Effects of Land-Induced Homicide on Conflicting Communities in Anambra State

Chike Abden Onwuegbusi

Abstract

Homicide is a moral act which is considered a murder when it is deliberate and premeditated; and which is punishable as a crime. There are categories of homicide cases which may include politically and socially motivated assassinations, abduction-fordeath killings, and election-related killings, killing in the course of armed robbery; and death resulting from inter/intra-communal conflicts mostly on land/boundary disputes, among others. This study focused on the effects of land-induced homicide on conflicting communities in Anambra State. A population size of 530 adult respondents was selected for the study. The population size was selected through the process of categorising the communities of the study into six social sub-groups. Qualitative data was also derived from both relevant and enlightened individuals from the communities of the study and from families of victims of homicide that resulted from violent land dispute. The instrument for the quantitative data was the questionnaire schedule; while qualitative data were collected through the use of Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KII) with individuals of victims' families who were identified through snowball sampling procedure. The quantitative data collected from the field were processed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Land is an economic asset which controls everything about the business of a person, a community, a State or a Nation. The economic interest and attachment man has on the land or on the resources from the land

can easily drive man to blindly go out of himself, to do anything possible in order to recover his land in a situation where some other person had encroached on the land. The study showed that encroachment and lack of proper boundary demarcation are the most common factors that lead to land conflict among communities in Anambra State.

Key Words: Assassination, Conflict, Development, Homicide

Introduction

Black's Law Dictionary (2004), defined homicide as the killing of one person by another. Reza, Mercy & Krug (2001), earlier defined it as fatal injuries inflicted by a person against another with intent to injure or kill by any means. The term homicide is sometimes used synonymously with murder; homicide however is broader in scope than murder. Murder is but a form of homicide while homicide itself is all embracing. Homicide could be murder or manslaughter. It could be lawful and unlawful; hence it is broader in scope than murder which is always a criminal and unlawful act (West's Encyclopedia of American Law, 2008; Dictionary, Thesaurus, Medical, Acronyms).

An act of homicide is considered a murder when it is deliberate and premeditated. In such a case, a person unlawfully kills another person after proper planning and plotting. Typical example of such would be a case wherein, following a disagreement or dispute, a person rushes and collects a gun, and comes back to kill the opponent. When a person has the intent to cause severe harm or injury to another person, which (the severe harm) eventually ends in death, such is considered equivalent to intent to kill and is seen as murder (Obiorah & Attanda, 2013).

Homicide is one of the leading causes of mortality in the world. A number of factors could be responsible for the act of homicide. Rubanzana, Ntaganira, Freeman & Hedt-Gauthier (2015), observed that risk factors of homicide vary significantly between countries and regions. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2014), highlighted three objective essential typologies responsible for acts of homicide, namely:

- Homicide related to other criminal activities,
- Interpersonal homicide, and
- ❖ Socio-political homicide.

From the three highlighted types of homicide, any other type of homicide could be derived. For instance, interpersonal homicide can lead to other types or risk factors of homicide as United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2014:41) indicated:

Other types of interpersonal homicide may include those resulting from conflicts relating to issues such as property disputes or revenge-type killings, or even from random acts that may be solely the result of the victim being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

There are a number of risk factors that majorly contribute to homicide. Obiorah and Attanda (2013) observed that in Africa generally, factors such as economic crisis, food insecurity, and weak rule of law, low level of human capital development and high level of income inequality contribute to and influence homicide adversely. Other factors which could be very much contributive to homicide occurrence in Africa as well as in Nigeria are tussle for leadership positions at national, State and local levels; land disputes at local levels, and get rich quick mentality or syndrome (Anaba, 2012). Ownership of land or boundary dispute between individuals or communities, as well as struggle for access to land

use between pastoralists and farmers (Conroy, 2014), is an outstanding risk factor that drives violent conflict and homicide in most African countries, Nigeria inclusive. Reason being that access to land is shown to be important to poverty reduction, economic growth, and the empowerment of the poor (Fabusoro, Matsumoto and Taeb, 2008). Wehrmann, (2008), affirmed that worldwide, land remains an important natural capital for every nation, communities and individuals. It is therefore not unusual that land generates conflict across the world, especially in developing nations where a huge population depends on agriculture for their livelihood. Yamano & Deininger (2005) and Deininger & Castagnini (2006) in their independent study indicated that landrelated conflicts are increasingly becoming a threat to rural economic activities such as agriculture in most sub-Saharan African countries. Conroy (2014), observed that Nigeria is a country rife with conflict; and disputes over land issues constitute a significant number of conflict events and the violent deaths that result from them.

