

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF FAITH AND COMMUNITY
BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN PEACE-BUILDING IN PLATEAU
STATE 2001-2011**

By

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Philosophy in Political Science**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the product of my personal research effort. The data contained in this dissertation has not been presented for any previous examination or application for a higher degree. All sources of information have been properly acknowledged.

.....

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Date

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this dissertation titled *An Assessment of the Role of Faith and Community Based Organizations in Peace-Building in Plateau State 2001- 2011* submitted to the School of Postgraduate Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria through the Department of Political Science, for meeting the regulations governing the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Political Science), is an evidence of original research carried out by Abdulmalik Auwal.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late esteemed Mentor, the Head of Department and father, Dr. Haruna Mohammed Salihi. May his soul rest in peace and may he be rewarded with al-Jannah Firdausi, ameen.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym

AC	Action Congress
AD	Alliance for Democracy
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AFHC	African Journal of History and Culture
AKCDRT	Aminu Kano Center for Democratic Research and Training
ANPP	All Nigerians People's Party
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
CALM	Conflict Abatement through Local Mitigation
CAFs	Country Assistance Frameworks
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CAPP	Community Action for Popular Participation
CBAAC	Centre for Black African Arts and Civilization
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CCA	Common Country Assessment
CCN	Christian Council of Nigeria
CCI	Coventry Cathedral International
CHD	Center for Humanitarian Dialogue
CEPAN	Centre for Peace Advancement of Nigeria
CEPID	Center for Peace Initiative and Development

COCIN	Church of Christ, Nigeria
COWAN	Country Women Association of Nigeria
CPRCR	Center for Peace Research and Conflict Resolution
CPSS	Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies
CPDD	Center for Peace Democracy and Development
CRD	Center for Research and Documentation
CRS	Catholic Relief Service
CSN	Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria
CPFN	Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSTs	Country Support Teams
DMS	Dispute Management Systems
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECWA	Evangelical Church of West Africa
EWER	Early Warning and Early Response
EYN	Ekklesiyyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (Christian Brotherhood in Nigeria)
FBO	Faith Based Organizations
FCS	Fellowship of Christian Students
FCT	Federal Capital Territory

FGD	Focal Group Discussion
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
HAPs	Humanitarian Action Plans
HCs	Humanitarian Clusters
HCSs	Humanitarian Coordination Sections
HRM	His Royal Majesty
HRO	Human Rights Organizations
HRW	Human Right Watch
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IGSR	Institute of Governance and Social Research
IIE	Institute of International Education
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non Governmental Organizations
IPCR	Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
JCDA	Jasawa Community Development Association
JDS	Journal of Development and Society
JDT	Joint Donor Team
JIBWIS	Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'a Wa'iqamatul Sunnah
JNI	Jama'atul Nasril Islam
JOMECOLF	Jos Metropolitan Community Leaders Forum

LGA	Local Government Authority
LGRP	Local Government Recovery Programme
LHR	League for Human Right
NANS	National Association of Nigerian Students
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NARETO	National Association for Religious Tolerance
NDA	Nigerian Defense Academy
n.d	no date
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
NIFES	Nigerian Fellowship of Evangelical Students
NIPSS	National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NIREC	Nigerian Inter Religious Committee
NPC	National Population Commission
NLC	Nigerian Labour Congress
NSCIA	Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs
NUJ	Nigerian Union of Journalists
NUT	Nigerian Union of Teachers
NWC	National War College
OAIC	Organisation of African Instituted Churches
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OITA	Office of International and Transnational Affairs

PAP	Priority Action Programme
PCIA	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PEC	Plateau Environmental Coalition
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
PIDA	Plateau Industrial Development Authority
PIDAN	Plateau Indigenous Development Association Network
PLASEC	Plateau State Electoral Commission
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PRT	Plateau Radio Television
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
RAISAR	Reconciling, Allocating, Institutionalizing, Submerging, Adjudicating and Repressing
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance
RFTF	Results Focused Transitional Framework
SIM	Sudan Interior Mission
SPSP	Society for Peace Studies and Practices
SUM	Sudan United Mission
SVC	Soccer Viewing Centres
TEKAN	Tarayyar Ekklesiya a Nigeria (Organization of Christian Brotherhood in Nigeria)
UNCTs	United Nations Country Teams
UNDAF	United Nation Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund

UMASS	University of Massachusetts
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peace Building
WB	World Bank
WIN	Women in Nigeria
YACPIF	Young Ambassadors for Community Peace and Interfaith Foundation

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Abstract

Over the years, the simmering tension in Plateau State as a result of settler-indigene crises, ethno-religious conflicts, unresolved political differences, perceived social and economic marginalization, bad government policies, high level of unemployment, poverty and inequality in the state's socio-economic relations have further heightened the state insecurity problem and eroded trust among the various ethno-religious groups. In some cases, suspicion, intolerance and the uncompromising disposition of communities in their relations with people outside their group identity have further reinforced conflict and distrust, resulting in the spontaneous outbreak of civil disorder with untold sufferings and loss of lives and properties. Thus, the pillar of harmonious relationship in the state lies in its understanding and reconciliation, which are achievable through faith and community-based organizations' peace-building activities. The study adopts the conflict resolution techniques and dispute management systems that emphasize confidence building, joint-problem solving, mediation and negotiation as its theoretical frame of analysis. The primary data collected through the multi-stage sampling method and secondary data collected through extensive library research for the study were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The study found out that attempts made by the faith and community-based organizations in promoting peaceful co-existence in Plateau State to some extent have recorded success, since there is relative peace in the larger part of the state with the complete cessation of violent conflict in some parts while there still exist flash lights of conflict in some parts of the state, especially the southern parts due to the continuous farmer-grazer squabbles. Consequently, people have hope and confidence in faith and community-based organizations when it comes to promoting peace due to their holistic, inclusive and participatory nature; the faith and community based organization's activities are better options in promoting peace than reliance on positioning securities to mount road blocks to contain violent situations or forming judicial committees whose results are never considered or implemented; turning a number of youth of the state into peace ambassadors through peace workshops and the provision of humanitarian materials to the Internally Displaced People (IDP).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Stability is an important condition for the survival of any society in the world. Harmonious co-existence among the inhabitants of any society in the world is likely to bring about peace and stability in such a society. In Nigeria, the return to a civilian government in 1999 was followed by a series of ethno-religious conflicts, which have compounded the country's complex crises. Plateau State has presented a scenario in which, due to incessant ethno-religious conflicts, peace has largely remained elusive despite various efforts to restore harmony among the warring factions in the state. This has compounded the situation of insecurity in Nigeria's fragile federal system, which, over the years, has experienced ethnic, religion and political crises of monumental proportions. The most devastating amongst these have been ethno-religious conflicts in all parts of the country. In the present democratic dispensation, ethno-religious conflicts have particularly created destabilizing consequences on national unity.

This phenomenon of ethno-religious conflicts has become so rampant in Nigeria and almost synonymous with the Nigerian political system (Imobighe, 2003: vii; Alemike, 2004:147). This observation may not be out of place if we consider the

rate and frequency of conflicts in Nigeria, especially since 1999. For instance, to illustrate the magnitude of the cases of ethnic conflicts in the country, over fifty conflicts of ethno-religious nature occurred from 1999 to 2002 in which more than 25,000 people were killed and properties worth billions of naira destroyed (Anugwom, 2002:1; Imobighe, 2004:16). It has been noted by Anifowose (2003:48) that the country's harvest of ethno-religious conflicts is not unusual, considering the fact that many years of military rule have enfolded so much grievances among the units that make up Nigeria. With the rebirth of civilian government in 1999, a political space was created for these over heaped grievances to be unveiled in form of conflicts. The views above portray the prevalence of the phenomenon of ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria.

There is no doubt that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state (Bamishaiye, 1976:71). Although there is no agreement among scholars on the exact number of ethnic groups, it is estimated that between 250 and 400 different nationalities make up the political entity presently identified as Nigeria (Agbese, 2001:135; Maduagwu, 2004:36). These various ethnic formations are diverse in terms of culture and language, as they, however, interact at different levels in the pre-colonial era through trade, marriages and even wars. These interactions

prevailed until 1861 when the British systematically commenced the process of colonizing the territory via suppression and finally created Nigeria through the historical act of amalgamation in 1914. This creation was later to be described by Nigeria's foremost nationalists, Obafemi Awolowo and Ahmadu Bello, as "a mere geographical expression" and "the mistake of 1914....", respectively (cited in Maduagwu, 2004:37). These statements right from the onset crystallized the burning problems inherent in the divergent emerging Nigerian state, with ethnicity being one of such core problems.

