

Most Affected Group of the Effects of Land Dispute Induced Violence/Homicide on Conflicting Communities in Anambra State

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ABSTRACT

The quest and attachment which people have over land make land a leading factor of conflict. History has it that human beings have always conflicted over land matters and for which there are multiple consequences and effects on the parties who are directly or indirectly involved in it. This study is on the most affected group of the effects of land dispute induced homicide in conflicting communities in Anambra State. Land dispute between individuals and communities has been a recurrent risk factor in Anambra State; and the State has records of inter/intra-communal conflicts and violence arising from land. The sample size of the study was 530 adult respondents. The respondents were selected through the process of categorising the communities of the study into six social sub-groups. Questionnaire guide, Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and Key Informant Interview (KII) guides were used as instruments for the collection of quantitative data and qualitative data. The sampling technique was probability sampling procedure, to ensure that relevant individuals were met. Selection of the respondents from each of the population categories was done by proportionate stratified random sampling method. The study showed that anybody irrespective of social class could be a victim of violence over land.

KEYWORDS: *Dispute induced homicide, communal land conflict, victims of land conflict, violence over land*

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this article is on the most affected group in land dispute induced homicide in Anambra State. USAID (2004), observed that land is a very strategic socio-economic asset, particularly in poor societies where wealth and survival are measured by its control and access. It is also seen as a central element in the varied and complex social relations of production and reproduction within which conflict between individuals and groups are bred. Land is an asset which every human being treasures and seeks to acquire. Land therefore creates tremendous problems among human beings who quest immensely to possess and own land. Today the problem land creates is aggravated due to some factors. United States Institute of Peace (2007), noted that the problem resulting from land is heightened because of population growth and environmental degradation which has led to land that should have been used for

personal industrial or agricultural purposes becoming increasingly scarce. The Institute further remarked that possession of land means access to many other resources, such as minerals, timber, and animals, and land therefore often holds a high economic value. Land empowers one who has it to have access to other valuables on the land. For this very reason, the Institute noted that, it is easy to see why communities often have strong emotional and symbolic attachments to land and resources on it. Hence, land in is a factor of conflict. Land generates conflict among diverse interests in it. Food and Agriculture Organisation [FAO], (2010), observed that land is a major source of disputes in rural societies worldwide.

Wehrmann (2008), defined land conflict as a social fact in which at least two parties are involved, the roots of which are different interests over the property

How to cite this paper: Onwuegbusi, Chike Abden | Prof. Bentina Mathias "Most Affected Group of the Effects of Land Dispute Induced Violence/Homicide on Conflicting Communities in Anambra State" Published in International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development (ijtsrd), ISSN: 2456-6470, Volume-5 | Issue-5, August 2021, pp.1006-1015, URL: www.ijtsrd.com/papers/ijtsrd44941.pdf



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rights to land: the right to use the land, to manage the land, to generate an income from the land, to exclude others from the land, to transfer it and the right to compensation for it. Wehrmann (2008), explained that a land conflict, can be understood as a misuse, restriction or dispute over property rights to land. Land conflicts defined as such can be aggravated if the social positions of the parties involved differ greatly. United Nations Interagency Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012), indicated that land conflicts generally involved diverse parties. They may include: members of households, families, clans or ethnic groups; governments and their agencies; or other actors such as investors or corporations. Grievances that lead to violent conflict are usually related to an existing or perceived increase in physical insecurity, threats to livelihoods, political exclusion, institutional discrimination, economic marginalisation or loss of community identity.

Bruce (2013), observed that land so pervasively underpins human activity that it usually plays some role during war and civil violence. Land-related issues figure into many violent disputes around the world. Land therefore, is the object of competition in a number of potentially overlapping ways: as an economic asset, as a connection with identity and social legitimacy, and as political territory. Competition over land and its resources is at the center of the nexus between land and conflict. Competition can occur between any number and type of identity groups, whether based on ethnicity, religion, class, gender, or generation. When that competition involves groups of people, rather than individuals, the risk of larger-scale violence increases (Bruce, 3012).