Anyaoha, Chikaire, Ogueru, Utazi and Godson (2018) related that Nigeria has experienced conflicts most often on land issues of grave proportions among several ethnic and religious communities in different regions and states. Best (2007) noted that in the Northcentral especially Benue and Plateau States, Southwest especially Shagamu, Lagos, Ife -Modakeke, and in the South-east, especially Umuleri-Aguleri, violent communal conflicts, resulting from land-related issues were most noticeable. Chikaire, Atala, Akpoko and Nnadi (2011) observed that Land is probably the most important resource needed by man for his day-to-day existence. All human livelihoods and activities are directly or indirectly dependent on land at varying thresholds

Land conflict has its attending effects on the communities and individual groups that are involved in it. According to Anyaoha, Chikaire, Ogueru, Utazi and Godson (2018), a good number of people have lost their lives due to land fight; and some incidences of land conflict create hatreds among the parties involved which goes on from one generation to another. Moreover, individuals and communities who lose their rights to land due to conflict find themselves in deep and excessive poverty, due to decline in productivity, food insecurity and enhanced food scarcity; and a fall on the income level, health challenges and retarded growth and development of communities. Land disputes often results in several deaths and severe injuries during conflicts especially in situations where it is a communal land dispute (Fischer and Ferlie, 2013).

Violent crime resulting from land conflicts is a pervasive problem in Anambra State, as it is in most other States of Nigeria (National Working Group on Armed Violence, 2013). Anambra State has witnessed a great number of inter- and intra-communal conflicts and violence arising from land related issues. Hostilities continue to simmer between Aguleri and Umuleri; between Nkwelle-Ezunaka and Ogbunike; between Abagana and Ukpo communities... (National Working Group on Armed Violence, 2013). There are also inter-State land disputes existing between Awba Ofe Mmili in Awka North Local Government Area of Anambra State and Ibit-Olo in Ezeagu Local Government Area of Enugu State; as well as between Echeno/Odeke communities in Ibaji Local Government Area of Kogi State and Aguleri-Otu in Anambra State (Uzor, 2013).

It is against the background of the effects of land induced homicides on the conflicting communities in Anambra State that this study intends to investigate. The study will interrogate how land disputes lead to homicide and how land disputes affect the economic life and sustainable development of the communities.

Statement of the Problem

Conflicts surrounding land issues are multi-faceted and complex, with dynamics that change over time, depending on the area of the country where they occur (Conroy, 2014). Homicide resulting from land related issues does not just happen otherwise it will not be said to be homicide. There are factors that necessitate it. These factors have to do with ownership of a parcel of land in question or boundary between two parcels of land, or location of the land or the treasure, resources or economy derived from a land. It could as well be as a result of power or population of a particular group over and against the opponent (Mienye, 2016). Wehrmann (2008), noted that conflict over a piece of land could be between single parties, as in boundary conflicts between neighbours, inheritance conflicts between siblings and disputes over the use of a given piece of land. Wehrmann (2008), also identified land conflicts involving several parties like group invasions or evictions of entire settlements. The most violent conflicts over land however, are those involving two groups, often two different ethnic groups, fighting over land issue.

Access to land is shown to be important to poverty reduction, economic growth, and empowerment of the poor (Fabusoro, Matsumoto, and Taeb, 2008). The importance of territory is perhaps why land conflicts are so prevalent (Olabode and Ajibade, 2010). Because land is a great multi-faceted asset, land conflict might have negative effects on economic, social, spatial and ecological development. Land conflicts can equally have disastrous effects on individuals as well as on groups and even entire nation (Wehrmann, 2008). All land conflicts, no matter how peaceful or

violent they are, produce negative effects for individual people as well as for the entire society at large. Wehrmann, (2008), observed that whenever there is a land conflict, someone suffers economic consequences. In extreme – but not rare – situations, people find themselves landless and/or without shelter, either driven away from their land, or their homes burnt down to ashes. Where there are many land conflicts, social stability within society is affected, as land conflicts undermine trust and increase fear and suspicion – often between formerly close people such as neighbours and family members. Violent land conflicts – or simply the fear of becoming a victim of them – can also have a traumatising effect on those who are or feel at risk. Land conflicts also increase social and political instability.

In Anambra State precisely, the issues of land and boundary conflicts have resulted in a lot of shedding of innocent blood, economic hardship, and destruction of properties belonging to individuals and communities, political and social enmity between conflicting parties, destruction of social amenities, destruction of religious houses and church buildings. A great number of hospitals and schools have equally been vandalised because of agitation over a piece of land. A great number of people have as well been rendered homeless because of dispute over a parcel of land.

Objectives of the Study

- 1. To investigate how land conflict leads to homicide in Anambra State.
- 2. To investigate how land conflict affects the economic and sustainable development in Anambra State.

Literature Review

Land Disputes Leading to Homicide

Bruce and Boudreaux (2013) defined land disputes as involving conflicting claims to land by two or more parties, focusing on a particular piece of land, which can be addressed within the existing legal framework. Land dispute they said, may or may not reflect some broader conflict over land. Land being an economic asset pervasively underpins human activity and usually plays some role during wars and civil violence. Land-related issues figure into many violent disputes around the world. Collier et al (2003) emphasised that ongoing communal violence in Nigeria and Sudan is tied to competition over scarce fertile land and poor resource governance. Land as it were, is the object of competition in a number of potentially overlapping ways: as an economic asset, as a connection with identity and social legitimacy, and as political territory. By these ways, land can very easily result in homicide if not properly handled (Bruce and Boudreaux, 2013).

