
Dr. R.O. Oji
Department of Political Science, Enugu State University, Enugu

Eme, Okechukwu Innocent, Nwoba, Hyacinth A.
Department of Public Administration and Local Government Studies
University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Abstract
There is scarcely any community in Nigeria which has not been involved in boundary and communal disputes. Boundaries are made for human beings and should therefore be made for human convenience and not conflicts. However, boundary issues in our society today are treated as matters of life and death. Family/boundary and communal conflicts in Nigeria are as result of competition over access to land and other natural resources in different parts of the country. Most of these conflicts are unnecessary in that they can be resolved if the groups in conflict wish to find a solution. There are some traditional institutions to settle disputes and resolve conflict, but they are facing unprecedented challenges and quite new types of issue. The Ezza-Ezillo communal conflict presents these challenges and issues. Prolonged land dispute between the communities led to the loss of 150 lives in 2010 forcing the state government to sack everybody from the disputed land bringing relative peace to the area. Children between the ages of three to five and women were among the victims of the attack and the head of crimes of a police station was also killed. This study discusses the human cost of communal conflict in Ebonyi State between 2008-2010. to achieve this objective, the first and second sections of the paper addresses conceptual and theoretical issues. The next segment explores the major causes of communal conflicts by drawing inferences from order case studies. The final part offers recommendations and concludes the paper.

Keywords: Communal Conflict, Historical Materialism, Violence, Ezza-Ezillo, Infrastructure and Super structure.

Introduction
The nature and structure of societies are inherently conflictual, inexorably underpinned by differences in resources endowment, socio-cultural nuances and state policies which shape human behaviour in societies as is particularly the case in many developing societies such as Nigeria, ethnic and sub-ethnic groups move across other ethnic zones in the quest to socio-
economic survival and wars engendered by competition for resources. In addition, these societies are pluralistic whereby ethnic groups perceive issues on the basis of acknowledgement, representation and legitimization of different identities and ways of leaving other than territorial, boundary and sovereignty issues as has been demonstrated by the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict (Lebron, 2003).

The persistent re-occurrence of communal conflicts in several communities has posed devastating consequences on national development. Put differently, conflicts have the capacity to severely constrain development endeavour by destroying infrastructures, interrupting the production process and diverting resources away from productive uses (Adetula, 2004:383-405). The costs in terms of loss of human lives and property in the Ezillo and Ezza–Ezillo conflicts can be seen from the fact that between 16th and 28th of February, 2010, seven (7) Hilux Nissan Pickups belonging to the Ebonyi state government were burnt to ashes, 2 trailers owned by Dangote Plc were vandalized, and two (2) drivers killed. Four prominent persons from Cross River state including a director with the federal civil service in a four wheel drive jeep with registration number LN304AA, were also murdered by hired mercenaries (Eze, 2010). These are not the major costs of the conflict, when compared with losses on both sides of the major contenders.

The major problem is not just about the ubiquity of conflicts as it is already a reality of our social system. What is rather perturbing is that these inter/intra conflicts involve massive destruction of lives and properties as well as disruption of social, political and economic lives of the larger population (Omatayo 2005). This is especially so when these conflicts are between supposed “brothers and sisters”. Moreover, in spite of all government efforts at the resolution of the conflicts, they appear to have become intractable. Considering the spate of violent conflicts and occasional state failure in the maintenance of peace and order in Nigeria generally, and Ebonyi state in particular, it is plausible that there are a set of intervening variables between diversity and conflicts that need to be interrogated to unravel the nature of the connection between them and, in particular, to discern the linkages between how communal identities get mobilized and politicized to cause crisis in Ebonyi state between 2008 and 2011.

Theoretical Perspective

Conflict refers to contradictions arising from perceptions emerges where a clear contradiction exists or is perceived to exist between the participants who view the outcome of such conflict as extremely important (Miall, 1992:114). From this perspective conflict is an integral aspect of social existence, and history is a succession of conflicts and conflict resolutions. Conflict becomes problematic when it explodes into violence. With such violence in mind Gurr defines conflicts as overt, coercive interactions in which two or more involved participants engage in mutually opposing actions, and use coercive behaviour to destroy, injure, thwart or otherwise control their opponents (Gurr, 1980).