Land conflict is a natural phenomenon that has always been there. Since the beginning of recorded history, people have always fought over land such that land is a significant factor in widespread violence (USAID, 2005). This could be understood for the singular reason that land, not only that it is a consistent appreciating economic asset, but it is also largely a fixed asset, with enhanced demands upon it, which is generally increasing with corresponding resulting tension (Bruce & Holt, 2011). Yamano and Deininger (2005), noted that as population within a community increases, access to land resources dwindles for the rural dwellers. However, with rapid population increase and a finite land area, available land per individual shrinks continuously. Resource based conflicts, especially over rights of access to land and land use, are therefore increasing in frequency and intensity. Wehrmann (2008), indicated that land conflicts are indeed a widespread

phenomenon, and can occur at any time or place. Both need and greed can equally lead to them, and scarcity and increases in land value can make things worse.

Conflicts resulting from land have its consequences and effects on the victims who often are the dwellers or the owners of the land. Land conflicts in general have negative effects on individual households, as well as to the national economy. Such conflicts increase costs, slow down investment, and can result in the loss of property for a conflict party, and thereby reduce income tax for the state or municipality (Wehrmann, 2008). They affect the livelihood of the victims in one way or another. Land conflicts have direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of those involved in it. Such conflicts reinforce circles of extreme poverty and hunger, and destroy social status, food security and affect mostly the most marginalised groups that include women and children (Akujobi, Ebitari & Amuzie, 2016). Land conflicts may either decrease quality of life for parts of society or, if they are addressed and ameliorated, contribute to additional state expenditures and therefore have an impact on the national wealth (Wehrmann, 2008).

Writing further on consequences of land conflict, Wehrmann (2017), showed that consequences of land conflicts vary tremendously – ranging from disturbed inter-personal relationships to the total destruction of one's livelihood. Many land conflicts affect people's human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, such as the right to own property alone as well as in association with others, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to freedom to choose one's residence, the right to adequate housing, the right to adequate food and the right to freedom from discrimination. UN HABITAT/OHCHR (2005), cited in Wehrmann (2017), noted that in many countries, indigenous people have been dispossessed, or live at risk of being dispossessed, due to either failure to recognise their rights to land or invalidation of those rights by the state, or through expropriation or privatisation of their lands by the state.

In some situations, people lose their lives due to land fight and some incidences of land conflict creates hatreds among the parties involved which goes on from one generation to another (Anyoaha, Chikaire, Ogueru, Utazi & Godson, 2018). Moreover, individuals and communities who lose their rights to land due to conflict find themselves in deep and excessive poverty, due to decline in productivity, food insecurity and enhanced food scarcity; and a fall

on the income level, health challenges and retarded growth and development of communities. Land disputes often results in several deaths and severe injuries during conflicts especially in situations where it is a communal land dispute (Fisher & Ferlie, 2013). Kelsey and Abdalla (1997), cited in Alawode, (2013), concluded that poor households bear the heaviest burdens of land-related conflicts for the simple reason that their daily needs and livelihoods are directly tied to their property rights, that is, the use of land.

The focus of this study is to identify the particular group that falls victim of land conflicts. Previous studies have fingered the poor or the low income group in the society as being the victims of land dispute. Is it likely that in communal land conflicts, the rich and well to do in the society are eschewed from the impact of the violence when they live in the midst of the poor in the community that is in conflict? Is it possible that when properties are destroyed in the conflicting community, those of the rich are not affected? When violent conflict ensues between the farmers or hosting communities and the herdsmen, could it be only one group that fall victim of such violence? The question therefore is who are the most effected group in land dispute induced violence/homicide?

Study Objective

To investigate the most affected group in land dispute induced violence/homicide in Anambra State

Literature Review

Class of People mostly affected by Land Conflict

Land has always been a factor generating conflict over the ages. USAID (2005), observed that people have always fought over land since the beginning of recorded history. Population growth and environmental stresses have exacerbated the perception of land as a dwindling resource, tightening the connection between land and violent conflict. Land is often a significant factor in widespread violence and is also a critical element in peace-building and economic reconstruction in post-conflict situations. In every land conflict, there are always ill-effects especially when it is violent. Land dispute affects members of a given society in different ways. Wehrmann (2008), noted that land conflicts often have extensive negative effects on economic, social, spatial and ecological development. Land conflicts can have disastrous effects on individuals as well as on groups and even entire nations. Wehrmann (2017), further established that land conflicts affect different groups in different ways. The less privileged class in the society often experiences the effects of land dispute more painfully than the rich and upper class in the society.