Identifying proper boundary between two conflicting communities could often be an issue in dispute. Wehrmann (2017) listed boundary issue as among the causes of land conflict and remarked that boundary conflicts are probably the most common cause of land conflicts. United Nations Interagency Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012) noted some situations that might generate violent conflict in relation to land and boundary disputes:

- Evictions or displacements that have forced communities to move from locations they traditionally inhabit, whether rural or urban (e.g. Sudan, Colombia, Cambodia, Rwanda);
- Unequal distribution of land within a society, landlessness or land concentration among the elite (e.g. Afghanistan, Kenya, Nepal, Pakistan, South Africa etc);

Contested access to, and use of, fertile land, water or grazing areas, for example, between pastoralists and agrarian communities, (e.g. Afghanistan, Niger, Somalia, Sudan, etc.);

Bruce and Boudreaux (2013) identified a number of likely ways by which land can lead to conflict/homicide. Land scarcity they said can leave many people with little or no land and thereby creating intense competition for land. The lure of valuable resources which if discovered on a land, or when the demand for existing resources rises, thereby making them all the more valuable, people are motivated to exert control over the land containing the resources in order to benefit from the sale of these assets, especially when resources are located in areas with conflicting tenure regimes or when local people have insecure tenure over valuable assets, predatory actors (public and private sector) often struggle for control of these assets. Finally, historical grievance, which most often rooted in earlier displacements and land takings, can generate demand for redress that can fuel violent conflict.

Mayiga (2017) acknowledged that land is the most important means of production, for which it is itself a factor leading to conflict. He however highlighted six other causes of land conflict among people, namely: weaknesses in the police force to investigate and gather evidence over land conflicts in a timely manner; poor judicial system which both depends on police inefficient investigation and consuming too much time in disposing land cases; rapid growth in population of the nation; the activities of the growing population exacting pressure on the available land; inefficiency and confusion in all the country's land registries; and finally, political interference with court orders over land matters.

All these he concluded are processes by which land issues in Uganda can lead to conflicts that may result in homicide.

Economic interest in land could be a serious factor leading to land dispute, and ultimately resulting in homicide. Abegunde (2010) related that economic interest or resources endowment in a piece of land could generate violent conflict where neighbours previously lived together in peace. It is the case in the Bakassi peninsula, where Nigeria and Cameroun had boundary issues because of discovery of crude oil in the region. The primary cause of the conflict between Cameroun and Nigeria was the discovery of natural crude oil in the region. Long before the discovery of oil in the region, Cameroonians and Nigerians in the region lived in harmony. With the discovery of oil in the peninsula, attention from both countries was ignited thus creating tension, argument and cases of death.

Resource scarcity for both pastoralists (herdsmen) and farmers is another issue that generates dispute between the two groups in regard to land. Akpaki, (2002), asserted that farmers increasingly compete with nomadic herders for farmland, pastures, water, trees and the use of rangeland in general. Odoh and Chilaka (2012) observed that the immediate cause of violence between the two groups is resource scarcity, while the proximate cause is drought and desertification due to climate change that leads to depletion of resources. The two groups equally conflict over destruction of their goods and other amenities. De Haan (2000), held the view that destruction of crops by cattle and other property (irrigation equipment and infrastructure) by the pastoralists themselves as cited by farmers are the main direct causes for conflicts, as well as burning of rangelands and fadama and blockage of stock routes and water points by crop encroachment as cited by the pastoralists,

are reasons behind their conflict. The farmers and the herders consistently dispute over the resources on the land

Land Dispute affecting Economic and Sustainable Development

Land is a very strategic socio-economic asset, particularly in poor societies where wealth and survival are measured by control of, and access to, land (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2005). In every land there is the socio-cultural dimension. Land is central to continuity of life, indispensable in physical development and complex in social relations of production in the economic world (Abegunde, 2010). Overinde (2005), Ayo (2002), and Asiyanbola (2008), in their independent studies, noted that land is an impetus of development; and at the same time an impediment to development in the built environment due to conflicts attending to it. Conflict over land is often combined with strong economic, spatial, cultural and emotional values. There are indications that man's complex socio-economic, cultural and physical attachments to land have placed land in a sensitive and unique position. Conflict interests among communities to secure territories, conserve socio-economic resources and carry out physical development activities and practice customs and traditions on land have given birth to untold crises over the ages (Abegunde, 2010). Justino (2004) observed that human attachments to land have resulted in conflicts that have affected millions of people and resulted in lost opportunities in terms of social disorder, economic depression and destruction of housing and basic infrastructure in the physical development of communities.

