BOUNDARY CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES BETWEEN ADADAMA COMMUNITY IN CROSS RIVER STATE AND AMAGU COMMUNITY IN EBONYI STATE, NIGERIA, 1996-2018

BY

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DEDICATION

The research is dedicated to my son Benjamin in appreciation of his curiosity –"*Daddy are you doing your homework?; you don't want your teacher to spank you*". What a touching question and an encouragement. His social conscience challenges mine.

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To my wife, Susan, whose inspiration, encouragement, support, prayers and expression of love is a light to my academic path. Again, what can I do without you my love, and to our children; Benjamin and Victoria, who continue to surprise me and fill my life with joy, I am grateful. Most importantly I am grateful to God for bringing us together as a family, I am blessed and to God be the glory.

Above all, I thank God Almighty for his steadfast love and mercies.

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ABSTRACT

The creation of states and administrative sub-units aimed at further developing rural areas in Nigeria has generated challenges including ethnic, religious, intra and inter-state boundary conflicts over land ownership and usage, mineral resource royalties and grazing rights between contiguous communities. These conflicts have resulted in loss of lives, destruction of property and internal displacements. Studies on Nigeria's internal boundaries have examined their origins, dynamics and their politicisation. However, studies on strategies for boundary conflicts management is scanty. Therefore, this study investigates conflict management strategies employed and their challenges in Adadama and Amagu communities.

Vasquez's Territorial and Kieh's Primordial Conflict theories served as the framework, while the case study design was adopted. Primary and secondary data were utilised. Primary data were sourced from key informant interviews conducted with 27 purposively selected individuals and stakeholder groups, including Community leaders (4), Women leaders (4), Youth leaders (4), Security agents (2), National Boundary Commission (NBC) officials (3), Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (2), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja (1), Cross River state government (1), Ebonyi state government officials (2), academia (2) and legal practitioners (2). One focus group discussion was also held in each of the two communities, while secondary data were sourced from relevant publications. Data were content-analysed.

Boundary conflicts between the two communities were caused by poor demarcation of the boundary by the NBC, land encroachments, climate change-induced flooding, land degradation and population increase. The consequences of the conflict included: the loss of 62 lives in Adadama community and claim by Amagu community of loss of over one thousand lives, destruction of property, internal displacement of persons, retardation of development and breakdown of inter-group relations. The conflict management strategies employed were institutional and indigenous. The institutional strategies included administrative Mechanism of demarcation such as joint meeting of officials on Cross River and Ebonyi inter-state boundary committee set up by NBC to identify and propose an acceptable borderline; inter-state and inter local government peace committees established jointly by Cross River and Ebonyi governments to facilitate dialogue and peaceful coexistence between the two communities. The indigenous mechanism developed and utilised by Adadama and Amagu communities involved payment of levies by the community of an aggressor, joint offering of sacrifices, cultural and traditional rites. The indigenous mechanisms complimented the institutional mechanisms in engendering peace and stability in the two communities. However, unyielding number of interested stakeholders, rigid position of the two communities, lack of trust and sabotage amongst the communities' ruling elites constituted the main challenges to the effective management of the boundary conflict.

Boundary conflicts are a major source of insecurity, loss of lives and destruction of property in Nigeria as observed in the Adadama and Amagu communities' from 1996-2018. The study therefore recommends re-demarcation of the boundary by National Boundary Commission as well as hybriding of indigenous and institutional strategies in boundary conflicts management.

Keywords: Boundary demarcation, Indigenous Strategy, Institutional Mechanism, National Boundary Commission.

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FAO – Food and Agricultural Organisation

FCT – Federal Capital Territory

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

IDI – In-Dept Interview

INBTC – International Boundaries Technical Committee

 IPCR – Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution

ISTBC - Inter-State Boundaries Technical Committee

JCC - Joint Consultative Committee

JFT - Joint Field Team

JMO - Joint Meeting of Officials

KII – Key Informant Interview

NBC – National Boundary Commission

OSGOF – Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the study

The rush and partition of Africa by European nations such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and others was primarily motivated by a desire for spheres of influence and control (Ekoko, 2001). The partitioning procedure entailed establishing geographical boundaries that defined each colonial power's zones of influence. This process resulted in the establishment of European-model borders in Africa. The Europeans recognized and pursued their goals without regard for the long-term consequences of the partitioning's dismantling of African borders. Unlike in Europe, where borderlines were gradually established, Africa's frontiers were rapidly defined and demarcated during the African Berlin conference of 1884/85.

As a result, the existing precolonial fluid borderline in Africa were distorted. Africa's existing borders can be divided into two categories: international and internal borders. Internal boundaries are those that separate the land space of one state from that of another within a country, such as the boundary between Ebonyi and Cross River States in Nigeria. International boundaries are those that separate the territory of one country from another, such as the Nigeria-Cameroon border. While Nigeria's international borders are largely defined and recognized, the country's internal borders remain a source of contention and conflict thus necessitating further academic research and investigation.

Nigeria's internal borders have changed continuously since 1914, beginning with amalgamation and progressing to the creation of regions and states. In 1963, the mid-western region was carved out of the western region to accommodate the marginalisation cries of the people of the region. The military government of General Yakubu Gowon undertook a more radical realignment of Nigeria's borderlines by carving out twelve states out the region. This action rearranged the borders from regional to interstate borderlines.

Following that, in 1976, the military administration of general Murtala Ramat Mohammed created an additional nine making the number of states in Nigeria nineteen. General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida's government created two and nine new states in 1987 and 1991, respectively. In 1996, General Sani Abacha's regime created six additional states, bringing the total number of states in Nigeria to 36 (excluding Abuja - the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria). Except for that of 1963, all state creation exercises were carried out concurrently with the creation of local government areas, chiefdoms and emirates. The various state creation exercises gave rise to the current thirty-six state structure of Nigeria consisting of seven hundred and seventy four local government areas across the country.

As states and local administrative sub-units continued to increase, the consciousness of Nigerians towards ethnic and primordial inclinations grew to the detriment of nationalism and patriotism, resulting in inter-state, inter-local government border conflicts, and expansionist tendencies all in the pursuit of land and natural resoources. Because of the prevalence and complexity of boundary disputes, the Murtala-Obasanjo administration established the Justice Nasir Boundary Adjustment Commission in 1976 to investigate and proffer recommendations on how best to address them. The Nasir Commission traced the emergence of boundary disputes to the amalgamation of Nigeria's Southern and Northern protectorates, specifically in 1917, when some people from Northern Nigeria's Ilorin and Kabba provinces demanded boundary adjustments in order to join their relatives in the Western Protectorate.

The antecedent of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict necessitates a brief historical analysis, although the study's time frame is 1996-2018. The Cross-River and Ebonyi inter-state boundary was established in 1996 when Ebonyi state was created from former Enugu and Abia states; as a result, the former Cross-River-Enugu and part of the former Cross-River/Abia inter-state boundaries were automatically transformed into the Cross-River-Ebonyi inter-state boundary. Historically, Adadama community (located in Cross River state's Abi local government area) and the Amagu community (located in Ebonyi state's Ikwo local government area) have had a boundary disputes dating back to the 1920s.

Adadama communities consist of seven villages including: Abumege, Atana, Ekpon, Idalebo, Imina, Ivone, and Emifon, while Ochienyim-Amagu, Ndiagu-Amagu, Akalufu-Amagu, Obegu-Item, Ebusike, and Enyibichiri are the villages that make up Amagu community. The first documented instance of conflict between the two communities occurred in 1920 and it was as a result of struggle over ownership of farmlands. Consequently, Mr. G.G. Shute, the District Officer of the then Afikpo District, erected concrete pillars to demarcate the boundary between the two communities, which became known as "the Shute boundary pillars." However, in the 1980s, as a result of their expansionist push, the two communities began demolishing the Shute boundary pillars, accusing each other of encroachment. The end of colonialism in Nigeria did not end the boundary conflict as both communities occasionally engaged each other in violent confrontation over the borderline.

The creation of Ebonyi state in 1996 appears to have heightened tensions along the two communities' borderlines. This perspective stems from the rise of violent clashes between Adadama and Amagu communities over borderlines since 1996. Two years (1998) after the creation of Ebonyi state, the boundary dispute resulted in eruption of violence between the two communities. Indeed, since 2013, violent clashes between the two communities have almost become a yearly occurrence (Anonymous, 2013, Balogun, 2014, Okutu, 2015, 2016, Odioku, 2015, 2017, Affe, 2016).

Plate 1.1 Adadama and Amagu boundary police station destroyed during the 2013 conflict

Source: Vanguard Newspapers, 2013

Nigeria established a specialized agency, the National Boundary Commission (NBC), in accordance with its policy of peaceful boundary co-existence along its international borders with neighboring countries, as well as ensuring peace in the various internal boundaries across the country's various states, by Decree No.38 of December 17, 1987. (CAP 238 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990). The Commission was founded in response to the need to have an agency dedicated to tackling challenges on the internal and international borderlands. Thus, the NBC is empowered to:

1. Intervene in any border disputes that may occur between Nigeria and any of her neighbors with the goal of resolving the conflict;

2. Intervene, determine, and resolve any boundary disputes that may occur between states, local government areas, or communities in the Federation, with the goal of resolving the conflicts;

3. Define and delimit boundaries between states, local government areas, or communities in the Federation, as well as between Nigeria and its neighbors, using a delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;

4. Take all necessary steps to put internal boundary disputes resolutions into effect.

There are 86 inter-state boundaries in Nigeria, according to the National Boundary Commission (2017). These inter-state borders can be divided into two types:

1. Uncontested/resolved boundaries — These are boundaries that have been studied, field traced, delimited, and resolved following series of meetings and other interventions. This category has thirty-eight (38) boundaries. However, it should be noted that some of them may never have been under contestation from the beginning while those resolved may still have unresolved issues in some areas.

2. Contested/unresolved boundaries with ongoing action – These are boundaries that are receiving attention from the National Boundary Commission and are at various levels of the intervention process. This category has forty-eight (48) boundaries.

The above submission indicates that majority of the inter-state boundaries in Nigeria are disputed and this indeed provides justification for this study. The border dispute between Adadama and Amagu communities is an inter-state by nature because Adadama is in Cross

River state and Amagu is in Ebonyi state; it is also one of the contested inter-state borderlines in the National Boundary Commission (NBC) database. As a result of the National Boundary Commission's and other relevant stakeholders' inability to resolve the boundary dispute between the two communities in the two states, as evidenced by the regular outbreak of violent hostilities between them since 2013 (Balogun, 2014, Okutu, 2015, 2016, 2017), this study examined boundary conflict management strategies deployed therein with a view to identifying the challenges and issues inhibiting the effective management and resolution of the conflict.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

The creation of states (12 – 1967, 7 – 1976, 2 – 1987, 9 – 1991, 6 – 1996) and administrative sub-units aimed at further developing rural area and local communities in Nigeria has instead resulted in the emergence of new challenges relating to conflicts, including ethnic, religious, inter/intra-state boundary conflicts over land ownership, mineral resources, grazing rights, and farmlands, fueling inter and intra-state boundary conflicts. This prompted the necessity for further investigation into this problem.

Extant studies on boundaries in Nigeria have extensively dwelt on its origin and evolution, the processes of state creation and boundary making, dynamics, politicisation and ethnicisation of boundaries in the country. Literature on boundaries in Nigeria can be categorised into two based on their area of focus. Thus, some scholars have focused on Nigeria's international borders while other, examined the nations's internal borders. The earliest scholars on Nigeria's borders were geographers and historians, thus, their studies which focused on the international borders highlighted the geography and historical origin of Nigeria's borders. These studies also examined the politics of Nigeria's boundary partitions in the context of colonialism and indirect rule, particularly the interaction of European diplomacy with local circumstances to achieve a fair boundary arrangement. Among the scholars in this category are: (Precot, 1958, Anene, 1970, Ikime, 1986, Balogun, 1989).

Scholars such as (Asiwaju, 1976, Stetwart, 1984/85, Babatunde, 1991, Miles, 1994, Olujimi, 2010) have written about the arbitrariness of Nigeria's international borders and how it affects ethnic groups and communities. These studies interrogated the various facets of Nigeria's political, social, and cultural interactions beyond international borders, as well as the problems caused by the partition. Ekoko (1989, Ekpeyong, 1989, Lafiaji, 2003, Eselebor, 2008, Adesola, 2008) examined Nigeria's international borders in terms of defense and national security. These scholars argue that trans-border activities have impacts on Nigeria's national security. Shaibu (2015) investigated the dominant causes of border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon, it identified them as geographic and constitutional positions, colonial-legal roots, demographic, politico-strategic, and economic factors.

Ovavee (2015, Abegude, 2010, Angaye 2003, Addison 2001) studied the intractable nature of land and border disputes in Nigeria, which they attributed to economic, social, cultural, and historical causes. Tamuno (1977), investigated the origins of internal boundaries in Nigeria in his book "*The Evolution of the Nigerian State*" the origin of internal boundaries demarcations in Nigeria were traced back to the 1914 merger of the Northern and Southern protectorates. Rothfield (1964, Akinyele, 1990, Onwuka, 1993) investigated the role of minority agitation and political instability in boundary adjustments and state creations in Nigeria.

The Ikale-Ondo and Ife-Ijesha boundary conflicts were utilised by Adejuyigbe (1968) to categorize internal border disputes in Nigeria. The study divided boundary disputes into four categories: territorial, positional, annexation, and superimposition. In his work "*Genesis of Internal Boundary Disputes Problems*," Anifowoshe (1993:27-46) examined the core causes of internal boundary disputes, emphasizing the role of colonialism. Internal boundaries were studied from the standpoint of national security by Jumare (1993:47-64). The study argued that the Nigerian civil war could have been avoided if the first civilian administration had given the issue of boundary realignment enough attention. Etuki (2013) investigated the origin of boundary conflicts between the Cross River and Ebonyi states. According to the study, the root cause of border conflicts in Nigeria at large and the two

states in particular is due to the unilateral demarcation of borderlines by the colonialists and subsequent reaffirmation of some of these borderlines during state creation exercises.

Furthermore, violence associated with the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict has resulted in deaths, destruction of private and public property, and the burning of the Nigeria Police Force's Boundary Police Station, which was built by the government to serve as a buffer zone for the two feuding communities (Eze, 2016, Anonymous, 2017, Odogwu, 2017, Inya, 2017). It has also had an impact on food security in the area, as well as across Nigeria, as a result of farmers' inability to access their farmland for cultivation due to fear of attack and violence. Indeed, the Nigerian federal government's objective and desire for food security is hampered by the boundary conflict. The popular Abakiliki rice is cultivated in commercial quantities in Abi and Ikwo local government areas where Adadama and Amagu communities are located.

Despite the existence of plethora of literature of border-related issues in Nigeria, attempts at a detailed assessment of interstate boundary conflicts in Nigeria from the viewpoints of boundary conflict management strategies are relatively rare. Thus, this study examined boundary conflict management strategies in Nigeria, using the Adadama and Amagu communities in Cross River State and Ebonyi State as case study, with the goal of examining the causes and consequences of the conflict, as well as mechanisms and strategies for managing the conflict and the emerging challenges.

1.3   Research Questions

In carrying out the field research, the following questions guided the study:

1   What are the causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?

2   What are the consequences of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?

3   Which conflict management strategies have been deployed to manage the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?

4   What are the effects of these strategies on the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?

5   What are the challenges to effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict?

1.4   Aim and objectives of the study

The study investigated the boundary conflict management strategies between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State. The specific objectives were to:

1   Identify the causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts.
2   Ascertain the consequences of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts.
3   Analyse the conflict management strategies that have been deployed in managing the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts.
4   Examine the effects of these strategies on the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?
5   Document the challenges to effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict.

1.5   Scope of the Study

The study's geographical scope is Cross River and Ebonyi states, with the study area being Adadama community in Cross River's Abi local government area and Amagu community in Ebonyi's Ikwo local government region. The study area was chosen because the inter-state boundary along this axis between Cross River and Ebonyi states is disputed, and violent clashes over the boundary are common. The time scope for the study is 1996-2018. The study takes a twenty-two years look at the boundary conflict beginning from the creation of Ebonyi state on Oct 1st, 1996.

The operations of organisations such as the National Boundary Commission (NBC), the Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (OSGOF), and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) in Abuja in the management of boundary conflicts were investigated. The study also drew extensive data from documents retrived from Cross River

and Ebonyi state government, Abi and Ikwo Local government, and Adadama and Amagu communities in order to enhance the understanding of the subject matter.

1.6   Significance of the Study

In the context of conflict management strategies that would improve sustainable peace in Adadama and Amagu communities in Nigeria's Cross River and Ebonyi states, the problem of this study assumes significance. Given the grave challenges posed by loss of life, destruction of property, internal displacement, and the impact of the boundary conflict on food security in the two communities in particular and Nigeria as a whole, a study of this nature is urgently needed to assess the strategies deployed in managing the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict, as well as the causes and consequences.

Thus, this study is significant in the context of conflict analysis and finding solutions to boundary-related problems, given the protracted nature of border disputes in Nigeria, the study proffers practical strategies that can facilitate win-win outcomes in boundary conflict management using Adadama and Amagu communities' as case study. Secondly, the study examines and highlights the role and involvement of the National Boundary Commission (NBC) and other parties in the resolution of border disputes in Nigeria. Thirdly, the study adds to the deployment of strategies and processes for resolving border-related issues, as well as the exploration of their long-term viability. Fourthly, the study's findings will aid the government, its agencies, and other parties in resolving boundary issues between the two communities. Finally, the study's findings provide appropriate literature for researchers and scholars interested in investigating Nigeria's internal boundary conflicts.

1.7   Operational Definition of Terms

To eliminate ambiguity and provide clarity on some words used in this study, the following definitions are provided.

1.7.1 Border/boundary

Moorehouse (2004) defines a border as "an area across which a boundary line travels." The territorial space along the boundary is the most significant step in understanding border as opposed to boundary. The importance of borderland is derived from interactions with the boundary and its laws. In this study, a border refers to a line or thin strip that divides the territories of Nigeria's federating states, such as Cross River/Ebonyi, Adamawa/Bornu in the north-east, Jigawa/Kano in the north-west, Ekiti/Ondo in the south-west, Benue/Kogi in the north-central, and Akwa Ibom/Cross River in the south-south In the study, the terms border and boundary are interchangeably used to indicate the same thing.

1.7.2 Boundary Conflict Management Strategies

It refers to the ways or procedures used by institutions and relevant parties to resolve boundary disputes in order to allow reconciliation, restoration, and the maintenance of tolerance and peaceful coexistence between Adadama and Amagu communities.

1.7.3 Conflict

Conflict is defined as disagreements that emerge between or among individuals or groups as a result of differing perspectives. Conflict, according to Holsti (1983), is defined as a specific relationship between states or rival factions within a state that involves subjective hostilities or tension shown in subjective economic or military hostilities. Coser (1998) described conflict as competition that arises due to quest for resources. During conflict, the ultimate aim of parties is to weaken, neutralise or overpower the other party. In this study, conflict refers to the boundary contest, struggle and disagreement between Adadama and Amagu communiites in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to injure or eliminate their rivals so as to claim ownership of the borderline.

1.7.4 Conflict Management

According to Rahim (2002), it entails developing effective and long-term macro-level frameworks and methods to eliminate and minimize conflict dysfunctions while enhancing constructive functions in order to improve learning and efficacy in conflict resolution. Conflict management, in its most basic form, refers to the techniques and mechanisms used to mitigate the effects of conflict.

1.7.5 Dispute

It is a competition, a battle, a debate, or a quarrel, notably between persons, groups, or countries. The terms "dispute" and "conflict" are frequently used interchangeably. However, John Burton's definitions of both terms are included for clarity's sake. Dispute, according to Burton (1990), is a long/short term disagreement that can be readily addressed since the concerns are negotiable, whereas conflict is a deep-rooted and mainly non-negotiable conflict. However, for the purposes of this study, dispute and conflict shall be used interchangeably to mean boundary contest, struggle and disagreement between Adadama and Amagu communities.

1.7.6 Institutional Mechanisms/Strategies

Within the context of this study, it implies the various administrative and non-administrative strategies employed by the Federal government through relevant agencies and institutions, Cross River and Ebonyi states governments, Abi and Ikwo local governments towards manageing the boundary conflict between Adadama and Amagu communities. These includes: setting up of inter-state joint committtes, inert-state and inter-local government peace committeees.

1.7.8   Indigenous Mechanisms/Strategies

This imply the community based strategies developed and adopted by Adadama and Amagu communities towards managing greviances arising from the boundary conflict. It is coordinated by the Adadama-Amagi Development Committee (ADAMADA). It involved the offering of sacrifices, cultural and traditional rites, payment of fines by the community of an aggressor

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides intellectual illumination on concepts related to the subject of academic investigation. It commences with focus on origin and typologies of border; thereafter, causes of boundary and land conflicts are discussed. The evolution of boundaries in Nigeria is discussed herein. Conflict and its management strategies are also discussed; the study's theoretical frameworks are contained herewith. The chapter ends with the researcher's concluding thought.

2.1.1   Origin and typologies of boundaries

Boundary is a concept used to describe natural or artificial division between two areas (Newman, 2003). Boundary also means well established limits, most appropriately used in present day conception of a state. States, must be noted have the attributes of being independent, autonomous and sovereign and therefore must have a well defined and precise limits or boundaries. Boundaries are not just artificial lines but variable zones, which are opened to pressure from physical and cultural environment (Haselsberger, 2010). Early theories of states agree that some essential features of a state are:-

1. Definite territory;
2. Population;
3. Government;

The territory of a state must have boundary so as to be able to measure its territorial space. Boundaries are powerful. Much of the power of the boundary lies in certain kind of faith; faith that through well articulated and drawn lines, one would have form, substance, identity, protection and shelter within it.

The genesis of boundary points to an earlier primary function which indicates a well established limit, meaning the bounds of a given territory or a given political unit and all that is within it which is bounded together. Kristof (1959) observed that boundary serves as the appropriate term to describe the present day concept of nation-states i.e the state as an autonomous and sovereign spatial unit/entity. The concern for a critical redefinition of border lends itself to studies by scholars like Newman and Passi (1998). The term 'border' has most often been associated with the state centric scholarly realms of security and sovereignty. Border as encapsulated in these debates includes lines of demarcation as well as frontiers of political and cultural dynamics. This has made the border to be viewed as an area, where transaction is conducted, be it commercial or otherwise. The contemporary trend focuses on border as a zone of inclusion and exclusion. This has thrown up the social dimensional relationship of border. Border from the foregoing may mean different things to different people hence Sandra Wallman (1992) apparently focused on the social relational quality of borders questioned:

> What kind of resource is this boundary? What is it used for? In which (and how many) context is it relevant? What is its status in historical or situational time? For whom is it an asset, for whom a liability? With what other difference is it congruent or associated? What meaning does it have on the outer side?

The research questions in this study are not far from the above. The importance of boundary in social relations and by extension the security of lives and properties cannot be underestimated. Boundary to this study is a very critical resource that must be treasured as it has the capacity to bring about conflicts if not properly managed. Indeed, boundaries when not properly managed have brought about violent crises. It should be noted that boundary itself does not bring about conflict. Rather conflicts often generate over ownership of the spatial space where boundary is located. Conflict over boundary can also emerge in respect of actual location of boundary line. The boundary conflict which is of interest to this study falls under boundary conflict over actual location of boundary line.

The historical evolution of boundaries dominated the works of scholars such as Jones (1959), Pounds (1963), Tagil (1983) and Prescot (1971). Pounds remain one of the earliest proponents of four typologies of boundaries which includes antecedent, subsequent,

superimposed and relic boundaries. Pounds postulate that there is no such idea as natural or artificial boundaries. Rather he asserted that all boundaries are social constructs. This has remained predominantly a major line of thinking of most scholars till date. Suffice to say that in geopolitical thinking, attempts are still being initiated to use natural barriers like water, mountains and valleys to demarcate borders where necessary.

Immediately after World War I, geographers were preoccupied with describing the changing map of Europe and the many new borders which emerged. Scholars who were interested in this new construction of borders were Fawcett (1918), Brigham (1919) and Jones (1943). This period constituted an important source of empirical data concerning the political map of Europe. Political geographers of that era developed further typologies from the late 1920s-1960s to facilitate the understanding of borders. These new typologies reflected the way borders evolved, or had been demarcated or delimited as well as the considerations of the nature of borders as open or closed.

One of the best known typologies was that of an American geographer Richard Hartshorne (1938). Hartshorne describes the process of border demarcation to include four stages:

*Antecedent borders***:** These are borders which were delimited prior to human settlement of the area. These areas are normally perceived as constituting virgin or unsettled land. In such areas, the border determines the pattern of settlement and the emergence of societies.

Subsequent borders: These are borders that developed after the pattern of settlement must have evolved overtime.

Superimposed borders: These are borders which were imposed by an outsider, normally, colonial powers during their imperial control, without regards to ethnic, and language settlement patterns. Evident from this pattern is the division of ethnic groups in-between more than one state (country). The process also includes the inclusion of many ethnic groups that are not compatible in single territory, giving rise to much ethnic conflicts that have plagued Africa and some part of Asia.

Natural borders: Geopolitical scientists also spoke of the existence of natural borders, mostly aligned with the physical features of the landscape like rivers, lakes, oceans, mountains, deserts and other features.

Further to our understanding of the typologies of boundaries and its evolution, Oscar Martinez (1994) highlighted the dynamics of border to include:

Alienated borders: Where tensions prevail and the border is functionally closed.

Cold war/security borders: Co-existent borderlands where stability is sporadic and borders remain slightly open.

Interdependent borderlands: Where stability persists most of the time, with economic and social interactions taking place.

Integrated borderlands: Where stability is strong, permanent and economies of states are merged and there are unrestricted movement of persons.

Boundaries in West Africa having emerged mainly from the 1884/85 Berlin conference can be said to be super-imposed because the boundaries were imposed notwithstanding the already existing territorial pattern of the African peoples. Indeed, the forceful demarcation of West African boundaries altered the developmental pattern of the region. Reader (1997) reasserts this view as he opined that colonially superimposed boundaries in West Africa cut across 177 ethnic culture areas, dividing pre-existing economic and social units and distorting the development of the entire region*"*. Though Morehouse (2004) argued that there are no such concept as natural or artificial boundaries; the nature of African boundaries present contrary positions.

According to Newman and Passi (1998), the issue of boundaries goes beyond narrow thinking. It involves greater awareness of the multi-dimensional nature of boundaries, the importance of scale, and more incorporation of environmental perspectives and multi-cultural approaches into boundary studies. The collapse of Soviet Union according to Newman and Passi (1998) has led to the emergence of new boundaries and the creation of twenty new states. In Africa, noticeable changes have occurred in Sudan's boundary with the emergence of South Sudan as a new nation. It is noted that since the various transformations and epoch-making events in history, the essential ingredients of statehood had remained a given territory, people and a government in place to control those limits. Except in rare cases of the Palestine (state without a given territory and geographical limits),

all known nations of the world politically have boundaries either well defined or ill defined. Nigeria is no exception in this case. For the purpose of this study, inter-state boundary implies natural or artificial markings, lines, pillars and other monuments deployed as delimitation instruments to identify and separate the sphere of influence of Cross River and Ebonyi states government, Nigeria.