The deduction arising from the above is that, at independence, Nigeria inherited a culture of ethnicity that has produced an unending cycle of ethnic and sometimes religious conflicts. These conflicts have not only been "a decisive factor in the country's political turbulence and instability" (Suberu, 1996:12), they have impeded the process of national integration. In the case of the occurrence of ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau State examined by this study, the conflicts have greatly reduced the state to a condition of near anarchy, as violent and fatal confrontations have become a recurring affair. This has affected the entire economic, social and political facets of life in the state. This disturbing trend evokes curiosity in the areas of finding lasting peace in Plateau State and

investigating why the conflicts have taken place and the various efforts made to resolve them. This study is, therefore, anchored in the direction of assessing the attempts made by both faith and community based organizations in fostering peace in the troubled Plateau State.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The simmering conflict in Plateau State has retarded harmonious interaction and rapport among the various ethnic groups in the state, as the conflict is about unresolved political differences; perceived social and economic marginalization; bad government policies; settlers-indigenes squabbles; high level of unemployment, poverty and inequality in the state's socio-economic relations, etc. Thus, the pillar of a harmonious relationship in the state, therefore, lies in its understanding and reconciliation.

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious entity that has various ethnic formations, which are highly complex and diverse in terms of culture and language. Three quarters of these groups are from the Middle Belt or North-Central Nigeria, making it a polyglot region and exhibiting almost unparalleled diversities in culture and social organization. Fifty-four of these groups are from Plateau State (Gazette, 2004:11). Hitherto, they lived in peace with one another,

engaging in trade, commerce and social interaction for their collective benefit and common good before the peaceful co-existence was violently disrupted.

Over the years, the simmering tension as a result of ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau State has further heightened the state insecurity problem and eroded trust among the various ethno-religious groups. In some cases, suspicion, intolerance and the uncompromising disposition of communities in their relations with people outside their group identity have further reinforced conflict and distrust, resulting in the spontaneous outbreak of civil disorder with untold consequences and loss of lives and properties. Indeed, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence are desirable in Plateau State, yet this has not been achieved on a sustainable basis.

More importantly, one of the guiding philosophies of establishing a lasting peace in Plateau State is for people to understand one another by discussing freely and sincerely about matters of common concern. In the absence of this openness and compromise among social groups, a gap is created. The wider the gap between reconciliation and disagreement is, the greater the scope of suspicion and tension and thus violence. The need for reconciliation and peaceful co-existence through faith and community-based organizations dialogue is said to aim at promoting

better understanding of one another for lasting peace, harmony and peaceful inter-group relations in the state.

1.3 Research Questions

The study tries to answer the following questions, which would help peace-building efforts in Plateau State, in particular, and Nigeria, in general.

- 1) How can peaceful co-existence be entrenched in Plateau State?
- 2) Can the activities of faith and community based organizations bring about peaceful and harmonious relationship in Plateau State?
- 3) What is the role of faith-based organizations in promoting peace-building process in Plateau state?
- 4) What is the role of community-based organizations in fostering peace-building process in Plateau State?
- 5) What are the challenges facing faith and community-based organizations in promoting peace-building in Plateau State?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this research is to assess the role of faith and community-based organizations in the peace-building process in Plateau State, in particular, and Nigeria, in general, through their peace-building activities. Specifically, the study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- i) To suggest the means through which faith and community based organizations can promote peaceful co-existence in Plateau State.
- ii) To assess the strategies or mechanisms adopted by these faith and community based organizations in promoting peaceful co-existence in Plateau State.
- iii) To suggest how faith and community based organization's peace-building activities inspire community, religious, ethnic and traditional leader's engagement in peace-building activities.
- iv) To enhance mutual understanding and narrow the existing communication gap among the followers of various faiths.
- v) To assess the success or failure of these faith and community- based organizations in promoting peaceful co-existence in Plateau State.
- vi) To assess the challenges these organizations encounter in carrying out their peace-building activities.

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

This study is timely at this crucial period of insecurity escalation in Nigeria, especially Plateau State, which, at one time or the other, has been embroiled in ethno-religious skirmishes. Some of the cases of these conflicts were generated on slightest provocation. Therefore, the study is designed to improve the understanding of the role of faith and community-based organizations in the peace-building process in Plateau State. This research is significant in the sense that peace and unity cannot prosper under conditions of conflict, violence and lawlessness because the bedrock of any formidable society is peace and stability. The survival of any conflict-ridden community in Nigeria, therefore, depends on how conflicts are resolved. The study examines the peace-building efforts in Plateau State, which is considered to be *'Home of Peace and Tourism'* before turning to one of the hottest spots of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, witnessing a large scale destruction of lives and properties and generating a lot of tension in the relationships between the different ethno-religious groups in the state and, by extension, the larger society, Nigeria. The study will, therefore, relate the Plateau State experience to wider national experiences.

It is also important to bring together some representatives of community leaders and religious, ethnic and traditional leaders into open discussion avenues, so as to bring aggrieved people to the basic understanding of the imperatives of dialogue in the peaceful resolution of discontent or disagreement. Nigeria in general and Plateau State in particular need this form of commitment to dialogue in the resolution of differences. This will go a long way in promoting peaceful co-existence among the various groups in the state, so that its former catchphrase of 'home of peace and tourism' can be restored. Other faith and community-based organization's peace-building activities will also improve the political and economic stability in the state. Also, findings from the study will further examine ways to foster the national unity of Nigeria, which has hitherto been very fragile since independence.

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

Below are the assumptions that have been generated with the aim of testing their validity or otherwise in the course of this study:

- i) The enlightenment activities of faith-based organizations are likely to promote peace-building in Plateau State;

- ii) Dialogue between faith-based organizations and grassroots mobilizations are likely to boost and promote peace-building in Plateau State.

The activities of faith and community-based organizations are likely to promote peace-building in Plateau State in spite of the complex nature of the conflicts that are associated with economic deprivation, political marginalization and inequality among the diverse groups in the state. These Faith and Community-based Organizations usually work to promote the wellbeing of citizens and societal development. In the case of Plateau State, that has been confronted with the problem of unending conflicts. How and where have these organizations made a positive impact in ensuring that peace returns to the state? This question has evoked an investigation such as what this research intends to unravel.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This work provides background information on the roles played by faith and community-based organizations in Plateau State through various peace-building mechanisms between 2001 and 2011. This study covers a ten year period because it is during this turbulent decade that conflicts in Plateau State assumed a more violent, organized and consistent dimensions and also saw numerous efforts by

these organizations to find ways of dousing these conflicts, so as to improve co-existence in the state. Although the conflicts have occurred in the past, the casualty level had been low compared to the high human and material losses incurred from the episodes that occurred from 2001 – 2011. This prompted the Faith and Community-based Organizations to step up efforts at peace-building in the state. This period, therefore, presents better case studies useful for a study of this nature.

1.8 Outline of Chapters

The following is a summary of the organization of the study: Chapter One consists of Background to the study, Statement of the research problem, Research Questions, Objectives of the study, Justification and Significance of the Study, Assumptions of the Study, Scope of the Study and Outline of Chapters.

Chapter two consists of the Review of Related Literature on Conceptualizing Peace-Building; Peace-Building Mechanisms; Imperative of Peace-Building in Nigeria; Conceptualizing Faith and Community Based Organizations; Phenomenon of Ethno-Religious Conflict; Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Plateau State; Gaps in Literature and Theoretical Framework. Chapter three consists of the Research Methodology while Chapter four consists of History of Plateau State and the Role

of Faith and Community Based Organizations in Peace-Building and chapter five Assesses Peace-Building in Plateau State while presenting and analyzing data generated and Chapter six consists of the Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.0 Literature Review

As in all the spheres of human endeavor, conflicts are bound to happen during the course of interaction. Regrettably, while a lot of consideration and actions have been devoted to establishing and maintaining the avenues of collaboration and cooperation between government levels, civil society, faith and community-based organizations, ethno-religious conflict is further tearing the peace processes apart.

