ASSESSING CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING STRATEGIES IN DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

(A Study of Yobe State, Nigeria 2009-2017)

By

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DECLARATION

I, **Abideen Muhammed Abeeb**, student number **(217081997),** hereby certify that this thesis is my own original work and has not previously been submitted to another university for the purpose of a degree. Where use has been made of the work of others, such work has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Signed…………………   Date…08/06/2020………

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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to God Almighty Allah for spearing my life and giving me the strength to accomplish this laudable task of a PhD programmme. I am highly indebted to my family, Hajiya Sherifat Titilola Abeeb, Medinat Biola Abeeb, Toafiq Abeeb, Ummi Kaltum Abeeb, Fatima Bintu Abeeb and not forgetting my beloved mother, Hajia Kaliat Abeeb for their love, patience and tolerance during my study and for their understanding, support and endurance. Wishing them all God's blessing, healthy living, long life and prosperity.

ABSTRACT

Since 2009, there has been an increasing spate of violent conflicts in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. The crises have defied several efforts aimed at resolving them and now require urgent attention from all stakeholders to find a lasting solution. The Boko Haram insurgency and other terrorists' activities, especially the Fulani Herdsmen/farmers' conflict has resulted in a humanitarian crisis in which over 20,000 people have been killed and about 2.6 million displaced with property worth millions of Naira destroyed. The crises which are now extending to other parts of Nigeria and the sub-region of West Africa needs to be handled with all seriousness before the situation gets out of hand. Several strategies have been employed in resolving the crises, such as the use of the military, legal adjudication, setting up of dialogue committee, legislative approach and proposed granting of amnesty to the insurgents and terrorist groups. However, all these measures have not been able to resolve the crises. This research work assessed the different strategies that have been employed to stem the crises in the North-East with a view to identifying the loop-holes and bottlenecks that have deterred or hindered the resolution of the conflicts. Survey method was employed in the collection of data through the instrumentality of questionnaire. "Interviews were conducted in order to get first-hand information about the root causes of the conflicts from the people at the grassroots who are most affected by the crises. It is hoped that a thorough understanding of the causes, as well as, obstacles hindering the resolution of the conflicts will provide a headway toward finding alternative strategies such as the South Africa Truth Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and other Afro-centric strategies that could be combined with renewed democratic strategies towards finding lasting solutions to the lingering problems that have been on for over a decade and threatening the corporate existence of the country. Findings revealed the urgent need to re-appraise the current counter insurgency strategies and money laundering Acts which are the major strategies employed in resolving the ongoing conflicts, "Whilst employing alternative strategies (hybridization) with more focus on political economy approach which centres on addressing the root cause of conflicts such as poverty, unemployment, inequality and with emphases on preventive methods to conflict resolution and peace building.

RESEARCH OUTPUT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACRONYMS

1. ACCORD: African Center for Constructive Conflict Resolution of Disputes
2. ACLED: Armed Conflict Location and Event Data
3. ADR: Alternative Dispute Resolution Strategies
4. AFROCENTRIC: African ways of doing things
5. AI: Amnesty International
6. AM: Amnesty
7. BAY: Borno Adamawa Yobe
8. BH: Boko-Haram
9. CC: Climate Change
10. CJJF: Civilian Joint Task Force
11. CL: Collaborative
12. CPPBI: Conflict Prevention and Peace Building Initiative
13. CRPD: Centre For Research on Peace and Development
14. CTA: Counter Terrorism Act
15. CTC: Counter Terrorism Committee
16. CTS: Critical Terrorism Studies
17. FADE: Fight Against Desert Encroachment.
18. FSI: Failed State Index
19. GCTS: Global Counter Terrorism Strategies
20. GT1: Global Counter Terrorism Index
21. GWT: Global War on Terrorism
22. HDI: Human Development Index
23. HDR. Human Development Report.
24. HRW: Human Right Watch
25. IDP: Internally Displaced Persons
26. IFMC: Interfaith Mediation Centers
27. ISWAP: Islamic State of West-Africa People
28. JCI: Judicial Commission of Inquiry.
29. LA: Legal Adjudication
30. LCB: Lake Chad Basin

31. LCDC: Lake Chad Development Commission

32. MD: Mediation

33. MJTF: Multinational Joint Task Force

34. ML: Money Laundering.

35. NACTEST: National Counter Terrorism Strategy

36. NBS: National Bureau of Statistics

37. NEDC: North-East Development Commission

38. NG: Negotiation

39. NX: Nexus

40. PACIFIST: Peace as Prime Factor in Society

41. PCASGCR. Peace and Conflict Alternative Strategies of Governance and Conflict Resolution.

42. PI: Peace Insight

43. PINE: Presidential Initiative on North-East

44. RUGA: Reserved Grazing Areas

45. TI: Transparent International

46. TRC: True Reconciliation Commission

47. YPI: Yobe Peace Keeping Initiatives

48. YYV: Yobe Youth Vanguard

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in Yobe State

1. International Republican Institute (IRI)
2. Center of Community Development Research Network (CCDRN)
3. World Food Program (WFP)
4. International Committee on Rescue (ICR)
5. International Committee on Red Cross (ICRC)
6. Action Against Hunger (ACF)
7. Danish Refugee's Council (DRC)
8. Doctors Without Borders [Medicine Sans Frontiers (MSF)]
9. World Health Organization (WHO)
10. United Nations International Children's Emergency Funds (UNICEF)
11. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

CHAPTER ONE
General Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The emerging threat to world peace today is evidenced in the increase in conflicts and violence around the world both in the advanced countries and the developing countries, more especially in the Middle-East (Iraq, Iran, Israel, Palestine and Turkey) and in Africa (Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Nigeria, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali, Uganda, Niger, Algeria and a host of others) (Maiangwa, 2017). Violent conflict is common, and peace is something everyone is yearning for, the failure of democratic systems and its institutions to contain the rising spate of violence and conflicts despite its acclaimed internal conflict resolution mechanism as put forward by its proponents (Aristotle, John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Alexis de Tocqueville and Schumpeter), put the system under question(Rosato, 2003).

One tends to wonder what went wrong with the system as noted by (Runciman, 2017)"What's gone wrong with our democracy"? Democracy was the most successful political idea of the 20th century, why has it run into trouble and what can be done to revive it? Thus, the need to re-examine the system and how best to fix it (Flinders, 2012). The world, at this juncture needs more than the conventional conflict resolution strategies such as negotiation, mediation and arbitration to resolve conflicts (Sharma, 2010) because they seem not to yield the desired result as conflicts and crises continue to rear their ugly faces soon after they are assumed to have been resolved (Marc, Verjee, & Mogaka, 2015). Besides this, there is the dire need, more than ever before to prevent conflicts and violence because of their devastating effects on people's life, their property and the society (Ramsbotham, Miall, & Woodhouse, 2016).

The world of conflict resolution is constantly changing. The surprising Arab Spring of 2011 initially seemed promising but unlashed an unforeseen series of events affecting the middle east, adjacent regions and major power relations (Wallensteen, 2018). Similarly, the ambition to peacefully incorporate Ukraine into the EU orbit sets in motion dynamics that led to war in the country and concern for all Russian neighbors, in the same vein, neither has the use of force, military strategy (coercive instruments such as machine guns, jet fitters), in any way lead to peaceful resolution of conflicts. Conflict resolution is premised on one basic assumption or

hypothesis: That conflict is a normal natural aspect of life which can be expected to occur in all relationships at all levels of interaction. The fundamental issue is not therefore, the presence or absence of conflict but rather the nature of response to conflicts which can be a creative or destructive force within all living systems. The positive creative function of conflict is so enhanced that conflict is responded to in a constructive manner (Paffenholz, 2014). Hence, the need to examine conflict, conflict resolution and peace building strategies in Nigeria democratic system is sine-qua-non.

This study assesses the potential and opportunities for conflict resolution and peace-building strategies in democratic systems, focusing on Yobe state, Nigeria as a case study. This is carried out within the context of the conflict and insecurity that has threatened this sub- unit of the Nigeria state, the study explore the relevance of conflict resolution and peace building strategies which is being employed in a conflict environment that is characterized with insurgency/terrorism and the violent clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers, this is with the aim of determining if these strategies can produce sustainable results, it focuses on engaging non-state actors such as individuals, groups and organizations and some state actors such as the military and government officers as well as non-governmental organizations working in the area of peace building on the possible ways in resolving conflicts and building peace, it also view this from a sub-national approach. The introduction highlights the statement of problem, conceptualization of terms, research questions which the study seeks to answer, objectives of the study, significance of the study and how the thesis is organized. The background to the study provides an overview of the challenges of insecurity across the Nigeria state, the North-Eastern region and Yobe state, it examines the origin, nature and the impact of the conflicts on communities, national, regional and continental security as well as the efforts made by government in resolving the conflicts.

1.1 Background of the Study

Over the past few decades, Nigeria has experienced many complex conflicts and socio-political problems ranging from inequality, corruption, kidnapping, oil pipeline vandalism, ethno-religious conflicts, the Boko-Harm insurgency/terrorist activities in the North-East and recently, the Fulani herdsmen (nomadic pastoralists) and farmer's conflicts. According to Abbass (2012),

the conflict between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers has been on the increase in recent times amidst allegation of trespassing on farmlands by the Fulani pastoralists(Blench, 2010). The encroachment on grazing fields and routes by farmers led to fierce struggle and violent conflicts between them leading to a massive humanitarian crisis involving the loss of thousands of lives and destruction of properties worth millions of naira(Bello, 2013a),(Chinwokwu, 2013). The conflicts according to some estimates have claimed the lives of over 20,000 people and about 2.6 million are displaced (Muhammed & Oladimeji, 2017). Although the Islamic extremist group, Boko-Haram exists in other northern parts of the country, they are predominantly in North-Eastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa (Sodipo, 2013). This geopolitical zone appeared to have suffered the most, judging by the level of economic dislocations, social unrest; and destruction of both lives and properties recorded in these areas (Faluyi, Khan, & Akinola, 2019). It took the rejuvenation of the command and control of the military by the Federal Government to check the rampaging militants and reclaim parts of the Nigerian territory lost to the militants. Still, the situation calls for more attention in terms of resolving the conflict and building peace in the area (Faluyi et al., 2019).

According to Abdulkarim, Abeeb Mohammed, & Idriss (2018), Boko-Haram insurgency and terrorist group operations have been on for over a decade beginning from 2009- up-to-date. Their cruel activities have been so devastating; they kill people in mass and indiscriminately too. They also kidnap people too, especially women, youths and children. A notorious example of this was the brazen kidnapping of the Chibok Girls on 14th April 2014 (Olojo, 2015) and the Dapchi Girls (2018). These two incidents which attracted both national and international outrage demonstrate not only the brutal nature of the insurgency but also the complexity of the crises. The group was reported to have taken over some villages and local government areas in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states and proclaimed Gwoza, a village in the suburb of Borno state as the seat of their caliphate. The frequent ransacking of villages and the attendant displacements, loss of lives and property has made life nasty and brutish in this part of the country and there appears no end in sight for the hellish situation. The 2014 Global Terrorism Index (GTI) report that 82 per cent of people killed in terrorist attacks across the world were just in five countries namely, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria. The Index also identified Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia and Uganda as being at risk of increased terrorism due

to the presence of the following four factors – extrajudicial killing, lack of women's political rights, lack of intergroup cohesion and political instability (Global Terrorism Index, 2014:2). Clearly, existing conflict resolution mechanisms have failed to arrest the conflicts in Nigeria (Olojo, 2015). There is, therefore, an urgent need to devise fresh and effective strategies of resolving the conflict. This study attempts to proffer programmatic conflict resolution and peace-building strategies for Yobe state Nigeria which is one of the frontline states engulfed by the insurgents and terrorists' operations. In this chapter, effort is made to highlight the background of the study, statement of problem, research objectives and research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, delimitation and limitations of the study.

Yobe State is one of the thirty-six states that make up the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It was created in 1991 and has a population of about 2,321,339 people according to the 2006 Nigeria National Population Census (Bello, 2013a). The state is confronted with a high level of banditry perpetrated by local and cross-border armed bandits (Muhammed & Oladimeji, 2017). Although the activities of the armed and unarmed bandits have been curtailed to a large extent, livestock theft, burglary, inter-gender and intra-gender-based violence, as well as inter and intra-ethnic violence and political thuggery have persisted over the years (Muhammed & Oladimeji, 2017). The State is also among the six states in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria that are at the receiving end of the barbaric and bloody insurgency of Boko Haram and other terrorist organizations. Since 2009 when the insurgents first launched an attack on Damaturu and two other towns, the state has continued to witness several attacks, including suicide bombings, burning and killing of innocent people and the destruction of houses/schools, properties, markets, shops, government institutions, department and facilities (Salawu, 2010).Because of the activities of the insurgents, many have either been killed or displaced. The persistent displacement of people forced the government and non-governmental organizations to create Internally Displaced Person's camps (IDPs camps) to provide succor to the displaced persons (Abdulkarim et al., 2018).

Despite the government's announcement in 2016, that the group had been 'crushed,' attacks continued throughout 2017 from Maiduguri city to the Lake Chad Basin, in IDP camps, universities, churches, mosques and even to other states such as Gombe, Bauchi, Plateau, which

has hitherto not been part therein (Faluyi et al., 2019). The plight of refugees fleeing the violence is also worsening with the current severe drought and impending famine across northeast Nigeria.

According to Muhammed & Oladimeji (2017), the consequence of climate change has brought untold hardship and challenges on the northerners, especially the northeast region where majority of the Fulani herdsmen reside and carry on their pastoral activities. They were, however, forced to migrate down from the Sahel savannah to the Guinea savannah because of drought (low rainfall) which hampered the growth of weeds needed for animal consumption(Ubhenin, 2012). This movement led to the encroachment on the farmers' land as well as forced cohabitation between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers which resulted in conflicts and crises and the destruction of life and property. All these conflicts have turned Nigeria north-east into a theatre of war according to the current Chief of Army Staff of the Nigeria military (Tukur, 2016).

The situation in Yobe and the North-East of Nigeria generally calls for urgent attention by not only the government of Nigeria but Africa and of course the whole world. This is because the crises in Nigeria can no longer be considered as an internal conflict as there is ample evidence showing the connection of the group to International terrorist organizations such as Al-Shabab, ISIS and Al-Qaeda among others who enjoy heavy financial support from the Western world (Alozieuwa, 2012;D. Agbiboa, 2013). This is in line with the view expressed by Gen. Carter Ham (Commander of United Nations Africa Command) in 2011 that both Al-Qaeda and El-Shabab were funding and training Boko Haram (Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa, 2014).

The government has made attempts to bring the situation in Yobe and the other parts of the Northeast under control with the setting up of Task Forces at the national level which have also served as a support system to international organizations involved in combating the crises. There is the Nigeria Military Joint Task Force which comprises the three units of the Military, (Antennary Soldier, Air Force and the Navy) as well as the inclusion of other para-military agencies such Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Nigerian Police Force, (NPF) Nigeria Civil Defense Corps (NCDC) among others (Abdulkarim et al., 2018). Billions of naira has been spent by the Goodluck Jonathan administration between 2011 and 2015 and the current government of Mohammed Buhari from 2015 till date on the purchase

of military weapons, training and logistics aimed at bringing the ugly situation to an end. Most of the communities earlier captured by Boko- Haram insurgents have been liberated and security continues to be intensified.

There are claims by government that the Boko Haram insurgents have been degraded or incapacitated to the extent that they could no longer launch large-scale and persistent attacks, however, the situation remains volatile. Clearly, the military efforts to a large extent have not yielded the desired efforts (Faluyi et al., 2019). Generally, political rhetoric has imperiled the fight against the insurgents. For instance, the military campaign has been overshadowed by political grandstanding and partisanship. During the Goodluck Jonathan administration, the Nigerian government was accused by some elements in the North of using excessive force and killing 150 protesters from August 2015-2016(Usoro, Ekpeyong, & Effiong, 2014).There have been allegations and counter allegations of sabotage, misappropriation and embezzlement of funds meant for buying weapons by top military officers and politicians thereby undermining the efforts towards bringing the conflict situation to normalcy (Abdulkarim et al., 2018).

Despite government attempts to stem the tide of disputes and clashes in the society through its institutions, through managed key, regulatory, broad shared and integrative systems; the issues of ideological battling, insufficiency and conflicts have remained persistent and clearly unmanageable (Faluyi et al., 2019). This is because the faulty social and political structure and deep-rooted grievances that generate violence have not been addressed.(Akinwale, 2010) argue that some of these challenges are self-imposed and reinforced through greed-based behavior; others are the result of poor institutional capacity and the complexities of addressing widespread organized crime and the general situation of insecurity in the country. This probably calls for a rethink and review of all existing levels of collaborations and synergies for holistic, enforceable, sustainable and dynamic peace building approaches and initiatives for the country (Anyadike, 2013).

These approaches must ultimately incorporate relevant and key stakeholders of the Nigerian nation, driven fervently by altruistically motivated individuals who are professionally competent to prevent and manage the dreadful shackles of destructive conflicts in the country. The spate of

dispute and ruthlessness has continued extending day and night notwithstanding the helpful undertakings by the organization, overall affiliations and non-authoritative affiliations (Kew, 2016). The spate of conflict and violence has continued to increase day and night despite the remedial efforts by the government, international organizations and non-governmental-organizations(Kew, 2016).This demands more than determination and commitment on the part of government and the people but alternative conflict resolution strategies to bring the situation to an end (Usoro et al., 2014)(Dokubo & Oluwadare, 2011).

This research work on conflict resolution and peace-building strategies in a democratic system is born out of the failure of previous conflict resolution strategies or mechanisms to halt and resolve conflicts and crises that have bedeviled the North-Eastern Nigeria for over a decade. It is imperative to point out that this research work focused on Yobe State as the unit of analysis and on the strategies employed by federal, state and local governments in resolving the conflicts, efforts of non-governmental institutions (international and local), as well as the efforts of groups and individuals to resolve the conflicts, will be briefly explained.

This is necessary because the issue of National security in Nigeria rests mainly in the hands of the federal government (Nigeria Police force and Nigeria Army), though state and local governments takes charge of security and other matters at the state and local levels as representatives of the federal government in their capacity as delegated authorities as well as provided in the concurrent legislative list as well as the residual legislative list which empowers them to act on such issues as spelt out in the constitution as agents of the federal government (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979 as amended 1999). Similarly, the Fulani herdsman /farmers conflict which is now the second problematic violent conflict in Nigeria deserve to be curtailed and ended, if the unity of Nigeria must be protected.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The increasing spate of crises and conflicts currently ravaging and threatening the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria as a country is not an issue to toy with (Prof. Benjamin Osisioma, 2016). This is because it can consume the people of Nigeria and by extension, the people of the West African sub-region and possibly the African continent and in one way or the other every

part of the continent will have a bite of the smoke and fire emanating there from (Chukwuma & George Atelhe, 2014). For over a decade, Nigeria has been facing serious security challenges ranging from ethnic-tribal conflicts to the religious crisis, the Niger Delta militants (Usoro et al., 2014) and more recently, the Boko-Haram insurgency and terrorist activities in the north-eastern part of the country. The group has since 2009 unleashed violence on the Nigerian state in unprecedented ways (Akinola, 2015). All these and the recent Fulani herdsmen-farmers saga (UNDP, 2017) has turned Nigeria into a theatre of war, a situation that has led to the death of thousands of people with about 2 ,6 million displaced, hundreds in hostage and hundreds kidnaped with their where about unknown including some of the 2014 Chibok Girls (Ikpe, 2017). The situation in the North-East, particularly in Yobe, Borno and Adamawa can be described as nasty and brutish as described by Thomas Hobbes in his State of Nature. Also, terrorism is not peculiar to Nigeria, but the peculiarity of poor state response is not debatable. The response of the Nigerian state in tackling Boko Haram crises is abysmally low compared with international standards, most especially as established under the Kampala Convention. The war against Boko Haram has been politicized in Nigeria and very few people observe the poor response of Nigeria in tackling Boko Haram. For example, it is argued that intelligence on Boko Haram was available to the Federal Government of Nigeria fourteen years beforeit exploded

The crises situation has remained unabated despite the huge resources and efforts that have been committed by the government, International Organizations such as UN, AU and ECOWAS and other Non-governmental organizations to bring the situation under control (Faluyi et al., 2019). The situation in the northeast Nigeria calls for the urgent attention of the government of Nigeria, the region, Africa and of course, the world. This is because the crises in the area is already boiling, escalating and spreading to other parts within and outside the region and if left unchecked may lead to another genocide and war of unprecedented level on Nigeria society, Africa and the world at large. The crises in Nigeria can no longer be considered as internal conflict as there is ample evidence showing the connection of the group to International terrorist groups.

1.3 Research Objectives and Questions

1.3.1   Research Objectives

The broad objective of this research work is to examine the Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

Strategies in Democratic System with Yobe state, Nigeria as a case study.

1.3.1.1 Specific Objectives

1   To examine the nature of violent conflict in Yobe state
2   To examine the extent of violent conflict in Yobe state
3   To examine the existing strategies in resolving conflicts and building peace in Yobe state
4   To identify factors hampering the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace-building strategies
5   To suggest ways through which effective conflict resolution and peace-building strategies can be achieved in order to have lasting peace in Yobe state.

1.3.2   Research Questions: Key questions to be asked

This research work attempted to answer the following questions

1. What is the nature of violent conflict in Yobe state?

2. What is the extent of violent conflict in Yobe state?

3. What are the existing strategies for conflict resolution and peace-building in Yobe state?

4 What are the factors hindering the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace-building in Yobe state?

5 What suggestions can be made in order to achieve effective conflict resolution and peacebuilding strategies in Yobe state?

1.4 Scope of the Study

This research is essentially on the violent conflict in North-Eastern Nigeria, The Boko Haram insurgency, terrorist activities and the Fulani herdsman/Farmers conflicts. The study area is Yobe state, North Eastern part of Nigeria created in 1991 from Borno state. Geographically, the state is located at latitude 110N and Longitude 13.50E and spans through 47, 153 km^2 of land and shares boundary with the Republic of Benin (Bello, 2013a). To the South West of Yobe state are Bauchi

and Gombe states. The state also shares common boundaries with Borno state to the East and South East and Jigawa state in the North West.

Figure 1.1: Map of Nigeria showing statesof the federation. Source: Nigerian official website**.**

According to the National Population Commission (NPC) 2006 census 2, 321,591 people live in the state making it one of the states with the lowest population density of 49 people per km2 in Nigeria (Bello, 2013a). The dry season extends from October to June while the area experiences rainfall between July and September. Annually, temperature varies between 35 and 400C while the annual rainfall experienced in the state is 275mm (Babagana, Madaki, Adamu, & Gujja, 2019). The state is dominated by short trees (5 to 10m in height) and grasses which typify Sahel savannah vegetation. There are seventeen Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state and they

include Bade, Busari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Gujba, Gulani, Jakusko, Karasuwa, Machina, Nangere, Nguru, Potiskum, Tarmuwa, Yunusari and Yusufari (Terver et al., 2014). Yobe state is one of the states where Boko-Haram insurgents and terrorists has unleashed untold hardship on the people and destroyed properties worth billions of naira since the year 2009 up-to-date. The research will cover a period of 8 years i.e. 2009-2017.

Table 1.1: Yobe State Population by Local Government Areas(2006 Nigeria Population Census).

S/N	Local Govt. Area	Population
1	Bade	139804
2	Bursari	109,692
3	Damaturu	87,706
4	Fika	136,736
5	Fune	301,954
6	Geidam	155,740
7	Gujba	129,797
8	Gulani	103,516
9	Jakusko	232,458
10	Karasuwa	105,514
11	Machina	60,994
12	Nangere	87,517
13	Nguru	150,699
14	Potiskum	204,866
15	Tarmuwa	77,667
16	Yunusari	125,940
17	Yusufari	110,739
	Total	2,321.339

Gender; Male = 1,205.034 (51.91%), Female = 1,116305 (48.09%)

(Source: 2006. Nigeria National Population Commission)

Figure 1.2: Map of Yobe State showing the three Senatorial Districts

Source: NNPC, 2006.

Table 1.2 Showing District Areas in Yobe State Nigeria

LGA	District / Area	Postal code	Villages
Bade	Bade	631101	Adia; Alagarno; Amshi; Azam; Bursari; Chirawa; Dalia; Dikum; Dogona; Gabaruwa; Gapchia; Garin-Dallari; Garinkura; Gasamu; Gashua; Gogaram; Gweek; Gwuiyo; Jawa; Jawun; Karage; Katamba; Katuzu; Lawan-Alwali; Lawan-Audu; Lawan-Fani; Lawan-Musa; LawanFannam; Muguram; N.A Kaku; Ngelewa; Ngeliabe; Sarkin-Hausawa; Tagli; Tarjiwa; Wasur; Yakuburi; Zabadam
Bursari	Bursari	620103	Bade Gana; Bayammari; Bula; Buruta; Butsari; Damana; Damanawa; Dambuk; Danani; Dapchi; Gadiriri; Gareji Tsamowa; Garin Alhaji; Garin Boka; Garin Lamido; Garindole; Giljabi; Giruwon; Gojiji Korem; Goroji; Gruawa; Guba; Guji; Gumsa Gama; Jafinori; Jibirinti; Juluri; Kajimaram; Kariari; Kindilwa; Komandugu; Kurnawa; Massaba; Shettimari; Sundwa; Warodi; Yobe
Damaturu	Damaturu (Rural)	620101	Bula Kus; Bulaburum; Bulama Fordi; Chungul Dambaram; Chungul Jabbari; Damakasu; Damburam; Dankalwa; Debsa; Gabai; Garin Maisaja; Goni Matar; Gorogi; Gubberi; Gulamarram; Gumunta; Itsari; Kaburu; Kaita; Kalalawa; Kontula; Korari; Kuilamu; Kukareta; Kunguwol; Kuskuri; Makunari; Malamuhari; Mallam Tari; Marta; Nuw; Sasawa
Fika	Fika	622104	Anzie; Boza; Bulakos; Chana; Daniski; Daya; Didim; Diffuel; Dozi; Dumbulwa; Fika; Fusami; Gadaka; Galamo; Garin Aba; Garin Jaji; Garin Wayo; Gashaka; Gashinge; Gashua; Godowoli; Gudi; Gurijaji; Jaga; Jamgadole; Jangarsiri; Kadi; Karem; Lewe; Maiduwa; Maluri; Mazawun; Mubi; Ngaida; Paiono; Shembire; Shoye T.Nanai; Turmi; Yelwa; Zei

LGA	District / Area	Postal code	Villages
Fune	Fune	622105	Abakire; Aigada; Alagarno; Balanyiwa; Bam; Banshe; Basam; Bauwa; Bindigi; Bufuna; Bulakus; Chirokusko; Damagum; Dawura; Dogonkuka; Dubbol; Dumbulwa; Fajalare; Fulatari; Fune; Gabatasha; Gishiwari; Goyeri; Gremari; Gudugurka; Gunnga; Gununu; Jajere; Jamari; Jauro Bukar; Jauro Isa; Jika; Kafase; Kamarum; Kasko; Kayeri; Kolere; Koriel; Kwajula; Kwalte; Lawan-Kalam; Manawaji; Manwaji; Mashio marmari; Mil-Biyar; Ngelshengale; Ngelzarma; Shamaka; Sudande; Tailai
Geidam	Geidam	632101	Abachari; Ashekri; Badi; Balle; Bisuga; Borko; Chirawa; Dabkariba; Dagambi; Damakarwa; Dejina; Dilawa; Fakuri; Futchimiran; Galaria; Gallaba; Geidam; Gosora; Gumsa; Hausari; Karamti; Kawuri; Keleri; Kelluri; Korkio; Kukoram; Kusur; Kwiri; Lariski; Maannam; Magario; Maidari; Maleri; Murimari; Musari; Nallewa; Rogo; Shame-Kura; Zugu-Ngilewa
Gujba	Gujba	621101	Bara; Bokwai; Borno-Kiji; Bukul; Bularaba; Bulturam; Bumsa; Buni Gari; Buni-Yadi; Chandam; Dadingel; Dadma; Dikshi; Garinchina; Gatumba; Gazagana; Gominja; Goriri; Gotala; Gotumba; Gujba; Gulani; Gutunia; Kaduba; Katarko; Kolere Bomo; Ligda; Mafeni; Maladuwari; Mallam-Dunari; Mandum; Matal; Ngeltawa; Ngumal; Ngurbuwa; Njibulwa; Shinda; Taro; Wagun; Waranya
Gulani	Gulani	621102	Bara; Borno-Kiji; Bularaba; Bumsa; Burasari; Chandam; Dokshi; Gabai; Gagure; Gargari; Garin Tuwo; Kukuwa; Kushimaga; Ngulwa; Ngurun; Nguzoa; Ruhu; Tetteba; Zango
Jakusko	Jakusko	631102	Bayam; Buduwa; Daifa; Dudua; Dumbari; Gamajam; Ganya; Garin Maiturmi; Garinsalha; Gibbo; Gidigid; Gogaram; Goldimari; Gurunga; Jaba; Jakusko; Japbo; Japoji; Jawur; Katamona; Labo; Lafiya-Loi;

LGA	District / Area	Postal code	Villages
			Muguram; N.Gambo; Nasari; Ngelsom; Saminaka; Zabudum; Zeddi
Karasuwa	Karasuwa	630103	Bukarti; Fajiganari; Garin Gawo; Garu-Guna; Gasma; Jaji-Maji; Karasuwa; Waro; Yajiri
Machina	Machina	630102	Adturu; Barinari-Lamiri; Bogo; Bulseri; Damai; Dimago; Dole; Faramiram; Flimaram; Garin; Garin Kinna; Garwadole; Gogi; Gunsi; Kabaduna; Kabera; Kom-Komma; Koremarun; Kuka-Yasku; Lamisu; Machina; Mamada; Maskandare; Maskarari; Meori; Sabawa; Shekori; Tagamama
Nangere	Mamudo	622103	Bala; Dakasko; Garintuja; Mamudo
Nangere	Nangere	622102	Dowasa; Fakarau; Garin Gambo; Kukuri; Nangere; Tarajim
Nguru	Nguru (Rural)	630101	Aroro; Bajigama; Bakwa; Bambori; Bilelam; Bujiji; Bulabulin; Bulangua; Bulanguaram; Buleri; Bundi; Dadara; Dogana; Dogon-Kuka; Dumsai; Garbi; Garin Malum; Garin Naruwa; Hausari; Jigamari; Kakori; Kanuri; Karanbari; Kisogana; Maidashi; Maja-Kura; Mamnia; Margadu; Masari; Mirba-Kabir; Mirba-Sagir; Ngilewa; Tashakang; Wazzagl; Wusur; Yamdem; Yamdugu; Zolo
Potiskum	Potiskum	622101	Alaraba; Badejo; Chalumno; Dagare; Daniski; Daria; Dazigal; Kukargadu; Potiskum; Siminti
Tarmuwa	Tarmuwa	620102	Babangida; Barkami; Biriri; Borno-Kiji; Bulturi; Churokusko; Dabala; Garga; Jumbam; Lantaiwa;

LGA	District / Area	Postal code	Villages
			Mandadawa; Shegau
Yunusari	Yunusari	632102	Baituwa; Bomba; Bukti; Bulabulin; Buluk Buluk; Chillima; Chokolo; Damatoshia; Dekwe; Dilala; Diriti; Dogaltura; Garin Kaigama; Gremadi; Gremari; Gursula; Jilo; Kafaje; Kalgi; Kanamma; Karaguwa; Karigi; Konta Kunu; Kusur; Mairari; Malgawa; Mar; Maruduari; Mineklbu; Mosogun; Ngamzai; Ngirabo; Sasamna; Sumbal; Umari; Wadi; Yaro; Yunusari; Zagibinri; Zedi
Yusufari	Yusufari	631103	Alagiri; Alanjirori; Budum; Bukardi; Bula Madu; Bulatula; Bunsar; Burari; Garin Lawan; Garin Momodu; Gayuameri; Grema Burari; Gulmiri; Gumsi; Guya; Hangilam; Jebuwa; Jogua; Kajimaram; Kaska; Kulala; Kurusalia; Lalawa; Ligarikura; Maimalari; Mayori; Ndiju; Njikilamma; Sumbar; Tilotoluwa; Yusufari; Zingidi; Zumugu

Source: NPC 2006.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research work is significant in many ways and will contribute to knowledge through re-examining the strategies and mechanisms employed in conflict resolution and peace building and the factors or barriers hindering the effective resolution of conflicts and peacebuilding. The research reveals the inadequacies of democratic systems in curtailing and resolving conflicts despite its acclaimed self-regulatory mechanism as posited by its proponents (Aristotle, John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Alexis de Tocqueville and Schumpeter) and as evident in many parts of the world where conflict is currently ravaging such as in Ukraine, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and a host of others. This inadequacy is attested to by (Rosato, 2003); (Crozier,

Huntington, & Watanuki, 1975) and (Runciman, 2017). Therefore, there is an urgent need to re-examine the system. Rising from the above, this research draws attention to the rational thinking of the need to re-visit and re-examine the internal logic and workings of democratic systems with the view of fine-tuning it, if it must continue to serve as a political system worthy of practice, it also points to the fact that the inability of democratic systems to resolve conflicts calls for renewed search for alternative conflict resolution and peace-building strategies and mechanisms.

There is no doubt that African traditional society has her own indigenous ways of resolving conflicts and building peace before the introduction of the western conflict resolution procedures which, it must be noted, have been very effective (Rwebangira, 2013; Gibson, 2006),thus, the urgent need to revisit and revive these traditional or western conflict resolution approaches. The inability of the imported, stereo-type strategies and mechanism to effectively resolve conflicts, especially in Africa may not be far-fetched from the fact that they are devoid of our culture, values and tradition. Therefore, there is a disconnecting between the policies and the society they are meant to serve. African conflict resolution mechanism is people-centered and community oriented with the masses fully involved and participating (A down- top format (Mac Ginty, 2010). This is what makes the system work as opposed to the institutional, stereo-typed western strategy. This research work is significant to the government and people of Nigeria and Yobe state who are in search of ways to resolve the lingering Boko-Haram crises which has been ravaging their communities over the years.

Afro-centric approach to conflict resolution is being proffered as the possible way out of the crisis as opposed to the hitherto fierce and coercive military approach. The study provides a channel for peace building for the government and the people of the region. It also contributes to the body of knowledge by showing that there could be more than one-way approach to conflict resolution and peace building. The study highlights the need to adopt a new approach such as dialogue, negotiation and reconciliation, and more importantly, to address the issue of conflict resolution from the economic development and structural base of society. Improving the living condition of the people by providing them with the basic needs of life such as water, food and clothing has the potential of reducing the widening gap between the poor and the rich which has

often been the root cause of conflicts in most societies. After all, no matter the gravity of a war or conflict, it ends up on a round table discussion.

The government of Yobe state and indeed Nigerians are provided with new direction and strategy toward curbing the menace of insurgency, especially Boko-Haram that has defied all conventional strategies over the last decades. Upcoming researches are encouraged to carry on with the research through the provision of data and information on conflict resolution and peace building.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

Yobe state is situated in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. It was created from Borno State in 1991. Geographically, the state is located at latitude 110N and Longitude 13.50E and spans through 47, 153 km2 of land and shares boundary with the Republic of Benin. To the South West of Yobe State are Bauchi and Gombe states. The state also shares common boundaries with Borno State to the East and South East and Jigawa state in the North West. According to the National Population Commission (NPC) 2006 census 2, 321,591 people live in the state making it one of the states with the lowest population density of 49 people per km2 in Nigeria. The dry season extends from October to June while the area experiences rainfall between July and September. Annually, temperature varies between 35 and 400C while the annual rainfall experienced in the state is 275mm. The state is dominated by short trees (5 to 10m in height) and grasses which typify Sahel savannah vegetation. There are seventeen Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state and they include Bade, Busari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Gujba, Gulani, Jakusko, Karasuwa, Machina, Nangere, Nguru, Potiskum, Tarmuwa, Yunusari and Yusufari (Terver et al., 2014).

1.7 Limitation of the Study

This research work is constrained in some ways. Although there has been a lot of conflicts and crises in Nigeria over the decades ranging from ethno-religion to resource control, but the Boko Haram insurgency and terrorist activities in North-Eastern Nigeria and the Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists and farmers' violent conflicts seem to have taken a new dimension in its set-up and mode of operation.

It appears this is the first time Nigeria is experiencing this magnitude of insurgency and terrorist attacks since her existence as a nation and had very little experience in dealing with such, this may be responsible for the lack of materials and knowledge on the scope, *modus operandi* and strategies of insurgent groups as well as the strategies of dealing with group activities. This research work, therefore, constrained by the lack of documents such as reports of commissions of inquiry, government white paper and other vital data necessary for the research work.