Inter-state boundaries in Nigeria are a mix of these evolution and typologies. The advent of independence and subsequent creation of states did not alter most of these boundaries as several inter-state boundary lines were demarcated during colonial era. The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary is a classic example. The boundary line was drawn during the colonial rule and was reinforced by the federal government of Nigeria during the creation of Ebonyi and Cross River states. Studies by scholars such as Precot (1958), Anene (1970), Ikime (1986), Asiwaju (1976), Stetwart,(1984/85), Babatunde (1991), and Miles (1994), amongst others provides sufficient literature on boundary evolution and origin in Nigeria. However, the studies focused on international boundary demarcations. Consequently, the studies did not consider the underpinning and attributes of internal inter-state boundary. Many boundary literature in Nigeria have been concerned with international boundaries. Border lines separating internal divisions at the state and local/community level within Nigeria have been of scant subject of interest to scholars. Despite the concentration of scholarlyly attention at the international boundaries, it must be noted that internal boundaries of Nigeria remain significant as conflicts associated with inter and intra state and inter and intra community borderline disputes as examplified by the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict have resulted in loss of live, destruction of property, internal displacement, amongst others. Thus, fueling tensions and insecurity with negative implications for Nigeria's national security.

2.1.2   Causes of boundary and land conflicts

Pons-Vignon and Lecomte (2004) highlighted some conflict generating factors in land and boundary conflicts; these include:

1. Increased competition and demand for land;
2. Inequitable land access and land distribution,;
3. Historical grievances.

They further explained that increased competition and demand for land poses a conflict generator when there are competing claims to land and natural resources and the competing land is inequitably inaccessible to the poor. This has generated so much conflict in the African societies which is further complicated during times of food scarcity or extraction of discovered resources.

Pons-Vignon and Lecomte (2004) further argued that inequitable land access and land distribution can be a cause of land conflict. In many African countries, violent conflicts are directly related to inequitable land distribution which has created tension between traditional and modern land ownership system, and poor land administration, leading to injustices and violent conflict. Historical grievance is another cause of land conflict identified by the two scholars. They asserted that decades long-held grievances related to land access and usage can result in frequent violent hostilities. Although this study reaffirms Pons-Vignon and Lecomte arguments on causes of land conflict, the study further argues that land conflict though closely related to boundary conflict, is not the same as boundary conflict. Land conflict can or may not involve boundary lines. Oftentimes it is usually about ownership of land. However, boundary disputes often revolve around actual location of boundary markings. Therefore, causes of land conflict may not necessarily account for causes of boundary conflict.

A study on land conflicts and development conducted by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2004) revealed that factors such as inter-generational grievances related to land distribution, resistance to change, population growth, and colonialsation are among prominent causes violent conflicts related to land and boundary in Africa. The OECD study submitted that groups who therefore perceives

themselves as despoiled manage to articulate their demands, either through political organization (as in South Africa), or congregate under the leadership of an influential political figure as was the case of late Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. Where land reforms have been initiated, the expectations they have created may also have adverse consequences, both for peace and development, either when they have not been far-reaching enough, or when they have failed to spur agricultural growth.

Providing further insight on causes of land and border conflicts, Baranyi (2006) explained that land conflicts are multi-layered, multi-dimensional and often nested in bigger conflicts which is best understood in historical, social, environmental, economic and political contexts changing over time, accumulating to grievances and multi-level processes including broad economic and political tendencies and specific contextual dynamics. He advised that each land conflict should be considered as an entity with its own history, development and possible resolutions. Most land conflicts are associated with with access, use and security. Baranyi therefore identified causes of land and border conflicts to include: competing claims to access rights, tenure insecurity and unequal distribution of land, alterations in the social, political and economic balance, which result in endogenous population increases, leading to more intensive use of land and reduced access to resources, increased commercial agriculture and extensive land use leading to competition over resources. In-migration of exogenous populations to areas with established communities and land tenure systems, leading to conflict over the rules of access to land and types of land used, changes in land prices and productive potentials, changes in land legislation, or wider socio-economic changes. Similarly, Bruce (2007) identified competition for land as a major cause of conflict. According to Bruce, land scarcity and consequent poverty and desperation have played a role in persistent social and civil conflict. There are differences in the way in which chains of causality of conflict are constructed, but land invariably appears in that chain.

The World Bank (2016) classified Nigeria's as Africa's most populous black nation with a population that is close to 186 million. Many of the emerging land-related disputes are deeply rooted in colonially-demarcated borders which have over the years heightened ethnic

and boundary related conflicts. The amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorate in 1914 by the Britain laid the foundation for boundary and land-related disputes in the country. The amalgamation created ethnic and religious tensions particularly in northern Nigeria. Thus, in order to provide a sense of national cohesion while seeking to avoid ethno-religious conflicts, the British in collaboration with northern emirs ensured that non-northerners particularly Christians lived in separate areas popularly called "sabon-gari" which literally means "non-indigenes quarter". This move was designed to shiled the conservative north from the liberal ideas of the south.

Since Nigeria's independence, there has been series of ethno-religious, communal, boundary and land related conflicts. Land is a major source of conflict in Nigeria; reaffirming this, Fabusoro, Matsumoto, and Taeb (2008) argues that availability, accessibility economic utilisation of land has the capacity to facilitate poverty reduction and wealth creation. Thus, the value of land within the Nigerian context cannot be overemphasised and its potential as source of conflict has manifested across many of the interstate borders in Nigeria. This scenario appears to be the case in the boundary dispute between Adadama community in Cross River state and Amagu community in Ebonyi state. The historical analysis of the conflict provided earlier indicates that the two communities have a history of border conflict dating back to pre-indpendent Nigeria. Therefore, there seem to be a legacy of conflict between the two communities which has hampered conflict management interventions.

Conflicts over land in the south-west and south-east regions of Nigeria has mostly centered around land ownership/usage and boundary while land disputes in the south-south centers around oil. Years of oil exploration in the region have resulted in environmental degradation and oil spill. Thus, disagreement between multinational oil companies and host communities over disruption of land related economic livelihood is common. The International Crisis Group (2008) reports that communities across the Delta are increasingly insistent in their demands for agreements that grant them rights in the exploitation of oil and gas reserves on their land.

The Land Use Act of 1978 gave the ownership of land across the country to the state governments. The state governors were empowered by the Act to allocate and determine the usage of lands in their states at their discretion. The Land Use Act has been a cause of litigation and disagreement between the states and the federal government over who controls land usage and allocation. Due to these contentions, there have been calls for the abrogation of the Land Use Act; Dode (2012: 248) describes the abrogation of the Act as an event which "*will give the people direct control over their landed property, with which they will have the liberty to do business with banks and other organisations, and thus lead to their economic enhancement*.". The call for a review of the 1978 Land Use Act is occasioned by allegations of abuse by both the federal and state governments.

Katseli (2004) argued that at the heart of the various conflicts in Nigeria lies land because of its high material and symbolic values. Evidence shows that whether they result from pre-existing agrarian tensions or not, conflict situations in rural societies deeply affect the politics of land, and whether it is at the heart of a conflict or gets dragged into it. Land requires a careful approach by policy makers because of its central element in the evolution of societies and therefore the place of neutrality should be adopted in land conflict management. Boundary and land related conflicts in Nigeria is increasingly becoming frequent especially in the dimensions of ethnic conflict relatively linked to issues revolving around land.

In further assertion of the importance accorded land and its contribution to conflict, the paradigm of authority and the inherent tension between customary and modern interpretations and implementation of land rights relate closely to both legitimacy and power, and need to be understood and recognized. Land in the eastern part of Nigeria is highly regarded a great treasure and the richness of a man or family is equated by the expanse of land he can controls. Weak legal, institutional and customary protections can also feed into the gender dimension of the land and conflict issues, as conflict over land, particularly involving land access and rights, disproportionately and negatively impacts women. (Food and Agricultural Organisation, FAO, 2009). Land and boundary issues lies at the heart of social, economic and political life in most of rural Africa, and is tied to a

complex network of issues ranging from power relationships to economics and from symbolic attachments such as identity to systemic inequities, and addressing land issues effectively demands a comprehensive, conflict-sensitive, and integrated approach in handling land related conflicts. (Deininger, 2003)

Overall, a boundary is a paradoxical phenomenon in the sense that it is a zone where not only is activity created but also restrained, it is both a restrictor and an encourager, it is at the same time both a constrainer and an initiator. Mbembe (2000) observed that boundary while constraining activities such as social interactions, economic exchange and generally the day-to-day busyness of life, it also encourages and initiates activities that would not otherwise occur. Another paradox about a boundary is its cultural aspects of identity and sense of belonging i.e those on "the other side" of the border might be feared, hated, and disliked and at the same time seen as attractive, exotic, and unique. The "neighbours across" the border could be culturally despised but may also be relatives who are valued for their social capital in times of calamities or hardships.

2.2   Evolution of boundaries in Nigeria

Before Nigeria's independence in 1960, the British colonialists delimited boundaries according to political exigencies that favoured it without recourse to the colonial people. As the country continued to evolve politically, it was divided into regions. However, the advent of independence and subsequent introduction of federal system and creation of states seem to have heralded increased awareness on boundary lines in Nigeria. Individuals and ethnic groups, who hitherto spoke the same language, lived and communed together where suddenly thrown apart by the creation of states. Before the advent of colonialism, present-day Nigeria existed in the form of communities, kingdoms and empires whose boundaries were agreed upon landmarks such as distinct trees, anti-hills or rivers, valleys, mountains, and so on. Because these pre-colonial boundaries were not regarded as sacrosanct, although they had the potential for conflict, their cooperative features were more prominent. Rather, they enabled the geographical definition of kinship groups; their major utility in pre-colonial society was to promote inter-group harmony (Asiwaju, 1996, 1984).

Britain imposed boundaries that were alien to the traditional livelihood pattern of Nigerians by separating related ethnic groups, culturally coherent areas, and common ecological zones. The colonial boundaries were meant to isolate these groups for purposes of administrative and jurisdictional convenience. Emphasising the role of Nigeria's colonial master in creating internal boundaries in the country, Brownlie (1979) submitted that the division of Nigeria into protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria, provinces, divisions, districts, native authorities and federated communities, which was done primarily for British colonial administrative convenience, provided reference data relating to internal boundary management in Nigeria. Corroborating Brownlie, Asiwaju (2001a) noted that as the European colonialists gave Africa arbitrary international boundaries, so the British provided Nigeria internal boundaries.

The internal boundaries of Nigeria has continued to changed from 1914 starting with the amalgamation to creation of regions and the introduction of federal structure and system of governance which brought about creation of states. The creation of states is often accompanied with the creation of additional local governments thus increasing the number of inter-state borders in Nigeria and fuelling boundary conflicts in Nigeria. Table 1 below shows the dates of various state creation exercise in Nigeria, the names of such states and information about where the new states where created from.

Table 1: List of states in Nigeria and their date of creation

State	Date Created	Previous State
Abia	27th August, 1991	Imo State
Adamawa	27th August, 1991	Gongola State
Akwa Ibom	23rd September 1987	Cross River
Anambra	27th August, 1991	(old) Anambra
Bauchi	3rd February, 1976	North-Eastern State
Bayelsa	1st October, 1996	Rivers State
Benue	3rd February, 1976	Benue-Plateau State
Bornu	3rd February, 1976	North-Eastern State
Cross River	27th May, 1967	Eastern Region known as South Eastern State from 1967 to 1976
Delta	27th August, 1991	Bendel State
Ebonyi	1st October, 1996	Enugu & Abia States
Edo	27th August, 1991	Bendel
Ekiti	1st October, 1996	Ondo
Enugu	27th August, 1991	(old) Anambra
Gombe	1st October, 1996	Bauchi
Imo	3rd February, 1976	East Central State
Jigawa	27th August, 1991	Kano
Kaduna	27th May, 1967	Northern Region; known as North-Central State from 1967-1976
Kano	27th May, 1967	Northern Region
Katsina	23rd September, 1987	Kaduna
Kebbi	27th August, 1991	Sokoto
Kogi	27th August, 1991	Kwara and Benue States
Kwara	27th May, 1967	Northern Region known as West Central State from 1967-1876
Lagos	27th May, 1967	Federal Territory of Lagos & Colony Province
Nasarawa	1st October, 1996	Plateau State
Niger	3rd February, 1976	North-Western State
Ogun	3rd February, 1976	Western State
Ondo	3rd February, 1976	Western State
Osun	27th August, 1991	Oyo
Oyo	3rd February, 1976	Western State
Plateau	3rd February, 1976	Benue-Plateau
Rivers	27th May, 1967	Eastern Region
Sokoto	3rd February, 1976	North-Western Region
Taraba	27th August, 1991	Gongola State
Yobe	27th August, 1991	Bornu State
Zamfara	1st October, 1996	Sokoto State
Abuja Federal Capital Territory	3rd February, 1976	Benue-Plateau, North-Central & North Western States

Source: National Boundary Commission (2015)

Successive post independent Nigeria constitutions from 1960 to 1999 clearly allowed for the creation of more administrative units in the country. In 1963, the Mid-Western region was created out of the then Western region. Four years later, a more drastic restructuring of the nation was undertaken by the military administration of General Yakubu Gowon. This led to twelve states structure of Nigeria. Thereafter, another exercise of states creation was carried out in 1976 when General Murtala Ramat Mohammed administration introduced a nineteen states structure for Nigeria. In 1987 and 1991, two and nine additional states were created respectively by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida's administration. The regime of General Sani Abacha created another six new states in 1996, bringing to thirty six the number of states in Nigeria excluding Abuja (the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria). Ekoko (2001) noted that all the states creation exercises except that of 1963 were carried out side by side with the creation of more local government areas, chiefdoms, emirates etc. What emerged from the border restructuring of Nigeria are thirty six states (excluding Abuja- the Federal Capital Territory), seven hundred and seventy four (774) local government areas, several districts, villages and community areas.

As states and local administrative units continued to be created, there grew with it conscious inclination by Nigerians towards 'statism' at the expense of nationalism and patriotism leading to inter and intra state and inter and intra community boundary conflicts and expansionists tendencies in the quest for land and mineral resources. The scale and complexity of boundary conflicts led the Murtala-Obansanjo administration to appoint the Justice Nasir Boundary Adjustment Commission in 1976 to examine boundary disputes in Nigeria. In its report, the Nasir Commission traced the emergence of boundary disputes to the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates of Nigeria, precisely in 1917 when some people from Ilorin and Kabba provinces of Northern Nigeria demanded boundary adjustments in order to join their kith and kin in the western portion of the Southern Protectorate.

2.2.1 Nigeria's international boundaries

According to Akinyele (2007), the evolution of research in Nigeria international boundaries can be traced back to 1907 when Sir Herslet published his book titled "*Map of Africa by Treaty*". The book highlighted the negotiations and correspondences that influenced the location of the external boundaries of Nigeria. However, Prescot's (1958) article titled "*the evolution of Nigeria's boundaries*" served as the springboard that launched extensive researches into Nigeria's international borderlines.

The earliest studies on the international boundaries focused on the evolution of the borders. They were written mainly by political geographers and historians. The emphasis of the researches was on the origin of the borderlines. The studies focused mainly on the politics of the partition, especially the interplay of European diplomacy with local circumstances to produce a 'fair' boundary arrangement. Prescot's (1971) study entitled *The Evolution of Nigeria's International and Regional Boundaries* examined the evolution and functions of Nigeria's boundaries. It discussed the political considerations that influenced the delimitation of the borders. It also highlighted the impacts of the borders on inter-group relations, trade and the relationship among the Europeans competing for territories in Nigeria.

A foremost border historian in Nigeria, Anene wrote extensively on Nigeria's international boundaries. Anene' (1963) article on the Nigeria-Benin boundary argued against the popular belief that the colonial powers simply imposed the international boundaries on Nigeria without considering the local people. Anene argued that local community leaders aided and abetted the British in boundary demarcation exercises in Nigeria. He further submitted that the colonialists were not familiar with the geography of Nigeria's landmass thus, some community leaders assisted them. Using Yorubaland as case study, Anene argued that the boundary between the Yoruba and the Ewe was difficult to understand in the 1880s because of the wide dispersal of the Yoruba, the eastward thrust of the Ewe speaking peoples, and the disintegration of Old Oyo. Thus, in separating the Yoruba in Nigeria and Benin republic, community leaders assisted the British colonisers.

Several other scholars have also written on the evolution of Nigeria's international boundaries. McEwen (1991) studied the establishment of the Nigeria-Benin boundary. The research updated Anene's article by providing information on the developments up to 1989. Balogun (1989) examined the "*Cartographic definitions of Nigeria's boundaries*". Using maps, he traced the different stages of the evolution process. He argued that the extensive cartographical work of the early colonial era was inspired by the belief of the colonial masters that their territories contained rich mineral resources. While the disappointment of this expectation made the colonial masters to lose interest in some of the boundary demarcation exercises. He recommended that all the agreements on the boundaries should be carefully studied and the textual descriptions transcribed into maps to prevent frequent border clashes. Sadly, post-independent governments in Nigeria have not paid sufficient attention to boundary demarcation and maintenance aside from creating new states and local governments.

The secondary category of studies focused on how the arbitrariness of the international boundaries affects the groups and communities fragmented by them. This subject increasingly received attention after the publication of Asiwaju' (1976) book titled "*Western Yorubaland Under European rule:1889-1935"*. The book discussed how western Yoruba groups came under the control of the British and the French. It analysed the localised effects of the Nigeria-Benin border on the western Yoruba, highlighted the various forms of adaptations to colonial rule, and, assessed the implications of the different colonial heritage for Yoruba unity.

Other scholars, following the example of Asiwaju, have addressed different aspects of the political, social and cultural relations across the Nigeria-Benin border. For instance, Babatunde (1991) wrote on *"Marginality's perception of the self: a case of the Ketu Yoruba on the Nigeria-Benin border"*. He posited that the border communities are not passive recipients of the policies formulated at the center. His study revealed that the relative advantage of the British system of education made parents from Ketu (Benin republic) to send their children to schools in Nigeria during the colonial era. The study further revealed that a similar appreciation of the value of the healthcare facilities on the French side of the boundary encouraged the people of Imeko to refer serious cases to the dispensary at Dirin

(Benin republic) rather than the general hospital in Ilaro and Abeokuta (Nigeria) during the colonial era. He also showed that the Alaketu (Benin republic) and the Onimeko (Nigeria) have continued to maintain regular contact, thus showing the supremacy of kinship affinity over the forces of border demarcation. The study concludes that by emphasising that, such cross-border relationship can improve the bilateral relations between Nigeria and the republic of Benin.

Similarly, Soumoni (1991) discussed how the traditional rulers on both sides of the boundary (Nigeria and Benin republic) have tried to maintain and consolidate the unity and traditional links broken by European intrusion. His conclusion supports the view of Asiwaju on trans-border cooperation:

> For the border zone, understanding and cooperation among traditional authorities within the framework of local governments may constitute, perhaps more than the action of security agencies, an important factor of pacific co-existence and harmony in the sub-region (Soumoni, 1991:59)

The problems created by the partition of Borgu by the same Nigeria-Benin boundary have also received attention from scholars. Stewart (1984/85) addressed the issue in her article published to commemorate the centenary anniversary of the Berlin West African Conference. Her analysis revealed that the chiefdoms of Kenu, Yashikera and Aliyara were cut off from Nikki, their traditional capital, while the enforcement of the restriction of movement across the boundary before 1945 affected trade and income of the rulers. Akinwumi (1995) also examined British colonial policy and the accentuation of inter-group crisis in southern Borgu.

There also exist studies on the development of the borderland. Notable among them is Asiwaju's (1993) *Development of border regions*. The book is the proceedings of the National Planning Conference, held in 1989. The conference addressed different aspects of the marginalisation of border communities. A few of the chapters are highlighted to illustrate the diversity of views on theory and case studies. Chukwurah (1993) in chapter two linked the development of border regions with issues of Human Rights, citing Resolution 4 (XXXIII) of the U.N General Assembly of February 21, 1977. To compensate the border communities for

past neglects, he suggested the adoption of the "policy of compensatory actions" towards them in future national planning.

Adeniyi (1993) stressed the importance of rural data in formulating development plans for border regions. He emphasised the need for the method of research to show adequate knowledge of the extent and character of border region and compatibility in terms of terminology, accuracy and reliability across the border. Imobighe (1993) wrote on the development of maritime border regions. He noted that the border regions are generally poor in terms of infrastructure and social amenities. He suggested prompt rehabilitation of land and water communities affected by oil exploration, the development of reliable communication networks and the establishment of government presence in form of roads, electricity, health and recreational facilities. Ekoko (1993) restricted his study to the coastal border local governments, focusing essentially on environmental pollution and government neglect in terms of the provision of basic amenities and educational institutions. To redress the perceived imbalance, he recommended the adoption of performance improvement planning on a permanent basis.

The situation along the inland borders is discussed by (Ekpeyong, 1993, Barkindo, 1993). While impacts of oil exploration was identified as the major problem of the coastal communities, Ekpeyong posited that the factor of geography, especially the rugged terrain and climatic hazards that transformed the Nigerian-Cameroon boundary into a region of hardship and isolation. The study by Barkindo similarly revealed the deplorable living conditions of the people of Koma, Antere and those at the Summit of Michika, Mubi and Maiha local government areas.

Some scholars have written on Nigeria's international borders from the perspective of defence and national security. Ekoko (1989) study titled "*borders in international relations and military strategy*" examined the value of Nigeria's western boundary to British military strategists between 1898-1945. The paper noted that the outcome of First World War, which resulted in territorial gains for France and Britain in West Africa encouraged them to cooperate in matters relating to smuggling, illegal migration and tax evasion across the border. The study submitted that cooperation alternates with crisis and that Nigeria should be prepared for both. Ekpeyong (1989) focused on the clampdown on 'illegal aliens' in several

western African countries. The study posited that unrestricted fishing and oil exploration on Lake Chad and the Niger Basin could precipitate a major crisis between Nigeria and her neighbours. The study submitted that Niger and Lake Chad Basin Commissions should regulate commercial activities on the waters.

2.2.2 Nigeria's internal boundaries

Studies on boundaries by Jones (1934), Ullman (1938), Gilbert (1939), and Prescot (1959) amongst others are among the classic in internal boundaries. The studies argued that realignment of boundaries could affect economy and efficiency in government. Jones' study suggested that internal boundaries be based on functional rather than physiographic region. Ullman (1938) recommended some guidelines to be followed if internal boundary consolidation is to become a reality. He suggested that two lines be drawn to separate dissimilar regions. After noting the resistance to internal boundary change, he concluded that political divisions were equally if not more deeply entrenched psychologically than the physical environment itself. Gilbert (1939) pointed out the need for a reorganisation of internal boundaries in England and Wales. He argued that boundaries should be drawn so as to create areas large enough for efficiency and for a measure of independence from the central government.

A study on Nigeria's boundary by Prescot (1959) identified the potential frictions resulting from the poor demarcation of many Nigeria's internal boundaries prior to independence and from their non-coincidence with the distribution of major ethnic groups. As in so many other parts of emergent West Africa, the unmarked boundaries were not meant to stand the strain of increasing complex functions. He singled out several areas for study where there were serious degrees of nonalignment between the internal boundaries and lines separating economic or ethnic entities and made recommendations for changes largely based on economic grounds.

Impressive as Prescot's arguments are, they do not take cognisance of the conflicts that could arise if boundaries are forcefully demarcated in order to effect governmental and economic efficiency neither did it consider the functionality of the spatial space in the event of conflict over control. Furthermore, While acknowledging the role of internal boundary in economic

growth and governmental efficiency as outlined above, it should be noted that realignment of internal boundaries solely for economic growth and governmental efficiency may not be practical in a federal structure as practised in Nigeria. This argument is hinged on, amongst other reasons, the revenue collection and sharing process in Nigeria where funds from natural resources are shared by the central government to the federating states.

The need to introduce history into the study of boundary has been argued by Tagil (1983). He observed that there is the need to know when and how the boundary came into being. This would involve the study of historical patterns of co-existence and the process involved in drawing the boundaries. In addition to the above, Tagil stressed that it is important to assess the degree to which the interest of the border community have been harmonised with those of the official policies of the government. This situation accounts for the state of Nigerian borders, whereby community interests are not fully harmonised either at the point of border demarcation or modification.

Writing on Nigeria's border, Nigeria's foremost boundary scholar, Anthony Asiwaju (1996), noted that we must not lose sight of the critical point of issue that our national boundaries are analytically colonial borders in origin and in overall orientation. In view of the colonial problems inherited, our borders are characteristically prone to conflicts than co-operative interactions, in the view of Asiwaju (2003). The status of Nigeria's borders prove to be ill-defined and virtually undemocratic, thus paving way for inter-state boundary conflicts. This study agrees with the argument that Nigeria's boundaries are conflict prone and ill-defined. However, having identified the conflictual potentialities of these boundaries, there is need to delve deeper into identifying and interrogating existing boundary management strategies and challenges of their utilisation. This academic gap is what the present study aims to fill.

Tamuno's (1977) "*the evolution of the Nigerian state"* belongs to the earliest category of studies on Nigeria's internal boundaries. The book showcased how ethnic pluralism affected the placement of boundary lines and how disagreement among the colonial officers made it particularly difficult to resolve the boundary dispute at Ilorin and Idah. The book described how individuals and groups exploited the location of the administrative boundaries to their advantage. Agboola (1985) focused on colonial experience as antecedents to the creation of

states in Nigeria, using Kwara as case study. The study documented the struggle of the Yoruba and the Hausa for the control of Ilorin and Kabba provinces, the Macpherson award of 1952 that recommended no change in the protectorate boundary, and the ultimate emergence of the two provinces as a state in 1967.

Several studies have traced the connection between minority agitations and the process of state creation and boundary adjustments in Nigeria. Rothchild (1964) examined the requests of the ethnic minorities for the creation of states on the eve of Nigeria's independence and the response of the Willink Commission to these. Akinyele (1993, 1996) interrogated how internal boundaries in Nigeria evolved in response to minority agitations from 1900. The politics behind the creation of states in Nigeria attracted the attention of scholars such as Adejuyigbe (1982), Dawson and Panter-Brick (1970) and Onwuka (1993). These scholars examined the rationale, demands and problems of states creations in Nigeria. It must be noted that each state creation exercise altered the number and locations of the internal boundaries. It is important to note that in spite of the limitations and complex political and administrative problems pre-independence boundaries generated in Nigeria, the boundaries that emerged after independence generally adopted these colonial formations. For example, regional and state creation from three to four to twelve, nineteen, thirty and thirty six states followed the provincial administrative units with minor changes (Garuba, 1997).

As the regions were further sub-divided into new states, new "majority" and new "minority" ethnic groups emerged, creating new boundary problems for successive administrations. Added to these were emirate/district boundaries in the North and divisional/district boundaries in the South. Where the British found conglomerates of tribes too small to be granted administrative "autonomy", they formulated local federation of tribes, like the J'amaa federation in the North and Itsekiri – Urhobo Division of Old Warri Province to mention a few. These administrative creations produced new problems in the immediate and long-term ranges. Today, almost all the local "federations" of the colonial past have been dissolved into new administrative units. But the colonial structures created political, administrative and many psychological problems and contradictions which are yet to vanish from the Nigerian political scene. It must be noted that majority ethnic group verses minority ethnic group contradictions has now metamorphosed into Ethnic Nationalities Question in

Nigeria today. The rapidity and multiplicity of internal boundary creations over the years resulting in 36 states and 774 LGAs recognised by the constitution has escalated the phenomenon of boundary conflicts and put a heavy burden on internal boundary management in Nigeria.

