Sources and Dynamics of Communal Conflicts in Nigeria: Limits and Possibilities

BY

[1]Sayika Abdul Sadiq,[2] Adeola Adams,[3] Alimba Chinyere

[1]Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja
[2]Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja
[3]for Peace and Strategic Studies, Modibo Adama University, Yola, Adamawa State

Corresponding author: [1]**Sayika Abdul Sadiq**
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.16882950

Abstract

The prevalence communal conflict in various parts of the country has continued to generate chronic security issues among researchers, policy makers, academics and other stakeholders. Most concerning is the wide spread of the menace across the wide and breadth of this country. This paper interrogated the protracted nature of communal conflicts in Nigeria, focusing of its historical context, sources, dynamic nature, effects and response mechanisms deployed to curtail the menace by concerned stakeholders. The paper relied mainly on secondary sources including books, journals, scientific reports, bulletins, seminar/conference presentations. It identified main underling drivers of communal conflict, including land disputes, boundary conflicts, farmer-herder issues and chieftaincy disagreements. These factors have consistently been the main triggers for most instances of communal violence across the country. It further submitted that the fault lines, which denote their dynamic nature and opportunistic socio-cultural and political factors that frequently contribute to communal conflict's intense and aggressive nature. These factors encompass ethnicity, religion, identity politics, and cultural biases. They invariably impact of these deep-rooted elements often gives communal violence to its heightened tension/fear imposed on the communities, destruction of lives and properties, disruption of commercial activities, slowing down of socio-economic development. Nigeria's communal disputes have hindered the progress of markets and economic advancement. Efforts of governments and non-state actors were also documented, especially in the area of deployment of security operatives to quell the violence, reconciling aggrieved parties, provision of immediate relief materials and involvement in post-conflict peacebuilding. The paper concluded that communal conflicts persist in various parts of the country, especially in the rural communities. It submitted that the situation may linger if appropriate steps are not taken to tackle the menace. The paper recommended scientific researches to fully understand the deep-rooted nature of the conflict. It also advocated the establishment of early warning systems for timely detection. In addition, the paper advocated the deployment of more security operatives to rural communities where the teething issue of ungovernable spaces has not been frontally addressed.

Keywords: Communal conflict, conflict management, ethnicity and religion

Introduction

Communal violence constitutes one of the major issues be-devilling African continent, particularly in societies characterized by multiethnic and linguistic groups, like Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa, Kenya and Cameroon (Hegre and Sambanis. 2022; Okoli, Chukwuma and Cornelius, 2018; Sunday and

Piate, 2019). The divisions based on religious, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic affiliations often give rise to distinct sub-societies, each operating as an interest group with the potential for violent conflicts against other opposing groups (Alao, Mavalla, & Akinnusi, 2019). Not only have these issues caused instability in the affected regions, but they have also threatened the socio-economic development of the areas. According to the 2021 Human Development Report, 44 countries, predominantly from Africa, were categorized as experiencing the lowest levels of human development (United Nations Development Programme, 2022). Since 1990, African nations have been plagued by substantial levels of armed violence, resulting in profound human suffering. The impact of armed conflicts costs the continent approximately $18 billion annually, significantly impeding its development progress (Johnson-Sirleaf, 2017). The essential fact is that Africa has numerous instances of communal violence. The conflicts severely hamper the continent's socio-economic progress and have also led to its reputation as "a very good laboratory for the study of violent conflict and its consequences" (Alimba, 2022). Even with the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, Africa's fate remained largely unchanged, except for a shift in conflict dynamics from interstate to intrastate. Africa has become highly unstable and insecure due to these internal conflicts. The volatility of the conflicts has had far-reaching consequences, disrupting economic, political, and social activities on a significant scale. Okoli and Uhembe (2018) assert that Africa is undergoing a substantial and extensive upheaval that profoundly impacts its various states' socio-political and economic fabric.

