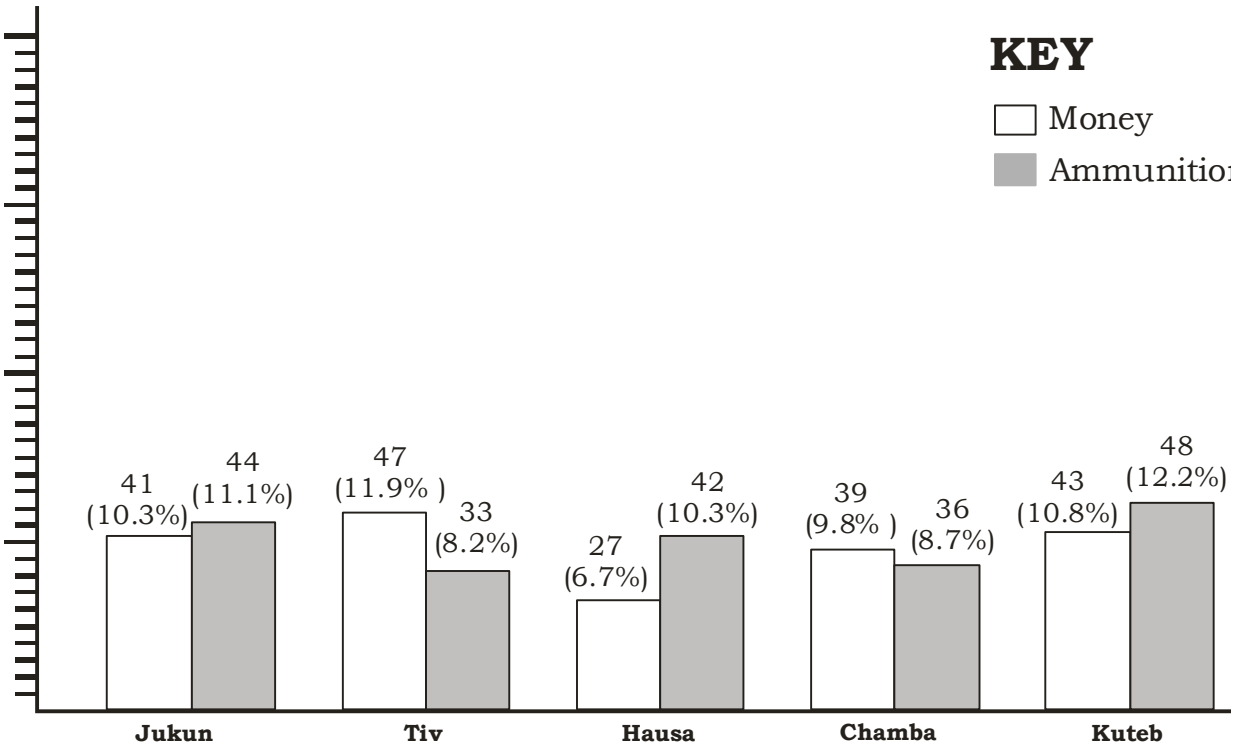
Interview with some of the prominent personalities revealed that, it was because of the incentives gotten from the elite that led to the long period of Chamba/Kuteb communal conflict in Takum local government area. The interviewees maintain that, the elite of both groups vowed to see the last drop of their blood before the other side could take the mantle of leadership in the area. Although we were made to understand from the interview that, the elite provided incentive not only to motivate or encourage their groups, but to enable them achieve and actualize their desires. The driving force behind ethnic conflagration is power struggles among the elite (Jega, 1996).It is worth noting that, the conflicts between Chamba/Kuteb started since 1914 with the formalization of Chamba and Kuteb districts to be one and the imposition of a Kuteb man as a Chief by the colonial masters (Yawe, 1999:1-13). Also the events of 1963 and the gazette of 1975 which recognized only Kuteb ethnic group faction as the ruling class also fueled the conflicts between these groups. The situation has created a feeling of deprivation by the Chamba ruling class (Otite and Albert, 2001). The table and figure below show respondents' perception on types of incentives provided by the elite.

Table 5.10: Respondents' perception on types of incentives provided by the elite

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Money		Ammunitions		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	41	10.3	44	11.1	85	21.4
Tiv	47	11.9	33	8.2	80	20.1
Hausa	27	6.7	42	10.3	69	17.0
Chamba	39	9.8	36	8.7	75	18.5
Kuteb	43	10.8	48	12.2	91	23.0
Total	**197**	**49.5**	**203**	**50.5**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Figure 5.10: Respondents' perception on types of incentives provided by the elite



Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The analysis of the result in table 5.10 and figure 5.10 show that 187 (49.5%) respondents voted for money as incentive provided by the elite to their groups. 191 (50.5%) respondents voted for ammunitions as incentives provided by the elite to their groups.

Figure 5.10 above depicts that the shaded portion represent the proportion of respondents who believe that ammunitions were the incentives provided by the elite while the unshaded portion represents the proportion of respondents who believe that money was the incentives provided by the elite. Looking at the analysis, therefore, one would understand that there is no much difference between the responses.

Deduction from the analysis, therefore, indicates that both incentives (money and ammunitions) were provided by the elite to encourage and motivate their groups during the conflicts. This is evidenced from the analysis as there is no much difference in the frequencies of the options. Communal conflicts are encouraged to suppress the powers of their (elite) opponents (Adda, 1993).

Implication deduced from this analysis is that, enemy images are created among the people by the elite which might have effect even beyond the present generations. Another implication deduced from the analysis is that, most of the ammunitions provided by the elite might end up being used for robbery and unwanted activities. In fact, some of the youths recruited might become assassins in the communities and beyond.