The study site is still under the attack of Boko Haram insurgents and terrorists and as such some respondents initially feel apprehensive in filling the questionnaire but with the aid of recruited educated youths who helped in enlightening the people by explaining the purpose and objective of the research, their cooperation was gotten though some were not still willing to speak on the issue for the fear of the unknown from the group members who are also unknown to the people as they hide and disguise under different covers in carrying out their nefarious activities of killing, kidnapping, and destruction of property. It has led many to flee their villages to the nearby towns; some villages have been razed down and deserted with few people returned while some remain in the towns for the fear of possible attack by the insurgents. The problem, was however, managed by taking the views of those that migrated from the villages to the town alongside with the few ones that have either remained or returned to the village, this has however given us the 95% sampled population required for the research, it is a formidable population for representation of the people and their perception. As for the interview, the identified and selected participants readily and willingly gave the views and answered the questions raised.

This has necessitated the seeking of permission from the relevant security agencies such as the Nigerian Police Force, Army, Civil Defense and a host of others. Finance or fund to carry out this kind of research is always not easy to come by, because the exercise requires fund for materials, transportation, typing, paying for the services of research assistance and other logistic issues therein. The terrain of the state which is made up of sandy savannah with undulating hills and low land makes it difficult to access some areas. There also exists language barriers between the locals and the researchers, as well as, the research assistants, this necessitated the use of local interpreters to explain the objectives of the research and to help elicit the needed information from the people, and this has aided the gathering of information from relevant stakeholders. It,

however, comes with additional cost on the researcher. Consequent on the systematic approach adopted in managing the limitations of this study, it is believed that the overall quality of the study would not be undermined.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is made up of seven chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction This chapter covers the Introduction and Background to the Study, Statement of the Problem, Research Questions and Objectives of the Study, the Significance of the Study, Scope and Limitations of the Study and the Ethical Considerations and Provisions.

Chapter Two: **Review of Relevant Literature** centers on the background to the study which entails the origin and nature of the conflict, the dimensions and dynamics of the conflict (political, religious and social), its impact on the economic and social life of the people and other views about the conflict and its implication to national security and development.

Chapter Three: Methodology This chapter focuses on the methodology of the study. The procedure followed in enumerating the respondents is outlined. The theoretical framework underpinning this research and the reason why it became important to adopt it is detailed.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework of Analysis: Theories employed in analyzing this research work explained in this section. They include: Democratic Peace theory, Conflict Transformation theory, political economy theory and related theories of basic needs as well as Theory of change.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation and Analysis: the data gathered from respondents on the subject matter of research through the instrument of questionnaire and interview is systemically presented to reveal the views and opinions of the sampled population through analyzing respondents' feedbacks.

Chapter Six: Discussion of Findings: The findings from this research with organized and discuss in detail through which we can be able to assess the adopted strategies in the resolution of conflicts and its limitations and barriers hindering its effectiveness.

Chapter Seven: Summary; Conclusion and Recommendation: This chapter represents a summary of the research work and proceeded to draw valid inductive and deductive empirical

inferences. Necessary recommendations and conclusion alongside policy suggestions for more study are also provided.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter elucidates on the spate of violent conflicts around the globe, especially in the Middle-East and Africa and the expansion of the activities of insurgents and terrorist groups such as Al-Qada , Al shabab, ISSS and ISWAP to different parts of the world of which Nigeria as a country has joined the league with the coming up of Boko Haram insurgents and terrorists and the Fulani herdsmen and 'Farmers conflict. The terrorist group, over the last decade, have been unleashing terror on the country, especially in the North-Eastern region. The chapter introduced the subject matter (conflict and conflict resolution), background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, scope of the study, delimitation of the study, limitations and the structure of the thesis. The study lays the premise for the research into the obtacles militating against resolution of conflicts and peace building in Nigerian democratic system, as well as, fiding ways to resolve the conflicts.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The increasing spate of violent conflicts in Nigeria over the years, particularly the Boko Haram insurgency/terrorist conflict in the North-Eastern region and the Fulani herdsmen / Farmers conflicts in which different interventions has been made by government in attempt to resolve the conflicts, which to a greater extent can be adjudged as ineffective because it has not been able to resolve the conflicts. These interventions deserve a critical view in order to know the factors hindering effectiveness of the strategies and how to find better ways or alternative ways of resolving the conflicts which are seriously undermining the cooperate existence of Nigeria as a nation. This chapter centers on the review of relevant literatures that are pertinent to the issues under study, Conflict Resolution and Peace Building. This is carried out under the following sub headings: Conceptual Clarifications such as; conflict, type of violent conflicts, conflict resolution and strategies of conflict resolutions which are being employed in resolving conflicts as well as alternative strategies that could be employed in the resolution of conflicts and peace building, such as African traditional conflict resolution strategies.

2.1 Conceptualization

According to Miller & Ireland(2005), conflict is a confrontation between parties with incompatible goals, it is pursuing interest by groups or individuals with varied reasons which is inevitable, and a process of social life and development (Lyons, 2009). It is also seen as the competition and claims over values, status, power and resource that are usually scarce and thus, each party struggles to dominate and eliminate the other (Coser, 1967). Parties involved in this struggle usually devise all kinds of strategies to appropriate the resources to themselves not minding if the rival is injured in the process. It strains relationship, and that in turn evokes emotions that progresses to conflict (Akpuru-Aja, 2009). Conflicts can occur in any society, no matter how sophisticated if there are misunderstanding, hostile utterances and action that seem to put the other party's interest in disadvantage (Akpuru-Aja, 2009).

Conflict according to Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff (1997), usually refers to a situation where one group that is recognized in a society either tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, socio-economic or political will engage another in a conscious and measured opposition because of competing and incompatible goals and pursuits. It is imperative, therefore, to understand that conflict is inevitable in any human society, and has the capacity either for destruction, or to cause positive social change (Kriesberg, 2007). To minimize destruction and maximize productive outcomes, it is important to understand the processes of conflict in its natural and basic forms. Conflict does bring about changes in human society and life; and causes, sources and processes can be turned into life building end (Augsberger, 1992). Emelonye & Buergenthal, (2011) agrees with this submission when he reiterated it by saying:

> Without conflict there would be no call for conflict resolution. Before embarking on a review of strategies for conflict resolution, it is helpful to examine the phenomenon of conflict itself. Conflict is not only perceived as destructive and harmful and requires resolution but also, constructive challenging and dynamic acting as a catalyst for change (Ausberger, 1992 page -46).

Conflict usually are caused by competing parties over an interested environment that may have resources, and thus the desire to exploit and control that valuable resources triggers conflict (Onigu-Otite & Albert, 1999). Often, a change in the social environment and discovery of some resources in that environment also exacerbate the quest for physical control of that environment and that causes conflict which usually involves individuals and groups who intend to use the resources to further their goals.

Similarly, Coser (1967), sees conflict as a struggle, as value or claims to status, power and scare resources which each party aims to neutralize, injure, eliminate rivals (Macpherson & Cunningham, 1962). Both argue that conflict occurs when the competing groups pursue, in an aggressive manner, their goals, objectives, needs, value, cash, though sometimes it may not be violent conflict. Zartman, 2018 however, posits that conflict is an avoidable choice and decision that leads to expression to human interdependence. Also, conflict is also seen by (Bizman &

Hoffman, 1993) as an attempt to resolve divergent views, and to create some sort of unity though with a capacity to eliminate one of the participants.

Conflict should, however, not be seen to be only negative or a dysfunctional process as laden with communication breakdown among parties to the conflict as argued by some scholars. Though different from competition, contest or struggle, it shares similarities in the process of human interaction, especially in complex societies which has scarcity of essential resources. Jawad, 2008 however, holds the view that interdependent people will always express their differences in their attempts to achieve their goals, thus conflict will arise when no party is prepared to shift grounds and make some adjustments on their position.

Definitions of conflict by various scholars differ from being a positive to a negative process (Chidi, 2018), therefore, it is a function of how one thinks and understands it, and the nature of the conflict. Some see conflict as a natural phenomenon while others see it as abnormal in the evolution of human life, and some others see it as critical for growth and development for individuals and societies (Haynes, 2009). It is also within the context of development that young and old people see different kinds of conflicts from intrapersonal to interpersonal, and even to international levels. They need to deal with domestic conflicts at home, learning institutions, and at work; they must deal with them as they occur in their social lives. Rousseau, Gelpi, Reiter, & Huth, 1996 therefore, argues that the strategy employed to resolve the conflict depends on the perception of the causes of the conflict.

2.2 Types and Sources of Conflicts

Conflict, according to Hayward & O'Donnell (2010), may arise because of three basic things. Economic, competing to attain scarce resources among people in which group or individuals want to maximize their position. Value, incompatibility in the ways of life, ideology, preference to principles that one believe in, and power that attempts to maximize influence that is expiated in a relationship. This is further buttressed by (Fisher, 2000) in his work, in which he posited that in most cases, types of conflicts are usually resultants of the sources of conflicts. For example, conflict over natural resources such as the Niger Delta oil crises, Farmers/pastoralists conflicts, conflict over landed properties and areas are conflicts arising from economic factors. Ethno-religious conflicts and chieftaincy conflicts arise from differences in value (Value conflicts),

while political conflicts like conflict arising from election malpractices, marginalization and injustice are conflicts emanating from power conflicts (Nwankwo, 2018). Other factors which may be the causes of conflicts may include, among others, the environment, unemployment, poverty and communal conflicts. These, some scholars argue, are social conflicts, while some other scholars posit that there are varied sources of conflict which may also catalyze as causes of conflicts in addition to the economic, value and power sources posited by (Withey & Katz, 1965) and (Fisher et al. (2000). This includes competition over goals and interests that cannot be shared. Usurpation or attempt to usurp the goal of one component by another component of a society, inconsistencies in goals, increasing desire for independence and authority, scarcity or inadequacy of resources and various kinds of communication breakdown, this view is also expressed by (Fetherston, 2000). Conflicts have been categorized into four types:

i. Divergent conflict occurs when individuals in the society are pursuing goals that are inconsistent with the group or societal goals. It, therefore, becomes difficult to reconcile the individuals, and they often end up in factions within the society or group.

ii. Symmetrical conflict occurs when there is no cooperation within the group, ethnic group or society, and because the group is indivisible, it ends up with a breakdown in existing relationship.

iii. Complimentary conflicts occur when there is a misinterpretation of the goals of the group by parties involved though they are meant to work together to achieve a common goal. An example is the mistrust between the Nigerian Army and the Nigerian Police Force, though their roles are meant to be complementary, but they view each other with mutual suspicion (Sandole & Van der Merwe, 1993).

iv. Parallel conflict occurs when opposing parties insist on their right to a position in a relation or interaction. An example is when a labor union insists on their right to strike, and the management also insists on their right to protect company asset, the extent to which this type of conflict can degenerate depends on factors like the personalities of the people involved, and the existing relationship between the major

personalities involved in the conflict. This type of conflict is less combative if both parties understand their limitations of power.

Scholars have, therefore, dissected conflicts into intra-, conflicts, inter-personal conflicts, intra-group conflicts, inter-group conflicts, communal conflicts, intra-state conflicts, Inter-state conflicts, Intra-national conflicts and international conflicts among others. It is, however, necessary to note that knowing the different types of conflicts will enhance our ability to distinguish one conflict from another as well as adopting the best approach or strategy to manage or resolve conflict.

In identifying the stages of conflicts Amodu (2012), drawing from the work of (Sandole, 2007)) submits that it is initiation, escalation, controlled, maintenance, abatement and termination or resolution. He said that the stages make-up the layers of the process, and that though peace is usually the aim, but it might end up in violence. It is also necessary to appreciate that the original aim of the intent may not be reached as a negotiated settlement can dilute it. This position is influenced by (Sandole, 2007) agreement of functionalism according to (Visoka & Doyle, 2016) who submits that functionalism pursues a view that parties in the society are interdependent, therefore, it looks for a way to resolving conflicts. However, this position is not always the case as can be seen with Boko Haram and the Fulani herdsmen and farmer crises which seem to have pushed the parties and indeed their societies further from peace.

According to Folarin & Oviasogie (2014), the following are sources of conflict:

i. Competition over goals and interests that cannot be shared occurs when individuals and groups compete for interest that is indivisible like competition to gain political power to lead a country. An example is Nigeria when a party engages in malpractices to win an election, and the other parties refuse to accept the result.

ii. A component trying to usurp another component in the society. This usurpation or attempt to usurp a component by a stronger and more privileged component violate or denies the right of the former to achieve their aim, and this leads to the other party attempting to reinstate its position either with force or otherwise. An example is the series of military coups in Nigeria beginning from Major General Johnson Aguyi-Ironsi as a military head of state to the last coup of 1995 that brought General Ibrahim

Babangida. The military used its power of coercion to usurp power from the civilian, and the goals of civilian government, and this made Nigerians to demonstrate for civil rule and this triggered many conflicts.

iii. When goals are inconsistent, it will lead to another conflict. Though, allowances are made to accommodate some inconsistencies, too many unjustifiable inconsistencies will cause conflicts if the individual and group goals are not met. One of the causes of conflicts in the Niger Delta region in Nigeria is caused by non-commitment or failure of government and oil & gas multinational companies to meet their expectations of the communities.

iv. When there is an increased and sustained demand by individuals and groups in the society, and a component who may have hitherto been a subordinate attempt to separate or even exert power and authority over issues (Folarin & Oviasogie, 2014). An effort by the erstwhile group or individual to maintain status quo will lead to conflict. The Nigerian civil war is a good example that saw the Eastern region attempting to secede from Nigeria by declaring Republic of Biafra as their country, and the federal government resisted the secession which led to armed conflict. The war lasted from 1967 to 1970.

v. Conflict can arise when there is scarcity or inadequacy of resources to meet the people's needs, especially that of a certain component in the society. An example is the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) which repeatedly gone on strike to fight for higher budget allocation to universities.

Communication breakdown or hoarding of information can lead to conflict as a result of inefficient dissemination of information, or even the use of inappropriate channels of communication within the society, or when some groups have access to information that will benefit them at the expenses of the other groups will also cause conflict. An example is the conflict that led to the killing of four Ogoni chiefs by some angry youths because the chiefs were accused of having communication with the oil & gas companies that were accused by Ogoni people for destroying their lands. This conflict eventually led to the military execution of Ken. Saro-Wiwa and his comrades by the military regime of General Sani Abacha.

2.3 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is conceptualized as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of conflicts and retribution (Wallensteen, 2018). It is the use of non-violent resistance measures by conflicting parties to promote effective resolution of disputes (Reychler & Langer, 2006). According to Miller & Ireland (2005), conflict resolution is a variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflict through the constructive solving of problems as distinct from managing or transforming them.

Traditional conflict resolution has its root in people's culture guided by tradition, norms and values and exists in two categories: proactive method (preventive) and reactive method (curative e.g. mediation, reconciliation, litigation). Since these methods are rooted the tradition and culture of the people, it is also ritualized and mystical. This consequently makes it effective (Olaoye, 2005).

Although the terms conflict resolution management and transformation have been used interchangeably in many literatures and by many scholars, it is important to clarify and make distinctions among them for a better understanding of the subject matter under discussion. According to Wallensteen (2018), the terms conflict resolution, transformation or prevention and post-war peace building have been misused and misunderstood within the context of conflict resolution as it relates to freedom and democracy. Therefore, for a meaningful understanding of these terms, it is appropriate to get them clarified from the onset. He posits that there has always been tension in the conflict resolution field between its settlement aspect and its transformation aspect, especially as it relates to international community and democracy. Wallensteen (2018), argues that conflict resolution has a vital role in negotiation of the norms so that international conflicts management is grounded in the needs of those who are the victims of conflicts and who are frequently marginalized from conventional party structures over a long time. Conflict settlement cannot manage the most serious conflicts unless conducted within a transformatory setting.

Conflict resolution is viewed as marked reduction in social conflict because of conscious settlement of issues in dispute between parties. Scholars of conflict resolution often view conflict as something bad and should be resolved permanently through mediation or other internal process, though, there is no consensus on this view, even among scholars there appears to be divergence of opinions on the issue. Furthermore, some scholars also posit that in communal and identity conflicts people cannot compromise their fundamental needs, so it is possible to transcend conflicts if parties help to refrain. Therefore, with the intervention of a third party (skilled but powerless) working unofficially with the parties to foster new thinking and new relationship by examining the root cause of the problem and what the parties have missed out in their attempt to entrench their position. They can move from zero sum destructive position to positive sum constructive outcomes. Miall (2004), posits that during conflict resolution, it is expected that the deep-rooted sources of conflicts are addressed and resolved. Hostility should cease.(Gawerc, 2006), view conflict resolution as an outcome in which the issue in existing conflict are satisfactorily dealt with through a solution that is mutually acceptable to the parties, self-sustaining in the long run and productive of a new positive relationship between parties that are previously hostile to one another.

However, for the purpose of this study conflict is viewed as disagreement among parties arising from unfairness in the allocation of resources, it is the struggle among parties who views their interest as not been taken care of in a relationship and therefore seek redress for better and fair share of resources, it is also view as struggle among parties over values, economic resources and political position among others. When two parties see their interest as incompatible there is bound to be conflict. Conflict is the struggle among parties for control over others so as to have the advantage of deciding who gets what, how and when.

Bar-Tal (2000), in his work, New Directions in Conflict Theory, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation posits that waging peace is the greatest issue facing the international community, a question of life and death, of survival or extinction. Such an issue demands thorough reflection and analysis (Sawyer, 2005) cited by Reychler & Langer, 2006) opined that today, peace building is spurred by the awareness that there are limits to violence. We can forget

sustainable development if no serious attention is given to peaceful society. The United Nations and European Union according to(Lund, Mehler, & Moyroud, 1999) have historically consumed and used the products of research by scholars who since world war II, as cited by (Sawyer, 2004) are engaged in studies that will bring peace.

2.4 Conflict Management

Conflict management theorists view conflicts as an inevitable part of social life and as a necessary and needed factor which makes it ineradicable due to differences in value and interest within and between people and communities. According to these scholars, resolving such conflicts is impossible and can only be managed and contained. Conflict management, according to Ohlson (2008), considers the contributions of stakeholders like statesmen, mediators, diplomats, negotiators and even promoters of NGOs. Dontigney (2014), identified five stages of conflict resolution which includes avoidance, collaborating, compelling; accommodating and compromising.

There are various strategies that can be employed in conflict resolution apart from these ones. For example, (Odiniya, Fofuleng, & Vong, 2014), postulate that conflict can be managed through avoidance, strategic withdrawal. According to Odinwa (2015), some of the ways conflict can be avoided are not only withdrawal but involving a third party in a mutually agreed resolution. For (Kew & John, 2008) conflict resolution must consider the future generations, and thus negotiating parties must be motivated to undertake processes that is all encompassing and sustainable; after all, the resolution of these conflicts through an acceptable process is capable of healing the nation (Onigu-Otite & Albert, 1999). Similarly, Thomas (1992), identified five main styles of dealing or resolving conflicts which are Competitive, Collaborative, Compromising, Accommodating and Avoiding.

2.5 Peace Building

According to Muriithi (2007), peace building is a comprehensive process in addressing challenges at different levels. It is about the attempt to overcome the structural, relational and cultural contradictions which lie at the root of conflict to underpin the processes of peace making and peace keeping. At a fundamental level peace building involves addressing the root cause of

conflict, enabling warring parties to continue to find solutions through negotiation and when necessary through mediation (Murtin & Wacziarg, 2014). Peace building includes overseeing the process of demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration (DDR) as well as reform of the security-sector reform. This requires the promotion of social and economic justice as well as the establishment or reform of political structures of governance and the rule of law. These activities are ultimately striving to bring about the healing of war affected communities through reconciliation, mobilization of resources, socio-economic reconstruction and development (Murtin & Wacziarg, 2014). It is pertinent to note that there are distinctions between peace-building, peace-making, peace keeping and conflict prevention.

Peace building is equally the process of promoting societal changes and reconciliation. It is an intervention undertaken to reduce violence and increase social justice (Sodipo, 2013). It is a technique used to prevent, manage violent conflicts through advocacy, awareness raising and campaigns. It involves capacity building strategies for people to deal with and address local root causes of conflicts and hostilities (Onigu-Otite & Albert, 1999). Peace building is borne out of the fact that peace cannot be achieved or kept by force. It can only be realized through understanding (Ofuoku & Evwierhurhoma, 2018). Peace building includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of a society emerging from conflict.

According to Sawyer (2004), cited by Reychler (2006), waging peace is the greatest issue facing the international community, it is a question of life and death, of survival or extinction, such an issue demands thorough reflection and analysis. Today's peace building is spurred by the awareness that there are limits to violence. We can forget sustainable development, if no serious efforts are undertaken for preventing violence and building sustainable peace. Winning a war can sometimes be relatively easy or at least rapid but winning the peace can be a far more complex and time consuming enterprise (Reychler, 2006), acknowledgement in the fields of conflict resolution, peace building and the practice, and establishing lasting peace and sustainable development will require greater coordination across many domains and levels of activities. Thus, peace building has grown to entail more than just the definition popularized by the United Nations as "action to solidify peace and avoid relapse into conflict". Peace building in this

research work is taken to mean conflict prevention and post-conflict efforts aimed at ensuring sustainable peace and development.

Peace building has both structural and cultural dimensions. The structural aspect refers to external objectives and conditions of a social system, while the cultural demission refers to internal subjective conditions of collectives within a social system. It involves a full range of approaches, processes and stages needed for transformation towards more sustainable, peaceful relationship and governance, mode and structures. It includes building legal and human rights institutions as well as fair and effective governance and dispute resolution processes and system. For peace keeping activities to be effective, it requires careful and participatory planning, coordination among various efforts and sustained commitments by local and donor parties (Mitchell, 2007).

Peace building also refers to ways or methods used in promoting societal change or preventing conflictsandenhancingsocietalharmony.Itsometimesinvolvesawarenessraising, enlightenment campaign, education, advocacy and sensitization. In the African context, it involves norms, rituals, folk-lures, beliefs, and taboos among others. Similarly, political, economic approach can be employed as peace building strategy through provision of basic needs of life such as food, water, clothing and social infrastructure to reduce poverty and build capacity for sustenance of development.(Uwazie, 2014). Other ways include youth empowerment, gender rights, providing support to communities and social movements and empowering people with the tools they need to resolve conflicts without..(Sodipo, 2013). Peace building is strategically linked to good governance, conflict prevention and addressing development deficits arising from marginalization, mismanagement of public resources and social exclusion (Nigeria, 2018).

Peace-building is generically understood as external interventions that are intended to reduce the risk that a state will erupt into or return to war. It is mostly used to describe post-conflict efforts aimed at rebuilding war-torn or war affected communities According to the then United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, it is an action taken to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse to conflict. Peace building in this sense is a post conflict or post war affair (UN. Agenda for Peace ,1992). According to

Barnett, Kim, Donnell, & Sitea (2007), different agencies use a wide variety of terms that are related to but are not necessarily synonymous with peace building. Some use the same term, peace building, in slightly different ways.

The importance of peace building as an integral approach to conflict prevention and post conflict restoration of stability and enduring peace was further given impetus in the year 2000 with the submission of the report on peace building and conflict prevention by The Brahimi Committee Report (Brahimi, 2000). The committee which was essentially set up by the United Nations allude to the fact that institutional capacity building is pre-requisite to effective peace building efforts by the United Nations, the report further stresses the fact that effective peace building activities requires careful and participatory planning coordination among various efforts and sustained commitment by local and donor parties (Durch, Holt, Earle, & Shanahan, 2003).

Call (2008), in his work, the building state to build peace, opines that peace building is more than the elimination of armed conflict; after all, stability can be achieved by the balance or threat of force. Instead, it involves the creation of a positive peace, the elimination of the root causes of conflict so that actors no longer have the motive to use violence to settle their differences. Another clarification of peace building which is a logical implication of the first is that the same technologies that are used to help build peace after war can also be used to help societies avoid war in the first instance.

In other words, peace building is conflict prevention therefore; "post-conflict" often modifies peace building to distinguish it from conflict prevention. Peace building is concerned with how to reduce the risk of combatants return to war soon after the ink is dry on their peace agreement, and how to create the socio-economic foundations. Positive peace building activities can be categorized into the following four sectors namely; security and military, social, economic, developmental, humanitarian, political, diplomatic, justice and reconciliation. There are indeed multiple contributing causes of conflict.

Also, any international assistance effort that addresses any perceived or real grievance can arguably be called "peace building." Moreover, anyone invited to imagine the causes of violent

conflict might generate a rather expansive laundry list of issues to be addressed in the post-conflict period, including income distribution, land reform and democracy, the rule of law, human security, corruption, gender equality, refugee reintegration, economic development, ethno-national divisions, environmental degradation and transitional justice, among others. Although democratic states that have reasonably high per capita incomes are at a reduced risk of conflict, being democratic and rich is no guarantor of a positive peace, and illiberal and poor countries, at times, also have had their share of conflicts.

2.6 Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation is conceived as the process of engaging and transforming the relationship, interest, discourse and if necessary, the very foundation (constitution) of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict.(Paffenholz, 2014). It sees constructive conflict as a vital agent or catalyst for change. This includes, respect, and promotes the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. It involves a new set of lenses through which we do not necessarily see the setting and the people in it as the problem and outsiders as the answer. Rather, we understand the long-term goals of transformation as validating and building on people and resources within the setting (Lederach,1995). Thus, conflict transformation goes beyond con flict management and conflict resolution by looking at the social structure and deep-rooted grievances that generate conflict (Visoka & Doyle, 2016).

The employment of semantics of conflict transformation rather than conflict resolution is not tenable according to Botes (2003) because the former has not really postulated any new theory to the subject matter, but only a regurgitation of the latter. His appreciation of the terms is that they can be used interchangeably until such a time where conflict transformation is properly defined and put in perspective.

In the 1990s, scholars (Rupesinghe & Anderlini, 1998) in trying to define and shape the new concept of conflict transformation, shifted the operational language (Lederach, 1997)to the

concept. Though the term has not made much progress in terms of being a core discourse, but it has made meanings including the transformation of individuals and social change (Berdal, 2017).

Critique of conflict transformation theory:

The theory of conflict transformation is by no means a perfect approach to conflict resolution and conflict management, this is why scholars have made critique of the theory in several ways, especially the conflict management theorist who opined that conflict is a normal and natural aspect of human life and can therefore not be eradicated but it should be managed and minimized. The assumption therefore, that conflicts can be totally resolved or transformed is not only utopian but impossible, similarly the notion that the very fabric upon which society is based on funded, such as the constitution can be and should be change if it is seen or belief to be the root cause of conflicts in any given society is not only impracticable but somehow unattainable.

2.7 Peace Making

Peace-making is viewed as efforts made and geared towards reconciling disputing parties, people, society or states to foster in them the sense of unity and peaceful coexistence and to put aside their differences and work or live together to achieve their goals of life.

2.8 Peace Keeping

Peace keeping is concerned with the efforts and strategies employed to bring peace to warring societies or to end conflict or war between and among societies, sometimes using military, mediators or reconciliatory means. It also sometimes involves bringing disputing parties on to a round table dialogue and negotiating to reach agreements and settlements.

2.9 Peace Building as Conflict Prevention

Peace building as conflict prevention is the act or activities that are carried on to ensure that issues that may possibly result into dispute or conflict among people or societies are addressed, curtail or settled amicably between or among the contending parties on an issue, it also involves provision of necessary resources, facilities and condition that make life meaningful and interesting such that individual or group can comfortably meet their basic needs of life without

too much struggle that often bring about conflict in human society. It is a pre-conflict approach and are usually rooted in the structure, norms and values of society.

2.10   Democracy

 In constitutional terms, democracy is a government of the people (popular sovereignty), for the people (government responsible to the people) and by the people (a republican government). In operational terms, democracy is a system in which people choose their leaders through universal adult franchise and free and fair elections held at regular and reasonable intervals, without undue influence of money and mass media, and without coercive or violent interventions of the police, the secret service and the military (Zinnes, 2004). It strives on the availability of a free press and independent judiciary. In political administrative terms, the constitutional structure is supported by two pillars: the pillar of fundamental freedom and the pillar of rule of law (due process). If violence is physical, structural and psychological, then the ideal democracy is a non-violent system.

For the purpose of this study: Democracy is viewed as a political system where citizen voluntarily participate in choosing their leaders among themselves for a fixed term of office without any fear or intimidation and they have the reserved power to withdraw their leaders from political position through recall and to which leaders can be held accountable for their action by the citizens. It also view as government of majority in the interest of majority while protecting the interest of minority

Attributes of Democracy:

Periodic election held at agreed time interval,

Freedom of choice of candidates,

 Independent electoral body to conduct elections,

 Independent of judiciary to resolve issues in election processes.

Non interference in election processes,

2.11   Nexus between Democracy, Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

Democracy is viewed as institutional and structural arrangement most supportive for conflict resolution and peace building (De Mesquita, 2006). According to democratic pacifists viewed

peace as the prime force in human society and is centered on human behavior. This is further supported by (Acemoglu, Naidu, Restrepo, & Robinson, 2019) in their work "Dimension of Peace". They believe that peace in human and social concept is related to preservation of life and fulfillment of life on earth. Thus, democracy as a political system as posited by its founders; Aristotle, John Stuart Mill, Rousseau and Schumpeter, is rooted in the protection of individual rights, justice and peaceful coexistence. Of all the range of tools available to conflict resolution practitioners to manage intractable conflicts, none of them is arguably more durable over the long term but risky than the creation and nurturing of democracy.

Cox & Sisk (2017), posits that democracy provides all the principles, institutions and rules that make conflict resolution possible more than any other system, especially intractable social conflicts in deeply divided societies. Democracy as a system of political decision-making is in many ways a system of conflict management in which the outcomes are unknown, but the fundamental rules of the game provide a safe arena to compete.

The implications of these basic connections between democracy and conflict management for today's deeply divided societies moving beyond violence, through a structured peace process is not only doubtful but unrealistic. Similarly, scholars have, over the years, tried to show the relationship between democracy, conflict resolution and peace building so much that theoretical and empirical building blocks and linkages have been established between them though not without its limitations and constraints. Some of the scholars include (Brooks, 2000)(Cox, Orsborn, & Sisk, 2017)(Rousseau et al., 1996)(Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009)(Joshua, 2013)(Dixon, 2017)(Alozieuwa, 2012)(Abubakar & Gorondutse, 2013)(Bot, 2007) among others.

De Mesquita (2006), posits that democrats do not go to war or only pursue war when they are sure of winning and are more likely to pull resources to war than autocrats. This is because the survival of political leaders with larger winning coalitions hinges on successful policy. The extra effort made by democrats provides a military advantage over autocrats. This makes democrats unattractive targets, since their institutional constraints cause them to mobilize resources for the war effort. In addition to trying harder, democrats are more selective in their choice of targets.

37

Their defeat is more likely to lead to domestic replacement for democrats than for autocrats. Democrats only initiate wars they expect to win. These two factors lead to the interaction between polities that are often referred to as the democratic peace.

Kinsella & David (2008), posit that democratic political processes regulate competition among groups with conflicting preferences. Although much of the competition occurs peacefully within existing political institutions, democratic practices can also facilitate the resolution of intense conflict when the political system is challenged from within by groups fighting against the established government, and when it is challenged from without and on the brink of interstate war. Many explanations of democratic peace have emphasized the socialization of political leaders within their domestic political domain. (Dixon, Journal, & Mar, 2007). This argument has two parts. First, democratic political elite have risen to positions of leadership within a political system that emphasizes compromise and non-violence. Conflicts of interest in democracies are usually resolved through negotiation and log-rolling. Losing a political battle does not result in the loss of political rights or exclusion from future political competition. Moreover, coercion and violence are not considered legitimate means for resolving conflicts.

Conversely, political leaders in non-democratic states are socialized in an environment in which politics is more akin to a zero-sum game in which rivals and those on the losing end of political struggles are regularly removed from the game. Coercion and violence are more widely accepted as legitimate means for resolving political conflicts. In general, political leaders in autocracies are more likely to impose decisions, rather than compromise when dealing with the opposition.

Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim (2009), posited the inevitability of conflicts in human existence is given, and this makes it important that peoples of all cultures employ any methods available to them to avoid, contain, manage or resolve these conflicts. Africa, generally, has been tagged a conflict-prone continent with the number and intensity of various conflicts currently raging therein. In West Africa, there are also various clashes that have refused to die down despite all efforts at peaceful resolution through ECOWAS, ECOMOG, and African Union.

Gerald E Ezirim & Mbah, (2014), reiterates the need for the employment of democratic governance as a conflict management strategy as it has all the necessary indices needed to

forestall all forms of conflicts that usually rear their ugly heads in Nigeria and Africa in general. For instance, the Nigerian State has successfully been engaged in democratic governance for a decade without any stops, although not without occasional hiccups. Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, (2009) posits that the conflagration that would have engulfed the country have been confidently dealt with by Nigeria's democratic elasticity. He recommends that the enthronement of good governance, rule of law, effective communication with the electorate, adequate employment and a balanced allocation of values and resources would further boost the de-escalation of conflicts and serve as conflict management strategies in Nigeria, and by extension, West Africa.

This view is in line with De Mesquita (2006), in their work, Institutional Explanation of Democratic Peace, where argued that democracy as a political system, is inbuilt with institutional capacity to resolve conflicts and enhance peace. Democrats do not want war or only pursue wars they are sure of winning and are more likely to pull resources to war than autocrats. This is because defeat is more likely leading to democratic replacement for Democrats than for autocrats. Similarly, Kinsella & David (2008) argued that democratic political process regulate competition among groups, it can also facilitate the resolution of intense conflict when the system is challenged either within, outside or on the break of inter-state war.

In the same line, Joshua (2013),had noted that with the reliance on secondary data backed by analytical approach, feels that there has been a debate on the validity of democratic peace theory. He, therefore, recommends among others, the need to cut down on the remuneration/allowances of political office holders and emphasizes the re-orientation of the political elite towards shunning divisive politics. Scholars such as Fayemi (2003), hold that preventing conflict and deepening Nigeria's democracy highlights the need to strengthen democracy.

It is imperative to note that the International community, United Nations have often keyed into the idea and belief that democracy is and can be effectively used as the machinery through which conflicts can be resolved and sustainable peace achieved. This informed the setting up of institutions and departments saddled with the responsibility of promoting and advancing democracy, one of which is the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

(IDEA). The main idea behind this is that democracy as a system of political administration and governance is enshrined on trust, accountability and determination to deliver practical results that can bring about improvement in the standard of living of the citizen. This idea is emphasized in the IDEA report of 2006 (Democracy conflict and human security policy summary, key findings and recommendations) which highlights the need for democracy acting for peace and security in the relationship between people and their government (Burnell, 2017).

2.12   Democracy and its Crises

According to Hayward & O'Donnell (2010), Democracy is and always will be in crisis, for it is constantly redirecting its citizens' gaze from an unsatisfactory present toward a future of still unfulfilled possibilities. There is in these crises something that belongs to what is best and most distinctive about democracy. For the crises underline democracy's intrinsic mix of hope and dissatisfaction, its highlighting of a lack that will never be filled. The capacity for hope is the great capacity of democracy, one which under the right circumstances can and should nourish other, more specific capacities that may promote improvements in democratic quality. Similarly, Dewey & Rogers (2012), in The Public and Its Problems, argues that we must get rid of the idea that leads us to believe that democratic conditions automatically maintain themselves or that they can be identified with the fulfillment of prescriptions laid down in a constitution. Also contending on democracy, Dewey posits that political judgment by a citizen should be tested based on the extent to which they can withstand contrary argument, reason and experience. Dewey's vision of democracy does not exclusively or even principally, refers to a specific institutional arrangement and political procedure, they are important but do not exhaust the meaning of democracy.

Scholars such as Cunningham (2002), argues that central to democracy is the conviction that practical and theoretical undertakings in politics and elsewhere are main efforts in problem-solving, democracy has however, not been able to solve the problems of society for which it is supposed to address instead democracy is posed with problem of majority tyranny and inefficiency. In the same vein, scholars such as (Runciman, 2017) and (Drescher, 1968) elucidate on the history of democracy as having been in crises from World War 1 up to the present time.

Tocqueville further showed the challenges facing democracy such as war, public finance, environmental threat and plausible competitors.