The human attachments to the value of land make it a consistent matter of dispute. Land and boundary dispute has multiple implications ranging from loss of human life, destruction of farm lands and produce to socio-economic and political implications. Bello (2013), affirmed that the loss of human lives, land, animals, plants, and crops, resulting from land disputes has many security, social, political, and economic implications in relation to sustainable development. Land in Sub-Saharan Africa has been subject to conflict, conquest, expropriation and exploitation thus resulting in the many discrepancies even to the point of socio-economic backwardness. The socio-economic positions of different groups of people involved in land conflict are always not so commendable (Bob, 2010). Obviously, no meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere of disunity, rancour and conflicts. Development can only be sustained in an environment free of rancour, disunity, killings, destruction of lives and properties. Indeed, conflicts and development are two parallel lines that can never meet. Conflict situations do not allow for any meaningful development (Onwe, Nwogbaga, Nwakamma, 2015).

Colletta, Kostner and Wiederhofer (1996) cited in Abegunde (2011), writing on land conflicts and their implications to sustainable development, noted that all types of conflicts on land entail significant private and social costs in human environment. Conflicts over land and natural resources are obstructing the efforts of the international community to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and other key development priorities in the areas of the environment, peace and security and democratic development (International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, 2006). Social and economic development for most of the African population is relied on the access to land, since majority of the population depends on land and land-based resources for their livelihoods (Sekeris, 2010; Zwan, 2011). According to Azadi and Vanhaute (2019), land plays a central role

in the economies of developing nations; and it is a significant asset for most people without which they cannot do much. Any conflict on land therefore, will affect adversely the socio-economic development and progress of a people since land is the fundamental resource for the rural area residents to increase their agricultural productivity (Asgele, Kassa, Sisay and Gebremedhin, 2015).

Obiakor (2016) indicated that the dangerous phenomenon of land and boundary conflicts has impeded the socio-politicoeconomic development of most communities. These conflicts have created increased animosity, sense of fear and insecurity among the people that once shared fraternal relationship. This has posed a great threat to the security and development of the concerned communities, states and the country at large. World Bank Report (1988), cited in Uyang, Nwagbara, Undelikwo and Eneji (2013), noted that land, as a unit for agricultural production provides the needed fulcrum upon which a sustainable development would blossom. Agricultural production till date remains the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, despite the exploration and exploitation of crude oil in the country for more than five decades. It is the main source of food for most of the population. However, over the years, the agricultural sector has witnessed a tremendous decline due partly to scramble for scarce economic resources leading to communal land conflicts with adverse effects on food security. These conflicts have been a dominant factor of food insecurity in most rural communities in the developing countries (Uyang, Nwagbara, Undelikwo and Eneji, 2013).

Theoretical Frame Work

Conflict theory and rational choice theory are employed as the theoretical framework to guide the study. Conflict theory explains the basis of violence in any sector be it an organised sector or unorganised sector. Conflict theory generally surrounds the idea that most struggles in society happen because of conflicts between different social classes or groups. Individuals and groups have aggressive impulses when it comes to vying for that which they desire; and these impulses are expressed in all relationships (Idowu, 2017). The aggressive impulses could be seen in what Collins (1993) identified as emotional resources. It is the emotional resources which propel one to struggle in order to come into possession of the much available material resources.

Rational choice theory on the other hand, adopts a utilitarian belief that man is a reasoning actor who weighs means and ends, costs and benefits, and makes a rational choice (Cornish & Clarke, 1987). Rational Choice Theory insists that crime is calculated and deliberate. All criminals are rational actors who practice conscious decision making, that simultaneously work towards gaining the maximum benefits of their present situation. In homicide induced by land, there is always an element of choice to eliminate the opponent whose existence may constitute a barrier to the aspiration or endeavour of the perpetrator to encroach or take possession of a parcel of land that belongs to another community.

Study Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been proposed to guide the study.

- 1. Respondents who have resided in the study area for a longer period of time are more likely to have experienced cases of homicide resulting from inter-communal land dispute.
- 2. Respondents will differ significantly by length of residence in the study area and perceived effects of violent land conflict.

Methodology

The study employed a mixed methods research approach which Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2006), defined as the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques...into a single study or set of related studies. In a phrase, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) defined mixed method research as an 'integrative research'. The mixed methods research requires the researcher to collect the qualitative and quantitative data either in phases (that is, sequentially) or at the same time (that is, concurrently). This study employed the concurrent mixed method approach in collecting and analysing the data.

Anambra State is the study area, with a particular focus on Umueri and Aguleri; and Nkwelle-Ezunaka and Osile Ogbunike in Anambra East and Oyi local government Areas respectively. Anambra State is one of the States in the country that have records of land disputes resulting in homicide cases (Onwuzurigbo, 2011). The choice of the four local communities was purposive for the very reason of meeting the requirement for the study; that is communities with records of violent land disputes. From the four communities, six population categories were identified, namely town union, elders' forum, women's wing, youth wing, age grades, and vigilante group, for inclusiveness of relevant respondents and to help the researcher get the targeted individuals who were able to provide the required information. Membership of the categorised groups is on representative capacity except the age grades. The target population obtained from the categorised groups was twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and seventy-seven (27,277). The Sample size of the study comprised 530 respondents was determined using Yamane's (1967) formula.