In Acholiland in Uganda, when land dispute is violent, youth members of the community involved in it may be injured or imprisoned in the cause of the situation. Women who are involved, either widows or divorced may lose access to their husband's land due to limited awareness of formal land rights and the primacy of customary law. Poor members of the community may lose their land to more wealthy or influential community members, who have the resources to bring land disputes to court or to offer bribes for the resolution of land disputes in their favour. When the land dispute is violent, the youth members of the community and the poor may usually lose their lives because they participate in the violent dispute (Acholiland, 2011).

People who are poor are more vulnerable than others in the society because for the most part the risk of adverse shocks is greater for the poor than for others, as is well documented for environmental shocks (Rentschler, 2013). USAID (2005), indicated that three-quarters of the world's poor and hungry are located in rural areas. The poor according to Alawode (2013), depend directly and indirectly on agriculture and agriculture-related activities for their food and income. Yamano and Deininger (2005), opined that as population within a community increases, access to land resources dwindles for the rural dwellers. However, with rapid population increase and a finite land area, available land per individual shrinks continuously. Kelsey and Abdalla (1997), cited also in Alawode, (2013), concluded that poor households bear the heaviest burdens of land-related conflicts for the simple reason that their daily needs and livelihoods are directly tied to their property rights, that is, the use of land.

Most difficult land conflict involves a powerful person against one or more poor people. In many countries or situations, the poor hesitate and often do not dare to resist the powerful, not least in court. If they do, or if the powerful sue them instead, the chances are very low that the poor will win the case. Resolution in these cases tends to favour the powerful. In many cases bribery plays a major role. In other cases, the richer party simply can afford the better lawyer (Wehrmann, 2008). The poor are so handicapped when it comes to land dispute matters. Lombard (2016), indicated that in land dispute in Mexico, low-income residents often suffer multiple and overlapping vulnerabilities, which may be legal, political, economic, and social. Low-income residents' lack of titles and often insecure tenure, combined with their lack of access channels to local decision-makers, may constitute a double vulnerability to eviction and aggression by the state, as well as from other actors (Lombard, 2016).

In many developing nations, the poor have always been victims of land grabbing, mining operations, corruption over land transactions and industrial timber trade. Global Witness Limited (2014), observed that many of those facing threats over these issues relating to land are ordinary people opposing land grabs, mining operations and the industrial timber trade, often forced from their homes and severely threatened by environmental devastation. Global Witness Limited (2015), further observed that because the demand for products like timber, minerals and palm oil continues, governments, companies and criminal gangs are exploiting land with little regard for the people (usually the poor) who live on it. Increasingly, communities that take a stand are finding themselves in the firing line of companies' private security, state forces and a thriving market for contract killers. The same situation is obtainable in Brazil where poor residents are often at the receiving end or victimised over land conflict with the wealthy class in the society. The highly skewed land distribution and government expropriation and redistribution policies are a major source of conflict in Brazil, taking the form of forced evictions or assassinations of rural workers, peasants (USAID, 2005).

In African countries, as it is in most other developing countries of the world, the low-income groups have been at the receiving ends of land disputes. Fobih (2004); Sekeris (2010); and Zwan (2011), independently noted that social and economic development for most of the African population is relied on the access to land, since majority of the population depends on land and land-based resources for their livelihoods. Bob (2010), observed that land in Sub-Saharan Africa is vulnerable to different conflicts, contest, disagreements, conquest and exploitation that have an adverse negative impact on the socio-economic and political conditions of many groups of people. Zwan (2011), concluded that many African countries are experiencing violent conflicts because of competition for access, control and the use of land resources.