The scale and repercussions of what is known as the "African crisis" are undeniably concerning. Numerous African states are contending with a complex array of socio-economic and political challenges, which has resulted in the imminent collapse of state structures or brought them perilously close to destruction. As the most populous country in Africa, Nigeria has experienced recurring instances of communal violence, taking on different forms such as ethnic, religious, sectarian, clannish, and related incidents with an ethno-religious nature. Several communities in the country have been embroiled in various communal conflicts. Some noteworthy examples include the Zango-Kataf conflict in Kaduna State (1999-2001), the Tiv-

Jukun Wukari conflict in Taraba State (1999-2001), the Itsekiri-Urhobo Warri crisis (1999-2000), the Aguleri-Umuleri Conflict in Anambra State, the Ife-Modakeke crisis, the Yelwa-Shendam conflict (2003-2005), and the Mangu-Bokoss crisis (1988-1999) (Alimba, 2022). Lately, hundreds of victims have died and over a million displaced in most unfortunate incidences of attacks on communities. Between 2023 and 2024, no fewer than 1,336 lives have been lost and 29,554 displaced due to communal attacks on remote areas of the state (Amnesty International, 2025). In first quarter of 2025 alone, communities in Plateau and Benue States have recorded most horrendous violent attacks that led to the killings and displacement of hundreds of residents. These conflicts have not only resulted in instability within the affected regions but have also led to severe social-economic consequences that threaten peaceful intergroup relations and the long-term unity of Nigeria as a nation. Against this backdrop, this article interrogated communal violence, focusing primarily on its pattern, dynamic and challenges in Nigeria and drawing insights from most critical and intense cases.

Conceptual clarification
Communal conflict: This can be broken down into two essential components: "communal" and "conflict." While conflict has a well-established definition, the term "communal" finds its roots in the Latin word "communis," which signifies "common (De Juan and Johnson, 2015)." "Communal" specifically relates to groups and encompasses elements that are commonly shared, used, or experienced within **a society. These elements** encompass resources or instances of conflict. When conflict arises within this specific context, it is recognized as communal conflict. Communal conflict denotes a social conflict encompassing one or multiple groups within a society. Intra-communal conflict is used when conflict arises within a single group, whereas inter-communal conflict occurs between different groups (De Juan and Johnson, 2015). Notably, these groups share common social ties, which can amplify the intensity of competition that emerges. It is important to recognize that when resources meant to be shared by a group are misused or distributed unfairly, it invariably gives rise to conflict. Addressing such conflicts can be challenging due to deep-rooted animosity that may have developed among the parties involved over time. Communal conflict is a form of conflict

that emerges between multiple communities. The conflicts commonly centre around contentious matters like disputes over land ownership, religious disparities, and political divergences. Tragically, they frequently lead to casualties and the destruction of property. Communal violence, often referred to as inter-communal violence arises when violence occurs specifically along ethnic boundaries, with individuals being singled out based on their ethnic group membership (Horowitz, 2021). Of lately, communal conflicts have taken a rather complex dimension, often manifesting in form of attacks on villages, abduction or kidnapping and sometimes open confrontation between communities. Communal conflict, therefore, signifies a disagreement that emerges from the shared or utilized property or resource by one or more groups within a society.

Dynamic: Communal conflict is dynamic and adaptable, making it challenging to pinpoint accurately. Its diverse manifestations can often be misleading when identified with certainty. As described by Albert (2001), this form of conflict frequently takes the shape of host-stranger confrontations, wherein a particular segment of the community identifies themselves as the "hosts" or indigenous inhabitants while categorizing other groups as "strangers" who migrated into the community at a later time than the original "owners" of the community. Furthermore, communal conflict often encompass a range of factors, such as religious matters, land disputes, politics, resource allocation, local government, and chieftaincy issues, among others, making it rather unpredictable and exhibiting volatile changing characteristics.

Conflict management: Managing communal conflicts presupposes that the problem cannot be permanently resolved; hence some forms of intervention strategies would have to be put in place to reduce their intensity or limit their tendency to explode and become violent. Within communities, several processes have been adopted to curtail triggers of violence to bring relative peace to the communities. These can be achieved through the use of mediation, arbitration and negotiation, which are usually embedded in the cultural norms of the people. In other cases, traditional social control system such as consulting the deities, the intervention by elder-in-council, use of palace court, oath-taking, the use of taboos. In the contemporary times, the deployment of security operatives to quell violent conflicts is also a common tactic for managing communal conflicts. This paper considers all these intervention modes as germane for the effective management of communal crises.

