TIV – JUKUN ETHNIC CONFLICT IN WUKARI DISTRICT OF TARABA STATE NORTHEAST NIGERIA: HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES APPROACH.

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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to the glory of God, who has given me the ability, strength and wisdom to do it all. Also to my late mother Mildred Jabez who wished to see us excel in life.
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ABSTRACT

Nigeria has witnessed several types of conflicts such as ethnic, communal and religious those are caused by certain factors. This issue is not far from Tiv-Jukun conflict which has long history of perennial conflict. The conflict has been described as the most violent dispute in North-East Nigeria since the Nigeria Civil War. The Tiv and Jukun have had a history of political and economic relegation; however, there has over the years been persistent conflict between the two ethnic communities who had lived peacefully in the recent time. From history the Jukun were the early settlers in Wukari, while the Tivs are considered immigrants and should not have right in Wukari local government. This study used horizontal inequality as a conceptual framework to examine the factors responsible for the ethnic conflict of Tiv – Jukun in Gidan idi Wukari of Taraba state north east Nigeria, focusing on the social-economic factors which were responsible for the conflict. Ten (10) participants were involved in this study through interviews, using purposeful sampling and thematic analysis in order to obtain results. Finding shows there is horizontal inequality in education, economic and political factors between the Tiv-Jukun and none in-terms of health related matter. The impact of this conflict results in killing of people, huge burning of houses, business places, and schools, followed by looting of assets. The government set panel committee but could not settle the conflict. However this study recommends that there should be equal sharing formula in employment opportunities, education, and political positions. Land issue should also be addressed by making land a resource for mutual benefit.
ABSTRAK

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

- **APC**: Arewa People Congress  
- **HIS**: Horizontal Inequalities  
- **IPC**: Igbo People Congress  
- **IYC**: Ijaw Youth Congress  
- **LTTE**: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam  
- **MASSOB**: Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra  
- **NDC**: National Democratic Congress  
- **NPC**: Northern People’s Congress  
- **NPP**: New Patriotic Party  
- **OECD**: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development  
- **OPC**: Odua People Congress  
- **PD**: Prevention Diplomacy  
- **USAID**: United States Agency for International Development  
- **WHO**: World Health Organisation
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Globally, peaceful co-existence among nations is more challenging than ever before. In fact, Nigeria as a nation had witnessed a serious number of national ethnic-conflicts ever before the independence but the menace has aggravated in the last five decades (Adegbami & Uche, 2015; Nwankwo, 2015). The historical development of ethnic conflict (communal wars and violence) can be traced from within (internal) national rivalry to external (physical). Subsequently, it is not very far from power rivalry and decision making over economic assets and other significant human aspects such as political power, land disputes and socio-cultural fanaticism (Egbefo & Salihu, 2014). Essentially, ethnic conflicts have inflicted on the economic, physical and human well-being of the nation and all efforts made by government, communities and private individuals to checkmate it seems to have produced few positive solutions (Anthony, 2014; Egbefo & Salihu, 2014).

Aggestam (2014) and Grimm and Leininger (2012) stated that every society cannot exist in isolation and interaction between such societies have created more ethnic conflict than peaceful co-existence. In addition, literatures have shown that conflict can be small or big, noticeable or buried, and short-term or long lasting in a given society. As a matter of fact, it is occurrence could be international, national or locally motivated among ethnic groups. In a community, conflict do happen in prolonged or acute tension between ethnic, religious and community clusters (Dave-Odigie, 2011). For example the Israel versus Palestinian’s conflict is the case of
chronic conflict. Despite of the United Nation reconciliation process the attainment of a peaceful co-existence is more of a fallacy rather than a reality (Smith, 2010).

However, Douglas (2014) noted that the term ‘conflict’ is a concept tantamount with human behaviour. As long as man cannot exist in isolation, then in the course of relating with other members of the public there will be disagreements and confusion. More so, such disagreement or misunderstanding occurs in form of agitation. Common motive for conflict could be as a result of cheating or struggle for a favorable goals (identity, fear of dominance and for economic gains) that have resulted into a conflict.

In the Nigeria case, it is not far from the global perception on the socio-political and cultural conflict challenges experienced in other part of the world. Even though, some conflicts are less frequent but their consequences are acute with high devastating impact. In Nigeria context, commonest of the conflict is political rivalry that has caused more destruction of lives and properties. Particularly, 1979 Western-political hoodlum, General Babangida brutalism of political annulment in June 12, 1993 and 2011-post-election violence in northern Nigeria have witnessed loss of lives and properties (Alemika, 2011). Though, reasons for conflicts could be for constructive or destructive purposes in any given community (Hannum, 2011; Obi, 2010).

According to Gambo and Omirin (2012), both communal and ethnic conflict have bedeviled Nigerian society since 1980s, particularly the nineteen (19) states of the northern Nigeria. In fact, almost all northern state that has witnessed one form of disputes or another in recent time. Even though, Tiv - Jukun is historical in nature (Okereke, 2013). Ever since from the middle of 1980s the torrent of crisis had increase, and subsequently led to losses of lives and destruction of properties. This disputes has continued to demonstrate ethnic and religious patterns which have delineated clear expression of law breaking and frustration among Nigeria communities (Gambo & Omirin, 2012).