Communal conflicts are those in which the participants are communal groups. A communal group is one in which primary identity prevails. Membership of the group is not attained but ascribed. Within the communal group the individual self is defined wholistically. The totality of the individual’s involvement in life is defined by the group. Examples of communal groups include the family, ethnic group, religious group and regional group. In such groups there is a collective sense of belonging, as well as self-realization and self-affirmation within the collectivity. A shared history of achievement and of suffering is an important
component of the communal situation, which in turn increases the exclusiveness, feeling of uniqueness and, therefore, the solidarity of the group.

Communal identity has the symbolic capability to define for the individual the totality of his/her existence, including embodying his/her hopes, fears and sense of the future. Thus individuals are very sensitive to matters of communal symbolism. Any action or thought that seems to threaten or undermine communal group identity evokes very holistic response. Such actions include those that diminish group status, worth and legitimacy in the eyes of its members (Horowitz, 1985). An individual’s self esteem is determined, in part by the status, worth and legitimacy of the communal group to which he/she belongs. In fact, the communal group is perceived by its members as a pseudo-family (Goor, 1994;25). Any action that undermines the group strikes at the very (symbolic) existence of its members even though the action may not be directed at them personally.

In addition to their intrinsically more violent scale than other conflicts, communal conflicts are more difficult to handle, less amenable to diplomatic intervention or standard methods of crisis management and peaceful settlement of disputes (Carmet, 1993). Such violence has a more pernicious character than other forms of violence. A certain xenophobic collectivism characterizes participation in it. Associated with it is a collective sense of belonging to a group of willingness to contribute to the success of the collective mission, and of self-realization and self-affirmation within the collectivity. There is also a feeling that the individual and communal group can seize their collective destiny in a manner akin to the dynamics of mob action (Nnoli, 1998).

In the absence of communal diplomats, armies and standard negotiating forum, the fear of loss of status, worth, subjugation and extermination ensures that communal groups make radical demands and escalate their conflicts through the use of violence (UNDIR,1995:50). The most extreme demand is for the ethnic homogenization of society within a particular territory, which can lead to forced assimilation or, in the extreme, to ethnic cleansing. Such fears give rise to intense response to perceived injury up to and including the unleashing of extreme violence as in Rwanda in 1994. The aggressive and murderous ethnic militiaman may even believe that his very existence is threatened by the perceived injury to his ethnic group. For a similar reason, a poor villager believes that a cabinet minister from his/her village represents his/her own share of the national cake even though he/she may never receive any material reward from the appointment.

Therefore, one of the striking features of communal violence is the turning of every individual into a soldier by the sole virtue of his or her group identity (Chipman, 1993:146; Posen, 1993). In part, this is the result of the power of communal identity to totalize and transcend other loyalties and obligations. When peoples’ multiple identities are narrowed down to a single focus, social divisions become deeper and more rigid. Communal identity is a deeply emotional basis of mobilization that not merely distinguishes one group from the other but can also dehumanize and demonize the other group. As Gurr argues such identity makes it possible to draw an easy distinction between “us” and “them” (Gurr, 1993).

Communal conflict was considered by Azuonwu (2002) as a conflict that occurs between two or more communities. Oboh and Hyande (2006) described communal conflict as involving two or more communities engaging themselves in disagreement or act of violence over issues such as claims for land ownership, religious and political difference leading to loss of lives and destruction of properties. Communal violence (sometimes inter-communal violence) is a situation where violence is perpetuated across ethnic lines, and victims are chosen based upon
ethnic group membership (Horowitz, 2000). Dzurgba (2006) was of the opinion that communist violence is that which occurs between two or more communities over territorial land, farmland and territorial water for fishing. These definitions revealed that communal conflict is more or less community conflict or ethnic conflict. This is not surprising because —communal by its interpretation as a phenomenon that is common to a particular group characterises a community or ethnicity. Onwudiwe (2004) attested to this fact when he said that communal friction is what is usually described as ethnic conflict. More so, for communal contenders to have been described as culturally distinct people, tribes, or clans in heterogeneous societies, who hold or seek a share in state power (Gurr and Haxton, 1996) help to buttress the point that communal conflict is often interpreted as community conflict or ethnic conflict. While it is not the focus of this thesis to divulge the differences inherent in these variables, if there is any, it is pertinent to stress that the peculiar identity of —communal in terms of reference to a group, concerning common issues or elements could as well be attributed to other social groups in a society.

