Oral History and Conflicts in Abakaliki, Nigeria: The Role of Traditional Institutions in Achara Unuhu Izzih and Ezza Nwogharu Crisis

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ABSTRACT
Inter-group relations are a popular form of relations between traditional African people and their neighbours. In Nigeria, the Achara Unuhu and Nwogharu Ezza people shared the same ancestral origin. This study used oral history and other qualitative methods to trace the nature of the conflict that manifested between the Achara Unuhu and Nwogharu Ezza people of Ebonyi State Nigeria. Data was collected through focus group discussions and interviews of randomly selected respondents. It found that the conflict led to the loss of lives and properties. This loss of lives and properties in turn led to the reactive peacebuilding action of the people using multi-track strategies to bring back peace. The study maintains that there is therefore need to sustain the peacebuilding and inter-group relation efforts of the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza forefathers thereby terminating the factors that drive conflict in the two communities. This study will advance the body of knowledge in traditional peacebuilding processes in Africa.

Keywords: Armed conflict, peace, inter-group relations, Achara Unuhu and Nwogharu

INTRODUCTION
Conflicts in some African countries have become intractable and malignant which has stalled development, creating insecurity and promoting the massive displacement of persons from their ancestral homes and original settings. Some of these conflicts have been influenced by ethnicity, religious differences, terrorism, the struggle for political power, secessionist agitations, competition over scarce natural resources and bad governance.1

In the Nigerian political space, bad governance has led to conflicts and armed confrontation. This is because the governments of many African states and Nigeria in particular have shown less passion towards constructive developments that would transform the living standard of the people. With particular reference to Nigeria, the multi-dimensional crises rocking the country have been sustained by poor environmental governance. This same culture of bad or poor governance has intensified the economic crisis of the masses, thereby provoking multiplier effects on the society. The

situation is worsened by the competition over environmental resources, especially land as a fixed factor of production from God.

In different parts of the Nigerian state, poverty and competition over the fixed nature of land and other natural endowments often push the masses on the path of armed confrontation. This has become the situation in Ebonyi State, Nigeria where land as a natural resource has continued to generate strong push and pull effects that lead to armed confrontation as well as the multiple implications on the society.

In Ebonyi state, land resource conflicts have been experienced in many parts of the state ranging from the Ezza and Ezza-Ezilo crisis, the Obeagu-Mgbalukwu-Ojiegbe conflict which lasted for ninety-seven years, to the Ikwo-Adadama crisis etc.\(^2\) All these conflicts are directly linked to the destruction of lives, and properties and the massive negative effect on societal building.

This study directly focuses on the crisis between the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and the Nwogharu people of Ezza. It documents the conflict history and role of gender dynamics in its analysis, bearing in mind that the crisis undermined the inter-group relations between both communities and affected their overall development.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Furthermore, this study is anchored on the Integration Theory. Integration Theory finds its origin in the social contract theories.\(^3\) The integration theory seeks to explain how different political entities, regions or organizations come together and how social norms are internalised by the government or organization.\(^4\) According to Ilievski, there are different forms of integration and it creates different forms of spillover effects.\(^5\)

In this study, the Achara Unuhu Izzih and Nwogharu-Ezza people have lived together peacefully and are related as neighbours over the years. They developed a functional integration ideology of a people bonded together by the Abakaliki ancestry. This article uses the above framework as a benchmark to investigate how the armed conflict between these two communities influenced or affected their way of life, especially as it affects their degree of inter-group integration. This is because the battle between one community and its neighbour remains difficult to conquer by one side of the conflict divide. After all, each militia group fighting for either side, progressively appeared faceless when attacking their opponent; thus making it difficult for the security agencies to confront them in a face-to-face battle and thereby causing disunity and raising the demand for inter-group integration. It should be noted that in this land crisis, guerrilla strategies were used by the armed groups, which made them nearly invisible and increased the impact of the crisis.

