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RESEARCH ARTICLE

TRADITIONAL RULERS AND CONFLICT PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION IN KOGI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KOGI STATE

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Abstract

Conflict can be a serious problem if it is allowed to escalate as it could create chaotic conditions that make it nearly impossible for people to relate or live together peacefully. This study seeks to examine the roles and challenges facing traditional rulers in conflict prevention and resolution in Kogi Local Government area of Kogi State. Data for this study were collected from various secondary sources such as textbooks, journals and other internet sources, while, content analysis was used to analyse the data collected. This study revealed that for traditional rulers to participate meaningfully on matters of security in villages in Kogi Local Government area, there is the need for them to be re-positioned so as not to just serve as agents of conflict resolution but also as security managers which they were before. One of the major challenges has to do with the restrictions imposed on traditional rulers in performing some key roles that will address the increasingly violent conflict emanating from land and other chieftaincy affairs. On the whole, this study recommends that the role of the traditional rulers in conflict prevention and resolution should be enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This will among other things legalize most actions taken by the traditional rules as it relates to conflict prevention and resolution in their domain.

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Introduction:-

Conflict is as old as the family institution and it exists in many spheres of life. It is a process that begins when one party or group perceives that another party or group has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affects something that the first party cares about. Conflict can be a serious problem if it is allowed to escalate as it could create chaotic conditions that make it nearly impossible for people to relate or live together peacefully. Besides, conflicts existed long before the colonization of Africa and it was the task of the traditional leaders to solve these conflicts therefore it is important to recognize them in international conflict management. Most of the African societies still prefer the use of traditional and informal justice and reconciliation forums to help in conflict resolution because most of the populations still live in the rural areas, limited infrastructures in the state justice systems and the unfair justice systems provided at the formal courts which tend to favour the rich in society hence it cannot be trusted.

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Moreover, Nigeria has witnessed a number of the violent conflict in recent years such as Zango-Kataf in Kaduna State; Tiv-Jukun in Wukari, Taraba State; Ogoni-Adoni in Rivers State; Itshekiri-Ijaw/Urhobo in Delta State; Ife-Modakeke in Osun State; Aguleri-Umuleri in Anambra; Yoruba-Hausa community in Shagamu, Ogun State; Ijaw-Ilaje conflict in Ondo State; the intermittent clashes in Kano, Kano State; Bassa-Egbura in Nassarawa State; Eleme-Okrika in River State; Hausa Fulani-Sawaya in Bauchi State; Fulani-Irigwe and Yelwa-Shendam, both in Plateau State; and the Hausa-Yoruba clashes in Idi-Araba in Lagos State (Sheidu, 2016).

It is important to state that the so-called ethnic, religious, communal, inter-communal clashes and so on, most often have political colouration. This is because politicians frequently are in the habit of exploiting ethnic, religious and other social divides to canvas for support during elections or protest their defeat which may result in intra or intergroup conflicts. That is why elections which are an important feature of politics are always ridden with conflicts and violence. A reflection on past elections in Nigeria brings to the fore the indisputable fact that violence has become the political culture of Nigeria since independence (Inokoba and Maliki, 2011;Sheidu 2016).

It is generally acknowledged that kingship was the earliest form of government known to man. In contemporary African society, kings are referred to as traditional rulers in two ways. Firstly, they are rulers who evolved by the laws and customs of the people and, are, therefore, part of the people's cultural heritage. Secondly, it is used in contradistinction to the modern system of government or rulership introduced in Africa by European colonialists. Traditional rulers before British rule, the personification of state and sovereignty, although there was usually a collection of other institutions that exercise this function in conjunction with him. This was because, except for some communities in the eastern part of the country and the Middle Belt, the monarchy was the form of government practised by most Nigeria societies in the pre-colonial period.