Dewey and Rogers (2012) cited by (Cunningham, 2002) "The public and it problems 1927" and with specific reference to democracy and democratic theory opines that "central to the orientation is the conviction that practical and theoretical undertakings in politics and elsewhere are mainly efforts in problem solving". Democracy is beset with problems of majority tyranny which makes for ineffective governance, irrational decision-making procedure and other challenges. In the same vain, it elucidate on the history of democracy as having been in crises from world war1 up to the present. Runciman (2017), also alludes to Dewey's democratic crisis (The public and its Problems) in the work, "Hollowing out the Dewey Lipman", debate to collaborate on the crisis of democracy as a system and its incapability to resolve conflicts.

Drescher(1968), in examining the history of democracy and crisis over the last hundred years shows repeated patterns of behavior: misapprehension, confusion, brinkmanship, experimentation, recovery. Democracies are not good at spotting crises before they occur. They ignore the warning signs of impending trouble. At the same time, they overreact to the routine hiccups of political life, which adds to the air of distraction. Scandals grip democracies while systemic failings get overlooked. Democracies lack a sense of perspective. This produces repeated crises as mistakes mount up. But it also enables democracies to escape from crises, because no single mistake is ever conclusive. Still explaining democracy and crisis, (Drescher, 1968) further opines that by the mid-1970's, the issues for popular government were mounting up, there was inconvenience from rising costs, from reducing vitality supplies, from stale development, from unlimited outrages; the issues were felt in the United States, Latin America, in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East; no place was resistant. An outburst was imminent; nobody knew when or where it would break.

> Democracy, Tocqueville wrote, "Does each thing less well, but it does more things."
> He went on: Democracy does not give the most skillful government to the people, but it does what the most skillful government is powerless to create; it spreads a restive activity through the whole social body, a super abundant force, an energy that never exists without it, it can bring forth marvels (Encarnación, 2000). These are its true advantages.

41

Plato had set the template for this line of thought, which helps to explain its long hold over the Western political imagination. Democracy, Plato said in the *Republic*, was the most alluring of political regimes, "like a coat of many colors." But the colorful appearance was profoundly misleading. Democracy was shiny up front, rotten underneath. In other words, it was much worse than it looked. Democracies put on a good show, but there was always something unpleasant lurking in the shadows: the people themselves, in all their greed and stupidity(Drescher, 1968).

The problem was that democracy pandered to desire. It gave people what they wanted from day to day, but it did nothing to make sure they wanted the right things. It had no capacity for wisdom, for difficult decisions, or for hard truths. Democracies were founded on flattery and lies. Democratic politicians told the people what they wanted to believe, not what they needed to hear. As Plato put it, they took their failings and dressed them up as though they were virtues. If the people were ill disciplined, the politicians told them they were brave. If they were profligate, the politicians said they were generous. This would work for a while, as flattery often does. But in the long run it spells disaster, because you cannot hide from your weaknesses forever. Eventually, something will happen to expose them. At that point, democracies will discover the truth about themselves. But by then it will be too late. When the truth catches up with democracy, it tends to destroy it (Merkel, 2014).

The increasing spate of conflicts and crises in democratic systems and countries around the world allude to the fact that democracy is in trouble. This is attested to by the Economist (2018) when it asserts "What's gone wrong with our democracy, Democracy was the most successful political idea of the 20ᵗʰ century. Why has it run in to trouble and what can be done to revive it" (Moses, Gates, & Knutsen, 1996).

2.13   Origin and Nature of Conflicts in Nigeria

Conflict is as old as humans. This is because two people cannot be the same and there is bound to be individual differences and peculiarities. The cause of conflict is thus underlined by these and other factors which influence human society from time to time(Olaoye, 2005). Conflicts, undoubtedly, are one of the inherent features of every social system. Traditionally, they often arise from competing demands for scarce resources which in themselves have both economic and

political inclination. In Nigeria, conflict has been on for decades as necessitated by the nature of the amalgamation of the country in 1914 by the British colonial masters and the continual interplay of internal and external imperialist power that often propel violence for their own selfish interests (Sodipo, 2013). Conversely, incidence of conflicts and crisis are the outcome of the merger of the different ethnic groups and people that make up the country. (Omotola, 2005) elucidates on this in Akinwumi Olayemi's Crises and Conflict in Nigeria a Political History since 1960.

This union brought about by the British colonial master soon graduated into coups and counter coups soon after independence in January1966, and June, 1966 respectively. (Adegbite, Oduniyi, & Farinde, 2019). The Nigeria civil (war between 1967-1970, ethno-tribal wars, social and religious conflicts (Egunjobi, 2015) as well as insurgence and terrorist activities(Ani & Ajaegbo, 2015). Though, the inevitability of conflicts in human existence is uncontestable (Galtung, 2015),(Miller & Ireland, 2005),(Lederach, 2012),(Sharma, 2010),(Wallensteen, 2018). Conflicts take place between children, spouses, organizations, societies and nations, conflicts and war have become the norm and peace is elusive. (Sharma, 2010),(Mayer, 2010) posit that understanding conflict is basic to its resolution, he opined that to be able to resolve conflict we must start with the understanding of the nature of the conflict. According to him, what makes a peace maker or conflict resolver is not a set of processes, methodologies or tactics, it is the way of thinking, a set of values, an array of analytical and interpersonal skills and clear focus and self-reflection.

Conflict is also presumed to be natural and not limited to any local environment. Conflict in Nigeria predates colonialism and is rooted in the relationship among people due to perceived incompatible goals. In pre-colonial Nigeria, there were series of communal, tribal, resource and political conflicts which arose due to disagreements over rights of land ownership and resource control or deliberate attempt to expand territories and empires as well as expanding the frontier of religious beliefs such as the Uthman Dan Fodio jihad (Egunjobi, 2015).

Conflicts in the post-colonial Nigerian society were diverse and complex in nature. One such nature of conflict was land disputes. Due to the economic socio-political importance of land, disputes over ownership of land were frequent in the Nigerian society. (Olabode, Ajibade, &

Ajibade, 2010). Such disputes usually generated tensions and in some cases led to the loss of lives and properties. Examples of land disputes abound in quantum and a few ones included the Ife/Modakeke, Erin-Ile/Offa Odo-Owa/Iloffa, Tiv/Idoma, Aguleru/Umuleru and Gbongan/Ode-Omu land disputes. Conflicts bothering on religion were also rampant. Although each of the major religions, namely Islam, Christianity and African traditional religion, believe in the concept of one supreme Being, it is not uncommon to witness at unpredictable intervals, clashes between the adherents of these religions. Therefore, religious bigotry as it were, often generated conflicts which were destructive in nature. Nigerians would not forget in a hurry the sectarian crises in places like Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna, Anambra and Bornu, to name but a few (Olabode et al., 2010).

Furthermore, there were frequent cases of communal crisis spurred either by primordial consideration or selfish interests. The spate of agitations arising from claims to supremacy or over-lordship by one community over another was frequently disturbing after independence. Due to such claims, for instance, Odo- owa and Ilofa communities in Kwara State have not known peace for a long. Whenever this type of crisis results into physical confrontation, it usually entails a colossal loss in human and material resources. We may also cast our minds on conflicts which were as a result of political crises. In the period before independence, there were crises among the political parties, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC). Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Action Group (AG). The crises which were ideological differences and tribal considerations had to delay the country's independence till 1st October, I960. After independence, the level of political crises in the country rose astronomically. Beginning from the first Republic there was hardly any respite from political instability in Nigeria. From one point to another, and even up-to the present Fourth Republic, there has always been one political problem or the other. The intra-and inter-party glints, leadership in-fighting, political gangsterism, all combined to heat the polity and cause crises of various dimensions (Olabode et al., 2010).

The poor state of economy in the country has always been the cause of the sharp division between the rich and the poor, using the latter to rise against the government. It is common to find elite clash on the internal economic upheavals in the country. There are, for instance, the dreaded Odua People's Congress, Area Boys in the South-West; Arewa Consultative Forum and

Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MOSSOB) and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) Boys among others. In the South-East, these groups cause crises in the political stability of the country. Indeed, the crises caused by the groups in the South do not only lead toloss of lives and properties but usually also threaten the unity of the much-talked-about resource control in the Niger Delta area. Backed by subterranean political forces, the various in the oil producing areas of the South-East hinge their militant activities on their desire to control the resources of their region (Ushie, 2013).

In addition, the foreign exploitation of the resources in their communities and pollution that usually occurs from oil spillage and gas flaring and its resistance often result in destructive activities. Part of the activities of the militant groups is the destruction the foreign oil companies and the taking of the foreign oil workers hostage, pipeline vandalization and tension arising from the acts often impacts negatively on the economic and political programmes of the government. Several other conflicts have erupted in different parts of the country over the past decade such as those arising from ethnic, political, religious, economic and socio-cultural or value conflicts all with their negative consequences on the polity. It will be impossible to give vivid background, origin and consequences of these conflicts on Nigeria economy, her polity and people, more so, much work have been carried out on ethno-religious conflicts, conflicts arising from elections, conflicts on natural resources and series of communal crises among others. In the North-East, Particularly in Yobe State, the twin conflicts have been that of Boko Haram and Fulani nomadic pastoralists and farmers' conflicts which has aggravated over the last decade (Abbass, 2012).

2.14 Origin of Boko -Haram and the Fulani Nomadic Pastoralist/Farmers Conflicts in North- Eastern Nigeria

Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa (2014), gives a vivid insight into the origin and nature of Boko Haram insurgency as a radical Islamist group in North-Eastern Nigeria. It has its historical origin in earlier Islamic fundamentalist groups such as the Maitasine in the 1980s which started as a conservative practice of Islam rooted in the Usman Dan Fodio jihad of the 19th century in the Sokoto Caliphate. It began as a religious purification group but soon became a political struggle. The group was said to have begun sometimes around the year 1910 and was known as Taliban in the North Eastern part of Nigeria and specifically in Yobe State. This group later metamorphosed

into what is today known as Boko-Haram and has since 2009 continued to increase its membership and sophistication and has launched several attacks killing thousands of people, destroying properties worth millions of naira and displacing thousands of people.

Boko Haram operating in the North-East of Nigeria as a radical Islamic group is responsible for the death of 450 and 900 people in 2011 and early 2012 respectively, according to the Human Rights Watch, and was responsible for myriads of attacks in 2014 at churches, government facilities and officials, also responsible for the bombing of the headquarters of the United Nations in Abuja. (Daniel E Agbiboa, 2014). The Boko Haram group has not only caused collateral damages in Nigeria since 2009, their activities also caused more social dislocations that is worse than the Nigerian civil war as described by president Buhari (Isah Mohammed Abbass, 2014).

The nature and character as well as the mission of Boko Haram terrorist group and the extent of destructions of lives and property over the past few years were brightly exemplified by(Egiegba Agbiboa, 2013). According to Agbiboa, judging from the activities of the terrorist group their aim is to wrest control and take power from Nigerian government and establish their own Islamic state based on the Sharia law.

In line Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa (2013b), Onah (2014) posited that Boko Haram as an insurgent group could be traced to earlier Islamic fundamentalists such as Maitassine in the 80s as well as resulting from the country's political system entrenched in ethnicity, poverty and corruption. According to him, it is the political system in Nigeria that has brought about the present realities of corruption, poverty, and underdevelopment throughout the country. Religion has only served, especially in Northern Nigeria, to ignite these realities into a violent flame. He argues that if these systemic deficiencies which exist in most places are not checked, religious disturbances such as the Boko Haram violence would continue to exist. Such violence has benefited fundamentalist entrepreneurs or groups. However, such violence most often provokes the government into counter-violence. The cycle of violence and counter-violence then enables the government to keep the people in check, even without addressing their demands, and enables it to dominate and exploit society without hindrance. He argues that what government must do to

tackle this systemic violence is to use a combination of poverty reduction strategies, anti-corruption drives, development efforts, law enforcement and military engagement (where necessary), and dialogue to try and bring about lasting peace, particularly in the North East and Nigeria in general.

In assessing the menace of Boko Haram jihadist group with its use of terror and bombings at strategic installations within Nigeria and the Chad Basin, it seems the effort of the federal government of Nigeria seem not to have yielded any reprieve since the terror acts are continuing unabated. Faluyi et al. (2019), using the systems and state fragility theoretical framework of analysis, it shows that the Nigerian weak state aided the emergence of the group and has also sustained it through its weak state. Faluyi et al (2019) argues that weak policies, institutions have caused poverty and inequality, unprotected border, and political instability, and to combat the Boko Haram scourge will mean addressing these issues.

The Nigerian state has not been able to defeat Boko Haram despite its existential threat to the country because of the government's lack of understanding and appreciation of the group, the reasons why it emerged and its dynamics. In arguing further, Akinola (2015) maintains that interactions of Islamic fundamentalism, politics and poverty are eloquent reasons why the group emerged, and a commentary on the hollowness of the Nigerian government in the implementation of policies and a failure of its security architecture. Report from the Human Right Watch (HRW) puts the figures of people killed in the Boko Haram violence has since 2009 as 935 people, and this has become a source of concern for the people, government and the international community.

Okpaga, Ugwu, & Eme (2012b) opine that the dangerous dimension the insecurity challenge has taken becomes a great source of worry as security experts affirm that what is on ground has shifted to the realm of terrorism, a global phenomenon where no one is safe. It is lamentable, however, that the security organizations have failed to tackle the challenges even as they have become the target of terrorists who have never hidden their disdain for the intelligence and law enforcement community. The populace demands a respite from this state of fear and insecurity. The coordinated assaults from the Boko Haram sect in the Northern part of the country, besides

making life miserable for Nigerians, is a danger to the unity and corporate existence of Nigeria. (Onah, 2014) alluded to this fact that Boko Haram is an upsurge from the decay in our political system, corruption, system deficiency, poverty and underdevelopment among others but religion serve to ignite it, in other words it came under the guise of religion. (Sodipo, 2013) and (Salawu, 2010) posit that the emergence of Boko Haram is due to the deep divides between various ethnic groups in the country. This view is also in line with (Kriesberg, 2007)in his work where he analyses the factors that affect the emergence, persistence and transformation of intractable conflicts.

Shuaibu, Salleh, & Shehu (2015), elucidate on Boko Haram as a terrorist group which openly challenged the Nigeria state between Dec 2003- October 2004 and became militarized from 2009. The group went in to hiding only to reappear and change tactics and strategies adopting the tactics of global Salafi- jihadist group including assassination, suicide bombing, kidnapping and hostage taking. He added that although the group is home-grown, and has it root in local grievances, but it has over time grown into regional and international jihadist group having links with Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabab among others. Also, (Adelaja, Labo, & Penar, 2018) traces the origin of the terrorist group to Maitasine in 1980 and posited that the latter match the former in it organization, strategy and operation and link the group to international terrorist groups. He is of the belief that the problem is rooted in weak economy, unresolved national issues, weak state security apparatus and failure to define what is national culture and identity.

Awojobi (2014) traces the historical origin of Boko Haram to socio- political and generational dynamics arising from economic, religious and political conditions such as poor social justice, political and economic mismanagement, and the fracture and dispute between Boko Haram and other Islamic groups that follow the moderate teachings and practice of religion. Other scholars who have written on the origin, nature and activities of Boko Haram include (Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa, 2013b)(Babalola & Onapajo, 2018)(Onah, 2014)(Akinola, 2015; Okpaga, Ugwu, & Eme, 2012a)(Okurut et al., 2017) among others.

From the above, Boko Haram conflict in Nigeria can be attributed to many factors among which are political, ethnic and religious factors. This can also be classified into two; internal and

external. Internally, Boko-Haram conflict is attributed to socio-economic factors that are deep rooted and political-religious differences as well as vengeance over the death of the sect's leader, Ustaz Muhammed Yusuf. Externally, the conflict is part of the global Jihad agenda with international terror groups such as al-Qaedal and al-Shabbab. The conflict is also attributed to international conspiracy, a grand strategy to achieve the predicted disintegration of Nigeria by the year 2015 (Africa in 2020 panel report) (Awedoba, 2014). This is in line with the view of (Alozieuwa, 2012) that Boko Haram security challenges in Nigeria are attributable to socio-economic, political and religious factors. Invariably there is the need for a new approach and strategy to the crisis as the current ones seem incapable in resolving the conflict.

Anjide (2018), writing on the strategic choices, intensity of violence and changing tactics of Boko Haram, illustrates the different aspects of terrorist behavior that determine the evolution of a terrorist group. The behavior of terrorist groups which relates to their ability to function, and without one aspect of such behavior, other explanations will be incomplete, therefore, making any investigation through a single unit simplistic and incomplete. (Anjide, 2018) suggests that multi-level analysis provides a strong methodological advantage in terrorism research. Its flexibility enables the application of more theories and empirical studies for a more systematic and critical debate in terrorism research. He recommends areas for policy actions and future research on Boko Haram.

Adamu & Gana (2019), investigate the socio-economic impacts of Boko Haram crisis in the 'BAY' states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe through the lenses of two parameters; Social impact (Humanitarian crises in the North East) and Economic impact (Direct and indirect economic damage in the North East). According to, the study addresses four objectives namely, to examine the various factors that led to the rise of Boko Haram in the North East (BAY states); to examine the intensity of Boko Haram induced humanitarian crises in Nigeria that swelled the ranks of Internally Displaced Persons in the North East as well as people taking refuge in the neighboring countries; to examine the magnitude of Boko Haram's economic damage in the North East and to examine the effectiveness of responses by state and non- state actors to the Boko-Haram crisis. This was achieved by Utilizing data from secondary and primary sources through bibliographical method and purposive research techniques, which involved the interview of selected key

informants that are germane to the study. Also used was qualitative method of analysis using thematic and interpretive analyses and theoretical frameworks of frustration-aggression and failed state theories.

Findings reveal that the intelligence on Boko Haram was available to the federal government about 14 years before the 2009 uprising. Also, the study found that the impact of Boko Haram crisis has posed danger to the survival of the Nigerian state because of the magnitude of official and unofficial displacements, coupled with economic damage in the region. The study also found that the management of these socio-economic impact by the Nigerian state was not in line with the international standards, most especially the Kampala Convention. The study recommends holistic economic framework, coupled with strategic military approach in tackling the Boko Haram crisis. The study also recommends proper management of IDPs in the region in line with the mandate of Kampala Convention to avoid a second phase of Boko Haram in the future.

2.15 Fulani Herdsmen Pastoral and Farmers' Conflict

The increase of global war is predominantly in the Third World Nations among which Nigeria is one. Since independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria has recorded a major conflict; the civil war (The Biafran war) and several internal wars in different parts of the country. According to (Aliyu, Moorthy, & Idris, 2015), "conflicts in Nigeria are of diverse types and have been on rapid increase since after the civil war (1967-1970)"(pg. 5-6). This had led to the expulsion of 700 pastoralists from Borno State in the northeast in May,2009 and some 2,000 from Plateau in April 2009. According to local authorities (Isah Mohammed Abbass, 2014), these conflicts are mainly attributable to resource control, climate change and divergent value systems in the country.

> The conflict between pastoralists and farmers in Nigeria is an age long conflict which has its root in the economic activities of the people (Usman Bello, 2013) opines that:
> "Our herds are our life, because every nomad's life is worthless without his cattle, what do you expect from us when our source of existence is threatened" (Usman Bello, 2013).

The issue of the land for grazing and for farming often lead to conflict between pastoralists and farmers. The competition between these two agricultural land user groups, however, has often

turned into serious concealed and unconcealed manifestation of hostilities and social friction in many parts of Yobe State. The conflicts have demonstrated high potential to exacerbate the insecurity and food crisis particularly in rural communities where most of the conflicts are localized, with reverberating repercussions nationwide. This incessant resource conflicts witnessed in Yobe State affects livelihood and the security of those involved and resource sustainability for the local communities. Not only has it involved the two parties concerned but it has in recent times led to destruction of lives and properties worth millions of naira. (Bello, 2013b)opine that Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts have remained the most predominantly resource-use conflict in North-eastern Nigeria, especially in Yobe State.

The necessity to provide food crops and livestock, as well as raw materials for industry and export to meet ever-growing demands, has led to extensive use of land. This study describes the traditional relationship between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the incessant resource conflicts witnessed in Yobe State and how it affects livelihood and security of those involved and resource sustainability for the local communities. He concluded that there is the need to identify the causes, repercussions and proffered resolution to the critical issues that are at the root of the conflicts.

The Fulani indisputably represent a significant component of the Nigerian economy. They constitute the major breeders of cattle, the main source of meat, the most available and cheap source of animal proteins consumed by Nigerians. The Fulani own over 90% of the nation's livestock population which accounts for one-third of agricultural GDP and 3.2% of the nation's GDP (Eniola, Adeleke, & Okanlawon, 2016). Furthermore, the contribution of the Fulani to the local food chain and national food security cannot be overemphasized. The Fulani, with their dominance in the Sahel region, are the best known and most numerous of all the pastoral groups in Nigeria.

Conflicts between pastoralists and farmers have existed since the beginning of agriculture and has increased or decreased in intensity and frequency depending on economic, environmental and other factors. For example, increases in the herd sizes, due to improved conditions of the cattle, compelled the pastoralists to seek for more pastures beyond their limited range. Climate

change has constituted a great threat by putting great pressures on the land and thus provoking conflicts between them. However, improvements in human health and population have enhanced a much greater pressure on land.

Fadama agricultural production (riverine and valley-based agriculture practices) has been in practice from time immemorial and have been a great means of food crop production, vegetable and fruits, it has as well being a great means through which water is gotten for animals (Dan-Azumi, 2011). It however, received a boost in 1993 with the initiation and introduction of Fadama National Project by the World Bank. The aim of the project was to assist Nigerian farmers, especially the rural ones with the necessary fund needed to improve their agriculture venture. Interestingly the project has gained popularity over the years and it is currently in its third phase. The current Fadama Development Project (Fadama III) provides a funding of $200 million and the focus is on rice cultivation. However, a couple of other staple foods are included as well. These are cassava and sorghum among others (Dan-Azumi, 2011).

It is important to note that since 1990s, when there has been a cheered development of the Fadama (riverine and valley-based farming) territories and government efforts at providing irrigation for farmers both the farmers and pastoralists have engaged in fierce struggles for access to such valuable lands which, often, result in increased conflicts and violence (Audu, 2014). The types of conflicts for subsistence between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers in North-Eastern Nigeria differ structurally from one region to another. Social and economic influences continue to incite fierce struggles between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers. These struggles have resulted in to great intimidations to the means of subsistence of both the herdsmen and farmers. The conflicts, through confrontational entitlements over access rights to farmland and cattle routes, have become pervasive and yet to be resolved(Isah Mohammed Abbass, 2014).

For instance, routine competition for the insufficient ecosystem resources has led into fierce conflicts in Yobe State between Fulani pastoralists and agriculturists. These struggles have developed into a strong, prevalent and damaging scenario. Environmental and climate change, as well as government policies on agriculture, especially the all-year Fadama farming, hinders herdsmen's access to pasture. As the state could not normalize the mutual cohabitation of her

people in the equitable sharing of the obtainable resources, the citizens may have to resolve to strive amongst themselves ceaselessly for their existence. The inability of the state to sort out the 'settler/ 'indigene' identity and the innate conflicts over the available resources, can be assumed to have resulted into perilous magnitudes of economic and political components in the Fulani pastoralists and agriculturists conflicts (Fiki & Lee, 2004).

Alubo (2005), reports that twelve separate events of farmers'-herders' conflicts between 2001 and 2002 resulted in massive loss of human lives. Dairy cows and property worth tens of millions were destroyed in Taraba State alone. In 2013 alone, more than 300 people lost their lives in Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba and Plateau State due to deadly classes between herders and farmers. Similarly (Okoli & Iortyer, 2014) posit that effects of natural change have exacerbated the herders' problem. More than 35 percent of Nigeria's land mass is undermined by desertification. The misery of shrinking natural space occasioned by ecological changes and increasing population has forced pastoralists from the far North to seek for grazing fields in the North Central region. This has fueled numerous clashes between Fulani herders and local farmers (Akpor-Robaro & Lanre-Babalola, 2016). The situation is further compounded by the fact that the Fulani man's personality and status depends upon the number of dairy steers he has, this naturally drives herders to screen and verify their cows and fight any individual who endeavors to hurt them.

Obioha (2009), posits that in recent times, due to the increasing rate of global warming, the North-East region of Nigeria has been experiencing continuous climatic changes characterized by drastic reduction in rainfall, increase in the rate of dryness and heat, which makes it a fast-growing arid environment, with depletion in the amount of water, flora and fauna. In response to the pastoral and arable farm occupational needs of the people, there has been continuous population drift southward where there are more fauna, flora and water resources. This phenomenon raises important questions that need to be addressed, such as how the pressure over scarce resources and climatic change led to communal civil violent conflict in the area? What have been the patterns over the years? It is against this background, that investigation into the chain of interactions between climate change, population drift and pressure, and conflict over land resources, that (Obioha, 2009), using Environmental scarcity and conflict paradigm

examines the nature of communal civil violent conflicts in the North-East area of Nigeria. The extent to which continuous climate change has contributed to the scenario, the patterns of the climatically induced violent conflicts, the major actors and the policy implications of the conflict in the sub-region are also examined, it further presents a fair critical overview of the weakness and strength of the theoretical postulation of "eco-violence" put forward by scholars in the field of conflict analysis.

In a study done by Olabode, Ajibade & Ajibade in (2010), a survey was conducted in three farmers' communities in Odo-Owa, Oke Ero Local Government Areas of Kwara State. The communities are Kajola, Owa, Ikotun, Igbede, Ilofa, Egosi and Imode and three Fulani settlements Gaa Rore, Atapa and Ajo as a result of the incessant clashes between farmers and herders. It was concluded that the source of the clash was because of stray cows that eat the crops of the farmers, and trample on their farmlands. The study recommended that government at the three levels should construct a grazing reserve for the cows to protect the farmers' crops and enhance sustainable agricultural policies.

In another study done by Audu in 2014, he submits that the reason for the herders and farmers conflict was more because of scarcity of water that has threatened the livelihood of the herders. He concluded this after a survey carried out using 150 farmers, 100 pastoralists, and 50 from government officials, NGOs and members of the public. He concluded that demographic variables like age, religion, tribe, socio-economic status and level of education was not the cause of the conflict.

In another submission, Ofem (2014), decries the approach that herders have employed in creating tension within Yakurr area in Cross River state. He opines that this attitude has led to the contamination of water, destruction of farmland, and indeed raping of women; these, to him, are the basis for conflict. He argues that land is an important resource given to man, and the use of land for economic and social gains, both in the Savanah and the Guinea regions of the country is in controversy, rather the lack of management of the land resources and the invasion of farmlands by herders and the cattle is a veritable source for conflict. The study recommended

that nomadic education was necessary to educate the herders and development of a local mechanism where conflicts between herders and farmers will be minimized.

Another study in Kogi state was undertaken by Ukamaka et al. (2017), to ascertain the reason for the herder and farmers' conflict. A total of 135 randomly selected crop farmers were used. Data was collected by use of structured interviews and focused group discussions and analyzed using descriptive statistics and factor analysis. The results showed that crop farmers were predominantly male (85.2%), married (85.9%) and with mean age of 51 years. They were small scale farmers with average farm size of 2.9 ha and were engaged in the production of yam (97.8%), cassava (92.6%), maize (92.6%) and other arable crops, mainly for income and household food supply.

The farmers concluded that the violation of their customs and livelihood by the herders was the major cause of conflict (Fasona et al., 2016), and this conflict is not only a threat to food security in the country, but an existential threat. (Imo, 2017) in his examination of the demographic implications of nomadic herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria observed that conflicts between farmers and nomadic cattle herders have become a common feature of economic livelihood in West Africa. In recent times, Nigeria has witnessed series of violent clashes arising from the activities of the farmers and nomadic herdsmen, who move about daily with their cattle in search of water and green pastures. This is in line with (Ofem, 2014) in his findings that the clashes between Fulani nomadic pastoralists and farmers owns much to fresh water and greener pasture. In Nigeria, most herdsmen do not own land but graze their livestock in host communities (Audu, 2014).

2.16 The Effect of Boko Haram Insurgence/Terrorist Activities and Nomadic Fulani Pastoralists and Farmers' Conflicts in the North-Eastern Nigeria

The effects of insurgency on an economy could be explained from many fronts. However, (Faluyi et al., 2019),(Dauda, 2014) and (Abdulkarim et al., 2018), are few among scholars that have through their works shown the various ways in which Boko Haram insurgent and terrorist activities have affected the people of Yobe State and North-East Nigeria. (Agbiboa, 2013) postulates on how Boko Haram religious fanaticism induced insurgency and terror in the North-

East combined with corruption, political and ideological intolerance as well as ethnic confrontation which has affected the trade relation and other economic activities in the region. Socio- economic activities in Borno State since 2009 has witnessed considerable decline as people and properties have been subjected to attacks by the insurgents. Boko Haram killed many people and destroyed properties valued at over a billion dollars. They torched buildings, stole properties thereby destroying livelihoods of farmers and forcing hundreds of businesses to close or relocate. The concentration of this sect in the Northern part of Nigeria that is noted for agricultural activities poses a threat to food security in the region and Nigeria in general,(Collier & Bannon, 2003).The effect of insurgency on the economy could be explained from many fronts depending on the aims and objectives of the insurgents and government approach at tackling it, may expose the economy. For instance, government approach to curbing insurgency by closing international borders may affect the flow of commodities resulting to loss of revenue (Call & Wyeth, 2008)(Falomir-Pichastor, Staerkle, Pereira, & Butera, 2012)(Noel, 2005). In the same vain, imposition of curfew, as well as, multiple military/police check-points as a security measure, restrict business transactions. On the agricultural sector, larger percentage of the population in LDCs is involved in livestock farming. Insurgents destroyed large hectares of farmland. Also, millions of livestock have been adversely affected. The fishing industry was also affected as over a million fishermen immigrated to safer places within the country or neighboring countries.

Dan-Azumi (2018), investigated the link between socio-economic expansion and insecurity in Nigeria, and the spread of conflict, particularly in the Northeast. The research reveals a connection between insecurity issues, poverty and unemployment rates in the zone. From the investigation, it was observed that despite improved expenditure by the government, the scores of onslaughts and resulting fatalities continued to increase between 2009 and 2017. It was maintained that for the planned long-term resolutions to the insecurity situation in Nigeria to be operative, they must be established on the rule of law, protecting individual and political freedoms, responsible and open and more importantly, in service to the betterment of her citizenry.

Anyadike (2013), viewed that Nigeria has been tormented by ethno-religious fights with distressing human and resource losses since the reappearance of democracy in 1999. The rising of Boko Haram in July 2009 was substantial with the strengthened efforts to initiate Islamic conservative elements and enforcing a different Islamic religious creed on some secular Nigerian states. Due to the politicians' aggressive aspiration for political power, and the inconsistency of some vocal Islamic influential at condemning the sect, it was difficult to nip them at the outset. This observation was also reported by (Okoli & Orinya, 2013). These inner influences in addition to the rising Islamic fundamentalism across the world had enabled the disposition of a very sensitive Nigerian society to violence. Given the sentiment of the Nigerian people to religious struggle, attacks from Boko Haram may remain a recurring challenge.

Awudu & Ferdinand (2018), pointed out that the group destroys mosque, churches, schools, police station, private and public facilities. This view is also express by(Salawu, 2010) when he says that since 2009 when the insurgents first launched an attack on the state capital, Damaturu and two other towns, the state has continued to witness several attacks, suicide bombings, burning and killing of innocent people, the destruction of houses/schools, properties, markets, shops, government institutions, department and facilities. This necessitated the creation of Special Task Forces by the federal government of Nigeria to bring the ugly situation under control. At some point a biting curfew was imposed to curtail movement and ensure security of lives and property in the state. Yet the insurgents have continued to operate with impunity (Faluyi et al., 2019). The continued burning of schools, government offices and facilities, destruction of farms, shops and indiscriminate killings of human beings have brought untold hardship to the people of the state (Dauda, 2014). Many businesses have closed, economic activities in the state are at a nadir. Many flee to other parts of the country and it is a battle for survival for those who remain. In the wake of the longstanding insecurity, various criminal groups hiding under the cover of Boko Haram, have mushroomed thereby escalating violence and killings in the state .(Muhammad, Bogoro, Haruna, & Buba, 2014) This terrible situation has led to many families losing their bread winners and in extreme cases both couples are killed leaving behind the children to fend for themselves. These orphan and vulnerable youths particularly, young girls have been conscripted as suicide bombers. It was reported that some of the 209 female students of Government College Chibok abducted in 2014 were used as suicide

bombers and for other nefarious activities. The rest were either used as sex slaves or forced into marriage with members of Boko Haram sect (Sodipo, 2013).

Similarly, Adamu & Gana (2019), examine the effects of insurgency on the economic and political development of Yobe States of Nigeria. They believe that one of the major issues affecting the North-Eastern states is the presence of Boko Haram insurgency, which is directly or indirectly affecting the lives, properties of the residents of the states. According to them, Boko Haram insurgency has continually posed a serious threat to the state, using secondary source of data, obtained from documentaries such as journals, articles, magazines, reports, newspapers, thesis and books. The study found that the activities of the insurgent groups are negatively affecting the economic and political development of the state, which has made many youths and the business men unemployed and unsheltered. To support the argument, the researcher adopted Structural Violence Theory, which was propounded by Johan Galtung in 1969. The research recommends that the government should provide the youth and the affected business men with different skills acquisition programmes to discourage and or prevent them from redundancy; the government should, in addition, encourage and support religious leaders to preach peace and tolerance in the state, to restrain the youth from all forms of criminal activities. It should ensure and strictly enforce laws and order to control the activities of all citizens across the state.

Gadzama, Saddiq, Oduehie, & Dariya (2018), assessed the socio-economic functions inducing conflict amongst available resources users in Yunusari Local Government Area of Yobe State, Nigeria. They had used a purposive sampling technique whereby, 115, 46, and 39 candidates doing crop farming, livestock rearing, and fishery, respectively, were carefully chosen through structured discussion fixtures. A notable observation from their investigation is that, sex, age, literacy and the herd size, bare relevant indicators influencing conflict within pastoralists and aqua culturist. The outcome of the conflict resolution models applied in the selected area showed that traditional authorities were the most efficient conflict resolution counsel. From this research, it was recommended that routine review of livestock paths, availability of grazing reserves, alerts on campaigns to intensify obedience to rules and regulations over conflicts on natural resources use, and conflict resolution must be established locally.

Extensive literatures has been reviewed on the interface between stake holders such as Fulani herdsmen, farmers, traditional leaders and government officers as reported by Bello, 2013, Abbas, 2014 and Yekinni,O.T,. Adeniyi R,T., & Adebisi, S.A(2017,among others. Nonetheless, efforts has been made in reviewing more as required for example Gadzama, Saddiq, Oduehie, & Dariya (2018), the conflict resolution models applied in the selected area showed that traditional authorities were the most efficient conflict resolution counsel, this invariably points to the fact that there had been interface between Fulani herdsmen, farmers, traditional rulers in attempt at resolving conflicts, others includes (Isah Mohammed Abbass, 2014)

2.17 Peace Building Strategies and Conflict Prevention

Haugerudbraaten (2010), traced the origin of peace building to the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General's 1992 Agenda for Peace which was conceived as an integral part of UN efforts to promote peace. He argued that the precise definition of the term has remained unclear. As actors ranging from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to Defense Ministries embraced the concept, each made their own contributions to the discourse. As a result, there are several significant differences in its interpretation.

The Secretary General made a point in his initiating the peace building effort that it was inherent in the mechanism for sustained and collective approach that will address economic, social, cultural and humanitarian challenges. He clarified that to achieve this, there must be the process of disarming, restoration of peace, destroying of weapon, repatriating of refugees, training security forces, monitoring elections, advancing the protection of human rights, reforming institutions and promoting political participation.

There is a notion and it is reinforced by Paris (2007), that scholars have not done enough to analyze the concept of peace building and its underpinning assumptions. (Miller & Ireland, 2005), also said the concept is still not mature as he described the Canadian peace building initiative as being etymologically adolescence and undefined. He argued that the use of a single term should not really pose any challenge if scholars recognize its existence and clarify or reinforce the concept in their scholarly work .The idea to further explore better ways of peace building towards enhancing sustainable peace, is the call to endorse UN Secretary General, Kofi

Annan's peace building commission support at the 2005 World Summit of the United Nations with a distinct office and funding for peace building as opposed to the earlier peace keeping and peace-making strategies which had hitherto been a post-conflict peace-making approach centering on peace agreement, implementation and post-conflict resettlements to a preventive approach focusing on a building vibrant civil society, democracy, the rule of law, justice and development. There are currently over twenty-four governmental and inter-governmental organizations or bodies that are currently active in peace building across the globe. The concept of peace building has not only created a big debate among scholars because they have not paid close attention to analyzing it, now that stalemate has crept into the design and implementation as a result of blurred lines. Going forward, the concept, from a design and intent point of view must be very clear so that it can be applied in a life process.