Four sessions of Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted in the four communities of the study; while nineteen (19) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were also conducted through snowball and purposive sampling techniques, with some families who were direct victims of homicide and violence that resulted from land dispute in the communities. The researcher got the consent of the participants in both FGDs and KIIs to record their voices in the course of the discussions. The analysis of the data for the study is mixed analysis which involves the concurrent order of analysis. The quantitative data collected from the field were processed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23. The qualitative data from both FGD and KII, QDA Miner software was used in the analysis of the discussion and interview transcripts.

Analysis of Research Questions

The thematic issues of the study which are: land conflict leading to homicide in Anambra State and land dispute and economic and sustainable development in Anambra State are discussed below.

Research Objective 1: To investigate how land conflict leads to homicide in Anambra State.

Table 1: Respondents' views on cases of homicide linked to Land Dispute in Anambra State

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
Yes	523	100.0	
No	0	0.0	
Total	523	100.0	

Field survey, 2019

Table 1 shows the respondents' views on cases of homicide linked to land disputes in their communities; which indicates that 100% of the respondents admitted that land conflicts in their communities had been linked to homicide one time or another. It implies that the issue of land dispute between the conflicting communities was so violent that everyone in the community knew of the loss of lives consequent upon the disputes. This finding agrees with the findings of the KIIs. In Aguleri, a participant noted that homicide cases were linked to land conflict in the land dispute between Aguleri and Umuleri;

...in 1999, the conflict...that year was so violent to the point that everybody in the town felt the heat. Indeed it could be said to be more than just violence but battle because sophisticated weapons of war were employed for the struggle. The story of the battle was told beyond the shores of the State...A great number of lives were lost... (Male, 63 years, retired civil servant, rural dweller)

Table 2: Respondents' views on what is the common issue connected to the Land Conflict

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Greed and envy over another	84	16.1
community's land		
Encroachment on another	319	61.0
community's land		
Selling of another community's	32	6.1
land		
Tampering with the boundary	88	16.8
marks		
Total	523	100.0

Field survey, 2019

Table 2 is on the respondents' views on what is the common issue to land conflict between their community and the opposing community. The views are greed and envy over another community's land (16.1%); encroachment on another community's land (61.0%); selling of another community's land (6.1%) and finally tampering with the boundary marks (16.8%). The finding implicated encroachment on another community's land as the factor that is the common issue connected to land conflict; and it is corroborated with the qualitative finding of the research. The issue of encroachment is emphasised by a participant in FGD at Umueri. According to the participant:

Land is a great economic treasure and an asset...and to which individual owners have esteem attachment. Usually, when somebody's land is encroached on, the owner would do anything possible to stop the opponent from taking possession of his/her land. It is worse when it involves an entire community. They community would do anything possible to drive out the opponent encroaching on the land belonging to the community. Often times the result in the process is fight or battle over the land in dispute... (Male, 59 years, school Headmaster, rural dweller).

Besides encroachment on another community's land, being a cause of conflict, the study equally indicated that lack of adequate boundary demarcation could be another cause of conflict. Participants in the KIIs at Aguleri and Umueri pointed out that lack of adequate boundary demarcations is the bane of the disputes between the two communities. According to a participant in Umueri:

Indeed, a great number of conflicts between most communities in conflict over land issue are founded on the

lack of adequate boundary demarcations between the communities. Communities that have properly defined boundaries are always living in accord among themselves unless there are other differences between them. Between Aguleri and Umueri, the biggest problem we have regarding our land dispute is where the boundary marks between the two communities' lands are located. The problem is worse when we come to Otu-ocha market... (Female, 48 years, secondary school teacher, rural dweller)

Research Objective 2: To investigate how land conflict affects the economic and sustainable development in Anambra State.

Table 3: Respondents' views on how Land is a Factor of Economic and Sustainable Development

Frequency	Percentage (%)
64	12.2
96	18.4
321	61.4
42	8.0
523	100.0
	64 96 321 42

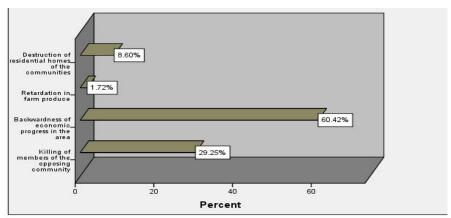
Field survey, 2019

Table 3 is on respondents' views on how land is a factor of economic and sustainable development; and they are: land is central to a community's livelihood (12.2%); everything about a community is

hinged on land (18.4%); land is a foundation of a community's economic and developmental well being (61.4%) and finally land is an asset of great value to a community (8.0%). The findings imply that the opinion of the majority is true and is in agreement with the findings of the qualitative data of the study. In the FGDs, the participants indicated that land is an essential economic asset which serves as a foundation for economic progress and sustainable development. At Nkwelle-Ezunaka, a participant noted that:

Land is a great economic asset from which everybody wants to make a living. People perceive land as a valuable material possession and a great source of money and wealth which they cannot easily give up... No community or individual would want to lose such asset as land knowing that it is a great wealth in itself, a source of great wealth and the foundation of their existence as a people (Male, 59 years, lawyer, Urban dweller).

