

Arms Conflicts, Community Safety, Security and Reintegration Challenges in Madagali Local Government Areas of Adamawa State, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT: *Since 2009 the North east of Nigeria has been engulfed in arms struggles by the Boko Haram insurgents. This menace has brought serious setbacks to the socio-political and economic development of the region. The three states mostly affected by recurrent and pervasive violence are Borno, Adamawa and Yobe (BAY). The Federal and States governments concerned responded swiftly to this menace through military operations and humanitarian interventions through the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) and State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA). This study therefore examines Arms Conflicts, community safety, security and Reintegration challenges in areas affected by the Insurgency in Madagali local government Areas of Adamawa State, Nigeria. The study used a combination survey, observation and available documents. The paper clearly established that: peace is progressively returning to some communities in the studied conflict area as evident in the gradual return of economic and social activities with the last violent attack on the community being in 2018 even though neighbouring communities are still experiencing attacks from the Boko-haram insurgents. Similarly, there are new emerging trend in the conflict dynamics particularly the emergence of new crimes such as kidnapping for ransom, abduction, drug abuse and trafficking, cattle rustling, rape and other forms of sexual and gender based violence in the community. The paper established that communities in Madagali are in urgent need of critical infrastructures such as water, electricity, doctors, health services, humanitarian support and employment opportunities. In addition the study revealed that although humanitarian support and assistance exist, such interventions are inadequate for the large population of IDPs and host community and the process of sharing is marred by irregularities, sharp practices and favouritism that tend to deepen exclusion and generate tension. That the community has shown commitment to peace building, social cohesion and reintegration by demonstrating willingness to accept and reintegrate those associated with the insurgents. In particular, those who were forced into joining the insurgents but have re-joined the community or those that had undergone the de-radicalisation process through participation in the safe corridor programme of the government. The study recommended among others: the need for the Federal government of Nigeria to expand and consolidate the operational capacity of the security architecture in the counter insurgency through, recruitment of additional personnel, weapon upgrade, and motivation and above all provide logistic support to the relevant agencies*

KEYWORDS: arms conflicts, community safety, security, reintegration conflict zones, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

One of the most devastating violent conflicts in Nigerian contemporary history is the Boko Haram insurgency. This insurgency which has continued unabated has claimed several lives and property in the north east. Even though varying figures exist on the number of lives lost and properties destroyed in the north east, it is certain that the figures run into tens of thousands of lives and properties in hundreds of millions, respectively. There is no record of exact and authentic figures on the number of people who lost their lives and net worth of properties lost as a result of insurgency. As oftentimes, there could be under reporting and sensational reporting as well. Although initial response to counter the Boko Haram insurgency by the Federal Government of Nigeria was generally judged to be weak and abysmal, the change in government in 2015 seemed to be changing the narratives. This is more so as a result of the directive of President Muhammadu Buhari the command and control centre of the Armed forces in the counter- insurgency operations be relocated to Maiduguri the capital of Borno state which is the epicentre of the insurgency.

Therefore, the renewed vigour with which the insurgents were fought has recorded significant gains on the side of the federal troops. This is owing to the fact that Counter insurgency efforts carried out since 2015 has ensured the recapture of 20 Local Government Areas out of 27 in Borno state, 12 out of 17 in Yobe state while the 7 LGAs out of 21 heavily affected in Adamawa state have witnessed lesser attacks.

Madagali is a Local Government Area in Adamawa State, Nigeria. Adjacent to the border with Cameroon, the LGA was created in 1991; it borders Michika to the North, Askira Uba to the West, Gwoza LGA to the South and the Republic of Cameroon to the East. There are many ethnic groups in the LGA but Marghi, Maffa and Fulani are the major ethnic languages spoken. The major villages in Madagali are Gulak and Shuwa. Gulak is the local government headquarters of Madagali Local government Area of Adamawa state. Madagali is richly blessed with fertile land which makes the people heavily engage in Agricultural activities.

In September 2012, the Nigerian government troops in the counter insurgency operation killed a Boko Haram commander in Madagali and 156 arrests were made as a part of “Operation Restore Sanity”. Sadly however the entire area was seized by Boko Haram in August 2014 and by September 2014, residents of Madagali, Gulak and Michika fled to the surrounding mountain areas and Mubi town in the wake of a failed attempt by government troops to take the town from the insurgents. However, the relative peace gained since 2017 through military operations of the Nigerian government gradually began to relapse with rising resurgence of attacks, killing and destruction of properties in addition to kidnapping for ransom by the insurgents from the two prominent groups the Bokoharam under the leadership of Shekau and ISWAP factions of Boko Haram under the leadership of Albarnawi since their split in 2016.

By the beginning of the year 2018, the decline in the Morales of the Nigerian troops and their inability to bring to an end the dastardly activities of the insurgents in the Northeast in general and emergence banditry and kidnapping for ransom in the northwest as well as the activities of Namdi kanu led Indigenous people of Biafra and its eastern security network (ESN) has resulted in serious level of disenchantment among the people. This scenario has resulted in persistent and consistent public outcry and demand for the removal of all the service chiefs who are at the helm of government’s counter-insurgency efforts borne out of perceived

ineffective counter insurgency operations by the Nigerian army in the affected North East region.

This insurgency has cost the people of the region their lives, initiated and sustained a steady stream of displacement and the loss of valuable properties, cultural artefacts/sites as well as the total or in some cases the partial destruction, disorganisation and crippling of existing cultural norms, values and belief systems. The displaced are mainly from Borno State with 62%, Adamawa State 18% and Yobe State with 13% of the IDPs, the three states being the hardest hit by the violence.

The recent upsurge in violent conflict, particularly the boko-haram insurgency in Northeast Nigeria and the Lake Chad basin has created one of the most serious humanitarian crises in the history of mankind. The conflict has sent tens of thousands of people into untimely graves, led to destruction of properties worth hundreds of millions and displacement of approximately 2.5 million people.

Adamawa is one of the states hit most by the insurgency where seven (7) Local Government Areas (Madagali, Michika, Mubi North, Mubi South, Maiha, Hong and Gombi) had fallen under the control of the insurgents by 2014. The insurgency regime has had devastating effects especially on the social services and sources of livelihood which were destroyed by the insurgents.

With the recapture of these communities by the federal troops and the gradual return of normalcy in some parts of the affected communities, it is natural that the social services be restored to enable people to lead a better and more productive life. The responsibility of restoration of social services is an enormous enterprise that requires partnership between relevant Government agencies, INGOS and other development partners. A major participant is the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), one of the UN specialised agencies that has the mandate for such responsibility.

In the spirit of the UNDP community participation approach to development, it is good that the community provides narratives of their experiences, tension, security and safety as well as the conflict dynamics. Similarly, there is a paradigm shift among peace and development experts that military approach alone is no longer feasible in counter insurgency; rather a holistic approach combining both garrison and civil approaches is required. It is against this background that this paper examines Arms Conflicts: Local Context perception on community safety, security and Reintegration challenges in communities affected by Boko Haram Insurgency in Madagali local government Areas of Adamawa State, Nigeria

Objectives of the Paper

The main objective of the paper is to assess Arms Conflicts: Local Context perception on community safety, security and Reintegration challenges in communities affected by Boko Haram Insurgency in Madagali local government Areas of Adamawa State, Nigeria. Specifically, the objectives are to:

- i. Examine the nature of tension and conflict dynamics and actors involved in Madagali Local Governments;

- ii. Assess the community perception on re-integration challenges of returnees into affected community;
- iii. Examine the community perceptions of safety and security among those living in target communities.