He also argued that the use of the term can commence earnestly, but did recognize that there may not be a consensus immediately on the definition of the term. (Reychler, 2006) elucidates on the challenges facing peace researchers and argued that though there is reduction in armed violence, but poverty, poor economic situation, unemployment are leading to more conflicts which are more severe than armed conflict because they are silent killers, he therefore, calls on scholars not to lose sight of the micro perspective of peace building, which is a holistic approach to peace building through a better understanding of sustainable peace building architecture.

The twin tendencies implied by "An Agenda for Peace" is by no means unique in the literature. In fact, six dimensions of usage of the term "peace-building" can be identified. These dimensions correspond to a list of questions - intended to shift conceptual ambiguities from the back of the mind to conscious awareness and scrutiny. Is peace building about removing the root causes of a conflict or about finding ways to resolve old and new disputes in a peaceful fashion? Do peace-building efforts primarily entail security, humanitarian, economic or political interventions or all of these at the same time? Are the measures employed in peace-building short, medium or long-term ones? Should international involvement in peace-building be a short or medium term or long-term? Who are the main actors in peace-building - indigenous or external actors? Does the word refer to a set of concrete actions taken or is it a generic concept that refers to an overarching thing? Should peace-building be viewed as a top-down or bottom-up process, as a

planned and coordinated process, or as one that, to a large extent, is initiated locally and pursued by a multitude of actors in their field of concern and comparative advantage?

The aim of peace building, according to Galtung (1980), is to promote peace, and he argued that there are two concepts of peace; negative peace which he sees as the absence of violence, and positive peace which is stability that prevents dispute from escalating into conflict. This thought has become the basis of analyzing and addressing the root causes of conflicts which ordinarily is complex, especially in developing countries.

Acemoglu et al., (2019)believe that peace is a celebration of life. Death is a denial of peace. The fundamental postulate of peace is the preservation of human life as far as humanly possible, against human-produced threats of death and destruction. The most fundamental and critical question is: why should human life be preserved? The need for preserving life has been asserted through various perspectives and arguments. The religious view is that God gives life and only God, not humans should take it away, because human life is part of the cosmic scheme of the divine law. The naturalists argue that life is a gift from nature, so let natural law (just natural) not human law, determines the meaning and the duration of life. Secularists consider human life as the culmination of evolution; they believe that Homo sapiens, as the most evolved creatures, have developed civilizations based on intellectual, aesthetic and moral attributes; these attributes facilitate individual and collective self-actualization. Thus, according to all schools of thought, human life is fascinating and challenging, and it should not, therefore, be deliberately destroyed by human hands. In other words, human life is the means of the intellectual and spiritual advancement of human beings.

According Ackermann (2003), the idea of preventing war is not new. It was a dominant theme at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 during which measures to ensure peaceful coexistence between states were reached, prominent among which were mutual consultation, neutral states, peaceful settlement of conflicts and demilitarized zones (Craig & Geoge,1995). Conflict prevention is a central feature of the United Nations charter vi and vii. It empowers the Secretary General and the General Assembly to settle disputes peacefully and prevent an outbreak of Third World War. This object is slightly different from the 1992 United Nations Secretary General's conception

(Boutros Boutros Ghali Preventive Diplomacy) and the post-war peace building initiative which was aimed at supporting and assisting in rebuilding, reconstructing and reconciliation of war-torn societies. This can be considered as post-war "reaction strategy" to prevent the re-occurrence of conflict or crisis. Kofi Annan, (UN Secretary General 2001 -2004) made concerted efforts in moving away from the reactive peace building strategy to preventive peace building which is believed to be more enduring. These views and postulations about what peace building is and what it is aimed to achieve are still an issue of discourse both in theory and practice.

2.18 Approaches to Conflict Resolution

Methods taken by community or group of persons to solve disagreements or effort to decide on conflict resolution means could be consensus, adjudicative or jurisdictive by default. It has been observed that, there exists a "hybrid" procedure which is a combination of the characteristics of the known approaches.

In the consensual model of resolving dispute, the parties involved often decide to process and trash out the disagreement themselves. This approach of dispute control usually follows negotiation, facilitation, and mediation (including public policy negotiation) processes.

The adjudicative style involves a third-party which makes an obligatory choice for the conflicting groups or parties. Resolving dispute through adjudicative approach could be through arbitration and court judgment.

Dispute resolution through legislative or jurisdictive approach is based on rule made by a group, organization, formal legislative body, or ruler. Disagreements over the understanding or use of given rules may be sorted using consensual or adjudicative approaches, and sometimes, force or coercion may be harnessed.

Methods negotiation is a discourse aimed at resolving disputes, leading to an agreement on courses of action. It is an approach that bargains for individual or collective benefit, hence, favorable outcomes that meet differing interests are achieved. It is also an approach that enables two or more parties attempt to agree on a collective decision on matters of general concern in circumstances where they are already in conflict or heading towards possible dispute or conflict.

Negotiation: this process is about how parties negotiate the context in which the negotiation takes place, the parties to the negotiation, the tactics, the sequences and the stages.

Behavior refers to how the parties relate their styles and their communication.

Substance refers to their agenda, the conflict issues, resolution issues, the options and the agreement.

Mediation is Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), or Appropriate Dispute Resolution which is scheduled to assist the two parties in conflict reach a resolution that comes from them. The dispute may involve interested parties like states, communities, individuals or representatives, and mediation brings these parties together to resolve the issues as a third party.
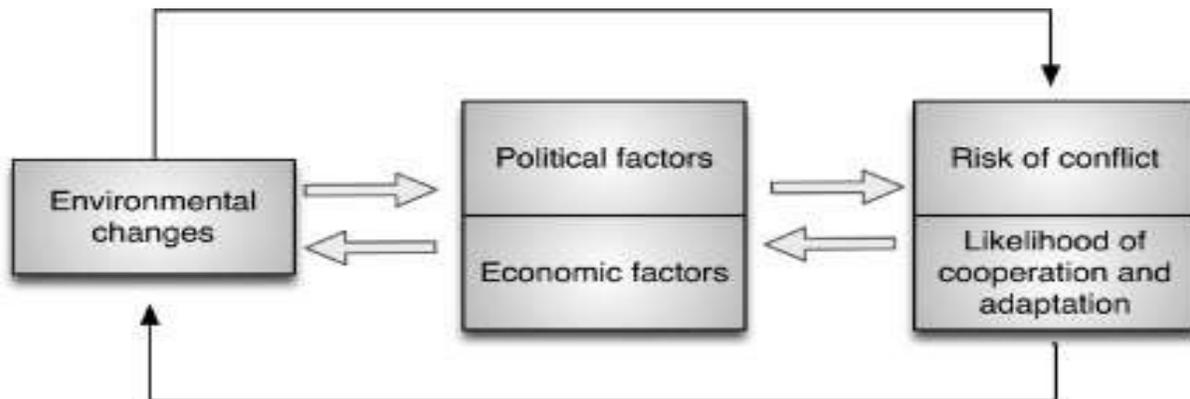
Figure 2.1: Mediation and Consensus Building Process

Source: Desertification in Africa Ouma G O and L. A. Ogallo (2007)

2.19   Efforts and strategies of the Nigerian government in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building

Conflicts are of different types, some are productive, in the sense that they open changes which sometimes, can be desirable and progressive or functional in nature while others are unproductive or dysfunctional. These types of conflicts often bring about crises or threats to the society. Whichever way we view conflicts there are basically certain strategies or procedures for resolving conflicts vis: Understanding the situation, acknowledging that there is a problem, avoiding using coercion and intimidation or emotional outburst, focusing on the problem not the individual or group, establishing guidelines, keeping communication open, acting decisively, not leaving issues in limbo and noting that not everyone needs to necessarily agree with the decision about how a conflict should be resolved.

Despite the successes in the history of peace keeping in countries like Liberia and Sierra Leone, the government in Nigeria has a poor record of peace building mechanism and strategy. Hassan and Umar (2014) argue that further African government only respond to the situation and not root causes. Pate & Dauda (2015) says that the initial terrorist act was based on section 11 of the 1999 constitution and they have always relied on it to even fight criminality. The efforts and strategies employed by government in attempt to resolve conflicts and build peace in Nigeria are varied: Alabi (2010), examines the causes of conflict in Nigeria which, according to him, are rooted in poverty, unemployment and unjust allocation of resources.

Another study in Nigeria by Chinwokwu (2013), examines the issues that lead to conflict in Nigeria, he also observes that insecurity in Nigeria is as a result of various conflicts which has put a lot of burden on the security forces, internal security, peace and development. He said these conflicts are internally and externally influenced to cause disaffection among the ethnic groups and the Nigerian political elite so that they can continue the imperial lordship over the citizens. He canvasses for good governance based on accountability, rule of law and justice, non – existence and involvement of external forces, enlightenment campaigns by government agencies on peace building and teaching peace and conflict studies in schools. This view is expressed by (Alozieuwa, 2012) when he contended that Nigeria's Boko Haram conflict is partly rooted in both internal and external forces aimed at disintegrating the country.

In most of the tribal and ethno-religious clashes, armed men are often being drafted to such areas to subdue and compel people to be law-abiding, a temporary solution which is in most cases, forceful and often aggravate conflicts rather than resolving it and restoring peace (Aghedo, 2017). Little or no consideration is being given to a permanent resolution of conflicts and peace building among the concerned groups after temporary peace has been restored (Albert, 2003). Most of the coercive interventionist strategies employed to solve the myriad socio-political and religious crises in Nigeria has yielded no significant achievements. This is because the approach, according to (Brzoska, 2006), and what is applied is conflict suppression instead of conflict resolution. He contends that the international community sometimes using forceful means has been successful in freezing situations classified as war but that it has been and continues to be considerably less effective in restoring peace in war-torn societies.

However, during the administration of late Umaru Musa Yar-Adua, the civilian President of Nigeria (2007-2009), is opposed to the hitherto coercive strategy of the previous administration. Scholars viewed this as a better strategy. This method was employed to resolve the Niger-Delta crisis which has become a stronghold of the Nigerian government over the years (Usoro et al., 2014). His government took some deliberate, decisive and cardinal steps to resolve the problem and for the first time involving the people of the area. He established the Niger Delta Ministry and allowed amnesty for the people. Scholars have argued that this approach would no doubt provide a platform and guide to articulate effective approach for future conflict management strategies in Nigeria, as opposed to the hitherto military approach to conflict resolution which often escalates or results in more violence in the region. The amnesty option seems to offer a better platform for managing the conflict (Nwagbara, 2016), (Falode, 2016), (Ojo, 2014).

2.20   National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST)

Following the outbreak of deadly conflicts in Nigeria in the year 2000 and beyond, especially the Boko Haram insurgency and terrorist groups in the North-East and the Fulani herdsmen pastoralists and farmers' conflict, as well as other banditry conflicts across the nook and crannies of Nigeria, resulting into unprecedented damages, loss of lives and properties worth billions of naira and displacement of thousands of people from their homes with grave consequences on the country's security and economy. The government was forced to take measures that could bring the security situation under control. This informed the Presidential directive to formulate a robust policy framework that could be used in dealing with the growing wave of insecurity, terrorist activities and other security challenges in the country (Eme, 2018). Thus, a well- coordinated counter-terrorism approach involving all stakeholders were coded National Counter-Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) to be coordinated under the office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA). The office is expected to drive the process of actualizing the objectives and goals of the government which informed the making of the policy and its proposed agencies and earmarking institutions that will see to the implementation of the set policies toward achieving a secured and peaceful country by supporting institutions to develop the capabilities to respond to threats. This was done through the enactment of the Terrorism Prevention Act 2011 and Terrorism Prevention

(Amendment) Act 2013 with due regards to the rights of Nigerians and will operate within the ambit of International Human Rights.

According to President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (Nigeria President 2009-2015):

> As part of my transformation agenda to bequeath a peaceful, secure and prosperous nation where citizen can go about their lives freely and with confidence, I directed that a comprehensive strategy for combating terrorism be developed. The national strategy will give impetus to strengthening coordination and capacity building efforts. It will give clear direction to institutions as to what measures are to be in place to ensure a secure environment for all citizens to contribute to national development. It will also encourage our friends to have confidence in our capacity as a nation I therefore direct the National Security Adviser to set up the necessary machinery and architecture to coordinate and drive this strategy (Pgs 1-48).

Above was the presidential directive which saw the birth of (NACTEST), the first major attempt by the government of Nigeria to address the terror attacks that are being perpetrated by violent extremist organizations against Nigerian citizens and the country.

Other Provisions and Acts aimed at fighting terror activities in Nigeria include:

1.   Terrorism (prevention) (amendment) Act, 2013.This Act amends the Terrorism (Prevention) Act No. 10, 2011, makes provision for extra-territorial application of the Act and strengthens terrorist financing offences.

2.   Money laundering (Prohibition) (amendment) Act, 2012. This Act amends the money laundering (prohibition) Act, no. 11 2011 to expand the scope of money laundering offences and enhance customer due diligence measures.

The first edition of the counterterrorism strategy was developed and launched in 2014 and was reviewed in 2016. NACTEST is a nation-wide collection of counter-terrorism efforts bordering on the deployment of carrot-and-stick approach in fighting terrorism. While the strategy is coordinated by Office of National Security Adviser (ONSA), several Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) now have clear-cut roles to play in its implementation. According to the policy, each of the MDAs would now have a NACTEST desk, based on their core mandates to forestall threats, secure territories, identify, prepare and implement policy directives. NACTEST

is also the first published document that has chronicled the country's effort at combating an apparently new phenomenon.

NACTEST is a subset of the overarching National Security Strategy. Terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon in Nigeria, although terror related acts had occurred in the 1950s in Kano and again in 1982 the Maitatsine uprising was recorded. NACTEST is organized around five work streams each with its key objectives' vis: 1. Forestall: To prevent people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism. 2. Secure: Strengthen protection capacity against attacks. 3.Identify: Pre-emption through detection, early warning and ensuring terrorist acts are properly investigated. 4. Prepare: To mitigate the impact of terrorist attack by building resilience and redundancies to ensure continuity of business. 5. Implement: A framework for the mobilization of coordinated cross-governmental efforts.

Conversely, this has led to the different counter terrorist efforts by the military through joint efforts by the Air-force, Navy, and the regular soldiers popularly referred to as Military Joint Task Force (MJTF) in their effort to combat the menace of terrorism and other security challenges, especially in the North-East region of the country that has been under the siege of Boko Haram and the Fulani herdsmen /Farmers' conflict as well as banditry activities in different parts of the country. Although success is said to have been achieved in degrading the terrorist group, but much is still needed to be done as the group has continued to unleash mayhem in the North-East region. It is important to note that the policy is fraught with some loopholes as pointed out by (Eme, 2018) in his work Inter-Security Agency Rivalry as an Impediment to National Counter Terrorism Strategy in which he shows the lack of coordination and suspicion among the Forces in their attempt at implementing the objectives of NACTEST. Other identified loopholes include: embezzlement of fund, poor equipment, logistic problems and lack of coordination among others. Okoli & Orinya (2013), alluded to this fact in their study on "Evaluating the Efficiency of the Military in the Fight against Terrorism in Nigeria".

As part of Nigerian government effort to curtail and forestall the continued escalation of violence, especially the Boko Haram terrorist activities which available reports point to the fact that the terrorist group is been finance by top individuals, groups and international terrorist

organizations both within and outside the country, the Nigerian government has, since 2004 enacted the Money Laundering Acts 2004, 2011 and 2013 as a strategy for fighting terrorist activities (Enobi, 2016). The Act is aimed at tracking and carrying out surveillance on money and financial transfer from individuals, groups or organizations to support, aid and abet terrorist activities or any criminal activities. It provides for trial of offenders in the process of terrorist or criminal activities which is aimed or intended to undermine the security and national integrity of the Nigerian state. Apart from the military counter-insurgent strategy which is believed in some quarters to be succeeding while others doubt its possibility of resolving the on-going terror conflict. Several other strategies have been employed, one of which is the Amnesty strategy, often referred to as Yaradua strategy.

The Yar-Adua model appears to have been adopted by the Yobe State government at the earlier stage in its handling of the Boko Haram conundrum. The state government has since 2001 when the terrorist group was first identified in Kanama, a suburb region of the state, swung into action by calling the attention of the federal government to the urgent need to stem the group by nipping their activities in the bud. This call was heard by the government as the group was immediately dislodged and they went into hiding only to resurface years later.

The state government under the leadership of Alhaji Ibrahim Geidam initiated civilian vigilante groups made up of traditional hunters and retired military men to provide support for the conventional army. Young energetic groups across the state to the ward level under the name Civilian Joint Taskforce (JTF) were formed, financed and provided with facilities and logistics to assist them in their operations towards curbing the crises. The state government also provides the police and the army with items such as housing, Hilux vehicles and other logistics aimed at enhancing their operational performance in dealing with the crises. Others include feeding and motivational facilities and supports from the state level to the local government level. The employment of youths as Civilian Joint Task Force in collaboration with the conventional police and other military and para-military forces is also elucidated on by (Daniel E Agbiboa, 2013) in his work, National Heroes or Coming Anarchy? Vigilant Youth and the "War on Terror" in Nigeria, opined that there are growing concerns that the Yan-Gora are a "coming anarchy" and

therefore, calls on the government to provide empowerment opportunities for them to prevent future Boko Haram that might grow up from such gathering.

As part of efforts towards bringing the situation under control, the Muhammadu Buhari government has intensified efforts in procurement of military hardware machine guns, fighting rockets, jet fighters and training of military personnel both within and outside the country, as well as, seeking international co-operation and assistance to bring the situation under control (Muhammed & Oladimeji, 2017). Relocation and resettlement efforts are on, rebuilding and reconstruction efforts are in progress though not without constraints and alleged sabotage from some elements in the military, members of the ruling party, APC see the crisis as a money-making venture and want it to continue. Notwithstanding, peace processes has been intensified and the insurgent group encouraged to embrace dialogue to bring about peaceful co-existence (Chinwokwu, 2013).

2.21   Alternative Conflict Resolution Strategies

According to (Mac Ginty, 2010), recent years have witnessed a resurgence of interests in indigenous, traditional and customary approaches to peace making in the context of civil wars. and traditional approaches by Western approaches, this is also in line with the vie of (Onigu-Otite & Albert, 1999).Similarly, (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014) opined that conflict resolution in traditional African societies provides opportunity to interact with the parties concerned, it promotes consensus-building, social bridge reconstructions and enactment of order in the society.

The 1998 report by UN Secretary-General on 'The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa' records 'the reintegration of ex-soldiers and others into profitable society' as one of the needs of post-struggle peace building. In mid-2000, the UN Secretary-General issued a report on 'The Role of the United Nations Peace keeping in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration' which reiterates the significance of retirement and reintegration in peace building. What's more, the Brahimi Report (2000) alluded to deactivation and reintegration as key to present war security and on decreasing the probability

of contention repeating itself. A few nations in Africa have, in the previous two decades, experienced procedure of deactivation and reintegration related to the goals of rough clashes.

The encounters in Angola, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe have all been diverse in their unmistakable political and financial settings. All things considered; they additionally have likenesses. More than twelve UN offices and programmes and other global and local NGOs subscribe to the programmes of deactivation and reintegration. This is a very vital point given Nigeria's security and violent conflict situation. The proliferation of small arms and local production of arms are of grave concern to the government in achieving a peaceful society. Knight (2008) alludes to this fact that it will seem difficult if not impossible to resolve conflict and achieve peace (peace building) without disarmament and integration. Both (Kingma, 2002) and (Knight & O.zerdem, 2004) belief that demobilization and reintegration are essential parts of post-conflict peace building in Africa.

The strategies and techniques to conflict resolution and peace building is inexhaustible as different scholars put forward different styles and methods such as collaborative strategy, that is, finding common ground by people in resolving conflict and making peace through people's participation, mediation, a new vision of good neighbourliness, shifting from rights to interest, building cohesion and communities seeking ways to reduce violence. All these and many more are evolving ways and strategies to conflict resolution and peace building. (Ajaegbo, 2014)also shares this view.

Olaoye (2005), writing on native knowledge and conflict resolution in post-colonial Nigeria, highlights the traditional internal institutions of conflict resolution and suggests how they could be adapted to the modern judicial system of conflict resolution to achieve sustainable peace. According to him, the traditional mechanism for conflict resolution has its root in the people's culture guided by their tradition, norms, and values. It takes cognisance of people's culture and is very effective also due to the mystic aspect of culture in traditional society. Thus, in traditional societies there were traditional, political, cultural and metaphysical mechanisms for resolving

70

conflicts and this made conflict resolution very effective. (Zartman, 2018) alludes to this position in his writing on traditional conflict resolution strategy for Africa.

Tremblay & Nikolenyi (2008), Peace and Conflict: Alternative Strategies of Governance and Conflict Resolution, surveys the available mode of conflict resolution and proffers another platform for analyzing the basic sources of conflict at the community, state, and interstate levels. It was reiterated that, the success of efforts aimed at creating long-term peace, both among and within nations, depends on the extent to which, democratization incorporates the norms and values of the societies in question.

Joseph (2015), analyses communities' indigenous ways to deal with peace-making and conflict resolution and tries to see if governments' reactions are in conformity with native information of peace making and conflict resolution through the analysis of Msinga towns in the North of the Natal Province. It centers on tribal wars, which have a long history in the research area; the scars of brutality are still fresh in the psyches of people living in these regions. The discoveries of the research show that there is still doubt between individuals from these networks to the degree that any pressure can prompt viciousness. The discoveries additionally show that, although there have been and still are numerous peace-making and conflict resolution activities, these appear to be insufficient in achieving peace and the feeling of a unified network. Moreover, numerous nearby natives and women accept that government forced approach have constrained their viable support in peace making and conflict resolution.

Mazrui (1981) posited that from the point of view of promoting conflict resolution and protecting minimum social justice, at least three types of governmental institutions would need to be created in the Africa of tomorrow: judicial, administrative and diplomatic. The judicial process would have to be entirely African, drawing Judges from only African countries and guided by legal principles acceptable to African societies. The administrative mechanisms for conflict resolution and reduction of violence could also be entirely African and shall propose ways of creating African institutions which could link up with world institutions. As for diplomatic mechanisms for conflict resolution, these must be, especially placed within a world context, combining sensitivity to African opinion with a concerned awareness of world public opinion. It

is to these factors that we must now turn. (Mazrui, 1981) argues for the need for Africa to evolve and develop her own indigenous judicial, administrative and diplomatic institution with Africans as the key players who are knowledgeable about Africa culture and tradition and are in better position to adjudicate on African issues such as the Tutsi issue in Rwanda and Burundi.

It is, therefore, evident that conflict and crises is on the increase all over the world with intensity within nations and counties. Therefore, it is imperative to seek ways, methods and strategies of reducing and resolving conflicts.

Goodhand & Hulme (1999) opined that:

1. There exists a general ideology that peace entails social changes and must beestablished over time.

2. Peace incorporates economic, social, cultural, political and humanitarian aspects of life; it is indeed more than the disappearance of brutality or dispute and comprises ideas on sustainable development and social justice.

3. Peace building is not an occasion with a specific beginning and end; rather it is a process which occurs previously, during and after violent conflicts.

4. Peace building is presumably not a precise action but an aftermath of an activity (defined by its outcome or process).

5. It is based on the premise that societies affected by violent conflict still contain individuals, groups, attitudes and processes that promote peace.

Though conflicts and resolutions has been a complex issue in the world, however, it is more intricately complex in Africa and other developing countries. According to Jacob et al (2019), because of lack of tolerance for religion, ethnic and cultural diversity, but studies show that conflicts with ideological, ethnic and religious beliefs are complex and difficult to resolve.

Nigeria is a case study where conflict resolutions have been a onerous task to undertake in the various communities where they exist like the farmer and herders crises, the Jos crises, Ife and Modakeke crises, the Niger Delta crises are constantly re-occurring despite efforts by the government of Nigeria. However, in a community in Ebonyi state, the indigenes have set up

mechanism to resolving all conflicts using the indigenous processes which is based on fairness and justice. This is the reason why Jacob et al (2019) argue that Africa has a traditional mechanism that should be exploited to resolve all conflicts. This mechanism and process was tested in Amazi community in Ebonyi where traditional oath taking has been enshrined in the traditional process. This is so effective since Africans still believe in the mystical powers of their communities, and this helps in quickly resolving all issues after the oath taking exercise. This exercise is prevalent in other African societies, and thus the argument of the author that this process can be exploited in conflict resolution and adopted by mediators, including policy makers.

2.22   Conclusion

Several scholars' works have been consulted and reviewed ranging from conceptualization of the terms used such as conflict, conflict resolution, conflict transformation, peace building, types and sources of conflicts, democracy, nexus between democracy and conflict resolution, democracy and its crises, origin and nature of conflicts in Nigeria, origin of Boko-Haram insurgence and terrorist activities, the Fulani pastoralists and farmers' conflict, effect of the conflicts on the socio-economic life of the people as put forward by different scholars efforts and strategies that have been employed in conflict resolution in Nigeria, such as the Counter Insurgence Strategy and other strategies employed elsewhere as well as alternative conflict resolution strategies such as traditional conflict resolution, integrated conflict resolution approach and other methods that have been employed in conflict resolution and peace building in different parts of the world, especially in Africa which may serve as a lesson and reference point to the Nigeria scenario. Literature review showing the linkages between democracy and conflict resolution were vividly reviewed as well as the criticism of the linkages.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is centered on methodology which focuses on the approach, instrument and processes that are employed and undertaken in carrying out the research. Thus, it appraises the methodology and framework, population, research instruments as well as practical procedures. According to (Neuman, 2007), Methodology is a principled pattern or stipulated principles of procedure of doing things or for performance of work and job process. It is the scientific study which deals with principles of procedure, it includes assumptions and values that serve as rationale for research work and the standard data to arrive at a dependable conclusion, it is the systematic or step by step way of gathering, recording, analyzing and interpreting data about an observed issue or problem(Tuli, 2010).

Social science methodology largely depends upon survey methods in its research endeavor as it has the advantage of having a great deal of information from a larger population. It can also be adapted to obtain personal and social facts, beliefs and attitudes. Survey research method is a descriptive research used for the collection of data from the representative sample of the target population. This usually includes research design, study population, sample technique, sample size, methods of data collection and method of data analysis, among others(Krathwohl, 1993).

3.1 Research Design

Research design is a plan, structure, procedure and strategy for research that spans the decision from broad assumption to detailed methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Kettles, Creswell, & Zhang, 2011) that the researcher wants to adopt in finding answers to research questions. The design of this research is exploratory because it is aimed at seeking explanation about people's experience, their feelings, knowledge about conflict, the effect of conflict on the life of the people and what efforts has been made in attempt to resolve the conflicts and how successful or otherwise has those strategies been. In this context, a mixed method comprising of qualitative and quantitative methods are used.

Mixed method research resides in the middle of a continuum of qualitative and quantitative. It incorporates both elements of qualitative and quantitative methods. (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007), are of the opinion that mixed method is important because it suggests an orderly, meticulous, effective and laborious formation of relations of means that permit the precise forecast of conclusions under a set of circumstances and which is unique to the inquiry (conflict resolution and peace building), while quantitative research allows for collection and analysis of numerical data, qualitative gives room for interpretation and analysis. This is to say that mixed method gives room for the collection and analysis of narrative data and numerical data in order to obtain overlapping and different aspects of the research questions for a more understanding of the situation under study. It is imperative to say that in a research of this nature and for a thorough analysis of the narrative responses from various respondents gathered from the field survey through questionnaire and interview coded into numerical data for the purpose of interpretation and analysis, interpretive method is used to give meaningful understanding of issues under inquiry.

Sinha & Kumar (2004), posit that in interpretative method, the researcher is concerned with individual knowledge of the respondents, and study aims to get in-depth and thoughtful responses of individuals or groups' insight on the issue. (Flick, 2007) argues that interpretive technique study involves individual or group activities grounded on an issue and its resolution (conflict resolution and peace building). Because this is a mixed method, we will interact and interview a representative sample to elicit richer data and to gain depth of respondents' responses on the issue of conflict resolution and peace building rather than running the study through the entire population in the zones or state.

3.2 Rationale for using the Mixed Method

Mixed approach is applied in this study because it permits the researcher to comprehend and capture more deeply the explanation and understanding of selected respondents on conflict resolution and their views about the degree of conflict, its root causes and approaches to resolving it which also involve numerical data, or narratives transposed into numerical values for the purpose of meaningful understanding and analysis, this is in line with (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007), when they posit that: Mixed research methods takes us beyond the research

lab into the world to ask questions, to understand, to describe and sometimes to explain social phenomena, (Flick, 2007)by investigating and analyzing the experiences of individuals or groups, by analyzing interactions and networks, by analyzing documents or other evidence of experiences and interactions. Mixed research accesses experiences and the concepts to be studied and can be developed and refined as the research is conducted according to (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007), a combination of this methods in research enhances the validity, credibility and evaluation of research findings as the methods help complement each other. Data is collected through questionnaire administered on 588 respondents and thirty-four interviews conducted.

3.3 Population of the Study

Population refers to a group of persons or object that poses one or more common characteristics, where a sample is drawn for the purpose of study from the entire or larger population. The larger population in this study is the population of Yobe state which, according to the National Population Commission 2006 census report is, 2, 321.33 made up of seventeen local government areas and of which a sample size of 601 respondents has been randomly taken as sample size through survey (administration of questionnaire) using Cochran sample size determination formula while 34 respondents have been purposely selected for the purpose of interview.

3.4 Data Collection

Primary data is used for this study.

The researcher will collate his data from respondents' biodata such as marital status, gender, age and academic qualification. Similarly, information on their means of livelihood, economic activities, their major occupation, age of respondent as at the time of the crises (the respondents between 10-18 years as at 2018) The economic activities engaged in by various respondents will give insight into how the crises have affected or impacted on their livelihood, as well as, determine which category of people are mostly affected by the crises (male, female, children, youth or adult), their knowledge about the causes of the conflict and how it can be resolved. For this study, Questionnaire (structured) and Key Informant Interview (KIIs) and In-depth Interview (IDIs) is employed to gain a better understanding of the remote and immediate causes of conflict in the study area, as well as, their view of the possible strategies of resolving it. The content and design of the questionnaire and key informant interview and In-depth Interview will be critically

re-evaluated to ensure effectiveness in its use for gathering the necessary data. By so doing, it will ease the rigor of handling data for data processing and analysis. The questionnaire is administered randomly while the interview is purposely conducted. Those to be interviewed have already been identified and will be contacted in due course through appropriate authorities, notification and informed consent letters.

3.5 Sampling

Sampling is typically a method used in research to minimize cost (time and finance) involved in the research process. Sampling as a method, is an illustrative group of individuals selected from a whole populace upon which description can be made and deduction drawn. In this context, respondents in qualitative research are not necessarily selected because they meet statistical necessities, but because their characteristics add to and supplement the structure and character of what is being studied (conflict resolution and peace building). The individuals that can provide the utmost insight into the issue are generally those who have had understanding and who can offer rich data needed for the research work. For this reason, this study will select respondents who were either involved, affected or who witnessed the conflict.

3.6 Sample Size Determination

The researcher determines the sample size based on the outlay of the data collected from a broad base population that is representational in the study as discussed below. The sample size is important in the research process as it includes among other actions, the skill of selecting respondents from a population that will validate the inferences that will be made from the study. Given that the supply of resources to conduct research is sometimes limited, determining the sample size to work with in carrying out a research becomes very vital, (Erik, 2015). In this regard, this research employed "Cochran's sample size formula" for determining the sample size for data collection from the three senatorial constituencies that makeup the state vis:

Table 3.1: Distribution of Questionnaire to Respondents in the Seventeen Local Government Areas of Yobe State.

S/N	Local government area	Number of questionnaires Distributed	Male	Female	Total population	Percentage
	Zone A. Yobe East	205	108	96	790.058	34%
1	Gulani	27	14	13	103,516	13%
2	Gujba	33	17	16	129797	16%
3	Damaturu	22	11	11	87,706	11%
4	Tarmuwa	20	10	10	77,667	10%
5	Geidam	41	21	20	155,740	20%
6	Bursari	29	15	14	109,692	14%
7	Yunusari	33	17	15	125940	16%
	Zone B. Yobe South	189	99	90	731.073	31.5%
8	Fika	36	19	17	136,736	19%
9	Potiskum	53	28	25	204,866	28%
10	Nangere	23	12	11	87,517	12%
11	Fune	77	40	37	301,954	41%
	Zone C. Yobe North	207	107	101	800,208	34.5%
12	Machina	17	9	8	60,994	8%
13	Nguru	41	21	20	156,699	20%
14	Karasuwa	27	14	13	105,514	13%
15	Bade	35	18	17	139,804	17%
16	Jakusko	60	30	29	232,45	29%
17	Yunusari	29	15	14	110,739	14%
	Total		315	286	2,321.339	100%

On gender, three hundred and fifteen (315) i.e 52.41% of the questionnaire is administered on males who constitute 1,205034 of the population and two hundred and eighty-six (286) questionnaire i.e 47.59% is administered on women who constitute 1,116305 of the population. A total of thirty-four (34) respondents purposely selected are interviewed, that is fourteen (14)

respondents from zone A. (made up of seven local government areas). Eight (8) respondents from zone B (made up of four local government areas) and twelve (12) respondents from zone C (made up of six local government areas). That is, two respondents are purposely selected from each of the seventeen local government areas on the ground of their experience and their role directly in the conflict resolution and peace building efforts. They may be from the military, civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations. They may also be political activists, representatives of international organizations, traditional leaders and the academia who have carried out similar researches in the area under study. A gate keeper letter will be sought from the respective local government Chairmen, the police and where necessary the ward or village Heads before embarking on the collection of data. Also, letter of notification with interview guide and letter of consent will be applied (Appendix ii).

Cochran's formula for sample size determination is stated below:

$$n_o = \frac{z^2\, pq}{e^2}$$

Where p, is the (estimated) proportion of the population which has the attributes in question, q = 1- P and e, is the desired level of precision (i.e. margin of error) which is +or- 0.04 and Z =1.96 (obtained from Z table).

3.7 Selected Sample

An example is a little division of a specific populace that has been examined. Test is accepted to be a gathering of people, articles or things from which tests are drawn for estimation. "It likewise alludes to a whole gathering of people or components that share no less than one thing for all intents and purpose" (Goodhand & Hulme, 1999).

The objective gathering for this examination is six hundred and one respondents spread over the three senatorial voting demographics of the state. This examination utilized irregular testing technique for information gathering (Mouton & Marais, 1988). What's more, this inspecting technique gives equivalent chance to all individuals from the general public (Thorne, Jensen, Kearney, Noblit, & Sandelowski, 2004) encourages analysts to - 4"select cases that will best empower him/her to respond to the examination question (s) and meet his/her targets".

79

3.8 Data Analysis

In this study, data analysis is interpretive. This technique is used to discover and appreciate forms of collective opinions and views between the people on the subject matter and any inconsistencies in their views. Since this is a qualitative study using an interpretative approach, it is expected that connotations, attitudes and insights of those who are interviewed were derived from their own experiences as expressed in the collection of primary data from respondents through the survey (Questionnaire and interview). The collected data is categorized using Stata, a Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) which is used to categorize the data collected into thematic areas which is then interpreted and analyzed; charts, tables, histogram and diagrams are used to illustrate the findings of this research work, the effect of the conflict on the people and others.

3.9 Data Analytical Techniques

The data collected from the field were subjected to both descriptive and inferential statistical analytical tools. Descriptive statistics such frequency distribution, mean values cross-tabulation analyses, and graph bar chats were used to describe the respondents' specific socio-economic characteristics, the nature and extent, duration and prevalence of violent conflicts in Yobe State, Nigeria. Further, weighted mean score (WMS) analysis was applied on the scale statements developed to reflect the causes of conflict and conflict resolution strategies in the study area. Similarly, reliability analysis was carried out using Cronbach's alpha for 5 item scale as reflected by the weights attached to each of these rating scales; and in respect of the statements developed about the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the research study area. Meanwhile, censored Tobit regression analysis was applied to estimate the factors hampering/affecting the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace building strategies in the study area.

Tobit Model Specification

$Y_i^* = \beta X_i + e_i$

$Y_i^* = 0$, if $Y_i = 0$

$Y_i^* = Y_i$ if $0 < Y \leq 1$

where:

Y_i^* is the effectiveness-index of conflict resolution strategies

β is a vector of unknown parameters;

X_i is the vector of independent variables;

where:

i = 1, 2.......................n;

The hypothesized independent variables are:

X_1 = Age of the farmers

X_2 = Years of education

X_3 = Marital status

X_4 = Occupation

X_5 = Causes of conflict

X_6 = Nature of conflict

X_7 = Groups involved in conflict

e_i is a disturbance term assumed to be independent and normally distributed with zero mean and constant variance σ.