In an interview conducted on the 19th August, 2014 at Wukari Local Government Area with Jalo Abu (Roga Area), Aondo Ufor (Va'ase Village), Adda Ato (Kuntsa Village), and Bello Hayatu (Mamara area) revealed that the communal conflicts between Tiv/Jukun, Hausa/Jukun, among others, in the area which occurred and reoccurred is primarily due to the support and incentives provided to the youths by their elite. Adams (1973:128) pointed that, when elite felt they are not making adequate progress beyond

their expectations as a result of relative deprivation, they tend to encourage or mobilize groups to fight for their interests.

Marshal (1998) also pointed that, class formation and struggles for power, resources and recognitions are the prime sources of elite competitions in societies. From the foregoing responses from both interviews and questionnaires, it could be assumed that virtually all the communal conflicts in the study areas are as a result of competition for participation or exclusion from the exercise of authority and sharing of political and economic entitlements of the communities.

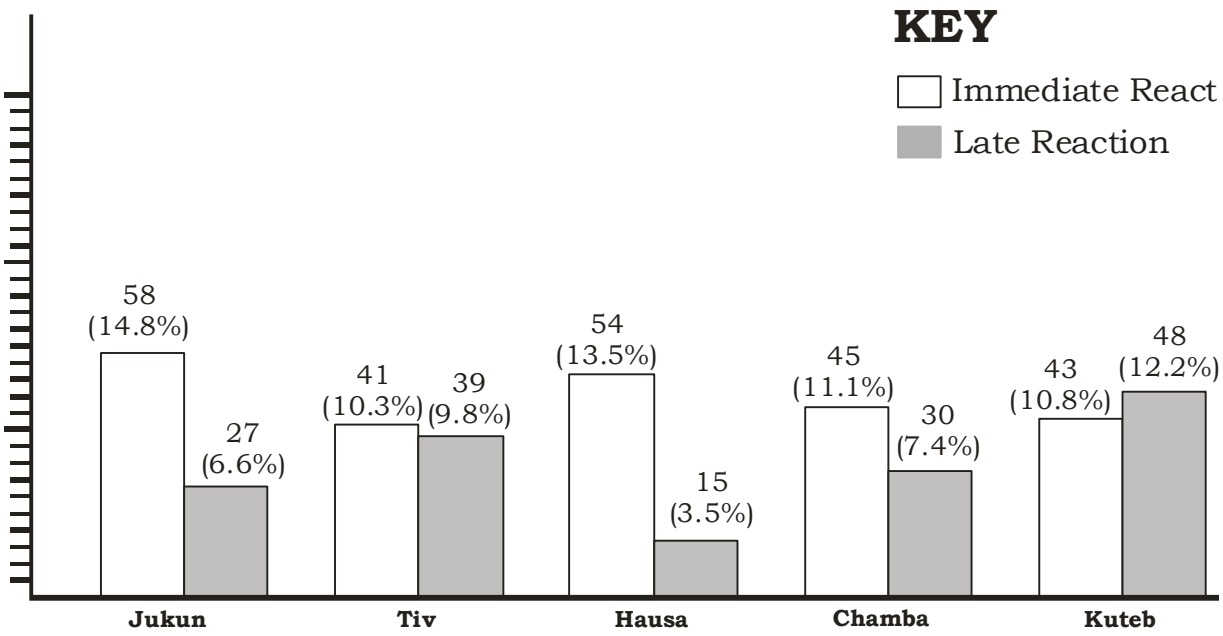
Generally, the role of government in tacking and curtailing communal conflicts in Nigeria and Taraba State in particular cannot be over emphasized. This is evidence from its immediate response through deployment of securities, provision of relief materials', setting up of commission of inquires among others. To understand the efforts of government on the communal conflicts in the study areas proper, respondents were asked questions on government reactions during conflicts. The table and figure below present their perception on government reaction to conflicts.

Table 5.11: Respondents' perception on government's reaction to the communal conflicts in the study area.

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Immediate Reaction		Late Reaction		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	58	14.8	27	6.6	85	21.4
Tiv	39	10.3	39	9.8	80	20.1
Hausa	51	13.5	15	3.5	69	17.0
Chamba	42	11.1	30	7.4	75	18.5
Kuteb	41	10.8	48	12.2	91	23.0
Total	**241**	**60.5**	**159**	**39.5**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Figure 5.11: Respondents' perception on government's reaction to the communal conflicts in the study area



Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The analysis of the result in table 5.11and figure 5.11 show that 241 (60.5%) respondent voted that, there was immediate deployment of security personnel by government to the areas during any communal conflicts. 159 (39.5%) respondents voted that, there was late deployment of security personnel by the government to the areas during any communal conflicts.

Figure 5.11 above shows that, the unshaded portions represents the total number of respondents who opined that security personnel were promptly deployed while the shaded portions represents the proportions of respondents who disagreed that security were promptly deployed. It therefore shows that the deployment of security personnel would have delayed due to logistic and administrative protocols as conflict comes unexpected.

Critical assessment of individual ethnic groups' responses reveals that, the Tiv and Kuteb ethnic group's responses favoured late deployment of security personnel than other ethnic

groups. This may partly due to the little attention given to rural areas by the securities as the security personnel's are often stationed in the urban centres. And most of the people of these ethnic groups (Tiv and Kuteb) lived in the rural areas for farming purposes. These ethnic groups want government action towards conflicts should include methods such as change of perceptions and attitudes through facilitation and counseling of the conflicting parties so as to widen their scope of reasoning positively.