Conceptual framework: Conflict

The term conflict has been defined varyingly by social scientists and there is no dearth for definitions. Conflict appears in a social situation as any disagreement over issues of substance or emotional antagonisms that create friction between individuals or groups (Schermerhorn, 2005). Such conflict occurs when one party perceives that another party has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect, something that the first party cares about (Robbins, 2006) Conflicts when kept within tolerable limits can be a source of creativity and performance enhancement; it becomes destructive when these limits are exceeded. An optimum level of conflict needs to be maintained by an organisation, i.e. there should be enough conflict to prevent stagnation, stimulate creativity, allow release of tension and initiate the seeds of change and rejuvenation, yet not so much as to be disruptive or deter coordination of activities.

Conflict may be defined as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Conflict on teams is inevitable; however, the results of conflict are not predetermined. Conflict might escalate and lead to non-productive results, or conflict can be beneficially resolved and lead to quality final products. Therefore, learning to manage conflict is integral to a high-performance team. Although very few people go looking for conflict, more often than not, conflict results because of miscommunication between people with regard to their needs, ideas, beliefs, goals, or values. Conflict management is the principle that all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved, but learning how to manage conflicts can decrease the odds of non-productive escalation (Froyd, 2019). Conflict management involves acquiring skills related to conflict resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills, and establishing a structure for management of conflict in your environment.

From another perspective Coser (1967), views conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralise, injure or eliminate the rivals. It is also defined from communication perspective as “an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards and interference from other parties in achieving their goals (Hocker and Wilmot, 1985). In his own contribution, Abiodun (2014) views conflict as a state of discord caused by the actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests between formal authority and power and those individuals and groups affected. There are subtle forms of conflict involving rivalries, jealousies, personality clashes, role-definitions and struggles for power and favour. There is also conflict within individuals – between competing needs and demands – to which individuals respond in different ways.

Some scholars have contended that conflict has a divisive effect. For instance, Durkheim (cited in Osipova, 1989) considered conflict as an abnormal phenomenon. He used the term anomie or pathology to describe it. Similarly, Wilson and Kolb (1949, cited in Colser, 1964) believed that conflict has a disjunctive effect. Many other scholars have repudiated this view. Park and Burgess (1921) and Simmel (1955), cited in Colser (1964) argue that every interaction among

men is association, so is conflict. Conflict is a means to solve and avert complete fission, thereby preserving some kind of unity. Similarly, Bohannan (1967) characterises conflict to be as basic as culture is in society, which possibly controlled and utilised profitably for better cultural development and maintenance of social order. Schellenberg (1996) states that conflict is neither bad nor good, but one of the essentials in human social life.

Gluckman (1956), Gulliver (1963) and Nanda (1994) agree with the view that conflict is a part of social life and society is impossible without it. Further to this, Marxian views conflict not only as built into the social system but also as the primary stimulus for social change (Seymour-Smith, 1986: 51).

Appelbaum, Abdallah and Shapiro (1999) further builds on this by stating that conflict is a process of social interaction. It involves a struggle over claims to resources, power and status, beliefs, preferences and desires. Abiodun (2014) linked this idea to the organisation by stating that, even when conflict is a natural phenomenon in social relations, it can nevertheless be managed within companies.

Additionally, Robbins (2005) has defined as —a process that begins where one party perceives that another party has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affects something that the first party cares about. This is a very apt definition emphasising that conflict is about perception not necessarily real hard facts. It points to the emotional nature of conflict, by referring to a word like —care. It states that more than one party is involved and that there may be future components attached to it.

Flowing from above postulations, we can deduce that Conflict means to be in opposition to one another. It refers to disagreement between people or members of organisations. Such disagreement is inherent in relationships between all human beings. Larfela (1988) concurs with this view when he defines conflict as: "Part of the competition process that is basic to the survival and successful evolution of the species, homosapiens and to his search for new and better ways to cope with limited resources and stress from environmental change." According to this definition it is obvious that conflict always exists between people, groups of people, members of an organisation and between organisations which are related in one way or another.

Having established the above, we can further assert that there has been a transition in the way conflict has been viewed over time. Thakore (2013) identified the following views on conflict:

a. Traditional School View of Conflict: This school views conflicts as bad for communities because it is disruptive, unnatural and represents a form of deviant behaviour which should be controlled and changed if the communal objectives are to be achieved. To the traditional school, conflict situations can have tragic consequences for some people and adverse effects on communities. General view was that conflict indicates a malfunction within a group and must be avoided. This view proposed that very little value ever stemmed from conflict Robbins (2005) called this the traditional view.

b. The Inter actionist school view of Conflict: Townsend (1985) sees conflict as a sign of a communal existence. A good manager, according to him, does not try to eliminate conflict, he tries to keep it from wasting the energies of his people... if you are the leader and your people fight you openly when they think you are wrong, that's healthy. If your people fight each other openly in your presence for what they believed in - that's healthy. But keep all the conflict

eyeball to eyeball. Robins (1998) believes that conflict is a positive force and necessary for a united existence of the people in communities. This approach encourages a minimum level of conflict within the group in order to encourage self-criticism, change and innovation and to help prevent apathy or to create a tolerance for harmony and the status quo. Conflict is an inevitable feature of communal life and should be judged by its own performance.

- c. Integrationist school view of Conflict: This is the most recent perspective and explicitly argues that some conflict should not only be seen as good or bad but rather that some conflict is absolutely necessary for a group to perform effectively

In a contradistinction Abiodun (2014)”. Avers that conflict served as a social purpose and reconciliation came even with the total destruction of one party. Conflict socialises members into a group and reduces the tension between group members. Maintain that the easiest way to understand the term “conflict” is to divide theories of conflict into three taxonomies notably functional, situational and interactive. In his view those who subscribe to the functional approach think that a conflict serves a social function and those who key into this line of thinking usually raise questions such as: “Why is there conflict? What purpose does it serve?” Whereas those who view a conflict as situational, suggest that conflict is an expression under certain situations or specific context. They also raised fundamentals such as: When do we have conflict? Under what circumstances does it occur?” The third theory views conflict as interactive in nature. On their own part the Interactionalists ask questions that bordered on: “how is there conflict? What methods and mechanisms are used to express it?”

One of the most active voices among the functionalist school was George Simmel, the German Sociologists. In his own contribution to debate on conflicts Simmel, (1955) defined conflict as designed to resolve divergent dualisms; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it will be through the annihilation of one of the conflicting parties Furthermore, Simmel determines three possible ways to end a conflict. Firstly, conflict may end with a victory of one party over another; secondly, the conflict can be resolved through compromise; and thirdly, through conciliation.

However, not all conflicts may end as discussed. In 1967, Lewis Coser, an American sociologist and author of the Functions of Social Conflict gave the following definition of conflict: “The clash of values and interests, the tension between what is and what some groups feel ought to be.” According to Coser (1967), conflict served the function of pushing society and was leading to new institutions, technology and economic systems. The most important contribution of Coser to conflict resolution was determination of the functional and dysfunctional roles of conflict.

One of the active voices among the situationist school, Bercovitch (1984), from his own perspective defines conflict as a “situation which generates incorruptible goals or values among different parties”. In his view conflict depends on the existing situation on ground. In the sense that Conflict arises because of different conditions, such as the influence of a person and external factors. Concerning the interactive view, Folger (1993) defines conflict as “the interaction of interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and interference from each other in achieving these goals”.

This approach introduces two important concepts: Interdependence and perception. Interdependence is connected to such situations where one party's future actions depend on another party's actions.

Tillett (1991) in his own contribution to the conceptualisation of conflict maintains that "Conflict does not only come about when values or needs are actually, objectively incompatibles, or when conflict is manifested in action; it exists when one of the parties perceives it to exist". Folger also sees conflict as coming from interdependent people (Tidwell, 1998). Cross, Names and Beck (1979) define conflict as "differences between and among individuals. The differences are created by the conflict, for example, values, goals, motives, resources and ideas. Hocker and Wilmot (1985) define conflict as "an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards and interference from the other party in achieving their goals" (Borisoff and Victor, 1998).