Besides, a monarchy is a hereditary system of government in which an individual performed executive, legislative and judicial roles. The powers exercisable by the monarch may be absolute in some cases, constrained by customary or religious institutions, which perform roles such as appointments, removal of officeholders, superintendents of the checks and balances within the system, in effect, constitutional monarchy. In contemporary, Nigerian society, the traditional elders and chiefs have been mediating in violent conflicts where they give penalties which focus on compensation and restitution to restore the status quo. These leaders also act as facilitators in conflict resolution whereby they reconcile parties by helping them negotiate peacefully to live harmoniously in the community (Rukuni, et al 2015). Nigeria societies also have a preference for traditional institutions because it deals with reconciliation, well embedded in the African culture, allows flexibility in its proceedings and re-establishes social harmony (Meron, & Chilot 2010). Nonetheless, their role in the mediation of conflicts has remained null, since the conflict managers and regional institutions have gained popularity in international conflict management. Traditional community-based mechanisms such as the use of traditional leaders in conflict management are still used in regulating conflict and providing justice in Africa, therefore, their role in mediation processes should not be overlooked (Chapman & Kagaha, 2009).

In recent times, ethnic and inter-communal conflicts have permeated the country in such a way that there is hardly any part of the country that has not been affected (Imobighe, 2003). Today, there are many causes of conflicts; from the non-recognition of the claims of others, nature of distribution, actions which lead to mutual distrust, the polarization of relations and hostility among groups in apparently competitive interaction within a country or even from frustration arising from unsatisfied human needs, be it physical, psychological, social, economic, etc. They may also arise from the explosion of identity as groups begin to ask for greater participation and rights. The situation has assumed a dangerous dimension since the beginning of Nigeria's Fourth Republic on May 29, 1999. Within the first three years of democratic rule in Nigeria, the country has witnessed many violent communal or ethnic conflicts, while some old ones had gained additional potency.

In an ideal world, as Nigeria moved towards representative democracy, the authority of such rulers would wither away and their role becomes essentially ceremonial. However, in the real world, many ordinary citizens perceive justice to be remote. Traditional rulers are often much more responsive to the travails of individuals and have a much stronger investment in the broader harmony of the community. By contrast, politicians usually represent narrow factional interests and may well leave as soon as they have looted whatever funds are available. On the whole, this study seeks to the impact of traditional rulers in conflict resolution in Kogi local government.

Conceptual Review

Traditional Ruler and Traditional Institution

The term traditional ruler has is defined differently by many authors depending on time and circumstances. In the pre-colonial era, a traditional ruler is defined as a person who under his ancestral position occupies the throne or stool of an area and who has been appointed to it under the customs and traditions of the area and whose throne has been in existence before the advent of the British in Nigeria. Similarly, a traditional ruler is the traditional head of an ethnic unit or clan who for the time being the holder of the highest traditional authority whose title is recognized as a traditional ruler's title by the government of the state (Cookey, et al 2010; Jahun et al 2015). Jahun, et al (2015) added that this definition is favoured and can support the creation of new traditional rulers to any deserving units or clans by the wish of the government.

The traditional ruler as defined above has absolute executive, legislative as well as judicial powers. Examples of such rulers under this definition are Emirs in Northern Nigeria such as Emirs of Bauchi, Kano, Zaria, Adamawa, Ilorin, Gombe etc Etsu Nupe and Shehu of Borno. In the Western, Nigeria is the Alaafin of Oyo, Oni of Ife, Oba of Benin. The Emirs and the Alaafins had a well-structured system of administration on how they governed their people. In Eastern Nigeria, the system of administration before the advent of the colonial rule was based on small communities being headed by a purely democratic process and not necessary by hereditary (Jahun, et al 2015).

Conflict and Insecurity

The word conflict is taken from the Latin word "conflictus" meaning "struck together". Conflict means clash, contention, confrontation, a battle or struggle, controversy or quarrel (Nwolise, 1997:28). Conflict as an element of social interaction has evoked a lot of arguments. Suffice to say that there are as many definitions of conflict. Coser (1956) defines conflict as a struggle over values and claims over status, power and resources, in which the opponents aim to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. According to Donohue and Kolt (1992), conflict has to do with the expression of differences by interdependent people in the course of achieving their needs and goals.