Figure 1: Respondents' views on the Likeliest Effect of Violent Land Conflict between Two Conflicting Communities



Field Survey, 2019

Figure 1 shows the respondents' views on the likeliest effect of violent land conflict between two conflicting communities namely: Destruction of residential homes of the communities (8.60%); retardation in farm produce (1.7%); backwardness of economic progress in the area (60.4%) and killing of members of the opposing community (29.25%). Backwardness of economic progress in the area is implicated as the likeliest effect of violent land conflict between two conflicting communities and the view is in agreement with the findings of the qualitative data. A participant in the FGD in Umueri established that:

The volatility of the region has deprived it of much physical development. Many of the people who buy land in the region do not build anything solid and meaningful... The battles were fought over the ownership of some parcels of land within the region. Lives were lost on both sides of the divide. Yet over the years population of the indigenes had almost doubled but economic progress is still moving with much difficulty. The region is obviously so backward economically when compared to other regions of the State, all because of violence consequent upon land dispute (Male, 63 years, building contractor, rural dweller).

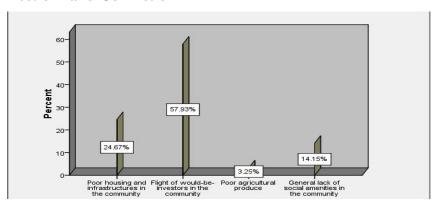


Figure 2: Respondents' views on what is the Greatest Adverse Effect of Land Conflict on

Field Survey, 2019

Economic and Sustainable Development

Figure 2 presents the respondents' views on what is the greatest adverse effect of land conflict on economic and sustainable development; which are: poor housing and infrastructures in the community (24.67%); flight of would-be-investors in the community (57.93%); poor agricultural produce (3.25%); and general lack of social amenities in the community (14.15%). The above finding implies that the opinion of the majority is true; and it is in agreement with the findings of the qualitative data of the study. In the FGD at Nkwelle-Ezunaka, a participant observed that due to violence over the land in the dispute between Nkwelle-Ezunaka and Osile Ogbunike, the land had lied fallow for decades with no meaningful development on it. It was indicated that no reasonable person would go to buy land in a violent region. The participant noted that:

Whenever there is land conflict, development in any shape or form seems to be completely alien. No individual or even government endeavour to invest in such a place. Land is the hallmark of every development; ... it is the most important means of production. Everything that has to do with production and development is founded on the land. The conflict between Nkwelle-Ezunaka and Ogbunike over land dispute has kept the communities in serious reverse gear for decades now (Male, 67 years, a retired police officer, rural dweller).

The study further disclosed that no meaningful development takes place on a land in dispute. The FGD at Aguleri disclosed that not even government invests meaningfully in a volatile area where violence can rise up at anytime and destroy everything put on the land. The absence of government in such a place is a discouragement to private investors who would have capitalised on the government's presence to embark on development of the place. A participant remarked;

Besides economic progress of Otuocha which the battle over land in the area seriously retarded, there is no meaningful physical presence of the State government in the area save for the State High Court, general hospital and Police Station in the area. No government in its right senses would invest in an area where people are violent ... Under the situation of violence in the region no meaningful development either from the people in the area or from outsiders has really taken place. (Male, 58 years, lawyer urban dweller).

Test of Research Hypotheses

This study was programmed and designed to evaluate the effects of land induced homicide on conflicting communities in Anambra State. The study has two hypotheses were tested with chi-square statistics (X^2) ; and the results are presented below.

Hypothesis One

Respondents who have resided in the study area for a longer period of time are more likely to have experienced cases of homicide resulting from inter-communal land dispute.

In order to test this hypothesis, a cross-tabulation between the length of residence and cases of homicide resulting from intercommunal land dispute was carried out (Table 4).

Table 4: Respondents' Length of Residence and their experience of Homicide resulting from Inter-Communal Land Dispute

Length of	Cases of Homicide resulting from Violent Inter-communal Land Dispute		
Residence	Yes	No	Total
Below 15 years	196 (95.6%)	9 (4.4%)	205 (100.0%)
16 years and	313 (98.4%)	5 (1.6%)	318 (100.0%)
above			
Total	509 (97.3%)	14 (2.7%)	523 (100.0%)

 $X^2 = 3.799$, df = 1, P = 0.056, N = 523

Length of residence constitutes a variable influencing how the respondents experienced homicide cases from violent intercommunal land dispute. A critical assessment of the table shows that the respondents who have lived in the study area for 15 years and above (98.4%) have the highest experience of homicide resulting from violent inter-communal land dispute. The computed value of chi-square (X²) is 3.799, while the critical or table value of chi-square at 0.05 level of significance with a degree of freedom (df) of 1 is 3.841. The computed value of chi-square (3.799) is lesser than (<) the critical/table value (3.841). The researcher therefore rejected the hypothesis which states that respondents who have resided in the study area for a longer period of time are more likely to have experienced cases of homicide resulting from intercommunal land dispute. This implies that length of residence does not influence the respondents' experience of cases of homicide from inter-communal land dispute. One can have experience of homicide within a community in land conflict at any point in time one comes into the community. Length of stay does not determine how one experiences it.