In particular, Tiv - Jukun conflict is amid frequent socio-ethnic violence that devour the economic and political stability in Nigerians’ peaceful co-existence in recent time for national development (Egwu, 2004; Egbefo & Salihu, 2014; Alimba (2014). In fact, this is one of the prolonged inter-ethnic conflicts that have repeatedly arisen since 1959 to date. Likewise, Zangon-Kataf; Aguleri-Umuleri; Mango-Bokkos and; the Ife-Modakeke conflicts were few of the common feuds in the Nigeria communities. Egwu (2004) and Othman (2015) emphasized land dispute as the central Themes thought-provoking clashes between the Tiv and the Jukun
individuals/communities. Anthony (2014) stated that up to date the struggles and efforts made by past and present government and the entire stakeholders to provide a lasting solution to the adamant clashes and conflicts among Tivs - Jukuns’ communities seems to have produced few positive resolutions (Egbefo & Salihu, 2014). Therefore, it is the interest of this research to appraise the horizontal inequality factors that cause conflicts and to provide a comprehensive framework for the peaceful co-existence between Tiv - Jukun communities.

Alimba (2014) stated that the crisis have produced high tension that is generating danger to the national security of Nigeria as a nation. Also, Nigerian citizens have resulted to violation of the human rights and social injustices, particularly, the women and children. A lot of people feel dissatisfied or unfairly dealt with as a result of injustice and failure of the government authority to institute legal action against those who carry out harmful actions of these crisis. Ethnic conflicts in Nigeria have resulted into deaths and vandalism, several people suffered injuries of various stages and others lost all they possess worth millions of Naira to the hands of looters. Some remained permanently displaced and psychologically traumatized because human minds control it all as conflict start in the hearts of men; so also peace begins in our hearts. The implication is that the same citizens that start conflicts have the capacities to achieve peaceful resolution but these could only be attain through the communities’ socio-cultural, political and economic factor assessment.

Saleeman et al. (2015) noted that not all conflicts are negative in inclination. Some conflicts could serve as a foundation for peace-building initiatives. More so, if conflict is non-violent that is constructively and cooperatively approached it could manifest a positive change for the correction of injustice among communities. Nevertheless, literatures have provided wealth of information on the consequences of communal conflicts in many nations, particularly in the recent Nigeria’s Boko Haram violent and Tiv - Jukun socio-political battles occurrences. In addition, scholars have provided both empirical and theoretical evident that the damage of conflicts might not be immediate but it could have lifelong impact on the unborn generation (Usman, 2013; Adetoye & Omilusi, 2015). Subsequently, Le Billon (2009) stated that history, governance and economic factors are the root causes of conflicts. The approach for the development of any possible resolution must therefore attend to specific causes in the specific settlement/community/ethnic group in order to reach an amicable conflict’s resolution. Le Billon (2009) further outlined the other causes of conflicts such as land
resources, political position, and fear of domination. In addition, citizenship identity, religion and most importantly poverty as factor were listed in the studies of Le Billon (2009; Salawu, 2010).

Imobighe (2003) asserted that ethnic conflict strategic management in Nigeria can be analysed through assessment of roles, beliefs and attitudes of people in the conflict situation. Hence, it includes an assessment of interests and purposes liable for the occurrence of conflict and defines the cause response and avenging actions of aggrieved people. He emphasized that to resolve any conflict situations, it is useful to uncover the historical antecedent to place, the root causes of the crises and solution should evolved within the people involved before reaching a position that would offer amicable settlement.

On a practical note, Nigeria’s ethnic conflict connote a circumstances where relationship between different ethnic group ethnic or religious groups in a diverse-ethnic, religious or multi-cultural societies is regarded by absence of affectionateness, mutual mistrust and anxiety, and a propensity in the direction of violent hostility. Salawu (2010) asserted that in Nigeria today, ethnicity and religious intolerance has turn out to be the pivot of countless ways of nationalism varying from claim of language, cultural self-government and religious control to request for local political autonomy and self-determination. All these have caused some kinds of prejudice among communities on the basis of distinguished schemes of socio-cultural signs, religion and economic. Consequently, common mistrust and lack of friendliness between different ethnic groups describes the reason why ethno-religious conflicts have turned out to be lasting feature of Nigeria as a country since 1980s until now. Salawu (2010) elucidated that there is no practical difference between ethnic and religion conflict in the Nigeria context. In fact, most conflict that started as ethnic or political conflict mostly ended as a religious calamity and vice-versa. This showed why Nigerian government has a paramount interest in a research of this nature.

Consequently, this research is crucial because the various political, traditional, ethnic leaders and religious scholars, in most communities of conflict, particularly, Tiv - Jukun leaders barely meet to deliberate the root causes of conflict. More so, is to develop an assessment framework for peaceful co-existence and how to reduce/avoid future ethnic, political and socio-economic conflicts in Nigeria.

Sequel to the above, the utmost aim of this research is to critically appraise the horizontal factors responsible for the Tiv - Jukun ethnic group conflict. More so, to
develop a multi-directional model for the Tiv - Jukun’s conflict management strategies that could enhance peaceful co-existence particularly for Nigeria with a bad history of ethnic conflicts. The outcome of this research could provide better understanding for bridge-building framework for establishing common self-reliance that could sustain Nigeria’s diverse-ethnic societies. At the same time, the proposed Tiv-Jukun conflict strategic management framework could be adopted or adapted for the ethnic conflicts’ resolution in other region in Nigeria and beyond.