This chapter attempts to review some selected works related to faith and community-based organizations in promoting mutual co-existence in crisis areas in Nigeria and Plateau State in particular. Since a great deal of literature exists on these issues, the review has been divided into the following major sub-themes for easy presentation. These sub-themes fall into the categories of Conceptualizing Peace-Building; Peace-Building Mechanisms; Imperative of Peace-Building in Nigeria; Phenomenon of Conflict, and ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Plateau State.

2.1.1 Conceptualizing Peace-Building

Since the end of the Cold War, waves of conflict and violence have swept through the entire world in different localities. Many regions have been engulfed in convulsive fits of ethnic insecurity, violence and genocide. However, it becomes necessary to note that wherever human beings exist, conflict also exists. Conflict is a pertinent part of human life, but one thing about it is that it has a fleeting nature. An understanding of what conflict is would help tremendously in its resolution. Persistent outbreaks of conflict led to the creation of preventive measures and the management of conflicts. Conflict resolution is the same as argument about particular issues underlying a dispute. If the parties to a dispute can agree on an outcome that is mutually acceptable, then conflict would be resolved. Conflict resolution has become a very important field in all walks of life; having many aspects and serious conflicts are seldom resolved in simple ways. Resolution occurs through a series of different activities overtime and usually with many setbacks along the way. It is a process of letting go of conflict and of gaining the energy, lesson and growth that conflict has to offer.

The aim of peace and any other peace-building scheme is to bring about trust, tolerance and justice in a society. Best (2002) posits that:

Peace-building, like any building at all, is a process, that recognizes certain concrete effort and processes required to be made by individuals, groups and communities for conflict to be reduced to a minimum level and for a peaceable society to be achieved (quoted in Abdul-Ismael, 2006:76).

Peace flourishes wherever there is justice, equity, trust, friendship, mutual respect, communication and a common aspiration and similar elements. As such, it is often said that peace is not only the absence of conflict, but also the presence of justice

The term “peace-building” came into general usage in 1992 when the then United Nation Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, announced his *Agenda for Peace* (Lotze et al, 2008; Lederach, 1997). Since then, peace-building has come to be understood and used as an umbrella concept, reflecting a more comprehensive and long-term approach to peace and security, including: “early warning, conflict prevention, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, the establishment of peace zones, reconciliation, reconstruction, institution building, and political as well as socio-economic transformation” (Maiese, 2003).

Casey, et al (2005) are also of the view that:

Peace-building identifies and supports relationships, governance modes, structures and systems, and provides capacities and resources to strengthen and consolidate the prospects for internal peace in order to avoid a resort to, an intensification of, or a relapse into destructive conflict (Casey, et al, 2005).

Peace-building here seeks to ease the sources of tension that increase the probability or intensity of armed violence. As such, it involves a range of approaches and transformative processes for specific contexts or on a larger systemic level that identifies and addresses both the root causes and effects of violent conflict. Thus, peace-building is framed as a policy development and policy advocacy tool that may be used to address the consequences of poor development, defense and foreign policy practice. It also acknowledges both the effects and root causes of conflict, including historical, socio-economic and political elements. It stresses the significance of indigenous or local, context-specific mechanisms for resolving conflict, maintaining peace or reducing the likelihood of violence altogether.

Lotze, et al (2008) opine that peace-building occurs between the cessation of violent conflict and the return to a normal development process. It seeks to prevent future outbreaks of violent conflict. He defined peace-building as: “a holistic concept that encompasses simultaneous short-, medium- and long- term

programmes designed to prevent disputes from escalating, to avoid a relapse into violent conflict and to consolidate sustainable peace” (Lotze, et al, 2008:18).

This requires a sound and organized multidimensional response by a broad series of role players, including government, faith and community-based organizations, the private sector and international agencies. These actors undertake a range of interrelated programmes that span the security, political, socio-economic and reconciliation dimensions of society. Collectively, they address both the causes and consequences of the conflict and, in the long-term, establish the foundations for justice, sustainable peace and development.

It is important to deduce from the above that peace-building seeks to prevent future outbreaks of conflict and differentiate preventive diplomacy from peace-building, since the latter emphasizes long-term solutions. Preventive peace-building refers to a series of measures aimed at preventing future outbreaks of violent conflict by addressing the root causes of the conflict, and post-conflict peace-building refers to the measures aimed at re-establishing state authority, political institutions, rule of law, social services and physical infrastructure.

Philpott (2010) argues that peace-building involves the United Nations carrying out sanctions against terrorist groups in a way that also promotes good

governance, human rights and economic development in the countries where sanctions are targeted. It involves coordinating the international prosecution of war criminals with the need to settle a civil war and the efforts of local cultures and leaders to bring peace. It involves educating the children of the next generation so as to transform their hatred into tolerance and even friendship. It involves nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). It involves combating inequalities that are embedded in the global structures of power and wealth. It involves trial, truth commissions and reparations, and also apology tendering, forgiveness and rituals of reconciliation. To achieve sustainable peace, each of these is linked to the others through cause and effect, for better or for worse. Philpott (2010) further argues that:

Effective peace-building aims to strengthen these ligatures of interdependence, accenting, deepening, and synchronizing them, and linking them further with the efforts of governments and international institutions and with the broad project of building a just peace in and between societies (Philpott, 2010:4).

Ibeanu (2003) conceptualizes peace as the absence of war and conflict as the absence of peace, respectively. He sees peace as a process that is conditioned by a state of nature, mind and society. Peace is also seen as a dynamic socio-economic process rather than a condition. "Peace is a process involving activities

that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict, both within specific societies and in a wider international community” (Ibeanu, 2003:10). Peace is seen as the absence of violence and development (to borrow from Rodney’s definition), a process of improving the condition in which human beings live. One can conclude by saying peace is compatible to development in such a way that: It relates to existing social conditions rather than an ideal state or condition. It is a dynamic process (rather than a static condition) and it is possible to precisely identify and study the factors that drive it; it is not a finished condition but always a work in progress. It is never finished because human societies continue to aspire to higher levels of development and less conflict; it increases and decreases, depending on the objectives of socio-economic and political conditions.

Liden maintains that the “ethical assessment of the peace-building missions of the last 15 years have revealed a notorious disembeddedness in indigenous conception of peace and justice” (Liden, 2007:1). The questions are fundamentally raised for peace building policy and research. This questions range from how to sustain and justify peace-building, legitimation and general acceptability, its contradictions rationale and approaches to peace building. Liden begins by asking what peace building is. He believes that definitions exists and are

varied. But in a narrow sense he adopted Roland Paris's definition from the United Nations Post-Conflict Peace-building to be:

action undertaken at the end of a civil conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of fighting. A peace building mission involves the deployment of military and civilian personnel from several international agencies with a clear mandate to conduct peace building from a country that is just emerging from a war (Roland, in Liden, 2007:1).

However, the term "peace building" also connotes the term "peace –oriented efforts". This can be generally applied in policy and applied research, such that,

...peace building attempts to encourage the development of the structural condition, attitudes and modes of political behaviour that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately prosperous social and economic development (Liden, 2007).

The activities of peace-building are designed to contribute in bringing an end to armed conflict or dousing tension and preventing conflict from occurring. These peace-building activities include providing security, institutionalizing the socio-economic basis for long term peace, the establishment of the political framework of long term peace and generating reconciliation, a healing of the wounds of war and the fundamental ethical questions related to all these dimensions. This will

encourage certain assumptions about the impact of peace building. This definition reduces the idea of peace to international rather than local politics. Thus, it sees peace building as a particular instance of international order where external actors intervene as their political responsibility through a military means in the 'internal affairs of conflict ridden states'. Liden (2007) further states that the concept of peace-building intersects with the concepts of state building, nation-building, reconstruction, regime change, conflict transformation, non-coercive humanitarian intervention, etc. He sees peace building as an impact of attaining the peaceful settlement of conflicts and the effects of doing so in a society at large.

Lederach (1997) concurs (in the abstract of his book) with the former United Nations secretary general- Boutros B. Ghali, in his 1992 document titled, 'An Agenda for Peace', where he proposed to United Nations and the International Community on how to deal with contemporary conflicts in the areas of preventive diplomacy; peacemaking; peacekeeping and post conflict peace-building. The departure to this book has been on the usage of the term "peace-building", which was used by the Secretary General as a qualifier to be a post conflict support of peace accords and the rebuilding of war-torn societies. He suggests that:

...peace-building is more than post accord reconstruction. It is rather a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable and peaceful relationship. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is a dynamic 'social construct'. It is a process of 'building' (Lederach: 1997).