To underscore the complexity of administrative boundary problems in Nigeria, the Gowon regime introduced "Development Administration Areas", to address the question of local community development. In later days, with the emergence of new Chiefdoms and emirates in some of the Northern states and the phenomenon of "Autonomous Communities" in the South East, the hydra-headed and intricate problems of internal boundary management continue to increase. On the whole, it is observed that:

1. Comparatively, due to such variables as geographical location, historical experience, environmental factors, religion, world view and social attitudes, intractable boundary problems are more in the Southern region of Nigeria than the Northern region;

2. Within the three geopolitical zones of the Northern region, the North Central comprising the Middle Belt has more unresolved/ongoing boundary problems than either the North West or North East;

3. In the South-West and South-East region, the existence of ethnic homogeneity has not eliminated boundary disputes. In other words, members of the Oduduwa and Ohaneze groups of state exhibit almost similar attributes in matters of boundary disputes;

4. The South-South region presents a peculiar phenomenon; it is the zone of crude oil; of 13% derivation from oil and gas; and of Niger Delta Development Commission.

Boundary problems in the oil producing region (south-south) have assumed a monstrous dimension because historically inactive experiences are resurrected, new histories are created and sometimes revisionist historiography invented and popularized. Communities and clans that had lived harmoniously suddenly become volatile enemies. The discovery of oil, sooner than later, is transformed into the discovery of boundary conflicts. Currently, many of the states in the south-south region are embroiled in bitter interstate boundary conflict. For instance, Rivers and Bayelsa states are currently "fighing legal battles" in the

court over ownership of some oil wells in some border communities. Similarly, Rivers and Cross River and Akwa-Ibom states are also engaged in conflict over border lines. At the community level, many villages and clans in Bayelsa, Delta, amongst others constantly engage in violent confrontations over borderlines due to royalties and land lease payment by oil and gas companies.

As a nation, independent Nigeria has not done better than her colonizers in boundary management. Furthermore, it is becoming obvious in Nigeria that:

1. People of the same ethnic group and even of twin ancestry have turned to allege that the offspring of their great grand parents were now strangers or settlers. The conflict between Aguleri and Umuleri in Anambra state, Ezza and Ezillo in Enugu state, Tiv and Jukun in Taraba state, Demsa and Numan Local Government Areas of Adamawa are some of the cases in point.

2. Internal inter-state boundary conflicts in Nigeria are becoming so catastrophic that "even the dead are not allowed to rest in peace". For example, in Cross River and Akwa Ibom conflict over Itu Bridgehead popularly called 'Volvo' market, graves were exhumed and corpses of "aliens" buried in "foreign" territories were relocated for burial. Similarly, the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict which is the subject of this study falls along this category as it has not only led to loss of live and destruction of property, thousands of indigenes have become internally displaced persons consequent upon the boundary conflicts. Ekoko (1987) noted that some consultant surveyors have not helped internal boundary management as their survey results were totally unscientific and technically faulty.

The Federal and some state governments in Nigeria have at various times set up Commissions of Inquiry to examine boundary problems. In some instances, no white papers were released; in others, the reports and white papers compound the original problems. Some actions of the National Boundary Commission targeted at managing inter and intra state boundary conflicts have turned out to be dysfunctional and counter-productive in internal boundary management. Many Nigerian communities are either unable or unwilling to

differentiate and distinguish between traditional boundaries which they claim from time immemorial and contemporary administrative boundaries and land ownership. According to Ekoko (2001), the cumulative report card is that internal interstate boundary conflicts have created more security problems, claimed more lives and property than international boundaries in Nigeria. Yet, strangely, international boundaries have attracted the attention of scholars than internal boundaries. In line with Ekoko's observation, this study is aimed at raising the stakes and drawing attention to issues of internal boundary conflicts in Nigeria.

2.3 Conflict and its dynamics

Pneuman and Bruehl (1982) provide an etymology of the word which highlights the agonistic framework of the term. The Latin root points to two essential components of its meaning. The first component of the word comes from the root word "*jigere*," which means *to strike.* From this root, we also derive other words related to conflict such as "*inflict*," which has the meaning of striking something, as well as "*profligate*," which means to "*strike forward*" or "*to knock someone on his or her fac*"e. The second component of the word, "*com*" means "*together*". Thus, from the Latin root of this word, one can immediately recognise that the underlying basis for conflict is the notion of *striking together,* whether it is two objects or two human opinions. A working definition of conflict for this research can be described as violent struggle between the people of Adadama community in Cross River state and the people of Amagu community in Ebonyi state over borderlines; with each party aiming to inflict, knock out and eliminate the other so as to take ownership of the disputed land area.

Barrena (2006), defined conflict dynamics as the resulting interaction between the conflict profile, the actors, and causes. An understanding of conflict dynamics aids in identifying windows of opportunity, particularly through the use of scenario building which aims at assessing different possible developments and thinking through appropriate responses. Scenarios basically provide an assessment of what may happen next in a given context according to a specific time frame, building on the analysis of conflict profile, causes and actors. It is good practice to prepare three scenarios: (a) best case scenario (i.e. describing the optimal outcome of the current context, (b) middle case or status quo scenario (i.e. describing

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the continued evolution of current trends), and (c) worst case scenario (i.e. describing the worst possible outcome).

Akpuru-Aja (2009) observed that conflict dynamics takes the form of conflict analysis designed on the following formats:

a. history of the relationship,
b. primary and secondary actors,
c. structures (factional goals, attitudes and behaviours),
d. intensity (low, moderate or extreme violence),
e. strategies adopted by parties, including communication patterns and interactions between parties,
f. pattern of regime responses, and
g. facilitators of conflict transformation.

Thus, Bloomfield (1996) postulates that conflicts have a general, common structure rather than being invariably unique and random phenomena. All conflicts go through a preliminary dispute phase and may also go through one or more hostilities and post-hostilities phases. In each phase, identifiable factors generate pressures that may influence the course of the case towards the next threshold and transition into another phase. These factors may be upset by other influential factors that tend towards the prevention of that transition. From the aforementioned it is important to note that conflict is not constant. It can be perceived from different perspectives. It is susceptible to change as time changes over a particular dispute. Hence, the dynamism of conflict makes it difficult to manage, as conflict is not predictable. Therefore, it is important to understand the causes and consequences of a given conflict, as well as the factor(s) that undermine the peace efforts.

2.3.1 Types and levels of conflict

Basically, conflict can arise as a result of diverse circumstances. One way conflict can be categorised is by grouping it according to relational factors. Several authors like Marlin Thomas, Norma Cook Everist, Larry L. McSwain, John Wallace and Donald E. Bossart differ with respect to the terminology used to describe the various types of conflict, but Leas and Kittlaus (1973) simplify them into three categories: *intrapersonal, interpersonal,* and *substantive* conflict. According to Leas and Kittlaus, intrapersonal conflict is a struggle that a person has within himself or herself. Internal struggles involve battles between the intellect and the emotions, between the mind and the heart. These two parties (the mind and heart; the intellect and emotion) are at variance with each other, creating inner conflict in a person's psyche. Bossart (1980) quotes the work of Hartwood who asserts that problems are not usually at the heart of conflict, but the real problem is the state of the individuals and the resulting relationship between persons. Tack (2012) argues that intrapersonal conflicts are inner conflicts occurring within the individual. In situations of conflict, internal issues as well as external relationships must be considered. They further state that the inner conflict of the individual is at the base of the problem.

Tillett (1999) expands on the concept of inner conflict, recognising that intrapersonal conflict can result from competing demands, needs and loyalties within an individual. These competing demands and needs can lead to guilt, which he considers an "important form of inner conflict". Thus, Bowman (2008) notes that inner conflict can stem from opposing human internal feelings that battle against each other. Rahim (2001) claims that every individual faces situations of intrapersonal conflict on a daily basis. Each time we are faced with a decision that has any degree of uncertainty, we experience internal conflict. Interpersonal conflict is related to differences between two or more individuals but is not necessarily related to a specific issue. Leas and Kittlaus (1973) describe this conflict as occurring between individuals, primarily over their incompatibility as persons. This conflict is not generated by what a person does or what he thinks about an issue, but by how he feels about the other person. Bossart (1980) defines interpersonal conflict as the projection of our intrapersonal ambivalence of values onto others with the resultant dissatisfaction and frustration.

Interpersonal conflict is characterised by disagreement between individuals and relationships. Augsburger (1983) delineates the three basic types of interpersonal relationships argued by Tack as being (i) complementary, (ii) symmetrical, and (iii) parallel. The complementary relationship is where different individuals connect and complement their differences. The symmetrical relationship is more adapting and it provides harmony between the individuals within the relationship. The parallel relationship is more individualistic and makes room for a more balanced freedom of acceptable individuality. The identification of relationships is helpful because it can assist the conflict manager to identify the conflict with a broader understanding. Therefore, interpersonal conflict arises when we try to impose our own personal values on others but are rejected. The resulting frustration gives rise to interpersonal conflict.

Intergroup conflict, which is a form of interpersonal conflict, can arise when the dispute occurs between groups rather than specific individuals. Substantive conflict can occur between two individuals, two or more groups, or a combination of individuals and groups. What differentiates substantive conflict from the other two is that it has to do with specific facts, goals, issues or values. The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict is a classic example of inter group conflict with each community aiming at taking possession and ownership of the disputed borderline. Bowman (2008) argues that while personalities and feelings are still factors in these circumstances, the root of the conflict relates to external factors.

Deutsch (1973) has contributed greatly to the research and development of 'social conflict'. He developed a definition and typology of conflict and has contributed meaningfully to this field of study. His typology of conflict is categorised into the following six types:

i.   Veridical conflict—this is objective and is perceived accurately;

ii. Contingent conflict—this is dependent on readily rearranged circumstances but is not recognised by the conflicting parties;

iii. Displaced conflict—this is a manifest and underlying conflict which is not dealt with in the argumentation;

iv. Misattributed conflict—this is between the wrong parties and, as a result, is usually over the wrong issues;

v.   Latent conflict—this is a conflict that should be occurring and is not. It is repressed or displaced. It needs consciousness raising to be dealt with; and

vi.   False conflict—this occurs when there is no objective base for the conflict. It implies misperception or misunderstanding.

Conflict becomes more destructive as it increases in intensity; thus, Speed Leas (1985) provides a framework for identifying and naming the different levels of intensity of conflict in a group. He proposes five broad levels of conflict intensity. These are:

Level 1: *Problems to Solve*. At this level, there are real differences between people, but the people are problem-focused not person-focused. Communication is clear and specific and the people involved want to sort out the problems.This is a normal and entirely healthy level of conflict.

Level 2: *Disagreement*. At this level, people are more concerned with self-protection than problem-solving and may talk mainly with friends about how to deal with an issue. Communication is more generalised and people withhold information they think may be used by those with whom they disagree. Again, it is normal for most individuals and communities to experience this level of conflict.

Level 3: *Contest*. At this level, people's objectives shift to winning the argument and coming out on top. There is a win-lose dynamic and communication becomes more distorted with personal attacks with emotional arguments overshadowing rational argument. It is not unusual for communities to experience this level of conflict and this is the first level where people may name the dynamic as one of "conflict", as negative elements become more evident.

Level 4: *Fight or Flight*. At this level, the parties' goal is to hurt or get rid of others, or to leave if they cannot achieve this. Communication is characterised by blaming, negative stereotyping and a refusal to take responsibility.

Level 5: *Intractable*. At this point, the conflict is out of the participants' control, and the goal of opposing parties is to destroy one another. In such situations, people see themselves as part of an eternal cause, fighting for universal principles with any means justifying the all-important ends. Communication is characterised by outright condemnation of others, extreme emotional volatility, compulsiveness, an inability to disengage, and with the issues

lost from sight. This is conflict at its most destructive nature. Managing such conflict requires separation of the warring parties, some kind of peacekeeping rather than a peacemaking as the first conflict management initiative. The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict is currently at this level; it must be noted that prolonged period of violent hostilities between parties in dispute can lead to the conflict becoming intractable as parties in conflict become belligerent as well as deploy guerrilla warfare as part of strategies to sustain the conflict.

By identifying these levels of conflict, Leas helps us to understand much of the complexity that can be involved in managing internal boundary conflicts in Nigeria. Whether we are in the midst of the situation or we are involved in intervening in the conflict, an accurate assessment of the level of intensity is critical. Therefore, if conflict management institutions and stakeholders do not recognise the conflict level, it is likely that any conflict management deployed, at best, be ineffective and, at worst, be counter-productive. Misjudging the conflict level can do more harm than good. According to Leas, the first two levels of conflict are easy to manage, the third is tough and the fourth and the fifth are very difficult and near impossible. Therefore, to effectively manage internal boundary conflicts in Nigeria, a clear approach and strategy built on reconciliation, compromise and joint problem solving must be developed and deployed. Obviously, it is advantageous to identify potential boundary conflicts before it escalates. It is especially helpful to have some pointers to indicate the intensity of the conflict and the appropriate strategies needed to manage it.

2.3.2. Conflict progression

Conflict progression basically implies the movement of conflict, either escalation which is increase in conflict intensity or de-escalation meaning reduction in conflict intensity. This is reaffirmed by Bloomfield (1997) where he asserted that there is widespread agreement in conflict literature that conflicts pass through a sequence of distinct and identifiable stages and phases. These stages and phases are referred to as conflict progression. Various terms exist to describe the phases or stages in the dynamics. Albert (2011) developed an adaptable model for looking at the progression of (election) violence, taking such crises through nine stages. These stages are situated within the context of boundary conflict.s The stages are:

When the problem occurs: At this first stage, there will be argument over a particular issue which is viable enough to lead to an open conflict. This argument will showcase the different positions, interests and goals of parties that are involved in the conflict. In the context of boundary conflict, at this stage, parties begin to disagree on the actual location of borderline with each laying claim to a particular point as the borderline. This location is often disputed by the other party leading to the emergence of the problem of disputed borderline.

Sides are formed: When the argument/dispute fails to be resolved amicably, the two sides define their territory and the argument leads to an open conflict. This stage shows that goals between conflicting parties are incompatible. In a typical boundary conflict, the sides can be between a person in one community and another in a different community, an entire community and another community as exemplified in the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict. At this stage, different opinions, views and perceptions emerge providing support to different parties based on interests.

Communication breakdown: At this stage, there will be occasional fighting, abuse of each other, ignoring of each other and refusal to respond to the greetings of each other. Thus, there would be strained relationship between conflicting parties. Here, communities in conflict advise their people to avoid and restrain from visiting the other community and relating with them. In the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict, when the conflict got to this stage, daughters of the two communities married into each community were asked to return back to their home community.

Position hardens: Both parties consolidate their sides and threaten each other.

Resource mobilised: To realise their goals, each party mobilises resources to show their worth and capability. When there is imbalanced power asymmetric, many inter-personal conflict end at this level. The individual with lower power asymmetry tends to "*leave it for God*". In inter community conflict such as the Adadama and Amagu scenario, community members tend to approach rich individuals to provide resources while in other instances,

levies are paid by community persons to raise funds to sustain the conflict. In most cases, ethnic and primordial sentiments are used to mobilise resources.

Conflict goes outside the immediate community: When the resources are not enough to meet with the needs of parties or community, parties go outside to mobilise more resources to sustain the conflict. At this stage, it should be noted that the interpretation, perception and ideology of third parties concerning the conflict will be different from the parties in conflict. And sometimes the advice or recommendation given will be based on the personal interest of the third parties which may change the course of the conflict. Similarly, in the case of inter community conflict, persons who are not from the community but have filial relation are approached for support as well as those considered as "friends of the community". Also, conflict entrepreneurs and other stakeholders gaining from the conflict tend to provide resources to escalate the conflict. These persons are also referred to as "shadow parties"

When perception becomes distorted: At this stage, third parties (conflict entrepreneurs and shadow parties) have successfully twisted the view of the parties concerning the conflict such that parties in dispute no longer have the desire to resolve the conflict, similarly, various interests become entrenched thereby making resolution of the conflict complicated.

Sense of crisis emerges: When perception has been distorted, a sense of the crisis will emerge among the parties or communities in conflict. This in turn creates tension, fear and anxiety among parties in conflict. If it an interpersonal conflict, it result in the loss of one's peace of mind or respect in the public. In inter community conflict, at this stage, communities begin to establish vigilante groups in anticipation of attacks.

Outcomes vary: At this stage, the response of parties differ, some of the response options include: avoidance, withdrawal, confrontation, third-party decision making or joint decision making. Parties in conflict can decide to avoid each other, withdraw from each other, engage an influential third party or institution to mediate (a third party may also intervene at this stage in performance of its constitutional mandate) or jointly decide to resolve the conflict issue.

Similarly, there are four general stages through which conflict undergo. These are latent stage, manifest stage, crisis stage and de-escalation stage.

*Latent stage***:** This is when the conflict is yet to surface but there is a growing awareness of the conflict.

*Manifest stage***:** This is when the face of the conflict begins to emerge with low level of violence.

*Crisis stage***:** This represents the peak of the conflict with open hostility between the conflicting parties.

*De-escalation stage***:** This stage is divided into two: the improvement and the transformation stages. The improvement stage is when the crisis has been significantly reduced by the intervention of a third party. In boundary conflict, the intervention can come from the National Boundary Commission, State governments, influential traditional rulers and clergymen as well as other stakeholders. The transformation stage is when the root cause(s) of the conflict has been effectively addressed. In a nutshell, conflict is an inevitable phenomenon that changes from time to time. If not effectively managed, it can lead to loss of live, destruction of property, internal displacement of persons and severe socio-economic impacts on an individual, community and society at large as manifested in the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts.

2.3.3   Conflict management strategies

Conflict management involves strategies deployed in seeking to control conflict before, during and after occurrence. Various scholars such as Leffel, Hallam and Darling (2012), Pepin (2005), Tanner (2000), Zartman (1997), Huseman (1977), Marion (1995) and Green (1984) have explained conflict management noting that it is more elaborate and wider in concept and application. It involves conflict resolution and transformation when and where necessary. It covers the entire gamut of managing conflicts positively at different stages, including institutional strategies to prevent conflict. Therefore, conflict management encompasses conflict limitation, containment, litigation and conflict prevention. Sanders (2011), Gonclaves (2008), Ojiji (2006), Wilmot and Hocker (1998) outlined some strategies

for managing conflicts; these include: clarification of communication and the checking of perceptions, which, in turn, involve the following: speaking out what is in one's mind or heart, listening carefully, expressing strong feelings appropriately, remaining rational, asking questions, maintaining a spirit of give and take, avoiding harmful statements, asking directly what is going on, telling others one's opinion, looking for flexible "shades of gray" solutions, recognising the power of initiating a co-operative move, identifying conflict patterns, and engaging in negotiations of agreements and settlements.

Afolabi (2017) and Oyeshola (2005) further argued that conflict management incorporates arbitration, litigation and adjudication especially in relation to group, national and international conflicts. In relation to interpersonal conflicts, two categories, namely partial/temporary conflict management and potentially damaging conflict management are exhibited. Under the first category, three strategies are distinguishable, namely bargaining, bandage and role dominance approaches. These approaches have their specific characteristics. The bargaining strategy can manage or resolve the immediate conflict. It focuses on demands of the conflicting parties and uses concessions and compromise as instruments of managing the conflict. Everyone gains something but also loses something. In this strategy, areas of agreement are emphasised and disagreement ignored or glossed over. The disadvantage of this approach is that it can involve an individual or group giving up things which are important to them in order to arrive at "superficial agreement". This approach can be useful if continuing the conflict without agreement would put too much pressure on a relationship. Usually, this approach does not focus on improving the overall relationship of the parties in conflict. The strategy is dominant in many diplomatic discourses.

The bandage strategy 'pretends' that there is no real problem and as such, it does not demand any serious discussion. Meanwhile, the relationship continues. This approach can provide temporary relief, but does not resolve the root cause. Usually, the conflict returns. The role dominance approach defines people and groups in terms of their social roles. It can provide a resolution to the immediate conflict but normally disempowers the one in the "lesser" role. It also perpetuates an unequal power relationship.

In potentially damaging conflict management strategy, the conquest strategy can bring a temporary cessation to the immediate conflict. It creates a "loser" and a "conqueror", but neither party ultimately benefits as the "conqueror" is deprived of the full contribution of the "conquered". In the context of avoidance strategy, it may be argued that some conflicts may not be worth addressing, if they are very minor nuisances in the overall relationship. However, avoidance strategy only postpones dealing with conflict and as a consequence, the conflict usually escalates. All parties are disempowered. Generally, there are several strategies in managing conflict which are further discussed below:

Communication strategies

Communicating during conflict is essential, though, it can be perceived differently by each party. Fleetwood (1987) noted that no meaningful conflict management can be discussed without linking it with communication. Similarly, Salleh and Adulpakdee (2012), observed that poor communication leads to misunderstanding which in turn breeds conflict. Communication has six parts: "a source, an encoder, a message, a channel, a decoder, and a receiver". Tack (2012) argued that accounting for the multifaceted characteristics of communication difficulty is understandable. Adding to this are the sometimes purposeful roadblocks of generalising, summarisation, confusion and misrepresentations. When taking into account the complexity of communication, the issue of an acceptable resolution is more probable. Leas (1982) lists some useful items during the de-escalation phase of a conflict. These items include boundary establishment, increased structure to the procedure, heeding to similar resolutions, responding to threats with reaffirmations of position, and involvement of an authority as a third party. Leas (1982) further emphasises the forward movement of conflict management through the stages of searching for answers, verbalisation of differences, and stimulation of an environment where joint resolutions can be effective.

Summarily, communication therefore can be said to be the process of sharing and exchanging information between individual or a group and this is a vital instrument in conflict management because it involves the use of signs, symbols, language and gestures. Adejimola (2009) noted that where there is poor or absence of communication, conflict may likely escalate while exchanging information can assist in effective resolution of conflict.

Therefore, it can be argued that the success of conflict management strategies to a large extent depend on effective communication. Kazimoto (2013) further reaffirmed the role of communication in conflict management in his submission that the most significant and consistent element in effective conflict management is sincere, honest, open and clear communication.

Collaborative strategies

According to Froyd (2010), the collaborating mode is high assertiveness and high cooperation. Collaboration in conflict management strategies can be described as "putting an idea on top of an idea in order to achieve the best solution to a conflict". The best solution can be defined as a creative solution to the conflict that would not have been generated by a single individual. The collaborative mode is appropriate when conflict is important to the people who are constructing an integrative solution, when the issues are too important to compromise, when merging perspectives, when gaining commitment, when improving relationships, or when learning.

Collaboration combines a high concern for both people and objectives and works best when all parties are committed to the resolution of the conflict. Hence, collaborating strategy includes listening to needs and goals in order to achieve a common goal. Gonclaves (2008) described collaboration strategy in conflict management as a means of reaching a better solution through communication and cooperation. This results in a win-win situation. This is based on effective listening, and confronting the situations in a non-threatening way. The parties focus on the problem, not the personalities. It is a situation where both parties win. Ojiji (2006) further posited that collaborative strategy in conflict management is more socially adaptive as it leads to a solution that is acceptable to the parties involved. Collaborative skills are active listening, non-threatening confrontation, identifying concerns and analysing input.

Compromising strategy

Froyd (2010) states that the compromising strategy in conflict management is moderate assertiveness and moderate cooperation. Compromise strategy may be decribed as "giving up more than you want". It involves both parties in a conflict giving up some of their demands in order for the conflict to be resolved. Times when the compromising strategy is appropriate can be when dealing with issues of moderate importance, when there is equal power status, or when there is a strong commitment for resolution. Compromising strategy can also be used as a temporary solution when there are time constraints.

The strategy of compromising consists of a series of tradeoffs. Those utilising the compromise conflict management strategy, according to Gonclaves (2008), always strive to find a middle ground. It is thus characterised as a fairly assertive and cooperative strategy, with a goal to reach mutual agreements. Nevertheless, if this strategy is used excessively or exclusively, it may lead to simply making everybody happy, without resolving the original conflict. Ojiji (2006) noted that compromise becomes necessary in situations where the positions of the parties are so incompatible that the two cannot be reconciled without one of them losing something in the process. Compromise as a conflict management strategy is a mixture of accommodation and competition, usually for the sake of preserving. It can lead to a half-hearted commitment by both parties. At times moral issues can be ignored for the sake of compromise. Compromising skills are negotiating, finding a middle ground, assessing value and making concessions.

Joint problem-solving strategy

The process of joint problem-solving strategy in conflict management is to explore the problem before a group in such a way as to allow the group to make the best decision concerning that problem (Albert, 2001). It is where the conflict situation is regarded as one from which mutually beneficial solution can be developed and the possibility of self-supporting resolution of the conflict is feasible. Joint problem-solving strategy aims at a re-definition of the nature of the problem among the parties themselves and seeks to find an integrative solution.

In order to effectively utilise the joint problem-solving approach in conflict management, Afolabi (2017) lists some criteria. These include:

   a. welcome the existence of differences;

   b. listen with understanding rather than evaluate;

   c. clarify the nature of the conflict;

   d. recognise and accept the feelings of the individuals involved; and

   e. indicate who will make the decisions being discussed;

   f. suggest procedures and ground rules for resolving the differences;

   g. give primary attention to maintaining relationships between the disputing parties; and

   h. suggest procedures which facilitate solving the problems jointly.

The joint problems-solving strategy in conflict management is mutually exclusive. It could help in managing and resolving boundary conflicts between parties as both will mutually benefit from the process. This results in a win-win strategy.

Avoidance/denial strategy

According to Ojiji (2006), conflict avoidance occurs when one party in a potential conflict ignores the conflicting issues or denies the significance of the issue. It is a way of not addressing the conflict, or a tactical way of postponing the conflict for a better time, if at all such a time will come. It should be noted that in such a situation, the person or group is unassertive and uncooperative.Gonclaves (2008), on the other hand, argued that the strategy of avoidance in conflict management comes from a negative perception of conflict. He suggests that the strategy is used when the conflict involves "issues of low importance", or "to reduce tensions, or even to buy time". The avoidance startegy is also used when one party in a conflict is in "a low power position without control over the situation". However, choosing to manage conflict using avoidance often convey "negativism, critical and sarcastic comments, and may breed passive aggressiveness". Consequently, this may lead to hostility and hurt feelings.

Avoidance is one of the most commonly utilised conflict management strategy and is adopted when an individual withdraws from, avoids, suppresses, and denies the existence of conflict. This action or, more appropriately, inaction will typically cause the conflict to resurface at some point in a more dramatic or adversarial form. Avoided conflict "never go away; it is simply postponed". Letting peace reign, timidity, or fear of retaliation are often cited as reasons for it. The outcome is initially latent. In that state, it is a lose-win situation. Avoidance attributes include: the abilities to withdraw, sidestep issues, leave things unresolved and sense of timing.

Accommodation strategy
According to Gonclaves (2008) to accommodate means "smoothing". Those who manage conflict by accommodating others are mostly concerned with preserving relationships. Accomodation strategy in conflict management promotes goodwill and peace; however, it often comes at the cost of low-assertiveness with high cooperativeness. Ojiji (2006) explained that this strategy of managing conflicts comes from a cooperative disposition with a conscious attempt to neglect one's needs and focus on satisfying those of the other party. Accommodation is a conflict management strategy that reflects a high concern for preserving a relationship, even if it means sacrificing one's own goals or interests. A party in conflict that uses this strategy bears the responsibility for maintaining the relationship. While this appears as turning the "other cheek", a number of difficulties come with this strategy, including the high probability for resentment to develop. Again, the possibility of a more dramatic conflict emerging in the process cannot be dismissed.