Nigeria has experienced many decades of land conflicts, and the number of people dying because of them continues to grow each year (Conroy, 2017). In Nigeria, there is dearth of literature on who are mostly affected by violent land conflict. Available literature gives ample attention on the conflict between herdsmen and farmers. The herdsmen and farmers' conflict over access to land are generally considered as a negative phenomenon which often led to loss of many lives and properties which invariably impact negatively on the Nigeria political system (Anyabe, Atelhe & Sunday, 2017). Ilo, Ichaver and

Adamolekun (2019), observed that the world's deadliest conflict is one that many people don't know exists. Its battleground is the lush, fertile region that stretches across the centre of Nigeria. Clashes between the two groups there have killed more than 10,000 people in the last decade. Many farmers do not have the courage to keep fighting with the herdsmen every year round and as such have deserted their farm lands and relocated to a safer place to sojourn. For many farming communities of Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba and others farming is no longer a business as usual. Several farmers have been displaced and dispossessed of their farms by armed men believed to be herdsmen (Ijirshar, Ker & Terlumun, 2015).

Adepoju, Ewolor and Obayelu (2017), observed that the farmers in Nigeria are among the low-income group and yet they constitute about 70 percent of the active labour force and produce more than 60 percent of the food consumed. The farmers are typically among the poorest and the most neglected in development support and investment terms owing among other factors to a considerable loss of fertile agricultural land over the years to land grabs which is a process where local communities are displaced from their land and lose their ability to grow food and maintain their livelihoods. In most cases, rural households are displaced from their lands without any plan in place to resettle or compensate them, for a promise of improvement in their living standards through the promotion of agricultural investment, provision of housing and building of industries in their communities. Indeed, displacement of farmers has resulted both in a decline in the living standard of the rural populace in terms of loss of land and livelihood; and in the marginalisation and impoverishment of poor farmers (Grain, 2015, and Ghatak & Mookherjee, 2013).

Theoretical Frame Work

Conflict theory and rational choice theory were employed as the theoretical framework to guide the study. Conflict theory explains the basis of violence in any sector be it an organised sector or unorganised sector. Conflict theory generally surrounds the idea that most struggles in society happen because of conflicts between different social classes or groups. Individuals and groups have aggressive impulses when it comes to vying for that which they desire and which may not be immediately to everyone; and these impulses are expressed in all relationships (Aluko, 2017). The aggressive impulses could be seen in what Collins (1993), identified as emotional resources. It is the emotional resources which propel one to struggle in order to come into possession of the much available material resources.

Rational choice theory on the other hand, adopts a utilitarian belief that man is a reasoning actor who weighs means and ends, costs and benefits, and makes a rational choice (Cornish & Clarke, 1987). Rational Choice Theory insists that crime is calculated and deliberate. All criminals are rational actors who practice conscious decision making, that simultaneously work towards gaining the maximum benefits of their present situation. In land dispute, there is always an element of choice to quest for, and struggle aggressively to take possession of that which belongs to another, not minding the consequence of such action.

Study Hypothesis

Respondents who reside in rural areas are more likely to perceive poor persons as likely victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute than those who reside in urban areas.

Methodology

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

Anambra State is the study area, with a particular focus on Umueri and Aguleri; and Nkwelle-Ezunaka and OsileOgbunike in Anambra East and Oyi local government Areas respectively. Anambra State is one of the States in the country where land disputes are pervasive problem (Onwuzurigbo, 2011). The choice of the four local communities was purposive for the very reason of meeting the requirement for the study; that is communities with records of violent land disputes. From the four communities, six population

categories were identified, namely town union, elders’ forum, women’s wing, youth wing, age grades, and vigilante group. Membership of the categorised groups is on representative capacity except the age grades. The target population obtained from the categorised groups was twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and seventy-seven (27,277). The sample size of the study comprised 530 respondents was determined using Yamane’s (1967) formula. The sampling technique was probability sampling procedure, to ensure that relevant individuals were met. Selection of the respondents from each of the population categories was done by proportionate stratified random sampling method.

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

Analysis of Research Objective

The thematic issue of the study which is: Most affected group in land dispute induced violence/homicide in Anambra State is discussed below.

Research Objective: To investigate the most affected group in land dispute induced violence/homicide in Anambra State

In order to inquire into the most affected group in land dispute induced violence, the respondents were first asked to state whether land disputes between conflicting communities had been violent or not. The findings are presented in figure 1.