1.2 Tiv – Jukun conflict

Taraba state is located at the north east of Nigeria, with the population of 164,728,600 and Wukari has 257,470 (Gani & Adeoti, 2011). The contest that happened in Taraba state, which takes on for years, is primarily among the Tivs, and the Jukuns. Jukuns tribe constitutes the mainstream in Taraba, whereas the Tiv form the bulk in Benue. At hand are likewise Tiv minorities in Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau states, as well as a small Jukun lesser in Benue. The Jukuns comprise of both christian and moslem religion, with very few who practice traditional religion. While the Tivs are mainly christians with few moslems and traditional religion. The contest happening Taraba among the Tivs and the Jukuns has incline on focus on struggle on land property, as suitably as dominance over economic possessions and political post. Political clashes so intense especially about the control of Wukari and Donga the customary Jukuns’ areas. Around has remained struggle above the sitting of the border among Benue and Taraba States, deference (or disrespect) for border separations, and political dominance of the boundary towns and settlements.

Now general positions, the Jukun assertion to exist the unique citizens of Wukari, or “indigenes” also deliberate the Tiv as “settlers”. The Tivs discard this opinion, on the foundation that they also must been existing there for numerous generations and so have equivalent privileges; they criticize of being relegated and leftward out in Taraba. Similarly, the Jukuns few in Benue also protest of relegation, deficiency of occupation openings, and anxiety. The Tivs, who are perceived as “settlers” are disadvantaged of various privileges given to native individuals, such as deprivation in schooling, political representation, economic chances, employment,
etc. The Tiv thus say they are belligerent for equal privileges which they believe they are authorized to as native of Taraba state.

Tiv - Jukun contention emerged amid 1990 and 1993. Beginning the first week of September 2001 forward, in specific, there were manacles of fight and counter aggression by Tiv - Jukun militant factions on a weekly, and occasionally a daily basis in the border townships and settlements. There are persistent into December 2001 and January 2002. Tiv grumble of maltreatment in Taraba in addition claim that the Jukun incident these aggression was intentionally to safeguard a political benefit in Taraba in the run-up to each election as in the scheduled 2003 polls (Ukiwo, 2003).

Contention happened in the years 1959, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1990 and 2001. Major Contention happened in 1959 lead the National Votes in Nigeria that year and exemplified Tiv protests alongside the colonial powers that be, their dogmas, the Northern oligarchy and Northern People’s Congress which the Jukun mostly recognized through which the Tiv saying as the indication of their coercion and supremacy (Horowitz, 1985).

Some analysts link the dispute between these two groups and north central Nigeria in general to political difficulties courting back to the expatriate period. Throughout this era, the British gave power above this massive area occupied by several racial subgroups to its associate, the Hausa-Fulani Muslim oligarchy that seized control in several shares of northerly Nigeria. The Tiv strongly reject Hausa-Fulani power, causing in main explosion of contention as early 1960s that requisite military intrusion to enclose. Whereas the Tiv favored partisan associations with southern political group, the Jukun joined up per the Northern Peoples’ Congress (NPC), organized by the Muslim medieval oligarchs from the north (IRIN, 2001). The political proportions of the contention are dual: old-style and modern. The previous worried of control of Wukari metropolitan and partisan post and further possessions. The last concentrated on the Jukuns rejection to embrace any Tiv in Wukari Traditional Assembly where resolutions are made that touch their social life.

Another issue is Land which is regularly called as reason of the contention. Whereas land is repeatedly stated, it is of a fact that is one an aperture aimed at political and further forms of encounter. While it is regularly believed that the Tivs who are predominately farmers are intruding on the agriculture land possessed by the Jukuns it revolved out that the actual problem is that the Tivs are suspect of not enduring by the customary laws of land organization, which necessitate them to gain approval from the
community leader, constituency head, district head, and dominant monarch before preparatory to cultivate on a section of land. Rather, the Tiv would not agree that they are “immigrants” and do not distinguish the Jukuns as unique native (Akintola & Yabayanze, 2017).

An additional issue in the dispute is the great inhabitants’ growing of the Tivs, which generates a want for additional farmland and political control. The Tivs are often blamed of inviting relations from neighboring Benue region, which raises the mandate for parcel, as well as the numerical power of the Tivs. The Jukuns sensation that in their opinions, of which they are particularly honored, are being challenged by the influx of Tiv and ensure embarked upon a “rejukunisation” course. These countless reasons, distant and direct have directed to an tremendously fierce hostility among the Tivs and Jukuns (Moti, 2010). Tribal faction are said to contain in vehemence when they impression ambiguous about their confidence or danger resulting the depriving of a control base during a common election. Tribal entrepreneurs are said to drudge on this disturbance to strengthen communal unity thereby hastening distrust and divergence (Roe, 2004).