According to Deutsch (1973:10) conflict exists "whenever incompatible activities occur: an action that is incompatible with another action prevents, obstructs, interferes, injures or in some ways makes the latter less likely to be effective" (cited in Sheidu 2016). Bernard (1953) has contended that conflict arises as a result of incompatible or mutually exclusive goals or aims or values espoused by human beings (cited in Bassey, 2002). According to Sheidu (2016), this definition sees conflict from a goal perspective.

However, Pruitt and Rubin (1986) see conflict from a perceptual point of view (cited in Bassey, 2002). To them, conflict denotes the perceived divergence of interest(s) or aspirations that cannot be achieved simultaneously. Ross (1993:14) notes that conflict "occurs when parties disagree about the distribution of material or symbolic resources and act because of the incompatibility of goals or a perceived divergence of interest" (Cited in Sheidu, 2016). Some other scholars see conflict as a natural occurrence in man, not necessarily in a contest for resources, but still deference of interest.

Abel (1941), Bernard (1957) and Hobbs (1974) identify with this group. McCrery (1985) sees conflict as the overt coercive interactions of contending collectivities. Sills (1965) submits that conflict could arise in an atmosphere in which each party is likely to seek a maximum advantage that cannot be achieved without reducing the advantage of the other part. This materialist idea of conflict has been dominant among some scholars (Nnoli, 1978; Sharma, 1982; Barongo, 1987; and Anugwom, 1997). It has also been noted that conflict arises as a consequence of the striving of a man, the social being who in the course of promoting some of his objectives, either intentionally or unintentionally upsets or direct to negative uses, instead of strengthening along the beneficial line, some of the arrangement that ought to be for the benefit of man. Hence, conflicts come up as a result of negative contradiction and are such irresolvable by peaceful means (Igwe, 1997; Nwanegbo, 2005).

Omotosho (2004) avers that it is widely believed by scholars that a conflict situation crops up when two or more parties could not agree on an issue. The parties involved may not necessarily be governments or nations.

Ekanola (2004: 34) posits that "the term conflict embodies the notion of strife, struggle, differences, and disagreement". It is indeed the struggle for mutually exclusive rewards or the use of incompatible means to achieve a goal. Horowitz (1985:101) sees conflict as a "struggle in which the aim is to get objective and simultaneously neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals". Daugharty and Falzgrart view conflict as a situation in which one identifiable

group of human beings which could be tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, socio-economic, political or otherwise is in a state of conscious opposition to one or more other identifiable human groups. This could be because those groups are pursuing what appears to be incompatible goals. (cited in Omotosho 2004).

According to Miller (2003) conflict is derived from the Latin for 'to clash or engage in a fight'. Conflict is further described as a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflict may be either manifest, recognizable through actions or behaviours, or latent, in which case it remains dormant for some time, as incompatibilities are unarticulated or are built into systems or such institutional arrangements as governments, corporations, or even civil society. Ali (2006) explains conflict as a social necessity and a normal and functional and indeed inevitable aspect of the healthy functioning of all societies. Conflict is an attendant feature of human interaction and cannot be eliminated; however, its proper management and transformation are essential for peace and progress in human society.

The term conflict refers to misunderstanding, disagreement, or divergence of ideas, which result into hating each other, and when management is delayed, it can lead into coercive measures that suggest forceful victory on either party. Conflict arises from differences, both large and small. It occurs whenever people disagree over their values, motivations, perceptions, ideas, or desires. Sometimes these differences appear trivial, but when a conflict triggers strong feelings, a deep personal need is often at the core of the problem. These needs can be a need to feel safe and secure, a need to feel respected and valued, or a need for greater closeness and intimacy (Norman, 2013). Folger (1997) defined conflict as the interaction of interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and interference from each other in achieving those goals. These definitions have much in common. First, they indicate the inevitability of conflict in human affairs. Second, they reveal key features of conflict situations. Many of these definitions, for example, stress that conflicts involve interdependent parties who perceive some kind of incompatibility between them.