Lederach (1997) further asserts that peace-building could be tackled mechanically using the right plan in mind and the right materials, skills and resources. In divided or plural societies with a protracted conflict, not any mechanical or standardized formula could be considered correct all the time in solving conflicts and building relationships. As such, resolution should focus towards real life experiences and the situations of the people. He posits reconciliation to mean:

the basis of both the conflict and its long term solution; engagement of the conflicting groups assumes an encounter, not only of people but also of several different and highly interdependent streams of activity; and reconciliation requires that we look outside the mainstream of international political trades, discourse and operational modalities if we are to find innovation (Lederach, 1997:25).

Understanding the above assumptions could be seen in the four major concepts, as identified by Lederach (1997) in the phrase: (I) Truth; (II) Mercy; (III) Justice;

and (IV) Peace. (I) Truth is all about honesty, revelations, clarity, open accountability and vulnerability; (II) Mercy is about compassion, acceptance and a new start, grace, healing and restoration; (III) Justice signifies right, creating equal opportunity, rectifying the wrong and restitution; and (IV) Peace stands for harmony, unity, well-being, respect and security.

2.1.2 Peace-Building Mechanisms

War, violence, genocide and mass atrocity have devastating impacts - costing the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians every year, destroying economic and human development and security and devastating lives and societies. Yet, major steps have been taken to advance the prevention of violence and armed conflict through a number of peace-building strategies and mechanisms. The Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN, 2009:28-33) outlines the following peace-building strategies: good governance; free, fair and violence-free election; constitutional and legislative review; dialogue; peace education; peace research; civic education; poverty reduction and wealth creation; the disbandment of regional and ethnic militias; the control of small arms; security sector reform; the management of ex-military and other security service personnel; early warning signs monitoring and response; alternative dispute resolution; strengthening peace institutions; conflict-sensitive development; security and conflict risk perception; empowering

the media for professionalism; empowering civil society organizations; gender-sensitive policies; policies on the physically challenged and the aged; and the promotion of peace enhancing programmes. The FGN (2009) posits that in furtherance of peace and peaceful co-existence in any society, the aforementioned strategies and mechanisms shall be vigorously pursued.

Folberg and Taylor (1984) maintain that:

Public and professional interest in mediation has increased dramatically in the last few years. Mediation is an intervention that is intended to resolve disputes and manage conflict by facilitating decision making (1984: xi).

This, they argued, is because mediation differs from other conflict resolution processes like counseling, compromise, arbitration and litigation because it has evolved a philosophical orientation and specific technique appropriate to its particular goals. Folberg and Taylor's work has provided the knowledge and skill needed in mediating conflicts. This is by tracing the historical evolution of mediation and its various uses in social and cultural contexts. It has also provided the concepts, approaches and perspectives on both practical and policy issues in mediation.

Folberg and Taylor (1984) define mediation to be the process by which the participants, together with the assistance of a neutral person or persons; systematically isolate disputed issues in order to develop options, consider alternatives and reach a consensual settlement that will accommodate their needs. Mediation is a process that emphasized the participant's own responsibility for making decisions that affect their lives. It is, therefore, a self-empowering process. It is a goal-directed and problem-solving intervention. The objectives of mediation, they argue, are

production of a plan (agreement) for the future that the participants can accept and comply; presentation of the participants to accept the consequences of their own decisions; and reduction of the anxiety and other negative effects of the conflict by helping the participants device a consensual resolution (Folberg and Taylor, 1984:8).

Mediation is usually a short-term process rather than a long term intervention. It is also interactive not interpersonal, cognitive and behavioral rather than existential and is concerned with the present and the future than the past. The rationale for mediation is educative, adjudicatory, consensual, cooperative, fairness, measurable and service. To put it in Folberg and Taylor's words, they believe that the rationale behind all this is that:

Mediation is a conflict resolution process which, when integrated with a supportive legal system, provides the participants with not only a plan of

action for the future but also a greater sense of satisfaction about the process they have undergone than do other methods of setting disputes. It is ideally suited to polycentric disputes and conflicts between those with a continuing relationship, since it minimizes intrusion, emphasizes cooperation, involves self determined criteria of resolution and provides a model of interaction for future disputes (1984, 12-13).

Folberg and Taylor's work is based but not limited to the following assumptions of the beliefs and values of mediation: it is normally true, for example, that both participants in a mediation session wish for the conflicts between them to be resolved; the participants must, to some degree, change their perceptions, feelings, beliefs, priorities, thoughts or actions in order to bring about a resolution of the conflict.

Lederach and Appleby (2010) maintain that peace-building nurtures constructive human relationships. To be relevant, it must do so strategically at every level of society and across the potentially polarizing lines of ethnicity, class, religion and race. They proposed the need for strategic peace-building to include the capacity to develop strategies to maximize the impact of initiatives for constructive change within this complexity. It focuses on transforming inhumane social patterns, flawed structural conditions and open violent conflict that weaken the conditions

necessary for a flourishing human community. Thus, strategic peace-builders must embrace complexity and find within any given situation or issue practical approaches that stitch together key people and initiatives to reduce violence, change destructive patterns and build healthy relationships and structures.

Lederach and Appleby (2010) are also of the view that the hallmarks of the constructive relationships that strategic peace-builders seek to foster among conflicted people include:

the cultivation of interdependence as a social and political context for the effective pursuit of human rights, good governance, and economic prosperity; the promotion of transparent communication across sectors and levels of society in the service of including as many voices and actors as possible in the reform of institution and the repair or creation of partnerships conducive to the common good; and the increasing coordination and (where possible) integration of resources, programmes, practices, and processes. These hallmarks characterize the reflexive practice of peace-builders themselves who think and act strategically (Lederach and Appleby, 2010, 22-23).

Strategic peace-building, therefore, denotes an approach to reducing violence, resolving conflict and building peace that is marked by a heightened awareness of and skillful adaptation to the complex and shifting material, geo-political,

economic and cultural realities of our increasingly globalized and interdependent world.

Lederach and Appleby (2010) demonstrate how negotiation and humanitarian aid improved the harsh economic conditions that civil war Mozambique was ravaged with. The mayhem between the independence movements named FRELIMO (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) and RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance), which was composed of former Portuguese soldiers, disgruntled FRELIMO deserters and common criminals reached its peak. “By 1992, the RENAMO insurgency had left over a million Mozambicans dead and had displaced 6 to 8 million others” (Lederach and Appleby, 2010:19). The larger Mozambican religious community was divided, however. Muslims were generally hostile towards FRELIMO. Evangelical and Pentecostal organizations, such as the Shekinah, Christ of the Nations, the End Time Handmaidens and Frontline Fellowship recognized and supported RENAMO. These groups conducted fundraising and lobbying operations on behalf of the insurgents in Washington, London, and elsewhere. On the other hand, the Protestant ecumenical association – the Mozambican Council of Churches – supported FRELIMO and condemned RENAMO, as did the United Methodist Church in the United States.

The Catholic bishops issued personal letters condemning atrocities committed by both sides and calling for negotiations.

Relations between the government and the religious groups and churches improved markedly between 1981 and 1988, the period when the United States provided \$240 million in primarily humanitarian aid to the FRELIMO government. This policy had its intended effect: in 1983, Mozambique began to allow nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as the private relief agency CARE, to operate in the nation, and in the late 1980s Mozambique moved toward a less centralized economy. The government could no longer deny that the churches were providing essential social services – such as the distribution of food and clothing, education and health care – which the state itself was unable to supply during the war with RENAMO.

Hampson (2005) asked why some peace settlements endure whereas others collapse into violence almost as soon as they are signed. Focusing on interstate conflicts in which third parties have played prominent role, he argues that durable settlements depend on sustained third party engagement not only during the negotiation phase but throughout the implementation process. Although his work explores the roles that other factors such as regional and systemic power

relationships in terms of the settlement itself and the role of 'ripeness' – play in the success or failure of these peace settlements, it concludes that success hinges more on what third parties do and do not do while citing Cyprus, Namibia, Angola, El-Salvador and Cambodia as case studies. He is of the opinion that peace accords sometimes contain the seeds of their own destruction since warring parties may simply come to the conclusion that it is no longer in their interest to abide by the pact they have negotiated. "Without proper monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, agreements negotiated in good faith can still self-destruct in an escalating spirit of alleged violations and counter-recriminations without the assistance of third parties who can do what adversaries are unwilling or unable to do themselves and the peace process can grind to a halt" (Hampson, 2005: 3-4). Peace treaties also fail due to other reasons like uncertainties in the text of an agreement, which may prove too difficult to resolve in subsequent negotiations or by mediation and arbitration. Conversely, agreement may be too rigid in their initial formulation to adapt to changing circumstances and political forces.