In summary, tribal factions are believed to involve in ferocity when they sense ambiguous around their safety or danger. Nigeria is a society with diverse languages, religion and cultures as a result of poor and inadequate controlling of contention rising from these differences, the delinquent of nationhood has known system to calamity that has persist the subject of the argument Moreover this does not despicable we cannot be as one country, even though the circumstance that certain Nigerians are disadvantaged of their privileges in other shares of the nation. Therefore the denial of rights of citizen to reside in places other than their own should be addressed. This can only be completed through the legitimate adjustment that should plainly indicated that Nigerians have privileges of home, have access to social benefits such as employment, participate in politic, education and scholarships and own land to farm. By so doing it will reduce the tension amongst the diverse ethnic groups that are sparingly spread around virtually all cities and towns of the country. Land issue must be addressed in a circumstances wherever certain are deprived of right to use to land since they remain guest or settlers which can split the motherland separately rather than harmony, this is somewhere the role of traditional monarchs are relevant. However, in Nigeria, the age-old animosities between the various ethnic groups arising from conflicts over ownership and control of land appear to have been exacerbated by the ineffectual
nature of the Land Use Act of 1979 in the rural areas. While the Act provides that the Governor holds all land in the state in trust for the people, the reality is that traditional forms of ownership are better recognized among the rural populace. Prevention diplomacy (PD) suggests the greatest approach for working and supporting fights within Tiv land. The reasons of contention in Tiv land are difficult, and hence necessitate an approach that identifies this difficulty (Osegbue, 2017).

1.3 Statement of the problem

The conflict in Wukari of Taraba state that has been happening for years is mainly between the Tivs, and the Jukuns. The Jukuns being the major tribe in Taraba state, while the Tivs the major tribes in Benue state. Also there are Tiv minorities in Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau states, and few Jukun minority in Benue state. The battle in Taraba state between the Tivs and the Jukuns is likely to focus on struggle over land, control over economic resources and political or administrative position. Political clashes have been especially strong around the influence of Wukari long existing traditional Jukun centre. Land has been the major contributing factor of the incessant conflict going on in Wukari local government area. The respondents interviewed agreed that land has been their major problem between the two ethnic groups of Tiv - Jukun. The Jukuns are not ready to let the Tivs have access to the land by claiming that it is their own inheritance and therefore want to protect the land as their inheritance for their future generation. While on the other side the Tiv argued that land is not the problem but fear of domination. The Jukuns are so concerned that the Tivs’ population is fast growing and will one day over power the Jukuns, that’s why the Jukuns are denying the Tivs access to penetrate into their land.

Another contributing factor is employment opportunities, the chances of employment to both ethnic groups differ, the Jukuns are given upper hand and more opportunity when it comes to employment. The Jukuns believe to be the indigenes and will not allow settlers (Tivs) to take over offices in their land in which the Tivs refused to accept that claim. The Tiv also claimed to be entitled to job opportunity in Wukari of Taraba state, because they have been living there for decades. Therefore need to be considered. Some of the Tivs respondents interviewed argued that they cannot fold their arms to see all the lucrative jobs given out to the Jukuns. While the Jukuns
claimed is their right to be placed in the lucrative jobs being their own land. This has been causing a lot of problem between the Tiv –Jukun ethnic groups, that has been causing conflict up to today.

The ethnic conflict is global problem nowadays and it is consequence is so huge on the nations’ economic, political and peaceful co-existence of citizens. The world population is predominately within the age bracket of 30 years and the future hold that they stand to face great consequence of ethnic conflict if urgent attention is not given to this problem (WHO, 2009). In fact the peaceful co-existence of future generation societies/communities is at risk of being exposed to more violence that could affect their political and economic development. Also, United States Institute for Peace (2010) reported that ethnic conflict is a global problem, even though, its occurrence is more rampant in Africa and its consequences could be disastrous if not effectively managed. In this regard, no nation whether rich or poor, developed or under-develop is free of ethnics’ violent devastating effects. However, there are several forms of ethnic conflict which includes: land disputes, discrimination, belief and value difference; socio-cultural disposition. Nevertheless, disunity, disharmony and bitterness are the outcomes of ethnic conflicts which hinder progress and development in any given society.

Today, Nigeria has more than two hundred and fifty (250) major ethnic groups which belong to different socio-cultural values. Since independence, Nigeria as a nation has been facing the problem of diverse ethnic-religious, socio-economic and political conflicts (David, 2012). The dilemma of the characterization and diversity of Nigeria ethnic populace has resulted into persistent recurrence of socio-ethnic and political violent. In fact, these have constituted different ethnic interest group with selfish goals such as Bakassi Boys in the eastern; O’dua People Congress (OPC) in the west and; the Boko Haram in the northern Nigeria. Dahida (2015) and Sampson (2012) stressed that the existence of divided interest ethnic groups have propagated communities/societal intolerance that have created more violent and bloody with more devastating loss of life and properties using the ethnic local paramilitaries as the perpetrators of ethnic conflicts’ dogmatic plan.

However, many authors have stated that youth violent is one of the problems confronting Nigeria as a result of ethnic conflicts. Researcher such as Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010) stated that over 60% of the ethnic conflicts are perpetrated by youths within the age brackets of 20 and 35 years in Nigeria. In 2003, 2007 and 2011, Nigeria
recorded more than 83,700 youths were killed in the ethno-religious conflicts, even though; most of these conflicts were politically motivated (Sampson, 2012; David, 2012). Also, in recent time in the northern Nigeria, over 13,000 young and old people were massacred (Usman, 2013); over 70\% of these dead were males (Okereke, 2013) while their families (children and women) are living death to bear the grave consequence of these conflicts.