The implication deduced from this analysis is that, rural areas where most of the dirty things occurred during communal conflicts are not given much or deserving attention by the government. Another implication from the analysis is that, there is possibility of continues gorilla fight in the rural areas due to the few numbers of security personnel in such areas.

In an interview conducted with Jalo Abu (Roga area), AondoUga (Va'ase village) in Wukari Local Government Area and Rimande Mamka (Muji village), Biliya Galiya (Utiku village) in Takum Local Government Area reveals that most of the security personnel's deployed to the areas during conflicts were often stationed in the local Government headquarters while the rural areas which serves as the battleground are left without the presence of security personnel. Beyond that, it is a known fact that the country is in-short of security personnel in terms of ratio as such the number of security personnel deployed to the area are not enough to immediately quell the conflicts of such nature. In addition, Government reaction to communal conflicts should go beyond deployment of securities alone but to include among other teams of expertise that can change perception of images and attitudes of the conflicting parties either through facilitation or mediation and counseling. However, Otite and Albert (2001:87) opined that, the few security personnel often deployed could be as a result of shortages in the personnel or a deliberate attempt to prolong the conflicts for more financial benefits from

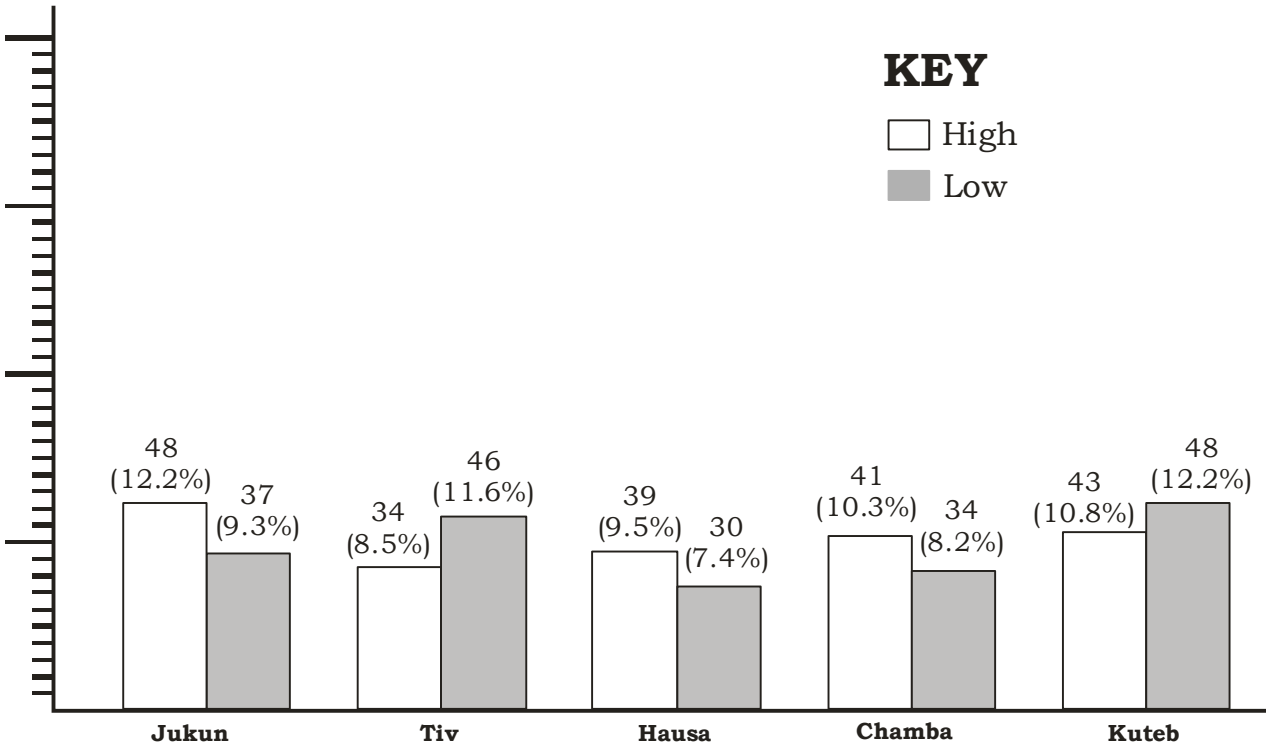
the treasury. Respondent were further asked to rate government action on the conflict in the areas. And table and figure below present their ratings.

Table 5.12: Respondents' ratings of Government's actions

Respondent/ Ethnic group	High		Low		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	48	1.2	37	9.3	85	21.5
Tiv	34	8.5	46	11.6	80	20.1
Hausa	39	9.5	30	7.4	69	16.9
Chamba	41	10.3	34	8.2	75	18.5
Kuteb	43	10.8	48	12.2	91	23.0
Total	**205**	**51.3**	**194**	**48.7**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.12: Respondents' ratings of Government's actions



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The analysis of the result in table 5.12 and figure 5.12 show that, 205 (51.3%) respondent rated government action high during communal conflicts in the areas. While 195 (49.7%) respondent rate government action low during the communal conflict in the areas.

Figure 5.12 above depicts that the unshaded portions represents the proportion of respondents who rated government actions high while the shaded portion represents the proportion of respondents who rated government actions low. Individual analysis of the percentages shows that the Tiv/Kuteb ethnic group rated government action low and this could be as a result of the nature of their settlements, proximity and influence.

Deduction from the analysis show that, the in ability of government to deploy enough security personnel in terms of ratio to the area during conflict might have influenced the outcome of the responses which make the rating to have minimal difference. Beyond that, the in ability of government to implement commission of inquiries reports and punishment of perpetrator could also influence the ratings.