**METHODOLOGY**

This study used the primary data from the field to develop its content. Purposive sampling was used to select those who were interviewed in the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza. A total of fifteen respondents were interviewed. They were selected based on their practical experience in the construction industry for the past ten years. The interview feedback was presented in the analysis of the necessary parts of the research. The findings of the study were thematically presented and backed with existing scholarly findings that have been published in books and journals.

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\(^4\) Ilievski, “The Concept of Political Integration: The Perspectives of Neofunctionalist Theory.”

\(^5\) Ilievski, “The Concept of Political Integration: The Perspectives of Neofunctionalist Theory.”
DISCUSSION

Dynamics of the Crisis

The history of the armed conflict between the Achara Unuhu community and the Nwogharu people of Ezza has remained largely unpopular and largely undocumented. Consequently, there is a need to explain the research or conflict setting. The Achara Unuhu community is located in the Abakaliki Local Government Area, of Ebonyi State, Nigeria, while the Nwogharu people are found in the Ezza North Local Government Area of the same state and country. Farming remains their major occupation, which largely employs the male and female gender in the area. The people have vast land for cultivation and a large population of the people clears the agricultural land while ensuring that it is cultivated at the right time thereby making land resources, a central gift for individual and societal development. In the last two decades, there has been an escalation of communal clash between the Achara Unuhu community of Abakaliki Local Government Area and the people of Nwogharu Ezza.

The conflict started on the 3rd of September 1999. Ogbonna Nwaga and Chief Emmanuel Nwiboko stressed that the crisis started as a result of misunderstanding and disagreements over small portions of land that were allegedly claimed by the Achara Unuhu community people to be their ancestral heritage from their forefathers. The Ezza Nwogharu on the other hand claimed that the land was their rightful acquisition from their forefathers. The incompatibility of goals due to the quest to acquire the said land led to an armed crisis which claimed the lives of people and many properties were destroyed. Though the conflict was not too bloody because of the fast approach taken by the elderly men from the two conflict settings, it had a significant effect on their sense of integration and intergroup relations.

According to the late Chief Edward Nwandiegu, over fifty (50) persons were recorded to have died in the course of the crisis. Some people were displaced from their homes, houses were burnt down, and farm products were destroyed while other people lost their loved ones and by extension, development was truncated in the inter-crisis years.

In a nutshell, the armed crisis was a destructive one because of the devastating nature of the whole scenario. At the peak of the crisis, the indigenous people of Izzi mobilized their young youth, ensuring that every male child that is up to 20 years old from Achara Unuhu was forced out to go to the battleground and most of them were fortified using African traditional charms called Odeshi. They went and stood at the boundary of the community with the Ezza people to wait for all their enemies. The Ezza people on the other hand were also mobilized for a counter force to withstand the attacks of their opponents. When the two communities met each other at the boundary, the weaker ones from the Izzi and Ezza squad were eliminated and the remaining people from both sides went home to re-strategies on how to counter their enemies and reinforce their charms odeshi.

Furthermore, at a time in the theatre of the conflict when the elders of the Izzi community got the information that the opposing community was almost dominating them, they had to inform or seek the aid of their friendly community Nkaliki Unuhu community, but before the involvement of the Nkaliki community, the Izzi people stopped the free movement any indigenous person to and from Ezza through Achara Unuhu and their neighbouring Izzih communities. Considering the strategic location of the community, some Ezza people began to agitate for an end to the conflict. This restricted movement ideology affected the Ezza people of all classes that settled around the Izzi communities.

Consequently, in July 2003, the supporting community of the Nkaliki Unuhu community came with their men and squad because they were better than the Achara Unuhu community in the act of warfare. When the elders of the Ezza Ezekuna saw the involvement of the Nkaliki Unuhu and the potential for the escalation of the armed conflict across the Abakaliki block, they demanded for ceasefire amongst the warring factions.

Several selected elders from the Abakaliki block visited the traditional ruler of Achara Unuhu and the peacemaking process started immediately. The traditional ruler of Achara Unuhu, Chief Alichi

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6 Oral interview with 68 years old Ogbonna Nwaga at Achara Unuhu; Oral interview with 72 years old Chief Emmanuel Nwiboko at Achara Unuhu community.