Presently, Nigeria is in the state of insecurity with political uncertainty and some ethnic regions are living in fear. According to Giroux and Gilpin (2014), majority of the northern youths are the ones caught up using sophisticated and dangerous weapons in both rural and urban areas of the country. The increased deaths of guiltless citizens have created more fear and insecurity than ever before.

In addition, it was observed in the literature that between the year 2005 to 2010, Nigerian police documented about 1.4 million conflicts/violent cases that truly occurred. Nwankwo (2015) and Aggestam (2014) stated that politics; religion belief and socio-cultural difference and; land resources disputes were the root causes of the ethnic conflicts (Federal bureau of investigation, 2011). On the contrary, economic factor and fear of domination were outlined in the study of Drobizheva et al. (2015) as the ground trigger of the ethnic conflicts. Giroux and Gilpin (2014) stated that in Nigeria ethnic conflict situation is ever evolving and there is urgent need to address it through rigorous empirical findings with the view to provide resolution for peaceful co-existence in Nigeria as a nation.

Furthermore, notable scholars buttressed this contention that numerous sections of the country today are convulsed in inter and intra-ethnic conflicts leading to loss of lives as well as the destruction of personal and government property. It is sad to note that gun begin to rule and ruin the country. Obviously, human lives seem worthless and all effort made by the various tiers of government to checkmate the wanton killings and destruction of property seem not to be yielding expected results, the problem is harmfully affecting the economic and social development of the nation. Essentially, the need to live in unity is nonnegotiable; hence, this inevitable march to perdition must be stopped.

Consequently, Ajayi (2014) extensive literature identified areas of challenges in the ethnic conflicts such as economic inequality; discrimination and mutual hatred and fear of domination. He further noted that ever since independent, “there exists persistent cavernous ethnic tension and crises engendered by horizontal inequality
factors (fear of domination, ethnic identity and mistrust), resulting to exaggerated political competition”. Few studies examine the impact of horizontal inequality factors in the context of national peaceful co-existence for Nigeria integration process (Agbaje, 2013; Ajayi, 2014).

Ajayi (2014) noted that though the factors responsible for incessant ethnic conflicts within the community are of various types and likely to cause conflict among the people of Nigeria, socio economic factors are the major contributing factors. First, educational, employment and political inequalities that is knowledgeable and elitist untruth, district politics conveyed in tribal consciousness, division and afraid of domination. Second, all these stopped the growth of real loyalty or national-spirit but instead created the way for inter-ethnic hatred, argument, favoritism, dishonesty, misuse of power, politicization of census and security scheme.

In the recorded history, Nigeria since from the creation was thrown into misunderstanding and incessant difficulty by the presiding leaders who blown the glowing coal of the above disintegrative events into a blaze. Teething problems of nationhood, mostly rotating round the question of power-allocation, had taken Nigeria to the state of breakdown after the independence of October 1, 1960 (Ajayi, 2011). The Nigerian Military tried to change the condition but did not succeed because the system had previously been affected by prolonged favoritism and division, its act instead led to a series of happenings that ended up in the 1967’s civil conflict, political calamity and socio-economic conflicts till date. Intellectuals’ perceived democratic dispensation as preferable landscape for the Nigerians’ peaceful co-existence, but today’s reality is far from yesterday’s idealistic understanding. For this reason, it called for more empirical studies.

At the same time, Mertens (2014) stated that past research on the ethnic conflicts have focused on the elites’ opinions only (selected leaders in the community/society) with the application of subjective research approach that was only qualitative. On the contrary, the real answers to the conflicts’ strategic management lie within the ordinary people in the community who are the recipient of the negative impact of ethnic violent/conflicts. Therefore, to get to the causes of ethnic conflicts in the Nigeria’s Tiv - Jukun communities, there is need to find out what is happening in the grass root that are aggravating the influx of insecurity, insurgents, ethnic disunity and socio-political violent and so on. Therefore this research will involve the opinion
of all demography of the community within the study area in order to gain in-depth understanding of the issue.

Consequently, Dahida (2015) noted that a number of diverse countries in the world have employed their diversity as strength while in Nigeria it is an insurmountable problem. Today, Nigeria’s unity political and socio-economic development is unpredictable as a result of ethnic conflicts. More so, the predicament of Nigeria’s political, economic and internal security crisis cannot be adequately diagnose or clearly understood, except the appraisal and the findings of the underlining causes and effects and solution are provide through an objective research outcomes.

Every community from the simplest to the most complex has some form of social inequality. In particular in Nigerian power, prestige is unequally distributed between individuals and social group. In many societies there are also marked differences in the distribution of wealth. Power refers to the degree to which individuals or groups can impose their will on others with or without the consent of those groups. Prestige relate to the amount of esteem or honor associated with social positions, qualities of individuals and styles of life. Wealth refers to material possession defined as valuable in a certain society. It may include land, livestock, buildings, money and other forms of property owned by individuals or communal groups (Vaezghasemi, Razak, Ng, & Subramanian, 2016). The term social inequality simply refers to the existence of socially created inequalities (Khandakar, 2016).