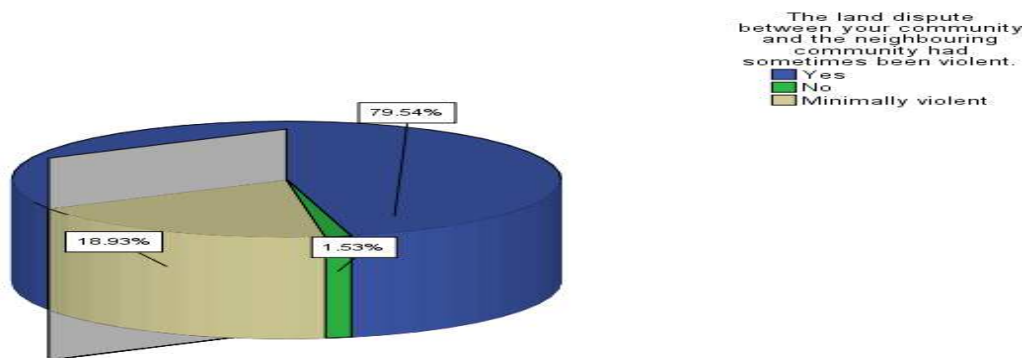


Figure 1: Have Land Disputes between Conflicting Communities been violent or not?

Figure 1 shows that majority, 79.54% of the respondents have the opinion that the land dispute between their community and the neighbouring community had always been violent, while 1.53% of the respondents hold the view that land disputes involving their communities had not been violent. The finding is in agreement with the findings of the qualitative data of the research. All the participants in the KIIs emphasised strongly that the dispute over land issue in their communities were violent to the point of shading blood. A participant in Aguleri voiced his observation of the land dispute in the following words;

I had never in my wildest imaginations expected that two brothers would resort to a violence that would be estimated to be war with sophisticated weapons. This statement would tell how the battle between Aguleri and Umuleri in 1999 could be described. The battle was fierce and most violent. There was no day within that period that anybody in the two communities knew what peace was. It was gun shots every day and night. Nobody went to sleep and felt relaxed... Structures, both private and public were demolished in very great numbers. Blood flowed like water in the two communities. Human lives were indeed wasted as that of animals... Nobody who witnessed what happened in this land within the period would wish to have a repeat of such experience... The heat of it was indeed felt beyond the State. It was a battle that grounded every economic sector within the region for the period it lasted **(Male, 68 years, retired court clerk, rural dweller)**.

The study further disclosed that there are much records of homicide that resulted from the violent land conflict between the conflicting communities. The KII participant in Umueri supported the finding when he gave a brief account of the 1995 and 1999 battle in the region, which left death records behind in the communities, even among Umuoba-Anam community that has boundary with Aguleri and Umueri. According to the participant;

The violence of 1995 and 1999 left trails of sorrow, pain and agony in the hearts of so many people within the region. The events of the two periods were known in history as “violence/battle between Aguleri and Umueri”. But the three communities were badly affected by the effects of the crisis. Indigenes of the three communities were victims in one way or another of the violence. Lives of some members of the three communities were wasted during the battle **(Male, 57 years, trader, rural dweller)**.

The study equally disclosed that victims of violent land dispute are not usually only those who are directly involved in the violence. It showed that anybody could fall victim of such violence. A participant in KII in Aguleri observed that the battle of 1999 in the region affected the region so adversely, and of course it did not affect only those who were involved in the battle;

...in 1999, a more severe and very prolonged battle over the same claim erupted, raising much dust on the land and sending thunder storm across the nation. The civilian government in power then was weak and could not do anything to prevent the much shading of innocent blood. The violence the whole tension generated crumbled the wheel of economic progress that was going on in the region. The battle sent a wave of destruction across the entire Otu-ocha region. Transport business was totally shot down. Commercial activities were completely grounded; and industries and companies that were springing up in the region and making the region so attractive to investors, were all forced to relocate after the violence. A good number of buildings were razed down; and schools and church buildings were equally ruined. Not even the General Hospital in Otu-ocha was spared **(Male, 65 years, retired civil servant, rural dweller)**.

The respondents were finally asked to identify the class of likeliest victims of violent land conflict. The findings are presented in figure 2.