7 Oral interview with 79 years old Chief Edward Nwandiegu at Achara Unuhu community.

8 Ani and Uwizeyimana, “Ode-Eshi and Inter-Communal Conflicts in Igboland: Focus On The Obeagu-Mgbalukwu And Ojiegbe Conflict, 1910-2007.”
Uneyi worked tirelessly to ensure that the process moved from peacemaking to peacebuilding amongst the hitherto brotherly groups. They put their heads together and found a lasting solution to the issue of crisis. In 2005, the elders of both communities sat down and discussed as brothers and reached a consolidated agreement to create a future atmospheric environment for peace in the relations of their future generations. It was noted that they said and signed that from that day, the generation unborn from the Achara Unuhu should not engage in armed conflict with the people of Nwogharu. Since then both communities have never engaged in armed warfare earlier. Both communities resumed intergroup marriage and peaceful relations. However, there is still the danger that the Achara Unuhu community and the Nwogharu neighbours do not have defined boundaries using any natural landmarks. They both have lived, inter-mingled and shared things in common.

The Traditional Peacebuilding Process and Actors
Peacebuilding is a complex enterprise that requires so much to be rightly put in place for the restoration of harmonious and mutually beneficial interactions and peaceful co-existence. Peacebuilding according to Nwobueze “involves all measures and processes towards finding a solution to the instability occasioned by clashes over control of scarce resources.” The process of peacebuilding according to UNICEF “involves strengthening social cohesion within and among communities, building relationships between communities and governments and supporting individuals to participate in forging peace and development in their communities.” Peacebuilding is therefore a social construct that involves the active engagement of every individual in a post-conflict environment like that of the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu–Ezza. According to Lederach, peacebuilding is more than post-conflict reconstruction; it encompasses processes that would lead to sustainable peace which was highly needed by the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu–Ezza. Peacebuilding comprises an array of processes, approaches and stages necessary for the transformation of conflicts into sustainable peaceful relationships. Often it requires effective peace education to succeed.

Peace education is considered a very vital component of peacebuilding as it plays an important role in transforming former and potential combatants into peacefully disposed individuals. Peace education is an active agent of conflict transformation necessary for the sustenance of development. Education (or peace education) is fundamental for peacebuilding. Education in this sense implies peace education. The exponents of multi-track diplomacy believe that through peace education, parties to conflicts like the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu–Ezza see the need for toeing the path of peace by learning to harmoniously resolve contending issues or allow mediators to bring them to table for peace talks as well as allowing peace to thrive through tolerance, compromise, and sacrifices. Through peace education, present and future generations develop tolerant behaviours and become more inclined to peacefulness in every facet of human interactions. The culture of peace could be achieved in societies like the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu–Ezza through peace education, especially at the informal level. At that point, peace becomes part and parcel of the people’s behaviour and this would have a positive impact on the entire society.

Peace education is the teaching and learning of issues relating to peace and conflict in the classroom settings. Most peace education advocates are of the view that understanding peace through education is more effective than learning it from non-experts. Peacebuilding is often dynamic and complex and often proves difficult to achieve but integration of peace education into the process makes the complex task achievable. This is because peace education is modelled to provide learners with knowledge, values, skills, attitudes and behavioural patterns that enable them to become more disposed to peacefulness in their interactions with others within and outside their groups. Some scholars in

12 Uchendu C. C., Ukpabia, G. O. and Osim R. O. Assessing Administrators Effectiveness in Institutionalising Peace Education in secondary schools in Calabar Metropolis of Cross River
their respective works have espoused the priceless value of peace education. According to Kester as cited in Nwobueze, “the practice of peace education in formal and non-formal literacy programmes/education is to build in every learner the universal values behaviour on which a culture of peace is predicated, including the development of non-violent conflict resolution skills and a commitment to working together to realize a shared and preferred future.” Thus, it is understood that the values propagated by peace education are very vital for sustainable peace and social stability.