Thomas (2005) defines conflict as a "disagreement in opinions between people or groups, due to differences in attitudes, beliefs, values or needs. In the business world, differences in such characteristics as work experience, personality, peer group, environment and situation, all lead to differences in personal attitudes, beliefs, values or needs".

From the above definitions, it is obvious that there is no just one practical definition of conflict. Each person has an individual way of thinking and behaves differently from others in similar situations. It can be concluded that conflict can affect everyone to varying extent (Leung, 2010).

Concept of community security

The term 'community' is complex and can have different interpretations among individuals and groups alike. Communities are usually understood as being made up of the individuals, groups and institutions who share common interests (history, identity, culture, socio-economic activity) or a common geographic area (neighbourhood, town or village, broader district-regional level). This postulation understands communities as individuals, groups, and institutions in a specific territorial space that share a range of common and diverse interests, values, needs and aspirations. In this briefing, community is often used to identify the public or citizens, as opposed to police or authorities.

The concept of community security is not yet commonly used or widely understood, and there is no agreed definition. In fact, 'community security', 'community safety', 'community-based policing', 'citizen security', and 'human security' are often conflated terms that are used interchangeably to describe a people-centred approach to security. 'Community protection', 'local peace committees' and even resilience-building and local governance programs share similar types of engagement and outcomes.

Following the 1994 Human Development Report on human security, a distinct 'community security' approach and definition emerged in order to provide a practical and value-based framework to address communities' security challenges proactively. Community security is built on community-based policing traditions of police and community partnerships and problem solving, development approaches to community empowerment, as well as strategic peace building approaches. As a result, different types of actors have been implementing, supporting, or promoting community security programs in a range of contexts, including

international organisations, international donors, and international NGOs in partnership with local civil society organisations. Some governments have also created bodies and launched initiatives to design and implement community security strategies (for example, in Kosovo, Tajikistan and South Sudan).

These divergent perceptions on the concept of community policing notwithstanding there is common consensus among scholars and security experts that community security is both a process promoting a community-driven approach to understanding and providing security and an end-state whereby people feel protected and valued as members of society. Accordingly, when people are not secured, they become burdens on society. To the UNDP, unlike the traditional concept of security which entailed a defensive concept, community security is an integrative notion such that when people are able to take care of themselves by earning a living, they contribute development to their society and gradually to their country and gradually globally (Bariledum, 2013).

Therefore, Community security is a people centred approach to tackle interlinked peace, security and development needs. It aims to build positive relationships between communities, authorities and institutions – providing opportunities to identify security concerns and plan collective responses. (Safeworld, 2014). It enables communities to be their own agents of change and empowers communities to hold to account those who should be delivering their security.

Flowing from the above, it can be established that Community inclusivity and participation are a core part of the approach, so activities can be designed and implemented reflecting people's actual needs. Community security approaches attempt to link local improvements up to sub-national and national levels through advocacy, and by including higher level actors in consultation and decision-making processes. It is achieved when communities have ways to articulate their security needs, and there is the local and institutional capacity to respond to them. Thus, it is clear that community security processes can provide a safe space for dialogue where different groups' representatives can meet and constructively discuss the best ways to address grievances, diffuse tensions and agree on appropriate initiatives and responses.

Community safety

The discourse on 'community safety' has been around for little over four decades (SOLACE, 1986) Even so, it has become well established in a fairly short period of time, but this only begs a further question. Use of the concept 'community safety' was developed by the GLC Police Committee Support Unit to describe a distinctly local government approach to crime prevention and related issues. More and more in local government circles the phrase 'crime prevention' has been reinterpreted to mean the promotion of community safety and the securing of improvements in the quality of life of residents by reference to a wide range of social issues, the tackling of certain risks and sources of vulnerability and development of policies on a broad range of fronts (ADC, 1990; Coopers and Lybrand, 1994).

According to the Local Government Management Board, 'community safety is the concept of community-based action to inhibit and remedy the causes and consequences of criminal, intimidatory and other related anti-social behaviour. Its purpose is to secure sustainable reductions in crime and fear of crime in local communities. Its approach is based on the

formation of multi-agency partnerships between the public, private and voluntary sectors to formulate and introduce community-based measures against crime' (LGMB, 1996).

Community safety as a specific cross agency modality of crime prevention is a relatively recent concept in conflict studies. There remain clear conceptual, empirical and normative questions about the practice including the following: what current practices constitute community safety; who is doing it; what effect and impact is it having on crime reduction; and who should be charged with the responsibility for community safety? Currently community safety is practised within a wide range of governmental and non-governmental sectors. These appear to reflect a diverging range of government policies and their concomitant funding lines. In this regard community safety initiatives have sprung up in three identifiable domains: national drug / substance misuse strategy; large scale urban regeneration programs; and childhood and family support developments stressing early intervention.

Although these trajectories are still valid the concept and usage of community safety has become more glaring and manifest in the north east Nigeria and other neighbouring communities in the Sahel and Lake Chad region. The driving forces behind the popularisation of the concept community safety in this region is the resurgence of transnational terrorist organisations such as Boko-Haram and its splinter group ISWAP , growing strength and sustenance as well the negative consequences they unleash on locals . This no doubt resulted in wanton destruction of lives and properties, socioeconomic and political structures and institutions and above of massive displacement of millions of inhabitants, a situation that resulted in the worst humanitarian crises in sub-Saharan Africa.

Community safety within the context of this paper therefore refers to an aggregate perception of the local and other peace actors working in the perceived and real time security and safety state of affairs in the community concerned. This community safety is measured by safe indices such as reduction in the level of violent crimes, ability of the people to interact in social activities such as ceremonies, place of worship as well as economic activities such as markets and farming without fear.

Re-integration

Reintegration as a concept has recently occupied a central place in both qualitative and quantitative social science literature. This increase in currency, usage and application of the concept in recent years is closely related to the increase in violent conflict which result in large scale displacement and the conscription of young men into child soldiers as well as the abduction of young innocent girls as sex slaves by insurgent and terrorist globally. Although the concept of reintegration is not new, there exist enough evidence that reintegration as a concept is mostly applied in criminal justice literature to describe the process of re-entry of criminal into the society (Manpa'a, Liberty & Daksiri, 2019)

The concept Reintegration means different things to different scholars depending on context of usage and perspective from which it is viewed.

In the criminal justice system, reintegration refers to the process of reentry into society by people that have been in prison. Reintegration includes the reinstatement of freedoms not previously had by individuals as a result of being in prison. This process may occur gradually, as in the case of paroled inmates, inmates finishing their sentences in halfway houses, or

serving the final part of their sentence on home confinement and gradually granted freedoms. Alternatively, reintegration may occur immediately as in the case of sentence expiration (Norwood: 2021)

From the generic perspective of crime, conflict and internally displaced persons however, Manpaa et al defines Re-integration as:

an organised and systematic process of ensuring re-entry and acceptability of the absentee members of a particular community or society as a result of; solitary confinement, displacement and participation in conflict to enable them fit comport and lead a functional life in line with the most decent minimum acceptable level in the society. This reintegration process covers a wide range of activities and programmes which include trauma counselling, educational programmes and vocational training and provision of capital and starter packs for take-off(2019; 8)

Within the context of reintegration programmes for child soldiers, reintegration typically comprises economic and education support packages such as vocational training, apprenticeship, microfinance loans and formal or informal schooling.

IOM (2011) defines re-integration as the re-inclusion or re-incorporation of a person into a group or process for example of a migrant into the society of his or her country of origin or habitual residence. In this re-integration is seen thus a process that enables a returnee to participate again in the socio-cultural, economic and political life of his or her country of origin.

The fundamental elements of the above definitions of re-integration as provided by Manpaa et al., (2019) and IOM (2011) indicate that for reintegration to take place the person or groups need to be re-integrated most have experience not only temporary but forceful relocation or displacement from his original place of abode as a result of which he is either denied or excluded from enjoying the personal benefits of the community assets and acceptability.