The research’s outcome is to find out the contributing factors responsible for the Tiv - Jukun’s ethnic conflict in Gidan idi community in Wukari local government area of Taraba state in northeast Nigeria, and suggest strategies to resolve the conflict that could enhance peaceful co-existence in the study area. Thus, the research builds on the inequality theory of ethnic conflict resolution (Steward, 2011). The outcome of this research could provide the implications to advance the Tiv-Jukun conflict strategic management framework that could be adopted or adapted for the ethnic conflicts’ resolution in other region in Nigeria and beyond.

1.4 Objectives of the research

The primary aim of this research is to evaluate the impact of horizontal inequality factors on the peaceful co-existence of Tiv - Jukun in Northern Nigeria with the purpose of
proposing Tiv - Jukun conflict strategic management framework for the peaceful co-existence between the two ethnic groups. Hence, the objectives of the research are as follows:

i. To ascertain the current statuses of factors responsible for the ethnic conflict of Tiv-Jukun in Gidan idi Wukari Taraba state northeast Nigeria.

ii. To describe the impact of the horizontal inequality factors on the Tiv - Jukun peaceful co-existence in Gidan idi Wukari Taraba state northeast Nigeria.

iii. To determine the dominant factor responsible for the Tiv - Jukun conflict in Gidan idi wukari Taraba state northeast Nigeria.

1.5 Research questions

The research’s questions are as follows:

i. What are the current factors responsible for the ethnic conflict in the Tiv - Jukun communities in Gidan idi Wukari Taraba state northeast Nigeria?

ii. How is the horizontal inequality factors impacted on the peaceful co-existence of the Tiv - Jukun communities in Gidan idi Wukari Taraba state northeast Nigeria?

iii. Which dominant factor influence the Tiv – Jukun conflict in Gidan idi Wukari Taraba state northeast Nigeria?

1.6 Significance of the study

The importance of this research is to highlight the inherent causes of communal violence in northern Nigeria. Hence, to proffer solutions by proposing Tiv - Jukun conflict strategic management framework for the peaceful co-existence between the two ethnic groups. The research can hence help as guide to understanding the communal fierceness in Nigeria and also be possibly beneficial guide for the lawmakers on exactly how to handle and confront communal disputes not only in Nigeria as a nation but as well as in other part of the world. It can expand the awareness and analysis on communal disputes. It also serves as a source to further researches and scholars for future investigation on related disputes.
Land has been the major contributing factor of the incessant conflict going on in Wukari local government area. The respondents interviewed agreed that land has been their major problem between the two ethnic groups of Tiv - Jukun. The Jukuns are not ready to let the Tivs have access to the land by claiming that it is their own inheritance and therefore want to protect the land as their inheritance for their future generation. While on the other side the Tivs argued that land is not the problem but fear of domination. The Jukuns are so concerned that the Tivs’ population is fast growing and will one day overpower the Jukuns, that’s why the Jukuns are denying the Tivs access to penetrate into their land.

Another contributing factor was the employment opportunities; the chance of employment to both ethnic groups differs, the Jukuns are given upper hand and more opportunity when it comes to employment. The Jukuns believe to be the indigenes and will not allow settlers (Tivs) to take over offices in their land in which the Tivs refused to accept that claim. The Tiv also claimed to be entitled to job opportunity in Wukari of Taraba state, because they have been living there for decades. Therefore need to be considered. Some of the Tivs respondents interviewed argued that they cannot fold their arms to see all the lucrative jobs given out to the Jukuns. While the Jukuns claimed is their right to be placed in the lucrative jobs being their own land. This has been causing a lot of problem between the Tiv - Jukuns ethnic groups, that has been causing conflict up to today.

However a number of research have been carried out on Tiv - Jukun ethnic conflict in Nigeria but few have gone into the impact of socio-economic and socio-political horizontal inequalities on ethnic conflict. In this respect, this believed to contribute a new knowledge gap that concerns the nexus between ethnic conflict and development in Nigeria. Hence, to examine this knowledge gap, the study aims to introduce a fresh idea into the study of ethnic conflict in Nigeria that links the multidirectional socio-political and economic factors in a single model. A further compelling reason to identify this knowledge gap is because most studies dwell on issues such as religious conflict while few examine other intangible variables such as land resources; citizen identity; fear of domination and language recognition. The evident is that there is shortage of understanding of the past studies’ research gaps. This study intended to focus at the other issues responsible for ethnic conflicts in Nigeria, particularly, Tiv - Jukun’s in the study area.
At the same time, Mertens (2014) stated that past research on the ethnic conflicts have focused on the elites’ opinions only (selected leaders in the community/society) with the application of subjective research approach that was only qualitative. On the contrary, the real answers to the conflicts’ strategic management lie within the ordinary people in the community who are the recipient of the negative impact of ethnic violent/conflicts. Therefore, to get to the causes of ethnic conflicts in the Nigeria’s Tiv - Jukun communities, there is need to find out what is happening in the grass root that are aggravating the influx of insecurity, insurgents, ethnic disunity and socio-political violent and so on. Therefore this research will involve the opinion of all demography of the community within the study area in order to gain in-depth understanding of the issue.

1.7 Research methodology

The research used Steward’s (2009; 2011) inequality theory of ethnic conflict to assess the impact of horizontal inequality factors on the peaceful co-existence of the Tivs - Jukuns ethnic groups in Taraba state in Nigeria.