3.10 Reliability

The research instrument was pre-tested to ensure it measures the research objectives by respondents understanding the questions in the questionnaire. This is in line with Sandelowski's (2000) submission that a research instrument must be subjected to a pretest before deployment to the research field. The pretest was conducted in Damaturu which is a local government area, and the political capital of Yobe State which is one of the research locations.

The result of the pretest evaluation was that the questionnaire was clear and consistent with the research objectives. To further ensure the measuring perception and standardization of the instrument, the Likert scale measurement responses were adopted. This was based on statistical proof that the Likert scale is adequate for measuring the degrees of responses, especially for studies that aim at measuring perceptions, feelings and experiences (Sandelowski, 2000). The instrument was further confirmed by calculating the internal consistency reliability using two methods of interpreting the data returned from the pre-test to establish that it collected the data that was needed for the research.

3.11 Validity

After the themes, the researcher then structured the variables into the respective themes to ensure understanding by the respondents. There were multiple choice questions provided on the questionnaire, and the option of the respondents expressing themselves so that meanings can be generated from their responses was also provided. Expert's reviews from relevant fields like Communication, Sociology and Psychology were engaged to help in scrutinizing the questionnaire for validity.

3.12 Ethics

This research work is carried out in line with the code of conducts and ethical provisions provided by the University of KwaZulu-Natal which is sought through application for Ethical clearance from the University Authority. Necessary permission is sought from other relevant organizations where necessary before the conduct of the research. The researcher also ensured that anonymity and confidentiality is guaranteed for respondents, as all information gathered is used strictly for academic purpose for which the information is intended. No one is forced to partake in answering the questionnaire or interview and information gathered from individuals or group will under no circumstance or condition, be disclosed to any other person or organization.

3.13 Conclusion

This chapter centered on the methods and approaches used in planning and structuring the research work and the procedure used in the collection and analysis of data. It entails research design, mixed method, population of the study, data collection, sampling, sample size determination, sample size, data analysis reliability, validity and ethical considerations that are put into consideration in the process of conducting the research in line with the provision of the University of Kwazulu Natal and the study area.

CHAPTER FOUR

Theoretical Framework of Analysis

4.0 Introduction

Theoretical frame work of analysis in any research work is grounded on the fact that it provides plausible explanation for issues and subject matters of discussion and give solid bases for argument and analysis of any given subject under examination and in most cases must have been used or employed by researchers and intellectuals in research. Before situating this research work within the appropriate theoretical framework, it is important to view some of the theories that have been employed by scholars in conflict, conflict resolution and peace building, few of which are Institutional explanation of democratic peace theory (De Mesquita, 2006). The Public and its Problems an Essay in Political Inquiry (Dewey & Rogers, 2012) Crisis and Problem of Democracy (Cunningham, 2002) Democratic Peace Theory, Conflict Transformation Theory, Political Economy Theory as well as related theories such as Basic Needs Theory and Theory of Change (Lauder, Young, Daniels, Balarin, & Lowe, 2012) among others.

According toDavis Jr (2015), the institutionalization of peace research did not begin until years after 1945, although a related development took place earlier in 1918 with the establishment of International Relations as a distinct field of study with focus on relation among states and their peaceful interaction and co-existence. According to (Lederach, 2012), Conflict Resolution as a field of study started in 1950 and 1960s in the wake and after the cold war as a result of increase in conflict in different part of the world increase interest in the study of conflict resolution continued for example in South Africa at the Center for Inter-Group Studies with focus on the developing confrontation between Apartheid and it challengers which began in 1980. In the Middle East, peace processes and workshops on conflict resolution started and in Northern Island, community relation initiatives on conflict resolution and peace building commenced (Lederach, 1995). Conversely, theories of conflict and conflict resolution as well as peace building begin to evolve.

Alluding toAugsberger (1992) cited in (Stewart, 2016) and (Mayer, 2012)'s positions that it is the existence or occurrence of conflict that leads to the emergence of conflict resolution and

peace building, in order words, without conflict there will be no need for conflict resolution and peace building and that the understanding of conflict (root cause of conflict) as well as a good and deep knowledge of the factors influencing the occurrence of conflicts is not only imperative but necessary for effective conflict resolution.

4.1 Democratic Peace Theory

Democracy as propounded by its founding fathers such as Aristotle, John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Alexis de Tocqueville and Schumpeter, has often been the bedrock for peaceful coexistence in all contemporary societies (Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009), (Joshua, 2013), (Chinwokwu, 2013). This is probably because the promotion of democracy (liberal democracy) is desirable by the West given the universal claim or belief that democrats do not go to war with one another. According to (Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009), who reiterated (Ake, 2001) that there are two reasons that have been promoted for advancing liberal democracy as a conflict resolution or management and transformation strategy in Africa; the first is that democracy promotes and provides the compromise and general reason for containing conflict in a divided or plural society (Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009) and the second is that through the process of change of government or institutional design procedures, elections can be an opportunity for conflict resolution and management rather than a forceful and violent means or ways of effecting changes in government, such as the military autocracy (Jega, 2010); (Kew & Kwaja, 2013).

There is a growing trend in the world towards democracy, and there are about 120 countries that now hold general elections that are adjudged to be free and fair. Many internal conflicts end with a negotiated peace which includes an electoral process aimed at building political structures acceptable to all, and the parties themselves agree to deliver on a sustainable peaceful settlement through a democratic transition (Harris & Chapman, 2004),(Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009).

Democracy and elections are vital and core concepts of the liberal paradigm of conflict resolution and management in Africa (Kaur, 2007); (A. K. Fayemi, 2009); (Abubakar & Gorondutse, 2013), derived from the Western socio-historical and political experience. Liberal political science theorists have arrived at certain generalizations on the relationship between democracy, elections,

conflict management, and the prevention of wars (Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009).

Democracy being a method provides the procedure, channels, guidelines and
institutions through which various groups can peacefully pursue their interests and are unlikely to resort to the more costly and illegal strategy of rebellion which may result to conflict. Democratic government provides an acceptable framework by which leaders are chosen through periodic, competitive elections devoid of violence (Abubakar & Gorondutse, 2013). Therefore, so much is expected from viz; conflict resolution, peace building, economic development, equality, accountability, rationality, freedom, justice, and stability (Jega, 2010). However, some scholars have argued that democracy does not provide all these and has not, in history, been responsible for all the values supposedly inherent in it as expounded by its proponents. Among the people with this perception of democracy, according to (Crozier et al., 1975), argues that democracy has abused individuals' fundamental human rights and liberties but the relationship between the existence of democracy and individual liberty is high. Huntington's view is that democracy can be unruly, but there are not much politically and civil motivated violence and this makes it less prone to autocracy. Also, democratic governments do not use violence against their citizens as authoritarian governments do.

Huntington believes that democracy creates an atmosphere for shared framework by which conflicting interests are mediated upon. Also, democracy provides accepted channels for oppositi on interest to express their views, and it allows a process where political leaders can be changed through elections, and by that extension, public policies. Contrary to conventional opinion that civil wars in Africa are caused by ethnicity, (Ayelazuno,2007) argues that they are rather caused by high levels of poverty, heavy dependence on resource- based primary exports, and especially failed political institutions.

He posits that political freedom and the right political institutions can promote inter-group co-operation and stable growth-oriented states in Africa. The best and fastest strategy to reduce the incidence of conflicts in Africa is to commence democratic reforms that can effectively manage the socio- cultural diversity of African societies (Kinsella & David, 2008). Democratic principles provide the essential starting point for implementation of such settlements, which usually involves

not only democratizing the state but also giving more power to civil society (Kew & John, 2008). Once political actors accept the need for peaceful management of deep-rooted conflicts, democraticsystemsofgovernmentcanhelpthemdevelophabitsofcompromise,co-operationand consensus building (Suifon, 1992).

This view is also expressed by Dixon et al., (2007) in his writing on democracy and the management of international conflicts using democracy war hypothesis by focusing on the norms of dispute resolution in the democratic process. He argues that if we extend these norms to the international ground, then it becomes reasonable to expect democratic states to adopt compromise solutions in international problem. In his theoretical explanations on the democratic peace theory (Contending theory of democracy) (Paris, 2010)¸explains that democracy has all that it takes to resolve conflicts and make peace with conflict resolution and peacebuilding proce sses.Nonetheless, scholars such as (Rosato, 2003) and (Runciman, 2017), analyze the flawed logi c of democratic peace theory. They   submit that the confidence trap   shows   the   lapses   in   a democratic system and the inability to resolve conflicts and ensure peace.

Democratic peace theory otherwise referred to as democratic conflict resolution theory are also viewed in various ways by scholars, most of who lay emphasis on the ability of democracy to resolve conflicts and enhance peace. One of the theories is the Dyadic Level Claims (Rousseau et al., 1996). Generally, dyadic level studies argue that democratic states are disposed toward avoiding war against each other. The reasons given for this are often grouped into two general sets of theories: cultural and structural. Cultural explanations portray 'democracy' as a political culture, where norms, values, perceptions, and practices are said to predispose democracies toward peaceful relations with each other.

The democratic citizenry is informed by powerful norms which discourage the use of lethal force and prioritize peaceful means of conflict-resolution: democracies shy away from brute power. They favor adjudication and bargaining as their common means of resolving disputes (Jumalon, Pelima, & Caday, 2018). Structural explanations define 'democracy' in terms of political institutions. They draw on decision-making theories to argue that democratic institutions have built-in constraints which make it difficult for national leaders to pursue belligerent policies. The

two most common arguments hold that democracies allow free expression of public opinion (through open and regular elections) and that they limit the ambitions and power of decision-makers (through a system of checks and balances). On closer scrutiny, such explanations are not structural: at their root lie philosophical assumptions from Enlightenment humanism which distrust power and invest a great deal of faith in the common sense of common people. Citizens, it was then often argued, oppose war: it is them, ultimately, who will pay its price in blood and taxes. Examples of citizen opposition to war abound - from the medieval mobs who demanded a 'Truce of God' to contemporary Americans who called for an end to US warfare in Vietnam. But counter-examples can also be found - one example is provided by the patriotic mobs in Paris and London that demanded war in 1914 (Bond, Jenkins, Taylor, & Schock, 1997). Such counter-examples make the so-called structural theories suspect. Indeed,(Boyce & O'Donnell, 2007) contends that they represent 'a dangerous retrogression to the kind of "normative international relations theory". Scott Gates 1996 also alludes to this fact in his work, Democracy and Peace, a more skeptical view.

The explanation of democratic peace theory centers on these key assumptions:

1.   A central goal of state leaders is to retain their position of domestic political power.

2.   In all political systems, domestic political opponents of a regime will attempt to maintain its power   withinthebroadcategoryofnormsofcompromiseandnon-violence.Weincludedaninclination for negotiated outcomes, a favorable attitude toward mediation by third parties, and a willingness to participate in binding arbitration.

3.   Mobilize political opposition when domestic and foreign policies pursued by the regime have failed to achieve stated policy goals. In democratic political systems, however, counter-elite are better able to mobilize opposition in order to challenge incumbents for their policy failures.

4.   In all political systems, state leaders believe that a foreign policy setback for their country, stemming from a diplomatic retrea to military defeat, could pose a threat to their domestic politic al position.

5.   In all countries, the ruling regime relies on a supporting constituency to remain in power.

The normative explanation posits two quite different assumptions which is in line with (Erick Gartzke,2007), can't we all just get along? Opportunity, willingness, and the origin of democratic peace,   argued   that   current   theories   of   democratic   peace   focus   on   the   constraining

powerofpoliticalinstitutions,cultureorinternationaltrade. Therefore,democraciesaremuchlikely to disagree with each other's policies, then we should expect them to seldom fight regardless of whether they are constrained from acting on conflicts by institution, culture or other factors.

He argued further that satisfactory assessment of democratic peace requires controlling for willingness as well as opportunity. A measure of the affinity nations has for each other's international policy should correlate with observation of democratic peace. According to Fisher et al. (2000), social structures have attained high degree of resilience, they are composed of cultural, normative and regulative elements that together with associated activities and resources provide stability and meaning to social life, they as well provide code of conduct which people must abide by in the society, community or organization. This theory has been used by several scholars in explaining the imperativeness of viable political institution in conflict resolution such as (Kaur, 2007) who argued that societies require strong viable political institution such as judiciary, legislature and other law enforcement agencies to be able to effectively resolve conflicts, especially in democratic systems. It is imperative to say that in the world of today, these attributes of democracy as posited by the liberal democrats and other critics, leave much to be desired given the spate of violence and conflict emanating day and night in most democratic systems both in the advanced western countries and in the third world countries (Rosato, 2003), in his contribution "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory" elucidated on the limitations of democratic theory in conflict resolution and peace building, when he stated that the causal logic that underpin the theory to determine whether they offer explanation for the findings of mutual democratic pacifism, do not. Democracies do not reliably externalize their domestic norms of conflict resolution and do not trust or respect one another when their interest clash"(Rosato, 2003).

Many other scholars have argued about the loopholes inherent in Democratic Theory as a conflict resolution and peace building mechanism. They include Samuel Huntington, (Reychler, 2006), (D. G. Morrison & Stevenson, 1971)among others. On the other hand, Scholars such as (Kinsella & David, 2008)(Call & Wyeth, 2008)(Dyrstad, Buhaug, Ringdal, Simkus, & Listhaug, 2011)(Ake, 2001)(Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009) and (Joshua, 2013) among others posited that peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved through understanding which

is made possible under democracy. According to (Rosato, 2003), Since it is evident that the logic does not operate as stipulated by the theory proponents, there are good reasons to believe that while there is certainly peace among democracies, it may not be caused by the democratic nature of those states. Nonetheless, despite all the short comings associated with democratic systems it still provides the necessary pre-requisites for conflict resolution and peace building. What is require therefore, is a blend with African historically accepted and recognized ways of conflict resolution and peace building as opined by (Akinwale, 2010)&(Nigeria, 2018). In traditional African societies, conflict resolution is an opportunity for all the parties involved tointeract,promoteconsensus-building,encouragesocialbridgere-constructionandenactmentof order in the society (Ajayi & Buhari, 2014).

The South Africa post-Apartheid Conflict Transformation (TRC) initiated and implemented by the Late Africa icon, Dr. Nelson Mandela from 1994 through 2013 is an example of Afrocentric approach to conflict resolution and peace building which needs to be re-invigorated as it addresses the root cause of the crisis. Similarly,(Ajaegbo, 2014) posits that for a comprehensive, home grown strategy to conflict resolution and peace building in Nigeria through reconciliation and which put the peoples voice at the Centre (Insight, 2017)). Others includes (Olaoye, 2005), (Akinwale, 2010).

Ajayi & Buhari (2014), opine that this approach is necessary in Nigeria where political and by ethnic leaders from conflict are as hardly meet to discuss the causes of violence, and how to prev ent future conflicts. This lack of interaction can make these leaders part of the problem rather than the solution. It therefore, suggests that there is need for Nigerian leaders in conflict areas to build bridges of understanding that will lead to the establishment of mutual confidence for the sustenance of the country's multi-ethnic society.

The recent resolution of the Nigerian government to establish a National Council of Traditional Rulers is a move in the right direction which will facilitate the bridge – building process among ethnicgroups. Thisstudy, therefore, suggests that the council should be expanded to include opinion and religious leaders. Theestablishmentofjudicialofcommissionorpanelsisyetanotherstrategy used by the Nigerian government in the intervention and management of crises. Similarly, conflict transformation theory submits that contemporary conflicts will require more than the reframing of positions, a

nd the identification and use of win win outcomes will be employed. It argues that the structure and relationships of the parties may be trenched
in a pattern of conflictual relationships that extend beyond the site of the conflict (Lederach, 1997); (Oliver Ramsbotham, Miall, & Woodhouse, 2011). Conflict transformation will therefore, be the process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourse and sometimes the constitution of the society.

4.2 ConflictTransformationTheory

Conflicttransformation is transforming the systems, structures and relationships which encourage violence and injustice in the society (Lederach, 2012). According to Lederach (2012), conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within the society. This involves a new approach where the members of the society are not seen as the problem, while outsiders are the solution, rather, understanding that the long-term goal of transformation is validating and building the members of the society (Lederach, 1995).Conflict transformation is best described as a complex process of constructively changing relationships, attitudes, behaviors, interest and discourses in a violence prone environment. It also addresses the underlying structures, cultures and institutions that encourage violent political and social conflicts.

The term conflict transformation has been used in the works of several leading scholars like (Galtung, Fischer,&Fischer,2013); (Lederach,1996), (Wallensteen, 2018) in peace conflict studies. This has been elaborated most specifically in the works of (Lederach, 2012); (Willett, 2010). It is a multi dimensional,non linear and unpredictable process involving many different ac tors in moving from latent and overt violence to structural and cultural peace as (Björkdahl, Höglund, Millar, Van Der Lijn, & Verk(Burton, 1990b) and the Theory of Change which are directly linked to economic status of the people, provide a robust foundation for the explanation of processes involved in peace-building in Nigeria.

4.3 Political Economic Theory

Political Economy Theory is based on the proposition of economic solution to problems and building peace.

> Political economy is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time (Pugh, 2005).

It is grounded on the belief that improved economic situation can enhance peace through improvement in the living condition of the people, provision of basic needs of life such as food, water, shelter, clothing and improvement in social relations among people (Kew & Kwaja, 2013). The established complexity of violent conflicts in Nigeria requires a combination of approaches and more importantly an Afrocentric approach that will be effective and people oriented as proposed in this study.

According to Pugh (2004), the ideology of the liberal peace has propelled political economies of war-torn societies into a scheme of global convergence towards "market liberalization". This is an uncontestable assumption underlying external economic assistance. However, this research points out the inherent contradictions as the concept ignores the socio-economic problems which confronts war torn societies, and even aggravate them by increasing the vulnerability of people to poverty.

Political Economy theory according to Pugh (2004), is an amazing asset for improving the adequacy of assistance, crossing over the conventional worries of governmental issues and financial aspects, it centers around how power, assets are appropriated and challenged in various settings, and the suggestions for improvement results. It gets underneath the conventional structures to uncover the fundamental interests, motivating forces and organizations that empower or baffle change. Such bits of knowledge is significant if we are to make progress in testing motivation around administration, monetary development and administrative conveyance, which experience has shown don't loan themselves to specialized arrangements alone. Political economic investigation is anything, but an enchantment shot for the goals of unmanageable improvement issues. Be that as it may, it can bolster increasingly successful and politically doable advancement approaches. It can likewise add to better outcomes by recognizing where the principle openings and hindrances for planned change exists and how contributors can utilize their programming and impacting devices to advance positive change.

Pugh (2005), however, challenges the current and proposed agenda as it affects political economy and peace building from a critical perspective of international relation. This perspective

relates to the power of post-industrial capitalism, and the agency behind globalization ideology. However, there is disagreement among scholars on the ontology of the market democracy, the power of its non-state networks and agencies with states, and about the prominence of a fundamentalist version of neo-liberalism (Ralston, 2014). This is the focus of the peace project which vitiates around market liberalization as a strategy to peace building around the globe and the   reason   for determining rules and framework for the development of societies that will release them from conflict traps. Call (2008), points to economic dysfunction in societies; in their pre-conflict, conflict and post conflict stages, rather than to any dysfunctional economic precepts, structures and conditionality expressed by capitalist power and global governance which is a key aspect of liberal peace, and thus promotes a form of economic control and regulation to establish markets in societies that is disagreeable to conventional market imperatives (Richmond, 2003).

Liberal peace has encouraged transformation through macro-economic stability, reduction of the role of the state, the squeezing of collective and public space, quest for private affluence, and reliance on privatization and on exports and foreign investment to facilitate economic growth. Since the revisionist project failed to address these contradictions, the liberal peace building approach has been refined to involve an inclusive and emancipator participation of local actors, and structural diversity in political economies as an alternative option to the revisionist ideology that is resident in a liberal structuring of global political economic (Rubenstein, 1990). Basic Human Needs theory of conflict resolution can be linked to Pugh theory of political economy.

4.4 Basic Human Needs Theory

According to Rubenstein (1990), Psychologists discovered the reality of basic human needs with respect to the acquaintance for an explanation of individual natural history. Social thought discovers basic needs as the strategic causes and cures of social disintegration, when basic need isn't satisfied. Johan Galtung opines that "some kind of focal weakening will happen." Galtung perceives two general groupings of social disintegrating: "setting" (non-appearance of venture, dismissal and withdrawal) and "foaming" (over activity, defiance, revolt). Various groupings and analogies might be progressively capable, the crucial point remains: what leads us to consider fundamental needs are the unwanted consequences of their non-satisfaction.

Human needs theory also focuses on conflict that arises from development processes, and the satisfaction of the means of people or groups used to pursue their needs. It pushes the argument of recognition, role seeking, and competition for scarce resources as well as maintaining law and order (Rubenstein, 1990). The basic needs approach has as its main thrust violent in conflicts are caused by the deprivation of basic human needs of a population, and it holds that needs are the underpinning root causes for violence in the world rather than interest, greed or grievances (Coser, 1967). His argument was that the moment dignity, political access or power are not given the minority, they will use violence to draw attention to the majority and that such violence is leg itimate because it will bring positive change to the society.

He Coser, (1967) further posits that there should be multiple political channels which can continuously communicate to all groups, irrespective of the divide, and then the demands of the minority must be met to avoid conflict eruption. Another scholar, John Burton (Burton, 1990a)holds the view that the universal needs of human beings must be fulfilled to avoid conflict. He argued that these needs include primary needs for consistency of response, stimulation, security, recognition, derivative needs for justice, meaning, rationality and control. According to Burton most of the salient reasons to understand a social conflict are identity, recognition, security and personal development.

Azar et al., (2003), associated the conflicts with needs such as security, identity, recognition and participation factors which are much identified to (Coser, 1967) and (Burton, 1990a) works. These scholars maintained that the basis of conflicts is deprivation of a need and that the resolution process must identify and include ways to answer them.

There are however, criticism to basic human needs approach (Galtung et al., 2013)of conflict analysis model as it undermines other causes of social conflicts such as greed and instrumentalism of leaders and is useful only to understand social conflicts but no other conflicts like interstate conflicts, economic conflicts among otherswherestateplaystheroleofprimaryactors. The analysis model also makes the identification of needs and wants to be difficult while the defi nition of needs becomes blur and vague.

Abraham Maslow categorized basic human needs into five different groups, and they are:

1. Self-Actualization: needs of development and ability to make use of his/her capabilities

2. Esteem: Respect, dignity and appreciation

3. Belongingness: Identity ,status

4. Safety: Security, stability, freedom from fear and anxiety

5. Physiological

6. Essential body requirements which includes food, water, shelter, clothes, among others
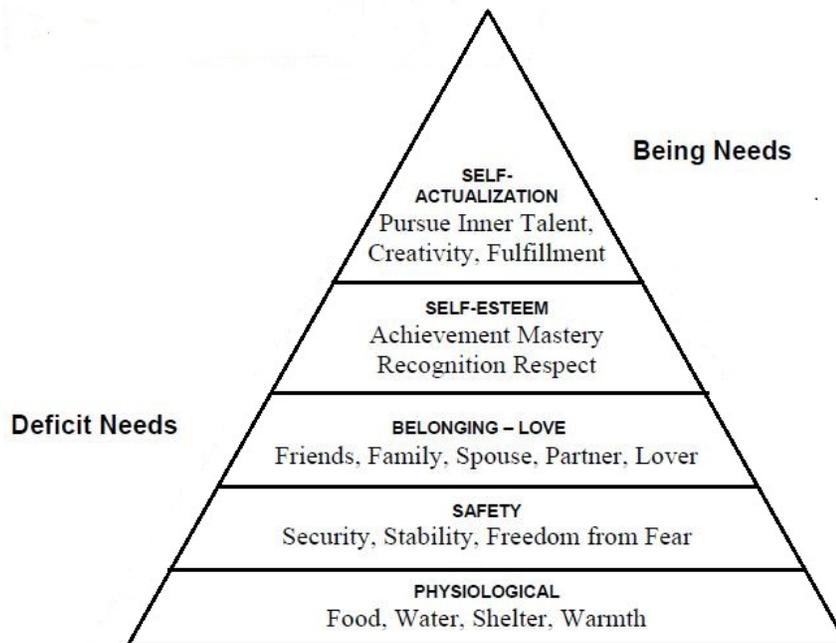
Figure 4.1: The diagram shows the Maslow hierarchy and is consistent with the concept of human development as step by step satisfaction of basic human needs.

Source: Abraham Maslow (1962).

4.5 Theory of Change (TOC)

Theory of Change as submitted by Aryal (2012),explains how and why asset of activities will bring about a change. It was an initiative to strengthen capacity to design, monitor, and evaluate peace building programmes, this was a project between CARE Internation al UK, and International Alert. The project was implemented in Nepal, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and its objective was to strengthen the institutional and operational

capacity of civil societies and government to design, monitor and evaluate peace building and conflict prevention. The programme was designed on the assumption that contribution can be m ade in peace. Kew & John (2008) also agree to the same ideal like (Aryal, 2012) in his submissio ns in engaging civil society in peace building to guide against exclusion in the Nigerian experien ce.

TheassumptionsofthepeacebuildinginitiativebysixorganizationsinNepal;AllianceforPeace, CARE Nepal, International Alert, Search for Common Grounds (SFCG), Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction and Youth Action as explained by the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) is that aid in relation to conflict and peace is often based on approach that has its foundation in TOCs, and in many cases, such theories are unconscious and unstated. This lack of clarity can lead to a blurred relationship between cause and   effect will make it difficult for any theory to assume the appropriate theory in any context like how it was difficult to identify during a research in Kosovo that peace building interventions were not contributory to the prevention of violence. There is a strong link between TOCs and Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E) processes in terms of enhancing the impact of peace building programming in the sense that TOC is a tool that is mobilized to articulate the process of change, and it is used to design, monitor and evaluate social initiatives such as peace building, it also explains how programmes and activities relate to one another to achieve results (Aryal, 2012).

TOC explains in an unambiguous way the process which change will occur, and specify the ways the immediate, intermediate relate to having the desired outcome of long-term change. TOC cannot stand alone, though it helps in explaining the process of change and must be considered in aspecificcontext.There are different structures and stages of conflict and different levels   of trust in a society or community. In a society in transition, opportunities and willingness to change may vary such that at pre-conflict, people tend to hold onto power, but post-conflict, people are more willing to change and admit that a problem existed.

Perceptions towards youth involvement and acceptance as agents of change are changing, according to Gawerc (2006). He also observes that youths are now having roles to play in peace buildingprocessesasmanyoftheyouthshaveundergonechangesthemselves and have imbibed the

culture of non -violence.Factorssuchasmediationanddialoguehavehelpedtofacilitateimportant roles for youths in the communities. However, structural and cultural changes have not been as significant particularly for young women as paternalistic power structure which is entrenched in the society continue to play a dominant role. This also makes youth decision-making power to be limited, which has an inherent risk of frustrating this group through disillusionment and slow pace of significant change.

The entrenched traditional and paternalistic local power structures where elderly men continue to wield decision-making powers and authority has continued to be a structural impediment toyouths in accessing decision-making structure (Aryal, 2012). inclusions of women remain an issue also, though it is important to note that some progress have been made at the national level as 33 percentwomennowseatintheparliament,however,involvementatthecommunitylevelremainslow, especially in Tier district where multi-tier discrimination persists based on age and lack of experience. Findings show that inclusion efforts are still abysmal in the local level as women agency that is based on communal endeavors and is constantly reinvented in line with social change. Through the women, collective action has been able to change some societal rules and norms and translated their individual experiences of subordination into collective action against harmful social practices such as domestic violence. The concept of "agents of peaceful change" andpeace constituencies attract attention to local partners, and with its ability to effect systemicchange.

Inothernottohavearelapseintoviolence,thesustainabilityprocessembeddedintheprogramme must be incorporated into the programme as (Kew & John, 2008) argue that the failure to ensure a proper and sustainable exit may lead to further violence after the phasing out of the project. It is important to note that initiatives of attitudinal change by civil societies become most successful when they reach a critical mass of people.

TOC must be identified in the – community project, the design itself and proper context analysis conducted, monitored, and evaluated.(Kew & John, 2008) Civil societies will need to work in collaboration to amplify the impact of the programme, where cross monitoring mechanisms are

impacted, and best practices are shared and transferred. Therefore, when one single organization cannot impact change at all levels a culture of cooperation and synergy with the peace-building organization become effective, and thus must be a two-way communication framework and must be flexible between donor agencies and grant recipients.

Thus, learning from the experience of peace building initiative in Nepal, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the need to strengthen institutional operational capacity   of   civil society's organization and government in the designing, monitoring and evaluating peace building and conflict preventing programmes cannot be underestimated.

In his work, Ackermann (2003) opines that peace-building should not be seen as a post-war or post- conflict issue rather it should be viewed as an integral part of society. We need not wait until there vis an outbreak of war or conflict before we begin to think of how to resolve it and make efforts to build peace. According to Ackerman (2003), societies and governments and international, regional, national, states and local levels must put more resources and effort in peace building which is conflict prevention mechanism rather than waiting for conflict to erupt before putting huge resources in attempt to curtail and resolve conflicts which are often expensive. He further his argument that half of the resources often put into conflict resolution would have better be put to peace building (conflict prevention) this would have made a great difference in the world and make it a better place for all.

Peace-building in post-conflict societies focus on mere restoration of order and has serious limitations, for it ignores imbalances between groups in existing political and economic structures. This is a true reflection of the Nigerian situation, especially with reference to the ongoing conflict in Nigeria. The democratic process has allowed previous government officers and retired military Generals to amass the wealth of the nation and to continue to protect their interests. In recent times, attempts by the current government to curtail and stop the illicit amassing of Nigeria's wealth by the few individuals have turned the country into crisis.

Peace building strategies should focus on changing social structures and processes that are associated with power imbalances and the mobilization of institutional and communal resources

toovercomecontinuedviolencemustbedonealongwithcircumstancesunderwhichvariouspeace building approaches can be applied. Results are achieved if the realities and implementation programmes are contextualized to the ecology of the recipient societies.

It is also necessary for the needs of vulnerable groups like women, children and the elderly to be considered in the development of social rehabilitation. Also, in reviewing the processes of democracy and democratic pace, conflict transformation theory and political economy is employed in this research work.

Thus, in examining the complexities of Conflict Resolution and Peace-building, Theories of Democracy and Democratic Peace, Conflict Transformation Theory, Political Economy/ Basic Human Needs Theory and the Theory of Change has been employed in this research work. This has enabled us to see the strength and weakness of the theories and their applicability in conflict resolution and peace building. Other theories that are being employed to explain conflict resolution and peace building that are directly or indirectly related to above theories are Human needs, Institutional and theory of Change among others.

The liberal peace theory advances as (Roland Paris depicts it), Woodrow Wilson's plan to make the world safe through democratic government. The thought here is that, in Wilson's words, "democratic system is inevitably the healthiest and bearable type of government the world has yet attempted." Peace is set up through, basically, a democratic system. "To make the world safe, we must make do without a doubt in the democratic system of government.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter above elucidates on the theories that are employed in this research work which are mainly three with two related theories vis: Democratic Peace Theory, Conflict Transformation Theory and Political Economic Theory of Pugh Michael which are backed up with the Human Needs Theory of Burton and the Theory of Change (TOC) as used in Nepal project in Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It is imperative to note that these theories are interwoven and necessary if the overall objective of conflict resolution and peace building is to achieve peace in the society. In this light, programmes that are aimed at bringing about positive

change must be pursued and this is only possible when the basic needs of the people in terms of feeding, clothing, shelter and other necessities of life are met. Thus, in order to have progressive political changes through democratic peaceful resolution of conflicts, (conflict transformation) the basic needs of the people must be met, and their economic status must be uplifted in order to bring about desirable changes that will provide room for a peaceful and harmonious society.

CHAPTER FIVE

Data Presentation and Analysis

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is on data presentation and statistical analyses of the research carried out on the data collected from the study area. The presentation of data and analysis is structured to highlight the findings based on each of the study objectives which are arranged in the sub-section parts of this chapter in a sequential manner. In lieu of this, the first sub-section highlighted respondents' specific socio-economic characteristics, as well as, the nature and extent of violent conflicts in Yobe State, Nigeria. The second sub-section, however, discussed the existing strategies in place towards resolving conflicts and peace building strategies in the research study area. The salient factors hampering and militating against the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace building strategies in the study area were discussed in the third sub-section. In the same vein, the fourth sub-section highlighted the policy statements to guide, refocus and redirect all the stakeholders involved in conflict resolution and peace building strategies in a bid to achieve lasting peace in Yobe State, Nigeria.

5.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

Data and information are collected on the biography and socio-economic status of respondents in order to gain insight about the age of respondents which is necessary because it enables us to have good grip of their experience on the issues of study, it is expected that for respondents to be able to provide required information about the conflicts and strategies employed in attempt to resolve conflicts, such individual must be at least ten years of age and above as at of the time the crises began in the year 2000 and therefore must be above eighteen years old in the year 2018 when this research work is conducted in essence respondents are considered as adults (Youths and elders) in the society.

On gender issue (male or female) respondents, The number or percentage of male and female in the research area is necessary to enable us know the group or gender that is most affected by the crisis it has been argued that more male are affected because they are been forcefully conscripted into the terrorist activities by the radical Islamic group, while some argued that the number of

widows (women who lost their husbands as a result of the crises) far out-number the their male counterpart).

Educational qualification: Data was collected on the qualification of respondents to know their level of expected and projected competency in answering questions on the subject matter. It can be said that competency to adequately provide answer to questions on the issues raised to a large extend depends on the educational status of the individual respondents, their knowledge and experience, this informed the need to collect data on the educational level of respondents.

On the economic activity engaged in by respondents: This is important because it enabled the researcher to know the occupation or economic activities engaged in by respondents and how the conflicts affect their economic activities and their living conditions. This will enable us to know which group of people by occupational distribution is most affected by the on-going crisis and how best to deal with the issue through assisting or ameliorating the suffering of the concerned groups.

While on the marital status, data collected enabled us to know which category of people, single, married, widow or widowers are most affected by the crises, all this have serious implication for policy purposes and efforts towards addressing issues both in the short and long run.

5.1.1 Gender of the Respondents

The findings in Table 5.1 revealed that more than half (53.57%) of the respondents in the study area (Yobe State, Nigeria) are of male gender, while the rest (46.43%) are female. These findings suggest male predominance in the study area.

Table 5.1: Distribution of respondents by gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	273	46.43
Male	315	53.57
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019

5.1.2 Age of the Respondents

The findings in Table 5.2 revealed the age-group distribution of the respondents in the study area. The findings indicated the predominance of people who fall within the working age groups of the economy with the estimated average age of 50.21 years. To be precise, 18.54%, 17.35% and 16.33% of the respondents fall within the age-group categories of 41-50 years, 51-60 years, and 31-40 years respectively. In the same vein, about one-third (31.63%) of the sampled respondents are within the age range of 61-70 years and above 70 years. This implies that majority of the respondents fall within the active and working capacity of the economy.

Table 5.2: Distribution of respondents by age-group

Age-group (years)	Frequency	Percentage
10-20	13	2.21
21-30	82	13.95
31-40	96	16.33
41-50	109	18.54
51-60	102	17.35
61-70	103	17.52
Above 70	83	14.11
Mean (50.21)		
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019

5.1.3 Education of the Respondents

The findings in Table 5.3 indicated the distribution of years of education by the respondents. The results revealed a mean year of education of 11.55 years, which suggests post-primary (that is, secondary education) level of education in Nigeria. From the findings, a small proportion (4.42%) of the respondents have no formal education; while 2.38% of the respondents have about 6 years of formal education which correspond to primary education system in Nigeria. Meanwhile, about two-third (65.14%) of the respondents have between 7-12 years of education which is said to be a secondary level of education in Nigeria. Similarly, about 26.36% of the respondents have tertiary level of education, while only 1.7% has post-graduate level of

education. The implication of this finding is that, most of the sampled respondents have at least secondary level of education, which is assumed to enhance the ability to read and write in contemporary Nigeria system.

Table 5.3: Distribution of respondents by Educational Status

Years of education (years)	Frequency	Percentage
0	26	4.42
1-6	14	2.38
7-12	383	65.14
13-18	155	26.36
Above 18	10	1.70
Mean (11.55)		
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.1.4 Marital Status of the Respondents

The findings in Table 5.4 revealed the distribution of respondents by their marital status. The findings indicated that most people (51.02%) are married, while 3.23%, 2.04% and 2.21% are divorced, widow or widower respectively. However, about 41.5% of the sampled respondents are single. The implication of this finding is that most sampled respondents in the study area are married.