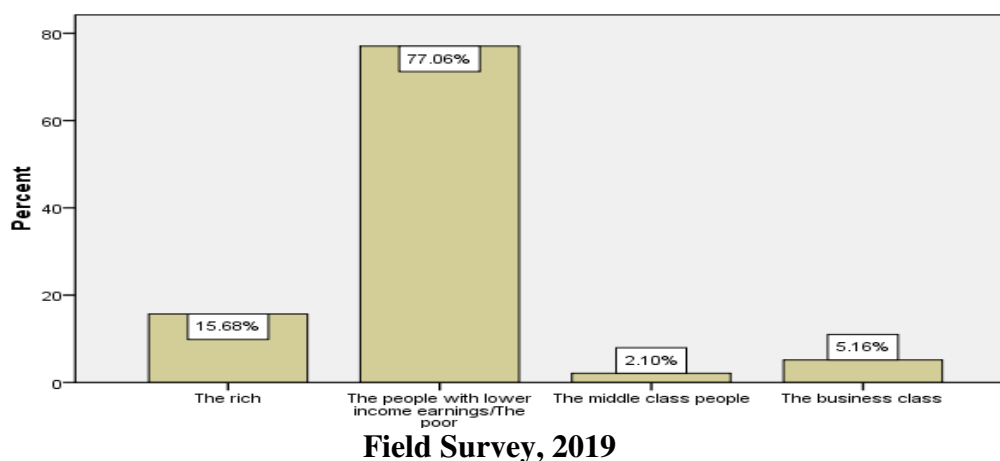


Figure 2: Who are the Likeliest Victims of Homicide from Violent Land Dispute?

Figure 2 shows that a majority of the respondents 77.06% indicated that the likeliest victims of violent land conflicts are the class of people with lower income earnings/the poor; while 2.10% of the respondents maintained the view that the middle class people are the likeliest victims. There is however a disagreement between this finding and the qualitative finding of the research. The KIIs identified different classes of people as being victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute. A participant in KII at Aguleri gave account of the death of her brother who was ambushed and killed while he was going back to Asaba at the early stage of the battle of 1995. The account indicated that the brother was a personality in the community, being a successful businessman and a community leader. In her own words;

...the battle of 1995 though not regarded as being so severe but it did the greatest injury and damage to my family. It was in that battle that my family lost the brightest star and the bread winner of the family. My elder brother who was living with his family at Asaba was killed in that year as he was going back to Asaba after returning home to see our sick mother. He was the chairman of his age grade and strong and reputable personality in the community... **(Female, 54 years, trader, rural dweller)**

Another participant at Umuleri gave account of the death of her husband whom she said was a furniture maker; so it could not be said he was a wealthy man. The participant indicated that the husband was not in the class of those who could be said to be rich. According to the participant;

The battle of 1999 cost my family everything... My husband was killed in the battle and our house was completely destroyed. My husband was not a big man, being just a furniture maker... When the battle was beginning, I suggested to my husband that we all should go to my parents' place which was far removed from the crisis zone, he agreed. But later he changed his mind and told me that there was need for surveillance to be kept in the house... I left with the children and we never saw him again either alive or dead. He was killed in the cause of the battle and our house was burnt down... **(Female, 58 years, trader, rural dweller)**

From the findings of the KIIs, it can be seen that the qualitative findings of the study do not corroborate the opinion of the majority of the quantitative data which indicated that the likeliest victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute are the people with lower income earnings, that is, the poor people. What this actually means is that the victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute could be anybody of any category or social class.

Study Hypothesis

Respondents who reside in rural areas are more likely to perceive poor persons as likely victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute than those who reside in urban areas.

A cross-tabulation between the place of residence and likely victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute was carried out (Table 1)

Table 1: Respondents' Place of Residence and their Perception of the Likeliest Victims of Homicide resulting from Violent Land Dispute

Place of Residence	The Likeliest Victims of Homicide resulting from Violent Land Dispute between two Conflicting Communities		
	The Poor	Well to do Persons	Total
Urban	83 (75.5%)	27 (24.5%)	110 (100.0%)
Rural	320 (77.5%)	93 (22.5%)	413 (100.0%)
Total	403 (77.1%)	120 (22.9%)	523 (100.0%)

$$X^2 = 0.202, df = 1, P = 0.653, N = 523$$

Place of residence constitutes the variable influencing how the respondents perceive the likeliest victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute between two conflicting communities. Critical view of the table above shows that 77.1% of respondents who live in rural area have a higher view that the poor are the likeliest victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute between two conflicting communities. Other respondents who live in the urban area of the study 75.5% hold the same view. The calculated value of chi-square (X^2) is 0.202, while the critical or table value of chi-square at 0.05 level of significance with a degree of freedom (df) of 1 is 3.841. Since the computed value of chi-square (0.202) is lesser than (<) the critical/table value of chi-square (3.841), we therefore reject the hypothesis which states that respondents who reside in rural areas are more likely to perceive poor persons as likely victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute than those who reside in urban areas. This implies that there is no significant relationship between the place of residence and how the likeliest victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute are perceived.