Within the context of this research therefore re-integration include the restoration of all rights and privileges to a person who hitherto lost these rights and privileges as a result of temporary forced migration or displacement these include: economic and education support packages such as vocational training, apprenticeship, microfinance loans and formal or informal schooling a', community assets and social relationship.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study is basically survey research design in which data were mainly sourced from primary sources and the use of available documents. The Assessment utilised Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews (KII), as well as participation/observations drawn from among key stakeholders: Traditional Rulers/Religious leaders, community leaders, representatives of local Government Chairman, teachers, health workers , members of the IDPs /Host communities , farmers, traders, women/youth leaders, local and state security providers (CJTF leaders, Hunters and Vigilante Group of Nigeria). However, due to the constraints of the conflict context in the local communities, a hybrid of cluster and convenience sampling techniques were deployed with selection made based on those who were readily available.

A total of 66 respondents in all (30 FGD respondents and 36 KII respondents) were engaged. In all, Three (3) FGDs, one for each group comprising 10 respondents and 36 KIIs, 12 for each group were conducted. All data collected were analysed using simple descriptive tools including frequency tables, bar charts and pie charts. The presentation was done thematically.

Context Analysis in the Local Setting

Communities in Madagali Local government Area of Adamawa state, like other communities affected by the Boko Haram insurgency, have witnessed serious backlash as a result of intense and perpetual attack by the insurgents throughout their periods of campaign. One of the areas seriously hit by the insurgency is the socio-economic and political institutions and the vital social services and amenities these institutions provide. This became more evident and conspicuous as most of the social and economic institutions were completely destroyed during violent attacks by insurgents. This has presented numerous challenges to daily life for all those who remained and returned to communities in Madagali local Government areas. However, with the recapture of many communities from the insurgents by the Nigeria Army and gradual return of normalcy in recent months. Some development partners in collaboration with federal, state and local authorities have restored some of the social services that were hitherto destroyed. Sadly, as this assessment identifies, these have been inadequate in terms of quantity and capacity.

With regards to the availability of services and amenities, 98% of the respondents listed the following as available either within Gulak or in the neighbouring communities of Madagali LGA: Cottage hospital, Secondary Schools, Electricity, Boreholes, Police station, Military outpost, Local Government Secretariat, Mobile Network (MTN, Airtel and Global Mobile Network), Union Bank POS, Markets and Small Scale Farming.

The community revealed that although these facilities and social services exist, they do not function as the case was before the insurgency. For example, the Gulak cottage hospital which provides health care services particularly at the secondary level which hitherto has one medical doctor, a pharmacist and over fifty nurses and numerous other allied health workers has become a shadow of itself. As at the time of the data collection, it has only one medical doctor, one pharmacist, one technologist and not more than five nurses. In addition, the existing primary healthcare clinics in the various wards that provide primary health care services and serve as referral centres were destroyed by the insurgents and are no longer functional.

Community Tensions and Conflict Trends

There is general consensus in the public domain on variation in conflict dimension and dynamics. This is owing to the facts that community tension and conflict differs in terms of intensity and triggers .in some communities their tension and conflict drivers are rooted in contestation over the control of political power whereas in others it is related the perceived feeling of socio –economic domination by certain identity group or social class on the other hand or the perceived exclusion of other dissatisfied groups on the other. The question of conflict and tension in communities in Madagali local government area of Adamawa state that has been grappling for years under Bokoharam insurgency is better imagined than real.

One of the theses this paper is set to resolve therefore is the magnitude of the conflict whether positively inclined or negatively skewed. On a general note there is indication that the conflict

is declining as more than 80% of the total respondents affirmed that there is decrease in the Boko Haram insurgency in the entire Madagali LGA especially in Gulak community which is the local government headquarter.

It is natural therefore for one to be tempted to question what is responsible for the general improvement in the hitherto fragile and precarious security situation created by the nefarious activities of Bokoharam insurgents. The reason for the reduction in the conflict, the respondents maintained was as a result of so many factors including the commitment and resilience of the local militia (Hunters and VGN), cordial relationship between the military and the community militia, general community support through their willingness to provide intelligence information for the counter insurgency operations in addition to the placement of the local militia organisation on a monthly stipends of N46000 per person by the Adamawa state Government.

This in no small way boosted the morale of the community militia and has made them more committed to the fight against insurgency. The remaining 20% of the respondents made up of 13% women and 7% youths though accepted the above position but with reservation as they raised security concerns such as increase in SGBV, domestic violence and lack of access to renewable energy as well as panic as a result of the sound of guns (Women).while the youths highlighted attack on smaller communities, Kidnaping, cattle rustling as well as restriction of movement between 6.00pm to 6.00am daily among others.

In essence therefore, while it is a fact that the frequency and intensity of attacks by the insurgents has drastically reduce, sadly there is emerging new security threat such as kidnapping, cattle rustling and sexual and gender based violence . These new waves of conflicts and their attendants' security challenges are more manifest among communities on the fringes of main communities.

Similarly, the respondents unanimously (99%) provided variations of what they considered or have witnessed to be the key tension or conflict issues within the community. The issues mentioned are related to the insurgency, kidnapping, cattle rustling, farmers-herders conflict, land dispute, drugs and resettlement disputes among returnees and IDPs.

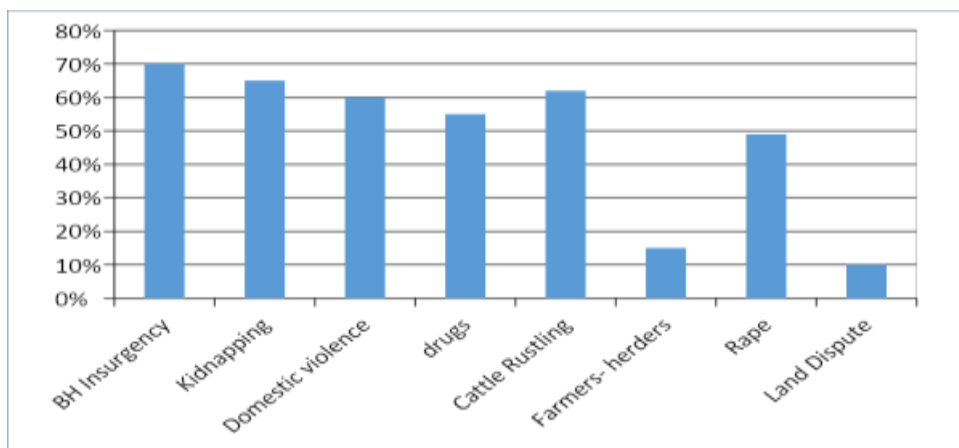


Figure 1: Ranking of Prominence of Conflict/Tension in Madagali LGA

About 75% of both KII and FGD respondents considered the insurgency as the conflict “most harmful” to the community owing to the fact that it has in one way or the other affected virtually all members of the community by destroying their sources of livelihood, denied them access to farmland and sources of energy for domestic use, destroyed social services, destroyed their places of abode and worship centres, killing of their loved ones as well as abduction of girls and male youths.

Similarly, the majority (88 %) of the respondents were affirmative to the question of changes in the conflict trends. Concerning the trend of the insurgency which they claimed is decreasing because there is improvement in the security situation in Madagali LGA in general. This was attributed to the increase in the number of security personnel/actors and the motivation of the local militia (VGN and hunters) through the payment of monthly stipends of N46000 monthly allowance by the Adamawa State Government. However, 96% of the male respondents stated that there is an increase in other associated conflicts and crime such as kidnapping for ransom, cattle rustling, Burglary.

Converse there is overwhelming evidence from the women group who noted with deep concern that the emergence of drugs/intoxicants abuses, domestic violence including but not limited to sexual and gender based Violence SGBV (rape and sexual harassment) by both security personnel, local militia and the insurgents as well as arson and abduction which they attributed to poverty, unemployment, frustration and idleness as result of loss of sources of livelihood to the insurgency.