The implication deduced from this analysis is that, people might not have confidence on the government and take law into their hands due to its in ability to implement report submitted to it and punishment of perpetrators of such conflicts. There is also an implication of prolonged period of hostility as the security personnel deployed are not enough to control the hostility across all the communities within possible time.

In interview conducted on 20th August, 2014 in Wukari Local Government area with Elder Atem Okonzo, the community leader revealed the following when asked how he would rate Government actions on the conflicts:

> Government actions on communal conflicts generally are not above average due to the personnel often deployed. The ratio of the personnel

> deployed and the task before them rendered them in effective in an unconventional battle situation. He said in many villages were burnt in 2002 conflict in the area even with the presence of security personnel in the neigbouring villages.

In another interview conducted with Alh. Isa Dauda in Akata area of Wukari Local Government on 20th August,2014 when asked similar question revealed in his words:

> Nigerian government and the elite do not wish the masses well. To me, even if millions of the masses died in one day, the government and the elite would be happy. They created artificial hardship to us in order to achieve their desired goals. The number of security personnel in the country and it ratio to the Nigerian population is not enough and as such only few personnel are being deployed to conflicts zones". (Interview conducted on 20th August, 2014)

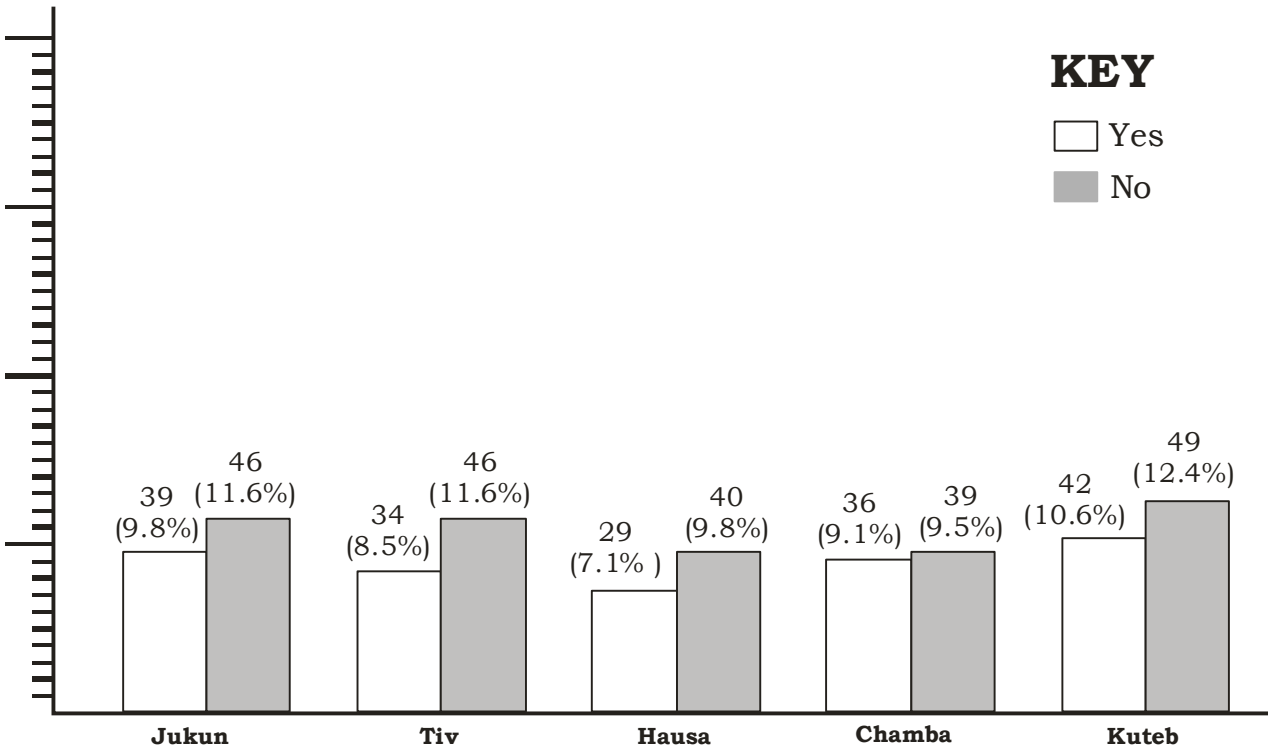
The opinions of Elder Aten and Alh., Isa cannot be overemphasized due to the fact that when one compares the ratio of security personnel's to the entire population of the country is in short falls. The few ones often deployed end up stationed in the urban centers while villages are left at the detriment of the fittest. For example, villages such as Kente, Tsokundi, Rafin-Kada among others were burnt down during the 2001 communal conflicts between Tiv/Jukun with security personnel already deployed. The in-ability of government to deploy enough security personnel to the areas affected quickly to arrest of the situation and led to the destruction of some village. Moore (1999) opined that, Government action to ward conflicts should be holistic such as intervention and mediation through legislation and coercive approach to quell it and its re-occurrence. Communal conflicts have the tendency of creating imbalance between order and social structure when deserving attentions are not given to address it. Respondent were asked whether the perpetrator of the conflicts were punished. The table and figure below present respondent perception of perpetrators punishments.

Table 5.13: Respondents' perceptions of perpetrators punishment

Respondent/ Ethnic group	Yes		No		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	39	9.8	46	11.6	85	21.4
Tiv	34	8.5	46	11.6	80	20.1
Hausa	29	7.1	40	9.8	69	16.9
Chamba	36	9.1	39	9.5	75	18.6
Kuteb	42	10.6	49	12.4	91	23.0
Total	**180**	**45.1**	**220**	**54.9**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 5.13: Respondents' perceptions of perpetrators punishment



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The analysis of the result in table 5.13 and figure 5.13 show that, 180 (45.1%) respondent agreed, that perpetrators of the communal conflict were punished. 220 (54.9%)

respondents disagreed and that, the perpetrators of the communal conflict in the areas were not punished. It is important to note that, most of the perpetrators of these conflicts are elite from the communities and as such the respondents know what happen even after the communal conflicts.