Competition strategy
This conflict management strategy proceeds from self-centered needs over the other party. Gonclaves (2008) argued that competition strategy in conflict management is generally characterised by aggressive communication behaviour that is threatening and seeking control. He adds that those who manage conflict this way generally fear losing control over the other party and demonstrate a lack of interpersonal skills. Such person experience constant tension, anger and disapproval. As a result, competition as a conflict management strategy often fail to satisfactorily resolve or manage conflict. Thus, competition strategy in

conflict management is characterised by a high concern for achieving personal goals. This strategy is usually destructive to the relationship of the parties in conflict. Parties in conflict who use this strategy will most likely be willing to sacrifice anything to achieve their goal or protect their interest.

Albert (2001) further developed and outlined other conflict management strategies. These are:

***Strategic withdrawal*:** This is a situation in which the "oppressed" party decides to retreat from the conflict spot to look for a way to attack back. This could be win-lose or lose-lose. It can also be called 'collateral damage'.

***Confrontation*:** This is when the "oppressed" party retaliates immediately. This is a lose-lose strategy. The outcome is destructive and both parties and groups lose or the stronger party wins. The outcomes in this instance are either lose-lose or win-lose.

***Third-party decision-making*:** This is a situation when the issue in dispute is reported to a third party to deal with it, for example, reporting to a body with appropriate power or authority to manage issues in relation to the conflict.

Summarily, conflict management strategies are more of the action-driven dimension of conflict resolution mechanisms. How conflict management is handled can be either a variant of much of conflict reduction and control, or conflict escalation. It adopts a whole lot of diplomatic techniques and skills necessary to contact and interact with disputing parties as well as coordinate the intensions and responses timely. In the process, it assumes an intervention mechanism, including monitoring and evaluation of conflict behaviours and the degree of compliance with resolution on ending violence (Afolabi, 2017).

2.4   Institutional frameworks for boundary conflicts management in Nigeria

Nigeria established the National Boundary Commission (NBC) which was promulgated into existence by Decree No.38 of 17th December 1987, (CAP 238 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990) for the management of border related conflicts in the country. The Commission began operation on a permanent basis in January 1989. The establishment of the NBC was informed by the need to have an agency that focused on addressing on a detailed basis, issues on internal and international borderlands. Towards this end, the agency was empowered among other things to:

1. Intervene, and deal with any boundary disputes that may arise between Nigeria and any of her neighbours with a view to settling the dispute;

2. Intervene, determine and deal with any boundary dispute that may arise among states, local government areas or communities in the Federation with a view to settling the disputes;

3. Define, and delimitate boundaries between states, local government areas or communities in the Federation and between Nigeria and her neighbours in accordance with delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;

4. Take all necessary steps towards the implementation of resolutions on internal boundary disputes.

In carrying out its function, the National Boundary Commission operates by means of two standing committees:-

1   International Boundaries Technical Committee (INBTC)

The INBTC co-ordinates Nigeria's international boundary issues. Nigeria's international boundaries are categorised into land and maritime boundaries. Nigeria has land boundaries with Niger, Benin, Chad and Cameroon while her maritime boundaries is shared with Republic of Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Benin Republic, Republic of Cameroon and Ghana in the Gulf of Guinea. The International Boundaries Technical Committee's efforts in this line are geared towards the enhancement of peaceful coexistence among border communities, good neighbourliness and the promotion of African brotherhood. Hence, its activities are hinged on the promotion of peaceful boundary regime, trans-border cooperation and promotion of Nigeria's national interest generally.

2   Inter-State Boundaries Technical Committee (ISTBC).

Inter-State Boundaries Technical Committee (ISBTC) of the National Boundary Commission oversees issues related to inter-state boundaries in Nigeria so as to facilitate management of conflicts arising from boundary disputes; as well as the nurturing and sustenance of trans-border relationships. As a strategy, the National Boundary Commission takes all contending parties in internal boundary disputes as stakeholders whose participation in the dispute resolution processes is crucial. Accordingly, the states, local governments, border communities and security agencies are incorporated into the dispute resolution processes. The various processes are conducted through:

1. Joint Meeting of Officials (JMO);
2. Joint Consultative Committee (JCC);
3. Joint Field Team (JFT) and Ad Hoc verification and ethnographic survey teams.

All these processes are coordinated by the Inter-State Boundaries Technical Committee and forwarded to the National Boundary Commission. By virtue of the enabling law of the National Boundary Commission, State governors are members of the National Boundary Commission whenever issue(s) on their boundaries are presented for deliberations.

According to the National Boundary Commission, presently, there are eighty six (86) inter-state boundaries in Nigeria. The table below outlines these boundaries:

Table 2: Inter-state boundaries in Nigeria according to the six geo-political zones

North-East	South-East	North-West	South-West	North-Central	South-South
Adamawa/ Bornu	Abia/Anambra	Jigawa/Kano	Ekiti/Ondo	Benue/Kogi	Akwa-Ibom/Cross-River
Adamawa/Gombe	Abia/Ebonyi	Jigawa/Katsina	Ekiti/Osun	Benue/Nasarawa	Akwa-Ibom/Rivers
Adamawa/Taraba	Abia/Enugu	Kaduna/Kano	Lagos/Ogun	FCT/Kogi	Bayelsa/Delta
Bauchi/Gombe	Abia/Imo	Kaduna/Katsina	Ogun/Ondo	FCT/Nasarawa	Bayelsa/Rivers
Bauchi/Taraba	Anambra/Enugu	Kaduna/Zamfara	Ogun/Osun	FCT/Niger	Delta/Edo
Bauchi/Yobe	Anambra/Imo	Kano/Katsina	Ogun/Oyo	Kogi/Kwara	Delta/Rivers
Bornu/Gombe	Ebonyi/Enugu	Katsina/Zamfara	Ondo/Osun	Kogi/Nasarawa	Cross-River/Benue
Bornu/Yobe	Anambra/Kogi	Kebbi/Sokoto	Osun/Oyo	Kogi/Niger	Cross-River/Ebonyi
Gombe/Taraba	Abia/Akwa-Ibom	Kebbi/Zamfara	Ekiti/Kogi	Nasarawa/Plateau	Delta/Ondo
Gombe/Yobe	Abia/Cross-River	Sokoto/Zamfara	Ekiti/Kwara	Kwara/Niger	Edo/Kogi
Bauchi/Plateau	Ebonyi/Benue	Jigawa/Yobe	Ondo/Kogi	Benue/Taraba	Rivers/Abia
Bauchi/Jigawa	Enugu/Benue	Kebbi/Niger	Osun/Kwara	Nasarawa/Taraba	Rivers/Anambra
Bauchi/Kano	Enugu/Kogi	Kaduna/Plateau	Oyo/Kwara	Plateau/Taraba	Rivers/Imo
Bauchi/Kaduna	Anambra/Delta	Zamfara/Niger	Ondo/Edo	FCT/Kaduna	Edo/Anambra
		Kaduna/Niger		Nasarawa/Kaduna	

Source: National Boundary Commission, (2015)

Furthermore, according to the National Boundaries Commission, these inter-state boundaries can be grouped into two:

3. Uncontested/undisputed boundaries in Nigeria - 38
4. Contested/disputed boundaries with on-going action in Nigeria – 48

1. Uncontested/resolved boundaries in Nigeria

These are boundaries that have been investigated, field traced, defined and resolved after series of meetings. There are thirty eight (38) boundaries in this category. However, it must be noted that there may still exist sectors of some of them that are still in dispute. The inter-state boundaries in this sector are outlined in the table below:

Table 3: List of uncontested/resolved boundaries in Nigeria

S/N	States	S/N	States
1	Benue/Taraba	20	Ogun/Oyo
2	FCT/Kaduna	21	Osun/Kwara
3	FCT/Kogi	22	Oyo/Kwara
4	FCT/Nasarawa	23	Akwa Ibom/Cross River
5	FCT/Niger	24	Akwa Ibom/Rivers
6	Nasarawa/Kaduna	25	Bayelsa/Rivers
7	Nasarawa/Plateau	26	Cross River/Benue
8	Plateau/Taraba	27	Delta/Ondo
9	Nasarawa/Taraba	28	Delta/Rivers
10	Adamawa/Gombe	29	Edo/Kogi
11	Adamawa/Taraba	30	Jigawa/Kano
12	Bauchi/Jigawa	31	Jigawa/Yobe
13	Bauchi/Kaduna	32	Kaduna/Kano
14	Bauchi/Kano	33	Kaduna/Katsina
15	Bauchi/Plateau	34	Kaduna/Plateau
16	Bauchi/Taraba	35	Kaduna/Zamfara
17	Bauchi/Yobe	36	Ekiti/Kogi
18	Bornu/Gombe	37	Ekiti/Kwara
19	Gombe/Taraba	38	Lagos/Ogun

Source: National Boundary Commission, (2015)

1. **Contested/unresolved boundaries with on-going action in Nigeria**

These are boundaries receiving National Boundaries Commission's attention and are at different stages of the intervention processes. There are forty eight (48) inter-state boundaries in this category. Some are at the initial stages of Joint Meetings of Officials, while some have advanced into the stages of preliminary field investigations with reports yet to be considered. Some others have had their reports considered and the need for additional fieldworks and ethnographic studies have been identified for further necessary actions.

Table 4: List of contested/unresolved boundaries with on-going action in Nigeria

S/N	States	S/N	States	S/N	States
1	Benue/Kogi	17	Rivers/Imo	33	Osun/Oyo
2	Benue/Nasarawa	18	Anambra/Edo	34	Anambra/Enugu
3	Kogi/Kwara	19	Jigawa/Katsina	35	Osun/Kwara
4	Kogi/Nasarawa	20	Kaduna/Niger	36	Anambra/Delta
5	Kogi/Niger	21	Kano/Katsina	37	Ondo/Osun
6	Kwara/Niger	22	Katsina/Zamfara	38	Abia/Imo
7	Adamawa/Bornu	23	Kebbi/Niger	39	Ondo/Kogi
8	Bauchi/Gombe	24	Kebbi/Sokoto	40	Abia/Enugu
9	Bornu/Yobe	25	Kebbi/Zamfara	41	Ondo/Edo
10	Gombe/Yobe	26	Zamfara/Niger	42	Abia/Ebonyi
11	Ekiti/Ondo	27	Abia/Akwa Ibom	43	Ogun/Osun
12	Ekiti/Osun	28	Abia/Anambra	44	Abia/Cross River
13	Anambra/Kogi	29	Ondo/Osun	45	Ogun/Ondo
14	Anambra/Imo	30	Bayelsa/Rivers	46	Ebonyi/Enugu
15	Enugu/Benue	31	Delta/Edo	47	Enugu/Kogi
16	Cross River/Ebonyi	32	Rivers/Abia	48	Rivers/Anambra

Source: National Boundary Commission, (2015)

Table 4 above reveals that Nigeria has forty eight (48) disputed yet to be resolved inter-state boundaries as against thirty eight (38) that have been successfully demarcated using different mechanisms. This implies that more than half of inter-state boundaries in the country are disputed. This problem indeed provides justification for this study. Cross River and Ebonyi states share boundary in the South-South/South East geopolitical zone of Nigeria. They are among states in Nigeria that have boundary disputes with on-going action as shown on table 4 above.

2.5   Theoretical Framework

Over time, a number of theories have been adopted to provide useful framework for examining border, territory and conflict. It is significant to note that theories create fundamental bridge and analysis of a set of fact. Thus, Cohen (1968) explained that the goal of any theory is to explain something which has occurred with a view to dealing with problems which arose or may arise as a result. Consequently, this study is premised on the territorial theory and the primordial conflict theory.

2.5.1   Territorial Theory

The territorial theory is propounded by Vasquez (1993, 1995, 1996). Although several issues may be sufficient enough to lead to war, the territorial theorists posit that territorial issues are especially significant in factors that lead to conflict and war (Hensel, 1996b; Newman, 1999).

Territory is often viewed by nations/states as highly significant for three main reasons; its:
1. Tangible contents or attributes,
2. Intangible or psychological value, and
3. Impacts/effects on a state's reputation.

Territory can be considered as important because of the tangible values that it contains. Many territories have been the subject of dispute because they contained (or were thought to contain) valuable commodities or resources, such as strategic minerals, oil, fresh water, or fertile agricultural land. Certain territories are considered valuable because they provide access to the sea or to other commerce routes, particularly when they include deep water ports, warm water ports, or control over strategic waterways. Territory may also be seen as

important for its population, particularly when it includes members of an ethnic or religious group that inhabit a neighbouring state.

Another tangible benefit of territory is its contribution to a state's perceived power and security. Strategic territories such as the Golan Heights may allow for advance warning of an impending attack and may contribute to national defence, particularly to the extent that the territory in question contains defensible geographic features. Fearon (1995: 408) argued that:

> Territories with strategic attributes can be an important source of war even for adversaries who would otherwise prefer a negotiated settlement, because the transfer of strategic territory can alter the two sides' relative bargaining positions. That is, control over the transferred territory may greatly increase the gaining side's chances for successful attack or defence in a future confrontation, which may make both sides reluctant to allow the peaceful transfer of such territory to an adversary

The theoretical significance of territory can be used to propose a series of implications for the study of inter-state boundary conflict in Nigeria. First, if territorial issues are more prominent than most other issues because of their tangible, intangible, and/or reputational importance, then interaction over territory should be different from interaction over other issues. The literature on territorial disputes (Vasquez, 1993, 1995, 1996; Hensel, 1996b) suggests that territorial issues are more prone to violent conflict behaviour than most other issue types, and confrontations over territory are more escalatory than confrontations over other issues. As Brecher (1993) argues, the more basic the values at stake in a crisis situation, the higher the cost crisis actors are willing to incur to protect them, and the more extreme will be their crisis management (value-protecting) technique.

Similarly, territorial conflicts are argued to be more difficult to resolve than most other types of conflict. Bowman (1946), posited that any territorial solution no matter how fair it may seem carries with it the risk of future attempts to regain lost territory. Also, arguments may always be raised in the future about past historical claims to the lost territory, especially along borderlines of mixed ethnic or linguistic composition, and subsequent incidents may always be used to re-focus attention on such historical claims. Bowman (1946) further suggested that two or more states may often have irreconcilable claims to the same piece of territory, and

that in some territorial disputes there may be no logical solution that both sides can find acceptable. Reasserting this view, Vasquez (1993) noted that territorial conflict can be very difficult to settle, and that if two parties are unable to settle their territorial questions early in their relationship, the resulting dispute is likely to last for many years.

In a nutshell, the essence of territorial theory to this study cannot be overemphasised. The boundary conflict between Adadama community in Cross River state and Amagu community in Ebonyi state is essentially attributable to the three main reasons for territorial conflicts. In terms of tangibility, the borderland is fertile for agriculture. Adadama and Amagu communities are majorly agrarian. They people engage in commercial farming of rice. The popular Abakaliki rice is cultivated in the area. Also, fish farming (fish ponds) is common among the people in the two communities. Thus, the disputed territory between Adadama and Amagu communities have tangible agricultural value to the two communities. Furthermore, value of land for agriculture has increased significantly due to the federal government's economic diversification policies which seeks to encourage agriculture. Federal government policies such as the "Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme" (GEEP) provides access to financial services (loans) to farmers and agricultural workers. This has increased the value and demand for land for agriculture in Adadama and Amagu communities.

The intangible value of the dispute territory derives from the ancestral, historical and ethnic claims of Adadama and Amagu communities to the borderland. The two communities claim that their ancestors are buried in the disputed areas hence, they cannot forfeit the territory. Furthermore, the boundary conflict between the two communities has elements of reputation and image ingrained into it. Each party views any concession made as a sign of weakness or give away of an ethnic heritage. Consequently, the occasional eruption of violent boundary conflicts between the parties corroborates Bowman's and Vasquez views.

2.5.2   Primordial Theory

According to Kieh, the primordial conflict theory is based on the contiguity of immediate kinship, group, community, particular language and specific social classes which people belong to. These groups have coercive power. The main argument of primordial theory is that the clan, racial or ethnic groups are the principal actors in social, political and economic lives. The collective action of each primordial group is governed by its cultural peculiarities. In the course of inter-primordial relation there will be both hegemonic and subordinate groups who may form alliances to pursue various interests and ambitions. Such alliances are usually in the favour of the hegemonic group. (Kieh, 2002).

This theory is especially important for the understanding of inter-state boundary conflict in Nigeria, in general and the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict in particular. First, Adadama community is in Cross River state while Amagu community is in Ebonyi state; this implies that both communities are in two different and distinct states which considers each other different in terms of ethnicity, language and culture. Therefore, ethnicity, kinship, communality play a key in sustaining the boundary conflict as each community sees the conflict as "them versus us". For instance, at the height of the boundary conflict in 2015, Adadama women married into Amagu community were asked to return home; Amagu women married into Adadama community also did the same because they were viewed as spies who provided information to their "people" against their husband's community.

This action buttresses the primordial nature of the conflict. Also, both Adadama and Amagu communities have a standby armed vigilante group which was established to provide security. Over the years, these vigilante groups with the support of community leaders coerce residents to pay community levies which they claim is for community protection. Notwithstanding their economic status, every community person pay the dues because they do not see the conflict as individualistic but communal hence, the perception that our group/community must not lose. Therefore, kinship utilising coercive power is a principal factor in the sustenance of the boundary conflict between Adadama and Amagu communities' . The vigilante groups with the support of the communities (alliance with

hegemonic group) provide security to community people and in turn, the community takes care of their basic needs.

2.6   Concluding thoughts

The earliest scholars of Nigeria's boundary were geographers and historians. The emphasis of their study focused mainly on how boundary lines came into existence. Such scholars include: (Prescot, 1958, Anene, 1970, Ikime, 1986, Balogun, 1989). These scholars examined the politics of the partition, especially the interplay of European diplomacy with local circumstances to produce a fair boundary arrangement. Therefore, their studies examined Nigeria's borders in the context of indirect rule.

The second category of scholars (Asiwaju, 1976, Stewart, 1984/85, Babatunde, 1991, Soumoni, 1991, Miles, 1994, Akinwumi, 1995 Olujimi, 2010) studied how the arbitrariness of the international boundaries affects the ethnic groups and communities fragmented by them. These scholars addressed the different aspects of the political, social and cultural relations across international borders and the problems created by the partition.

Another category of scholars (Collins, 1976, Igue, 1983, Omeben, 1991) focused on economic relations across the border especially as it relates to issues of cross-border trade and smuggling. The studies provided highlights on factors that sustained cross-border trade as well as made recommendations on how to stem the tide of smuggling across borders.

Asiwaju, (1989, 1993, Chukwurah, 1993, Adeniyi, 1993, Imobighe, 1993, Ekoko, 1993) wrote on development of borderlands communities. The studies emphasised the various aspects of the marginalisation of Nigeria's border communities both at the inland and maritime border regions.

Scholars such as (Ekoko, 1989, Ekpeyong, 1989, Eselebor 2008, Adesola, 2008, Lafaji, 2003), examined borders from the perspective of defence and national security. The studies highlighted the potentials of trans-border activities in affecting Nigeria's national security. The concept of internal boundaries is not discussed extensively in all the studies highlighted above. Indeed, attention was focused mainly on Nigeria's international boundaries.

In a nutshell, due to the impressive nature of the contributions of these scholars, useful information was retrieved from their various scholarly works; however, they had academic gaps that necessitated further research. For instance, sufficient scholarly attention has not been given to internal boundary conflicts in Nigeria using an inter-state boundary conflict (conflict between two communities in two distinct and separate states over boundary) as case study. Also, various works reviewed did not sufficiently explore the strategies in managing boundary conflicts and effects of these strategies. The present work has examined the causes and consequences of boundary conflicts, the conflict management strategies deployed and their effects using the Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State as case study. The study contributes to strategies that can be effectively deployed in the management of the boundary conflict between Adadama and Amagu communities in particular and inter-state boundary conflict management in Nigeria at large.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter two of the study discuss extant literature, publications and relevant concepts related to the study's subject matter. The current chapter focuses on the research methodology that was adopted in the study. These include: research design, study population and sample population. Other components of the research methodology discussed in this chapter are: method of data collection, instrument of data collection and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research design

The research adopted the case study design. Bromley (1990) describes this as a systematic inquiry into an event or set of related events which aim to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest. The unit for analysis can vary from an individual, community or related institution. To effectively investigate the study's subject matter (boundary conflict management strategies between Adadama community in Cross River state and Amagu community in Ebonyi state, 1996-2018), this study adopted case study research design which enabled the researcher to gather data and interrogate the subject matter. The increasing spate of violence associated with the boundary conflict necessitated the need to interrogate the conflict management strategies deployed in order to scientifically examine and identify the emerging challenges. The knowledge gained will help shed light on the frameworks designed to manage the boundary conflict. The survey research design was used employing qualitative research tools to explore relevant areas while appropriate and workable answers were provided to the research questions, thus fulfilling the objectives of the study. This study made use of survey design, using the qualitative approach to extract information from both primary and secondary sources.

3.2   Study location

The study was conducted in Adadama community located in Abi Local Government Area of Cross River State and Amagu community situated in Ikwo Local Government Area of Ebonyi State. Adadama community consist of seven villages namely: Abumege, Atana, Ekpon, Idalebo, Imina, Ivone and Emifon while Amagu community is made up of six villages namely: Ochienyim-Amagu, Ndiagu-Amagu, Akalufu-Amagu, Obegu-Item, Ebusike and Enyibichiri. These villages that make up Adadama and Amagu communities have a common historical origin i.e findings from the study revealed that the names of these villages represent their ancestors who findings based on oral history revealed are siblings. Thus, the villages consider themselves brothers therefore, primordial and kindred spirit is consistently utilised in mobilising resources during the outbreak of the boundary conflicts. In essence, each village views an attack on one as attack on all which requires unified effort to counter.

Land ownership in Adadama and Amagu communities is communal thus, each of these villages consider themselves critical stakeholders in the boundary conflict. Because land is jointly owned in the two communities, a village or an individual cannot take unanimous decision concerning its usage. In practical terms, this means that the process of taking a decision with regards to the disputed borderland is complex and complicated because of multiplicity of vested interests and stakeholders.
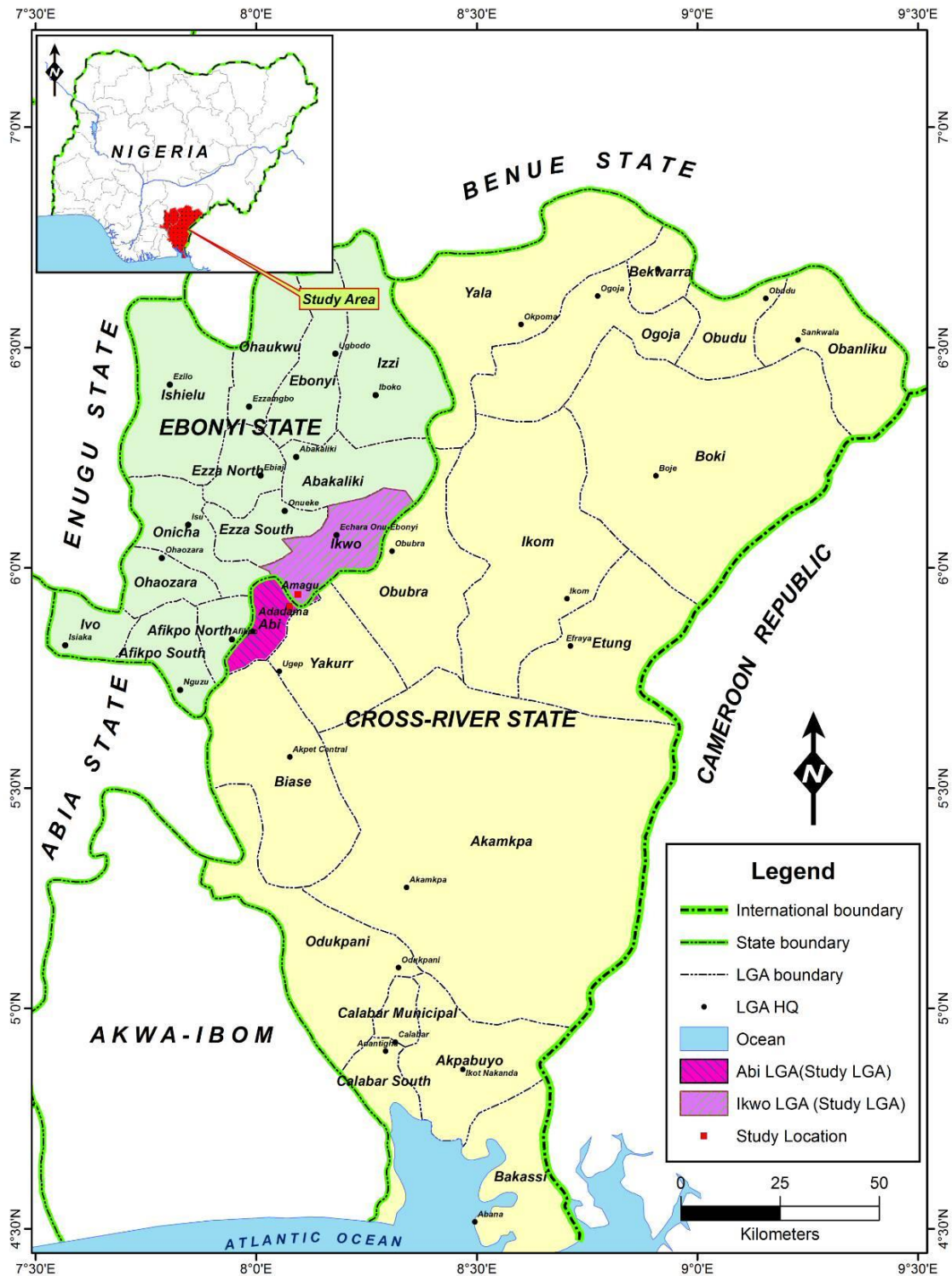
Figure 1. Map of Ebonyi and Cross River states, Nigeria identifying study location.
Source: Cartography Unit, Geography Department, University of Ibadan (2016)

3.3 Population of the study

Traditional/community leaders of Adadama and Amagu communities, women and youth leaders in Adadama and Amagu communities, security agents in the two communities, officials of the National Boundary Commission, Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, government officials of Cross River and Ebonyi States, and legal practitioners were among the study's participants. The interviewees were men and women with appropriate knowledge and information based on their experience, age, and position.

3.4. Study sample method

When the population of interest in a study is too large to be studied, sampling is used. This is frequently due to restrictions in time, resources, and personnel available to undertake large-scale research. The purposive sampling strategy was used in this study. A group of people was purposefully chosen from the general community to offer relevant data for the study. Utilising the purposive sampling strategy, the researcher purposefully selected respondents with a wide range of opinions to shed light on the challenges surrounding the study's objectives. Mason (2006) coined the term "strategic sampling" to describe how information from one context might be used to explain information from other contexts.

Respondents were selected from the Adadama and Amagu communities, as well as relevant officials from the governments of Cross River and Ebonyi. Additionally, federal government institutions with mandates related to boundary conflict management, as well as academics, were purposefully chosen based on their mandates and contributions to the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary issues.

3.5   Sampling technique

The NBC and OSGOF are the agencies in charge of boundary management in Nigeria. As part of the study's sample size, officials from these agencies were chosen. The director of internal conflict management at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (the federal government institution charged with conflict resolution) was also included in the sample size. Officials from the governments of Cross River and Ebonyi states were also included in the sample size. The traditional rulers of the Adadama and Amagu communities, who are the custodians of the two communities' culture and customs, were also included in the sample size. Because of the significant roles that youths play in conflict, it was necessary to include youth leaders in the study's sample size. Women leaders were included in the sample size because issues of land and conflict have a substantial impact on women. Security agents from the Adadama and Amagu communities were also included in the study's sample size.