This is general consensus affirming that the groups or individuals most affected by the conflict trends are women, children, youth and the elderly, farmers and businessmen in that order. This was the submission by all the respondents across religious, gender and occupational strata. However, it was ascertained that the female gender was considered most vulnerable to the conflict situation as they become vulnerable to abuse by the insurgents, military personnel and even family members. Some of the reasons advanced for the susceptibility of the female to the effects of the conflict are that women are being seen as soft targets often abducted for sexual abuse by insurgents. In addition the death of their bread winners during the conflict rendered them as widows and subsequently exposed them to untold hardship (specifically imposing the responsibilities of house-heads and bread winners of their respective relatively large families on them)

In some cases, the abduction of their children both male and female to serve either as a sex tool during war or to serve as child soldiers makes the women become traumatised.

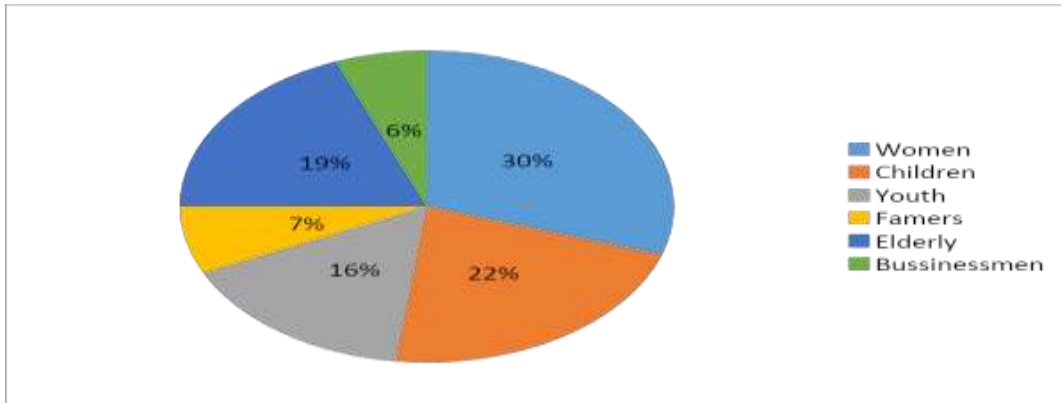


Figure 2: Persons mostly affected by Conflict Trend in Madagali Communities

On ethnic groups most affected by the insurgency, 94% of the respondents listed margi and kanuri while also stating Dar, Kuda, Utukum, Gaya, Barkin Dutse, Sabon gari and Kerchinga as neighbouring communities affected.

Findings in the areas of groups involved in the conflict revealed that the : insurgents, youths and sometimes the security actors have been involved in one conflict or the other as contained in Figure 4.5.

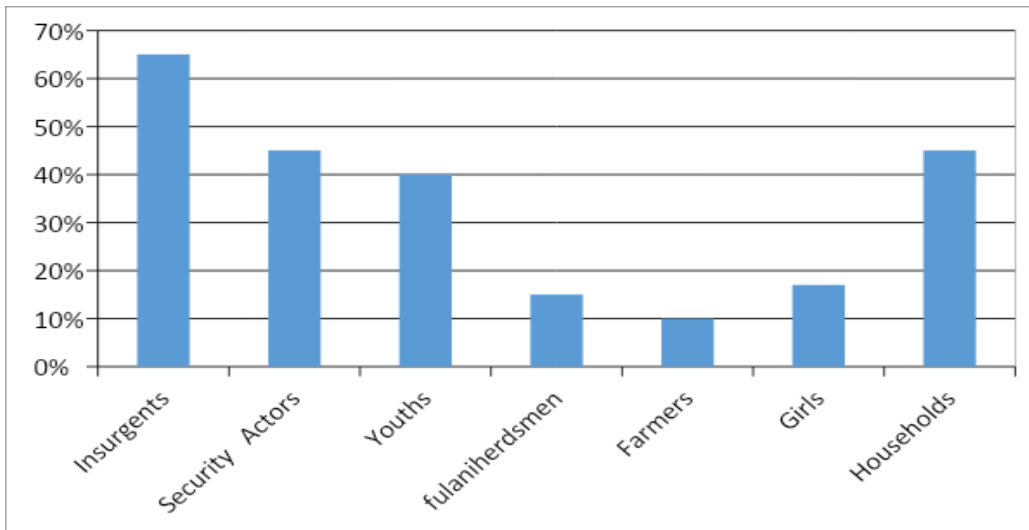


Figure 3 Persons/Groups involved in Conflict in Madagali Communities

According to respondents, the main cause of the insurgency was the extremists' doctrine of rejection of all things western while the conflict between youths and the security personnel was either based on misunderstanding arising from harassment of the civil populace especially the female folk by the military. The insurgency is considered the main violent conflict while the other forms of conflicts are mostly heated arguments which rarely result in violence. Triggers for such cases of conflicts were determined to be a variation of poverty, frustration, loss of sources of livelihood, drug abuse and extreme religious ideologies. As to the presence or

available areas where groups within the community used for interaction, the majority of the respondents seemed either unsure or unaware of such places. It was also discovered that women were key in providing nurture and emotional support to victims of the insurgency and the family unit. This assertion was made by the majority (60%) of the KII respondents and this is considered a significant role as observed by the team.

Community Safety and Security Perception.

The quantum of conflict indicators such as intensity of violent conflict, crime rates, and drugs as well as the degree of safety and security of lives and properties constitute the hallmark and important nucleus for measuring community safety and security. This is more so especially in fragile communities that are recovering from the shock waves of destruction meted on them by the insurgents.

The most conspicuous and apparent variant of threats to community safety and security are two notably: the perceived and real threats irrespective of the nature of threats present in the community; it is contradictory to describe such a community as peaceful and secure. The most reliable way of measuring community safety and security in a real sense is through adequate interrogation of the locals in a particular community to hear their real life experience and narratives.

When asked if there had been improvements in the general security of the community, respondents were unanimously affirmative though with reservation that although there is general improvement in the peace and stability in the local government area as evidence in the restoration of socio-political and economic activities such as churches, mosques, markets, reduction in cases of bomb blasts. For almost two years now. But of all these communities only Gulak community is safe as it has over the years witnessed steady but gradual return to normalcy as Gulak town has not recorded any significant attack in the past three years and people in Gulak can now access their farm lands because of improved security.

There are still periodic attacks on other nearby communities and many communities in Madagali LGA in general. This position has been the general consensus across all shades of opinions including Youths, Women, Community leaders, traditional institutions and male adults' respondents during both key informant interviews (KII) and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

As one of the male FGD groups affirmed:

community is now safe as there is Restoration of social and economic activities such as churches, mosques, market, reduction in bomb blast, For almost two (2) years now Gulak town has not been attacked, though there are series of attack going on in the neighbouring community and people can access their farmlands now, because of security.

The respondents also expressed apprehension on the new emerging crimes such as kidnapping, cattle rustling as well as the future implication role or relevance of the VGN and hunters in the post insurgency era. Corroborating the dominant position of the FGD, 96% of the male KIIs

also considered the neighbouring communities outside of Gulak as unsafe and insecure as a result of the activities of Boko Haram as well as the lack of adequate social services for people in the community. In the opinion of the respondents, 97% both male and female although they felt most physically secured when they are within the community especially in their houses, community meetings, places of worships and when interacting with the security personnel, they largely feel unsafe during the day or at night, because of the presence of the insurgents in the nearby bushes, periodic attacks on neighbouring communities which have led to lack of access to farmlands and renewable energy. When questioned as to whether or not the general community shared their concerns, it was revealed to be positive.