One can conclusively posit from Hampson's work that peace agreements fail or succeed based on durable implementation and the role of the third party in facilitating dispute resolution; ideology struggles of the cold war rival groupings and a multiplicity of reasons – ethnicity, religion, nationalism, communal strife,

socio-economic problems, regional grievances, e.t.c.; the rejection of any sort of political authority – factions; good offices; momentum – commitments in the form of institutional capacities and internal threats. He uses Boutros-Ghali's agenda for peace by maintaining that peacemaking and peace keeping operations need:

Disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order; the custody and possible destruction of weapons; repatriating refugees; advisory and training support for security personnel; monitoring elections; advancing efforts to protect human rights; reforming or strengthening governmental institutions; and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation (Hampson, 2005:10).

These peacemaking tasks, as outlined above, can be achieved through local and national civil society organizations; re-integrating internally displaced people into the society and empowering them economically; re-structuring and re-defining the role of the security personnel in the maintenance of law and order; building communities and allowing them to survive by bridging the gap between emergency assistance and development; and addressing the needs of particularly vulnerable sectors and groups in society, such as women and children

For instance, after becoming an independent state on August 16, 1960, Cyprus's constitution, which had been negotiated between the governments of Greece,

Turkey, and Great Britain in Zurich the preceding year, called for a constitution adapted to the ethnic composition of the island, which was 80 percent Greek Cypriot and 18 percent Turkish Cypriot. Following a series of constitutional crises, in 1963 Archbishop Makarios, the president of Cyprus, unilaterally offered a series of amendments that were rejected by the Turkish Cypriot community. The situation continued to deteriorate; serious fighting eventually occurred on the island. On March 13, 1964, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 187 establishing a UN force (UNFICYP) to be deployed on the island to help restore peace. Although UNFICYP succeeded in supervising a cease-fire, there were numerous crises over the years. Fighting was eventually halted, but the result was a partition of the island into two separate ethnic communities. In 1983, the Turkish community declared its independence and created the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Amid the two Cypriot states, UNFICYP forces remain deployed in an effort to maintain intercommunal peace.

Ross (1993) is an advocate of cross-cultural differences in conflict and violence. He believes that an interpretation of conflict should be within a confined and expanding role of psycho-cultural model and that the two faces of conflict are

found in all human and non-human communities for their selfish demands and expectations of cross-cultural societies, as exemplified in the Islamic scarves in French schools. He maintains that:

...conflicts are rooted in differences both in interests and in participant's interpretation of events and other roots. To be effective, peacemaking must both bridge the parties' differences in interests and consider disputant's deep hurts and the strong distrust of adversaries (Ross, 1993:17).

He explains why some cultures are more conflict-prone than others. He was able to conclude that it is because of linking social structural interests and psycho-cultural integrations. He opines that the "culture of conflict refers to culturally specific norms, practices and institutions associated with conflict in a society" and that the "culture of conflict both summarizes a society's core values and reflects prior conflicts which favored some individuals and groups over others" (Ross, 1993:17). Cross cultural studies indicate both the livelihood of exhibiting internal and external conflict ties. In the psycho-cultural dispositions and interpretation of conflicts are degrees of one's belief and trust on other people – inter representations of the self, others are the social and psychological world at large. The culture of constructive conflict management in low conflict societies are

based on psycho-cultural practices; linked individual and community interests; joint problem solving; third party assistance; harmonious social relationships; viable exist options and conflict avoidance strategies.

Ross (1993) is of the view that the stages of conflict management are the developmental model of negotiation as the search of an arena; the composition of the agenda and the definition of issues; establishing maximal limits to issues in disputes; narrowing the differences; preliminaries to final bargaining; final bargaining; ritual affirmation; and the execution of the arrangement. He also categorizes the changes in interest to be general grievances and specific demands, the ranking of interests, the identification of common interests and changing interests in levels. While changes in interpretations are based on socialization – experiences, relevance, complexity, organization, thinking, role, gender and transformation.

Lotze et al (2008) show how various local, national and international actors are engaged in peace-building in post-conflict situations. The evaluations they conducted in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Liberia and Sudan highlighted the need for enhanced coordination among external actor, such as donor governments, peacekeeping missions, United Nations Country Teams

(UNCTs) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs); among internal actors, such as governments, local administrations and civil society; and along the internal-external nexus. They further argue that, without enhanced and deepened levels of coordination, peace-building activities will overlap, duplicate and have limited impact upon the conflict systems they are attempting to transform.

The Democratic Republic of Congo witnessed deepened political crises along ethnic lines, particularly in the Kivu provinces of the Eastern DRC, Hutu extremists crises along with refugees from Rwanda following the genocide of 1994, division between Kabila and Rwanda and Uganda due to the overthrowing of Mobutu's regime by Laurent Kabila in 1997 and violence, hunger and diseases caused between 1998 and 2004 war that claimed the lives of close to four million people. In Liberia, it was "a vicious and brutal cycle of conflict that lasted 14 years (1989-2003) and resulted in the deaths of 270,000 people, the displacement of 800,000 people and the devastation of the economy and national and civil machineries" (Lotze, et al 2008:32), while northern and southern Sudan spent five decades experiencing political, economic and ethnic conflicts. Lotze, et al (2008:60) launch multiple tools and mechanisms of innovative programmes in the DRC, Liberia and Sudan with the aim of improving the effectiveness of overall peace-building.

- In the DRC, three mechanisms – Humanitarian Action Plans (HAPs), Country Assistance Frameworks (CAFs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) – were utilized to coordinate peace-building activities, while an innovative Priority Action Programme (PAP) was instituted to add the unity of effort to the peace-building equation. Though all these were UN created or dominated structures.
- In Liberia, there were seven key structures – a Results Focused Transitional Framework (RFTF) and an RFTF Implementation and Monitoring Committee (RIMCO) were institutionalized, and an interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) was being developed. In addition, Humanitarian Coordination Sections (HCSs), Humanitarian Clusters (HCs) and Country Support Teams (CSTs) were created to harmonize peace-building efforts and to decentralize peace-building activities from the center to the periphery with positive results.
- Finally, in South Sudan the UN-created United Nations and Partners Work Plan created unity of vision, mandate and effort until such a time when a more detailed and inclusive Common Country Assessment (CCA) and UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) could be developed. In addition, the UN has established numerous budget sector working groups

that facilitate and support peace-building activities. Donors have similarly launched creative responses to the challenges of duplication, overlap and inefficiency, by establishing the Joint Donor Team (JDT) based in South Sudan. The NGOs, on their part, have created joint ventures, such as the Local Government Recovery Programme (LGRP), administered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and PACT, which clearly allocated tasks and responsibilities in a larger programme in which the participant organizations and the government of South Sudan each have a stake.

2.1.3 The Imperative of Peace-Building in Nigeria

It is an acceptable fact that coexistence in any social system at one time or the other generates conflict. This conflict can be over political power or resources and their utilization. However, how the social system intends to maintain a sustainable peace-building depends on approach. This approach ranges from simple coalition arrangement, negotiation, bargaining, consensus, resettlement, psychological therapy/psychoanalytical, socio-cultural and the redistribution of resources. Thus, peace and conflict have become a global imperative as it determines social coexistence.

Abdulrahman et al (2001) sees peace as a necessary pre-requisite for development and good governance in any society. He states that peace can be violence free or war free. This definition can take two perspectives. The first definition of war free or violent free society connotes that to know about peace management you have to understand what violence does in the society. The second is conflict oriented value, which sees the achievement of peace when there is non-violence and creativity. The second is dynamic to true situations of the matter. Thus, conflict clashes arise from the human needs, values and motivation (Abdulrahman et al, 2001).