A total of 27 Key Informant interviews were conducted with respondents who were purposefully chosen from the following groups: National Boundary Commission (3), Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (2), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja (1), Cross River and Ebonyi States government officials (3), Traditional/community leaders (4), Women leaders (4), Youth leaders (4), Security agencies (2), Academia (2), Legal practitioners (2). Demographic information on research participants can be found in Appendix II.

The researcher was able to: (i) choose respondents with practical and field-based expertise about the boundary conflict between the Adadama and Amagu communities and the strategies used to manage it, and (ii) improve the quality of the study data by using narratives. According to Holstein and Gubrium (1995), the quality of any qualitative research is improved when the researcher identifies and recruits respondents who are competent of narrative production.

Table 5:   Sampling technique

Source(s) of Data	Method of data Collection	Sample
National Boundary Commission	KII	3
Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation	KII	2
Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution	KII	1
Officials of Cross River and Ebonyi States government	KII	3
Traditional ruler of Adadama community	KII	1
Traditional ruler of Amagu community	KII	1
Community leaders	KII	2
Women leaders	KII	4
Youth leaders	KII	4
Security agents	KII	2
Academia	KII	2
Legal practitioners	KII	2
Total		27

Compiled by Researcher, 2018

3.6   Sources of data

Data for the study was collected from two main sources: primary sources and secondary sources.

Primary Sources: Interviews with officials from key federal government agencies, Cross River and Ebonyi State governments, traditional/community leaders in Adadama and Amagu communities, Women and Youth leaders, security agents, academia, and legal practitioners served as primary sources.

Secondary Sources: Secondary data on the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts was gathered from existing literature, media, government white papers, minutes/reports of meetings, official letters and correspondences, and online documents.

3.7   Method of data collection

The study's data collection began with the creation of an interview protocol and an informed consent form by the researcher. The informed consent form explained the study's goal and told respondents that they could remain anonymous if they so desired. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and focus group talks with respondents who were purposefully chosen provided qualitative data. In addition, non-participant observation was used. In addition, records from the National Boundary Commission, the Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation, the governments of Cross River and Ebonyi states, and the Adadama and Amagu communities were used to supplement KII.

3.7.1   Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

Key informant interview was used to collect data for the study using the interview guide. In its semi-structured form, the KII guide was employed. Its usefulness for this study came largely from the fact that it allowed the researcher to follow up on respondent responses, boosting the quality of data gathered through the key informant interview approach. Furthermore, the interview questions were drawn from the research objectives and designed by the researcher in order to elicit vital information on the boundary conflict management strategies of the Adadama community in Cross River State and the Amagu community in Ebonyi State.

Between April and May of 2018, the interviews were conducted via face-to-face and phone calls, depending on the respondents' preferences. The face-to-face interviews were at the offices and private homes of the respondents.

Although the researcher contacted 30 key informant respondents, only 27 agreed to participate in the study. As a result, a total of 27 Key Informant interviews were conducted with respondents purposively chosen as follows: Traditional/community leaders (4), Women leaders (4), Youth leaders (4), Security agents (2), Academia (2), and legal practitioners (3), National Boundary Commission (3), Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (2), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja (1), Cross River and Ebonyi States government officials (3), National Boundary Commission (3), Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (2), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja (1), Cross River and Ebonyi States (2). The focus of the conversation was on the boundary conflict management strategies used in the Adadama and Amagu communities, as well as their consequences.

3.7.2 Focus group discussions

Two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held (one in each of the Adadama and Amagu communities) in order for the researcher to learn more about how the respondents discussed the boundary conflict. Seven (7) people participated in the Adadama community FGD, while ten (10) people participated in the Amagu community FGD. The focus groups allowed community members to talk about the border dispute based on their personal experiences and perspectives. The FGD participants were chosen from the community on purpose so that the researcher could compare their perspectives to those of individual interviews. The one-on-one interviews lasted an average of one hour and thirty minutes, while the focus group lasted two hours.

3.7.3 Non-participant observation

Non-participant observation in the study was through visits to some locations where conflicts related to the border dispute occurred in the communities, which were mentioned by interview and FGD respondents. The research team was led by Mr Monday Nwacho (Amagu youth leader). Burnt and abandoned buildings were seen in Ochiayim-Amagu and Ndiagu-Amagu. The research team also interacted with a group of military men in the two communities. They informed the study team in a quick conversation that they have been permanently stationed in the area since 2015.

Mr. Sunday (Adadama youth leader) accompanied the study team to Abumege-Adadama, where the village has a cemetery for victims of the boundary dispute (to get to Abumege, Mr. Sunday mobilized three youths who took the researcher and his assistants on their motorbikes). A document listing the names of Adadama indigenes who have died as a result of the boundary conflict was handed over to the researcher during an interview session with the traditional ruler of the Adadama community. The purpose of the trip to the cemetery was to double-check and certify the document's contents. A burnt government secondary school and a hospital were also seen by the study team, which the youth leader claimed were destroyed during the 2015 violence. The research team was also led to an Adadama princess's grave (the team was told that the princess graduated as a medical doctor in the United States of America and returned home to work in the community but was beheaded and her head taken away during the 2015 conflict.).

A team of military men were also stationed in Adadama community. Attempts to communicate with them were met with rejection. Finally, when the research team went to the two communities for the first time, they were stopped twice by armed youths who set up roadblocks along the way. In subsequent visits, though, the team had easy access. As a result, the observations aided in the enrichment of the data gathered and boosted the researcher's understanding of the disputes.

3.8   Validity of instrument

Expert comments on the face and content validity, as well as the structure of the interview procedure created, were sought from supervisors and other lecturers in order to determine the validity of the instrument. The researcher rectified the problems found and included fresh ideas from the supervisors into the instrument. The adjustments and observations gleaned from the validation exercise also served as a foundation for enhancing the interview protocol's items.

3.9   Reliability of instrument

A pilot test was conducted with a sample of eight (8) stakeholders randomly selected from the National Human Rights Commission (2), National Commission for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (2), Alex Ekwueme University, Ikwo, Ebonyi state (2), and University of Calabar, Cross River state (2), to further validate and ensure that the instrument is suitable and reliable according to the research plan. The instrument's reliability was assessed based on the results. The discovery of typographical errors and incorrect item order offered another foundation for refining the items on the interview protocol.

3.10   Analysis of data

The information gathered from the interviews was transcribed (some of the data were anonymised in order to protect the identity of respondents). This was accomplished with the help of transcription software (Express Scribe). During the analysis, pseudonyms were utilized to represent the anonymous respondents. The five specific objectives of the study were examined. The data gathered was coded and analysed using Nvivo (software for qualitative research analysis).

After gathering all relevant and available data and documents, the researcher analysed and content analysed the evidence contained within by confirming (cross-checking) one source of information with another to establish the fact. In addition, the researcher examined secondary data such as government white papers, commission reports, meeting minutes, and letters/correspondences to back up the material gathered orally. Narrative content analysis was performed on the oral data gathered. The goal of narrative analysis, according to Kvale (2006), is to figure out the structures and narratives of stories recounted during interviews.

It can often include piecing together a coherent story from multiple episodes acquired through interviews. Narrative analysis, according to Bryman (2004), is a method of explaining and analysing data that is sensitive to the temporal sequence that humans, as storytellers, sense in their lives and surrounding incidents and infuse into their reports.

Interview and focus group quotes were paraphrased along theme lines. They are good instances of what respondents had to say regarding the topic under investigation. These quotations were used to either confirm, corroborate, or refute responses and views expressed by respondents.

3.11   Limitations to the study

The researcher was faced with certain difficulties while gathering data for this study. Due to the delicate nature of the investigation, the researcher's first major challenge was the interviewees' reluctance/passive response. Even though the agreed to participate in the interview, several participants found it difficult to open up about the topic of discussion early in the interview. To overcome this obstacle, the researcher used patience and numerous promptings to elicit responses in some circumstances.

Due to the prolonged nature of the boundary conflict, some interviewees were unable to recall the exact dates of some significant events; even some of the dates provided were either inconsistent or erroneous. This contradiction was corrected, however, by cross-checking dates with additional informants and associated papers turned over to the researcher.

There were also those who agreed to grant interviews, particularly officials from the Cross River state administration, who gave the researcher a series of interview appointments but failed to keep them. As a result, only one of the two (2) planned key informant interviews with a Cross River state government official was successfully conducted. These restrictions, however, had no effect on the data's reliability or validity, and the study's results were not impeded in any manner.

Finally, because of the small number of respondents (n = 27 inteview respondents + 16 FGD participants), caution should be exercised in generalising the findings of this study. The only interstate boundary explored was between the Adadama community in Cross River state and the Amagu community in Ebonyi state. Other Nigerian interstate boundaries were not included in the study. These limitations, however, do not contradict the study's conclusions in any way.

3.12   Ethical consideration

This study guaranteed that research ethics were followed and upheld. As a result, respondents were briefed on the research's goal, and their consent was requested and granted. There was no coercion or inducement used to get people to participate in the study. Before beginning the interview sessions, the researcher sought permission from respondents to record and photograph them as needed. These requests were met with approval. The researcher also asked respondents for permission to use their names and other personal information in the study. The majority of respondents gave the researcher permission to speak with them, although a minority denied, choosing to remain anonymous. As a result, all names and other information about respondents used in this study was obtained with their consent and approval.

CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section presents the results of the analysis of the responses from the Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions conducted with traditional/community leaders, Women leaders, Youth leaders, residents of Adadama and Amagu communities as well as officials of the National Boundary Commission (NBC), Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (OSGOF), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR), Cross River and Ebonyi State governments, Academia at Ebonyi State University and Cross River State University of Science and Technology and legal practitioners in Calabar and Abakiliki.

4.1   What are the causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict?

The perspectives discussed herein emerged from the views and opinions expressed by the sampled population from Adadama community; this was followed by those expressed by Amagu community sampled respondents. Thereafter, perspectives expressed by other members of the sample population were presented. According to Adadama respondents, the cause of the boundary conflict between the two communities is the failure of the National Boundary Commission to delineate and demarcate the boundary using the colonially determined borderline as well as the refusal of the Amagu community to accept the 1920 boundary demarcation by Mr. G.G Shute (the District Officer of Afikpo region in colonial Nigeria). According to the respondents, historically, Adadama community had no boundary demarcation with Amagu community. The boundary demarcation was with Okpitumo community (this community is also in Ikwo L.G.A, Ebonyi state). However, the people of Amagu community came in contact with Adadama community after successfully defeating Okpitumo community in an inter-tribal war during the colonial eraand taking over their land.

As a result of this, Amagu and Adadama communities decided to enter into a covenant to reinforce the borderline. Both communities congregated and made sacrifices; this was done in the borderline location called *Igorli in* Adadama community and *Ugoli* in Amagu community. The covenant recognised and re-validated the already existing G.G Shute boundary pillar which was already erected at the location. Emphasising this view, the traditional ruler of Adadama community explained:

> When the colonial masters demarcated the boundary,, the Amagu people were not there. It was between the Okpitumo and us. As I speak with you people, we have a document on the boundary, Okpitumo also have the document showing our boundary. Some years later, the Amagu people came and squatted in part of the Okpitumo area. They later fought the Okpitumo people and claimed their land. Initially, we lived peacefully as they (Amagu people) used to come and do labour in Adadama. They even sleep, eat and drink with us. We even gave them our daughters then until they started killing and beheading our people. All this is saddening because the Amagu people know the right thing. Decree 23 of 1985 recognised the G.G Shute boundary. The National Boundary Commission in 2000 retraced the boundary and affirmed the G.G Shute boundary line as the authentic boundary. Even when Ebonyi state was created out of Anambra state in 1996, the boundary line was not altered. (Eval. N. Agbomi, 17-04-2018)

The sampled population from Adadama said another cause of the conflict is the support given to Amagu community by Ebonyi state government. The respondents claimed that the immediate past governor of Ebonyi state (Chief Elechi Amadi, 2007-2015) who is from Ikwo local government usually provide money to the Amagu people for rehabilitation each time the conflict occurs. These monies are subsequently used to purchase arms and given to Amagu youths to terrorise the Adadama people. Expressing the view, the traditional Prime Minister of Adadama stated thus:

> They (Amagu people) have big people who give them money anytime they come to fight us. They are always boasting that their people are in power so no matter what they do, nothing will happen. Honestly, this is true because sometimes they even set their homes ablaze and accuse us of being behind it in order to collect money and other things from their government. (Chief Lebo Ilang, Adadama, 17-04-2018)

Furthermore, the sampled population from Adadama community noted that the use of cultists and mercenaries by Amagu community is responsible for the violence that is associated with the boundary conflict. They alleged that during the conflicts, Amagu community usually hires cultists to support them. Speaking further, they respondents claimed that the external support received by Amagu community is the reason why they are never tired of fighting. Accordingly, they respondents unanimously argued that there are people in Amagu community who are funding the conflict; it is these persons that pay the hired cultists and mercenaries. The view of an Adadama youth during a Focus Group Discussion summarises the views of other respondents:

> You know they say when a fowl starts chasing you early in the morning, you better run because it is possible that it has grown teeth overnight, so it is safer to run away. I say this because Amagu people are very few yet when they come to attack us, they come in large numbers. Initially we use to wonder about this until intelligence revealed to us that they make use of cultists and militants from the Niger Delta to fight us. Infact, these fighters now live among them and easily attack us so how can the battle end? It will not end until those people paying these fighters are arrested. (Philip Ewe, FGD, 18-04-2018, Itigidi)

Accusing the Amagu community of land encroachment, respondents from Adadama identified this as one of the causes of the conflict. According to the respondents, in the past, both communities lived in peace but when the Amagu community started attempting to take over Adadama land, trouble began. The views of the respondents is articulated by the submission of a women leader in the community during a key informant interview session:

> Honestly, the Amagu people are very troublesome, in the past, my husband has taken part in various effort to end this problem but after such attempt, the Amagu people will still go back and enter our land to farm; .... my husband told me that they (Amagu community) even removed the blocks that the white men used to mark our boundary with them. It is this thing that is making the fight more bloody (Mrs Doris Ilang, Women leader 18-04-2018, Adadama)

In their submission, Amagu community sampled respondents traced the cause of the conflict to the unclear and ambiguous nature of the borderline and failure of the NBC to demarcate the boundary. The respondents traced the ambiguous nature of the borderline to the 1920 unilateral demarcation by Mr. G.G Shute. The respondents alleged that this was done in connivance with Adadama community who took advantage of their close relationship with the colonial masters to appropriate lands beyond their mutually agreed traditional boundary with Amagu community. According to the historical narrative, both communities (Adadama and Amagu) took oath and entered a covenant where they agreed not to fight each other because of the borderline in dispute today. In order to traditionally validate and seal the oath/covenant, the Amagu community brought a man and a ram, while Adadama community brought a woman and a goat, among other items. These items brought by the two communities were buried alive as sacrifice on the borderline. The Adadama community call the location "*Igorli*", in Amagu community, the location is known as "*Ugoli*". The sacrifice was conducted at the borderline. Consequent upon the oath/covenant, both communities accepted the location (*Igorli/Ugorli*) where the sacrifice was made as the boundary between them. They also entered into an oath that anyone who breaks the covenant and attempts to forcefully occupy or go beyond the traditionally agreed boundary line will die.

Amagu respondents claimed that this was the situation until 1920 when Adadama community connived with the colonial administration and demarcated a new boundary called the G.G Shute boundary. According to them, the Adadama people used their close relationship with the colonialists to lay claim to territories beyond the *Ugoli* and consequently made a new boundary that gave them land beyond areas agreed in the covenant. Echoing the views of his people, the traditional ruler of Amagu community stated that:

...problem started, after the Adadama people began encroaching beyond the *Ugoli* and started to build there. However, when their people who settled there began to die mysteriously, they fled and decided to use it for farming. The area in question is over five thousand hectares. It was the oath that we took that killed all the people who tried to forcefully take over the place. The Adadama people must realise this and retrace their steps. Unfortunately they have refused to do this instead they go about boasting that we are uncivilised and timid people who they will wipe out in one day. Anyway, it is over many years they said that and today, they have not been able to wipe us out. So once again, the origin of this problem goes back to 1920. Since then, the issues have continued to expand... (HRH, Eze D. Aloh, JP, 3-04-2018)

Another cause of the boundary conflict according to Amagu respondents is the alleged support given to the Adadama community by the military personnel stationed in both communities to prevent outbreak of hostilities between the parties. The Amagu respondents claimed that on several occasion, Adadama youths have invaded Amagu community while the military look the other way. They respondents claimed that many of the security personnel stationed in the area to maintain peace have married wives in Adadama community hence their penchant to always look the other way when their "in-laws" are on rampage. This view is succinctly captured by a respondent thus:

On the 15th of March, 2016, the army escorted some of them (Adadama youths) to come to our backyard and farm, they even went to our vigilante house and destroyed it. Later we went to the leader of the army and told him that his men escorted the other people to destroy our place but he said nothing. (Mr Sunday Igwe, Community Leader, Amagu, 3-04-2018)

Corroborating this view during a Focus Group Discussion, Mrs Azoka Nkechi stated that a major cause of the conflict is the support given by the army and Cross River state government to the people of Adadama community. She alleged that Adadama community has many top persons in government who in turn use their position to provide support to Adadama youths who are involved in the conflict. According to her, the immediate past governor of Cross River state is from Abi local government. She further claimed that during one of the recent conflicts, youths who took part in the fighting were paid ten thousand naira per day. She also

claimed that unfortunately for Amagu community, Ebonyi state government is nonchalant to their plight and that Amagu people whose houses were burnt are still on exile (FGD, Amagu, 04/04/2018).

Sampled respondents from the National Boundary Commission, Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation, Cross River and Ebonyi States government, security agents, scholars in Ebonyi State University, Abakiliki and Cross River State University of Science and Technology and legal practitioners in the two states gave their perspectives on the causes of the boundary conflict. These persons are not from the two communities but are familiar with the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict.

They respondents observed that the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict usually escalates during the farming season. This is because the demand/quest for land increases during each planting season. They respondents linked this to the agrarian nature of the two communities. Respondents attributed the increased demand for land to climate change-induced flooding which has made shifting cultivation a necessity and increase in population. Closely linked to the above is the increased demand for Abakaliki rice which is produced in commercial quantities in the area. The ban by the federal government on importation of foreign rice has increased the consumption of local rice including the popular Abakaliki rice. They respondents identified the following as causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict:

1. Reduced farmland due to climate change-induced flooding
2. Increase in population
3. Increased demand for local (Abakaliki) rice which is produced in commercial quantities in the area
4. Failure of government to engage and involve border and survey experts before creating Ebonyi state
5. Delays in demarcating the boundary
6. Political influence/interference
7. Weaknesses of the Land Use Act of 1978
8. Loss of confidence in the government by parties in conflict
9. Availability of arms and weapons to both communities

10. Animosity

11. Unwillingness to make concessions by both parties

Sampled respondents from National Boundary Commission (NBC) and Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (OSGOF) which are the two foremost government agencies with mandates related to boundary delineation, demarcation and boundary conflict management noted that a major cause of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict is the failure of federal government to engage border and survey professionals and experts to address the boundary issues between the two communities before creating Ebonyi state. The respondents noted that the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary has been in dispute before Nigeria's independence hence it was one of the boundaries the Justice Mamman Nasir Boundary Adjustment Commission of 1976 looked into. The view of a respondent is captured below:

> You see, generally, the federal government does not involve experts before states are created; it is after the exercise that the government bring in professionals. The cause of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary dispute between Ebonyi and Cross River states is not far from this...I will give you an example, if you look at the boundary lines of American states, it is like they used a straight ruler to demarcate it straight but ours is the opposite...look at the map of the Adadama and Amagu boundary, see how it is dancing round and round, tell me why will it not bring problem (Surv. T. Adeniran, Director, OSGOF, Abuja, 14-11-2018)

Similarly, failure by government to make necessary arrangement for NBC to demarcate the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary immediately after creating Ebonyi state was identified by respondents as a cause of the conflict. They respondents noted that after allocating the boundary, nothing was done to permanently establish the borderline between the two communities hence giving room for them to continuously encroach beyond the government recognised boundary. The view below strengthens this argument:

> ...When Ebonyi state was created, the Federal Government tarried too long before thinking of empowering NBC and OSGOF to demarcate the area......there are four processes in boundary making i.e allocation and delineation, delimitation, demarcation and boundary maintenance and management. Of all these, demarcation is key because it is the physical establishment of monuments such as pillars, beacons, vistas, etc to clearly showcase a boundary. In the case of Adadama and Amagu community boundary, this was not done immediately and this is the challenge we face (Surv. Y. Offor, Assistant Director, OSGOF, Abuja, 14-11-2018)

Furthermore, respondents identified political influence/interference by political elites from the communities as a major cause of the conflict. Findings revealed that politicians from the area cannot exonerate themselves of the violence that have characterised the boundary conflict. Highlighting this view, an official of NBC observed that the two state governments are indirectly guilty of frustrating efforts to resolve the conflict. According to a respondent:

> Politicians especially those at the state level cannot claim ignorance of happenings in those areas. I mean the situation in the two communities is actually the work of politicians. Some of them make it extremely difficult for any meaningful action to be taken in order to permanently demarcate the boundary. Some actions that ought to be taken are frustrated due to high wire politics and interests. (Dr. O. Oji, Director, NBC, Abuja, 8-05-2018)

Reaffirming this view, the Head, Political Science Department, Ebonyi State University, noted that:

> Personally, in respect of the Adadama and Amagu boundary dispute, I hold the two state governments responsibly for the conflict. They are the cause of the conflict especially its sudden resurgence because over the years, these communities have been neglected with no form of development whatsoever. Government influence in these areas in terms of infrastructure and other amenities is abysmally low. Hence their only source of livelihood has remained farming. Therefore, as demand for land increases, conflicts over land are bound to occur. (Dr. A. Itumo, HoD, Political Science Dept, EBSU, Abakaliki, 12-04-2018)

Barr. C. Chris, a legal practitioner attributed the cause of the boundary conflict to the inconsistencies in the Nigeria Land Use Act of 1978. According to the respondent, Section 1 of the Land Use Act posits that the original title to land within the territory of a state is vested on the governor who automatically is empowered to grant Certificate of Occupancy to persons he chooses; not giving preference to the indigenous people residing in a location. Going further, the respondent stated that Section 34 of the Act says the existing rights of a person or of persons in lands prior to the enactment of the Land Use Act are preserved as deemed Rights of Occupancy. This is in conflict with the previous sections of the law. According to the respondent, the issue here is that going by the conditions/criteria for ownership of land as set out by the Land Use Act, both communities have original claim of ownership over the land. His view is summarised thus:

> ...in Idundu V Okumagba, the Supreme Court in 1976 ruled that the conditions for a person/persons to lay claim to ownership of land are: (i) ability to establish traditional history with the land; (ii) possession of relevant documents; (iii) Acts of Ownership i.e farming or having a structure on the land; (iv) Long possession of land without payment of rent; (v) family possession of land adjacent to the land in dispute. Now, Section 34 of the Land Use Act maintains that these conditions of ownership are valid so long as it exists before its enactment. Going by these conditions, both Adadama and Amagu have right of ownership over the disputed area. That is why even if the Supreme Court passes a judgement on the disputed boundary, it cannot end the conflict. The boundary conflict is similar to that of Aladja and Ogbe-Ijaw in Delta state. (Barr. C. Chris, Legal Practitioner, Calabar, 25-04-2018)

The view of another legal practitioner on the Land Use Act as a cause of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict is captured thus:

> In practical terms, the Land Use Act has contributed more to the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary disputes in omission than in commission. The inability to use the Act to maximum advantage by governors of the two states can be said to have accounted for the intractable status of the dispute. (Barr. U. Ehirim. Legal Practitioner, Abakiliki, 12-04-2018)

Loss of confidence by both communities in government's willingness to resolve the boundary dispute is a causative factor of the conflict. The sampled respondents opined that governments of Cross River and Ebonyi States have not shown sufficient and convincing commitment to ending the conflict. According to Mr Peter Opara, Director, Internal Conflicts at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja, "………….this could be because the governments does not see the conflict as important. This in turn has emboldened both communities to resort to self help which breeds violent conflict" (KII, Abuja, 13-05-2018). The respondent opined that the ease with which both communities have access to guns and other weapons makes it easy for them to engage each other in violent confrontations.

Speaking on failure of government to address the boundary conflict, a security agent noted that the governments of Cross River and Ebonyi State often see the conflict as a federal government affair because of the efforts of the National Boundary Commission towards resolving the conflict. According to the respondent:

> The lingering Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict is an example of how weak state governments are when issues of security is concerned. Security in the area has been compromised... the two state governments instead of solving the issue prefer to leave it to the federal government. Sadly, the federal government cannot do everything, the two states need to wake up and take decisive actions towards ending the conflict because there is so much arms in the two communities. You need to visit the area, it is like a war zone; youths with cutlasses and other weapons mount road blocks as you enter the communities. (Anonymous - security agent, 10-04-2018)

Identifying animosity as a cause of the conflict, sampled respondents noted that over the years, hatred, bitterness and anger have built up in the heart of the people of the two communities thus, leading to up bottled up anger which triggers violence at the slightest provocation. According to respondents, existing bitterness and hatred are passed on from the elders to youths. This is further worsened by the loss of live and destruction of property. The view of a respondent is expressed thus:

> ...it is now an animosity conflict. The two warring
> communities remember past offences hence they continue to
> prepare for war. Because it is an animosity conflict, people
> don't complain about its impacts on the communities. The
> anger is understandable. For instance, a princess from one of
> the communities who studied Medicine in the United States of
> America returned back to do the National Youth Service, she
> came home and in one of the conflict, she was killed, infact
> beheaded. She was buried headless. So tell me, if you are the
> parent of the girl, how will you feel (Anonymous – Security
> agent, 17-04-2018)

Corroborating this view, the Permanent Secretary, Office of the Deputy Governor, Ebonyi
State, observed that:

> ...people have lost loved ones, their homes have been
> destroyed; others have fled the communities. Recently, I
> visited one of the communities, some places looked deserted,
> especially the areas near the boundary. Burnt houses litter
> everywhere. For your research to be complete, you need to
> visit the two communities to see the level of destruction so that
> you will understand what some of us are saying. The truth is
> "too much water has passed under the bridge", it will be very
> difficult for the two communities to see eye ball to eye ball.
> (Barr. Mrs. J. Barry-Oko, Abakaliki, 13-04-2018)

Closely related to this is the allegation of bias against security agents stationed in the area.
Findings revealed that one factor that has resulted in the loss of confidence in the government
is the feeling by a section of the warring communities that security agents are not fair to them.
This feeling of undue favouritism to a party in the conflict creates restlessness and restiveness
in the area. Furthermore, this perception of bias whether real or not does not augur well for
conflict management as it could fuel already existing animosities which in turn will continue
to escalate the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts.