Areas of concerns as to impending threats and risks to the progress made towards peace and normalcy among male respondents 89% revolved around the fear of impending attacks by the insurgents as well as the overwhelming feeling and fear of the insurgents reclaiming the community and increasing cases of kidnapping and cattle rustling. On the side of the female respondents 92% their main concern are increase in SGBV including rape and sexual harassment, domestic violence, lack of access to source of energy as a result of the insurgents as well as abduction. Similarly 96% of the youths express concern over lack of sources of livelihood, periodic harassment by the security operatives particularly the military, abduction and forceful conscription by the insurgents, increase incidence of drugs and petty crimes as well as closure of schools.

Of great importance to 96% of respondents, especially young female and adult female FGD sessions, is the need for the rehabilitation of the formal school structure of which they seemed greatly interested in enrolling their wards. The women requested that the Adamawa state government should consider introducing stimulus packages in form of special grants or scholarship schemes for the orphans or provide them with free education as well as improvement in the provision of health care services.

On the side of the male youths however 98% maintain that their main concern is the issue of restriction of movement between 6.00pm to 6.00am, lack of job and livelihood support, attack on the neighbouring communities as well as kidnaping and increase in other vices such as drugs and petty thieves.

On the question of how often the respondents felt unsafe as members of the community, it was mixed response as for 98% of women, young females and their children; they felt unsafe most of the time, owing to their vulnerability to attack and being soft target for abduction for use as either sex slaves or forceful conscription into Boko Haram combatants. This was in contrast to replies from male counterparts such as the FGDs with men and /VGN groups 87% of which seemed to perceive that there was some improvement in the security situation in Gulak in particular and they felt relatively safer than the females. The remaining 13% of the male respondents however share similar view of feeling unsafe with the women Although with slight departure which they attributed to panic from gun sounds, boko haram periodic attack on smaller communities, lack of enough food supply, kidnaping as well as increase in harassment by the security operatives

The increase in crime and other social vices were attributed to the menace of insecurity, injustice, imbalanced political appointment, jealousy, poverty, and destruction of sources of livelihood as well as radical religious ideology propagated by extremists which exposed some

of the idle youths to become potential source of recruits for the insurgents. While some other youths (both male and female) have taken to drugs related crimes such as use, abuse and trafficking which have become rampant. There is also the phenomenon of sexual exploitation also occasioned by the pervasive rate of poverty which has led to the emergence of the new nuance of sex for survival and sex for security by the women folk both young and aged. This indicates increased use of hunger as a weapon war by unscrupulous elements among both security operatives, Aid workers and community members.

On the issue of what factors contributing to the sustenance of peaceful and harmonious relationships, it was discovered that 52% of the respondents both FGD and KII identified marriage ceremony as a major unifying factor, 19 % attributed it to Place of worship/religious activities and naming/burial ceremonies respectively are the major contributory factors in the establishment and sustenance of harmonious relationships. The respondents maintained that the worship ground and other religious rites such as sallah celebration, Christmas, marriage ceremonies, and traditional ceremonies. Whereas the remaining 10% are of the view that economic activities such as markets bring people together irrespective of tribe or religious leaning.

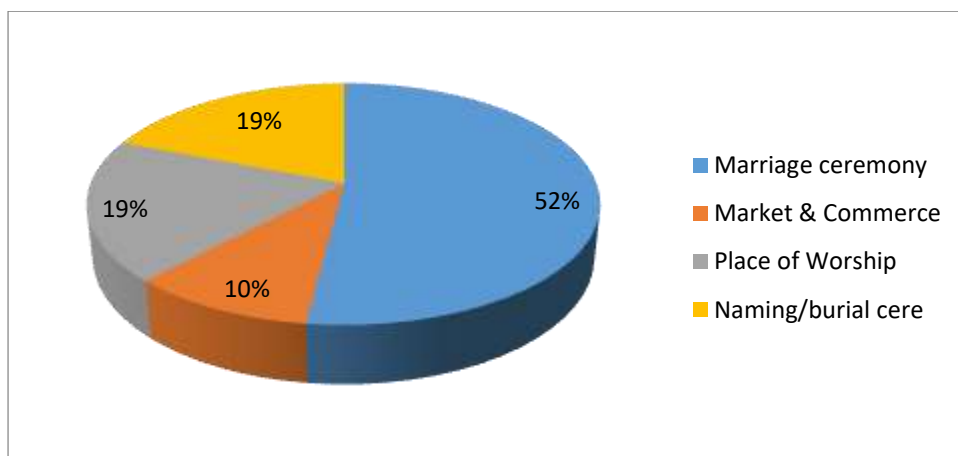


Figure 4: Activities that mostly contribute to harmonious relationships in Gulak

Similarly it was established that the most effective mechanisms for ensuring that tensions did not escalate among different groups within the community are, but not limited to: dialogue, job creation, cooperation between security actors and community, Youths Social Forum, Traditional Institutions, Religious Institutions, increase in the number of security personnel as well as improvement in the logistics needed for effective community policing as contained in figure 4.

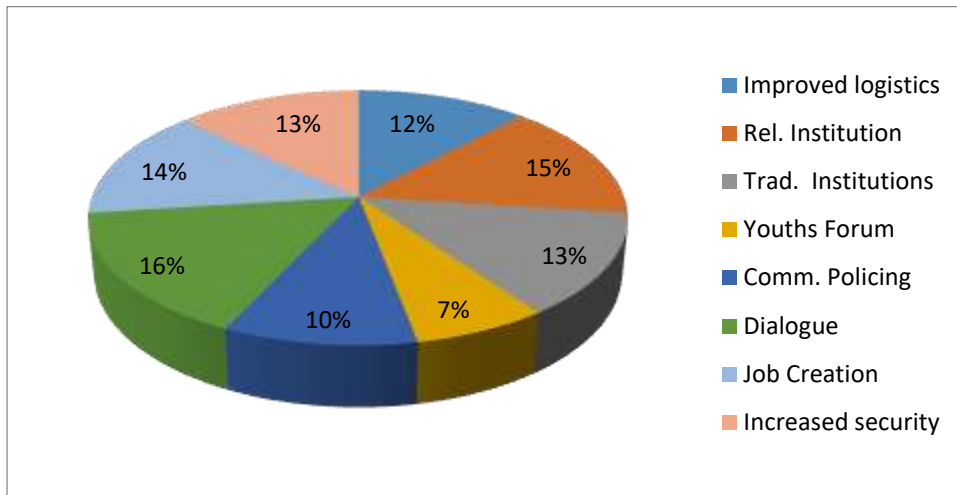


Figure 5: Effective Mechanism for the De-escalation of Tension/Conflict in Madagali LGA

On the issue of persons or groups considered responsible for resolving rising tensions, the report identified the following groups of people as trusted:

- Traditional institutions
- Religious leaders
- Women group leaders
- Security actors.