Insecurity connotes different meanings such as the absence of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of protection, and lack of safety. According to Beland (2005), insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Achumba (2013) defines insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune.

These definitions of insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur. In the context of this paper, insecurity is defined as a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic, and political that contributes to recurring conflicts, and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property.

Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management

Conflicts resolution encapsulates activities geared towards maintaining and promoting peace and security. It is the process that involves bridge-building between hostile communities, clarifying issues which represent a point of confrontation between them and creating new opportunities for developing renewed relationships, based upon a process of peaceful change and grassroots reconciliation (Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, 2004). Miller (2003:8) sees it as "a variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflicts through the constructive solving of problems, distinct from management or transformation of conflict". Miall et. al (1999) argued that by conflict resolution, the deep-rooted sources of conflicts are expected to be addressed and resolved in such a way that behaviour is no longer violent, nor are attitudes hostile any longer, while the structure of the conflict has been changed.

According to Mitchel and Banks (1996) cited in Best (2006:94), conflict resolution denotes first, an outcome in which the issues in an existing conflict are satisfactorily resolved in such a way that is mutually acceptable to the parties, self-sustaining in the long run and productive of a new, positive relationship between parties that were previously hostile adversaries; and second, any process or procedure by which such an outcome is achieved. Conflict resolution denotes the idea in which the parties to a conflict are mutually satisfied with the outcome of a settlement and in the true sense, the conflict is resolved.

However, it is necessary to stress that not all conflicts can be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of the warring factions. Best (2006) notes that, from needs, it is possible to resolve conflict when the basic needs of parties have been met with necessary satisfiers, and their fears have been allayed. But others like overvalues, may not be resolved but can best be transformed, regulated or managed. The crisis in Sudan is a good example of the fact that not all conflicts can be resolved; some can at best be managed or transformed.

According to Sheidu (2016), every society manages her conflicts through a framework of laid-down conventions or rules. Either traditional or modern, each has a body of rules that defines and qualifies people's relationship with each other and the state. These rules and regulations constitute the law of the land (constitution). In societies where there are no written constitutions, the basic set of standards in which individual member has been socialized from youth to conform to and from which other standards in the culture derive become the framework of conflict management (Sheidu 2016).

Conflict management is the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through some measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict. The concept of conflict management comes to the fore as a result of the fact that conflict is inevitable and not all conflicts can be resolved, hence the need to manage or regulate them. Africa's societies have different means of managing conflict. In Chad, for instance, the traditional chiefs/rulers are vested with the power to intervene and effect conciliation between the parties in conflict residing within their area of jurisdiction. In conflicts between nomads, cattle rearers and settled farmers, there exists a structure whereby traditional rulers quite frequently participate in the management of such conflicts. Through that platform, the traditional rulers do not limit themselves to conciliatory efforts; they equally carry out enlightenment campaigns and undertake measures to prevent future conflicts (Sheidu 2016).

Other traditional mechanisms for resolving conflict in Chad include Peace Dialogue Committees. Associations/Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the Role of Assemblies (Cofono) are well recognised. The "Cofono" is a fully representative gathering, which brings together not only the traditional rulers but also customary council members from the surroundings, all interested men - young and old, as well as women groups of all ages (Zamtato, 2003). In Cameroun, the traditional method of conflict management involves three stages. Before then, it is necessary to state that there is what is called "African Palaver" which is widely used in quite some communities to settle conflicts. "Palaver" simply means talking things over, or the settlement of conflict through dialogue. The first stage is to persuade disputants to bring their case to the "Palaver", the second stage is a hearing phase and the final stage is the point at which the elders, after taking evidence from witnesses and listening to all the contributions from the floor, retire to a secluded place to decide on the conflict. As soon as they are ready with their decision, they return to give it and conclude the "palaver". The palaver system is also used in Mali as a popular conflict management technique (Zamtato, 2003; Sheidu 2016).