Furthermore, sampled respondents identified the rigid stance of both communities as a cause
of the conflict. Alhaji N.M Mohammed, Deputy Director, Interstate Boundaries and Mrs C.
Chinma both of the National Boundary Commission (NBC) noted that both communities are
unwilling to shift ground in order for peace to reign. This is the bane of the various peace
efforts by the government through the NBC. The respondents opined that the immediate past

governors of the two states (Dr.Liyel Imoke is from Abi local government area, he was governor of Cross River State between 2007- 2015 while Chief Elechi Amadi is from Ikwo local government area. He was governor of Ebonyi State from 2007-2015) are from the two local governments (Abi and Ikwo) where the warring communities (Adadama and Amagu) are located. During their tenure, various efforts were made to resolve the boundary conflict including setting up of the Joint Governors Committee but it all failed because of the hard stance of the two communities.

Table 6: Summary of sampled respondents' opinions and views on the causes of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict

Amagu Community	Adadama Community	NBC, OSGOF, state civil servants, lawyers, academicians, security agents
1.Unclear/ambiguous borderlines due to NBC failure to demarcate the boundary.	1.Failure of NBC to demarcate the boundary	1. Reduced farmland due to climate change induced flooding and increase in population.
2.Political support by Adadama elites	2.Refusal of Amagu to respect the 1920 G.G Shute boundary demarcation	2. Failure of government to engage and involve border and survey experts before creating Ebonyi state
	3.Political support by Amagu elites	3. Delays in demarcating the boundary by NBC/OSGOF
		4. Political influence/ interference
3.Claim of military support to Adadama	Use of cultists and Mercenaries by Amagu	5. Weaknesses of the Land Use Act of 1978
4. Land encroachment by Adadama community	Land encroachment by Amagu community	6. Loss of confidence in the government by parties in conflict
		7. Availability of arms and weapons to both communities
		8. Animosity on the part of both communities
		9. Unwillingness to make concessions by both parties

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Although the origin of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict dates back to the pre-colonial era, the demarcation of the boundary by the colonialists seem to have provided renewed impetus for the boundary conflict during the colonial administration. Findings revealed that the contemporary boundary conflict between the two communities is attributable to colonialism; this finding reaffirms the submission of scholars (Asiwaju, 1976, 1984, Anene, 1970, Adejuyigbe, 1975, Ibeanu, 2008, Bonchuk, 2010) that boundary conflicts in Nigeria today are rooted in unilateral demarcation of borders by the colonialists. Similarly, Anifowoshe (1993), in his study of the genesis of internal boundary disputes in Nigeria emphasised the role of colonialism in boundary disputes in Nigeria. Colonialism continue to resound as the root cause of many boundary disputes in Nigeria because most state creation exercises in the Nigeria has maintained and sustained colonially established boundaries.

It must be noted that immediately after most African countries gained independence, boundary conflicts became rampant in the region. In an attempt to address the issue, member countries of the then Organisation of African Unity (OAU) now African Union developed and agreed on the principle of "*Utti Possiditus*" meaning "leaving the boundaries as they where". Therefore, African countries decided not to tamper with the international boundaries drawn by Europe in the African Berlin Conference of 1884/85. State creation exercises in Nigeria appear to have been guided by this principle. Even where the government attempted to address issues related to boundary disputes in Nigeria by setting up Commissions as exemplified by the Justices Irikefe and Mamman Nasir Commissions, these attempts rather than address the issues raises more agitations(Israel,Udo, Okpalaeke, Chukwudike, 2017)

Over the years, discussions on climate change as a source or trigger of conflict were hardly contemplated because no one reckoned with the devastating effects and dangers it portends to humanity and human existence. However, various contemporary conflicts have their roots in climate change induced phenomenon as revealed by findings from this study which identified climate change-induced flooding as a factor that has affected and reduced the availability of farmlands for cultivation thereby necessitating the need for shifting cultivation and fuelling the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict. Shettima and Tar

(2008) and Okoli (2014) explained the relationship between environmental factors such as climate change and violent conflict noting that these factors have increased the demand for land by farmers and other users of land leading to struggle and violent contestations over land ownership. These have led to outbreak of violent conflicts between communities and groups. Findings from this study confirm the role of climate change as a causative factor of violent conflicts as exemplified by the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict which has led to loss of live, destruction of property and internal displacement of persons.

Similarly, the eco-violence theory propounded by Homa-Dixon (1999, cited in Atelhe and Okoli, 2014), argued that struggles over scarce ecological space and resources such as land engenders livelihood crisis, which, in turn, drives violent conflicts. Reaffirming this argument, Blench and Dendo, (2005) and Onuoha (2007) submitted that this situation derives impetus from the dynamics of climate change which have accentuated ecological scarcities and struggles across the world. Therefore, the dangers posed by climate change is not only restricted to the Lake Chad area and environs. Communities, local governments and states in Nigeria stands the risk of experiencing conflicts triggered by climate change as could be seen in the case of Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict.

Also, increased demand for land occasioned by increase in population which came up strong as a factor that continues to escalate and sustain the conflict reinforced the study's theoretical framework. Vasquez (1993, 1995, 1996), in propounding, the territorial theory argued that nations/individuals go to war over territorial issues for various reasons but the most significant reason is the tangible contents or attributes of the territory in dispute. Findings revealed that the areas surrounding the disputed Adadama and Amagu boundary is fertile for rice farming and fish ponds. Therefore, the two communities having recognised the tangible contents and attributes of the area are unwilling to allow the other party posses it.

The difference in perceptions, views and opinions of government agencies in terms of the causes of Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict is worthy of note. Indeed, this has implications on the effective management of the boundary conflict. First, the difference in perception could actually serve as one of the sustaining factors of the conflict

because representatives of government with mandate to manage the conflict will be communicating and interacting with the disputing parties based on their perception of the causes of the boundary conflict, this in turn could be termed as "poor communication" which Adejimola, (2009) identified as having the potential to escalate conflict. Therefore, where agencies with mandate to manage a conflict do not have common perception with parties in conflict on the causes of the conflict, developing an effective conflict management strategy to end the conflict may be difficult.

Further investigations and fact-checks revealed the following:

1. The existence of a "traditional boundary line" agreed upon by both communities through a blood covenant which Adadama calls "*Igorli*" while Amagu refers to it as "*Ugoli*".
2. The existence of the G.G Shute boundary. Amagu claims it was not a signatory to the document and that it was signed between Adadama and another community called Okpitumo. This study found the claim to be true.

The National Boundary Commission is at a loss on how to address issues around the boundary conflict because of the following:

1. The NBC cannot unilaterally demarcate a boundary when a party has documents showing location of boundary (Adadama has the G.G Shute boundary document).
2. NBC claims the description of the boundary as captured in the G.G Shute document is generalised and unclear.
3. The NBC claims the physical features (trees) used as traditional boundary line between both communities in the blood covenant are gone.

Loss of confidence in the government by both communities is as a result of long years of neglect and existence of structural violence which does not allow the people especially youths to realise and fulfil their human potentials. The resultant consequence is increase in members of organisations such as Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and militant organisations.

4.1.2 Resource Dimension of the Adadama and Amagu Communities Boundary Conflict

Hanlon and Yanacopulos (2006) noted that conflict is caused by several factors as revealed by the opinions and views of respondents on the causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict. However, a prominent factor identified by respondents from the two communities is allegation of land encroachments by both parties. Borderline encroachment is fuelled by the quest and desire for more land either for agriculture or other purposes. In the context of Adadama and Amagu communities, boundary encroachment is largely driven by economic interests due to the fertile nature of the land. Therefore, for the two communities, the struggle or conflict over boundary rests largely on the economic benefits accruable to members of the community that has the larger expanse of land. In view of this, the disputed borderline is a natural resource with economic potentials and benefits due to the commercial value of Abakaliki rice which is cultivated in large quantities. Collier and Hoeffler (1998, 2004) submitted that primary commodities is an important factor in causing internal armed conflict, and argued that this is largely due to the high value attached to them, causing them to be an attractive target. This submission aptly reflects the economic importance of the Adadama and Amagu borderline to both communities.

Government's policy of economic diversification with focus on agriculture suddenly made land ownership lucrative especially in communities with fertile land for agricultural purposes such as Adadama and Amagu. This is coupled with various incentives doled out by both Federal and State governments to farmers aimed at encouraging citizens to embrace agriculture. This has subsequently increased demand for land in the two communities leading to land encroachments by both communities beyond the borderline thereby intensifying the potential for conflict. Closely linked to this is increase in population which comes with the attendant increase in demand for land for economic purposes. Akujobi, Ebitari, Amuzie, (2017) in their article titled '*Arable land resource conflict in Nigeria"* opined that population growth has continued to exert great pressure on available land resources with varying environmental and socio-economic implications. This study further reaffirms the role of population increase in the outbreak of violent conflict especially in relation to competition and struggle for economic benefits accruable to natural resources.

Abbas, (2010), Audu (2014), and Bello (2013) further lend credence to the potentials of natural resource as cause of conflict; writing on the link between resource and farmer herder conflicts, they argued that the migratory lifestyle of herders is spurred by the need to provide food (grass) for their herds which is their economic asset. Farmers on their part cultivate and plant crops on the land for economic purposes; therefore, the grass eaten by herds grows on land which is a natural resource; in this case, to the herder, both the grass and land are natural resources which are needful for his economic empowerment while the farmer views land as natural resources available for his economic betterment. Therefore, even though herders and farmers desire land as a natural resource for different reasons, the overriding interest is economic empowerment.

Furthermore, the struggle for resources is driven by human needs; Faleti (2006) highlighted the role of human needs as a critical component in identifying causes of conflict. According to him, various theories are used to explain the causes, nature and effects of conflicts, however, most conflicts are underpinned in, realism, frustration-aggression, and human needs. Therefore, the struggle over boundary between Adadama and Amagu communities is deeply rooted in the need to satisfy human needs which are largely economic. Faleti therefore submitted that any strategy to manage conflict must take cognizance of the human needs of parties in conflict and provide effective ways of meeting the needs. Similarly, Faleti, (2012) identified poverty as a major cause of the Niger Delta conflict noting that under-development and poverty are major causes of conflict as typified in the Niger Delta. It should be noted that poverty is a connotation of economic status or situation of an individual, therefore, the cure for poverty is economic buoyancy; in view of this, resource-based conflicts can be termed as 'struggle against poverty'. Therefore, in developing strategies for management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict, attention must be given to the economic advantages of the borderline.

4.2: **What are the consequences of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict?**

Speaking on the consequences of the boundary conflict, respondents noted that it has negatively affected everyone in the two communities either directly or indirectly. According to the traditional ruler of Adadama community, "we have lost several persons to the conflict, we have a document that lists the names of our people who have been killed by the Amagu people because of this boundary. The document has their names and the day they died; I will make a copy for you to see.... if you like, my people will also take you to the cemetery where many of these persons are buried for you to see by yourself, we dedicated that cemetery to the memory of the dead and as a remembrance of the wickedness of Amagu people to us" (KII, Eval. N. Agbomi, 17/04/2018).

Similarly, the traditional ruler of Amagu community noted that many of his people has being killed through ambush, midnight attacks, kidnapping and beheading by Adadama people. According to the traditional ruler "since 2011 when the boundary conflict became very violent, my community has lost more than one thousand persons. Many of them have being killed during midnight attacks, others have been ambushed and killed on their way to the farm while some were kidnapped and beheaded. The worst aspect is that when many of them are killed, the Adadama people will carry their dead bodies and bury in order not to leave any trace" (KII, HRH Eze D. Aloh, 3/04/2018). Upon further probe by the researcher for proof to corroborate the claim regarding the number of deaths suffered by Amagu community, the traditional ruler said there is no documentary evidence however, the claim is based on oral reports he constantly gets from his subjects in the various communities.

Adadama youth leaders showing the researcher names of buried victims of the boundary conflict at the cemetery.

Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

Mrs Ada Oguike, a Women Leader in Amagu community spoke on the consequences of the boundary conflict on women. Her view is expressed thus:

> The magnitude of what we have suffered due to the conflict is too heavy to measure, we as women have lost husbands and our children. We have been raped and killed. We cannot go to our farms due to fear. Some Amagu women who married Adadama men have returned home because of fear of attack. The conflict has destroyed our relationship with Adadama people. (KII, Mrs Ada Oguike, Amagu Women Leader, 03/04/2018)

The views expressed by respondents from the two communities' reveals the consequences of the boundary conflict on their inter-communal relationship. For instance, Mr Sunday Eni, a youth leader in Adadama community said, "we are at war. no youth from Adadama can marry from them…You ask what of if a young man sees a beautiful lady from their community and wants to marry her, will he not be permitted?..........how can he see a beautiful lady among our enemies?, we are at war. Even our women married to them have been killed. (KII, Adadama, 19-04-2018). Similarly, Mr Moses Agu, an indigene of Amagu community said "since the violence started around 2011, they (Adadama people) don't come here, now we stay far from each other. If anyone from here goes to their place they kill the person, if they invite us for any ceremony we will not go; although they cannot invite us. (FGD, Amagu, 04-04-2018)

Findings indicated that the conflict has impacted negatively on economic activities in the two communities; prior to the outbreak of violence, Adadama and Amagu communities were hotbed of economic activities due to the commercial cultivation of rice in the area. Also, historical accounts revealed that both communities had robust commercial and trade relationship which has been severely damaged by the protracted borderline conflict. This has in turn affected and retarded development and economic growth in the two communities. This finding aligns with extant literature. For instance, Udo (2015) noted that boundary conflict affects economic growth in disputing communities; using the Annang community in Cross River state and their Igbo neighbours in Abia state as case study, Udo stated that boundary conflict between the two communities damaged economic relationship between

them such that movement within certain territories in both communities are restricted. The same scenario is obtainable in Adadama and Amagu communities; both communities have severed economic and inter-group relations.

Findings revealed that the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict have resulted in loss of lives, internal displacement of persons, destruction of property and general insecurity in the communities. Persons whose houses were burnt as a result of the conflicts are forced to live with friends and family members in other communities across the state. Affe, (2016) reported that the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict has brought untold hardship and loss of live of residents of the two communities. Balogun, (2014) described the consequences of the boundary conflict as equal to situations witnessed during wars noting that each time the conflict escalates, it leads to bloodbath in the two communities. Findings revealed that as a result of the conflict, some villages in the two communities have become deserted (particularly those close to the borderline) due to incessant attacks. Albert (2001, Albert and Otite, 1999, Imohigbe, 2008a Cyril, 2001, Bassey and Aniah, 2012), noted that conflict brings destruction of property, loss of lives, it breeds hatred, bitterness and animosity; these consequences of conflicts have been fully manifested in Adadama and Amagu communities. The pictures in plates 4.1 below taken during the study's fieldwork showcase some of the destructive consequences of the boundary conflict.

Plate 4.1: Adadama Community Secondary School destroyed during the 2015 boundary
conflict
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Heightened insecurity and fear in Adadama and Amagu communities is another consequence of the boundary conflict; guerrilla warfare methods such as ambush, kidnapping/abductions, and beheadings have increased in the area as a result of the conflict. Etuki, (2013) in his study alluded to this when he posited that Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict has become intractable because secret killings and kidnappings have become common-place. Findings revealed that most persons who are kidnapped for moving into the territory of Adadama or Amagu are hardly ever found alive. Findings further revealed that in the past, cutlasses were the main weapon used during the boundary conflict; however, recent years have witnessed increased use of sophisticated guns and other weapons. Echoing this view, a respondent stated thus:

> Before 2011, the clashes were not as bloody as it is today, those days, cutlasses and dane guns was what was used but in 2011, when violence broke out, everything changed, we don't know how Adadama people acquired big guns and other weapons. This was when people from Adadama community went into full blown kidnapping and abduction of our people. Our people were killed or kidnapped in their farms or on the way to the farm and murdered in cold blood.....the increase in violence since 2011 is because of the introduction of these weapons. (James Nnom, FGD, 4-04-2018, Amagu)

Similarly, a respondent from Adadama community noted that:

> The violent conflict today began in 2011. This was when Amagu people began to kidnap our people who go to farm. The situation continued like that until 2013 when they began to use sophisticated guns to attack us. They have continued to burn our houses and kill our people since that time. May people have fled this community due to the conflict (Eleke Ambrose, Youth leader, 19-04-2018, Adadama).

The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict has become commercialised and politicised by some community leaders, local, state governments and some conflict entrepreneurs. The conflict have become a business venture for some persons. At the community level, community leaders hide under the guise of the conflict to levy the people. These funds are then applied to meet personal needs. At the local government level, relief materials and funds released by both federal and state governments to those affected by the conflict are hijacked and diverted by local elites. The submission of Arowosegbe, (2017) in

his article titled 'ethnic minorities and land conflicts in south western Nigeria' supports this finding. According to Arowosegbe, the elites manipulate and control the struggles for the control and ownership of land for their selfish interest. In the context of Adadama and Amagu communities, the elites include community leaders, local and state government officials as well as politicians from the area. These elites as findings revealed have over the years manipulated the communities while at the same time benefiting from the conflict.

Furthermore, findings indicated that Cross River and Ebonyi state governments and Abi and Ikwo local governments allocate huge sums of money for management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict. These funds are in most cases diverted into private pockets. Israel, Udo and Okpalaeke (2017), emphasised the role of politicians and community elites in exacerbating boundary conflicts. According to Udo and Okpalaeke, local politicians during campaigns often promise to influence federal and state governments with respect to the disputed border, but such promises are abandoned and forgotten thus leaving the communities to their fate. Findings revealed that politicians from the two communities and those seeking for votes often promise the community members that once elected; they will use their position to influence demarcation of the borderline in favour of their community. Expectedly, community members often subscribe to this and end up voting for these politicians who in turn abandon their promises immediately they get elected.

Adadama and Amagu communities are currently witnessing increase in cultism, drug abuse by youths and increase in school drop-out. Findings revealed that the availability of arms and the recruitment of mercenaries for support by both communities largely account for this consequence. These mercenaries consist mainly of cultists from tertiary institutions in the area and militants from the Niger Delta. They live within the communities thereby influencing the lifestyles of youths in Adadama and Amagu communities. Although none of the two communities admitted that they utilise the services of mercenaries, each community accused the other of recruiting mercenaries. The view of the traditional Prime Minister of Adadama community is captured thus:

We know those people very well, atleast we used to visit each other in the past, we know ourselves well. My brother they are small compared to us but if you see the crowd that comes with them when they are coming to attack us you will wonder where they got that kind of crowd. In some cases, their leaders will lead strangers to attack us. We are sure that they hire cultists and militants to fight us. If not for that, I can bet you that they would have become tired of the violence. (Chief Lebo Ilang, Adadama 17-04-2018)

Making a counter claim, a respondent from Amagu community stated that:

You have seen the level of destruction in our community. If you are able to go to the other people's side, try and observe so that you can see the difference by yourself. Their people go outside to hire fighters who they send to destroy our community. You know their people are rich and have connections so they can afford to buy people to fight for them. (Mr Sunday Igwe, Community leader, Amagu, 03-04-2018)

Another consequence of the boundary conflict is the payment of levies by community members to finance the conflict. These levies are compulsory and are paid by indigenes of the two communities both at home and in Diaspora. Also, persons who marry from or into the communities are made to pay these dues annually. The monies realised from the levies are used to "empower youths who protect the communities". Failure or refusal to pay attracts harassment or kidnap of family members. Alluding to this, a respondent:

When we heard that the rich men in Adadama community buys instruments for their youths to fight us, we decided to levy ourselves to raise money to buy materials to retaliate if they attack us since we don't have politicians who will buy instruments for us. (Mr Monday Nwacho, Youth leader, 5-04-2018, Amagu)

Corroborating this view, a widow who lost her husband in the 2013 conflict stated that:

> I am a widow; my husband was kidnapped and killed when he was going to the farm in 2013. Another time when they attacked our community, they burnt many houses and almost burnt my husband's house. They were shooting everywhere. After that time, we were told to pay some money to support those protecting our community...it is compulsory; any family who fails to pay is punished. It is not easy but we cannot complain because our youths need things to protect our community. (Nwalobu Christy, FGD, 04-04-2018, Amagu)

The boundary conflict have had negative consequences on inter-group relationship between Adadama and Amagu communities. Findings revealed that in the past, age long cultural practices and festivals, inter-communal sport competitions, inter-marriages and other "conflict blunting traditional practices" were very robust between the two communities. However, years of protracted conflict has severed these practices and activities. Presently, sons and daughters of the two communities are barred from marrying each other. Afigbo (1987) writing on the cultural practices of the Igbo noted that as an ethnic group, the Igbo do not shy away from marrying from another ethnic group or their neighbours, however, when they are in conflict with their neighbour, they do not married from such group. Amagu is an Igbo community, Presently, Amagu people view Adadama community as enemies who are at war with them. Thus, severing inter-communal marriage with Adadama community aligns with their culture.

Table 7: Summary of sample respondents' views and opinions on the consequences of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict

1	Retardation of economic growth and development in the two communities
2	Loss of lives/destruction of property and internal displacement of persons
3	Heightened insecurity and fear
4	Cultism, drug abuse by youths and increase in school drop-out
5	Imposition of community levies to raise funds for arms
6	Politicisation and commercialisation of the conflict by various stakeholders
7	Affected inter-group relations, inter-marriages, cultural and traditional practices and festivals.

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

4.3   Which conflict management strategies have been deployed to manage the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?

The management strategies deployed in the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict can be categorised into two; namely: (i) institutional and (ii) indigenous strategies. The institutional strategies are those deployed by the federal government of Nigeria through relevant agencies, strategies utilised by Cross River and Ebonyi state governments and strategies deployed by Abi and Ikwo local government areas. The indigenous strategies are those developed and deployed by Adadama and Amagu communities towards managing the boundary conflict.

4.3.1   Institutional strategies deployed in the management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts

4.3.1.1 Federal government strategies

The Federal government's strategies have been through the interventions of the National Boundary Commission (NBC) which is the statutory agency with the mandate to address issues related to boundary conflicts management in Nigeria and the Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (OSGOF) which provides technical supports to the NBC.

In 1998, (two years after the creation of Ebonyi state), following the outbreak of conflict over the boundary between Adadama and Amagu communities, the NBC in collaboration with OSGOF commenced official processes for the delimitation, delineation and demarcation of the Adadama and Amagu boundary. In 2005, after completing the processes of retracing the boundary, the National Boundary Commission presented its recommended position for the boundary line to Cross River and Ebonyi state governments for concurrence in order for the demarcation to commence. Both states rejected the NBC's proposed boundary line. Since then, various intervention strategies have been undertaken by the NBC under the supervision of the Office of the Vice President of Nigeria which coordinates and oversees the NBC as well as Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation through correspondences and interfaces with the NBC, Cross River and Ebonyi states governments. Tables 8 and 9 below outlines various federal government conflict management strategies deployed on the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts:

Table 8: Summary of National Boundary Commission's intervention strategies and outcome on Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts, 1998-2013

S/N	Date	Activity/Intervention	Venue	Outcome
1	25/03/1998	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary	Government House, Calabar, Cross River state	Constituted JFT to retrace the boundary
2	13/06/2000	Meeting of Joint Field Team	Government House, Abakiliki, Ebonyi State.	NBC, OSGOF, Ebonyi & Cross River states deliberations on JFT report
3	20/02/2001	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary	NBC Conference Room, Abuja.	Further deliberations
4	12/08/2005	VP met with NBC, governors of both states and other stakeholders	VP's conference room.	Further deliberations
5	6/10/2005	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary	Metropolitan Hotel, Calabar	Deliberations deadlocked NBC's recommended boundary lines rejected
6	28/10/2005	Meeting of Technical Committee on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary.	OSGOF, Abuja	Further deliberations
7	4/11/2005	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary	NBC's Conference Room, Abuja	NBC appealed for spirit of give and take.
8	24/04/2006	Meeting of Experts on Ebonyi-Cross River boundary	NBC's Conference Room, Abuja	Deliberations deadlocked
9	30/06/2006	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary conflict	Merit House, Abuja.	Deliberated on challenges of completing the tracing of the boundary
10	09/10/2006	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary conflict	Government House, Calabar, Cross River state	Reviewed preparations towards completing the boundary retracing
11	08/02/2007	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary conflict	NBC's Conference Room, Abuja	Decried lack of support by both state governments towards retracing the boundary

12	20/02/2007	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary	NBC's Conference Room, Abuja	Appealed for support from both state governments towards retracing the boundary
13	11/03/2009	House of Representatives Committee on Special Duty visits the two states because of the boundary conflict	Government House, Abakaliki, Ebonyi state and Government House, Calabar, Cross River state	Appealed to both states to amicably resolve their boundary disputes
14	12/10/2011	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary conflict	Government House, Abakaliki, Ebonyi state.	Reviewed events in the two states in respect of their boundary
15	06/10/2012	Joint Meeting of Officials on Ebonyi-Cross River inter-state boundary conflict	Library Complex, Calabar, Cross River state	Decried escalation in the boundary conflict.
16	19/02/2013	Stakeholders Meeting on Ebonyi-Cross River Inter-state boundary conflict	Rockview (Classic) Hotel, Abuja.	Set up peace committees to resolve the boundary conflict. bemoaned the massive loss of lives and properties as a result of the boundary conflict

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Table 9: Documents obtained from NBC in respect of the Management of Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts from 2014-2016

S/N	Date	Source of Correspondence	Subject	Recipient
1	25/08/2014	National Boundary Commission, Abuja.	Letter of Appreciation on Efforts Towards Resolving Cross River/Ebonyi Interstate Boundary Dispute	The Executive Governor, Ebonyi state.
2.	26/08/2014	National Boundary Commission, Abuja.	Letter of Appreciation on Efforts Towards Resolving Cross River/Ebonyi Interstate Boundary Dispute	The Executive Governor, Cross River state.
3.	28/04/2015	Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Nigeria	One Injured in Clash Between Communities At Cross River State's Border With Ebonyi	Director General, National Boundary Commission, Abuja.
4.	8/05/2015	National Boundary Commission, Abuja.	Re: One Injured in Clash Between Communities At Cross River State's Border With Ebonyi	The Executive Governor, Cross River state.
5	1/12/2015	Government of Ebonyi State, Office of The Governor	Report On The Recent Hostilities In Ochienyim-Amagu, Ikwo Community of Ebonyi State By The Adadama Community of Cross River State	Office of the Vice President of Nigeria.
6.	16/12/2015	Office of the Vice President of Nigeria.	Report On The Recent Hostilities In Ochienyim-Amagu, Ikwo Community of Ebonyi State By The Adadama Community of Cross River State	Director General, National Boundary Commission, Abuja.
7.	26/04/2016	Government of Ebonyi State, Office of The Governor	1st Reminder: Report On The Recent Hostilities In Ochienyim-Amagu, Ikwo Community of Ebonyi State By The Adadama Community of Cross River State	Office of the Vice President of Nigeria.

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

On February 8, 2017, the Federal Government of Nigeria directly intervened in the boundary conflict. On that date, the Vice President of Nigeria met in the State House with NBC officials, governors of Cross River and Ebonyi states and other stakeholders in order to develop an effective strategy for management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict. At the end of the meeting, all the stakeholders agreed to review and strengthen the various institutional conflict management strategies at the state and local government levels.

4.3.1.2 Cross River and Ebonyi States government strategies

As a result of the escalation of violence between Adadama and Amagu communities, the governors of Cross River and Ebonyi states held a Peace meeting on the 17th of January, 2013. Thereafter, the two state governments jointly established Ebonyi-Cross River states Department of Border Security to monitor and ensure security in border communities in the two states. On February 21st, 2013, the two state governments also established the Inter-State Peace Committee as a conflict management strategy for the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflicts and any other boundary conflict that may emerge between the two states. Membership of the Committee comprises:

1. Representative of the Deputy Governor's office at the level of Permanent Secretary (co-Chairmen)
2. Chairmen of the two local government or his representative
3. Surveyor-General of the state or his representative
4. Five community leaders from the local governments
5. Representative of the DPO
6. Representative of the SSS
7. Representative of the state Attorney-General
8. Representative of NBC
9. National Assembly and State Assembly members from the communities

The Committee is to receive reports from the inter-Local Government Peace Committee for deliberation at meetings with National Boundary Commission. The Committee was mandated to meet quarterly.