Table 5.4: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	244	41.50
Married	300	51.02
Divorced	19	3.23
Widow	12	2.04
Widower	13	2.21
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019

5.1.5   Occupation of the Respondents

The findings in Table 5.5 revealed that one-fourth (25.0%) of the respondents are into farming, while 12.24% are into trading. Equally, about 39.29% of the respondents are civil servants who work in government establishments. 7.49% of the sampled respondents were reported to be engaged in the execution of contract jobs from government agencies and non-government organizations. However, about 15.99% of the sampled respondents were identified to be unemployed. The implication of this finding is that most people in the study area are predominantly into civil service and farming as livelihood activities.

Table 5.5: Distribution of respondents by Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Farming	147	25.0
Trading	72	12.24
Civil servant	231	39.29
Contractor	44	7.48
Unemployed	94	15.99
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2 Nature and Extent of Violent Conflict

5.2.1   Understanding of the Conflict

The findings in Table 5.6 revealed the distribution of respondents by their understanding of the concept of conflict. Understanding the concept of conflict is assumed to be a starting point or entry point of conflict management explorative research. From the results, the understanding of conflict by the respondents seems to assume a similar trend. This is because 20.41%, 26.70%, 28.06% and 24.83% of the respondents reported crisis, disagreement between people, non-cordial relationship, and state of war respectively as their personal conceptualization of conflict. All these situations can be assumed to constitute conflict understanding by the respondents in the study area.

Table 5.6: Distribution of respondents by Conflict Understanding

Conflict Understanding	Frequency	Percentage
Crisis	120	20.41
Disagreement between people	157	26.70
Non-cordial relationship	165	28.06
State of war	146	24.83
All the above	-	-
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.2   Awareness of Conflict in the Study Area and Other Parts

The findings in Table 5.7 revealed that more than half (55.78%) of the sampled respondents are aware of the conflict in their environment and other parts, while about 44.22% are said to be aware of the conflict in their area alone. The findings suggest the conflict experienced in the study area may be trans-boundary.

Table 5.7: Distribution of respondents by Conflict awareness in study area and other parts

Conflict Awareness	Frequency	Percentage
Aware	328	55.78
Not Aware	-	-
Only Aware of the study area	260	44.22
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.3   The Nature of the Conflict

The findings in Table 5.8 revealed the distribution of the respondents by the nature of the conflict reported in the study area. From the results, poverty and hunger occasioned by the prevalent economic hardship in the country seemed to be the most (48.30%) reported nature of conflict in the study area by the respondents. Similarly, about 22.45% and 29.25% of the respondents highlighted the nature of conflict in the study area as those occasioned by religion, political and electioneering process respectively. This of course shows the trend of the nature of conflict in the study area as reported.

Table 5.8: Distribution of respondents by the Nature of Conflict

The Nature of Conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Religious	132	22.45
Political and Electioneering	172	29.25
Economic/Poverty/Hunger	284	48.30
Total	**360**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.4 Duration of Conflict in the Study Area

The findings in Table 5.9 clearly revealed that the conflict in the study area has been in existence for over ten years as reported by 42.85% of the respondents. Meanwhile, 20.24% and 10.71% of the respondents reported the existence of conflict for about seven years and five tears respectively. However, about 26.19% of the sampled respondents were not sure of the duration of conflict existence in the study area. This means that, the conflict has been in existence for a long period of time in the study area.

Table 5.9: Distribution of respondents by Duration of Conflict in the study area

Duration of Conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Over Ten years	252	42.86
Seven years	119	20.24
Five years	63	10.71
Not sure of the duration	154	26.19
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.5 Causes of Conflict

The result as shown in Table 5.10 is a follow up confirmatory findings of the results reported in Table 5.8. The findings indicated that poor economic situation, marginalization and politics constitute most causative factors; all these account for 31.46%, 28.06% and 25.17% of the reported factors respectively. In the same vein, only 15.31% of the respondents reported religion induced conflict in the study area.

Table 5.10: Distribution of respondents by Causes of Conflict in the study area

Causes of Conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Poor economic situation	185	31.46
Marginalization	165	28.06
Religion	90	15.31
Politics	148	25.17
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.6 First Occurrence of Conflict

The findings in Table 5.11 revealed that majority (61.22%) of the respondents reported first occurrence of conflict situations in the study area, while 38.78% of them reported constant occurrence of the conflict situations in the study area.

Table 5.11: Distribution of respondents by First Occurrence of Conflict

First Conflict occurrence	Frequency	Percentage
No	360	61.22
Yes	228	38.78
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.7 Frequency of Conflict

The findings in Table 5.12 indicated that 12.78% rare occurrence of conflict in the study area, while 22.96% reported occurrence of conflict as occasional situation. In a similar manner, 18.03% of the respondents reported that conflict often occur in the study area, while only 7.48% of the respondents reported that conflict occur very often in the study area. The implication of this finding is that, conflict occurrence in the study area is occasional and sudden.

Table 5.12: Distribution of respondents by Frequency of Conflict Occurrence

Frequency of Conflict occurrence	Frequency	Percentage
Rarely	75	12.78
Occasionally	135	22.96

Often	106	18.03
Very often	44	7.48
Total	**360**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

Note: This table is for those (360 respondents) who answered, "Not the first time of conflict".

5.2.8 Time of Previous Conflict

The findings in Table 5.13 showed that previous conflict in the study area happened about 12 years ago as reported by 57.31% of the respondents, while 30.27% of the respondents indicated that previous conflict in the study area happened in less than 20 years ago. However, about 12.41% of the respondents reported that previous conflict in the study area happened over 20 years ago. This result still affirms that the conflict in the study area is occasional.

Table 5.13: Distribution of respondents by Time of Previous Conflict

Time of Previous Conflict (years)	Frequency	Percentage
Over twenty years ago	73	12.41
Less than twenty years ago	178	30.27
Twelve years ago	337	57.31
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.2.9 Groups Involved in Conflict

The findings in Table 5.14 revealed distribution of respondents by groups involved in the conflict. The results indicated that 45.92% of the respondents reported usual conflict between farmers and herdsmen, while 34.69% reported conflict between different political parties. In a similar manner, about 19.39% also reported conflict between different tribes. The implication of this finding is that, the groups that are mostly involved in conflict are predominantly farmers and herdsmen; which by extension is a struggle for survival between human beings and animals.

Table 5.14: Distribution of respondents by Groups Involved in Conflict

Groups Involved in Conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Farmers and Herdsmen	270	45.92

Between Tribes	114	19.39
Between Political Parties	204	34.69
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.3 Existing Strategies for Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in Yobe State, Nigeria

5.3.1 Previous Conflict Resolution Strategies

The findings in Table 5.15 revealed   the distribution of respondents by the reported previous conflict resolution strategies in the study area. From the results, about 60.0% of the respondents reported that intervention of military force was used to combat and resolve the conflict, while about 17.0% reported that conflict was resolved through meetings between the warring parties and government agents. Similarly, about 12.0% reported the use of conflict and peace building consultants to resolve the conflict, while only 10.88% of the respondents indicated they use meetings between the warring parties and elders in resolving the conflict. The implication of this finding is that the most pronounced strategies used to combat and resolve conflict in the study area is militia forces.

Table 5.15: Distribution of Respondents by Previous Conflict Resolution Strategies

Previous Conflict Resolution Strategies	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Through meetings between the parties and elders	64	10.88
Through meetings between the parties and government agents	100	17.01
Intervention of military force	353	60.03
Through conflict and peace-building consultants	71	12.07
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.3.2 Duration of Conflict Resolution

The findings in Table 5.16 revealed that conflict resolution in the study area usually takes about one year as reported by about 248 people which is 42-18% of the respondents. Similarly, 35.03% of the respondents indicated about two years of conflict resolution, while about 58 people which is 9.86% reported few months of conflict resolution. However, 12.93% which is 78 respondents indicated no specific time frame for past conflict resolution in the study area. This finding suggests that conflict resolution usually takes between one to two years in the study area.

109

Table 5.16: Distribution of respondents by Duration of Conflict Resolution

Duration of Conflict Resolution	Frequency	Percentage
Few months	58	9.86
One year	248	42.18
Two years	206	35.03
No specific time frames	78	12.93
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.3.3 Status of Conflict Resolution

The findings in Table 5.17 clearly revealed that the resolution of conflict in the study area is temporarily as reported by all the sampled respondents. The implication of this is that the conflict resolution strategies being used need to be refocused and re-packaged to bring about long lasting and permanent solution to the conflict in the study area.

Table 5.17: Distribution of Respondents by Status of Conflict Resolution

Status of Conflict Resolution	Frequency	Percentage
Permanent	0	0.0
Temporary	588	100.0
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.3.4 Government System Operational during Previous and Recent Conflicts

The findings in Table 5.18 as reported by all (100.0%) of the respondents in the study area revealed that civilian government system has been in operation during the previous conflict till this moment. This finding may suggest that the democratic system of government (civilian) currently in practice in the country needs re-evaluation with people friendly policies that can stimulate economic growth and development, as well as, improve general well-being of the masses.

110

Table 5.18: Distribution of respondents by Government System during previous Conflict

Groups Involved in Conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Military	0	0.0
Civilian	588	100.0
Total	**588**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.4 Rating Scale Statements on the Causes of Conflict and Conflict Resolution Strategies

The findings of weighted mean score analysis in Table 5.19 clearly revealed two things, using the weights attached to each of the rating scales on the statements generated about the causes and conflict resolution strategies in the study area. First, the results indicated that the most pronounced causes of conflict in the study area are: injustice/marginalization/social disequilibrium and poor economic situations. In line with the earlier findings, conflict arising from religious differences was ranked low; hence, does not constitute major causative factor.

On the other hand, the findings also revealed that the following highly ranked conflict resolution strategies (as reported and weighted) by the respondents are deemed appropriate and effective in the study area: arbitration/mediation/negotiation, use of military forces, and intervention of the international organizations, in that order. However, the strategies used by government appeared to be ranked below expectation by the respondents. Likewise, the need for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the intervention of traditional rulers, as well as their perceived impact on resolving the conflict seemed to be on the lowest ebb, as ranked by the respondents. By implication the findings clearly showed that the respondents viewed government conflict resolution strategies using militia forces as a temporal solution. Consequently, the respondents called for the implementation of other strategies capable of bringing permanent solution and long-lasting peace to the conflict ravaging the study area.

Table 5.19: Weighted Mean Score (WMS) Analysis for Statements on the Causes of Conflict and Conflict Resolution Strategies

Statements on causes of conflict and resolution strategies:	SA (5)	A (4)	U (3)	D (2)	SD (1)	WS = Sum of (frequencies* weights)	WMS = WS / 588	Rank
Conflict is Trans-boundary	0 (0.0)	67	180	251	90	1400	2.38	16
Government strategies are appropriate and	164	(11.4)	(30.6)	(42.7)	(15.3)	2041	3.47	8
effective	(27.9)	156	61	207	0 (0.0)			
Arbitration, mediation and negotiation		(26.5)	(10.4)	(35.2)		2219	3.77	3
appropriate	193				0 (0.0)			
Poor economic situation of the people	(32.8)	224	16 (2.7)	155		2614	4.45	2
Conflict caused by injustice marginalization		(38.1)		(26.4)	0 (0.0)	2699	4.59	1
and social disequilibrium	330		0 (0.0)		0 (0.0)			
The conflict is religious in nature	(56.1)	224	0 (0.0)	34 (5.8)		1010	1.72	17
Government has done enough in resolving the	347	(38.1)		0 (0.0)	296	1464	2.49	15
conflict	(59.0)	241	0 (0.0)		(50.3)			
Traditional rulers have been helpful in		(41.0)	69	227	113	1487		14
resolving the conflict	0 (0.0)		(11.7)	(38.6)	(19.2)		2.53	
Government strategies will bring conflict to an	0 (0.0)	65		240		2097		5
end		(11.1)	186	(40.8)	75		3.57	
The use of military to combat crime and	0 (0.0)	166	(31.6)		(12.8)	2064		6
conflict is the best		(28.2)		227			3.51	
ThereisneedforInternationalorganizations'	124		173	(38.6)	0 (0.0)			7

Statement						Total	Mean	Rank
intervention	(21.1)	100	(29.4)			2045		
The Intervention of International organizations assisted in the conflict resolution.		(17.0)		103	58 (9.9)		3.48	13
There is need for Non-governmental organizations' intervention	166 (28.2)	188 (32.0)	120 (17.5)	(20.4)	39 (6.6)	1675	2.85	12
Intervention of non-government organizations assisted in the resolution	150 (25.5)			80 (13.6)	68 (11.6)	1751	2.98	
There is need for government to embark on peace building efforts	126 (21.4)	164 (27.9)	142 (24.2)	99 (16.8)	69 (11.7)	1840	3.13	11
The strategies employed in peace building are effective	131 (22.3)	158 (26.9)	167 (28.4)	108 (18.4)	99 (16.8)	1884	3.20	10
Other strategies are needed in peace building in conflict areas.	122 (20.8)	119 (20.2)	125 (21.3)	100 (17.0)	65 (11.0)	1936	3.29	
	134 (22.8)	163 (27.7)	147 (25.0)	95 (16.1)	72 (12.2)	2122	3.61	9
	133	125 (21.3)	165 (28.1)	121 (20.6)				4

(22.6)	103 (17.5)	147 (25.0)	93 (15.8)	43 (7.3)			
205 (34.9)	143 (24.3)	108 (18.4)	99 (16.8)				
	133 (22.6)						

Source: Field Survey, 2019.

Note: SA, A, U, D, SD – The rating scales abbreviations: Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree and Strongly Disagree respectively, WS - Weighted Score, WMS – Weighted Mean Score. Bold Figures in parentheses (in the headings) are the weights attached to each of the rating scales, Un-bold figures in parentheses (in the table) are percentage values, while other values in the table are frequency values, 588 - This is the total number of sampled respondents.

5.5 Cross-tabulation and Chart Analysis of Respondents' Specific Features

5.5.1 Age-group and Zones in Yobe State

The findings in Table 5.20 revealed that distribution of respondents by the spread of age-group across the three zones (A, B, and C which correspond to Yobe East, Yobe South and Yobe North respectively) in the study area. The results indicated nearly the same trend of age-group distribution across all the three zones. The respondents as spread across the three zones appeared to be in active and working age-group of the economy. Exception is made of few respondents who fall within aged category and the trend of their spread across all the three zones equally seemed to follow the same pattern.

Table 5.20: Distribution of respondents by Age-group and Zones

Age-group	Zone			Total
	A (frequency)	B (frequency)	C(frequency)	
10-20	5	4	4	13
21-30	26	28	28	82
31-40	31	32	33	96
41-50	46	21	42	109
51-60	36	39	27	102
61-70	41	32	30	103
Above 70	18	30	35	83
Total	**203**	**186**	**199**	**588**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.5.2 Age-group and Gender

The findings in Table 5.21 indicated the predominance of male gender across the age-group categories. Exception is made of those who fall between 31-40 years old, where female gender outnumbers the male gender. All the same, the results further affirmed the predominance of male across all age-group among the sampled respondents in the study area.

Table 5.21: Distribution of respondents by Age-group and Gender

115

	Gender		
Age-group	Female	Male	Total
10-20	5	8	13
21-30	34	48	82
31-40	50	46	96
41-50	49	60	109
51-60	46	56	102
61-70	49	54	103
Above 70	40	43	83
Total	**273**	**315**	**588**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.5.3 Educational Attainment and Zones

Educational attainment is regarded as an important component of human capital resources that exposes individual to a better environment, and shapes individual's behavior in a society. In line with this assertion, the findings in Table 5.22 revealed that majority of the respondents across the three zones in Yobe State have about 7-12 years of formal education which is a secondary educational level in Nigeria. However, of all the three zones, zone B (Yobe South) has the highest proportion of respondents with post-graduate level of education, while zone A (Yobe East) has the least. Coincidentally, the zone A also has the highest proportion of respondents with no formal education. In short, the human capital development in the study area as viewed from the three zones is relatively low.

Table 5.22: Distribution of Respondents by Education Status and Zones

	Zone			
Years of education (years)	A (frequency)	B (frequency)	C (frequency)	Total
0	16	5	5	26
1-6	5	5	4	14
7-12	130	119	134	383
13-18	51	51	53	155
Above 18	1	6	3	10
Total	**203**	**186**	**199**	**588**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.5.4 Educational Attainment and Gender

The findings in Table 5.23 revealed that male gender account for the larger proportion of people with no formal education in the study area while female gender account for the highest proportion of respondents with post-graduate level of education in the study area. This result is contrary to expectations because female in the Northern part of Nigeria are usually not as educated as their male counterpart owing to religious belief and perhaps customs. A tenable reason for this could be as a result of educational revolution currently on-going in the Northern part of Nigeria, which attracts lots of funding as a motivation for Northern children to attend formal school.

Table 5.23: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Status and Gender

Years of education (years)	Gender		Total
	Female	**Male**	
0	9	17	26
1-6	9	5	14
7-12	171	212	383
13-18	78	77	155
Above 18	6	4	10
Total	**273**	**315**	**588**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

5.5.5   Charts showing the Trend of Some Specific Respondents' Characteristics

The diagram shown in Figure 5.1 clearly indicate the trend and nexus between frequency of conflict in the study area, the groups involved in the conflict, and spread of these across the three zones in Yobe State, Nigeria. The findings revealed that frequency of conflict is higher in zone C, zone B, and zone A in that order; however, the conflict arising from farmers and herdsmen group as well as political parties (being the most prevalent groups involved in the conflict) is more pronounced in zone A, zone B and zone C in that order.

Similarly, the trend and nexus between frequency of conflict in the study area, the groups involved in the conflict, and the age-group of people involved in the conflict, as they are spread across the three zones in the study area is depicted in Figure 5.2. The findings clearly indicated that frequency of conflict is more pronounced in zone C, zone B, and zone A in that order as

117

earlier established. Equally, the results also showed that the conflict arising from farmers and herdsmen group as well as political parties (being the most prevalent groups involved in the conflict) is more pronounced in zone A, zone C and zone B in that order. Meanwhile, the proportion of respondents who fall within the prevalent age-group of individuals involved in the conflict are slightly higher in zone B, which is closely followed by zone C and zone A in that order; although these differences observed in the proportion of respondents who are within the prevalent age-group of individuals involved in the conflict across the zones are not too significant.

In the same vein, the diagram as depicted shown in Figure 5.3 indicated the trend and nexus between frequency of conflict in the study area, the groups involved in the conflict, and the proportion of people who fall within the prevalent educational attainment, as they are spread across the three zones in the study area. The findings revealed that frequency of conflict follows the same trend and pattern, as this is significantly higher in zone C. This is being followed by zone B, and zone A in that order. Conversely, the conflict arising from farmers and herdsmen group, as well, as political parties (being the most prevalent groups involved in the conflict) is significantly pronounced in zone A and being followed by zone C and zone B in that order.
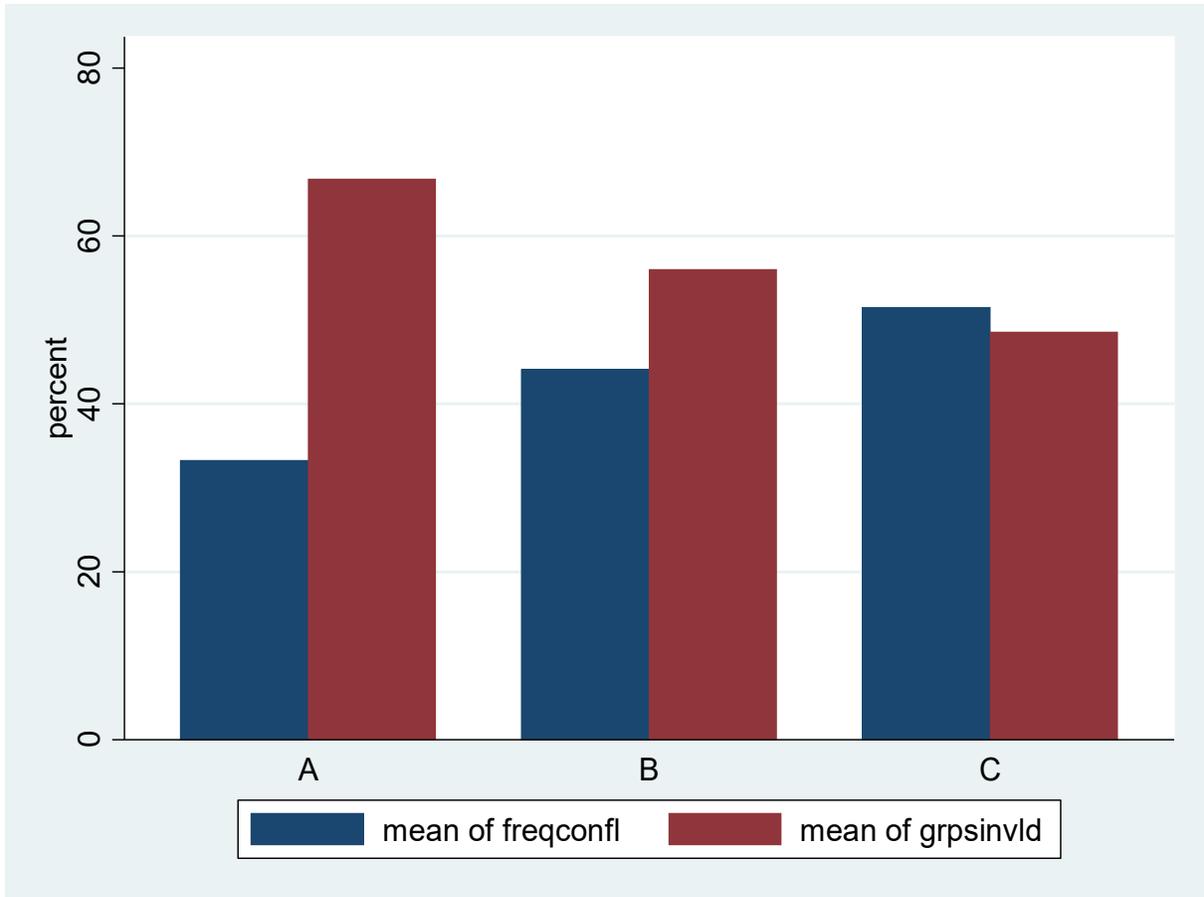
Figure 5.1: Graph Bar of the Nexus between frequency of conflict, groups involved in the conflict as they are spread across zones.
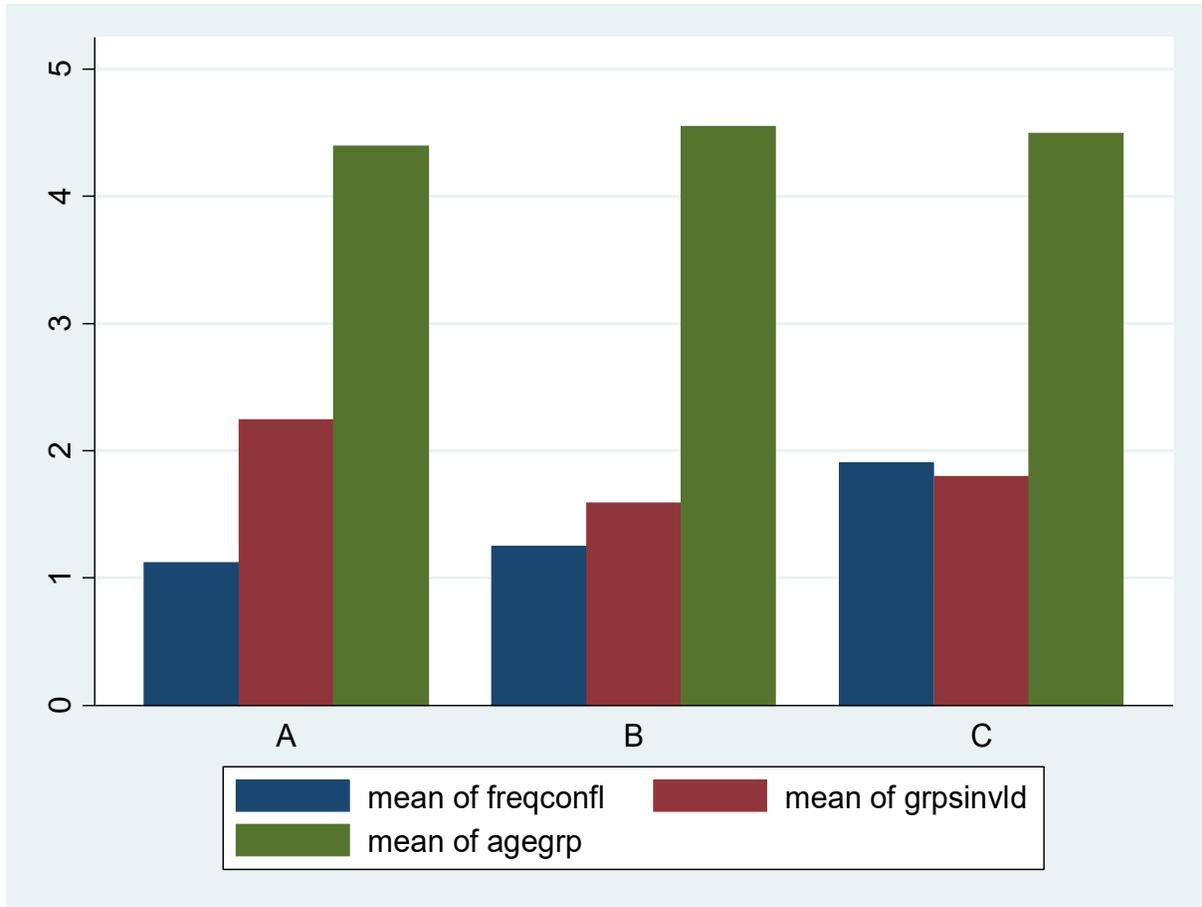
Figure 5.2: Graph Bar of the Nexus between frequency of conflict, groups involved in the conflict, and the proportion of the prevalent age-group of people involved in the conflict as spread across zones.
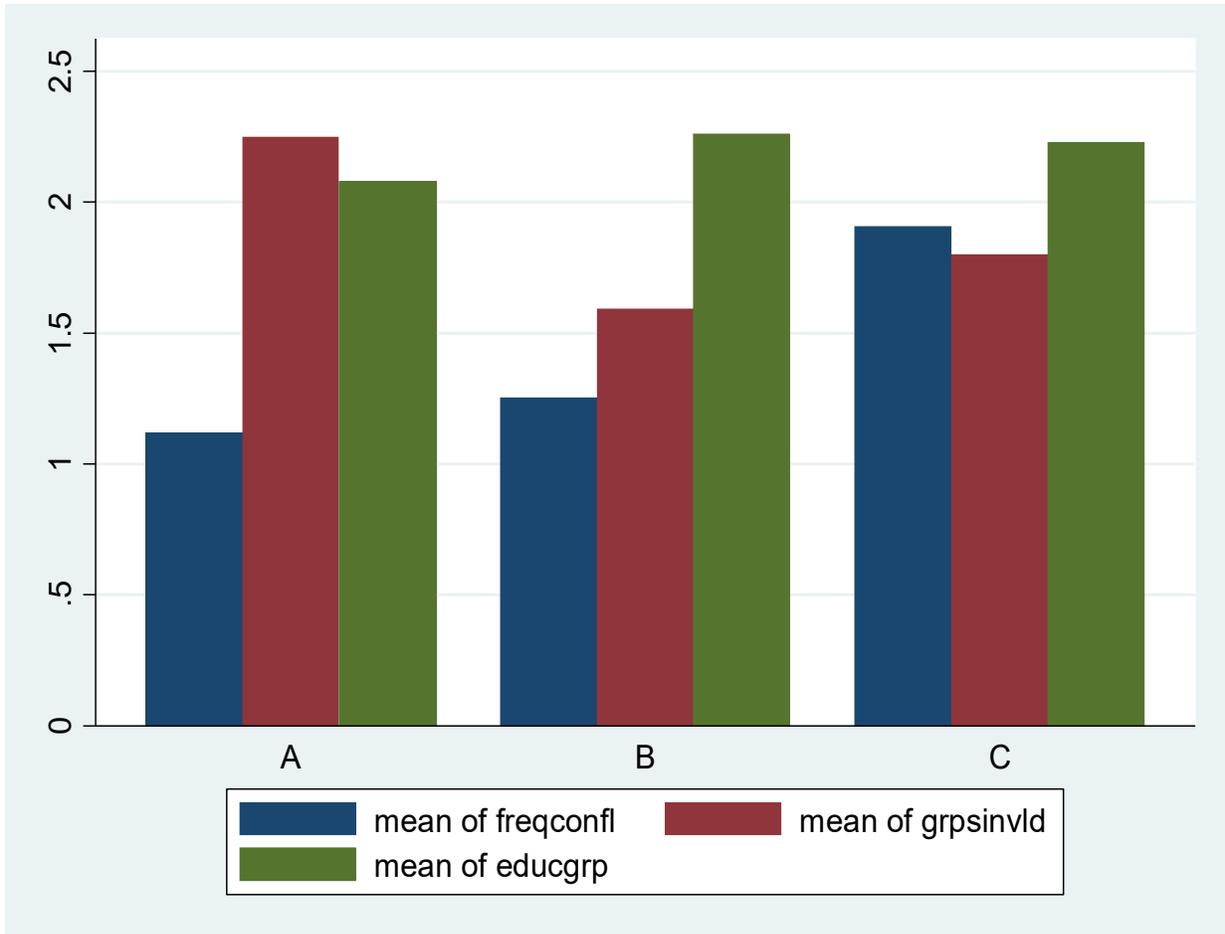
Figure 5.3: Graph Bar of the Nexus between frequency of conflict, groups involved in the conflict, and the educational attainment of the people involved, as spread across zones.

5.6 Factors Affecting the Effectiveness of Conflict Resolution and Peace-building

5.6.1   Reliability Analysis using Cronbach's Alpha for five (5) Item Scale

Reliability analysis was carried out using Cronbach's alpha for 5 item scale as reflected by the weights attached to each of these rating scales; in respect of the statements developed about the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the research study area. This was done to assess how well these statement items can form a single scale measuring the same concept, and to ensure that the statements of the scale are in good shape to measure what they are developed for. According to Williams (2015), the higher the Cronbach's Alpha value, the better; which by extension is an indication that the correlation between the observed value and the true value should be as high as possible. A rule of thumb is that Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.80 and above

is considered appropriate and acceptable (Williams, 2015). From all indications, the *Cronbach's alpha* coefficient value in Table 5.24 was estimated at 0.9131, which suggests that the statements of the scale hang together well. In a similar manner, the item-test correlation shows how highly correlated each item is with the overall scale. The item-rest correlation revealed that the item is correlated with a scale computed from only the items statements involved. The reason is that individual items should be correlated with the scale.

Table 5.24: Reliability Analysis for Item-Scale Statements

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	average interitem covariance	Alpha
Government strategies are appropriate and effective	588	-	0.2673	0.0790	1.5195	0.9790
The use of military to combat crime and conflict is the best	588	+	0.9539	0.9289	0.9511	0.8720
There is need for International organizations' intervention	588	+	0.9439	0.9159	0.9855	0.8755
The Intervention of International organizations assisted in the conflict resolution.	588	+	0.9447	0.9152	0.9614	0.8742
There is need for Non-government organizations' intervention	588	+	0.9645	0.9448	0.9383	0.8693
Intervention of non-government organizations assisted in the resolution	588	+	0.9117	0.8623	0.9643	0.8815
Test scale					1.0533	**0.9131**

Source: Field survey, 2019.

Note: Test scale = mean (unstandardized items)

5.6.2   Tobit Regression Estimates of the Factors Affecting the Effectiveness of Conflict

Resolution Strategies

The result from the censored Tobit regression estimates of the factors affecting the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace building strategies in the study area is indicated in Table 5.25. The results revealed a Log-likelihood value of 348.18, *LR-chi²* statistics value of 1076.47, and *Prob>chi²* value of 0.0000; all these indicated that the model fits well and confirms the conclusive inferences on the exact relationship between the dependent variable (effectiveness-index of conflict resolution strategies) is explained by the hypothesized explanatory or independent variables. Importantly, each slope coefficient in the tobit model estimates is a partial slope coefficient, which measures the change in the dependent variable for a unit change in the value of the given independent variable, holding other independent variables constant. The findings also revealed the estimates coefficients having both positive and negative signs, which is a pointer to the direction of movement of the independent variables in line with the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies. Consequently, a unit increase in any variable with positive coefficient suggests a positive contribution to the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies, while a unit increase in any variable with negative coefficient suggests an inverse contribution to the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the study area.

From the results, age of the respondent has a positive and significant (10%) relationship with effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the study area. This implies that, a unit increase in age of the respondents increases the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies; this is in line with the a-priori expectation because ageing in individual is expected to curb the involvement in conflict related activities irrespective of the situation at hand. Such individuals are expected to embrace dialogue the more towards conflict resolution, thereby contribute immensely to the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies.

Similarly, marital status of the respondents is positive and significantly (1%) related to the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies. This finding also suggests that married individuals have low propensity to involve in conflict related activities; hence, prefer non-conflict means towards peace building, thereby contribute improve the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies, because the lower the incidence of conflict, the higher the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies, all things being equal.

On the other hand, occupational status of the respondents has an inverse and significant (1%) relationship with the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies. As expected, unemployed individuals have high tendency to involve more in conflict activities, and the more the conflict related activities, the lower the tendency for conflict resolution strategies to be effective. More so, the drivers of conflict related activities in the study area are significant (1%) and negatively related to the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the study area. The implication of this finding is that the more the persistence of the causative agents of conflict in the study area, the less the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies. This is in line with a-priori expectation, in that the causative agents must be properly addressed to bring about the efficient and effective conflict resolution strategies and peace building. The same trend is associated with the nature of conflict, which also has an inverse and significant (1%) relationship with the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the study area. By implication, the most prevalent nature of conflict in the study area as established earlier is associated with poverty and hunger, as well as politics-induced conflicts, which by extension are all functions of the economic situation in the country. Survival of the fittest has become the order of the day; when the economic situation is downward sloping, citizens tend to engage in conflict related activities, and are often used as political thugs. All these have negative influence on the effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies in the study area. In the same vein, as earlier established in previous discussion, the prevalent groups involved in conflict in the study area are farmers and herdsmen as well as political parties. All these groups were found to significantly (1%) and negatively affect the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace building strategies in the study area. The implication of this finding is that increase in these groups' involvement in conflict related activities negatively affects the performance and effectiveness of conflict resolution efforts in the study area.

From the foregoing, and as highlighted, it is evident that there exist significant influencing factors affecting the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace building strategies in the study area.

Table 5.25: Tobit Regression Estimates of Factors Affecting the Effectiveness of Conflict Resolution Strategies

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	T	P>|t|
Age	0.00053	0.00027	1.92***	0.055
Years of education	0.00030	0.00126	0.24	0.812
Marital status	0.14169	0.02479	5.72*	0.000
Occupation	- 0.22131	0.01337	- 16.55*	0.000
Causes of conflict	- 0.04621	0.00894	- 5.17*	0.000
Nature of conflict	- 0.03771	0.01088	- 3.47*	0.001
Groups involved in conflict	- 0.03387	0.00559	- 6.06*	0.000
Constant	1.31138	0.03173	41.33	0.000

Dependent variable (Y): Effectiveness-index

LR chi²(7) = 1076.47,   Prob>chi² = 0.0000,

* - Significant at 1% probability level

*** - Significant at 10% probability level

Source: Field survey, 2019

Source: Williams, R. (2015). Measurement Error 2: Scale Construction (Very Brief Overview). University of Notre Dame.

5.7 Preamble of the Interview Conducted

As part of the methodological approach in finding out the causes of the conflicts especially, the Boko Haram conflict and the Fulani herdsmen pastoralist and farmer's conflict in Yobe state. Key Informant Interview was conducted on thirty four people (purposely selected respondents) who are believed to have knowledge about the conflicts, efforts made towards resolving it and ascertaining the effectiveness of the strategies that have been employed in attempt at resolving the conflict as well as to seek their views on possible alternative strategies that they think may help in resolving the conflicts.

The thirty four respondents purposively selected for the interview includes: security agents (Military, Police and Civil Defense), government officers, representatives of international organizations working in the area of conflict resolution and peace building, Non-Government

Organization (NGOs), traditional rulers, politicians, students, women leaders, business class and academics who have written on conflict and peace building in the area of study.

In line with the research interview guide and research questions approved by the Ethics Committee of the University and the pre-condition required for the conduct of interview as stipulated by the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which must be adhered to, are stated as follows:

- Notification of intention to conduct interview to prospective individuals, persons, groups and organizations, stating the topic of discussion (subject matter and rationale; aim and objectives; date, venue and time of the interview.)