Hypothesis Two

Respondents will differ significantly by length of residence in the study area and perceived effects of violent land conflict

To test the hypothesis a cross-tabulation between length of residence and the likeliest effect of violent land conflict between two conflicting communities was carried out (Table 5).

Table 5: Respondents' Length of Residence and their perception of the Likeliest Effect of Violent Land Dispute between two Conflicting Communities

Length of residence	Conflicting Co	ct of Violent I mmunities Backwardness of economic progress in the area	Retardation	Destruction of residential homes of the communities	- Total
Below 15 years	67 (32.7%)	115 (56.1%)	3 (1.5%)	20 (9.8%)	205 (100.0%)
16 years and above	86 (27.0%)	201 (63.2%)	6 (1.9%)	25 (7.9%)	318 (100.0%)
Total	153 (29.3%)	316 (60.4%)	9 (1.7%)	45 (8.6%)	523(100.0%)

 $X^2 = 3.047$, df = 3, P = 0.384, N = 523

Length of residence is implicated as a variable influencing how the respondents perceive the likeliest effect of violent land conflict between two conflicting communities. A critical view of the table above shows that 63.2% of respondents who have lived for 16 years and above within the study area hold the view that backwardness of economic progress in the area is the likeliest effect of violent land conflict between two conflicting communities. This view is equally shared by respondents who have lived for below 15 years in the study area. The calculated value of chi-square (X^2) is 3.047, while the critical value of chi-square at 0.05 level of significance with a degree of freedom (df) of 3 is 7.815. Since the computed chi-square value (3.047) is lesser than

(<) the critical/table value (7.815), we reject the hypothesis which states that respondents will differ significantly by length of residence in the study area and perceived effects of violent land conflict. In other words, the length of residence does not influence how one perceives the effect of violent land conflict.

Discussion of Findings

The analysis of field data; and in line with findings in previous studies on land related issues, shows that homicide is linked to violent land dispute. The study showed that there were cases of homicide in some of the violent land disputes in the study area between conflicting communities. The understanding people have of land and the attachment they have to land due to its economic value explain the rationale behind shedding of blood due to land conflict. This finding is in agreement with the findings of previous study by Bruce and Boudreaux (2013), who indicated that land is an economic asset which pervasively underpins human activity and usually plays some role during wars and civil violence.

Land is seen as a cause of conflict because of its essential value and also because it is scarce and fixed in its expanse while human population is geometrically increasing by day. In the same vein, Conroy (2014) noted in his study that Nigeria has experienced many decades of land conflicts between various communities, and the number of people dying because of such conflicts continues to grow each year. Conflict theory explains the struggle over land by which a community may rise in arms struggle with a neighbouring community and in the process lives and properties are wasted. Collins (1993) showed that conflict in society may arise as a result of scarce resources and mobilisation. Land conflict between two communities could be as a result of scarcity of land within the region. Conflict again following from

Collins' explanation is possible if a group is able to have a strong and explicit sense of their group identity. Inter-communal land conflict is obviously founded on these two factors as enlisted by Collins.

Hypothesis one states that respondents who have resided in the study area for a longer period of time are more likely to have experienced cases of homicide resulting from inter-communal land dispute. The findings show that there is no significant difference $(X^2 = 3.799, df = 1, P = 0.056)$ between the length of residence of the respondents and their experience of cases of homicide resulting from inter-communal land dispute. Length of time one has stayed in a community involved in inter-communal land dispute has no correlation with the experience of cases of homicide that results from such dispute. The period of time one has stayed in the community involved in violence does not determine whether one can be a victim as to experience such violence. Findings indicated that visitors and people who came newly to the community were as vulnerable as those who had lived in the community for too long a time.

The study disclosed two essential factors that could induce land into conflict, namely; encroachment on another community's land and lack of proper boundary demarcation between two neighbouring communities. Encroachment is shown in the study as the most common factor that leads to land conflict among communities in the State. The finding is consistent with the finding of earlier study by Bruce and Boudreaux (2013), who observed that the lure of valuable resources which if discovered on a land, or when the demand for existing resources rises, thereby making them all the more valuable, people are motivated to exert control over the land containing the resources by encroaching on such land that never belonged to them in order to benefit from the sale of these

assets. Knowing the natural attachment man has to land and for which he is ready to undertake any risk in order to preserve his ownership of the said land, violent conflict is inevitable in any situation of encroachment. The finding on the lack of proper boundary demarcation is in agreement with the finding in earlier study carried out by Wehrmann (2017), who listed boundary conflict first among the causes of land conflict and remarked that boundary conflicts are probably the most common cause of land conflicts.