This implied that several communal groups make up a community and therefore, in terms of involvement or participation, communal conflict is narrower than community conflict. Therefore, communal conflict is a state of incompatibility that emanates from a commonly shared or used property or resource by a group or groups in a society. It occurs within or between groups that are defined by some forms of social ties over resources that are jointly owned or shared in a community. Communal conflict arises when two distinct groups in a community disagree over jointly shared resources due to the possibility of inequitable distribution or the problem of domination by a group. The development of this kind of conflict in any society has attachment to commonly shared or used resources or elements which can be tangible or intangible.

The identity of communal conflict is rather fluid in nature. This is because it occurs in divert forms, which can sometimes be misleading to identify. Albert (2001) posited that this form of conflict —often manifest in terms of host-stranger face-offs in which a section of the community tags itself as the host (owners of the community) and other groups as strangers(that is, those who migrated into the community at a date later than the coming of the —owners of the community). Apart from this, communal conflict can also be imbued in religious issues, land, politics, resources, local government and chieftaincy issues among others.

In Africa communal conflicts have caused havoc to political and economic activities. Violence provoked by them has very often turned the people’s attention from creative production to creative destruction. Bridges have been blown up, roads and railways destroyed, airports and seaports immobilized, and business enterprises as well as schools and hospitals destroyed or forced to operate blow full capacity. Such violence has wasted human lives, generated refugees and other displaced persons, led to the proliferation of small arms within a region and caused the spread of a culture of violence such as war consciousness and militarism among the population.

However, by far the most important consequence of communal conflict has been, and is, the loss of human lives. Many combatants and civilians are killed by direct military action, other means of violence, as well as by famine and starvation. Many others die from inadequate medical care and the shock of the fighting. Women, children and the aged are the major victims. Even those who survive the violence often retain its physical and psychological scares. Apart from children who are mentally deformed as a result of severe malnutrition, others become
alienated from society, including those forced to migrate from their homes either as refugees or internally displaced persons.

In order to avoid being killed during such violence people leave their homes and seek refugee elsewhere within or outside the country. Those who leave the country entirely are called refugees. They cross international boundaries and are governed by international laws. Others leave their homes for refuge in safer areas within the country. they are referred to as internally displaced persons. The focus of our analysis, the latter are not recognized in international law and. Therefore, do not enjoy any legal rights guaranteed by the world community. In most cases, internally displaced persons (and refugees) go beyond individuals and households to include entire communities up to and including clans and ethnic groups. The involvement of such large populations and the tendency for them to leave their homes in a hurry often means that they leave under much more difficult conditions than economic, political and even ecological emigrants. Often they need an array of international organizations to sustain them, at least in the short-run,. Unfortunately, international refugee law does not provide for assistance to prospective refugees while they are still within their own country. Therefore, there is as yet no international agency with a mandate to respond to situations of internal displacement of people in the same manner that the United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) seeks to respond to refugees who have crossed international boundaries.

Communal conflict is a social conflict that relates to a group or groups in a society. When it occurs within a group, it is known as intra-communal conflict and inter-communal conflict when it occurs between groups. It is worth noting that these groups have common social ties, which may make the competition that may ensue to be fierce. The point is that the misuse or unequal distribution of the available resources that should be jointly enjoyed by a group will produce conflict. The conflict will usually be complex to tackle because of the level of hatred that would probably have been cultivated among the parties in the process.

**Methodology**

An appropriate framework for any study cannot be determined in a vacuum. It is dictated by the nature of the problem to be investigated, and a consideration of which research tools and approaches will enhance the study. Thus, in fashioning the approach to the study of communal conflict in Ebonyi State, we considered the historical relationship between the two communal groups in conflict. We also considered the fact that investigations are taking place almost four years after the violent confrontations, with considerable efforts at reconciliation and peace-building in the area. Getting to the root of the matter, therefore, requires a combination of research strategies.

The study adopts a historical materialist approach. This is considered useful for a number of reasons. First, it affords the opportunity to historicize the discourse by focusing on the historical relationships that have existed over time between the groups in conflict. This kind of perspective is quite useful in capturing the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations with respect to the struggle over land, as well as access to local power. Secondly, it provides opportunity to explain the dynamics of these relationships in terms of the material interests of individual actors and groups.