From the above, it can be deduced that conflict resolution, transformation and management is not an ad-hoc arrangement, neither is it a punitive measure that satisfies a short-term emotional demand (Uji, 2005). In the management of conflicts, certain procedures of ideas can be of vital use as postulated by Wilmot and Hocker (1998:48-49 cited in Otite, 1999:11-12): These include clarification of communication and checking of perceptions which in turn involve the following: speaking out what is on ones' mind or heart, listening carefully, expressing strong feelings appropriately, remaining rational, asking questions, maintaining the spirit of giving and take, avoiding harmful statement, asking directly what is going on, telling others ones' opinion, looking for flexible "shades of grey" solution, recognizing the process of initiating the co-operative move, identifying conflict pattern and engaging in negotiations of agreements and settlements (Sheidu 2016).

Violent Conflict in Kogi Local Government Area

The Egbura and Bassa communities are found in Toto and Doma Local Government Areas of Nassarawa state. The Bassa and Egbura have been living together for long. The Egbura claim that the Bassa are settlers. The Egbura are found in north and east of the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers. They are, therefore, found in Kogi, Edo, Nassarawa, Niger and the FCT. The Bassa who claim ownership of the area are domiciled also in the FCT, Niger and Kogi. But principally, they are found in Toto Local Government Area (LGA) of Nassarawa State and Koton-Karfe and Bassa Local Government Areas in Kogi State (Sheidu, 2016). In Kogi, they are usually called Egbura-Koto and Bassa-Kwomu. Any time conflict erupts between the two groups in Nassarawa State it usually spills into their kith and kin communities in Kogi State, and vice versa (Sanda, 2003). The conflict between the two groups first broke out in 1986 and there have been several conflicts till 1998.

In 1986 as a result of the death of the Ohinoyi of Toto, there was serious agitation for the change of title of the traditional head of Toto by other ethnic groups who felt marginalized in the traditional arrangement. They also wanted the title to be rotated among the ethnic groups. The bone of contention was land ownership; other factors can be said to be accompanying. The Bassa claim ownership of the land. They felt shortchanged by the Egbura aided by the government in the creation of the kingdom. When the area was under former Plateau state government before it was carved out to be part of the present Nassarawa State, the former had created two chiefdoms for Egbura without creating anyone for Bassa and Gbagyi. The conflict between the two groups has resulted in killings. For example in 1987 disagreement over the appointment of an Egbura man to the post of SarkinKasuwa(Head of Market) to succeed another Egbura man who died (because Bassa people felt that the Egbura man should be succeeded by his deputy who was a Bassa man) led to a bloody battle in which seventy-two (72) people lost their lives. 1997/98 marked the bloodiest clash between the two groups. Sophisticated weapons and mercenaries were used. Over three thousand people were killed, more than hundred thousand (100,000) Bassas were displaced and forced to be refugees in at least six states (Oyo, Kwara, Niger, Kogi, Ondo and Federal Capital territory) (Sanda, 2003). It is necessary to state that one can also see the hand of politics in the conflicts (Sheidu, 2016).

Traditional rulers and Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Kogi Local Government Area

For traditional rulers to participate meaningfully on matters of security in villages in Kogi Local Government area, there is the need for them to be re-positioned so as not to just serve as agents of conflict resolution but also as security managers which they were before. With the ever-increasing security challenges facing the nation today, the integration of traditional rulers into a security network that will provide necessary stability is desirable. To effectively operate, the security agencies in Nigeria often have to relate with traditional rulers who play prominent roles at the grassroots. They are very well situated to assist security agents in neutralizing threats emanating from their domains or neighbouring communities.

The Traditional Rulers played important roles in recent times that doused tension in crises situations which could have escalated into a major crisis in many villages in Kogi Local Government area. It can therefore be deduced that interventionist policies of some traditional rulers have attested to how important and helpful. They had been and will continue to be relevant to matters of security affecting any part of the nation. The above stand was further strengthened by the renowned historian Dr Bala Usman when he said:

Traditional rulers have always been called upon and used to neutralize crises as and when they arose. Besides, successive governments realized that the surest way to win the hearts and minds of the citizens on major issues of the day was through the traditional rulers (Usman, 1987).