Rational choice theory explains the factor of encroachment on another community's property. Rational choice theory according to Cornish and Clarke (1987), adopts a utilitarian belief that man is a reasoning actor who weighs means and ends, costs and benefits, and makes a rational choice over what he intends to do. A community that encroaches on another community's property must have considered what it will benefit from acquiring the property in question; and the possibility of going into arms struggle in order to suppress the opposing community. Rational choice theory therefore explains the reason for the encroachment by a community on a land that never belonged to her from beginning.

The study showed among other factors that serve as benefits of land in relation to economic and sustainable development, that land is a foundation of a community's economic and developmental well being. Everybody knows that land is the most valued asset in any physical and developmental project one intends to embark upon. These findings are consistent with the findings of earlier study by Azadi and Vanhaute (2019), who indicated that land plays a central role in the economies of developing nations; and it is a significant asset for most people without which they cannot do much. Equally, Jin Zhou and Luo (2018), in their own study observed that land is the basic carrier of all human

production and living activities. According to them, economic activities do not occur without land.

The study disclosed backwardness of economic progress in the community involved in violent land conflict as the likeliest effect of such violence. No community with any record of violent land dispute ever has provision or prospects of development because whatever will be built is built on the land. The study further showed that whenever there is violent land dispute between two conflicting communities, the two communities experience very serious setbacks on their economic ladder of progress. These findings are in agreement with the findings in earlier studies on the matter. Oyerinde (2005), Ayo (2002), and Asiyanbola (2008), in their independent studies asserted that land as an impetus of development can become at the same time an impediment to development in the built environment due to conflicts attending to it. Conflict over land is therefore often combined with strong economic, spatial, cultural and emotional values. Hypothesis two states that respondents will differ significantly by length of residence in the study area and perceived effects of violent land conflict. The result showed that there is no significant difference $(X^2 = 3.047, df = 3, P = 0.384)$ in the perception of the effects of violent land conflict and the length of residence of the respondents. Thus, it indicates that the length of residence does not determine how a resident perceives the effect of violent land conflict. This could be understood by the fact that the impact of the violence is still obvious in the area, such that anybody that comes into the community would not take much time to perceive the effect of the violence in the area.

In the same vein of backwardness of economic progress, the study reveals that land conflict affects economic and sustainable development by driving the would-be investors away from the conflict zone. The study showed that many foreigners in the conflict region (Otuocha) left the region after the prolonged violent land conflict; many companies and industries equally left the region. Today the region is still recovering from the effects of the violent conflict in it. These findings were in accord with the findings of earlier study by Asgele, Kassa, Sisay and Gebremedhin (2015), who in their study noted that any conflict on land will affect adversely the social and economic development and progress of a people since land is the fundamental resource for the rural residents to increase their agricultural productivity. Investors would always be reluctant to embark on any investment project in land-conflict zone.

Conclusion

There are categories of homicide which may include politically and socially motivated assassinations, abduction-for-death killings, and election-related killings, and death resulting from intercommunal conflicts mostly on land/boundary disputes, among others. This study focused on the effects of land-induced homicide on conflicting communities in Anambra State. Land dispute between individuals and communities has been a recurrent risk factor, as well as in many areas a struggle between pastoralists and farmers. The reason for this struggle is because land is shown to be an important resource to poverty reduction, economic growth and basis for sustainable development. It is also seen as a cause of conflict because it is scarce and limited while human population is geometrically increasing. The study objectively interrogated how land conflict leads to homicide and how such conflicts affect the economic and sustainable development in the State.

Land and boundary disputes are shown to be very serious contributive factors to homicide records in Anambra State. It has

resulted in the death of a great number of victims as shown by the study. Encroachment on another community's property and lack of adequate boundary marks are the major factors that lead to land dispute. Both factors as it were, drive land dispute into being a factor of homicide itself.

Violent inter-communal land dispute is in contra-opposition to economic progress and sustainable development. Development can only be sustained in an environment free of rancour, disunity, destruction of lives and properties. Indeed, conflicts and development are two parallel lines that can never meet. Conflict situations especially where it has to do with land, do not give room for any meaningful development to take place. Land dispute often distabilises the socio-economic and physical development of most urban and rural areas leaving the dwellers with hardship both economically and sociologically.

Land is an economic asset which controls everything about the business of a person, a community, a State or a Nation. There is nothing man does that is not on the land. Man lives on the land, builds on the land, cultivates on the land, dies on the land and is buried on the land. Apart from air, the next most important thing to man is the land on which man does everything. The economic interest and attachment man has on the land or on the resources from the land can easily drive man to blindly go out of himself, to do anything possible in order to recover possession of his land in a situation where some other person had encroached on the land. Again, as an economic asset, land is the most valuable means of production either in agriculture, factory or industry. None of these can be functional without land. People are therefore very ready to fight and kill whenever they are deprived of access to land especially when the land belongs to them or they have acquired it.

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Chike Abden Onwuegbusi is a lecturer in Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.