Historical materialism is a methodological approach to the study of society, economics, and history first articulated by Karl Marx (1818–1883) as the materialist conception of history. It is a theory of socioeconomic development according to which changes in material conditions (technology and productive capacity) are the primary influence on how society and the economy
are organised. Historical materialism looks for the causes of developments and changes in human society in the means by which humans collectively produce the necessities of life. Social classes and the relationship between them, plus the political structures and ways of thinking in society, are founded on and reflect contemporary economic activity. The major tenets of the theory are:

1. **The productive forces tend to develop throughout history:** The productive forces are the means available for transforming nature to satisfy human wants. Raw materials, tools, labor power, technological knowledge about how to produce goods with various inputs, are all examples of productive forces.

2. **The nature of the productive relations of a given society is explained by the level of development of its productive forces:** The productive relations are relations involving people and control of productive forces. Examples: The capitalist hires workers. The boss owns the factory. The serfs born on a feudal manor are required by enforced custom to remain there and work sometimes for the benefit of the lord of the manor. As Marx states in the 1859 “Preface to the Critique of Political Economy,” “The sum total of these relations of production [in a given society] constitutes the economic structure of society.”

3. **The character of the non-economic institutions of society, especially its political-legal order, is explained by the character of its economic structure**

4. **The development of the productive forces periodically produces conflict between forces and relations.** At these times the existing productive relations are fetters on the forces—the former hinder the effective utilization and further growth of the latter. A time of social instability ensues. The outcome in the long run is that the existing relations of production adjust to the new forces of production rather than the other way round.

5. **“All history is the history of class struggle.”** The class that wins the class struggle is the one that in its time is best able to preside over the productive forces. That is, the class that wins is the one that is best able to bring it about that the productive forces are for the reasonably foreseeable future effectively utilized and that their further growth is encouraged.

As Marx explained in his *Critique of Political Economy*:

The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once realized, became the guiding principle of my studies can be summarized as follows. In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters.

The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense super-structure. In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and
ght it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production.

No social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society. Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation. In broad outline, the Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production may be designated as epochs marking progress in the economic development of society. The bourgeois mode of production is the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but of an antagonism that emanates from the individuals’ social conditions of existence—but the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create also the material conditions for a solution of this antagonism. The pre-history of society accordingly closes with this social formation.

Marx critically reviewed the Hegelian philosophy of right which appeared in 1844 and found that material (economic) life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. In the words of Marx, “it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being determine their consciousness” (Marx, 1968:181). Hence, dialectical materialism, as its defining method is characterized by:

1. Dynamic character of social reality
2. Inter-relatedness of different levels of structure
3. Primacy of material condition

Arguably, within every society, a well-placed small number of people (elites) wield absolute power to rule the masses for their own selfish interest, though the masses might benefit in the long run. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engel’s share this position in their work Manifesto of the Communist Party when they argued that the relationship between the bourgeoisie and proletariat in a capitalist system is a relationship of domination of labour by capital despite the formal freedom and equality (Dyke, 1969:168).

However, considering the fact that the investigation is taking place almost fifty-two years after the initial incidence of communal violence in Ezza-Ezillo, a number of research strategies and techniques had to be combined in order to obtain the relevant data. In addition to archival materials, we relied on classified government reports such as the Report of the State Government Commission of Inquiry into the 2008-2010 Riots. Report of the Committee for the Reconciliation and Search for Lasting Peace in Ezza-Ezillo Community, and a number of other government publications. The research also relied on in depth interviews with important personalities in the conflict and opinion leaders. This includes discussions with communal heads of Ezza-Ezillo, and a former political leaders of concerned local government council as well as president of their town unions. This was complemented with the use of Focus Group Discussions in which people directly involved in the conflicts had opportunity to engage in relating experiences. In addition to these, we relied on basic survey method, which involved a general survey of the Ezza-Ezillo area. In order to have a concrete appreciation of the area of conflict, we undertook a survey of the sites for the old and the new markets, an exploration of the town to assess the
nature of accommodation available, and a visit to the houses of the former and present district heads of the town.