- Acceptance and feedback from prospective persons, groups and organizations to be interviewed

- Acceptance of instrument to be used for the interview by both parties

- Methods of the conduct of the interview (type and questions) and sequence of questions

- Assurance of confidentiality of information provided.

- Clarification of cultural settings on issues raised and communication of research finding, and position reached on issues raised and discussed, which must be mutually agreed and accepted by parties involved.

5.8 Interview Section

The researcher introduces himself, his identity and status (self-introduction). I am a Doctoral research student of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. This interview is conducted as part of my research work titled **"Assessing conflict and peace building strategies in Democratic systems - A case study of Yobe state, Nigeria, 2009 – 2017".**

The aim of the interview is to find out your knowledge about causes of conflicts, conflict resolution strategies employed in resolving ongoing conflicts of Boko Haram and the Fulani herdsmen/farmers conflicts and efforts put in place by government towards peace building in the state. It is believed that you are in better position to provide the necessary information on these issues because you represent the people of this community, we are particularly interested in the

different strategies that has been adopted in managing and attempting to resolve the conflicts and to build peace.

As part of the pre-condition for this interview we are under obligation to inform you of the instruments that will be used in the interview, one of which is a tape recorder. In this regard our discussion during this interview is tape-recorded in order to capture all the details of our conversations with you.

Jottings of the conversation will also be done; the confidentiality of your comments are guaranteed. So please feel free to answer the questions to the best of your knowledge and you are free to decline answering any question you are not comfortable with and you are also free to withdraw from the conversation (interview) any time you feel like doing so. If you are satisfied with this, may we please begin our conversation (interview).

5.9 Report of Interview Conducted on the Thirty-Four Respondents Purposely Selected

NB: (IR) in this context is used as code for interviews conducted on 34 respondents purposely selected for this research which are coded IR1 - IR34, this represent interview of respondents 1 - 34 in the interview analysis below, views of respondents are coded for anonymity and to guarantee confidentiality of respondents.

In order to gain insight into the issue under study (Assessing conflict resolution and peace building strategies in Democratic systems A study of Yobe state Nigeria 2009-2017) Eighteen interview questions were drafted, certified and approved a supervisor for eliciting information from thirty-four purposely selected respondents, the summary of which is presented here. The identity and biography of the purposely selected respondents was collected in the introduction, this provides information about the knowledge, level of awareness and the role of respondents in the conflicts in the study area this serves as the bases upon which respondents gave their views on the questions raised.

Inquiring into the background of the crises 29 respondents which constitutes 85% of the people interviewed opined that the crises started around the year 2000, while the remaining 5 respondents which make up 15% argued that the crises began some years earlier than the year

127

2000 and that it only came into limelight in the year 2000. This is attested to by majority of the people interviewed for example, (IR6) Respondent: opined that 'The conflict in this area began for over ten to fifteen years although it came into focus in the year 2009. It is due to disagreement between a fundamentalist Islamic group known as Boko Haram and government officers (The Nigerian Police)." This view has been earlier attested to by the 588 respondents on who questionnaires have been administered across the state. On the cause or causes of the conflict, various respondents gave their views as to the cause of the crises ranging from political, religious, economic (unemployment, poverty, hunger) ethnicity, vengeance and tribalism. These views expressed tally with the views of 90% of the respondents on which questionnaires was administered upon, which point to the fact that the cause or causes of the conflict is multifaceted conversely the solution to it will demand a multi-dimensional approach, however 24 respondents which constitute 71% of the people interviewed opined that the cause of the conflict is political but having religion undertone while the remaining 10 respondents which is 29% attributed the causes to other factors earlier mentioned. On the strategies employed in resolving the conflict, 28 respondents which constitute 82% of the people interviewed opined that the strategy is the counter insurgency strategy which centered mainly on the use of the military and a combination of para-military agencies such as the police, civil defense and immigration service, otherwise referred to as Joint Task Force as well as the use of Money Laundering Acts provisions for example, (IR11) Respondent: opined that "The general strategy that has been used by government is the military force in which all military and para-military staffs are mobilized to fight the group Jamaatu Alhlissunnah liddab awatiwal jihad which later came to be known as Boko Haram".

However only a handful of the respondents interviewed knows about the money laundering acts which has been in existence since year 2001, 2004, 2011 and 2013 respectively. Respondents also gave their views about the existence and roles of Civilian Joint Task Force popularly referred to as (CJTF) a group of able body men who give support to the military in the fight against insurgents who are also been supported by the government through the provision of logistic materials. On the effectiveness of the military counter insurgency strategy, 21 respondents representing 62% of the people interviewed opined that the strategy is effective because it has been able to reduce the level of the violent conflict as compared to previous years,

especially 2014/2015 when the crisis was at its peak while the remaining 13 respondents representing 38% 0f the people interviewed argued that the strategy is ineffective because it has failed to resolve the conflict, what it has only achieved is the suppression of the conflict which many has expressed fair of it resurfacing in the nearest possible future.

The question on whether the resolution of the conflict involves third party, 26 people interviewed which constitute 76% of the total number of people interviewed opined that resolution of the conflict does not involve third party, it has been between the government and the group both using their coercive instruments for example, (IR7) Respondent: opined that "The resolution of the conflict does not involve third party, but it is necessary to involve third party since the group could not reach or come to agreement on the resolution" however, 8 respondents representing 24% of the respondents interviewed argued that it involved third party such as the military support given by neighboring countries of Chad ,Niger and Cameroun while some respondents view the intervention by non-governmental organizations NGOs as third party intervention in the resolution of the conflict. It is important to say that NGOs are not necessarily third party in the resolution of the conflicts but rather people rendering humanitarian assistance to victims of the conflict, especially people in internally displaced people's camps (IDPs camps). Also, of recent there has been complaint about the activities of NGOs in the study area, North-East and Yobe state in particular on allegation of aiding and abetting of the terrorist group through the provision of humanitarian services and supports to the group such as food, clothing and medical aids, and unconfirmed cases of the supply of drugs to the terrorist group, this claims have not been substantiated but calls for caution and worry about the role and activities of NGOs in the study area.

On the role of private individuals or groups in the conflict resolution processes, 28 respondents representing 82% of the people interviewed opined that private individuals and groups do not intervene in the conflict resolution process as this has largely being the concern of the military, for example, (IR28) Respondent: opined that "Private individuals and groups were also not allowed to intervene in the conflict resolution process. Six (6) respondents representing 18% of the sampled population interviewed posited that private individuals and groups were indirectly involved in the conflict resolution process through the offering of advice and enlightening the

general public about the danger of violent conflict and terrorism, given the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar who gave advice to government on the possibility of granting Amnesty to the Boko-Haram terrorist group as a way out of the crises in the North-East.

Others also cite Hajia Aisha Wakili Gana popularly referred to as (mama Boko- Haram) as one of the few individuals involved in the resolution of the conflict. She has, over the year, been purported to be intermediary between the terrorist group and the government in the so-called truce of negotiation between the group and the government of Nigeria. This claim has not been ascertained. There has also been claims in some quarters over the issue that Red Cross Society International was involved in the undisclosed and unfounded allegation of negotiation between the Boko Haram terrorist group and the federal government of Nigeria over the negotiated release of some of the kidnapped Chibok school girls on April 2014 and the Dapchi students of 2017, respectively. These claims have however, not been ascertained as the federal government has always claimed ignorance and denied being aware or involved in any kind of negotiation with any terrorist group whatsoever. Such claim and counter claim deserve a thorough understanding and analysis to bring the actual truth of the issue to the forefront.

On the involvement of international organizations such as United Nations (UN) African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the resolution of the conflicts, 27 respondents which is 79% of the respondents interviewed argued that International organizations intervened in the resolution of the conflicts indirectly through the support provided by neighboring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroun in what is often referred to as Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF). It is argued that without the support and approval of international community and organization it wouldn't have been possible for neighboring countries to mobilize and support Nigeria military in their fight against the Boko Haram terrorist group, the remaining (IR33) Respondent: opined that "International organization have intervened that is why we have multi-national Joint Task Force from other countries such as Niger, Chad and Cameroun supporting Nigerian military in the fight against Boko Haram." Seven (7) respondents which is 21% of the people interviewed say there hasn't been involvement of international organizations in the resolution of the conflicts.

On the question about the involvement of traditional rulers in the conflict, 27 respondents which is 79% of the people interviewed opined that traditional rulers were not involved in the resolution of the conflict because the issue is purely a military affair. On the contrary for example, (IR2) Respondent: opined that "Traditional rulers are not involved in resolving conflict", seven (7) respondents representing 21% of the people interviewed opined that traditional rulers were involved directly or indirectly in the conflict resolution process citing the Sultan of Sokoto Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar who suggested offering of Amnesty to Boko Haram terrorist group as an alternative way towards resolving the conflict. Other traditional rulers also gave advice to government and as well enlighten their subjects on the ills of violent conflicts and its implications on the society.

On the question as to whether the involvement of traditional rulers involvement has in any way enhanced the resolution of the conflicts, 22 respondents which is 65% of the people interviewed say that although traditional rulers cannot be said to have intervened in the resolution of the conflicts directly but they have played significant role in educating and enlightening their subjects thereby limiting the effect of the violence on the society while the remaining 12 respondents which is 25% of the respondents opined that traditional rulers were involved for example (IR23) Respondent: opined that "They are not involved so they have not in any way enhanced the resolution of the conflict".

On the question about the involvement of non- governmental organizations (NGOs) in the resolution of the conflict, 24 of the people interviewed which is 71% of the 34 respondents purposely interviewed opined that NGOs intervened in the conflict, such as Red Cross Society International, Medicine Frontiers (Doctors without border) (MSF) Action Against Hunger (ACF) among others for example (IR15) Respondent: opined that "Non-governmental organizations (NGOS) have intervened by providing support to victims, they include: Red-cross, ACF, action against hunger, Doctors without borders, MSF among others, they aid victims of the conflicts especially those in internally displaced provision camps (IDP)". There are eleven NGOs currently working in the area of humanitarian assistance and services in Yobe state. There is, however, different views about the roles of NGOs in the conflict riding North -Eastern state of Nigeria, while some people believe that they intervene through the provision of food, clothing,

medical assistance, as well as engage in rehabilitation and resettlement of victims while some people believe that NGOs engage in negotiation with terrorist group to secure those kidnapped.

NGOs, have, in some ways reduced the sufferings of victims in the conflict region, especially those in the internally displaced people's camps (IDPs camps) as well as other victims in the locality. This however, has nothing to do with the level of violence as the situation has remained unabated.

On the issue of alternative strategies or methods which can be employed in resolving the conflict, 29 respondents representing 85% of the people interviewed opined that there is the urgent need to find alternative conflict resolution strategies to resolve the conflict which has lingered for over a decade, more so that the lapses and loopholes in the counter insurgency strategy shows that it is incapable of resolving the crises. Respondents have, therefore, suggested other alternative strategies such as negotiation, amnesty, reconciliation and mediation among several other strategies that could be employed in the resolution of conflict for example, (IR19) Respondent: Said that "Government meant business with the counter insurgency strategy as approach towards resolving the Boko Haram conflict and is bent on winning the war against the insurgent group, arguing that it is not possible to negotiate with terrorists. Government has tried it and it has failed so it is not an option, neither can government think of amnesty for a terrorist group. The counter insurgency strategy will surely put an end to the terrorist group permanently, it only requires time and commitment. It is the only strategy for such problem worldwide." This view is expressed by some who believe that the ongoing strategy is the best that can be employed to deal with the situation. On the other hand, some respondents opined that that is the need for alternative strategies to combat the menace in lieu of the loophole identified in the counter insurgency strategy for example, (IR21) Respondent: opined that "apart from the counter insurgency strategy and the money laundering Acts. 1 will suggest negotiation and reconciliation between the group, this may seem contrary to conventional ways of dealing with terrorist groups, but notwithstanding, no matter the level of conflict or violence, finding solution or way to resolve it always takes place on a round table negotiation there is nothing wrong in coming to round table with the group and dialogue which will give room for discussion and re-integration back into the society. This will enhance sustainable peace and development." Implicit in this is

the fact that some believe the only way to deal with terrorism is the military coercive way while others believe in alternative approaches.

More importantly, respondents opined that the conflicts are largely caused as a result of poor economic situation in the conflict region which put majority in abject poverty, high level of unemployment, hunger and starvation which are factors responsible for violent conflicts. Thus, it is widely suggested and believed that improved economic condition, creating employment opportunities, building infrastructures and provision of basic needs of life such as water, food clothing and shelter will enhance peace and harmonious society. This is in line with the human need's theory of peace building. For example, (IR26) Respondent: opined that "alternative strategies that may be employed in the resolution are negotiations through dialogue, reconciliation, meditation and provision of employment opportunity for the youths".

It has been observed by respondent that government has always, as a policy, drag military personnel to conflict zones to suppress conflicts without necessarily resolving conflicts and more importantly when conflicts are suppressed government tend to ignore the root cause of conflicts neither do government make attempt at building peace nor do they embark on efforts aimed at re-conciliation, resettlement and harmonious coexistence. In this regard, government must ensure and enhance peace building efforts and programmes that will sustain peace and prevent conflict from relapsing or what is referred to as reoccurrence of conflicts. The federal government North -East post-conflict initiative put in place to assist and help in rebuilding the North-East after the Boko Haram insurgency and terrorist activities is a welcome development which need to be implemented to the letter and sustained. Other conflict resolution and peace building institutions and agencies which has been in existence but not functional need to be resuscitated and revitalized. Other institutions such as the law enforcement agencies, Institute for peace studies, Abuja and the National Institute for Strategic Studies, Kuru-Jos need to be strengthened and made to live up to their responsibilities of researching into the remote and immediate causes of conflicts and to seek ways of preventing conflicts before they start. The functioning and activities of these agencies should not be restricted to their immediate locality which is the Federal Capital and Plateau State but should be extended to every nook and cranny of Nigeria

It is important to note that because of the catastrophic effect of the activities of Boko Haram insurgent and terrorist groups in Yobe over the past few years, the other known conflict, the Fulani herdsmen and farmer's conflict has been in limbo, as the terrorist group raises havoc on the state, the people and their property. This is not to say that the Fulani herdsmen /farmer's conflict has been resolved; the conflict still lingers but have been suppressed by the activities of the terrorist group.

The Federal government has, in recent times; attempt to find lasting solution to the lingering conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmer's by trying to create *ruga* settlements in each of the 36 states of the federation. The idea is that the federal government wills by law mandate every state to provide grazing land for the Fulani to settle down and rear their animals permanently in all the states of the federation. This idea was however, not welcomed by the states and a greater number of Nigerian citizens. Thus, the proposal could not see the light of the day, the issues of conflict over resources control (land) between Fulani herdsmen and farmers remain unresolved and may soon rear its ugly heads again.

5.10   Conclusion

There is no doubt that more need to be done in terms of security of life and property in Nigeria through preventive methods rather than curative methods. Government must look at the root cause of conflicts and tackle the issues headlong. In this regard, issues of unemployment, poverty, marginalization, must be tackled. Adequate laws must be put in place to curtail religious fundamentalism and radicalism, citizens must be made to know that Nigeria is a secular state where every citizen can practice any religion, he/she wants to practice without any form of hinderance or compulsion or trying to force one's religion on others. However, freedom of religion or of whatever form of association/ assembly, freedom of press and speech should nonetheless be misused or taken for granted.

Government must put in place strict laws to curtail religious extremism and fundamentalism which is often the bases of causing crises and lead to untold hardship on the citizens by crippling socio-economic activities of the state and of the people. Government must establish strong regulatory bodies to control all religious activities, establish skill acquisition centers and ensure

the maintenance of law and order at all time, while on the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict, government efforts at resolving the conflicts over the years which saw the introduction of various policies such as the provision of grazing reserves, otherwise known as cattle ranches and of more recent the *ruga* policy which was highly contested and unresolved and has been swept under the carpet, requires a second look. It is however, important to say that government must involve the parties concerned in the conflict resolution process, the herdsmen and the farmers must be part and parcel of any policy and plan aimed at resolving the conflicts. This is the only way towards achieving a peaceful and prosperous society where development can take place.

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion of Findings

6.0 Introduction

Findings of this research work show that the North-Eastern part of Nigeria has over the last decades witnessed two major conflicts namely; the Boko-Haram insurgency and terrorist activities which has resulted in the killing of over 20,000 people and the displacement of over 2.6 million people according to (Ali Gama et. al 2019). Fulani herdsmen and farmer's conflicts over resource control (land) for animal rearing and the cultivation of crops which has also led to the killings and destruction of properties worth millions of naira. The most threatening of the situation in the North-East, especially Yobe is that despite several efforts by government, both at the state and federal levels to resolve the conflicts, it seem unabated, as the conflict continue to claim more lives and property over the time.

It is on record that government at the state and federal levels has put in a lot of resources both financial and human worth billions of naira to resolve the conflict but all to no avail. In fact, instead of the crisis been resolved, evidence shows that the terrorist group are not only gaining more grounds but are expanding their strength and connection to international terrorist groups such as Al-shabab ISSS and Al-Queda among others (Daniel E Agbiboa, 2014).

Information available shows the existence of the insurgent groups since the year 2003 when its members isolated themselves in a bush around Jajibirdi village in Yunusari local government area of Yobe state, in the name of Almajiri (people seeking Islamic knowledge) the group was then referred to as Taliban. However, government did not take the group serious and failed to pay attention to their activities. The group activities became manifest in 2003 when they attacked the divisional police headquarters at Kamama, Geidam Dapachi and Damaturu burnt down buildings and killed two police men and carted away with a sizeable number of arms and ammunitions before the situation was brought under control.

They, however, resurfaced in 2009 fully armed, aiming their attacks on security formations in Maiduguri, Bauchi, Adamawa and Damaturu. Within a week their activities had escalated far and wide and they were however, crushed sat Malka hills in Manudo along Damaturu-Potiskum

road. Few members of the group were arrested in Potiskum and Damaturu and were later prosecuted at the state high court Potiskum.

On the 4[th]November 2011, the group again stormed Damaturu township with all sorts of weapon. They set the government properties ablaze, besides killing over ninety (90) people, especially men who left behind their family (children and women) who have no means of sustenance, thereby turning them into widows and orphans overnight. It is important to note that available reports show that government is fully aware of the existence of this religious fundamentalist group as far back as 1998 when the group first used Jajibir village as their base. Government's refusal to take required action to stem the activities of the group's then gave them breeding space which led to what we are currently experiencing. Many scholars have come up with different reasons and factors responsible for the emergence of Boko-haram as a terrorist group; some of which are ideological, political, ethnic poverty, unemployment, marginalization and religion, among others. It is difficult to point out the exact factor that is responsible for the emergence of the Boko haram sect, in fact, reports point to evidence of the sect's existence since 1960s and 1970s. As the sect's origin is traceable to the Maitatsine uprising of the 1980s. (Egiegba Agbiboa, 2013),(Abba, Osman, & Muda, 2017), (Sodipo, 2013) allude to this claim.

Therefore, in terms of origin, one may be tempted to say that the sect is an offshoot being the earlier Islamic religious fundamentalist or the earlier Islamic religious sects of the 70s and 80s and such Maitasene. More so, that one of the objectives of the group is the entrenching of the Islamic shariah law or system in a caliphate state as the group always proclaim to be doing.

In the same vain, scholars such as (Alozieuwa, 2012) also concur with the fact that Boko-harm conflicts has its root partly in religious difference, Alozeouwa however, furthered his arguments and reason for the conflicts to be as a result of internal and external forces. He views socio-economic factors and deep seated political problem in the Nigeria society, vengeance over the killing of the Boko -Haram sect leader, Ustas Mohammed Yusuf and external forces such as the global Islamic Jihad as reported by (Daniel E Agbiboa, 2014) in his work. "Don't think Jihad has ended, it has just begun" which focused on the sect's link with international terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, or its affiliate Al-Shabab and other Islamic Jihaddist in the Magreb (AQIM).

Alozeouwa also view Boko-haram as a grand conspiracy to achieve the predicted disintegration of Nigeria by 2015 (see "Africa in 2020 panel Report) and within the conspiracy theory is the assumption that Nigeria is being targeted by envious neighbors who want the country to break up into smaller units, this again, according to Alozeouwa, is partly responsible for the intruding of war-hardened returnees from Libya crisis, Sierra-Leone and other War-torn countries in the sub-region to Nigeria with assorted arms joining Boko -Haram group in their terror activities. Others such as (Ojelade, 2018), opine that Boko-Haram insurgence began when political militant groups called Ecomog which were used by politicians in the built-up to the 2003 general elections in Nigeria, especially in the Northern part of the country, especially Borno and Yobe state were provided huge sums of money with ammunitions and training ground on mountains scattered all over the northern region and were protected against arrest by the federal government, this was later copied by politicians in other regions of the country.

Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact origin of the sect in Nigeria more so that they have been joined by outsiders from neighboring war-torn countries with international terrorist connection and finance such as Al Shabab, Al-Qeada among others. It may therefore, not be out of point to say that the group started as a political sponsored group to achieve their political aims and objectives.

These various versions of the origin and objectives for which the group come into being can hardly be disputed. Nonetheless, the reoccurring and most popular view among citizens is that the group emerged due to ideological differences between the government of the day and their own objectives, particularly with regards to western education and the teaching and practice of Islam according to the Holy Prophet Muhammed (SAW) which the group argued is against their belief and practice and therefore, insisted for a change through the establishment of their own Caliphate system in the North-Eastern region of Nigeria while the government is also bent on maintaining status-quo.

Whichever ways, theemergence of thegroup is viewed either politically, socially, religious/ideologically or vengeance over the death of their leader, Ustas Yussuff Muhammed or as classified by Alozeouwa as (internal and external factors), the issue is that the conflict has had serious repercussion on Nigeria state and its people. Many scholars have written on this, few

among who are (Daniel E Agbiboa, 2014)(Faluyi et al., 2019), (Sodipo, 2013)(Abdulkarim et al., 2018) among others.

The crisis has led to loss of lives in which over 200,000 people have been killed and over 2.6million people were displaced with properties worth billions of naira destroyed. According to Mohamud (2014), it is obvious the Boko Haram terrorist group does not only want to influence government decisions, actions, policies and programmes but they also seek to directly control available resources in Nigeria. The group also seeks to impose shariah law in the state of Nigeria. The Boko haram crisis has turned out to become a thorn in the flesh of the Nigeria government.

The Nigeria government has made several efforts aimed at resolving the conflict with no solution in sight. Findings revealed that the government over the years employed military and other para-military agents to fight the terrorist group in what is better known as counter insurgency or terrorism strategy. Many scholars have written widely on this approach such as (Ani, 2014) and (Faluyi et al., 2019) amongst others.

Quite a greater percentage of the number of respondents among the 588 whom questionnaires were administered on felt the strategy as ineffective because it only suppresses the conflict rather than resolving and indeed majority opined that the strategy only reduced the violent nature of the crises but not resolving it.

It is important to know that the counter insurgency/terrorist approach came as a result of the increasing violent nature of the terrorist group in the wake of 2000-2015. Thus, government response was a spontaneous approach to quench the escalation and violent nature of the conflict. This was why the counter terrorism Acts came up in 2004, 2011 and 2013 respectively. It is not surprising, therefore, that the strategy is not working as expected because there was no wide consultation with the people at the grass-root, it was a top-down designed approach to conflict resolution, it has merely turned the areas to a battle field for the military and the terrorist group. it has engulfed billions of naira yet there is no sign that the military is winning the war as soldiers and civilians are been killed daily by the terrorist group.

Business and economic activities in the area has been halted as people run to other parts of the country for the safety of their lives and their business activities, the crisis has made investors to run away from the North-East or relocate to other parts of the country. The worrisome part of this is the huge amount of money being budgeted for security issues and related matter. The aim of government is to meet the challenges posed by the insurgents and terrorists to the security of the country, this fund would have been used for roads, electricity and other amenities, while the federal government is striving towards making life better, the terrorist group is crumbling all efforts of government towards such direction. Also, small scale businesses have been halted by activities of the terrorist, the banking sector is equally affected. Educational institutions and other commercial activities are at stand still.

The effect of Boko-haram insurgency and terrorist activities on the people, economy, and Nigeria society is better expressed by the victims in the North-Eastern region to whom questionnaires have been administered and interviews conducted. Narration of psychological trauma, sleepless nights and fear of the unknown characterized their living condition with no hope of ending it in sight as the government and military on one side and the Boko haram terrorist group on the other hand have turned the area to riffle testing ground.

Closely related to the counter insurgent terrorist strategy is the Money Laundering Act of 2011 and 2013 which was enacted by the National Assembly to restrict, monitor and punish any group or individual supporting the terrorist group financially. The act spelt out various types of punishment for anyone or group involved in supporting the terrorist group or any criminal acts whatsoever. It is imperative to say that the counter terrorism war is on and the success or failure of the strategy will take some time to be recounted.

Findings also show that apart from the counter terrorist strategy of government which centered on the use of military and other para-military agents or what came to be known as joint task force (JTF), the Nigeria government has also employed or attempted to employ negotiations through dialogue with the terrorist group during the regime of President Goodluck Jonathan in which a 26 man Presidential Committee was set up on 24th April, 2013 under the Chairmanship of Alhaji Kabiru Tariimu Turaki (SAN) who was then the Minster of Special Duties and Inter -

Governmental Affairs to dialogue with the group towards finding solution to the crisis. The committee could not engage the group in dialogue because the leader of the terrorist group (Abubakar Shekau) refused the call for dialogue (Nwankpa, 2014). The committee, however, recommended the settling-up of a Special Victim Support Fund by the federal government to assist the victims of the insurgency. The presidential special fund for victims of the conflict has since been implemented.

In the course of the research, it was gathered that there is ongoing underground negotiation between the terrorist group and the federal government of Nigeria on the possibility of ending the crisis, but this cannot be substantiated as the federal government has often denied the existence of such arrangement.

There has also been calls by some eminent personalities such as the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Saad Abubakar on the need to grant amnesty to the terrorist group, he made the call on the 7th of March 20013, this was however met with lots of stiff resistance from certain quarters, especially the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) as such the strategy was not welcomed.

Findings of this research show that the federal government has over the year employed legal procedure by prosecuting and trying to punish those who were directly involved in terrorist activities such as the Boko-Haram terrorist Kabiru Sokoto, a frontline Boko -Haram terrorist who escaped from the hands of the security men while under trial. This point to the weak nature of our security apparatus and their inability to perform their expected role as protectors of citizens and their property.

Due to the violent nature of the conflict, no judicial commission of inquiry has been constituted or set up by the government to investigate the causes of the conflict as it has always been the practice in Nigeria the violent nature of the conflict has not in any way give room for such arrangement by the government. Although, evidence abounds that such panels or committees of inquiry have always failed to resolve problems or conflicts (Odey & Agi, 2015).

There has also been community-based response to the menace of Boko- Haram between (2003-2015). Able bodied men and women rose up to defend themselves and their communities and to compliment state security operations against the intensifying and expanding frontiers of Boko Haram insurgent/terrorist activities. This group is referred to as civilian joint task Force (CJTF), this set of civilians gave support to the military in the counter insurgency operation. All these are measures and strategies put in place by the government to arrest the violent crisis on-going in the North-Eastern part of the country.

Findings also reveal the role of individual such as the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Abubakar who proposed amnesty for the terrorist group as a possible way out of the crisis but was turned down, other religious leaders and politicians have also called on government and the terrorist group to tow the path of negotiation through dialogue to end the conflict.

Research findings also reveal hat neighboring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon supported Nigeria by deploying their military to assist in the fight against the terrorist group in what is known as Multinational joint task force (MJTF) which to a great extent, assisted in reducing the violence and power of the terrorist group.

Research findings reveal that the military insurgency strategy is constrained with fund problem such as corruption, embezzlement and internal rivalry between the military. This is what (Okoli & Orinya, 2013) described as internal rivalry among the military coupled with lots of diversion of fund in which some military officers were alleged to have been Culprits such as, Late Air Vice Marshal, Alex Barde, former Chief of Defense Staff and former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki among others. Thus, the strategy has been mired with sabotage, diversion and lack of modern and up to date equipment or machineries to fight the war and sometimes poor training and lack of capacity building for the military some of who are said to be newly graduating soldier from the Defense College with little or no experience of war. There have also been arguments that Nigeria as a country does not have the required army (soldier) to wage war against the insurgent group who on daily bases are recruiting membership from neighbouring countries, especially War-torn countries such as Libya, Sierra-Lone, Liberian and other. This is why the terrorists almost took over Yobe state capital, Damaturu on the 1st of December 2014

after taking over the government apparatus of the state in a brutal headlock with the military. The situation was brought under control with the assistance of the Airforce jet fighters and the reinforcement of military fighter jets. Thus, it is confirmed by this act and many others that Boko-Haram is not only out to influence government decision and policies but aimed at overthrowing the government and entrenching its own caliphate system and shariah law.

6.1 Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers Conflicts

Similarly, the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict has over the years been of great concern and subject of discussion, especially in the Northern part of Nigeria and Yobe state. The state been one of agricultural production (cultivation of crops and rearing of animals) which also serves as the major occupation of the people. The state which is situated in Guinea savannah vegetation enjoys relative high rainfall which gives it the opportunity to cultivate and grow crops such as corn, millet, maize, beans cashew, among others. The northern part of the state falls into the Sahel-savanna which gives the state opportunity of large-scale livestock rearing of different species ranging from cow, sheep, donkey and hence the existence of large cattle and in fact, the largest in west Africa in Fika town.

Under such scenario, there is the likelihood of trespass and infringement on land by one group or the other. Research finding shows there had been several incidence and cases of trespass leading to conflict between the groups. The conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers has led to destruction of life and properties, many scholars have written on this such as (Isah Mohammed Abbass, 2014),(Dimelu, Salifu, & Igbokwe, 2016)(Waters-Bayer & Bayer, 1994) among others. Through their research works, the historical relationship between Fulani herdsmen and farmers and how eventually the issue of land for grazing and cultivation of crops became a bone of contention leading to indigene and settler crisis in Plateau state and other parts. This has resulted into reprisal attacks in parts of Northern states on the allegation of trespass on land by Fulani herdsmen by farmers.

This is, however, not in connection with the issue of climate change in which Fulani herdsmen have to move from Sahel savanna into the Guinea savannah and co-habit with the farmers due to low rainfall and dry vegetation thereby forcing them to move inward into the cultivated farmland

area and leading to trespass on the farmers land in search of water and food for their livestock , this often resulted into conflict between the two groups and sometimes violent in nature (killing and destruction of properties).

Research finding shows this conflict has been on for years and government at all levels have always provide temporary solutions to the problem wherever and whenever it crept up, for example, the Yobe state government according to (Bello 2013) has over the years constituted committees to look in to the issue with lots of recommendations which are not implemented.

Of recent, the federal government must take a giant step to resolve the lingering crisis between Fulani herdsmen and farmers by proposing the creation of *ruga* settlements in all the stats of the federation. This however, was not welcomed by majority of the states in the South-East and South-Western states and consequently the plan is halted except for the few cattle ranches and grazing land earlier demarcated by provisions of governments which still serve as home to the Fulani herdsmen in their grazing activities. The Fulani herdsmen who by nature are nomadic still continue to move from place to place with their cattle and animals and will continue with time, it can therefore, be inferred that the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers is not over yet, it has just began except something drastic is done about it (Olabode et al., 2010).

One can concur with most respondent from the interviews conducted that the conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers are triggered or caused as a result of resource control over land usage and climate occasioned by the need for green vegetation to feed the animals and water to feed their means of livelihood as posited by (Muhammed & Oladimeji, 2017) "Our Herds Our Life".

Findings establish the link between democracy, conflict resolution and peace building in Nigeria with reference to the two major conflicts in Yobe state. There is no doubt that democracy as a system of government provides fertile ground for conflict resolution and peace building this has been attested to by scholars with practical illustration, for example, the case of Peru and Ecuador borders armed conflict between two democrats which has been resolved (Moses et al., 1996).

The idea of democracy resolving conflict is also in line with the idea of International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) report 2006, which highlights the need for democracy activities for peace and security relationship between people and their government based on trust, accountability and determination to deliver practical results and benefits to the citizen.

In Nigeria, many scholars such as (Joshua, 2013), (Abubakar & Gorondutse, 2013), (Gerald Ekenedirichukwu Ezirim, 2009) have written extensively on the validity of democracy in resolving conflict and enhancing peace, some of these scholars have proved over time that democracy as a strategy for managing conflict has been supported worldwide by scholars such as (Kinsella & David, 2008)and (Rousseau et al., 1996). Democracy and Conflict Resolution (Dixon et al., 2007) Democracy and Management for International Conflict. Democracy a case study in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building in India Naidu (2006) Democracy and Conflict Resolution (Paris & Sisk, 2009) among others.

Conversely, scholars such as (Paris, 2004),(Runciman, 2017)(Drescher, 1968)(Dewey & Rogers, 2012) among others have also pointed out the loopholes inherent in democracy as a system of government and as a conflict resolution strategy.
In Nigeria, democracy has been restored for over 18years (1999-2019) which no doubt has open hope and expectation for the people, especially regarding freedom and rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of choosing leaders, accountability, improved condition of living, peaceful and harmonious society and above all good governance.

In the light of Nigeria is blessed with both human and material resources. However, the reality on ground show that the expectations of people are by no means met instead what we have is increasing level of poverty, unemployment, conflict and crises of various kinds such as terrorism, insurgency, militants, corruption, kidnapping, pipeline vandalization, embezzlement and a decaying society of human right abuses and lawlessness.

With this catalogue of problems and conflict at hand and the different approaches and lack of positive strategy in resolving these conflicts especially the Boko Haram terrorist and insurgent

activities which has kept the North-Eastern part of the country under siege for over a decade without solution in sight. Also, the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict has also not been resolved. One begins to wonder if democracy as a system of government and a strategy for conflict resolution is tenable in Nigeria. One might tend to take sides with (Rosato, 2003), flaw of democratic peace theory (Runciman, 2017) The confidence trap John Dewey (1927) the problem of majority or the public and it problems and in fact with(III, 2005) can democracy stop terrorism.

It is against this background that countries in North-Africa like Tunisia, Egypt and Libya where dictators have held sway for over three decades, the condition of the citizen in those countries in terms of economic life and standard of living can be said to be better than Nigeria (Nkwede, Abah, & Nwankwo, 2015)(Adejumobi & Kehinde, 2007).
Similarly, the increasing level of poverty, unemployment and frustration in Nigeria society today resulting into people committing suicide, while others travel oversea in search of greener pastures is not only embarrassing but disgraceful to democratic system of governance.

It appears also that because democracy as a system of governance gives room for freedom of association, speech, religion and others, people have taken undue advantage of this privilege to engage and embark on formation of associations that are not only detrimental to the growth of the Nigerian state but most likely leading to its break up, it can be said with all sense of humility that the different types and kinds of crises and conflict going on in Nigeria today is because Nigeria is under democratic rule. This lawlessness and kidnapping, terrorism and insurgency, religious fundamentalism and unguided utterances cannot be tolerated under a military government.

One can equivocally say that most development and peaceful periods in Nigeria are during military regimes, one can mention catalogue of achievements under the military regime in Nigeria for example roads, power, rail, educational institutions, air-ports, health facilities, water and more importantly, a peaceful, conflict free society.Research findings reveal that one of the problems which led to insurgence and terrorism in the North-East is the high level of unemployment. A situation in which people who are willing and capable of working could not

get jobs or the number of the economically active population who are without job but available for and seeking job.

Many youths in the North-Easts are unemployed and are lured into joining terrorist groups who offered them money and the continuous recruitment of youths into terrorist groups and their continued violent attacks, many of the youths who surrendered to the military attested to the fact that it is lack of gainful employment and poverty that made them to join the group.

In fact, the prevailing level of poverty in Nigeria cannot be over emphasized. According to UNDP (2010) report 68.7 million Nigerians are living in poverty and by 2018 the situation has not changed but degenerated as the Human Development Index (HDI) for 2018 rate Nigeria to be 157th poorest country out of 187 countries surveyed.

From the foregoing, it can be argued that conflicts in Nigeria and specifically in Northern Nigeria is majorly due to unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, religious fanatism, lack of infrastructures such as road, portable drinking water, electricity, climatic condition such as desertification, low rainfall and the openness of the boarders to foreigners from other poverty stricken nations around the Northern countries such as Niger, Chad, who rely heavily on Nigeria for their continuous existence and above all, the idle warriors from war-torn countries of Libya, Somalia, Sierra Leone who have no other work than to engage in war, destruction of life and property as space and time will permit them.