Historical Context of Communal Conflict in Nigeria

Communal conflicts are prevalent in Northern Nigeria, particularly in the Tiv area of Benue State. According to records from the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, between 1988 and 2004, 29 communal conflicts were documented in different local government areas within the state. It is important to highlight that certain conflicts occurred repeatedly during this period. The Tiv-Jukun conflict in Wukari revolves around the issue of indigenous versus settler status (Eck, 2014). Similarly, the Chamba-Kuteb dispute stems from conflicts over chieftaincy and disagreements regarding the selection process. In Nassarawa State, the Basa-Egbura conflict is a prevalent issue, while in Bauchi State, tensions arise between the Hausa/Fulani and Sawaya communities. Communal conflicts also affect Plateau State, with notable examples being the Fulani-Irigwe and the Yelwa-Shendam conflicts. Furthermore, Nasarawa State continues to experience ongoing communal conflicts, particularly in the Assakio, Obi, and Odobu communities within the Lafia Local Government Area (Eck, 2014). Eriksen's (2016) research findings indicated that population size is the primary determinant of communal land conflict in the Obubra Local Government Area of Cross River State. Similarly, in Cross River State, clashes over land have occurred between the Biakpan and Etono 11 communal groups. Additionally, communal crises have emerged between the Ezza and Ezillo groups in Ebony State (Eriksen, 2016).

In Akwa Ibom State, there has been a communal crisis between Eyo Abasi and Idua communities over a valuable parcel of land abundant with oil resources located at their shared boundary. Another example of communal conflict is found in the Yoruba-Hausa community in Shagamu, where tensions arise specifically during the Oro traditional festival. In Idi-Araba, Lagos State, clashes have occurred between the Ogoni and Adoni communities, consisting of Hausa and

Yoruba groups, respectively. The Eleme-Okrika conflict revolves around contentious issues such as establishing state and local government structures, ambiguous boundaries, and disputes over ownership of oil fields, farmlands, and waterways. Similarly, the Itsekiri-Ijaw/Urhobo conflict in the Niger Delta centres on disagreements on relocating the local government area headquarters from the Ijaw area to the Itsekiri territory, disputes concerning land ownership (Eriksen, 2016) and most recently, the delineation of Warri federal constituency by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The Aguleri-Umuleri conflict in Anambra State is centred around land disputes, while the IfeModakeke conflict in Osun State arises from tensions between Indigenous people and settlers. The Ijaw-Ilaje conflict in Ondo State is related to land ownership known for its rich oil reserves. The widespread prevalence of communal conflict across Nigeria has contributed to heightened insecurity (Eck, 2014). These conflicts often display a persistent and challenging nature, with many instances involving high levels of violence. In the northern region of Nigeria, communal conflicts have become a recurring problem, leading to significant insecurity in the affected communities.

Causes and dynamics of communal conflict in Nigeria

To gain a deeper understanding of communal conflict in Nigeria, it is essential to analyze its sources, fault lines, and associated catalysts (Okoli and Nnabuihe, 2019). The sources encompass the fundamental causes of communal conflicts, such as disputes related to land, boundaries, and chieftaincy. These factors consistently act as primary triggers for the majority of communal conflicts in Nigeria (Alimba, 2014). Conversely, "fault lines" refer to the opportunistic socio-cultural and political factors that often contribute to communal conflict's intense and hostile nature. These variables encompass ethnicity, religion, identity politics, and cultural prejudices. Through the influence of these fundamental factors, communal conflict often assumes its critical significance (Egwu, 2006). The other factors can be categorized as allied "catalysts" or "enablers." They encompass various aspects such as socio-ecological, demographic, socio-economic, and governance-related issues that further complicate communal conflict. For instance, climate change, urbanization, and population