**Human cost of Ezza-Ezillo Communal conflict**

Various factors have been identified by scholars as responsible for communal conflict in the country. The causes vary from one area to another. Yecho (2006) indicated that the causes of communal conflicts are not static but rather dynamic and varied in nature depending on the socio-economic and geopolitical circumstances at the time. Onwudiwe (2004) listed social conditions as population explosion, economic migration, and the anti-poor policies of the government as triggers of communal friction. Horowitz (1990) pinned down communal conflict to revolve around politics, politicians, and their pursuit of group advantage. Albert (2001) identified indigene/settler problem, religious differences, ownership of land and its resources, goals and aspirations of people as some of the factors that can ignite communal conflict in the country. Hembe (2000) indicated that political struggle and colonization, while Lyam (2000) mentioned loss of soil fertility, soil erosion, deforestation, bush burning and flooding as some of the causes of communal conflict. Yecho (2006) pointed out that the fundamental causes of communal conflict are poor economic conditions, high level of illiteracy, the quest for, and fear of domination by other groups, land disputes, market ownership, chieftaincy tussle and party politics.

Varvar (2000) indicated that increased demand for land for agriculture, unemployment, rural hunger, poverty impoverishment as communal conflict triggers. Deprivation, exploitation and domination of minority groups by major ethnic groups and leadership problem were highlighted by Angya and Doki (2006) as factors that can exert communal crisis. Equally, religious differences, competition for livelihood resources and traditional chieftaincy tussles were enumerated by Oboh and Hyande (2006) as potential communal conflict triggers in the country. Competitions for land and chieftaincy tussle are the major causes of communal conflict in the North. For instance, in Nasarawa in 1993, Alago, Hausa and Tiv clashed over land and chieftaincy from 1995-2005, the Egburra and Bassa in Toto clashed over land, chieftaincy and politics. In 1989, 1990 and 1997, intra-communal conflict occurred in Ipav in Gboko based on land problem. In Taraba State, between the Chamba/Jukun and Kuteb over chieftaincy tussle since 1996 when it started, it is still ongoing; in 2004 in Adamawa State between the Bachama and Hausa/Fulani over land ownership, politics and religious. On March 5, 2005, communal clash between Maruta (Jigawa) and Burmin (Bauchi) occurred over market relocation. On June 2003, Ekepedo and Ogori clashed over land ownership in Kogi/Edo States. Best (2006) argued that in Benue Valley, the pressure on land from all directions heightens the proliferation of ethnic and communal conflicts in the region, including the political ones, most of them arising from the land question (Alimba, 2014). The tables below captured the human cost of communal Ezillo – Ezza conflicts.