Abdulrahman's analysis can well be used in analyzing the contradictory attitudes in the formulation of F.C.T Abuja master plan, the implementation of the plan; and the native and non-native issue enshrined in the constitution as applied, which represents conflict to the people. The authors give the background of Federal Capital Territory, the Local Governments under it, the law and constitution establishing it and '*no man's land*' attached to it. The parties to the conflict are (1) indigenes vs federal government (2) indigenes vs settlers' vs federal government and (3) indigenes and settler vs government. The conflict between such three identified groups or sections leads to the mobilization of articulated groups against the government or conflict areas. Thus, this needed an

intervention planning mechanism in peace-building. To put it in the author's words, he stated that: "peace building is a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains an array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationship" (Abdulrahman, 2001: 189-190).

Abdulrahman et al (2001) posit peace-building to be formal, not merely a stage in time or a static condition, but a dynamic social construct, whose process requires some investment and internal design for coordinating maintenance. They see peace-building as a process to engage in and not an island to arrive at. The idea of peace-building is to resolve social conflict in the Federal Capital Territory. CAPP Community Action for Popular Participation, Abuja in collaboration with USAID set the following goals for its intervention: Instilling conflict management skills in the youths of the FCT inhabitants so as to institute community democratic goals; inculcate skills of non-violence in the pursuit of community democratic aspirations in the youths of FCT; Bridge the communication gap between the youth of the FCT and their legislators, and develop a legislative action plan for the democratic aspirations of the youth of FCT; and Form the FCT youth forum for peace building and democratic consolidation.

Burton (1990) is one of the first scholars in the new post-war peace research community to explain conflict resolution as a problem solving process. He adopts the problem solving approach to conflict, its resolution and prevention. He argues that:

Problem solving implies a concern with the causes that lead to conflict for example, the underlying and causal sources of gang warfare and of terrorism, or the institutional and human origins of ethnic conflict rather than with the overt violence and disruptions that are the manifestations or symptoms of such problems (Burton, 1990:05).

He posits that it may be necessary as a means to contain some behaviour, but unless the underlying causes of conflicts are treated there can be no 'resolution' of a particular conflict, let alone the prevention of such conflicts in the future. In the absence of the treatment of causes there can be, at best, only containment. He identifies and defines in clear terms the definition of many new terms and explains the ideas behind them in conflict resolution. He maintains that the processes through which conflict can be resolved is through creative, non-violent and non-confrontational solutions. He provides a solid understanding of the history, basic theory and practice of conflict

resolution for decision-makers and policy-makers in industry, law and government. He maintains that “a problem – solving approach to conflict resolution as applied to particular situations requires, therefore, a most knowledgeable and skilled third party” (Burton, 1990:5). It is most likely only in the presence of such a third party that the necessary insights are likely to emerge, and the “required longer – term costing of policies, and non-bargaining and analytical discussions, are likely to take place” (Burton, 1990:05).

The process of conflict resolution, according to Burton, needs the intervention of a third party that has mediation skills and professional qualifications. He must have a flexible character; play by the rules; procedures; confidentiality; social relevance; specific and the rules of sponsorship.

Rothchild (1997) sees ethnic conflicts as critical to the sustenance of governments in Africa. The potential for civil unrest and violent encounters that threaten the co-existence of the world and the need for salvation depend on the development and implementations of an effective institution of ethnic management. He

attempts an analysis at the success or failure of conflict resolution or mediation. He maintains that identities create social cleavages that can lead to disagreements over basic rules, but at times, through accommodation and negotiation, interactions are regularized and can facilitate cooperation. But because of the intensity of ethnic claims, not all conflicts lend themselves to state negotiation or mediation. In that case, the need for a third party team becomes necessary to facilitate and promote peace and cooperation. Rothchild based his analysis on the following propositions that, although mediatory skill and determination are indispensable to a negotiated solution, even greater emphasis must be placed on the context on which a mediator or coalition of mediators operates and the leverage that individual, organization or combination of actors can bring to bear; conflict management is an interlinked process that includes pre-negotiation, negotiation and implementation stages and; it is possible in some situation to advance the process of “ripening” (advancing to the point where joint problem solving becomes possible) through the effective use of pressures and incentives by a mediator or facilitator.

He further maintains that “the incentives available to mediators are material and non-material or as used by the third party to be coercive and non-coercive or combined in a ‘carrot and stick’ fashion” (Rothchild, 1997:98). He qualifies the

non-coercive incentives to be: the Purchase of some form of fiscal and tangible incentives as a means of promoting cooperation or a positive sum game for each side's compromise, gain and payoffs, and/or payments of inducement; insurance or the security of promise and guarantee compliance; legislation in the form of recognition and the valid exercise of regime authority, negotiations and concessions, and/or superimposed financial allocations and constitutional and legal protection while the coercive incentives are: pressure in the form of threats with limited punishment in order to push for reconsidering preferences regarding a given course of action; sanctions in form of communicating actual or potential harmful consequences, material or non-material, and/or a political or economic sanction and; the use of force in form of a military action.

Rothchild (1995) in another development sees the role of the United States of America in promoting a stable international order in which democratic regimes and economic trade and investment can be nurtured in Africa as a basis of managing conflicts. These can be facilitated through: conflict prevention; behind the scenes support for dispute mediation by African third party actors; backing a regional actor; assisting an extra-continental actor; promoting an international

organs' initiative; pressure on local actors to negotiate; the organization of a required transition; and direct third party mediation between internal parties and international parties. He affirms that there is the need "for consolidated agreements and the return to regularized inter-group relations represent learning experience overtime" (Rothchild, 1995:51). Thus, skillful external third party mediation initiatives and the use of confidence-building measures are important for effective leadership in moderating normality. More so, the measure needed factors like: mixed method of mediation (pressure and incentives); ambiguity in degree; a mediator with muscles in manipulating secured compliance; an authoritative or strong or effective state actor to preside peace accord implementation; a powerful, enlightened, committed and competent group or party leadership; democratic fairness and confidence; coordination; and rules and regulations.

Zartman et al (1996) is of the view that "governance is conflict resolution. In the long established systemic understanding of governing, demands emerge from the body politic and are brought to the attention of the governors, who then handle them as best as they can at will" (Zartman et al, 1996:9). Therefore, due to the

variation in demands, interest aggregation and policy choice become the crucial exercise of governance. Continuous demands may give rise to conflicts, which will now be responded to by government. It is the duty of the government to manage these conflicts by “reacting responsibly to reduce demands in a manner consistent with human dignity so that the conflict does not escalate into violence” (Zartman et al, 1996: 09).

In West African states, independence was achieved after a managed consensus between nationalists’ elites and colonial rulers. Although after independence, external conflicts were avoided or minimized, the escalating number of internal conflicts keeps recurring based on social, ethnic, religious, civil-military and other issues. Atimes, through a military means, government despite the level of poverty and inexperience tried and resolved conflicts. Government as an institution, legitimating, lawmaking, problem-solving, nation-building, integration and allocation keep the political system moving and in check. These are achieved through: Groupings, which is a sense of cohesion and action on the part of some members of society; Demand in form of its subject, intensity and goal, and it varied on (a) substantive or particular grievances or (b) the procedural or means of handling grievances and; supports, in form of potential contributions by groups efforts and demands of what a country can do to you or what you can do to your

country – right and obligations of citizenship for national support, i.e loyalty, allegiance and compliance with law.

Zartman et al (1996) further maintains that “conflicts can be managed through what he coined ‘RAISAR’ – reconciling, allocating, institutionalizing, submerging, adjudicating and repressing” (Zartman et al, 1996:12). He is of the opinion that this can be done through social contract found in the combination of the independence bargain and the constitutional determinations carried out by the nationalist movement – the funnel phase. The period was not among the constituent demand bearing groups of the polity, but with the decolonizing power. After that, the social contract dispute of the new nations is who should govern and who should benefit from government. Thus, the conflict management mechanism is not limited to government; rather government is the highest mechanism. Other conflict management mechanisms, according to Zartman et al (1996,) include: The society- which manages its conflict through I) unilateral restraint and accommodation on the part of one party to a conflict, II) bilateral negotiation and accommodation between the two (or more) conflicting groups, and III) third party mediation on the part of another group in society external to the conflict (including those specifically constituted for the purpose). The court is another avenue for conflict resolution. The state as a social arbiter resolves

conflicts in normal circumstances. But in Africa, the assumption is that conflicts are always between groups and government. Thus, politics is a war between society and government. Because of the nature of african conflict, the need for a third party becomes necessary - to serve as a neutral body between society and government. The fear here is that the government as a party to conflict loses its role and as a result weakens and sometimes delegitimizes government.