The transformative role of peace education cannot be trivialized under any pretext. Education at all times, especially at the informal level has equipped individuals with the required skills that enable them to live better and function appropriately in all aspects of societal life. Peace education is an aspect of education that equips individuals with skills that would enable them to live peacefully in their various environments. Among the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza, informal peace education has imbued individuals and groups with the capacity to deal with conflict situations without resorting to violence. It orientates individuals towards peace by making them understand and appreciate the value and principles of peace at all times for sustainable development and well-being as well as keeping the things that bind the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza together. Peace education has a stable value for every society and is considered a vital aspect of the societal civilizing process. Disregarding peace education has ugly consequences as it portends the impending throes and woes of violent conflicts.

The major assumption of peace education is that human beings are capable of learning the ways of peace despite the assumption that conflict is part of human society. Thus, peace education cannot be jettisoned in a state like Ebonyi where inter-communal conflicts have ravaged communities, brought grave losses in human lives and properties, and led to loss of livelihood and internal displacement of many. The need for peace education for effective peacebuilding and sustainable development of Ebonyi communities cannot be downplayed. Research findings indicate that peace education has high prospects for the management of armed clashes between government forces and separatist fighters have resulted in the death of hundreds of children especially, in villages where non-state armed men are hiding—this was the case in Ezza and Ezza Ezillo as well as Iwko Adadaoma. During such clashes children are vulnerable and in some cases are adopted and maimed, and recruited as separatists.

The quest for peacemaking in the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and the Nwogharu-Ezza crisis involved many actors. In the case of the Achara Unuhu and Nwogharu people, a lot of peacebuilding tools and steps were taken as well to give a lasting solution to the conflict. The elders of the two communities have to put their heads together and find a concrete framework for peace in their respective communities. The efforts of the prominent men in the peace-building process such as embarking on informal peace education, reconstruction and reconciliation tours, and engendering community projects and making sure that peace returned normally involved multiple actors. Okoro expounds on this practice when he observes that in conflict resulting in bloodshed in the traditional society, the custom of Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza requires that serious pacifying steps be taken to broker peace between the two warring people. This traditional ceremony known as 'blood reparation' was organized between the two clans. In this ceremony marriages involving the two clans were conducted. The marriage aimed to heal the wounds of the armed conflict...
and cement the relationship between the warring communities. The general cliché among the Igbo people of the Achara UnuHu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza, Nigeria is, that where the blood is shed, it must be soaked with birth fluid.

Some of the projects embarked upon in Achara UnuHu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza for peacebuilding were purely empowerment and infrastructure scheme work such as the building of community schools, empowering some youth with tricycles and motorcycles by Chief Sylvester Ogbaga. To take away the memories of the war out of people's minds and restore peace to them again. 

**Umuada** was also another powerful association of all daughters of the land that helped in peacebuilding. This included women married outside the village or community, the divorced, widowed, or not-married. Its main function was to maintain discipline among women and peace in their communities of origin. Along with providing an organized platform for women’s participation in decision-making on community issues, public social and religious functions, the **Umuada** meetings were held regularly on a rotational basis among the members in their villages of domicile and they emphasized the need for peace to enable them to marry and live peacefully with their husbands and children. The **Umuada** constituted an important communication network in Igbo land. This was a well-defined homogenous and closely woven group. The Uju Ede Cult, which was the main women’s society in the pre-colonial Ikwuano community, was a highly respected social institution among women for upholding moral uprightness and industry. It provided moral leadership and a forum for social interactions. There were many women's associations in the Achara UnuHu Izzih community and the Nwogharu-Ezza community that advocated for peace. Market Women’s Associations is another that greatly influenced the economic, social and political life of the Achara UnuHu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza people. The association served as an easy forum for assemblage as well as being their special machinery for maintaining peace and stability. Public announcements were made through dancing in the marketplace. Strong female leadership, depending on age, wisdom, personal achievements, and organizational ability, emerged in these market associations. They also constituted a potent economic and social link and channel of communications, which span the entire Igbo land. The various women's gatherings constituted a daily self-rule among women, articulating their interests as traders, farmers' wives, and mothers. Cases affecting women were judged there; collective decisions were taken and enforced in the Achara UnuHu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza. They enabled the women to organize collective public demonstrations in disapproval of certain actions that would lead to conflict, especially those unfavourable to the women, through methods of group ostracism, public ridicule, satirical songs and dances and group strikes. The Igbo women in action, tied leaves on their heads, waists and ankles and carried pestles, to invoke their female ancestors’ support. Pestles were the traditional women’s weapon and served as a protection object, symbolizing the spiritual powers of the female ancestors, while palm fronds, wrapped around them, emphasized the women’s invincibility.