growth (Asiyanbola, 2007) play significant roles in orchestrating communal conflicts. In addition, governance-related challenges, including insecurity and socioeconomic crises contribute to the complexities of communal conflict (Okoli and Ayokhai, 2016). The communal conflicts witnessed in Taraba State in recent years (from 2011 onwards) have revealed prominent indications of political and elite manipulation. In analyzing the Wukari crises, Nwanebo, Odigbo, and Ochanna (2014) propose that these conflicts emerged due to the accumulation of grievances, anger, and frustration stemming from suspicions, mutual distrust, and manipulations associated with issues of indigenship and citizenship. These conflicts were intertwined with the power struggle and competition for scarce communal resources. In Plateau State alone, more than 700 people have been killed arising from serial attacks on villages by unknown assailants. In April 2025, no fewer than 50 innocent victims were killed in a barbaric manner in Zikke village of Bassa Local Government (Amnesty International, 2025). In Benue State, over 200 residents were allegedly killed in another attack orchestrated in Yalewata community in Goma Local Government by suspected Fulani herdsmen (Immanuel 2025). In May 2025, the killing of 11 victims including 6 civilians and 6 soldiers in Obingwu Local Government of Abia State was partly attributed to the activities of Indigenous People of Biafra , IPOB (Human Right Watch, 2025). Largely, most of attacks are often linked to the persistent tension between Fulani herders and farming communities in the affected regions. The problem is rooted in competition for land and resources, exacerbated by factors like climate change, population growth and proliferations of small arms and light weapons. Of course, the festering phenomenon of 'ungoverned spaces', which denotes the absence of official security personnel in most remote and rural communities, especially expanse of forested areas cannot be ruled out. These places have served as hideouts and under the total control of criminal armed groups.

The political elites, in conjunction with religious figures, have utilized ethnicity and religion to mobilise and secure personal benefits and control over national resources. As a result, the implication is that the actions of political elites, motivated by their opportunistic quest for political power,

have often sparked communal conflicts. This pattern was evident during the Ombatse crisis in Nasarawa State (Alozieuwa, 2022). The politicization of communal conflict by the political elites has introduced a perilous dimension to the problem, as noted by Egwu (2006). Currently, there is a bill that has scaled second reading before the Nigerian parliament that attempts to appoint two paramount rulers including the Sultan of Sokoto and the Ooni of Ife the co-chairmen of Council of Traditional Rulers in Nigeria. Such political move has the tendency to escalate hostilities and exacerbate intractable communal conflicts in contemporary Nigeria. As highlighted by Nwanebo and Ochanna (2014), the government has been overwhelmed by the challenges posed by communal and ethnic rivalries, leading to a focus on managing rather than resolving them. Consequently, Nigeria pays a significant cost in terms of human security and sustainable development due to the escalating occurrence of communal conflict, as emphasized by Asiyanbola (2007).

Effects of Communal Conflict in Nigeria

Throughout history, it's evident that communal conflict engenders immense human distress and imposes significant economic and societal burdens (Rodrik, 1999). This arises from the tragic loss of lives, infrastructure devastation, disturbances to the workforce and human potential, erosion of governmental structures, heightened political instability, and elevated levels of unpredictability. The enduring repercussions of these setbacks continue for years in the aftermath of conflicts, creating challenges for afflicted communities to break free from the cycle of conflict, commonly referred to as the "conflict trap" (Cerra and Saxena, 2008).

The body of research addressing the economic repercussions of conflict arrives at a decisive consensus: conflicts typically impose detrimental effects on economic progress. More specifically, conflicts exert a considerable impact on economic productivity through the destruction of urban centers and essential infrastructures, disruption of economic operations, discouragement of investments, and reduction of government expenditures (Collier, 1999). Consequently, these factors collectively impede economic growth (Hoeffler and Reynal-Querol, 2003; Ray and Esteban, 2017). The repercussions of conflict can lead to enduring outcomes, as

highlighted by Cerra and Saxena (2008). In fact, Novta and Pugacheva (2021) have demonstrated that these effects extend well beyond the conflict duration, spanning up to a decade after the conflict's initiation. These enduring consequences bear substantial significance for economic growth, causing notable reductions in private consumption, investment, sectoral value addition, and trade. In the recent case of Yalewata, the gunmen camouflaged in military uniforms arrived at midnight and set the community on fire. According to Amnesty International (2025):