Figure 5.13 above depicts that the unshaded portions represents the proportions of respondents who agreed that the perpetrators were punished while the shaded portions represents the proportions of respondents who disagreed that the perpetrators were punished.

Deduction from the analysis indicates that government sets Commissions of inquiry but could not implement the report up to the level of punishing the perpetrators due to their (elite) influence in the society. When perpetrators of crimes are not openly punished, it gingered other like minds to continue with such evil activities to achieve their selfish goal.

The implication deduced from this analysis is that, it encourages people to take the law into their hands. Another implication of the analysis is that, it increases the chances of another conflict rather than providing solution. This is what, Wilmot and Hocker (1998:116) described as "simmer and heat up of conflict". Government attitude towards any conflict depend on the method employed vis-à-vis the outcome of the method. Although, Rima (1998) pointed that, state attitudes such as preferential treatment often fuel communal conflict.

In our discussions with women leaders in Takum local government, one of the leaders, Hajiya Aya disclosed that the perpetrators were not punished. According to her; "most of the perpetrators used their influence to avoid being punished. They manipulated the law

and still lived side by side with us continuously with their daily businesses in the community". (Discussion on 21st August, 2014)

In another discussion with the youth leaders in Wukari Local Government Area, one of the leaders Mr. Akhi Musa reveals that:

> The composition of the commission of inquires set up by the Government was to declared the masses. It only succeeded in exonerated the elite that were actively involved in the many clashes within the community. The elite used their influence over government to escape being punished".

The above views entails that there was compromised by the Government either from the composition of the commissions members or during the enforcement of the report by deliberately excluding some influential elite. Isa (2010:61) opined hat, the ability of the state to manage conflict is shaped and characterized by the degree to which it can command obedience or loyalty. This by extension means that, the capacity of the government to manage conflict is contingent on the internal dynamics of the Governments authority and the ability to legitimately command obedience.

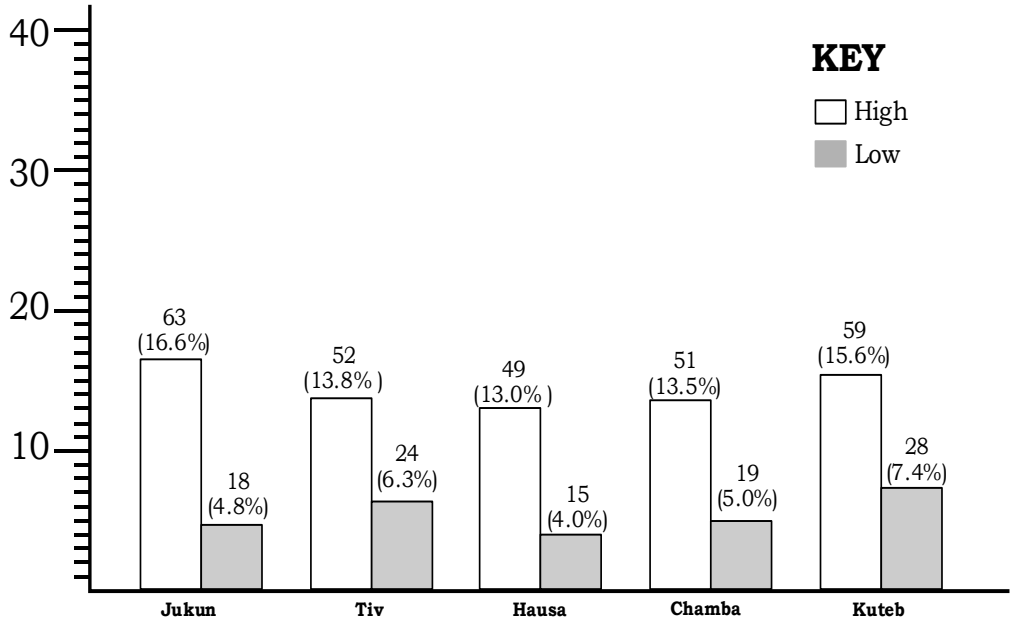
Failure to punish conflict perpetrators might set proceeding for future offenders. Respondents were asked question on the effect or impact of the communal conflict on poverty level in the study areas. The table and figure below present respondents perception of poverty level in the area.

Table 5.14: Respondents' perception of poverty level in the area

Respondent/ Ethnic group	High		Low		Sub-total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Jukun	65	16.6	20	4.8	85	21.4
Tiv	54	13.8	26	6.3	80	20.1
Hausa	51	13.0	18	4.0	69	17.0
Chamba	53	13.5	22	5.0	75	18.5
Kuteb	61	15.6	30	7.4	91	23.0
Total	**284**	**72.5**	**116**	**27.5**	**400**	**100**

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

Figure 4.14: Respondents' perception of poverty level in the area



Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The analysis of the result in table 5.14 depict that, 274 (72.5%) respondents rated poverty level in the areas high as a result of the communal conflict. While 104 (27.5%) respondents rated poverty level in the areas low. From the result therefore, it is

evidencedby the high responsesin all the ethnic groupsthat, poverty rate has increased in the areas as a result of the communal conflicts.

Figure 5.14 depicts that the unshaded portions represents the proportion of respondents who rated the effects of the conflicts on poverty level in the areas high while the shaded portions represents the proportion of respondents who rated the effects of the conflicts on poverty level low. Critical observation of the chart shows that the poverty level is very high as can be seen from the ratings where the unshaded portions almost doubled the shaded portions.