The peer groups were the chief custodians of peace, and security in the Achara UnuHu Izzih community and Nwogharu- Ezza and they operated through an age-grade system. They repaired

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18 Green, *Igbo Village Affairs*.


21 Green, *Igbo Village Affairs*.

22 Green, *Igbo Village Affairs*.

23 Van Allen, “Abas Riots” or Igbo Women’s War? Ideology, Stratification and the Invisibility of Women.”

24 Green, *Igbo Village Affairs*.

25 Green, *Igbo Village Affairs*.

26 Green, *Igbo Village Affairs*. 

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intercommunal bridges, cleared markets and roads, maintained schools and provided security to the post-conflict community. The age grades serve as a medium of law enforcement agents between the council of elders and the village assembly. They also worked to ensure that criminals who would have provoked war with other neighbouring communities were arrested and tied (Agbu) in the village square. Men and women suspected of poison and witches are arrested and brought to the village assembly, anybody found guilty will be ostracized and led out of the community by the age grades. It is all these norms and actors that ensured that peace returned to the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is pertinent to note that since the resolution of the armed conflict, the Achara Unuhu community and the Nwogharu Ezza people have not had any conflicts recorded again to date. They have inter-married, cohabited and also have formed a high level of integration. The indigenous Ezza sons and daughters freely and happily got married to their fellow counterparts in the Izzi clan. There is therefore need to sustain the efforts of the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza forefathers in putting heads together to terminate conditions of conflict in the two communities. The study recommends that the traditional institution in the area must uphold the quest for peaceful relations between the two communities.

Secondly, there is a need for the two communities to advocate for post-conflict development transformations from the synergy between their sons, daughters, groups and government agencies to ensure the sustainable development of the area.

Lastly, the culture of informal peace education should be advocated across the different age groups in the affected communities.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the Izzi of Achara Unuhu people and the Nwogharu people of Ezza people lived peacefully and had good inter-group relations with each other before the rise of their armed conflict. They both have respect for each other values, customs and culture. The Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza accepted to live in peace and harmony devoid of violence and disorder and decorum after the conflict. The study revealed that when the conflict was getting out of hand, things began getting worse daily, forcing the elders of the Achara Unuhu community with some other selected prominent welders in the Izzi clan to hold a peace talk at the palace of Achara Unuhu traditional ruler, H. R. H Eze Alichi Uneyi with their fellow brothers who are in contest over the land ownership which are the Ezza Nwogharu. The pattern, in which these conflicts were fought has evolved throughout frames for conflict resolution and resulted in extensive loss of human life and resources. In the peacemaking that followed, conflict resolution, dialogue, and negotiations on how to curb the armed conflict were deliberated upon by both parties involved in the armed conflict. In the case of trying to rectify the issue amicably and promote cohesion, the elders of Ezza Nwogharu people, with the notion that their people were killed in numbers in the name of executing the armed conflict, blatantly refused to sign the peace treaty at the early stage. But one important thing to note was that the Achara Unuhu community in question and the Nwogharu people have highly interwoven boundaries that led to peacemaking as the conflict escalated. So when the elders who saw the dangers waiting if the armed conflict continues, decided to follow the path of peace. That was how the case was settled and consolidation of peace followed. People immediately began to move freely on the disputed land again. Finally, the armed conflict was disastrous to both human and material resources in the Achara Unuhu Izzih community and Nwogharu-Ezza.

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