The gunmen, some of whom were in army camouflage, set houses on fire, burning the inhabitants, including children aged between five and six, beyond recognition
In

The broader economic ramifications of conflicts manifest as both monetary and structural deficits, exerting adverse effects on tax revenues (Gupta et al., 2004). This assertion aligns with the discoveries of Fang et al. (2020), which also indicated a consequence on fiscal governance, notably in the allocation of public expenditures that oscillate between growth-related pursuits and security related imperatives. An observable correlation emerges between elevated conflict intensity, heightened military spending, and diminished capital expenditure. Conflicts generate spillover repercussions that extend beyond their borders, not just due to the potential for their diffusion into neighboring nations (as seen in the Arab Spring during the early 2010s), but also due to their capacity to disrupt economic interactions at both regional and global levels, heightening uncertainty and disrupting trade flows (Fang et al., 2020). Amodio and Di Maio (2018) contended that conflicts distort the smooth functioning and accessibility of markets, resulting in adverse impacts on the trading of finished goods and the demand for essential inputs, including imported products.

As a result, they diminish the efficiency and worth of businesses. Novta and Pugacheva (2021) have chronicled that the macroeconomic detriments of conflict pertain not only to the nations directly experiencing conflict but also extend to neighboring countries due to the movement of migrants and refugees. Conflicts are linked with significant migratory movements, as refugees seek sanctuary in nearby nations, often staying for a decade or more after the conflict's commencement. The volume of refugees can

sometimes be substantial enough to tax labor markets, thereby placing social pressures on the neighboring nations. In contrast to the extensive body of research concerning the economic repercussions of conflicts, the attention devoted to their social dimensions has been relatively scarce. Presently, only a small subset of studies have delved into the social consequences of conflicts, exemplified by Novta and Pugacheva (2021) exploring the influx of refugees seeking refuge in neighboring nations and Akresh et al. (2012) examining adult status in Nigeria. The majority of research in this domain has been founded on case studies at the national level, posing limitations on their applicability to other countries.

In addition to the migration concern discussed earlier, conflicts exert an adverse effect on household well-being and overall income. Amid episodes of violence, individuals often encounter a balancing act between their welfare and personal safety. Numerous empirical studies have underscored the repercussions of conflicts on human development, particularly in domains such as education, health, and labor market results (Akresh et al., 2012; Brück et al., 2019). Akresh et al. (2012) revealed that the mature status of adults is significantly influenced by the conditions experienced during their formative years, particularly during adolescence. Attaining catch-up growth is closely linked to childhood nutritional inadequacies and is feasible only under non-emergency conditions. Brück et al. (2019) underscored that conflict exerts an adverse impact on educational achievements, encompassing exam scores and access to higher education. Acts of violence and conflicts deteriorate both the educational environment's quality and the mental well-being of students.

Responses and management of communal conflict in Nigeria

Responses to communal violence in Nigeria have encompassed a range of approaches including government and non-state interventions. Regardless of the governmental structure within a state, governmental actions can play a pivotal role in peacemaking processes, particularly when it comes to solidifying a peace agreement, regardless of whether it was brokered by governmental or non-state entities. The involvement of the government has yielded certain discernible transformations that warrant

acknowledgment. Governments at all levels have consistently been employed to offer resolutions to this persistent crisis." Scholars such as Albert (1999, 2001), and Asiyanbola (2007) have asserted that the government, on multiple occasions, has presented practical solutions that have considerably contributed to fostering peaceful coexistence up until recent times. This typically leverages the administrative authority it possesses. The recent upsurges in Zokke, Mangu and Bokkos communities of Plateau State and in Logo, Agatu and Yelewata communities of Benue States witnessed the mobilization of military, humanitarian interventions in the affected communities by both governments and Non-governmental bodies. In fact, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu personally visited Benue State to empathize with victims of the dastardly act.