The implication deduced from the analysis therefore is that, crimes rate will increase and the standard of living of the people will decrease. Another implication of the analysis is that, economic outcomes will decrease (farm produce) as villages are being avoided for fear of attack by the opponent. Easterly and Levine (1997) observed that, the negative trend of economic outcomes in Nigeria is connected with series of communal conflicts. There is also the impact of communal conflicts on educational sector as schools are forced to close down or even burnt during conflicts.

Interview with some traditional rulers in the areas reveals that, the high rate of poverty in the areas is due to the destruction of properties and desertification of farms as a result of fear of attack by the opponents. The interviewees further revealed that, the poverty level in the areas affected the standard living of the people due to the fact that all activities were crippled during conflict, struggle for survival becomes more paramount that any form of investment and thus, increases poverty level.

It is worth noting that, conflicts destroy corporate existence and undermine the rules of law. No society can endure the negative effect of communal conflict. If we cannot control

it and resort to lawlessness, the only thing we can hope for is untold blood-shed, poverty, and other forms of hardship.

5.3 Test of Assumptions

Assumption One:

The assumption states that: **There is a relationship between elite' interests and the escalations or de-escalations of communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas**

Observed and Expected Frequency Table.

	Observed Frequency			**Expected Frequency**		
Q	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1	281	119	400	259.3	140.7	400
2	295	105	400	259.3	140.7	400
3	191	119	400	259.3	140.7	400
4	275	114	400	259.3	140.7	400
5	286	104	400	259.3	140.7	400
6	187	203	400	259.3	140.7	400
Total	1556	844	2400	1556	844	2400

Source: Compiled by the researcher, 2014

$$EF = \frac{RT \times CT}{GT} \qquad = \frac{400 \times 1556}{2400} = 259.3$$

Where: $= \frac{400 \times 844}{2400} = 140.7$

EF = Expected Frequency

RT = Row Total

CT = Column Total

GT = Grand Total

Chi-Square Computation Table

O	**E**	**O-E**	**$(O-E)^2$**	**$(O-E)^2/E$**
281	259.3	21.7	470.89	1.816
119	140.7	-21.7	470.89	3.347
295	259.3	35.7	1274.49	4.915
105	140.7	-35.7	1274.49	9.058
201	259.3	-58.3	3398.89	13.108
199	140.7	58.3	3398.89	24.157
286	259.3	26.7	712.89	2.749
114	140.7	-26.7	712.89	5.067
296	259.3	36.7	1346.89	5.194
104	140.7	-36.7	1346.89	9.573
197	259.3	-62.3	3881.29	14.968
203	140.7	62.3	3881.29	27.586

$X^2 = 121.5$

Degreeof freedom = (R-1) (C-1) = (3-1) (2-1) = 2x1=2

Significant level = 5%

Calculated value = 121.5

Critical value = 5.99

Decision

Since the x^2 value is greater than the table value or critical value, we therefore accept the assumption which state that: There is a relationship between elite' interests and the escalations or de-escalations of communal conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas. The computation revealed that we are 95% making correct decision since the assumption was tested at 5%significant level.

Assumption two:

The assumption is stated as: **Government attitude towards conflicts resolutions leads to the persistent re-occurrence of conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas**

Observed and Expected Frequency Table.

	Observed Frequency			**Expected Frequency**		
Q	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
7	241	159	400	216.75	172.5	400
8	205	195	400	216.75	172.5	400
9	180	220	400	216.75	172.5	400
10	284	116	400	216.75	172.5	400
Total	910	690	1600	910	690	1600

Source: Compiled by the researcher, 2014.

EF = $\frac{RT \times CT}{GT}$ $= \frac{400 \times 910}{1600} = 227.5$

*

Where: $= \frac{400 \times 690}{1600} = 172.5$

EF = Expected Frequency

RT = Row Total

CT = Column Total

GT = Grand Total

Chi-Square Computation Table

O	**E**	**O-E**	**$(O-E)^2$**	**$(O-E)^2/E$**
241	227.5	13.5	182.25	0.801
159	172.5	-13.5	182.25	1.057
205	227.5	-22.5	506.25	2.225
195	172.5	22.5	506.25	2.935
180	227.5	-47.5	2256.25	9.918
220	172.5	47.5	2256.25	13.179
284	227.5	56.5	3192.25	14.032
116	172.5	-56.5	3192.25	18.506

$X^2 = 62.7$

Degree of freedom = (R-1) (C-1) = (3-1) (2-1) = 2x1 = 2

Significant level = 5%

Calculated value = 62.7

Critical value = 5.99

Decision

Since the x^2 value is greater than the table value or critical value, we therefore accept the assumption which states that: Government attitude towards conflicts resolutions leads to the persistent re-occurrence of conflicts in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas. The computation revealed that, we are 95% making correct decision since the assumption was tested at 5% significant level.

The computation revealed that we are 95% making correct decision since the assumption was tested at 5% significant level.