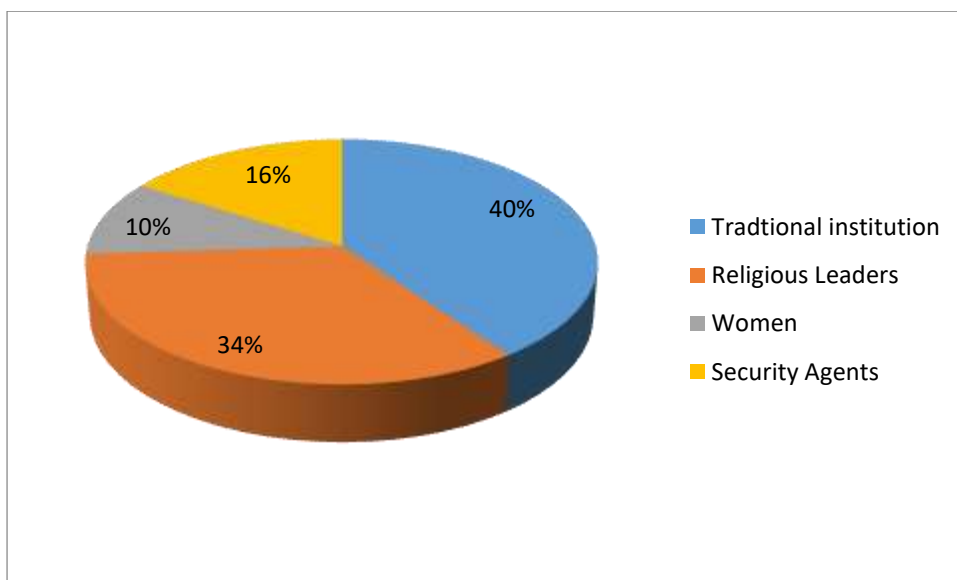


Figure 6 Community trust in peace actors in Gulak

The varying roles played by groups within the community included: the male respondents 97% of whom affirm that the traditional rulers mediating between parties, youth organisations form themselves into local militia for community policing and protect lives and property. While all the women respondents admit that the women as already established are responsible for the nurture and emotional support of the children and the elderly as well as domestic chores such

as cooking, cleaning of the compound and peace building. With regards to the positive or negative changes recorded within the community, it was revealed by 87% of the respondents that as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency, the respondents identified collapse of family norms and values, drugs abuse, commercial sex activities, social disorganisation, theft, burglary, loss of lives and property within the community.

Community safety In Madagali LGA

The section on security actors was designed to establish how secured or policed madagali communities are. It also tries to establish the general level of commitment on the part of the security actors in their responsibilities, and to which extent the security actors enjoy the support and trust of the members of the communities.

Findings from both KIIs and FGDs conducted showed that the community is well secured according to the perception of 75% of the respondents while the other 25% affirmed that it was not well policed or secured, clearly indicating the divide in perception on this issue among community members. Respondents in support of the security efforts noted that security operatives and local militia VGN and hunters provide security in the area. Whereas those that noted that the area is not well policed have a high level of apprehension and distrust because of the occasional attacks on the neighbouring and other communities by the insurgents and the proximity of the community to Sambisa forest the acclaimed headquarters of the insurgents.

It was further revealed that although there are many security actors present in Madagali local Government area of Adamawa state including Military, Nigeria police force, mobile police force VGN, Hunters and Civil Defence. There is variation in terms of operational performance; this variation according to the overwhelming majority of the respondents is attributable to differences in training, mandates and equipment they used. For example, despite poor training, limited availability of equipment, lack of sophisticated weapons and inadequate motivation, 78% of respondents ranked VGN and hunters as second only to the army in terms of effectiveness of the security actors. The reasons given for the effectiveness of the, VGN, Hunters and the Army is their prompt responses to distress calls and commitment as one of the male KII noted

The vigilante and hunters are most effective because they are not afraid to face the insurgents. The military are less effective because they don't want to risk themselves.

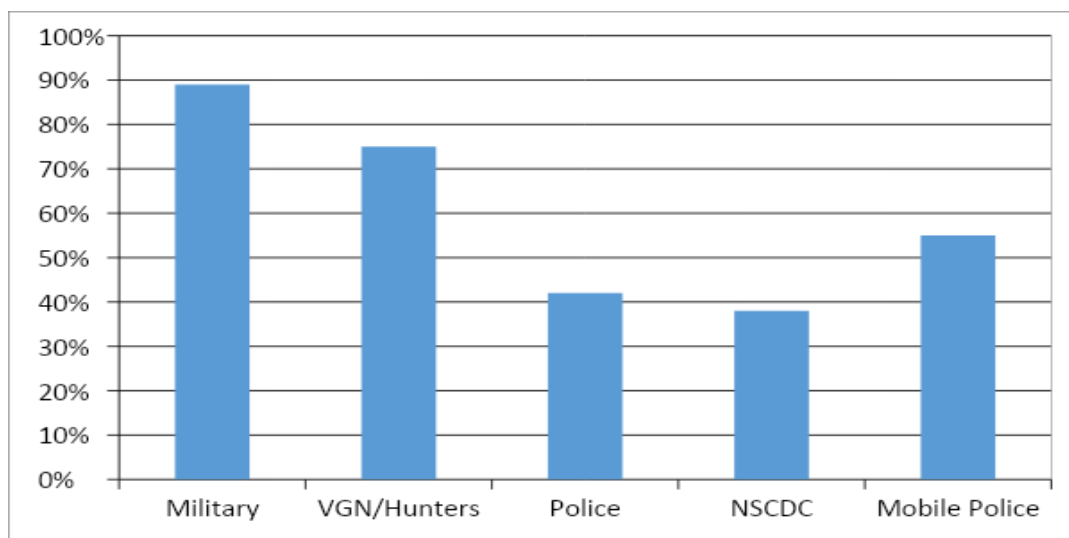


Figure 7: operational performance of security forces in Madagali LGA

As for the ineffective security actors, the general consensus among the respondents in the FGDs revealed that the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps is the most ineffective due to the feeling of their near absence. In terms of security actors and organisations most trusted by the community the answer unanimously provided was that the Army, mobile police and VGN and Hunters. This is because of their resilience and prompt response to distress calls. Other non-security organisations/actors the people trust include Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and to some extent ICRC, Plan International and Nigerian Communication Commission for their diverse contributions in terms of relief and care support provisions as well as Rehabilitation and Restoration Programmes. The non-governmental organisations mentioned were considered trustworthy based on the frequency of support provisioning and the forms of relief they provided to the best of their abilities. The most outstanding among these organisations however is the DRC which provides Monthly cash support and also Rehabilitation of two blocks of classrooms in Gulak through the implementation of *cash for work programme* supported by USAID.

It was also reported that DRC has served as a pathway and financier for reporting GBV and rape in particular. The community have unanimously appreciated the role they played in bringing a soldier who raped a female in Gulak to book as the soldier was eventually dismissed, tried in court and convicted.

Respondents revealed that the ICRC on the other hand has played a prominent role in advocacy against human rights abuse and provision of training to the members of the community on respect for human rights. Plan International it was reported has done significantly well in the area of provision of skills acquisition, training and starter packs. On its own part, the Nigerian Communication Commission (NCC) provided a School Knowledge Centre in Gulak Madagali local Government Area Supported by the Universal Service Provision Fund.

On what could be done to restore some of the traditional values of the community, respondents submitted that restoration of the traditional leadership is a major step that should be taken to

achieve this. They believed that such reinstatement of the traditional leadership system would have a positive impact on the general outlook of the community in terms of morale and confidence building among the people.

Peace Actors

This subsection addressing peace-brokers is designed to ascertain the key players within the community that the members hold in high regards as such they could lean on them for leadership in times of crisis or disputes for succour or resolutions of such crisis.

It was found that the key structure of peace brokers within Madagali LGA is local court Judges, religious leaders, community leaders, military, as well as NGOS particularly ICRC and DRC. Where disputes and crisis were initially reported and settled by traditional heads such as the Bulama, District Heads and other Household heads, the conflict situation has changed the dynamics. As a result, FGD respondents and roughly 87% of the KII respondents noted that the current responsibility for brokering peace falls on the Traditional leaders, religious leaders, the police and officials of the local courts. They also unanimously submitted that these traditional peace brokers work closely with the security actors on peace and conflict issues.