4.3.1.3: Abi and Ikwo Local Governments' strategies

Before the outbreak of violence in Adadama and Amagu communities in year 2010, there was no conflict management strategy in both Abi local government area of Cross River state where Adadama community is located. Similarly, Ikwo local government area of Ebonyi state where Amagu community is located also did not have any conflict management strategy in place. However, from year 2010, officials of Abi and Ikwo local governments held series of meetings between 2010-2011 in order to develop strategies that will restore peace and harmonious coexistence between Adadama and Amagu communities. For instance, on the 10th of November, 2010, there was a Joint Abi and Ikwo local government areas boundary peace meeting. It held at Itigidi, headquarter of Abi local government area. A similar meeting held at Ikwo local government secretariat on the 10th of February, 2011. Following the violent conflict of 2013, the two local governments officially established the inter-local government Peace/Technical Committee as a strategy to manage the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts. Membership of the Committee is as follows:

1. The local government chairmen of Abi and Ikwo (co-chairmen)
2. Councillors of Adadama and Amagu communities
3. The DPOs in charge of the two communities
4. The SSS officers in the two local governments
5. Five community leaders from each of the two local governments
6. Two youth leaders from each of the two local governments
7. National Boundary Commission Representative
8. Representative of the Surveyor-General of the Federation

The inter-Local government Peace/Technical Committee has the mandate of identifying the specific issues in the boundary conflict and make recommendations to the state governments. The Committee meets bi-monthly.

4.3.2   Indigenous strategies deployed in the management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts

4.3.2.1 Community strategies

In 2001, the traditional rulers of Adadama and Amagu communities jointly established and co-chaired the Adadama-Amagu Development Association (ADAMADA) as an indigenous and traditional strategy to manage the boundary conflict between the two communities. Other members of the Committee were: traditional priests of the two communities, youths and women leaders of Adadama and Amagu communities and prominent orthodox religious leaders from the two communities. The Committee's mandate was to restore and ensure the maintenance of peace along the border communities and manage grievances arising from any conflict that may occur. In order to achieve this, strategies involving use of cultural and traditional methods in conflict management was developed and deployed by the Committee, these strategies are further discussed below:

The first strategy was the composition of membership of the Committee, every group, age grade, religion and gender was represented in order to give a sense of belonging to everyone. Secondly, the Committee adopted the strategy of imposing punitive fine/levy on anyone who foments trouble in relation to the boundary between the two communities. The punitive fine/levy is usually in the form of items such as tortoise, snakes (a particular specie which is scarce), white skinned goat, fowl, yams, oil, etc. These items must be provided by the community of the offender/transgressor. This ensured that the community of a transgressor/offender took full responsibility for the action. Another strategy adopted by the Committee was that the items brought as fine/levy were taken to the community of the aggrieved person and after necessary sacrifices and rituals, the items were jointly cooked by women of both communities and eaten by everyone. Also as a strategy, the ADAMADA Committee meeting venue was rotated between the two communities.

These strategies tremendously increased tolerance and peaceful coexistence between Adadama and Amagu communities. The Committee ceased to exist between 2010/2011 when the traditional ruler of Adadama died. Due to this vacuum and delays in the selection of a new king, violent confrontations between the two communities escalated and have remained till date. While it existed, the Adadama and Amagu Development Association Peace Committee complimented the institutional mechanisms and had positive influence and reduced violent confrontations between both communities thereby effectively managing the boundary conflict between 2001 and 2010/2011.

4.4   What are the effects of these strategies on the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts?

Findings on the effects of the conflict management strategies revealed that opinion of respondents were divisive. However, findings established that between 2001 and 2010/2011, both the institutional mechanisms and the indigenous mechanisms complimented each other particularly at the local government and state level in facilitating and enhancing peace in the two communities. However, since 2012 when the indigenous mechanisms became non-functional, the institutional mechanisms have been unable to effectively manage the conflict.

Examining the effects of the various institutional and indigenous strategies deployed in the management of the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflicts, the traditional Prime Minister of Adadama community observed that the institutional strategies at the federal, state and local government levels have not had much positive effect on the boundary conflict management presently. He noted that most of the current conflict management strategies are not genuine. He however declared that in the past, government's institutional mechanisms complimented the strategy deployed by the Adadama and Amagu Development Association (ADAMADA) which was an indigenous community conflict management strategy was effective in managing the boundary conflict. According to him:

When we had ADAMADA, things were not as bad as it is today. That period, we worked with some government institutions. At the local level, our communities exchanged visits and talk to each other but since ADAMADA became moribund, no other peace initiative has had any significant impact here (Chief Lebo Ilang, Adadama 17-04-2018)

Corroborating this view, the traditional ruler of Amagu said:

…I was a founding member of ADAMADA, infact, myself and the late traditional ruler of Adadama met and after friendly deliberations we decided to set up the Committee. Thereafter, we reached out to the chairmen of our local governments and they bought the idea, I think around year 2000/2001. The government supported us. We made a law that if anyone from our communities attacks a person from the other place, the whole community will pay fine. Whether the attack is justified or not. This fine is usually something edible. Once it is brought, we move it to the other community where after necessary peace sacrifices, the items are cooked and all the people gather and eat it. The last peace sacrifice was done in 2011.The whole thing was working very well until the Adadama king died and a new one took over, unfortunately, this new king does not want peace...(HRH Eze D. Aloh, JP, Amagu 03-04-2018)

The Permanent Secretary, Office of the Deputy Governor, Ebonyi State Barr. Mrs. J. Barry-Oko eulogised the effects of the local government conflict management strategy on the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflicts. She noted that the Peace Committee at the local government has been working within the available resources to ensure that Peace is permanently restored in the two communities. She stated that the Committee has 'performed well' in the area of diligently providing financial and material supports to persons who have been displaced by the boundary conflict. She further observed that the Committee periodically visits the disputed areas to get firsthand information on the challenges the people face (KII with Barr. Mrs. J. Barry-Oko, 13-04-2018).

However, The Head, Political Science Dept, Ebonyi State University Dr Itumo dismissed the local government Peace Committee as non-functional, ineffective and a conduit pipe for

siphoning money. He noted that in actual sense, the Abi and Ikwo local governments conflict management strategy (local government Peace Committee) for the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts was designed to fail from the beginning because it does not have power to do anything. According to him, there is no need to talk about their effects because they were established and designed not to be functional or effective (KII with Dr A. Itumo, 12-04-2018).

Findings from sample respondents revealed that the various conflict management strategies deployed by Cross River and Ebonyi state governments in the management of the Adadama and Amagu boundary have not yielded any result. In order words, the strategies have not had any positive effect on the management of the boundary conflict. According to Barr. Ehirim, a legal practitioner based in Abakaliki whose wife is from Amagu community, the conflict management strategies at the state level have only had effect in terms of provision of relief materials for victims who are affected each time the boundary conflict escalates. Apart from that, nothing much is heard or known about the state Peace Committee which is supposed to coordinate the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict management strategies at the state level in Cross River and Ebonyi states (KII with Barr. U. Ehirim, 12-04-2018).

Similarly, a security agent who spoke anonymously noted that the immediate past governors of the two states hail from the two local governments where Adadama and Amagu communities are located (Senator Liyel Imoke – Abi local government and Chief Elechi Amadi – Ikwo local government). However, both governors were unable to develop strategies at the state level to effectively manage the boundary conflict during their tenure (2007-2015) (KII, Anonymous – security agent, 10-04-2018). However, an official in the Office of the Deputy Governor of Cross River State who is also a member of the Cross River-Ebonyi Interstate Peace Committee on the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict who spoke anonymously opined that the immediate past governors did their best but due to political intrigues and interests, the efforts could not restore peace to the area. According to the respondent, the Cross River and Ebonyi state governments are doing their best to end the boundary conflict but some persons are sabotaging government efforts (KII, Anonymous, Office of the Deputy Governor, Cross River State, 26-05-2018).

Speaking on the effects of the Federal government of Nigeria conflict management strategies on the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict, Mr Peter Opara, Director, Internal Conflicts at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja stated that government can forcefully bring the disputing parties together but cannot force peace on them. He noted that no matter the conflict management strategies the federal government of Nigeria may have put into ending the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict, as long as the conflict continues to escalate, the efforts and interventions have not had any positive effect on the conflict (KII, Mr Peter Opara, Director, Internal conflicts, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 13-05-2018).

In the same vein, the traditional rulers of Adadama and Amagu communities unanimously lambasted the federal government for only sending soldiers to the area and doing nothing to end the conflict. The traditional rulers noted that Cross River and Ebonyi state governments have been doing its best but the power to develop and deploy an effective conflict management strategy for the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts rests largely on the federal government of Nigeria and its agencies. Furthermore, the traditional rulers noted that they have attended series of meetings called by the federal government through the Office of the Vice President, National Boundary Commission and other government agencies in Abuja in respect of the boundary conflict but at the end, every decision and agreement is forgotten until violence breaks out again. The traditional rulers said NBC has not shown serious determination to resolve the boundary conflict by demarcating the boundary. (KII with Eval. N. Agbomi, traditional ruler of Adadama community, 17-04-2018 and HRH Eze D Aloh, traditional ruler of Amagu community, 03-04-2018).

Examining the effects of federal government of Nigeria's conflict management strategies adopted in managing the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict through the National Boundary Commission (NBC), an official of the Commission stated that as the government agency with the mandate to manage all issues related to boundary in Nigeria, the agency has been working hard on managing the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts but because the conflict continue to erupt and escalate occasionally, it is

actually difficult to say the strategies deployed by the NBC have had significant impact on the boundary conflict management. The view of the official is captured thus:

> Since 2013, most of the NBC's conflict management strategies in the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict have been advocacy interventions where we met traditional rulers, youth and women leaders, leaders of faith based organisations to assist in calming the parties down. All the JMOs (Joint Meeting of Officials) since 2013 have been aimed at ensuring that there is conducive environment to conclude the boundary demarcation (Alhaji N.M. Mohammed, Deputy Director, NBC, Abuja 11-05-2018

Similarly, another NBC official opined that

> NBC has been trying since over three years to get the two communities together in order to conduct a kind of awareness campaign but all effort to bring them together has so far failed. Last year (March, 2017), the communities wrote us that they will not sit together for anything. We are finalising arrangements to conduct the awareness differently in the two communities. Eventually, the whole situation there is affecting us because the area is not safe for us to visit hence, a lot of people are foot-dragging (Mrs. C. Chinma, Principal Officer, NBC, Abuja 11-05-2018)

Dr. Oji, Director of Research and Policy, National Boundary Commission further stated that although on the surface it may seem that NBC has not done much since year 2013, but documentary evidence proves otherwise. According to him, series of correspondence between NBC and Office of the Vice President, Secretary to the Government of the Federation, and Cross River and Ebonyi state governments have been exchanged with regard to the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict. This level of interest shown by government goes to indicate that the NBC in particular and the government in general is deeply concerned about the boundary conflict between the two communities and is desirous of bringing it to an end (KII, Abuja, 08/05/2018).

4.5   What are the challenges to effective management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict?

Conflict management is complicated and requires expert knowledge and competence; therefore, managing protracted conflicts such as the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts in an effective and sustainable manner is like 'walking on thorns'. It is an activity filled with difficulties and challenges. Rahim (2002) recognised the challenges inherent in effectively managing conflicts hence asserted that conflict management should be designed to satisfy the desires and expectations of the various stakeholders involved because of the challenges faced in attempting to effectively manage it. The following sub-themes presented below were identified by sample respondents as challenges of effective management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts.

Large number of unyielding stakeholders

The management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts has an array of unyielding number of stakeholders. These stakeholders begins from the two communities to the two local governments, spreading to the two state governments and the federal government. This long line of interests is a major challenge to effective management of the boundary conflict. This finding aligns with Rahim's (2002) submission that when there are multiple parties involved in a conflict, involving all the parties in the conflict management might be a challenge to the conflict management process. Similarly, the finding supports Albert, (2002) position that when there is large number of interests in a conflict, the management of such conflict becomes herculean and cumbersome. The large number of stakeholders in the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflicts have led to the emergence of 'conflict entrepreneurs' who view the conflict as source of income as well as a means to maintain and sustain armed youths who are used for electoral violence. According to Dr Itumo, Head of Political Science Department, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki, "all these boil down to using the boundary conflict to pursue personal interests and achieve selfish aims" (KII with Dr A. Itumo, 12-04-2018). Barr. U.Ehirim, a legal practitioner referred to this as "political economy of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict" Speaking further, He observed that:

Some individuals in the communities who want to make a name often utilise the boundary dispute to feather their nest...some of the local leaders often use it to make money; we must not also forget that the world view of traditional leaders determine peace in a community or otherwise. Some want peace while others don't, hence boundary disputes generally escalates and reduces intermittently. This is true about Amagu and Adadama because at a point, the relationship between the kings of the two communities was cordial hence the conflict subsided between 1994-2010. However, one of the kings died and a new one emerged. Since then, fatalities arising from the conflict have been on the increase. (KII with Barr. U. Ehirim, Legal Practitioner, Abakaliki, 12-04-2018)

Expressing similar opinion, an official of NBC noted that:

Let me be honest with you, even though the state government has spent huge sums of money in tackling the problem, I don't see it ending soon because a lot of factors are at play as far as that boundary conflict is concerned. The interests and intrigues in that boundary is far beyond what we see. As an insider, I know what leaders from that area say when we meet behind closed doors. Unfortunately, these leaders say a different thing when we come out. They continue to frustrate efforts to end the conflict. (KII, Dr. O. Oji, Director, NBC, Abuja. 8-05-2018)

The role of stakeholders in sustaining the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict was further highlighted by a security agent interviewed. According to him:

The boundary conflict is the handwork of politicians from the area. They are the ones who arm the youths and also use their influence to release those of them arrested during disturbances. Let me tell you, the people especially the youths do not know that these politicians are using them. It is these same youths who will foment trouble during elections. Unfortunately, they don't ask themselves where the children of these politicians are. Their own children are abroad schooling. The day these youths wake up and ask these questions, the conflict will end. (Anonymous – security agent, 13-04-2018)

In a similar submission, Mr Peter Opara, Director, Internal Conflict at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) opined that because it is an interstate boundary conflict, its management is complicated. According to him, intrastate boundary conflict is easier to manage than interstate. This is because in intrastate boundary conflict, the governor can unilaterally and decisively handle the matter and bring it under control because the number of interests are manageable and within his control but in interstate boundary conflict such as the Adadama and Amagu scenario which is between two communities in two states, the number of interested parties is large hence, managing such number becomes difficult (KII with Mr P. Opara, 13-05-2018). Speaking in the same vein, an official at OSGOF stated thus:

> It is a simple logic, the smaller the number of people quarrelling are, the easier it is to manage them. Therefore when the number of people involved are large like in the conflict in question, it becomes hard to settle them especially if those quarrelling are not under the same political control. If the boundary conflict involved communities within Ebonyi or Cross River, it would have been easy for the governor concerned to handle it. Look at how the former governor of Enugu state quickly resolved the Ezza-Ezillo conflict. (Surv. Y. Offor, Assistant Director, OSGOF, Abuja 14-11-2018)

Rigid position of the two communities

Speaking further on the challenges to effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict, sample respondents identified the rigid position of the disputing parties as a reason why the conflict has become protracted and intractable. Findings revealed that this is attributable to the perception and interpretation of boundaries by the communities. According to an official of NBC, originally, the makers of boundaries did so for administrative convenience. However, over the years, individuals and communities have come to interpret boundary as lines of demarcation which must follow certain lines and patterns. Adadama and Amagu communities have the perception that boundaries are rigid and unmovable lines, this is one reason why both communities are rigid in their position and stance on the boundary. This hard-line posture has over the years made it difficult to resolve the boundary conflict (KII with Mrs C. Chinma, Principal Officer, Interstate Boundaries,

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NBC, 11-05-2018). The submission below aptly reflects the rigid position of the traditional ruler of Adadama community:

> As far as this community is concerned, whether dead or alive; we will never accept that one inch of our land be taken or given to anybody. In any case, even if we the elders die today, i know our children will never agree to part with any part of our land. We will only respect any boundary demarcation that is in line with the G.G Shute boundary. (KII with Eval. N. Agbomi, Traditional ruler, Adadama 17-04-2018)

In the same vein, the rigid position of the traditional ruler of Amagu community on the boundary is captured thus:

> The National Boundary Commission should come and divide the land equally. We will never agree to the old G.G Shute boundary. We are open to dividing the disputed area equally. We have also suggested to the government to build an institution on the land, government should take over the land and build on it. We are ready to abide by government decision (HRH, Eze D. Aloh, JP, Traditional ruler, Amagu, 3-04-2018)

Lack of trust, sustainability and sabotage of conflict management strategies

Another factor highlighted by sample respondents as a challenge to effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts is the lack of sustainability of peace efforts especially at the community, local and state government level. Findings indicated that while in existence, the Adadama and Amagu Development Association (ADAMADA) was able to effectively maintain peace at the various disputed areas, increased communal relationship and built trust thus, increasing tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Further investigations on why the ADAMADA has been inactive revealed that certain individuals' have been deliberately sabotaging efforts to resuscitate it. This is done through nominating persons who are not interested in peace into the Association as members, disagreement between the two traditional rulers with one accusing the other of not being interested in peace while the other is accused of pride and arrogance.

Closely linked to this is the constant change of local government chairmen by the governors of Cross River and Ebonyi states as an act of omission or commission that affects sustainability of peace efforts and possibly sabotages local government conflict management strategies. The view of a security agent is captured thus:

> the local government would have been in the best position to handle the conflict but you know they are always changed by governors. Sometimes when we go for meetings and agree on something, when we meet again, you see a new face who doesn't know what you are talking about, then you start from the beginning again. I speak from experiences (KII - security agent, Anonymous, 17-04-2018)

Loss of confidence by Adadama and Amagu communities on government's conflict management strategies

The perception of government on the causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict is divergent from the causes identified by the two communities; this is a recipe for failure of any conflict management strategy designed by government. Findings revealed that the two communities do not have confidence in the various strategies deployed by government in the management of the boundary conflicts. The Head, Political Science Dept, Ebonyi state University, stated that one of the major reasons why the conflict seems to have defied all attempt at resolving it is the manner and way the two state governments have managed it. He observed that because of the weak capacity of the state to provide security, the people have lost confidence in the government's conflict management mechanism. His view is captured below:

> Both communities (Adadama and Amagu) have a standing army of youth militias who are on standby and ready to unleash mayhem on the other community. To worsen matters, arms and other weapons are readily accessible and available to these youths. A consequence of this is the militarisation of the area. All these go to show that the people are a government to themselves because it would appear that to them there is no other government anywhere. (KII with Dr. A. Itumo, Head, Political Science Dept, EBSU 12-04-2018, Abakaliki)

Corroborating the above assertion, a community leader in Amagu community stated thus:

> You ask about the soldiers and Mobile Police here as if they have bullet to shot when trouble come. These guns you see them carry is empty or at most one or two bullet and we know that they can't shot without order. You can see them playing cards. That is what they do morning till night. Anyway, we don't blame them; after all since they have been here, nobody has ever come to supervise or monitor them, so how can we believe in them, my brother, we defend ourselves and will continue to do that because there is no government presence here, you can see for yourself. (KII with Sunday Igwe, Amagu 03-04-2018)

Administrative and non-relational nature of Federal Government's strategy

Flowing from the government's perception on the causes of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts, government through the National Boundary Commission (NBC) and Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (OSGOF) has deployed administrative and technical strategies in the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts. These strategies are non-relational, administrative and technical procedures that a respondent referred to as 'ground to paper' strategies (KII with Barr. C. Chris, legal practitioner, Cross River State, 25-05-2018). Findings revealed that the personnel of NBC and OSGOF are civil servants who are not skilled in conflict management strategies, hence they treat the conflict as an administrative issue that can be settled by simply using surveys and maps. However, any strategy to manage the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts must deliberately work towards rebuilding the damaged relationship between the warring parties.

Breakdown of inter-group relations between Adadama and Amagu communities

Sample respondents opined that the breakdown of inter-group relations among the people of the two communities contributes to the challenges of managing the boundary conflict. According to respondents, inter-group relationship such as common markets, inter-marriages, inter-community festivals, ceremonies, sports competitions and others between Adadama and Amagu communities in the past helped in reducing the outbreak of conflict. However, breakdown of this relationship between the two communities has over the years

escalated the conflict and poses as a major challenge to the management of the conflict. This is because the breakdown of relationship has led to increased suspicion, bitterness, anger, animosity and hatred which have over the years increased. A participant in a Focus Group Discussion shared this opinion:

> One of the reasons why this conflict has continued and will not end soon is because we no longer do things in common again. Before, we marry each other, go to the same stream, farm side by side with each other, even have inter-community sport activities. But now, all those things have disappeared. What we have now is hatred, bitterness and anger against Adadama people because they have destroyed our houses and killed our people. (Evelyn Aloba, FGD, 4-04-2018, Amagu)

Re-echoing the above view, the traditional Prime Minister of Adadama community stated that:

> In the past, we visit each other and eat from the same plate. We give them our daughters in marriage. They also attend ceremonies here but since 2013 when they started killing our daughters married there, we have cut off all form of association or relationship with them. It is possible that if our previous communal relationship had continued, this boundary conflict would not have been this violent.(KII, Chief Lebo Ilang, Adadama, 17-04-2018)

Similarly, an official of NBC expressed this view:

> Ethnic jingoism and tribal chauvinism have grown within the two communities over the years as the result of the conflict. What we have now is animosity, bitterness and the quest for revenge fuelled by years of violent conflict which has led to loss of lives and destruction of properties. Therefore, each party is always alert and on the lookout for opportunities and avenues to retaliate. At the bottom of this is the erosion of inter-group relationship which ordinarily ought to reduce these hatred and bitterness. (Dr. O. Oji, Director, NBC, Abuja. 8-05-2018)

Table 10: Summary of sample respondents' opinions on challenges to effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict

1.	Large number of interests and stakeholders
2	Rigid position of the two communities
3	Lack of sustainability and sabotage of conflict management strategies
4	Loss of confidence by Adadama and Amagu communities on government's conflict management strategies
5	Administrative and non-relational nature of Federal Government's strategy
6	Breakdown of inter-group relations between Adadama and Amagu communities

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

4.6   Frameworks for strengthening strategies in the management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict

Sample respondents stated that the first step towards this is for the federal government through the NBC to review its conflict management strategy deployed in the management of Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict. Respondents stated that the NBC needs to adopt a strategy that will be a combination of indigenous and institutional models of conflict resolution. This will involve incorporating traditional/community leaders of Amagu and Adadama, conflict management experts, administrators and survey experts from NBC and OSGOF into the conflict management processes. The respondents noted that any peace effort which does not have the buy-in of the leaders at the community level is bound to fail. Reaffirming this view, the traditional ruler of Amagu community noted that each time the conflict escalates, federal government through the NBC will summon people to Abuja or the state capital of Ebonyi or Cross River where officials of NBC and representatives of the two state governments who most times are not indigenes of Amagu and Adadama communities deliberate on the issues while the traditional rulers and community leaders are not present (KII with HRH Eze D. Aloh, JP, 03-04-2018). The view of Dr. Mrs Beth Oluka is captured thus:

> The whole thing is political, you see, if the two state governments want to end the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict, they know what to do. The basic foundation to settle the matter is for the government to work together with the local communities to address the whole issues of the boundary (Cross River State University of Science and Technology, Calabar, 26-04-2018)

Furthermore, sample respondents observed that the NBC does not have the human capacity and manpower in terms of professional and well trained conflict management experts to mediate in the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict. Therefore, the respondents suggested training and building of capacity of these officials as a way of strengthening the conflict management strategies deployed in managing the boundary conflict. The view of a respondent is stated below:

Training and retraining; that is the key. This is especially important for the people at NBC because we at OSGOF are technical partners to them. OSGOF does the technical aspect of boundary management; by this I mean the surveys, mappings, geo-infomations, demarcations and other scientific aspects while NBC does the adjudication and administrative aspects such as signing of agreements and treaties, calling for meetings and secretariat duties as well as signing and issuing of communiqués. So in view of the peculiar nature of their work, all NBC staff members especially those involved in the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict must undertake trainings on conflict management in order to be well equipped to effectively manage that boundary dispute (Surv. T. Adeniran, Director, OSGOF, Abuja, 14-11-2018)

Reaffirming the above view, a legal practitioner suggested the establishment of a Department of Boundary Conflict Management in the NBC. According to him, the essence of the department is to have persons with specialised skills who will engage not just Adadama and Amagu communities but also address other boundary conflicts across Nigeria (KII with Barr. U. Ehirim, 12-04-2018). Similarly, another interview respondent opined that:

There are various mischief around boundary disputes. Today disputants can say yes, tomorrow they say no. The dynamics are always changing and this has been a major impediment to resolving the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflict. Going by this, it goes without saying that our people (NBC) who are involved in attempts to amicably settle issues around the boundary need to be trained on contemporary ways of engaging disputants. Recently, we sent some of our staff to attend the Basic Conflict Management Course organised by the National Peace Academy at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution here in Abuja, we are also rounding up the process of signing an MOU on manpower and capacity development with the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies of the University of Ibadan, where you come from (Dr. O. Oji, Director, NBC, Abuja, 08-05-2018)

Sample respondents observed that as a way of strengthening the conflict management strategies, government (state and federal) should show commitment to Peace by supporting and ensuring that the various Peace Committees at the community, local government and state levels are resuscitated and allowed to freely function. A Focus Group Discussion respondent advised the federal and state governments to develop a comprehensive

peacebuilding framework to address years of bitterness, hatred and anger (Comfort Bassey, FGD, Adadama community, 18-04-2018). Respondents at the FGD further noted that the various Peace Committees at both the community and local government level have the potentials of addressing issues related to the conflict. They gave instances of the successes of ADAMADA committee which could not be sustained.

Citing the case of the Joint Governors Committee (JGC) which was not inaugurated by the immediate past governors of the two states, an official in the Office of the Deputy Governor of Cross River State who spoke anonymously stated that the Committee would have provided a veritable platform for governors of the two states to sit together and dialogue. In view of this, He opined that although both state governments are making effort to end the boundary conflict, there is need to institutionalise Peace Committees for the purpose of sustainability (KII, Anonymous, 26-05-2018). Closely related to this is the need for the two state governments to invest sizable resources to creation of awareness and enlightenments on tolerance and peaceful coexistence in the two communities. A respondent noted that instead of politicising the conflict, the two state governments as well as the local governments should spend money on peacebuilding activities such as community town hall meetings where experts will be engaged to talk to the communities on need for peaceful cohabitation (KII, Dr A. Itumo, HOD, Political Science Dept, Ebonyi State University, 12/04/2018).