**Table 1:** The People who lost their lives in the Ezillo – Ezza conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Name of the victims</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Date of death</th>
<th>Address / clan</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Odonwa Enyiagwo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>12-5-08</td>
<td>Umuakpu</td>
<td>Killed on his way to Abakaliki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Donatus Otugbu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29-5-08</td>
<td>Umuonwu</td>
<td>Killed Okpochiri on his way to his house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ede Nkemdirim</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>03/07/08</td>
<td>Nkalagu boy residence in Amaleze</td>
<td>Corpse not seen. He went to fetch a goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nwafor Oji (Nee Alieze Okwo)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30/06/08</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Corpse not seen killed at Mgbogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>John Okoro</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>July, 2008</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chikaodiri Okoro</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>July, 2008</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Aba Gaabriel Oke</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>7-7-08</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Corpse not seen- killed at Ngbogo during watch keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Anayo Alize</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>July, 2008</td>
<td>Amofia</td>
<td>Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Egwu Nwoke</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>15-9-08</td>
<td>Umuogiri</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Odo Ogbaru</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31-10-08</td>
<td>Umozoke</td>
<td>Drowned in Ebonyi Amaofia while in War battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Eze Nwekpa (Shanka)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>13/08/08</td>
<td>Umoogiri</td>
<td>Died as a result gun sound shock Ituma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Ede Agom</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Onyebuchi Ebenyi (Con)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Killed at Ishmkpuma in his shop. Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Pricilla Ebenyi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Sept 2008</td>
<td>Amankwo</td>
<td>Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Uchenna Ebenyi Aguiti</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Killed at Ngbo, burnt corpse seen without head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Moses Aguowo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Umuogiri</td>
<td>Killed at Ngo corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Egba Oke (Nwirem)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4-7-08</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Killed in his home, head cut off, corpse seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Ali Nwede</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>19/7/08</td>
<td>Amorie</td>
<td>Corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Corlins Sundays Agbo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-4-09</td>
<td>Umuogiri</td>
<td>Killed at Ugbonaa, during watch keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Paul Ogbonnaya</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Umuogiri</td>
<td>28-4-09</td>
<td>Died as a result gun sound shock Ituma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Gab Egbara ominyi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25-7-09</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Killed at his compound, corpse not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Nnede Ida/ Nee Ede-Ngbo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24/7/09</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
<td>Shot at Ugbonaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Emmanuel Anyim Nweze</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>14/8/09</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
<td>Shot death at Agbago Eziulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Okoro Omechieded</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29/8/09</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
<td>Shot near Eziulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Omebe Oke</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20/1/2010</td>
<td>Amorie</td>
<td>Died as a resur of gun shot 16th Jan 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Janet Nworie Omebe</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1-2-2010</td>
<td>Umoogiri</td>
<td>Had gun shut on 30/1/2010 at her place Ishimkpuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Emmanuel Nwite</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18/2/010</td>
<td>Umugiri</td>
<td>Killed and beheaded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Odo Nwegbe (Ogbulaga_)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18/2/10</td>
<td>Umozoke</td>
<td>Killed and beheaded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Adagba Ogbugbo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18/2/10</td>
<td>Umozoke</td>
<td>Killed and be headed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Ebenyi Elom</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18/2/10</td>
<td>Umozoke</td>
<td>Killed and beheaded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Captured Alive corpse later recovered but his head and private part were removed.

Body recovered completely.

Body recovered completely.

Body recovered completely.

Corpse recovered but beheaded.

Corpse recovered but beheaded.

Corpse recovered but beheaded.

From table above, 6 females and 32 men respectively were killed in the conflict thus reflecting the gender biased character of the conflict.

Table 2: List of People Killed At Ezillo on 31st December 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Innocent Oteba</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sunday Okeke</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Umuezoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alexander Okike</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alexander Agbo</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Umuezoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sunday Okafor</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Umuezoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>James Nwali</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Umuezoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jenneth Ali- Okike</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amalizeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Onyebuchi Ali</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Alobu Ebenyi Osu</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mercy Opa</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Simon Okonwe</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nwadi Okonwe</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Umuogiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Godwin Ekpaede</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ifeyinwa Ogbru</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ada Ogbru.M</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nweke Ishiokwu</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Christopher Ishiokwu</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ifeoma Isiokwu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amaleze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Amoge Idenyi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Pastor Lawrence Ebenyi</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Amuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Okafor Ali</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Umuezoke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source: Enuke 2011 and Field Data 2011

Recommendations

To manage communal conflicts in Nigeria will involve adopting two approaches. The first is the preventive approach and the second, the long term approach. The preventive approach involves the evolvement of strategies that will tackle its causes, to reduce the level of incidence of communal conflicts in communities in the North and the country in general. The preventive strategies will take the understanding of the causes of the conflict. This will provoke the provision of the following facilities to reduce it: enforcement of land control by the government, determination of the extent of boundaries for proper adjustment, provision of basic infrastructural facilities in communities, zoning of political positions in communities, control of arms inflow into communities, equitable distribution of resources, and promotion of mutual respect for people. The second, which is the long term approach, entails the development of early warning system in communities and the adoption of peace education programme suitable to tackle the peculiar nature of the conflict in communities in the South East in generally and in Ebonyi State in particular.

Thus the best way of avoiding the displacement of persons in a conflict is to prevent the conflict from escalating into violence. But once violence breaks out its products such as population displacement must be properly managed in order to effectively being the conflict and violence to an end. However,
quite often following the outbreak of any violent communal strife, key government officials visit the scene, hold meetings with leaders of the relevant communities, declare the restoration of peace and set up a government panel of inquiry whose reports and the relevant official “white paper” are hardly made public. But since the roots of the conflict are not addressed and the consequences of the conflict, such as population displacement, are not normalized another round of violence erupts.