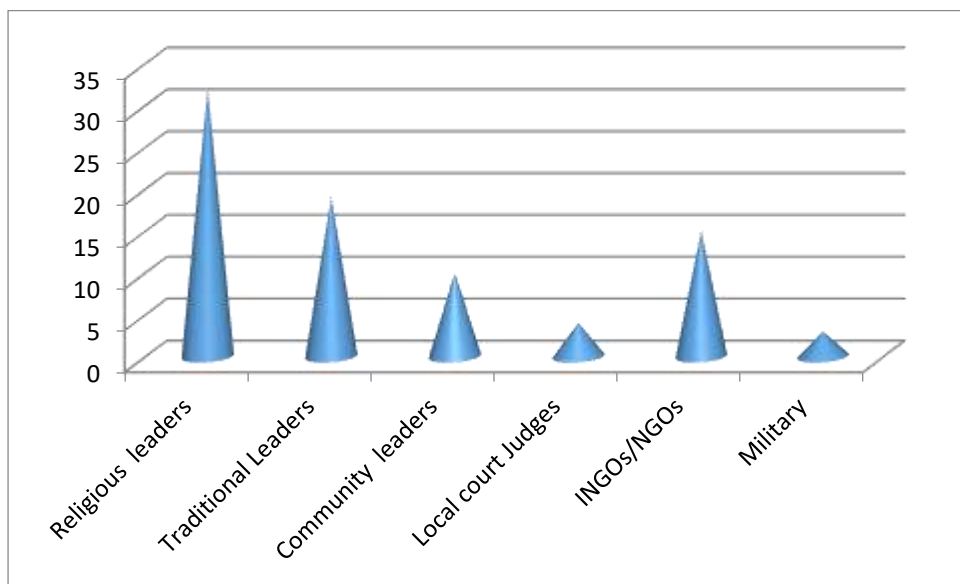


Figure 8: Community Rating of Peace brokers in Gulak Community

As for matters of security in the event of returnees to the community, all the respondents (100%) unanimously agreed that the returnees needed to be screened before their reintegration into the community.

Concerning risk levels and actors, it was generally deduced that apart from Boko Haram members and sympathisers (70%), the returnees (40%), drug abusers/addicts, (32%), VGN & Hunters (2%), orphans (12%), idle and unemployed youths (45%), and Fulani herdsmen (4%) were the members of the community that constituted the greater risk to the return and sustenance of normalcy in Gulak. The orphans that lost their parents and breadwinners as a

result of the boko haram insurgency and were therefore exposed to avoidable and unnecessary hardship will not forget and forgive such experience in a short time, they may therefore develop hatred and spirit of vengeance in the community. However 2% of the respondents have express concern over the fate of the local militia in the post insurgency if not properly taken care of as one of the male KII noted:

If the Hunters and vigilantes are not being taken care of after an attack, they will end up being a problem to the community because they have military training to begin with.

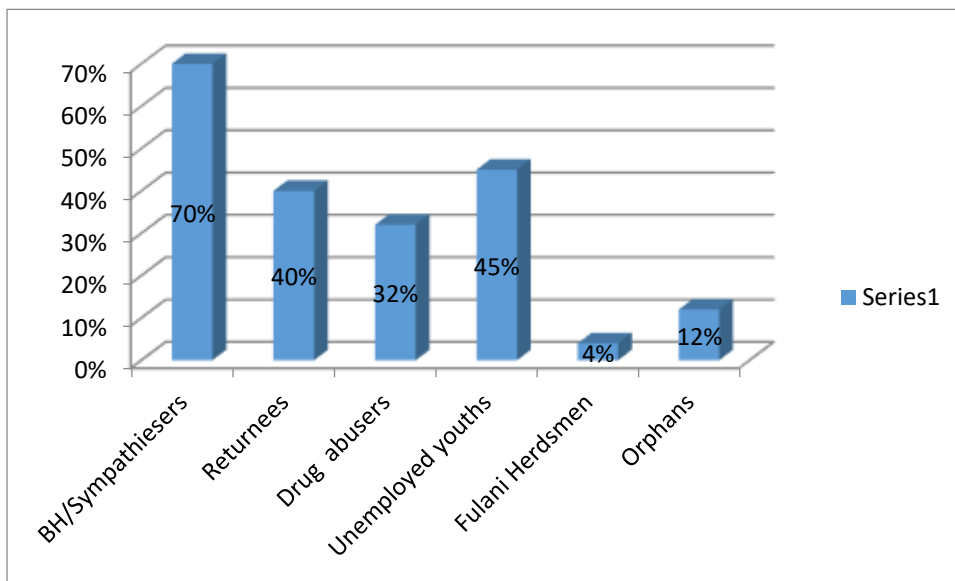


Figure 9: Risk level actors in Madagali Communities

Reintegration Challenges of returnees into affected communities

It is a widely held community perception that questions about reintegration and rehabilitation apply to individuals who might have escaped from Boko-haram captivity, girls associated with non-State armed groups, Members of Boko-haram who surrendered or were captured by Federal Government troops.

Responding to questions focusing on rehabilitation and reintegration of persons who have had one encounter or the other with the insurgents, it was generally observed that processes usually employed by the insurgents have largely affected almost all members of the community. Interestingly, the respondents confirmed the presence of such persons and demonstrate their willingness to accept those including members of the insurgents that show genuine repentance. 92% of the women and youths group in particular maintained that they were in particular more willing to accept the de-radicalised insurgents that passed through the operation safe corridor programme from the centre in Gombe. This group they believe have received enough training and reformation and could be accepted .According to female respondents in the FGD:

The government has done well in the process they have used and they are appreciated but people should be properly

screened. We will accept to support and stay together with them, because most of them that attended rehabilitation centres in Gombe state have truly repented. They are welcome even today

As for the concerns of the participants on the return of what is termed ‘low risk associates’ of Boko Haram, (those who were forcefully abducted, particularly girls, women, aged and the children), it was deduced from the respondents 98% that if they have been properly screened and the relevant authorities deem them fit to come back to the communities, they should be reintegrated. They noted that some of the girls have already returned, united with their parents and some had already gotten married and have been fully reintegrated into the community. They maintained that some of these girls and women were forcibly abducted by the insurgents and should be given a second chance to reunite with their family and community members. Some of the Youths male respondents 35% however express apprehension about some of the girls as they suspect them of keeping contacts with their insurgent’s husbands and serve as informants

CONCLUSION

Arising from the foregoing, the following conclusions became eminent:

- i. That peace is returning to the Madagali community as evident in the gradual improvement of economic and social activities.
- ii. The last attack on the community was in 2018 even though neighbouring communities are still experiencing occasional attacks by the Boko-haram insurgents.
- iii. There is a new emerging trend in the conflict dynamics which is the emergence of crimes such as kidnapping for ransom, abduction, drug abuse and trafficking, cattle rustling, rape and other forms of sexual harassment and gender based violence in the community.
- iv. That although humanitarian support and assistance exist, such interventions are negligible and their process of sharing is marred by irregularity, sharp practices and favouritism this is noted by 98% of the women respondents.
- v. That the community has shown commitment to peace building , social cohesion and reintegration by demonstrating willingness to accept and reintegrate those associated with the insurgents particularly those who were forced into or those that have undergone de-radicalisation through participation in the safe corridor programme,

Recommendations

Based on the forgoing presentation and analysis, the following recommendations are hereby made:

- i. There is a need for the Federal government of Nigeria to expand and consolidate the operational capacity of the security architecture in the counter insurgency through recruitment of additional personnel, weapon upgrade, and motivation and above all provide improved logistic support to the relevant agency.
- ii. The police and local traditional institutions should be restored for community policing and peace building.

- iii. There is a need for the federal Government of Nigeria to expedite action towards restoration of strategic infrastructures like reconnection and restoration of sources of electric power to the affected communities. Communications (telephone networks providers), health (hospitals, drugs and personnel) and economic (banks and shops/markets) educational structures and facilities especially the National Open University (NOUN)
- iv. INGOs and other Development partners should key into State and federal Government programmes in the area of provision of access and clean water for the affected community.
- v. There is need for UNDP, and other Development partners to introduce and support home grown economic empowerment and capacity building programmes especially for women and youths
- vi. Development partners to support communities in the area of providing alternative renewable energy for domestic use
- vii. To address the experiences and sad memories that community members have been exposed to due to the insurgency, it is important to implement trauma healing initiatives as part of recovery and post insurgency interventions especially for women.

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