Conversely, to address the issue of conflicts and crises in Nigeria, the identified loopholes need to be addressed from the grass root in tackling unemployment, reducing level of poverty, providing infrastructures such as road, water, electricity, education, proper boarders and immigration control, provision of adequate security with up to-date weapons and technology to detect and identify individuals and groups planning to ferment trouble or disturb the peace of the society and to apprehend and punish them promptly to save as deterrent to others.

Other strategies and opinions put forward by respondents will be discussed in the recommendation
to these findings.

6.2   Conclusion

This chapter discusses the findings of the research which centers on the two main conflicts, Boko Haram insurgence and terrorist activities and the Fulani herdsmen/ Farmer's conflicts in the North-Eastern state and specifically in Yobe state. The origin of the conflicts which is viewed as multi-dimensional, political, religious, economic, tribal and vengeance and the Fulani herdsmen and farmer's conflicts which is believed to be as a result of struggle over natural resource (land) and climate change, the effect of the conflict on the socio-economic life of the people, the various efforts of government in attempt to resolve the conflicts through the use of counter insurgency and the *ruga* settlement programme and the challenges hindering the resolution of the conflicts as well as alternative strategies that may be employ in resolving the conflicts.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

7.0 Introduction

The importance peace in a society cannot be under-estimated in the life of the people of any society. In fact, maintaining peace has been a core issue among scholars over the years from Socrates to the present Naidu (1986) sums up the importance of peace when he posited:

"Peace in human and social concept is related to preservation of life and fulfilment on earth, life is a gift of nature, God's creation and natural law" (Acemoglu et al., 2019).

Similarly, the Brahimi report 2000 of the United Nations emphasized the need to redouble efforts at building peace for any meaningful development in the world. The UN agenda 2030 view peace as panacea to growth and development in any society, this is why the sustainable development goals 16, emphasized and highlighted on peace building (peace as an enabler in the realization of other goals (Nigeria, 2018). In fact, UN budgeted 565 million U.S. dollars for peace building in the year 2018; also, UN has more than twenty-one units and departments working in the area of peace and security across the globe. The former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan (2001-2004) and Boutros Broutrous Ghali (1996-2000) have both paid serious attention to peace building and conflict prevention as a means of achieving peace in the world which is one of the objectives of the United Nations Article (page 1).

Similarly, different countries and organizations have made effort in ensuring peace in their domain and by implication the international system. Therefore, different strategies have been employed to curb conflict and insecurity ranging from planned strategic, institutional comprehensive, mutual and integrative approaches nonetheless, insecurity has remained intense and impervious across the globe.

Scholars and world leaders have also thought of how best and under which institutional and political arrangement can peace be enhanced and sustained, this has led to different propositions and theories. Some of which are institution theories, economic theories, military theories, leadership theories, deterrent theories, co-operative theories and democratic theories among

others. All these theories have their pros and cons in achieving peace and security of life and property.

However, democratic peace theory tends to have taken the upper hand, both in theory and practice over the years in different countries across the globe. It is not surprising, therefore, why many countries tend to adopt the democratic peace theory as a strategy and mechanism for enhancing peace and development.

Given the spate of conflicts and increasing violence all over the world, particularly terrorism and insurgence in Afghanistan, Iraq and Nigeria and as well as the role of terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda, Al Shabab, ISS, ISWAP among others, there is the need to step up peace building efforts and conflict resolution programmes to achieve peace.

(Paris, 2004) posited that one of the challenges facing the international community today is increasing pervasive problem of civil conflict. In 1995, thirty major armed conflicts experienced were inter-state and the ways to address them has been problematic. But no less important is the task of determining what to do once the fighting stops or is over (Post-conflict peace building) (Paris, 2007)

From the forgoing, different countries have made efforts in preventing violent conflicts or building peace using democratic institutions as mechanism: Nigeria is no exception in this regard as posited by (Paris & Sisk, 2009) cited by (Joshua, 2013). Democracy provides all principles, institutions and rules that make conflict resolution possible than any other system, especially inevitable social conflicts in deeply divided societies, it provides predictable procedures in which conflict decision can be taken.

However, (Paris, 2010) observe a shared common strategy of post conflict peace building which is to move to democracy and marketization but this has not really worked and should not be rushed, he argues that the idea of transforming them into market democracy is sound but pushing them too quickly is damaging and destabilizing, in this connection, he recommends a more sensible approach to established system of democratic institutions that are capable of managing the destabilizing effects of democratization and marketization within peaceful bonds, to phase in

150

political and economic reforms slowly overtime as condition warrants. According to Paris, we must abandon the belief that war-torn countries must hurriedly rehabilitate. He concluded that the establishment and setting of election to user in democracy after conflicts without creating stable political and economic institutions does not produce durable peace in most cases.

In this research work, the challenges of conflict management and peace building in Nigeria's democratic system have been explored with the view of seeing how far the democratic institutions have been able to resolve her lingering conflicts and enhance peace.

Chapter One views the background of the study, the experience of Nigeria been confronted with many complex conflicts and socio-political problems ranging from inequality, corruption, kidnapping, oil pipeline vandalization, ethno-religious conflicts and more specifically, the Boko-haram insurgent/terrorist activities and the Fulani/farmer's conflict which has ravaged the North-Eastern states for over decades, leading to killing of over 20,000 people, displacement of about 2.6 million people and destruction of properties worth millions of naira. The efforts of government in arresting the situation and bringing it under control was highlighted. The statement of problem which is the increasing spate of the crisis and its extension to other African countries as well as its effect on the socio-economic life of the people in the conflict area despite the huge resources expended in attempt to curtail and resolve the conflict. Research objectives and the research questions were highlighted, the scope of the research which is Yobe state with a population of 2,32591 people covering an area of 47, 153 km^2 with seventeen (17) local government areas.

The significance of the study which is principally the need to strengthen democratic institutions and capacity building to adequately enhance conflict prevention, resolution and peace building, necessitates the re-examination of the on-going counter-terrorism strategy in the fight against terrorist and to seek possible alternative strategies in addition to the on-going counter insurgency strategy.

The delimitation of the research work in terms of area and period of study which is 2009-2017, the nature of the state, local government areas, vegetation cover, occupation and location in relation to other states of the country are highlighted

Similarly, limitations in terms of challenges faced and how they were addressed through seeking permission from necessary quarters, the police, the chairmen of local governments and the University of KwaZulu Natal ethical committee was fulfilled.

Clarification of concepts that are used in the context of the research work were explained such as conflict, insurgency, strategies of conflict resolution, conflict resolution, peace building, peace keeping, and democracy were explicitly explained.

Chapter Two; the review of related literature that are pertinent to the research work was extensively carried out, beginning with conceptualization of conflict, types of conflicts, conflict resolution, conflict management, peace building, conflict transformation, peace-making, conflict prevention, democracy, Nexus between democracy and conflict resolution and peace building.

Literature which shows democracy is in crisis were reviewed and how democracy as a system has been able to deal with its own crisis which makes it a self-adjusting system capable of correcting its own loopholes. This presupposes that the system can resolve conflicts within and outside the system (self-regulating mechanism).

The origin and nature of conflicts in Nigeria has been traced to traditional, colonial and post-colonial Nigerian society, especially in Northern Nigeria, the Nigerian civil war, 1967-1970, the Uthman Dan Fodiyo Jihad and other pockets of ethno-religious conflicts in Jos, Kaduna, Kano and a host of others including communal clashes in Kwara, Ogun, Oyo state as well as the militants in Niger Delta regions are highlighted.

Specifically, reviews were made on the Boko-Haram insurgency and terrorist groups and the Fulani herdsmen/farmer's conflicts which gave insight to the origin, nature and effects of the conflicts in Yobe state and Nigeria in general. Scholars such as (Egiegba Agbiboa, 2013), (Faluyi et al., 2019), (Akinola, 2015)(Okpaga et al., 2012a), (Awojobi, 2014)among others gave vivid illustrations of the conflicts, its effect and consequences on the life of the people and their property. Peace building efforts and strategies were also reviewed.

Empirical efforts and strategies employed by Nigerian government in attempt to resolve the conflicts were also reviewed such as military counter insurgency strategy, dialogue committee approach, legal adjudication strategy, amnesty, negotiation among others, scholars such as (Faluyi et al., 2019)(C. O. Ani, 2014)(Oyewole, 2017) among others showed the loopholes in this strategies.

Review was also made on alternative conflict resolution strategies such as the traditional approach, the truth reconciliation approach in South Africa and the integration approach of both western and traditional societies. Highlight of the missing links or loopholes which this study addressed are pointed out.

In Chapter Three, the methodology of the research was explained, the principle and procedure that guide the conduct and manner in which the research work is carried out, the research design which is qualitative, using survey approach in the gathering of data through the instrumentality of questionnaire and interview in which respondents were randomly selected and to which 601 questionnaires were administered and 34 people purposely selected interviewed on the subject matter, sample size was chosen based on Cochran's formula for sample size determination. Data analysis was done using Statistical Packages for Social Science (SPSS) which enabled data to be categorized into thematic areas which are then interpreted and analyzed. Reliability and validity measures were taken into consideration.

All ethical issues were put into consideration and permission obtained from the University of KwaZulu Natal as well as other organizations, bodies and individuals or groups interviewed; evidences of this are attached as appendix.

Chapter Four- theoretical framework of analysis: This research work is grounded on three main theories; Democratic peace theory, conflict transformation theory and political economic theory of Pugh Michael. However, the basic human needs theory and the theory of change TOC which are very much related to political economic theory and which also provides ample ground upon which analyzing the subject matter was also employed in the research work.

Chapter Five: Data presentation and analysis; The data collected from the field survey carried out in the study area Yobe state in which 601 questionnaires were administered but 588 was returned and which form the bases on which this analysis is made along with the 34 purposely selected people interviewed. Data collection shows the distribution of questionnaire across the 17 local government areas, gender, occupation, educational qualification, marital status of respondents among others were captured and shown in frequency and percentages which are analyzed and interpreted. The questionnaire consists of thirty (30) questions to which respondents have

options to strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree, these are transposed into numerical data, the bases upon which interpretation and analysis are scientifically made and explained.

Chapter Six: Discussion of findings: The findings of this research work are explicitly explained in this section. Finding shows that the conflict has been on for decades and that government has pre-knowledge of the terrorist group years before they come into lime light, but government turned deaf ear and failed to take any action to nip them in the bud. Findings revealed that there are various reasons or factors that have been advanced as the cause(s) of the conflicts ranging from religious fundamentalism, poverty, unemployment, vengeance of the killing of Ustas Muhammed Yusuf, the Boko Haram group leader among others.

Research finding also shows the effect and consequences of the conflict on the economy social life, political development of the area, with killings, kidnapping, destruction of properties and psychological pains inflicted on the people and the country at large. It is on record that government has made several efforts in attempt to resolve the conflict ranging from military counter insurgency, dialogue, proposed negotiation, proposed amnesty and above all international assistance and support. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also provided support in different areas such as food, medicine, shelter, clothing, reinforcement efforts. Individuals such as traditional and religious leaders have offered advices to government and educate their subject on the ills of conflict and terrorism and for citizens to be law abiding.

Finding shows that huge amount of money running to billions of naira have been expended on fighting the war and much human resources has been lost in quantum, yet the conflict remains unabated. Finding revealed sabotage among the military top officers, diversion of funds, embezzlement and corruption as well as internal and external funding and support for the terrorist groups, result also indicate poor military equipment, capacity and low manpower, outdated weapon and poor logistics, all these account for the ineffectiveness of the strategies and above all the policies are top down without consideration for the environment and people in the conflict areas. The finding revealed the ways forward in resolving the conflict and enhancing peace. This constitutes the recommendation of this research work.

Chapter Seven: Summary Conclusion and Recommendation: This section summarizes the entire work from introduction, background to the study to the recommendation. It gives a general but concise breakdown of the whole work. The conflict, its origin, causes, effects and consequences, government efforts at resolving it, challenges and limitation, alternative strategies in terms of Recommendations and the References and Bibliography.

7.1 Summary

The underlining issue in this research work is how to resolve the lingering deadly Boko Haram insurgent and terrorist conflicts and the Fulani herdsmen and farmer's conflicts in Nigeria that has ravaged the nation for decades. It has brought untold hardship on the people of Yobe state and has turned the state to a battle field for both the terrorist and the Nigeria military. The economic situation is worsening everyday with loss of lives (killing, kidnapping and cattle rustling) with people relocating to other state for safety, such as Kano, Kaduna and Abuja, and no one is willing to invest in a conflict prone environment, agricultural production is at the lowest level, business activities, shops and commercial businesses are at stand still, educational institutions are in grief with no freedom and peace of mind.

There is no doubt that government at all levels, Federal, State, local government and even the people have made effort to restore peace in the state, through different strategies including the military counter insurgency strategy, the proposed amnesty and dialogue with the terrorist groups and governments willingness and readiness to negotiate with the terrorist groups, citizens have formed joint efforts called Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) to assist and support the military in their effort to restore peace. Hunter groups have been formed with the support of state government. Assistance from international organizations such as UN, A.U. ECOWAS through the multinational joint task force (MJTF) and NGOs who provide humanitarian supports for victims of the conflicts, but all has not yielded desired result.

Findings conducted revealed that the lack of success in the strategies stem from the fact that the counter insurgency strategy is a top down approach hurriedly packaged in 2013 as a reactionary approach to the ravaging Boko Haram terrorist group without taking into consideration the

environment in which the group operate and without input from the people in the community where the terrorist group operates.

Secondly there is sabotage among the military personnel conniving with the Boko Haram group to leak plans and strategies put in place to deal with the terrorist group before the plans are executed. There is also rivalry among the military and other para-military groups on the booty of the war what (Okoli & Orinya, 2013) described as internal sabotage among officers (ISPOs).

Finding also revealed low capacity in terms of military strength (numerical strength) of the Nigeria Army is low and insufficient in fighting the war. Finding also revealed embezzlement, corruption and diversion of funds by the military top officers, poor intelligence gathering, lack of coordination among the military agencies, power tussle at the helm of affairs, lack of commitment and determination to fight the war, neglect for the welfare of officers on frontline assignment, contradictory orders by officers and disregard for engagement rules among others are responsible for the dismal performance and inability to resolve the conflict. It is also believed that some military officers who see the war as a means of making money do not want the crises to come to an end, because if it ends, they will have to return to the barracks; thus, the conflict must continue unabated.

Research findings show that peace building is further compounded by rising crime rate, the proliferation of small and light weapons as well as socio-economic factors such as massive unemployment and poverty, it is also evident that the cause of all these is rooted in the structural and political history of the country, poor governance and socio-ethnic differences. The manifestation also assumes different and various forms and levels of violence. Although Nigeria is unlike most post-conflict societies in Africa such as Sierra-Leone, Liberia and Cote D'Ivoire, prescriptive approach to addressing Nigeria's current dilemmas are often resisted as they are viewed and misinterpreted as attempt to impose foreign value and influence on Nigeria.

7.2 Recommendations

According to Swami Vivekananda, in today's world where conflict and violence are common, and peace is something everyone is trying to achieve; one tends to wonder where we are lacking. Conflict takes place between children, spouses, organizations, societies and nations. According

to (Nhema, Zeleza, & Zeleza, 2008), violent conflicts pose serious threat to human security, peace, life, stability and economic activities, weaken institutions breaks social cohesion and causes humanitarian tragedies such as internal displacement, rape and refugeeism.

The inability of democracy to resolve conflict in Nigeria and other society; and the increasing spate of conflict and crises around the globe in democratic systems, call for a rethink of the system, its institutions and its inability to resolve conflict and enhance peace. Therefore, there is the need to call for alternative conflict resolution strategies (ADRS) as an antidote to democratic flaws or a blend of approaches and strategies. The failure of coercive approach (military counter insurgency strategy) to end the North-East (Yobe state) conflict has prompted various alternative suggested strategies which form the recommendations in this research work. In modern times, conflict resolution is shifting from rights to interest, forcing to negotiation and building cohesion as well as seeking ways to reduce violence thus, the general notion and recommendation is a conflict prevention strategy which is aimed at addressing the root cause of conflict in Nigerian society and Yobe state in particular, where poverty, unemployment, hunger, lack of basic needs of life and neglect or marginalization are the problems confronting the state.

Conflict resolution strategies must address local, root causes of conflicts and hostilities; build local capacity for change and enhance good governance, alluding to this (Oliver Ramsbotham et al., 2011) argues that in conflict transformation what is required is to view the prevailing conflicts and see which theory and approach is more applicable to the situation at hand, also attention must be given to local and international environmental factors. In this prelude;

1. Societies and governments at national and international levels need to put more resources and efforts in peace building which is conflict prevention mechanism rather than waiting for conflict to erupt before putting huge resources in attempt to curtail or resolve conflict. The United Nations Charter 1 on World Peace and Security emphasize this, but more need to be done in this direction by government in their domestic policy.

2. Government should look at the root cause of conflict or crises and address it permanently rather than suppressing it, which often than re-occur.

3. Government should realize that peace cannot be achieved by force such as the military counter insurgency strategy. Peace can only be achieved through understanding among people themselves.

4. Government is advised to explore the traditional conflict resolution approach and peace building which is more effective and culturally grounded.

5. The political economy or basic need approach which tackles problems from the basic needs of the people and the root causes of problems such as poverty, unemployment, hunger are valuable approaches to peaceful society.

6. It is high time African countries follow the footstep of South Africa in establishing and ensuring a functional conflict resolution and peace building institution and agencies such as Africa Center for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Accord) which has made head way in dispute resolution and peace building in Southern Africa (Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi and a host of others). Accord is championing the Global Peace initiative aimed at bridging the gap between peace and development, the symbol of global peace is a modeled Adinkra symbol of Mpatapo knot originating from West Africa, a symbol that represents bond or knot that binds disputing parties to a peaceful and harmonious reconciliation. The chair of Accord board of trustees Graca Machiel is doing a wonderful job in this direction and need to be commended.

7. Similarly, the conflict transformation in post-Apartheid South Africa from 1994-2013: Truth and Reconciliation Commission (ICR) set up by the late African iconic President, Nelson Mandela, as a mechanism to address the grievances, racial discrimination and violence that characterized the Apartheid germane. South African government has through the IRC initiated policies to expedite reconciliation among its different races with the primary objectives of recompensing those who are previously marginalized and abused by the Apartheid regime. The policy includes: economic and law restitution and affirmation, much have been achieved in this direction but there are still challenges in socio-economic imbalances, racial skirmishes, violence and unresolved grievances among the victims of Apartheid.

8. In trying to resolve the varied violent conflict in Nigeria, there is the need for good governance, provision of basic needs, and employment for the teeming youth. Peace building initiatives and diplomatic support to Nigeria should have the capacity for the full

158

integration of and engagement with the primary and secondary state holders at all levels of society, strategies must address local root causes of conflict, hostilities and encourage local capacity for change that will sustain peace, efforts must be made to take a holistic approach strategically linking governance, conflict prevention and peace building and to address development deficits resulting from marginalization, mismanagement of public resources, social exclusion and weak sense of national identity.

9. There is the need to ensure that the country enjoins a just democratic, stable society where government is formed through transparent, trusted, regulatory and participatory electoral process to guarantee a just, democratic, accountable and stable government where high institutional performance governed by the rule of law can be achieved.

10. There is the urgent need to cut down renumeration of political office holders which make political office contestation a do or die affair, and there should be orientation towards avoiding divisive politics which often leads to conflict.

11. There is the need to strengthen conflict prevention and peace building initiative such as (CPPBI) in Benin City Nigeria. The views of local civil societies on the cause of violent conflict in Northern region and Nigeria in general and the prospect for peace should be encouraged.

12. Timely and recurrent assessment of conflict resolution strategies such as the counter insurgency strategy and peace building strategies will provide avenue to assert their efficacy or otherwise on the need to fine tune them when and where necessary to overcome the challenges therein, in this light, there is the necessity to always identify and characterize existing barriers and explore practicable strategies for neutralizing the barriers to peaceful resolution of conflicts.

13. Initiating and strengthening capacity of not only the military but other agencies and civil society organizations, peace building agencies and to also design, monitor and evaluate their performance. There has been untold issues and cries about the connivance of NGOs and civil organizations in the North-East conflict as saboteurs, aiding and abetting. This need to be investigated and necessary actions taken if the government is serious about ending the crisis.

14. The need to return to traditional community-based people oriented and participatory security awareness, conflict resolution and peace building strategies that is built into the

culture and value and which has been very effective is the way out of the menace. This research findings show that Nigerian government seems not to have effective machinery for assessing the strategy employed in the ongoing North-East conflict to be able to identify the loopholes and challenges confronting those in the frontline of the fight against the terrorist groups and to as well be able to improve on their performance.

15. In this regard, it is recommended that timely and periodic assessments of strategies been employed be assessed to identify the loopholes and effectively fine tune the approaches for better performance.

16. The findings also reveal that the conflict has multi-faceted causes and dimensions and cannot be approached in a linear approach, more so, conflict in general requires multidimensional approach to solving it, in this light, it is suggested that hybridization strategy to resolution of conflicts rather than the one-way military counter insurgency strategy which has been argued by majority of respondents are not fearing too good in resolving the conflict should be addressed.

17. Importantly, employment provision, conflict prevention strategies which can be built into the people's culture (value and tradition) as an integral part of social norms which can be sanctioned and punished will provide a better means of preventing conflict without necessarily waiting until crisis break out before putting a lot of effort and resources into its resolution. This is what Kofi Anna, former UN secretary general (20001 - 2004) referred to as pre-war effort or conflict preventing approach and peace building as opposed to the post-conflict resolution and peace building of Butrous Butrous Ghali (1996 - 2000) the immediate past UN Secretary General.

18. It is equally important and necessary to look inward and reflect into the traditional conflict resolution and peace building strategies in Africa and in Nigeria in particular. There had existed traditional ways of resolving conflict and building peace among different ethnic and tribal groups for example, among the Tiv in Benue state, the Igbo in South-Eastern part of the country, the Yoruba in the South-Western part and even among the Hausas/Fulani's in the Northern part Nigeria, this can be re-exploited and utilized as alternative conflict resolution strategies. Many scholars have written extensively on this strategy such as Uwaize (2014), Akinwale (2010) Ajaegbo and Kelechi (2015), Buhari and Ajayi (2014), Olaoye (2005) among others.

19. It is imperative to re-echo the fact that United Nations charter (1) which centered on the pursuance of all possible measures to enhance, guarantee and promote world peace and security needed to be pursued with more vigor and commitment by the UN and all nations of the world both in terms of resources, human capacity building and prevention. This is the only way to reduce the surge of violence, conflict spreading like fire across the globe and to achieve a relatively peaceful society where growth and development may be possible.

20. Need to investigate and know what exactly peace building means to various groups and entities within Nigerian society. Does peace building entail dismantling some existing elite arrangements to create new equilibrium and what are the political implications of this on the existing system where groups or portion of the society dominate others sometimes over decades or through century-long historical and cultural arrangements and have precipitated inequalities, marginalization, and sometimes a semi-castle system in many parts of the country.

21. One area to be addressed is the establishment of a functional national infrastructure for peace as well as supporting other peace initiatives such as Dialogue initiatives, Faith based dialogue initiatives, Town hall meetings for farmers and herdsmen. Capacity building training and advocacy and support for intervention is germane.

22. Given the prevailing evidence about the decay in democratic institutions in African and indeed Nigeria as a political system and its inability to resolve conflicts and build peace, it is high time African scholars began to look inward to African home grown democratic system that is culture and value laden and capable of resolving conflicts rather than the adopted western model of democracy. This is what most scholars referred to as Afro-centric approach or strategy to African problems. The South African Truth Reconciliation Commission set up by Dr. Nelson Madibo Mandela and supported by African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) as posited by (Rwebangira, 2013) is worth copying by Nigeria and other African countries. In this regard, a lot of efforts and research are required in the area of finding practical solutions to African problems, especially conflict prevention ,conflict resolution and peace building which must involve intrusive practices intended to ensure long term stability during and even after conflicts. (Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012) alluded to this in their work on conflict

resolution in the Niger Delta when they opined that the failure or inability to resolve the conflicts is partly as a result of the failure to engage with the community. (The concept of community participation which had hitherto been deeply entrenched before the western strategies have been undermined).

Therefore, efforts must be geared towards reviving the traditional indigenous conflict resolution and peace building strategies which are entrenched in the tradition and culture of the people, we must think of peace before the outbreak of conflict. Conflict prevention strategies must be pursued with vigor, because peace building should be a pre-conflict issue and not necessarily a post-conflict agenda, peace building is an essential ingredient for sustainable development in any society.

7.3 Conclusion

Finally, it is obvious that Boko Haram insurgence and terrorist activities and the Fulani herdsmen/ farmer's conflict are not only affecting the people of Nigeria but also shaking the fabric upon which Nigeria as a nation is built. The terrorist group does not only seek to influence government decision but strive to take over part if not the whole of Nigeria state and turn it to a caliphate state if they have the space to do so. Government must, therefore, take more pro-active measures to resolve the conflict to enhance peace. Arguments has been made pertaining to the various approaches that have been made in order to resolve the conflicts, alternative strategies to resolve the conflict such as dialogue, negotiation, mediation, reconciliation and African traditional conflict resolution and peace building strategies should be pursued alongside the counter insurgency strategy. Events and happenings (conflicts) around the world, especially in democratic nations point to the fact that democracy and its institution are no longer capable and efficient in resolving conflicts and building peace as shown in Ukraine, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Nigeria. Conversely, there is the urgent need to re-examine the strength, weakness, opportunity and threats,(SWOT) analysis of democratic systems not only in terms of conflict resolution and peace building but in other spheres of life, such as social cohesion, economic development and the protection of fundamental human rights, because of these has been undermined under democratic system as argued by various scholars such as Runiciman, Tocquiville, Huntington et al. (1975). It is hoped that if these recommendations are

taken into consideration and adhered it will go a long way in resolving the lingering conflicts in Nigeria and other parts of the world currently facing similar problems.

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182

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Ethical Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

13 June 2019

Mr Abideen M Abeeb 217081997
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Abeeb

Protocol reference number: HSS/0352/019D
Project Title: Assessing conflict resolution and peace building strategies in Democratic systems (A study of Yobe State, Nigeria 2009-2017).

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 04 April 2019, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 1 year from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Dr JR Rukema
cc. Academic Leader Research: Prof M Naidu
cc. School Administrator: Ms N Radebe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
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Gate Keeper Approval Letters

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Faculty of Humanities
School of Social Sciences
Department of Political Science
Howard College, Durban
South Africa.
12th March 2019

The Commissioner of Police
Yobe State Command
State Headquaters
Damaturu.

Dear Sir,

NOTOIFICATION AND REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO COLLECT DATA FOR

RESEACRH.

With reference to the above subject matter, I Abideen Muhammed Abeeb (Doctoral research student) of the above Institution with registration number 217081997, passport number A07008791, wish to notify the necessary security agencies and other bodies through your office for permission to collect data for my research on **"Conflict Resolution and Peace Building Strategies in Democratic Systems (Yobe State as my case study from 2009-2017).**
The collection of data will be done using questionnaire and interview in the seventeen Local Government Areas of the State (see attached sample).
This is aimed at getting necessary input and information from the people on the possible ways of solving the lingering crisis in the region with the hope that it will benefit the government and people of Yobe State and Nigeria in general.
I will be glad if my request is granted.

Yours sincerely,
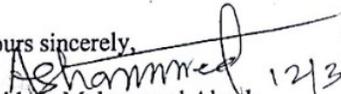
Abideen Muhammed Abeeb
Researcher +2348063500214, +27785522589

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,

DEPT OF FINANCE AND ADMIN,

THE NIGERIA POLICE,

STATE HEADQUARTERS,

DAMATURU.

17th March 2019.

ABIDEEN MUHAMMED ABEEB,

FEDERAL POLYTECHNIC DAMATURU,

SCHOOL OF GENERAL AND REMEDIAL STUDIES,

P.M.B 1006   YOBE STATE.

RE- NOTIFICATION AND PERMISSION FOR DATA COLLECTION FOR RESEARCHPURPOSE

I refer to your letter dated 12th March 2019 on the above subject and acknowledge receipt. You are assured of the cooperation of the Force in this regard "Assessing conflict resolution and peace building strategies in democratic systems (A study of Yobe state 2009-2017)".

Given the scope of your data collection as indicated on your application letter (The seventeen local government areas in the state), copies of this **permission approval** will be detail to all Security Agencies, Local Government Councils, Governmental and Extra-Governmental Departments, Heads of Villages/Wards, NGO and Other related bodies for their notification and attention.

Accept the best regards of the Commissioner of Police please.

(ACP IHUEZE I, NICODEMUS) psc,

ASST COMMR. OF POLICE ADMIN.

FOR: COMMISSIONER OF POLICE

STATE HEADQUARTERS,

DAMATURU.

Questionnaire

University of KwaZulu-Natal,

Faculty of Humanities and Management Sciences,

School of Social Sciences,

Department of Political science,

Howard College Durban,

South Africa.

Dear Respondent,

I am a Doctoral student of the above institution currently carrying out a study on Assessing Conflict Resolution and Peace Building Strategies in Democratic Systems (A Study of Yobe State, Nigeria 2009-2017) Please respond to the questions in this questionnaire as sincerely as you can. Your responses will be treated as confidential and the information provided will be used purely for academic purpose. You are at liberty to withdraw from answering the questions at any time you feel like, there is no compulsion in answering the questions please.

Thank you

Yours Faithfully

Abideen Muhammed Abeeb.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

1 Gender   Male ☐ Female ☐

2 Age   20-35 ☐ 36-50 ☐ 51-65 ☐   66 and above ☐

3 Educational qualification   SSCE ☐ HND/Degree ☐   MSc/MA ☐ Ph.D. ☐

4 Marital status   Single ☐ Married ☐   Divorced ☐   Widow ☐

5 Major occupation   Farming ☐ Trading ☐ Civil servant ☐ contractor ☐

                               Unemployed ☐

SECTION B

Kindly tick the appropriate answers to the questions in this section.

6) What do you understand by conflict A) Crisis situation [ ] B) Disagreement between two or more people [ ] C) Non cordial relationship [ ] d) State of war [   ] e) All of the above [   ]

7) Are you aware of an ongoing conflict around here and in other parts of the country   a) Aware [ ]   b) Not Aware [   ]   c) Only aware of the one around here [   ]

8) How long has the conflict in this area been going on   a) Over ten years [   ] b) seven years [ ] c) Five years [   ] d) Not sure of the number of years [   ]

9) What do you know to be the cause of conflict   a) Poor Economic situation, such as poverty and unemployment [   ] b) Marginalization [   ] c) Religious factors [   ] Political factors [ ]

10) Is this the first time conflict is eschewing in this area   a) Yes [ ] b) No

11) If your answer to the above is No (that is this is not the first time, then how often) a) Rarely [ ] b) Once in a while [   ] c) Often [   ] d) Very often [   ]

12) What was the nature of previous conflicts in your area?   a) Religious [   ] b) Political and Election violence [   ] Economic, poverty, hunger [   ].

13) Can you remember when the previous conflicts took place? a) Over twenty years ago [   ] b) Less than twenty years ago [   ] c) twelve years ago [   ]

14) Between which groups does the conflict took place [   ] b) Farmers and Herdsmen [   ] c) Tribe A and Tribe B [   ] c) political party A and party B [ ]

15) By what means were those conflicts? resolved Through   a) Meetings between the parties and the elders [   ]   b) Meetings between the parties and government agents [   ]   c) Government intervention through the use of military force [   ]   d) Consultants [   ]   e) Others, specify…………………………………………………..

16) How long does it take to resolve the conflict then a) Few months [   ] b) One year [   ] c) Two years [ ] d) No specific time frame []

17) Was the conflict resolved at that time permanent or temporary a) Permanent [   ] b] Temporary [ ]

18) Which system of government was operational during the previous conflicts military or civilian?

SECTION C:

Please respond to the statements below using the following rating scale: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Undecided (U), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD).   Items SA A U D SD

SA = STRONGLY AGREE, A = AGREE, U = UNDECIDED, D = DISAGREE, SD = STRONGLY DISAGREE

S/N	QUESTIONS	SA	A	U	D	SD
19	Does this conflict go beyond the state to other neighboring states and countries?					
20	Do you think the strategies employed by government in resolving the conflict is appropriate and effective?					
21	Do you buy the idea of adopting Arbitration, Mediation and negotiation in resolving this conflict?					
22	Does this conflict have anything to do with the economic situation of the people, such as poverty unemployment and hunger?					
23	Does this conflict have anything to do with injustices, marginalization/and social-disequilibrium among the people?					
24	Do you think the conflict has anything to do with religion?					
25	Do you think that government has done enough in resolving the conflict?					
26	Do you think Traditional rulers have play enough role in resolving the conflict?					
27	Do you think the current strategy been employed by government will bring the conflict to an end?					
28	Do you think that the use of coercive instrument such as the military to subdue and compel people to be law abiding, putting conflict into temporary rest, is the best way to resolve conflicts?					
29	Do you think international organization such as UN, AU and ECOWAS should intervene in the conflict?					
30	Does the intervention of International organization assisted in resolving the conflict?					
31	Do you think Non-governmental organization such as Red –cross, Doctors without Boarder among others should intervene in conflict resolution					
32	Does the intervention of NGO's assisted in resolving conflict					
33	Does government embark on peace building after conflict is resolved					

34	Do you think the strategies employed in peace building are effective					
35	Which other strategies do you think can be employ in peace building?					

University of KwaZulu-Natal,

Faculty of Humanities, School of Social Sciences,

Department of Political science,

Howard C0llege,

Durban, South Africa.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name of Interviewer---------------------------------- Date--

Name of Interviewee---------------------------------Date--

Status ---

Good morning.

I am _____ (self-introduction).

This interview is being conducted as a part of my Doctoral research. The aim of the Interview is to find out   your knowledge about conflict, conflict resolution and peace building in Yobe state. I believe you are able to provide the necessary information because you represent the people of this society; I am particularly interested in the strategies that have been adopted in managing the crises and peace building. If it is okay with you, our conversation will be tape recorded so that I can capture all the details and yet carry on an attentive conversation with you. I guarantee the confidentiality of your comments, so please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge.

1) Can you briefly tell me who you are, your age and your means of livelihood (work)?

2) Please give a brief background into the crisis in this area

3) What can you say is the cause of the conflict?

4) What are the general strategies that have been employed in resolving the conflict?

5) Can you say the strategies are effective?

6) Does the resolution of the conflict involve the use of any third party or external assistance?

7) If it involves third party, what role does the third party plays in the resolution of conflict?

8) What role has the private individuals or group played in the resolution of the conflict and peace   building?

9) What are the specific conflict strategies used by government to manage crises?

10) To what extent are those strategies effective in resolving conflict?

11) Does International organization such as UN. AU and ECOWAS, intervene in the conflict resolution?

12) What role do they play in resolving the conflict?

13) To what extent have traditional rulers been involved in the resolution of the conflict?

14) If Traditional rulers have been involved in the resolution of conflict, has their involvement enhance the resolution of the conflict

15) Has there ever been intervention by Non-governmental organizations in the resolution of the conflict?

16) What role and strategy do they play in resolving the conflict?

17) Would you say the strategies have reduced the level of conflict or resolve the conflict?

18) In your own opinion, what other strategy or method do you think will help resolve conflict?

Thank you very much for information.

Researcher.

Research Questions and Interview Guide

The research questions for this work which will invariably guide the key informant Interview (KIIs) to be conducted are:

1. What is the nature of violence in Yobe State?
2. What is the extent of violent conflict in Yobe state.
3. What are the existing strategies for conflict resolution and peace building in Yobe State?
4. What are the factors hindering the effectiveness of conflict resolution and peace building strategies in Yobe State?

5. What suggestion that can be made to ensure that the strategies of conflict resolution and peace building will bring about lasting peace in Yobe State?

The interview (KIIs) will be conducted on thirty-four (34) purposely selected respondent two from each of the seventeen local Government Area (political office holders, people working in the area of conflicts resolution and peace building, traditional leaders, academicians who have carried out similar research, military personnel among others).

Interview Guide

- Notification of intension to conduct interview to prospective persons, stating topic (subject matter rationale) aims and objectives, date, location or venue and time.
- Acceptance and feedback from prospective person to be interviewed.

Interview

- Introduction by both parties.
- Introduction of subject matter
- Rationale and clear objectives
- Instrument to be used, note taking, tape recording or video recording
- Acceptance of instrument to be used by both parties
- Method of conduct of the interview by both parties
- Sequence of questions
- Assurance of confidentiality of information provided
- Cultural settings clarified
- Findings on issues raised

Communication of findings and positions reached on the issue which must be mutually