The Ife-Modakeke crisis, as pointed out by Albert (2001), delving into the underlying cause of the conflict unveiled that when the Modakeke were initially welcomed in a distinct settlement within Ile-Ife by the then ruler King Abeweila, the Ife later began to feel remorse for this decision. This resulted from their relinquishment of political and economic control over the Modakeke. This discovery acted as a significant cue for the government to take into account historical backgrounds, lineage, dynastic connections, and cultural bonds, and to prioritize unity within the Yoruba community rather than adhering strictly to the political notion of a nation-state. Responding to the communal crisis, the government embraced a comprehensive strategy focused on fostering reconciliation and tranquility. All relevant groups and organizations participated in this endeavor for peacebuilding; however, the government assumed the role of the central coordinating body for the conflict resolution efforts. It assumed the pivotal role of methodically delineating the phases of peacemaking, with assistance from local committees such as the one led by Chief Alex Akinyele, the Judicial Commission of Enquiry under Honourable Justice Kayode Ibidapo Obe, the committee headed by Commodore Olabode George, the peace initiative organized by traditional rulers in Osun State, and a range of other groups that have put forth similar recommendations Agbe 2001:16). Remarkably noteworthy is a substantial and pivotal endeavor aimed at resolving the longstanding conflict between communities, the government in collaboration with

the local and international organisations such as the United States Agency for International Development/Office of Transition Initiatives (USAID/OTI), International Alert, Search for Common Ground, United Nation Development Programmes have also developed frameworks for intervening in communal conflicts in cases of places like Ife-Modakeke, Tiv-Jukun, Goma (Albert 2001:41). This included the formal establishment of the Ife-Modakeke Inter-community Peace Advocacy Committee, Benue State Peace Committee, Plateau Peacebuilding Commission among seceral others.

Recommendations

Government's role in the initial stages of the peacebuilding process should revolve around the investigation and clarification of the situational analysis of the communal conflict. Most of the conflicts remain largely uninvestigated to establish root causes of such communal violence, leaving room for relapse.

A nonpartisan stance taken by the government is pivotal element for cultivating trust – not solely between the government and the involved parties, but also amongst the conflicting groups. This viewpoint underscores the establishment of trust as the foremost responsibility of the government in peacemaking endeavors.

Stakeholders including governments at all levels and non-state actors should endeavor to be more proactive intervening in the communal violence by developing robust early warning systems that can timely detect likely attacks and violence in remote communities

Government should increase and expand infrastructure deficits in the rural settings by building roads and other facilities to ease the security surveillance and responses mechanisms to distress situations in the rural communities, where violence are likely to occur.

Government should address the issue of 'ungovernable spaces' by improving the deployment of security personnel to the remote communities and equipping them with modern instruments of crime control.

The communities should be encouraged to be security conscious by organizing themselves as first line of defence in a situation of attacks on their communities by external aggressors.

References

Agbe, A. Gabriel (2001). The Ife Modakeke crisis: An insider view. Ife Psychologia, 9 (3), 14–20. Akresh, R., Bhalotra, S., Leone, M., Osili, U.O., 2012. War and stature: growing up during the Nigerian civil war. Am. Econ. Rev. 102 (3), 273–277.

Alao, O; Mavalla, A & Akinnusi, A (2019). The Effects of Communal Clashes on Socio-Economic Development: A Study of Erin-Ile and Offa, Kwara State, Nigeria. International Policy Brief Series Social Science and Law Journal of Policy Review and Development Strategies, pp, 2315-8387.

Albert, I. O. (2001). USAID/OTI Nigeria intervention in Ife-Modakeke conflict. In: Albert, I.O. ed. Building peace, advancing democracy: Experience with third-party interventions in Nigeria's conflicts. Ibadan, John Archers. pp. 37–41.

Albert, I. O. (2007). Concepts and methods in Peace and Conflict Studies. In: Bassey, C. and Oshita eds. Conflict resolution, identity crisis and development in Africa. Lagos, Malthouse Press. pp. 3–18.