5.4 Discussion of findings

Communal conflicts whenever it occurs generally impact greatly on the society and the entire national economy as struggles over physical space, political power, chieftaincy tussles and assertion of group identities prevail among the different ethnic groups or the elite groups in Nigeria. The situation according to Mamman (2000) creates an environment for the destruction of natural environment, the physical infrastructures and invaluable social services which reduced the capacity of the state to provide the most basic human needs. In analyzing the data collated and eventual presentation of results, the study was able to arrive at the following findings.

i. Elite played vital role in the escalations of conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas due to fear of domination, marginalization and frustration. The responses from the tables strongly agreed that most of the conflicts occurred due to elite interests.
ii. Land and Chieftaincy matters also played vital role in the escalations of conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas due to interference by the

government. The responses from the tables strongly agreed that crisis of governance further fueled the conflicts.

iii. Poor formation and implementation of report of the commissions of inquiry set up by the government in respect of the various conflicts in the study areas also played a vital role in the escalations of conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas. The responses from the tables strongly agreed that most of the comm. Reports are not implemented.

iv. Lack of punishment of conflict perpetrators by the government to serve as a deterrent to others also played a vital role in the escalations of conflicts in Wukari and Takum local government areas. The responses from the table strongly agreed that conflict perpetrators are not punished by the government may be due to status, influence etc.

v. Government even though acted fast in deployment of security personnel but failed to deploy enough security personnel to quickly arrest the conflict situation in Wukari and Takum local government areas. The responses from the tables strongly agreed that government often acted fast in term of deployment of security personnel but failed to deploy enough number.

vi. The conflict has increased the poverty level in Wukari and Takum local government areas due to destruction of properties and abandoning of villages as a result of fear of attack which crippled farming activities.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

The discussions in the preceding chapters indicate that conflicts arise from actions, interactions and reactions between persons, groups and communities through pursued of those goals in which others have interest and interferes as multiple users. The interactions of independent people who perceive incompatible goals and interference from another is the root cause of every conflict.

This research work is an assessment of the perception of people with regard to communal conflict and elite interest in Taraba State with specific reference to Wukari and Takum local government areas from 2001-2011. This study was informed by the frequent communal conflicts which occurred and re-occurred especially the Tiv/Jukun 1954, 1964, 1990 and 1992, the Hausa/Jukun 1987, 2008, 2010 and even recently ones, the Chamba /Kuteb 1998, 1999, 2002 and 2006, the Tiv/Fulani 2001 among others clashes in the areas.

The objectives and assumptions of the work lie on examining the interconnectivity between the ethnic identity and elite's interest on one hand, and its effect on peaceful coexistence among the ethnic groups on the other.

A number of factors have been adduced to be responsible for this unwholesome trend. Prominent among which are chieftaincy tussle, population expansion, indigeneship and ownership problem, land and physical space, unemployment, frustration, poverty, fear of domination and marginalization, power struggles among others. The theoretical

framework avers us that every society has elite and the elite's shapes and reshapes decisions of the society. This then means that it was the interest of the elite in the study areas that led to the escalation and de-escalation of the conflicts.

Having established the fact that, there are frequent communal conflicts in the study areas as a result of the aforementioned factors, several measures taken by individuals, government and non-governmental organizations encountered challenges due to elite influence, government's indecisiveness insincerity among interest groups and lack of cooperation.

The two assumptions that were postulated were tested and proven to be valid. The target groups are people of both sexes drawn from different sphere of activities and from five different major ethnic groups in the areas namely – Jukun, Tiv, Chamba, Hausa and Kuteb. The premised of the selection was based on their numbers and involvement in one conflict or the other with one another in the area. Also the ethnic groups played a vital role in shaping and reshaping the political, economic and social activities of the areas.

As noted earlier, data for the research work were collected from archive and libraries like book, articles, journals, newspapers, unpublished research work as well as questionnaires, personal interviews and group discussions with focus groups for fair representativeness of data where random sample techniques was adopted frequency table and simple percentages were the tools used to analyze the data collected aided with bar chart for more elaboration on percentages, decrees and proportions of each of responses per ethnic groups. Results from the different tables were subjected to chi-square test for assumption validation.

The result obtained from the research work shows that, elite's interests, government attitudes among others encouraged the occurrence and re-occurrence of communal

conflict in Wukari and Takum local government areas. The communal conflicts has retarded and impeded development activities in the area due to the channeling of available resources into rehabilitation and resettlement exercise. It is worth noting that participatory development is built on confidence and trusts that can be achieved where there is a strong social interaction existing among the people.

6.2 Conclusion

Conflicts are globally perceived as something abnormal dysfunctional and therefore detestable due to the far reaching effects and consequences. The effects on individuals and communities are usually horrible when one looks at the number of lives and amount of properties lost as well as the social segregation that may develop among individuals and interest groups.

Communal conflicts wherever it occurs generally impact greatly on the society and the entire country's economy as struggles over physical space, political power, traditional institutions and assertion of group identities prevail among the different groups and communities. Post assessment of the negative effect of communal conflicts will never disappear in the memory of people within the region of its happening. Societies like Nigeria maintain their systemic continuity because conflicts involving various individuals or groups do not attack the basic foundations of their collective existence despite the endemic nature of these conflicts.

Although in academic discourse, it is acceptable that, conflicts brings positive change to a society in the long run. Nigeria and specifically the study areas have disagreement over land ownership and leadership crisis which is tied to the problem of identity and recognition of the group's political, economic, social and cultural rights (Mamman, 2000).

Several attempts at resolving the communal conflicts during and after the period were put in place by individuals, government and non-governmental organizations. Though, these attempts were marred by lack of cooperation among the warring factions due to influence of some elite on the state institutions such as security agencies has suppressed the proper resolution of the real issues that brought about the conflicts in the areas.

The in-ability of stakeholders to resolve the conflicts has made people to live in fear of domination and natural suspicion which have increased the poverty level and worsen living standard of the people. Thus, there is need to transform the socio-spatial and economic structure of the areas to minimum living conditions.

There is also an overall compelling necessity for the co-existence and interdependence of multiple users or exploiters of commonly valued economy and political resources. It is equally important to intensify and diversify national and local institutional devices for managing conflicts as new political and economic development continues to create new resource areas of conflicts.