The argument for a special role for traditional rulers in our constitution should not imply an abandonment of the democratic system of government. What it means is that traditional structures should be accommodated and made to operate with modern democracy in such a way that they reflect and mutually reinforce each other. It cannot be denied that we may not have survived as a people without the leavening effect of our traditional rulers. They have acted and continue to act as respected interlocutors on behalf of the people with their elected and appointed government officials. They have always served as strong pillars of stability within our society, making our large and diverse populations governable. Apart from the fact that they embody the dynamic, evolving links to our historic past and the future, they also give us pride in the uniqueness and ethics of our society (Mohammed 2006).

Today's largely heterogeneous communities in Nigeria have made the concept of internal security difficult to realize. The traditional rulers should be encouraged to monitor activities in their immediate domains. In most communities, traditional rulers still have a lot to say in the security management of such areas. There is a need to revive the traditional security institutions which used to support governance in the past. However, these may have to be modified to suit the dictates of civility. It is an irony of fate that traditional rulers who are recognized in all states of the Federation and graded by State Governments are not given official recognition and security roles by the 1999 Constitution. In spite of the above, they have been the pillars of national security from the grassroots to the centre in the country.

In recent years in Kogi State, the government have argued traditional institutions to have masterminded crises in the rural areas in this state. The Kogi State Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Barr. Salami Ozigire remarked that:

the decision or order of the state government was not to undermined the traditional institutions, "Crime and criminality have left the local area and moved to the highways because of government efforts, what is left in the rural areas are chieftaincy crises. "We are asking you to make the sacrifice for peace. The state government is spending heavily to tackle insecurity. When you create such positions and crises engulfed, then the state government will now be running around to settle it. Such money used to curb such crises would have been used to handle other projects (www.vanguardngr.com/2020/02/kogi-govt-bans-traditional-rulers-from-creating-chiefdom-district-head/).

Challenges of Traditional Institutions in Conflict Resolution in Kogi Local Government

The challenges facing traditional rulers in their quest to resolve conflict within their domain especially in Kogi Local Government and by extension the entire Kogi State are enormous. One of the major challenges has to do with the restrictions imposed on traditional rulers in performing some key roles that will address the increasingly violent conflict emanating from land and other chieftaincy affairs. For instance, the Kogi State Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Barr. Salami Ozigi remarked that:

"No traditional ruler must take any step to create any chieftaincy without the notice or authority of the state government. "No traditional institutions must create or crown any chief or district head either temporarily or permanently without government authority. "The creation of such chiefs and head by traditional rulers has caused a lot of crises in the state. Majority of the insecurity witnessed in the state, and 70 per cent of legal matters against the state government stemmed from chieftaincy and land crises. "Any undue appointments or creation of traditional head without recourse to the government will be dealt with, there will be consequences; both the appointed and the traditional ruler that made such appointments will be not be spared."

The implication of this decision by the state government on traditional rulers in Kogi Local Government Area is that presently, the traditional rulers are finding it difficult to operate between traditional law and modern law. Thus, there is need to review the laws that restrict the roles of traditional rulers especially in the area of conflict resolution as all is not well with the gazette used for traditional institutions in Kogi state as a whole (www.vanguardngr.com/2020/02/kogi-govt-bans-traditional...).

Conclusion:-

The role of traditional rulers in conflict prevention and resolution in many villages in Kogi Local Government area cannot be overemphasized. For traditional rulers to participate meaningfully on matters of security in villages in Kogi Local Government area, there is the need for them to be re-positioned so as not to just serve as agents of conflict resolution but also as security managers which they were before. It is against this background, that this study recommends that the role of the traditional rulers in conflict prevention and resolution should be enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This will among other things legalize most actions taken by the traditional rules as it relates to conflict prevention and resolution in their domain.

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