Albert, I.O. (2001). Introduction to Third Party Intervention in Community Conflicts. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers.

Alimba, C. N. (2022). Probing the dynamic of communal conflict in Northern Nigeria'. African Research Review, 8(1), pp. 117–204, Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.4313/afrev. v811.13

Alozieuwa, S. Onyemachi H. (2022). The Ombatse Crisis in Nigeria: Background, Recent Developments and Possible Solutions. Journal of Interdisciplinary Conflict Science, 2 (2). Retrieved from https://nsuworks.nova.edu/jics/vol2/iss2/1

Amnesty International (2025) Plateau Killing of 51 People is an Inexcusable Security Failure: Press Release April 14, 2025

Amodio, F., Di Maio, M., (2018). Making do with what you have: conflict, input misallocation and firm performance. Econ. J. 128 (615), 2559–2612.

Asiyanbola, R. Abidemi (2007). Urban-ethno communal conflict in Africa: Nigeria. A paper presented at the Union for Africa Population Studies (UAPS) Fifth African Population Conference, Arusha.

Brück, T., Di Maio, M., Miaari, S.H., (2019). Learning the hard way: the effect of violent conflict on student academic achievement. J. Eur. Econ. Assoc. 17 (5), 1502–1537.

Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (1998). On Economic Causes of Civil War. Oxford Economic Papers, 50(4), 563-573.

Collier, P., (1999). On the economic consequences of civil war. Oxf. Econ. Pap. 51 (1), 168–183.

De Juan, A., Pierskalla, J.H. & Johannes V. (2015) The pacifying effects of local religious institutions. Political Research Quarterly 68(2): 211–224.

Eck, K. (2014) The law of the land: Communal conflict and legal authority. Journal of Peace Research 51(4): 441–454.

Eriksen, T. H. (2016). *Ethnicity and Nationalism :*

Anthropological Perspectives: Pluto Press.

Fang, X., Kothari, S., McLoughlin, C., Yenice, M., (2020). The economic consequences of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. IMF Econ. Rev. 2020 (221) https://doi.org/10.5089/ 9781513559667.001.

Hegre, H. and Sambanis, N. (2022), Sensitivity analysis of empirical results on civil war onset.

Journal of Conflict Resolution. 50, 508–535.

Hoeffler, A. (2011). 'Greed' versus 'Grievance': A Useful Conceptual Distinction in the Study of Civil War? Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, 11(2), 274-284.

Horowitz, Donald L. (2021). *The deadly ethnic riot,* Berkeley, University of California Press.

Nwanebo, J., Odigbo, J. and Ngara C. O. (2014). Citizenship, indigeneship and settlership crisis in Nigeria: Understanding the dynamics of Wukari crisis. Journal of Research in Peace, Gender and Development (JRPGD), 4 (1), pp. 8–14.

Novta, N., Pugacheva, E., (2021). The macroeconomic costs of conflict. J. Macroecon. 68, 103286.

Okoli, A.l., Chukwuma and Cornelius O. Ogayi (2018). Herdsmen militancy and humanitarian crisis in Nigeria: A theoretical briefing. African Security Review 27 (2), 129–143.

Okoli, A.l., Chukwuma and Ahar Clement Uhembe (2018). Of cult and power: A political phenomenology of the Ombatse Cult in Nasarawa State, Nigeria. International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science, 2(7), pp.13–20.

Ray, D., Esteban, J., (2017). Conflict and development. Annual Rev. Econom. 9, 263–293

Rodrik, D., (1999). Where did all the growth go? External shocks, social conflict, and growth collapses. J. Econ. Growth 4 (4), 385–412.

Sunday, E and Piate, S (2019). Factors and Effects of Inter-Communal Conflicts on Economic Development in Cross River State, Nigeria: A Critical Analysis. Socialscientia Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities. Available at https://journals.aphriapub.com/index.php/SS

United Nations Development Programme (2022). Human Development Reports 2021/2022 -

Human Development Reports. Available at https://hdr.undp.org/system/files/documents/global-report-document/hdr202122pdf_1.pdf