Discussion of Findings

The study indicated further that once there is violent inter-communal land dispute, there are bound to be casualties resulting from such dispute. Victims in such disputes usually are not only those who are practically involved in the crisis. The study showed that anybody could be a victim of such violence. It was further shown that violent land dispute leaves in its trail casualties in every sector of economy and with a good number of lives lost; and most of the victims were not in any way part of the violence. The findings are consistent with the findings of earlier study which indicate that the effects of violent land dispute cuts across bounds and have no limitations. Wehrmann (2008), in his study on the same issue indicated that the problems generated from violent land conflicts are so diverse, affecting both individuals and communities, even in some situations, the entire nation. It is therefore the case that the victims of violent land conflicts are not only the individuals that are involved in it.

On who the likeliest victims of homicide that results from violent land dispute are, the study in its quantitative data identified the class of lower income earning group, otherwise known as the class of poor people as the most likely victims. The qualitative data however generalised the victims of such violence. The findings of both quantitative and qualitative data of the study have agreement in the earlier studies on the issue. The quantitative data find agreement with the findings of the study carried out by Lombard (2016), who in his study indicated that in land dispute in Mexico, low-income residents often suffer multiple and overlapping vulnerabilities, which may be legal, political, economic, and social. Low-income residents' lack of titles and often insecure tenure, combined with their lack of access channels to local decision-makers, may constitute a double vulnerability to eviction and aggression by the state, as well as from other actors, including social movements, political parties and criminal actors.

The findings of the qualitative data of the study on the most likely victims of homicide resulting from land dispute, are consistent with the finding of an earlier study by Global Witness Limited (2015), in Brazil, which observed that because the demand for products like timber, minerals and palm oil continues, governments, companies and criminal gangs are exploiting land with little regard for the people who live on it. Increasingly, communities that take a stand to protect their land are finding themselves in the firing line of companies' private security, state forces and a thriving market for contract killers. Global Witness Limited (2015), in its study did not

distinguish the category of people that suffer for land in the hands of government, companies and criminal gangs who were exploiting the people.

Furthermore, the qualitative findings of the study are also in agreement with the findings of the study by Bob (2010), which observed that land in Sub-Saharan Africa is vulnerable to different violent conflicts, contest, disagreements, conquest and exploitation that have an adverse negative impact on the socio-economic and political conditions of many groups of people. Bob (2010), did not categorise which class of people that suffer exploitation and negative impact over land when he said '...many groups of people'. The hypothesis of the study states that respondents who reside in rural areas are more likely to perceive poor persons as likely victims of homicide resulting from violent land dispute than those who reside in urban areas. The result shows that respondents did not differ significantly ($X^2=0.202$, $df=1$, $P = 0.653$) across the place of residence and the victims of homicide that results from violent land conflict. This of course is understood because inter-communal land violence cuts across boundaries without being selective of the victims. Anybody could fall a victim of such violence so long as the person is within the vicinity of the violence.

Conclusion

Land serves multiple purposes and it is the base on which human activities are carried out. The quest and attachment which people have to land makes it a leading factor of conflict. The parties involved in land conflicts and others who live within the terrain of the conflict in one way or another may fall victim of land conflict. The study however focused on the most affected group of the effects of land dispute induced homicide on conflicting communities in Anambra State. The study established that anybody could be a victim of violence that results from land dispute. Both rich and poor people in the society could fall victim of violent land dispute. Since anybody can be a victim of violent land conflict, either in the loss of life or destruction of properties, the government should make a policy that any life lost as a result of violent land conflict, the community leaders of the conflicting communities should be prosecuted and adequately sanctioned; and that any property lost in the course of such violence, should be compensated for by the guilty party after resolution of the dispute.

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