Another way of strengthening strategies of conflict management in the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict suggested by respondents is by empowering youths of the two communities with skills. According to sample respondents, this is important because youths are the ones sustaining the tempo of the conflict. Many of the youths are unemployed hence view the conflict as a way of sustaining and keeping themselves busy. The Director, Internal Conflict in the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Mr Peter Opara observed that empowering the youths of the two communities economically has the potential of reducing the conflict to the barest minimum. According to him, if the youths are busy somewhere doing something or gainfully employed, they will have very little time to roam around in the community and carry arms (KII with Mr P. Opara, 13-05-2018).

Sample respondents also suggested facilitating peaceful relationship between the traditional rulers as a major step in strengthening the conflict management strategies in the Adadama

and Amagu boundary conflict. According to a security agent, the two traditional rulers do not see face to face. This in turn flows down to their subject. In his view, if the government successfully bring peace between the two traditional rulers, then the problem of the two communities is half solved (KII Anonymous with security agent, 17-04-2018) . Corroborating this view, an official of the Ebonyi State Ministry of Land and Chieftaincy Affairs observed that the two rulers see themselves as enemies so why wouldn't their people feel the same way about each other? Any strategy towards strengthening the conflict management strategy adopted in managing the conflict must begin by first making the two traditional rulers embrace each other. After that, other things can follow. The respondent further said a strategy to achieve this is by co-opting prominent traditional rulers and clergymen who the two rulers respect. These persons will in turn persuade them to embrace peace (KII, Anonymous with official of Ebonyi State Ministry of Land and Chieftaincy Affairs, 13-04-2018).

Table 11: Summary of sample respondents' opinions on frameworks for strengthening strategies for managing Adadama and Amagucommunities boundary conflict

1	Integration of indigenous and western conflict resolution mechanisms
2	Resuscitate the indigenous conflict management mechanism (ADADAMA)
3	Train and build capacity of NBC staff on conflict management
4	Both state governments should devote resources to creation of enlightenment and awareness on tolerance and peaceful coexistence
5	Address issues of unemployment among youths
6	Facilitate peaceful relationship between the traditional rulers of the two communities

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

4.7   Assessing the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts management strategies

Disputed boundaries are a legacy bequeathed to Nigeria by the colonial government. The increasing rate of violence associated with it calls for prompt management and resolution. Violence associated with the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts have become a major element of impoverishment as well as undermining human security and sustainable development in both communities. Furthermore, the conflict has destroyed and damaged decades of cordiality and peaceful co-existence which had flourished between Adadama and Amagu communities. Although conflict is unavoidable in human interaction as noted by (Agun, 2005, Rahim, 2001, Albert, 2001) and often serves as a creative element in human society, the horror that accompanies it is a pointer to the fact that conflict could equally be very destructive if it is not properly managed (Omohigbe, 2008a). If a conflict is effectively managed and resolved to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, it could lead to positive development in the relationship between the parties. This is particularly so if the management and resolution of the conflict leads the parties involved to devise joint problem-solving framework to guide their future relationships and change the existing climate of mutual distrust and animosity to one of mutual understanding and creative cooperation between them (Omohigbe, 2008b).

If on the other hand, a conflict is poorly managed, it could lead to escalation resulting in intractability. Over the years, the conflict management strategies deployed by the National Boundary Commission (NBC) on the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict have essentially been through administrative mechanisms or "ground to paper" approach. These strategies have relied on rigid administrative processes and procedures. Indeed, a critical observation of the various strategies of NBC aimed at managing the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts shows efforts and interventions aimed at convincing the disputing parties to accept a borderline determined by scientific boundary tracing and marking without consideration for human relationship. This approach has no room for negotiation in the "spirit of give and take" resulting in a win-win situation which is the hallmark of an effective conflict management strategy.

Furthermore, an effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts needs to begin by the conflicting parties addressing their differences which can be termed negotiation. Negotiation, according to Morris (2008), is a process in which two or more participants attempt to reach a joint decision on matters of common concern in situations where they are in actual or potential disagreement or conflict. Ikejiani-Clark (2009) describes it as the process whereby the parties within a conflict seek to settle or resolve their conflicts. Miller (2003) asserts that negotiation involves communication and this is usually governed by pre-established procedures, between representatives of the parties involved in a dispute. Therefore, one distinctive feature of negotiation is that communication is critical to the process.

Invariably, the goal of negotiation, according to Jeong (2000), is to reach an agreement through joint decision making between the parties. In a nutshell, negotiation brings series of benefits because it integrates and accommodates the interests of all parties in a conflict. The strategies deployed by the Federal government in managing the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts do not embody this key ingredient of effective conflict management. More so, findings revealed that when meetings are summoned by the government to consider issues related to the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts, representatives of the two communities are in many instances left out. Such meetings are attended by top government officials from Cross River and Ebonyi states leaving out the parties in conflict thus, denying them opportunities to engage each other and negotiate their differences.

Although, some of the National Boundary Commission's conflict management interventions on the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts may be regarded as mediatory, they are not mediation because mediation is a facilitated negotiation. In explaining negotiation, Le Baron Duryea (2001) argued that mediation is a process in which an impartial third party helps disputants to resolve a dispute or plan a transaction, but does not have the power to impose a resolution. Ikejiani-Clark (2009) notes that, essentially, mediation is an activity in which a neutral third party, the mediator, assists two or more parties in order to help them achieve an agreement on a matter of common concern or interest.

As Moore (1996) noted, mediation is the intervention in a negotiation or conflict of an acceptable third party who has limited power, but who assists the involved parties in voluntarily reaching a mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute. Drawing from the above, the various conflict management strategies deployed by the government has failed so far when dissected based on the definition of mediation in conflict management. It is important to note that negotiation and mediation are the two most important conflict management mechanisms in the alternative dispute resolution spectrum because they allow the disputants to determine the outcome of the peace process. The government through the NBC has been unable to utilise this conflict management window.

An overall assessment of the conflict management strategies developed and deployed by the government in the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts revealed that they have so far increased a win-lose perception among the disputing communities thereby breeding hatred, anger, animosity, bitterness and suspicion of its genuineness. Thus, Adadama and Amagu communities as well as Cross River and Ebonyi states governments have constantly reject federal government's recommended borderline thereby making the boundary conflicts intractable. Practically, government's efforts are more or less 'peace interventions' not conflict management strategies; Indeed, if government's strategies are interrogated under the context of Otite and Albert's (1999) definition of conflict management which this study adopts, they do not qualify as conflict management strategies; rather, they can be classified as peace interventions as stated earlier.

However, an assessment of the indigenous conflict management strategy deployed in the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts by the two communities between years 2001-2010/2011 revealed that the strategy complimented the institutional mechanisms particularly at the local and state government levels in effectively managed the conflict within the period. The strategy was indigenous and emerged from the people of the two communities and was spearheaded by the traditional rulers of Adadama and Amagu communities. It was an offspring of negotiation based on joint problem solving. The strategy was like a reaffirmation of the 'covenant of peace' that Adadama and Amagu communities' forbearers entered into. Therefore, it was deeply rooted in cultural and

traditional components such as offering of sacrifices. It related with the historical and cultural background of the people, hence there was local ownership of the strategy by the people of Adadama and Amagu communities. In view of this, any individual that transgressed had to contend with his/her community because the community takes responsibility for the actions of its people. Herein lies the difference between the institutional and traditional conflict management strategies deployed in the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict.

Further Findings

4.8   NBC's mechanisms for managing internal boundary conflicts in Nigeria

The system revolves around various stakeholders involved in search for Delimitation Instruments, Screening and Authentication of the Delimitation Instruments, Joint Meetings of Officials, Joint Field Team (Joint Technical Exercise or Field Verification Exercise), Joint Consultative Committee and Interstate Boundary Technical Committee. In attempting to resolve/manage boundary disputes in Nigeria, the NBC does the following:

1. Conveys Joint Meeting of Officials (JMO) of the National Boundary Commission, Federal Surveys and States concerned and other relevant stakeholders in order for all to examine issues related to the disputed boundary and chart subsequent actions on resolving or managing the dispute. These meeting are usually held in Abuja or State capitals of the disputing parties.

2. Search for relevant and appropriate delimitation instruments to be used for delineation, defining and demarcation of the disputed boundary. These instruments are usually screened and certified by experts.

3. Joint Field Team (JFT) comprising professional surveyors and technicians from NBC, Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation, states and local government areas affected by the boundary dispute. This exercise involves field tracing and eventually demarcating the disputed boundary.

4. Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) is made up of relevant top officials of the federal government and concerned state governments. The Committee meets to consider and review the recommendations of the JMO and JFT.

5. Interstate Boundary Technical Committee (ISBTC) is another high level committee which also reviews the reports of JMO, JFT and JCC. The technical committee can make appropriate recommendations on acceptable alignments of the boundary in dispute. The committee plays critical role in managing boundary disputes as its recommendations are often accepted by the NBC.

6. Finally, the NBC under the chairmanship of the Vice President receives reports and recommendations of the ISBTC or JCC for consideration and approves the boundary between the disputing parties.

This thesis argued that the institutional frameworks for the management of the boundary conflicts between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State does not fit into the western or indigenous conflict management models. Accordingly, this has created bottlenecks, hampered effective management of the conflict and resulted in its escalation. Furthermore, the indigenous strategy developed and utilised by Adadama and Amagu communities between 2001 and 2011 which involved payment of levies by the community of an aggressor, joint offering of sacrifices, cultural and traditional rites complimented the institutional mechanisms in engendering peace and stability within that period. However, unyielding number of interested stakeholders, rigid position of the two communities, lack of trust and sabotage amongst the community ruling elites constituted the main challenges in the management of the boundary conflicts between the two communities. Thus, the indigenous conflict management strategy achieved certain levels of peace; however, it is not without some challenges. The thesis posits therefore, that for effective and sustainable management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts, the NBC should re-demarcate the borderline as well as evolve the hybriding of institutional and indigenous conflict resolution models as argued by Nwolise (2006:154) that:

> African leaders particularly those of Nigeria should urgently fund indepth researches into Africa's traditional methods of conflict monitoring, prevention, management and resolution as well as of peacemaking, peacebuilding and confidence building. Relevant aspects of these methods should be adopted and incorporated into modern frameworks and mechanisms for a more peaceful, orderly, lawful and harmonious society which can support and catalyse overall development.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0   Summary

Many of the boundaries in Africa at large and Nigeria in particular are products of colonialism. With the advent of independence and creation of states, many of these boundary lines were retained in its colonial format. In Nigeria, conflict over land and boundary has become prevalent. According to the National Boundary Commission (2017), Nigeria has eighty six (86) interstate boundaries across the thirty six states including the Federal Capital Territory. Of this number, forty eight are disputed interstate boundaries. The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary in Cross River and Ebonyi states is one of the disputed interstate boundaries in Nigeria. The general objective of this study was to assess the boundary conflicts management strategies between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State, Nigeria. Specifically, the study assessed the institutional and indigenous conflict management strategies deployed in managing the boundary conflict. This was with a view to identifying the challenges and lacunas in the management frameworks and their implications for the effective and sustainable management of the boundary conflicts between the two communities.

The study adopted Vasuqez Territorial and Kieh's Primordial conflict theories as analytical framework and utilised the case study research design. Primary and secondary sources of data were employed in the study. The primary data were derived from key informant interviews and focus group discussions while books, journal articles, official correspondences and reports/minutes of meetings served as secondary sources of data. Purposive sampling technique was utilised in conducting twenty-seven interviews with traditional/community leaders, women and youth leaders and other relevant stakeholders

The interviews were conducted with respondents including traditional rulers of Adadama and Amagu communities, women and youth leaders, officials of federal government agencies with mandates related to boundary and conflict management, Cross River and Ebonyi States government officials, security agents, the academia and legal practitioners. The data collected from the field investigation were themed, harmonised and analysed using content analysis. The results of these analyses were thereafter discussed in detail.

This chapter, therefore, essentially presents a summary of findings and the conclusion drawn from the findings. Recommendations of the research are also presented in this chapter. The Summary of the findings are presented in line with the study objectives.

5.2   Summary of findings

The violence and resultant destructions, loss of lives and internal displacement of persons associated with the boundary conflicts between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State has raised questions on the causes of the conflict. Findings revealed that the causes of the conflicts are: poor demarcation of the boundary by the NBC, land encroachments, climate change-induced flooding, population increase amongst others. Climate change has led to reduced arable land for farming thereby increasing the competition for land. Population increase has resulted in hightened demand for land. Unfortunately, land as a fixed asset does not increase as population grows. Closely linked to population growth as a cause of the boundary conflict is the increase in youth population who access ready and available arms and weapons to sustain the boundary conflict.

Furthermore, the federal government's economic diversification policy has made farming lucrative thereby increasing competition for land in agrarian communities. It should be noted that the disputed borderline areas between Adadama community and Amagu community is rich for rice farming and fish pond. Indeed, the popular Abakaliki rice is cultivated in commercial quantities in the area. In line with the federal government's economic drive, Cross River and Ebonyi States government has provided incentives for people interested in commercial farming. The resultant consequence of this in the two communities is increased competition and demand for land which in turn led to

encroachment beyond the borderlines by members of the two communities thereby triggering violent conflicts. It should be noted that finding revealed that the boundary conflict between the two communities normally escalate during farming season when the demand and competition for land is highest.

The Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts have resulted in loss of lives, destruction of property, internal displacement of persons as well as retarded economic growth and development in the two communities. The level of fear and insecurity in the area is so high that individuals do not go to the farm alone. Rather, the communities often go in groups and are led by youths who bear arms and stand as guards while the people work in their farms. This is done to avoid kidnapping which is rampant especially around the disputed borderlines. Also, there is increase in cultism as well as drug abuse by youths. Many of the youths in the two communities have become involved in cultism as well as drug abuse due to the influence of mercenaries who are engaged by the communities. These mercenaries live within the communities and often introduce community youths to these vices. The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts have severed inter-group relations between the two communities. Inter-marriages between the two communities is currently forbidden as well as other social relations.

The conflict management strategies deployed in the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict can be categorised into two namely, institutional and indigenous strategies. The institutional strategies are federal (NBC, OSGOF, OVP, OSGF), states (Cross River and Ebonyi) and local governments (Abi and Ikwo) conflict management interventions. These are further categorised into four namely: inter-local government, inter-state and federal government, Peace interventions. The inter-local government conflict management strategy was coordinated by the Inter-Local Government Peace/Technical Committee. The inter-state conflict management strategies were among others, through the establishment of Cross River-Ebonyi Department of Border Security, Inter-State Peace Committee and the Joint Governors Committee. Federal government conflict management strategies were deployed by the National Boundary Commission, Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation, Office of the Vice President and Office

of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation. The indigenous conflict management strategy was designed and deployed by the traditional rulers of Adadama and Amagu communities with support rom the states and local governments and it functioned between 2001 and 2010/2011. It involved payment of levies by the community of an aggressor, joint offering of sacrifices, cultural and traditional rites.

The institutional conflict management strategies deployed by the National Boundary Commission including administrative mechanism of demarcation such as joint meeting of officials on Cross River and Ebonyi interstate boundary committee which technically proposed delimiting the contested borderlines have had little effect in the effective management of the Adadama and Amagu boundary conflicts. The indigenous mechanism developed and utilised by Adadama and Amagu communities between 2001 and 2011 which involved payment of levies by the community of an aggressor, joint offering of sacrifices, cultural and traditional rites complimented the states and local governments institutional mechanisms in engendering peace and stability within that period.

The effective management of the boundary conflicts between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State has been inhibited by factors including large number of unyielding stakeholders, rigid position of the disputants, breakdown of inter-group relations such as inter-marriages which has the potential of blunting hatred and animosities associated with the boundary conflicts. In addition, lack of sustainability and sabotage by some community elites are major impediments to effective management of the boundary conflicts between the two communities. As a strategy to sabotage peace efforts, community elites often nominate persons who are not interested in peace into peace committee set up at the local and state government levels. These individuals in turn continue to ensure that the boundary conflict between the two communities is not effectively managed.

5.3   Recommendations

In line with the findings of this study, the following are recommended towards effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict:

1. At th root of the cause of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict is allegations of land encroachment by both communities. Based on this finding, the study recommends that the NBC should urgently re-demarcate the borderline.

2. The NBC should adopt and deploy Alternative Dispute Resolution hybrid processes (localised integration of administrative, indigenous and western conflict resolution mechanisms) in managing the boundary conflict. This involves co-opting traditional rulers, local government officials, experts in conflict management and administrators and survey experts in the management of the boundary conflict.

3. Adadama and Amagu communities should resuscitate and re-energise the indigenous conflict management mechanism (Adadama and Amagu communities Development Association Peace Committee).

4. Abi and Ikwo local governments should jointly organise inter-communal sport competitions and other socio-cultural activities as this will facilitate bonding that could lead to inter-marriages which will in time blunt animosity, bitterness and anger**.**

5.4   Conclusion

Boundary conflicts has become a major source of insecurity, loss of lives, destruction of property and internal displacement in Nigeria as showcased by the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts. Therefore, institutional frameworks designed to manage it needs to be critically strengthened. Nigeria is already bedevilled by so much security challenges; hence, allowing boundary conflicts to escalate across the country is a luxury the nation cannot afford. So far, institutional efforts by the federal government and Cross River and Ebonyi state governments through relevant agencies and institutions to end the Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflicts have not yielded the desired results. Conflict in whatever guise is an ill wind that blows no good. Its consequence is like rain that falls on every house. The Adadama and Amagu communities' boundary conflict has

brought about death and destruction upon the two communities, heightened insecurity and fear. Indeed, the two communities have testaments of the negative effects of the boundary conflicts. Having outlined the causes of the conflict previously, the role of climate change in triggering the boundary conflict needs to be emphasised herein. Most times, discussions on climate change impacts often focus on the environment with little significance given to its role in conflict. Similarly, in Nigeria, when climate change is linked to conflict, what readily come to mind is the farmer-herder conflicts across the country. However, this study has shown that climate change is a trigger factor for boundary conflict specifically in the case of Adadama community in Cross River state and Amagu community in Ebonyi States, Nigeria.

Conflict management involves a variety of strategies, mechanisms and frameworks. However, the institutional strategies deployed by the federal government and Cross River and Ebonyi state governments in the management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict are largely administrative strategies devoid of the core and critical elements of conflict management. Indeed, these strategies can best be described as administrative mechanisms. Effective conflict management is rooted in building relationships capable of transforming negative energies of conflict to positive. Therefore, an effective strategy for management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict must be rooted in rebuilding the communal relationships that existed between the two communities. This can be done when the institutional and indigenous conflict management strategies are hybrided with modern conflict management models.

5.5   Contributions to Knowledge

This study has made three key contributions. In the first instance, dominant discourse has focused largely on origin, dynamics and politicisation of boundary conflicts. In contrast, this study examined boundary conflicts from the perspective of its management strategies and argues that in the specific case of boundary conflicts between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State, the institutional conflict management strategies have not effectively managed the boundary conflict. Secondly, the study has added valuable knowledge to the existing literature on interstate boundary

conflicts in Nigeria. In doing this, the study has showcased the large number of disputed boundaries in Nigeria. Indeed, the study revealed that more than half of interstate boundaries in Nigeria are disputed as well as documented and highlighted the role of NBC and other stakeholders in boundary disputes management in Nigeria.

Thirdly, the study has reaffirmed the notion of "using indigenous methods to solve indigenous problems" by revealing that the indigenous conflict resolution strategies adopted by Adadama and Amagu communities enhanced effective management of the boundary conflict from 2001 to 2013. Thus, the study not only interrogated the institutional conflict management frameworks from the Federal, States (Cross River and Ebonyi) and local governments(Abi and Ikwo) context but further interrogated the indigenous conflict management strategies developed and utilised by Adadama and Amagu communities.

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APPENDIX I

Interviewees List

S/N	Name	Position/Title/Org./Community	Gender	Dates
1	HRH Eze D. Aloh JP	Traditional Ruler of Amagu	M	3-4-2018
2	Anonymous	Security agent (Amagu)	M	10-4-2018
3	Mr Sunday Igwe	Community leader (Amagu)	M	5-4-2018
4	Mrs Ada Oguike	Women leader (Amagu)	F/M	3-4-2018
5	Mrs Florence Ukwa	Women leader (Amagu)	F/M	03-4-2018
6	Monday Nwacho	Youth leader (Amagu)	M	5-4-2018
7	Kenneth Nwakpuruata	Youth leader (Amagu)	M	5-4-2018
8	Barr. Mrs J. Barry-Oko	Permanent Secretary, Ebonyi State Deputy Governor's Office	F/M	13-4-2018
9	Anonymous	Ebonyi state Ministry of Land and Chieftaincy Affairs	F/M	13-4-2018
10	Dr A. Itumo	HoD Political Sci. Dept, Ebonyi state University	M	12-4-2018
11	Barr. U. Ehirim	Legal Practitioner (Ebonyi State)	M	12-4-2018
12	Eval. N. Agbomi	Traditional Ruler of (Adadama)	M	17-4-2018
13	Chief A. Lebo Ilang	Community leader (Adadama)	M	17-4-2018
14	Anonymous	Security agent (Adadama)	M	17-4-2018
15	Mrs Rose Ekon	Women leader (Adadama)	F/M	18-4-2018
16	Mrs Doris Ilang	Women leader (Adadama)	F/M	18-4-2018
17	Mr Sunday Eni	Youth leader (Adadama)	M	19-4-2018
18	Mercy Ambrose	Youth leader (Adadama)	F/M	19-4-2018
19	Anonymous	Office of the Deputy Gov. Cross River State.	F/M	26-5-2018
20	Dr Mrs. Beth Oluka	Cross River State University of Technology	F/M	26-5-2018
21	Barr. C. Chris	Legal Practitioner Cross River state)	M	25-5-2018

22	Alhaji N.M. Mohammed	Deputy Director, Interstate Boundaries, NBC, Abuja	M	11-5-2018
23	Mrs C. Chinma	Interstate Boundaries, NBC, Abuja	F/M	11-5-2018
24	Dr O. Oji	Director, Policy, Research and Strategy, NBC, Abuja	M	8-5-2018
25	Surveyor Y. Offor	Assistant Director, Internal boundaries, Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation, Abuja	M	14-5-2018
26	Surveyor T. Adeniran	Director, international boundaries, Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (Abuja)	M	14-5-2018
27.	Mr P. Opara	Director, Internal Conflict, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR), Abuja.	M	13-5-2018

APPENDIX II

Socio-Demographic Details of Sample Respondents

The Table below provides details of the socio-demographic data of the study's respondents. Twenty-seven (27) officials of National Boundary Commission (NBC), Office of the Surveyor-General of the Federation (OSGOF), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR), Cross River and Ebonyi States government participated in the study. Others are traditional and community leaders from Adadama and Amagu, Women and youth leaders, Security agents, legal practitioners and the academia. They consisted of 17 males and 10 females; the youngest among the respondents was 28 years while the oldest was 68 years. Four respondents hold National Certificate in Education (NCE)/National Diploma (ND) certificate; eight hold Higher National Diploma (HND)/ Bachelor of Sciences (BSc) degree; four has Postgraduate Diploma (PGD) certificate, seven hold Master degrees and three has PhD certificates as their highest educational qualification.

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

n = 27		
Gender	Male	17
	Female	10
Age	Range	28-68
Education(*Highest qualification*)	NCE/ND	4
	HND/BSc	8
	PGD	5
	Masters	7
	PhD	3

APPENDIX III
List of Focus Group Discussion Participants

Adadama Community Focus Group Discussion Participants

S/N	Name	Gender	Date
1	Ede Ogodo	Male	18-04-2018
2	Philip Ewe	Male	18-04-2018
3	Joseph Ebong	Male	18-04-2018
4	Elemi Ngobi	Male	18-04-2018
5	Comfort Bassey	Female	18-04-2018
6	Anthonia Ekpe	Female	18-04-2018
7	Justina Etowa	Female	18-04-2018
S/N	**Amagu Community Focus Group Discussion Participants**		
1	James Nnom	Male	4-04-2018
2	Christopher Okoye	Male	4-04-2018
3	Moses Agu	Male	4-04-2018
4	Nwewo Anthony	Male	4-04-2018
5	UchejiNwafor	Male	4-04-2018
6	Cletus Nwaloba	Male	4-04-2018
7	Azoka Nkechi	Female	4-04-2018
8	Nwalobu Christy	Female	4-04-2018
9	Florence Ukwa	Female	4-04-2018
10	Evelyn Aloba	Female	4-04-2018

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear Respondent,

This interview is designed to find out your opinion on the research topic" ***Boundary Conflict Management Strategies between Adadama community in Cross River State and Amagu community in Ebonyi State, Nigeria, 1996-2018"***. Your views are considered important in conducting this investigation. It is a part of the academic requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Peace and Conflict Studies, of the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

This endeavor requires your utmost sincerity as information sought is essentially for research and academic purposes only.

Thank you.

Questions

Introduction and Preliminary Socio-demographic questions (Name, title, position, gender, age, academic qualifications, occupation, etc)

1. Briefly tell us about the origin the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict (Probe where necessary)

2. In your opinion, what are the causes of the Adadama and Amagucommunities boundary conflicts?

3. What are the consequences the boundary conflict has had on Adadama and Amagu communities?

4. How have the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts impacted on socio-economic and infrastructural development in the two communities?

5. What are the efforts made by federal government to end the boundary conflict? (peace initiatives/conflict management strategies by federal government through relevant agencies)

6. What are the efforts made by Cross River and Ebonyi States government to end the boundary conflict? (peace initiatives/conflict management strategies at the state level)

7. What are the efforts made by Abi and Ikwo local governments to end the boundary conflict? (peace initiatives/conflict management strategies at the local government levels)

8. What are the efforts made by Adadama and Amagu communities to end the boundary conflict? (community-based peace initiatives/conflict management strategies)

9. Has the federal government peace initiatives had any effect towards ending the boundary conflicts? (provide justification for your answer)

10. Has the Cross River and Ebonyi States government peace initiatives had any effect towards ending the boundary conflicts? (provide justification for your answer)

11. Has the Abi and Ikwo local governments peace initiatives had any effect towards ending the boundary conflicts? (provide justification for your answer)

12. Has the Adadama and Amagucommunities peace initiatives had any effect towards ending the boundary conflicts? (provide justification for your answer)

13. What factors can you identify as hindering the effective management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts?

14. What do you think impede or can impede sustainable management of the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflicts?

15. What do you suggest as ways that can improve or strengthen the conflict management strategies in the Adadama and Amagu communities boundary conflict at the community, local government, States and federal government levels.

16. How can the peace initiatives by the Adadama and Amagu communities and those of Cross River and Ebonyi States and the federal government by made more effective towards ending the boundary conflicts?

APPENDIX V

Selected Plates from Field Investigation

Plate 4: Researcher with Traditional Ruler and Prime Minister of Adadama

Plate 5: Researcher at a burial site (cemetery) of victims of the boundary conflict in Adadama community

Plate 6: Researcher with Adadama community youths at the burial site (cemetery)

Plate 7: Adadama Community Secondary School destroyed during the 2015 conflict

Plate 8: Tomb of an Adadama Princess (medical doctor) who was beheaded during the 2015 conflict

Plate 09: Researcher with Traditional Ruler-in-Council of Amagu Community

Plate 10: Residential building destroyed in Amagu community during the 2014 conflict

Plate 11: Researcher in a pre-FGD briefing/discussion with Amagu Women and Youths

Plate 12: Researcher with a widow in Amagu community who lost husband and house during the 2015 conflict

Plate 13: Showing Governor Elechi Amadi (former Gov. of Ebonyi state) visiting Amagu community after the 2013 boundary conflict.

Source: Vanguard Newspapers, 2013