6.3 Recommendations

There is of course, no contesting the fact that human existence is always embedded with conflicts and disagreements. And, when such conflicts and disagreements occur, only fact can serve as succor. The findings throughout the study revealed that, peace is indispensable to development and a prerequisite to the thriving of human activities. Based on the findings, the following recommendations are proposed:

i. On the issue of marginalization and domination, more political units should be created by the INEC to enable widespread representation by every stratum of the community.

ii. Government should handle land and chieftaincy matters with care for the purpose not compatible with the interest of the rightful owners. This will reduce conflicts of interest between government and the governed.

iii. Government should implement the report of the various commissions of inquiries into the communal conflicts in the areas. This will show government commitment and seriousness in its fight against conflicts and clashes.

iv. Government should ensure stiffer punishment for any person or group of persons that perpetrated conflict. This will serve as a deterrent to other elite who are thinking along the same way of manipulating people to achieve their desires by any means. This could be achieved through legislation of stiffer punishment for anyone found culpable.

v. Government should not only promptly deploy security personnel to conflicts areas but also ensure the deployment of enough to quickly arrest such situation.

vi. Government and private sectors should partner to promote the establishment of banking and credit institutions to farmers in the areas to alleviate the plight of the people in agricultural investment hence, their financial muscles have been crippled during the conflicts through destruction of their properties and farms produced.

vii. Elite of the communities should meet periodically to discuss issues that affect their community's development and measures on how to curb crimes, conflicts and other negative development within their locality through constituting committees that will comprise of all the ethnic groups in the area.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of public administration

Faculty of administration

Ahmadu Bello University Zaria

2nd August, 2014.

Elite and Communal Conflicts in Taraba State: A Perception Study of People in Wukari and Takum Local Government Areas

Dear Sir/Madam/Mallam

My name is Mr. Luka Timothy Agyo anM.Sc Public Administration research student of the above mentioned institution. My area of research is as titled above. The research is part of the requirement for the award of M.sc in Public Administration.

This questionnaire is therefore designedtoevaluatethe perception of people with regard to communal conflict and eliteinterest in Taraba Statewith specific reference to Wukari and Takum local government areas. Please kindly respond to the questionnaire indicating your candid opinion on the issues addressed in the questionnaire. Be very sure that your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Luka Timothy Agyo

SECTION 'A'

DEMOGRAPHICQUESTIONS

Kindly indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following items by using a tick to indicate your response in the appropriate column and to comment where applicable.

1. From which area of Wukari or Takum local government area do you reside……..

2. How long have you stayed in Wukari or Takum local government area?(a) 5-10years ( ) (b) 11-20years ( )(c)20yearsand above( )

3. What is your tribe? …….

4. What is your sex? (a) Male ( ) (b) Female ( )

5. What is your age grade?

   (a)10-17( ) (b) 18-25( ) (c) 26-34( ) (d) 35 and above( )

6. What is your educational qualification?

   (a)WAEC ( )

   (b) OND /NCE ( )

   (c) HND /DEGREE ( )

   (d) Master/PhD ( )

   (e) Others (specify) ( )

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Canelite create communal conflict in an area?

   (a) Yes( ) (b) No( )

2. Would you relate the communal conflict in Wukari and Takum LocalGovernment Areas with elite interests? (a) Yes( ) (b) ( )

3. If 'yes' to 1 and 2 how?(a) Lack of unityand trust( ) (b) Fear of marginalization( )

4. How did elite react during communal conflicts in Wukari or Takum Local Government Area?(a) Support their ethnic group( ) (b) Did not support their group ( )

5. Were there any incentive(s) provided by the elite to their respective group? (a) Yes ( ) (b) ( )

6. If yes to the above, in what way?(a) Money ( )(b) Ammunition ( )

7. What did the elite want to achieve in the areas?….....

8. Would you regard the elite's interest as for the entire areas? ……

9. How did government react to the conflicts in Wukari or Takum localgovernment area?

10. How would you rate government action on the conflict on Wukari or Takum local government area?(a) High ( ) (b) Low ( )

11. Were the perpetrators of the conflict punished? (a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

12. How would you relate the effect of the communal conflicts to poverty levelin the areas? (a) High ( ) (b) ( )

13. Were there other better way to handle the conflict by the government……

14. What are your suggestion to the government ……..……

15. What are your suggestions for development in the areas……

APPENDIX B

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1. Elder RimandeMamka

   Takum Local Government Area

2. Alh. HabuUsman

   Wukari Local Government Area

3. Alh. ArdoJulde

   Takum Local Government Area

4. Elder BiliyaGaliya

   Takum Local Government Area

5. Mr. TorsaaGur

   Wukari Local Government Area

6. Alh. Jalo Abu

   Wukari Local Government Area

7. Mr. AondoUga

   Wukari Local Government Area

8. Elder AtenOkonzo

   Wukari Local Government Area

9. Alh. Isa Dauda

   Wukari Local Government Area

10. HajiyaAya

    Takum Local Government Area

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Can elite create conflicts in an area?
2. Would you relate the communal conflicts in Wukari or Takum Local Government Areas to elite interests?
3. What did you think are the factors responsible for the conflicts in the areas?
4. What was the reaction of the elites to the persistent conflicts in the area?
5. Were there any forms of incentive provided by the elite to their group? If yes, in what form?
6. What did you think was the motive for the incentive provided by the elite if yes to question 5 above?
7. What was government reaction to the conflicts?
8. Did government set up of commission of inquiry?
9. How would you rate government reaction to the conflicts?
10. How would you rate poverty level in the area?
11. How are the warring groups relating with one another?
12. What is your advice to people in the area?
13. What is your advice to government?