What is needed is a peace-building effort that takes into account two interrelated factors. One is the nature of the dynamics that led to the outbreak of violence in the first place. The second is the dynamic that has sustained the conflict since its emergence. The first requires that the material and historical issues raised by the conflict situation are unearthed and addressed. Unfortunately, government panels and commissions that are usually set up in Nigeria to do this have become merely part of the rituals, which power holders go through. They lack the political will to deal with the conflict and build an enduring peace.

The second, though related to the first, involves the identification of forces and social agencies that keep conflicts going once they break out. They include unrestrained flow of arms into the warring communities, the presence of too many jobless youth in the communities, continued marginalization of a party to the conflict and inadequate response to the needs of displaced populations. In other words those issues, conditions and developments capable of creating fear, insecurity, hopelessness and distrust must be snuffed out while the socio-economic and political environment capable of easing tension an building confidence in the communities need to be promoted. Among other things confidence building means coming to the aid of victims of violence, bringing added stability through regular policing of the warring communities, and setting the stage for long-term rehabilitation through emergency peace-building measures such as providing humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups.

**Conclusion**

Conflict is obviously a reality of human existence. As Agbakoba (2009), noted, the history of individuals and communities that make up humanity is that of conflict between the social aspects (generous, gregarious, cooperative and peaceable aspects) of human beings and the asocial (the individualistic, mean competitive aspects). Even human nature, cultural values and beliefs and development differ from one social space to another.

Given the inherent inevitability of conflict in various communities including the Ezillo Community, conflict has been conceptualized as not an anomaly but violent conflict has its dysfunctional effect on development.

To be sure the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict had been very protracted and appeared unmanageable, uncontrollable and irresolvable thus engendering massive human and material losses. The study revealed that the conflict impacted negatively on three major spheres of development namely economic, cultural, social and political development thus constricting development in these spheres. As a way out, we have recommended a conflict management model which is holistic, proactive and which aims at peace building in cognizance of the factors that impel conflicts.

It is hoped that establishing such constructive human centered social conflict management framework would bring about peace and development in Ebonyi State (Ezillo in particular) and other communities in Nigeria.
References


IRIN (2005), *Nigeria: Plateau State IDPs Face Daunting Obstacles to return to —Home of Peace and Tourism, 21 February*.


Mandami, M (2001a), “Beyond Settlers, Natives and Political Identities: Over coming the Legacy of Colonialism”, In Peter, I. Ozo-Eson and Ukoha Ukiwo (ed), Ideology and African Development; Proceeding of the Third Memorial Programme in Honour of Professor Claude Ake, Port Harcourt CASS.


Nwankwo, J.I. (2013), Managing Education for National Security, A Keynote Address, 
32nd Annual National Conference of Nigerian Association for Educational 
Administration and Planning (NAEAP) held at Governor’s Office Ilorin on 7th-
11th October.

Nwolise, O.B.C (2003), War making, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution in Africa, In 
Harunah, H.B; Nwolise, O.B.C; and Oluyemi-Kusa, D (eds), A guide to Peace 
1.Lagos: African Refugee Foundation,

Production in Oye Community of Oju LGA in Benue State, In Gyuse T.T. and 
Ajene, O.(eds.), Conflicts in the Benue Valley, Makurdi: Benue State University 
Press.

85 – 104.


Ogbogbo, C.B.N. (1999), Of history Culture and the African Crisis, Ibadan: Stirling-
Horden Publishers (Nig.) Ltd.

Olusola, S. (2003), The role of National Commission of Refugees in the Management of 
Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), In Bayo Adekanye, J. (ed), 
Managing Problems of Displacement, Internally Displaced Persons and 
Refugees, The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Ibadan, 
Nigeria.

Onah, F.O (1997), Understanding Intra-Group and Inter Group Conflicts. A Social-
Psychological Perspective. A Paper Presented at the Nigeria Conference on Inter-
group Conflict, Intra-group wars and African Development Organized by Peace 
Research Institute of Nigeria 3 – 5 Dec 1997 at CEC UNN.

Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria: A Reader, Ibadan: Spectrum 
Books Ltd.

6(3-4).


Otite, O (1990), *Ethnic Pluralism & Ethnicity in Nigeria*, Ibadan; Shanesson Publishers