Sampson (1997) sees religious leaders as actors in the peace-building transformation in the systematic and coordinated mobilization of resources and capacities. Thus, religious involvement in peacemaking initiatives becomes institutional in acts and deeds:

Their activities included education for peace; reconciliation and democracy; advocacy for nonviolent socio-political change; conflict resolution; election monitoring; and trauma healing and reconciliation.....and as NGO's on relief and development operating in conflict zones, and now being heralded as the 'new conflict managers' (Sampson, 1997: 274).

The advents of religious conflict in places like Bosnia between Croats, Serbs and Muslims; Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Caucasus; Hindus and Muslims in

India; or Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, define religious conflicts on the doctrine of people and cultures. Thus, “the politicization of religion in conflict is often facilitated by contradictions found in sacred texts and other doctrinal sources of religions as they relate to war and peace” and that, “most religions, for example, have two distinctly contrasting cultures: the holy war and the peace kingdom” (Sampson, 1997: 274). Thus, the ambiguities to religious teachings have found parallels in social behaviour, which motivated the mandate of religion toward peacemaking efforts.

Sampson (1997) further maintains that it becomes significant as “many religions nonetheless possess social and moral characteristics that give them the potential to act as constructive forces for peace and conflict transformation” (Sampson, 1997: 275). Thus, religious groups are organized locally and internationally to represent channels of communication and actions through ethical values, committed action, moral warrants for resistance against unjust conditions, an impetus for adherents to take responsibilities for preventing, ameliorating or resolving conflicts non- violently, and generally as a measure of credibility, trust and moral authority among the population at large. Religious institutions perhaps provide long-term solutions to conflict cycles as major time prayers.

Indeed, some aspects of peace-building are best understood using concepts and approaches found in religion. In particular, the processes associated with reconciliation - confession, repentance, forgiveness, mercy and conversion based on self-reflection and acceptance of personal responsibility – have emerged from religious, not secular, contexts (Sampson, 1997: 276).

Uwazie (1999) provides an explanation on issues of ethnic and religious conflicts, riots, clashes and violence that engulfed the lives and properties of a large number of people, thus posing a serious threat to Nigeria's socio-political development and efforts at nation-building. The challenges in Nigeria's ethnic and religious relations come as a result of the complex nature and character in the origination of the country being a British colonial creation. Other reasons of the complex nature and character of the country is the poor sake of the political leadership in using religion and ethnic identities in advocating political, social and economic options selfishly. The need for peace is hereby proposed through good leadership, media education, federal character, religious education, socio-cultural ties and links, sovereign conference, more involvement in dialogue, fair democratic plan, true federalism and mutual respect and cooperation between the police and community. The prospect of resolving conflict in Nigeria is

suggested by Uwazie (1999) as: Skills training and curriculum development through careful planning and dedication; Regular and open discussions in forums; Exchange programmes; Scholarship and research; Federal Character and rotational presidency for trust and confidence-building.

2.1.4 Conceptualizing Faith and Community Based Organizations

An understanding of civil society organizations will help tremendously in understanding faith and community based organizations. The civil society organization is an umbrella body that encompasses various institutions like Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or Non-profit organizations, Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Trade unions, Peoples' organizations, Civic Associations, Cultural groups, etc. Civil organizations, Faith and Community based NGOs are voluntary, autonomous and charitable institutions that provide services to the disempowered regardless of any prejudicial contemplation. The London School of Economics Center for Civil Society defines it as:

...the set of institutions, organizations and behaviour situated between the state, the business world, and the family. Specifically, this includes voluntary and non-profit organizations of many different kinds, philanthropic institutions, social and political movements, other forms of

social participation and engagement and the values and cultural patterns associated with them (quoted in Richard, 2006:272).

There is no generally accepted definition of faith and community based organizations, as

they are characterized by having one or more of the following: affiliation with a religious body; a mission statement with explicit reference to religious values; financial support from religious sources; and/or a governance structure where selection of board members or staff is based on religious beliefs or affiliation and/or decision-making processes based on religious values” (Ferris, 2005:312) and affiliation with the grassroots.

For the purpose of this report, a faith-based organization can be categorized as an organization that holds religious or worship services, or is affiliated with a religious denomination or house of worship. This includes churches, mosques and other places of worship; nonprofit organizations affiliated with religions; and local nonprofit organizations affiliated with an umbrella or national faith-based network.

“Faith-based nonprofit organizations generally maintain a faith-based mission but the services they deliver may or may not have a faith-based content and they do not necessarily restrict participants to those who adhere to that faith” (Fredrica, 2013).

On the other hand, categorizing community based organizations is difficult because “they may range from voluntary organizations to professional service agencies to

informal groups. These organizations are often considered to include churches, unions, schools, health care agencies, social service groups, fraternities, and clubs” (Community-based organizations, 2014). Thus, the history of community based organizations (CBOs) lies way back during the American civil war

Where charity groups were designed to offer assistance to those who were displaced, disabled, or impoverished by the war; it was during the period between 1980s and 1990s, when CBOs expanded to a point that they were being referred to as a movement, and the process of community organizing expanded into many community organizations (Anthony, 2012:1).

Generally, studies which discuss the history of FBOs and CBOs consider them as part of the evolution of civil society in Nigeria. The evolution of civil society in the pre-colonial period is associated with social movements, such as the religiously motivated Jihad economically motivated group seeking to protect markets and politically motivated groups that agitated for reforms aimed at more inclusive, less authoritarian political systems. In the early colonial period, civil society became organized around movements of resistance to colonial authority, as well as those committed to modernization of their communities.

For further clarity on FBOs and CBOs, Comfort et al (2011) maintain that, in as much as FBOs and CBOs are regarded as a subset of NGOs, sharing typical NGOs characteristics of being voluntary, non-profit making, non-governmental (i.e. having some degree of autonomy from government) and having some government

purpose, FBOs are distinguished from NGOs either because they define themselves explicitly as religious organizations, and/or by having observable links to a particular religion, religious organization or congregation. Comfort et al (2011) trace the origin and evolution of FBOs and CBOs to the early colonial period, when Christian missions embarked upon educational and health programmes, and new Islamic organizations emerged to support Islamic education and provide western education in Islamic colleges to prevent the conversion of Muslim children attending Christian schools. In more recent years, the proliferation of FBOs has been contemporaneous with the apparent increase in religiosity in Nigerian society and competition between the major religions for the hearts and minds of Nigerian and pre-eminence in the public sphere.

Community based NGOs, on the other hand, are considered developments of the 1980s: they are products of economic, political and ethno-religious crisis; military autocracy and the debilitating impact of corruption on the public sector. All these contributed to the de-legitimation of the state, leaving citizens' associations and other organizations to step in to fill the vacuum left by the state, which was increasingly incapable of maintaining public security, managing the economy and guaranteeing access to essential commodities and services at affordable prices.

Faith and Community based organizations have a long history of responding to people's need and today are important players in the national and international community's response to emergencies. They are increasingly playing an active and effective role as educators, advocates, intermediaries, observers and pursuers of transnational justice. Jacob and Ayse (2009) posit that

FBOs and CBOs have an impact on changing behaviours, attitudes and negative stereotypes; educating the parties; healing trauma and injuries; disseminating ideas such as democracy and human rights; drafting committed people to do peace work; challenging traditional structures that perpetuate structural violence; mediating between conflicting parties; reaching out to governments to incorporate elements of peace building in their policies; encouraging disarmament, reintegrating of soldiers and developing a sustained interfaith dialogue (Jacob and Ayse, 2009:176-177).

There exist all these forms of faith and community based NGOs in Plateau State with the aim of becoming the voice of the under-privileged and opening up communication channels because once the channels of communication are cut off, nobody understand what the other is saying. To have an effective and efficient peace-building, the targeted society must have confidence in the actors and see them as having sincerity of purpose and unbiased objectives.

2.1.5 The Phenomenon of Ethno-Religious Conflict

Conflict is an inevitable aspect of human life. Wherever members of a society gather, there is bound to be conflict either over the acquisition of scarce

resources, or for other reasons. Philosophers and other thinkers consider conflict as moving balance and unbalance in social relations.