The research methodological was qualitative method through the use of interview conducted on purposeful sampling on ethnic groups. The population used for the research was citizens of Tiv - Jukun communities who resided in the communities inclusive of elites and masses/less-privilege individuals. In addition, interview used to gather data from the masses/less-privilege individuals in the communities. The data collected was analyzed by transcription of interview result. The research’s data analysis finally examined the structural relationship between the independent and dependent variables of the proposed Tiv - Jukun conflict strategic management framework. In a nut shell, a detailed methodological approaches used for the research were explained in the chapter three of this thesis.

1.8 Scope of the study

The research’s scope comprises of Wukari of Taraba state in Nigeria. The state sited in the north east geo-political location in Nigeria. Hence, the state contains former federation of Wukari that are present Taraba north and south Local Government Areas
(LGA). Both LGAs included of three wards, namely: Donga, Wukari and Takum. These two major ethnic tribes in the LGAs were the Tivs and Jukuns while other minorities were Kuteb, Ichen, Hausa and Chamba (see Figure 1.0). The LGAs are co-existed with surrounding rural settlements. In order to create important and sufficient analysis, the investigation is limited to Tiv - Jukun LGAs. The potential participants involve the sample size drawn from the residents of these two communities.

![Figure 1.1: Geopolitical zones and conflict zones in Taraba State, Nigeria](Edward & Abel, 2012)

As presented in Figure 1.1 the interesting factor behind selecting the Tiv - Jukun LGAs as the study state is because of their distinctive characteristics in terms of the perennial conflicts/violent that had resulted into destruction of lives and properties. The notable causes of such conflicts were noted either: political, social, economic or culturally motivated. Sufficient coverage of the study areas is imperative in order to arrive with a clear research result.

1.9 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework in a research is the abstract outline, logical formation of meaning that guides the formulation or development of the study (Baxter & Jack,
Hence, Framework is based on the identification of key concepts/ideas and the relationships between the key variables that constituted the body of the study. (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003) noted that researchers of social science themes can be grounded in a conceptual or theoretical framework. In the context of this research where inequality or exclusion between the ethnic group in access to social amenities, favoritism in political position and language and other ethnic identity in which they constituted the exogenous variables in the ethnic conflicts. As presented in Figure 1.2, the variables are believed to constitute common interest among ethnic groups that will likely open wound of the grievances within the diverse ethnic groups.

![Figure 1.2: Horizontal Inequality model of conflict](source)

The variables considered for this study were adopted from a vital literature review as presented within the contextual factors and communal index. The intent of this research is to provide a logical conceptual framework so as to grasp the importance of horizontal inequality variables within the communal indexes as key determinant of ethnic conflicts in different geographical setting as relates to Tiv - Jukun communities. The framework also seeks to understand change on how concepts and ideologies of ethnic conflicts evolve horizontally or circularly in history.

More so, the research’s variables were practically based on horizontal inequalities as postulated by Stewart (2009; 2011). The inequalities among the groups of individuals are mutual identity shared. Such inequities have political, socio–economic and cultural position, each one of which comprises amount of rudiments which may be a thing of concern to individuals in some cultures, on the other hand not
in others. Any kind of horizontal inequality can offer a reason for political utilization, but political inequities (political denial of particular groups) are most possible ways to inspire community rulers to instigate insurgency, as can be perceived, for instance, in the new incident of Kenya (Stewart 2010). By distinction, social - economic inequalities and those of cultural position are expected to encourage the mass of the people.

Ostby’s investigation around 55 nations from 1986–2003, discloses an important increase in the prospect of conflict in nations with more pronounced economic and social horizontal inequalities. She also describes groups on the other hand by ethnicity, belief and province, and finds a major relation between horizontal inequality and the commencement of violent clash for each description. Economic horizontal inequalities are measured by average domestic properties and social horizontal inequalities by average existences of education. The result of this horizontal inequalities is relatively high, the possibility of war rises as numerous as when equating the anticipated conflict commencement when all variables have average beliefs, related to a circumstances where the extent of HIs of resources among ethnic societies is at the 95th percent (Østby, 2008).

Cederman et al., 2010, once more using cross-country suggestion and the G-Econ statistics for 1991 to 2005, display that ‘individuals with riches levels far from the state average are more possibly to have civic war. This is found where the society is better-off or not as good as the usual (Cederman, Gleditsch, & Buhaug, 2013).

Some scholars have derive to a comparable conclusion exploring the factors of separatist violence. They cover 31 nations starting from the North Southern America, East Western Europe, and South Eastern Asia. Over again, the prospect of a rebellious conflict growths the wealthier or poorer area is in positions of GDP per capita, likened with the nationwide average. In accumulation, intra-nation studies establish an optimistic connection concerning the level of horizontal inequalities (HIs) and the occurrence (its strength) of war (Brown & Langer, 2010). Research in other war involve nations have shown a relative between horizontal inequalities and amount of crises. In an inspection of the Moro insurgency in the southern Philippines, a tough connection among the relative denials of Muslims, measured in terms of disparity returns to education, and battle strength using a breach measure of human growth, note stable econometric provision for association between provincial denial and the strength of the Marxist insurgency around constituencies of Nepal (Macours, 2011).
Mancini uses constituency records to scrutinize the link between horizontal inequalities and the prevalence of conflict in regions of Indonesia. After regulating for a numerous of intervening issues, such as economic growth, cultural variety and people magnitude, they find that HIs in child mortality rates and its change above period of time are absolutely (also significantly) related with the existence of lethal ethno-communal conflict. Other processes of HIs, in public service occupation, education, landed farming labour and joblessness, were similarly connected to occurrence of crises, nevertheless the impacts were not as much of noticeable as those of child fatality. The Indonesians consequences propose that fierce conflict is more probably to exist in parts with comparatively low levels of economic growth and larger than religious divergence. In difference with average measures of (vertical) earnings inequality as well as further decently demographic pointers of tribal variety were establish to yield no important effect on the possibility of ethnic conflict (Mancini, 2008). The discussions on such horizontal inequalities are as follows:

i. Economic Horizontal inequalities comprise differences in right to use and possess assets, human and natural resource, financial and social, so also inequities in salary levels and job openings, which depend on such assets and the general situations of the economy.

ii. Social Horizontal inequalities cover disparities in access to area of services, such as educational opportunities, housing and health care services, as well as the gains of educational and health care effects.

iii. Political Horizontal inequalities comprise differences in the sharing of political chances and control amidst groups, which include control over the military, cabinet system of government, local and provincial governments, congressional assemblies, the police force and the presidency. They also include inequities in people’s abilities to take part in politics and explicit their desires.

iv. Cultural Horizontal inequalities consist of differences in the credit and standing of diverse groups’ ethnicity, belief, cultures, patterns and practices (Stewart, 2009). Most importantly, traditional titles and recognition.

According to (Stewart & House, 2002) disparities between ethnically specified groups importantly raises the danger of clash. Supporting this view, and Steward (2009; 2011) and Stewart and Brown (2007) stated that ‘whenever traditional differences concur with political and economic dissimilarities among groups, it can
cause deep-rooted bitterness that can lead to fierce struggles’. From the foregoing, the variables for this research conceptualized as presented in Figure 1.3.

![Figure 1.3: Research Variables](image)

Source: Adapted from Stewart (2011)

### 1.10 Research framework

To ascertain the current statuses of the factors responsible for the ethnic conflict of Tiv-Jukun in northern Nigeria. From the view of the participants and my view Land has been one of the major factor of conflict in the study area of Tiv - Jukun in the Northern part of Nigeria. The Jukuns who claimed to be the original owners of the land want to protect their land from any settler therefore depriving the Tiv access to the land. The Jukuns feel it is their inheritance and would want to keep it for their children and great grandchildren, the Tivs rejected the idea by claiming they are also part of the state. They claimed their forefathers have been living in Taraba state for decades therefore they have the right also to have access to the Land to farm, as identity and for housing.
There is a great impact on the peaceful co-existence between the Tiv - Jukun as a result of the horizontal inequality. From the view of the participants and my view Land has been one of the major factor of conflict in the study area of Tiv - Jukun in the Northern part of Nigeria. The Jukuns who claimed to be the indigenes of the the state and owners of the land want to protect their land from any settler therefore they protect their land from the Tivs by depriving the Tiv access to the land. The Jukuns feel it is their inheritance and would want to keep it for their children and great grandchildren, the Tivs rejected the idea by claiming they are also part of the state.

Figure 1.4 Research framework

1.11 Research plans

This study was carried out and split into five phases of research design as illustrated in Figure 1.3.

At phase one, the research process consists of defining research problem from pre-conceived knowledge, experience and preliminary studies that are the research’s priority, this dictates the real comportment of the study. This step comprises of the studying of related writings, to give an understanding of the factors of horizontal inequality within the economic, social and political indexes in the Tivs and Jukuns communities in Wukari locality of Taraba state in northeast Nigeria.

Consequently, stage two provided extensive literature review on the related subject matter as history for the initial progress of the research aims, queries and
expectations which centers on the influence of horizontal inequality factors on peaceful co-existence in the study area. Upon the critical literature review, the research breach was found. The research aims were formulated in order to achieve the study’s objective and contribution of the research based on the findings.

Afterward, research structure marked the third step in the research method. The structure gives an understanding into the nature of the study that indicates whether deductive or inductive method is to be applied. Thereafter, the following step seeks to framework the research design and methodological parts of the research within the context of qualitative research design as above mentioned and graphically illustrated in Figure 1.5.
Finally, feedback from the participants are coded, categorized and theme and sub theme emerged. The data analyzed are presented, and interpreted as the research findings and discussion in accordance to the research questions and assumptions set in order to answer the research’s objectives.
1.12 Structure of the thesis

The research is arranged and designed into five chapters. The thesis chapters were outlined as presented in Figure 1.6.

![Diagram of thesis structure](image)

**Figure 1.6: Organisation of the thesis chapter**

1.13 Chapter organization

The research is expected to contain five chapters. Chapter one presents the background of the study, statement of problems in accordance to subject matter of the study discussed. Hence, research questions, research aim, and research objectives are clearly outlined. This chapter will also discuss conceptual framework, research’s scope and plan in accordance with the layout structure of the thesis presented logically.

Chapter two dwell on the literature review with the primary purpose of discussing the trends, development of the key components, and research gaps of the past studies on the ethnic conflicts globally and locally within Nigeria context. The
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