Most students of Political Science in Africa agree on the fact that both ethnicity and religion are the most dangerous threats to African unity in general and Nigeria in particular and attempts at defining them remain largely elusive. A deadly ethnic riot, according to Horowitz (2001), is:

an intense, sudden, though not necessarily wholly unplanned, lethal attack by civilian members of one ethnic group on civilian member of another ethnic group, the victims chosen because of their group membership. So conceived, ethnic riots are synonymous with what are variously called “Communal”, “racial”, “religious”, “Linguistic”, or “tribal” disturbances Horowitz (2001:1)

Adedeji et al (2003) state that it is a fact of life that whenever a community of humans is found conflict is also part of that experience. Just as association between individuals and groups in society is accepted as natural, so is the tendency for them to disagree is also accepted as a natural phenomenon. This may be as a result of the pursuance of different goals and interests and, as such, competition here is inevitable. Thus, disagreement, which results in human

interaction, is termed conflict. Conflict can be over values, resources and their allocation, etc. which reflect the complexities that exist in human societies, which is more pronounced in plural societies. The violent expression of conflict at times leads to destruction and death, thereby jeopardizing the survival of a society. Peaceful means can be achieved through an institutional means, varying from societal, governmental, military, civil society organizations etc. Therefore, the challenge to his book is the role of the military in managing internal conflict for internal security (I.S.) in Nigeria. For example, the role of the military under civilian regimes in Nigeria from 1999 became partly a violation of human right, as the case in Zaki-Biam in Benue State and Odi in Bayelsa State. He continues by further defining conflict, borrowing from Stranger's ideology that,

...a situation in which two or more human beings desire goals which they perceive as being obtainable by one or the other, but not both; each party is mobilizing energy to obtain a goal, a desired object or situation and each party perceives the other as a barrier or threat to that goal (Adedeji; 2003:03)

Adedeji (2003) sees conflict as an inevitable aspect of human interaction and the unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions. It is inherent in decisions even when there is only one person. Only time resolves conflict and even after the

wounds heal, it leaves scars for future references. Thus, conflict is an inevitable fact of social existence just like cooperation is in any interaction.

Elaigwu (2005) is of the view that the northern region is heterogeneous in nature as the whole of Nigeria. It consists of various ethnic/tribal groups and relationships, identified as having language, social, cultural and economic differences. Ethnic group is identified to the individual based on 'primordial social identity; while ethnic consciousness is loyalty attached to the ethnic group (which is seen as oppositional enmity to other groups). He posits that:

...ethnic consciousness is not detrimental to the process of national integration in a nation-state. In fact, it can be argued that every individual needs this form of consciousness for his or her own identity. To deny it leads to causes of identity but using it by the elites or political class for selfish purposes as weapon of offence or defense is the problem (Elaigwu, 2005:58).

Mobilizing ethnic or religious group for primordial identity creates conflict of mistrust. It is worth noting that from Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi to Jos, etc. issues of ethnic and religious conflict keep persisting. Elaigwu, however, identifies the followings to be the causes of conflict:

Structural adjustment of the federation, states and local government creations, boundary and territorial adjustment which bring along with it jealousy in the polity; History and sense of cultural identity; Competition of resources; Political

decision of government; Electoral malpractice and political Tolerance; Economic woes and unemployment; Migration and the indigene/settler problems; Deliberate manipulation of ethnic and religious identities; Traditional, Social stratification and ethnocentrism; and Partisanship of Security agencies, (Elaigwu, 2005).

Elaigwu (2005) further maintain that the management of ethno–religious conflict should include the following steps:

1. Identify how we can prevent conflict;
2. Manage them and/or resolve or cope with them;
3. Inter-state and local government collaborative efforts to sit and discuss conflict threatening areas and issues;
4. Leaders meet to build bridges of understanding and to establish mutual confidence; and
5. Government must encourage the emergence of platforms of ethno-religious leaders to establish a network for conflict prevention and management through nongovernmental organizations.

He further recommends the following as the best way of managing or resolving conflict:

1. The development of early warning signals,

2. Government sensitive in decisions and policies;
3. Political maturity of leaders;
4. Mutual respect and recognition of the claims of others;
5. Improvement of the economy and the checks and management of unemployment;
6. Indigeneship and settler problems; towards residence requirements;
7. De-politicization of ethnic and religious groups;
8. De-partisanship of security agencies; and
9. Framework of constant dialogue and understanding towards conflict prevention, management and resolution.

It can thus be concluded that conflict in the Northern Nigeria can only be averted when identity became only an issue of integration not the primordial sentiments of attaining power and resources. Mutual confidence and trust should be upheld through the values of honesty, tolerance and collectivity.

Bashir (2005) maintains that the idea is timely to arrest the persistence of ethno-religious tension and conflict. Obviously this arose from mutual fear and distrust, which engender the coexistence of Nigeria as one bound entity. He believes that the socio-political characteristic of Northern Nigeria includes its heterogeneity; identity crusade; destitution; frustration; ignorance and poverty. Not like in the

past where unity exists without hostile and discarded relationships that currently persist. These socio-political problems in Northern Nigeria became further heightened with the following: rising unemployment, mutual suspicion, distrust, the failure of the political class, illiteracy and lack of participatory democracy. The ways out of this problem include setting up agricultural production and small scale businesses so as to alleviate poverty; promoting popular participation in policy making and implementation for development; the need to revitalize the political process and political education; the organization of sporting events so as to bridge differences and bring about development; and encourage religious meditation and interaction so as to sustain spiritual development. In conclusion, Bashir (2005) posits that good governance is the road to unity in Northern Nigeria, in particular, and Nigeria, in general, through service delivery and socio-political engineering processes.

Bell (n.d.) asserts that “in the last decade, there has been a resurgence of ethnic identification as the basis for effective political action in widely divergent societies” (Bell, n.d.:140) and the structural effect derived from ethnic upsurge varies in terms of political form and in terms of shifts in power and the values that are attached to ethnic identity.

He believes that major social trends have differences and complexities, ranging from the enlargement of political boundaries and arenas; the increase in the number of actors and claimants in political arena; the challenges to the present-day distribution of place and privilege; and the questioning of the normative justification and legitimation, which have sanctified the status quo. The change in the structure of the world today has enlarged the scale of institutional action and time intensity to situation. He also believes that the major social changes in the western world, particularly advanced industrial societies, have the following: the tendency toward more inclusive identities; the shift from market to political decision; the redefinition of a major value-equality; the onset of a post-industrial society, etc. He further argues that most societies in the world today are pluralistic in terms of group's cultural and political cohesion with claims based on identity. These cultural and political cohesions are atimes direct and primordial or are created out of adversary conflicts. Historically, plural societies are the product of conquest by the majority subjugating the minorities while in others it is through migration and mingling or through trading. It is a fact that colonialism and imperialism have created unfair competition between plural societies or groups in the political and economic areas. This is as a result of the following: Status competition is diffuse and lacks a specific site; the Shrinkage of economic

order because of management and values; and the Processes of modernization and transformations; a) the Passions and/or cohesion of interests (b) Emotional patriotism (c) Fatigue displayed by historical energies and lessons.

It is believed that in plural societies, class cuts across ethnic lines, especially where “one ethnic group is economically pre-dominant and another ethnic group is economically exploited” (Bell, n.d.: 168). In advanced societies, ethnicity cuts across class lines because of institutional interests brought by education for the fair competition of power and resources. The insurgence of ethnicity today expressed in primordial feelings is chosen by the disadvantaged persons to seek political redress in the society, using it as ‘strategic site’. This is due to factors such as: Loss of social dominance and the breakup of ‘family capitalism’ and the breakup of imperialism – that is, from economic and political to cultural resurgence. Bell (n.d) categorizes the upsurge of ethnic identification as three, namely the mingling of people and the desire for easy attachment; the breakup of traditional authority structures and the politicization of decisions. Ethnicity can, therefore, be seen as a strategic choice by individuals as a means of gaining power and privilege in which deeply held identities have to re-emerge for advantage and otherw

Nnoli (2008) maintains that ethnic identity is closely associated with religion, political, judicial and other social ingredients of identity. Ethnic conflict, to him, arises because of complexity and the negative use of ethnic identity in resolving contradictions and differences. The unequal use of power relationship for consensus binding and dialogue by the political class has created a complexity and negative view to the democratic regime. The cultural variation between Africa and the Nigerian questions of value-belief and cultural systems has disallowed the growth of liberal democratic system, but rather created a conflict and crises in its practice.

Historically, tribalism or ethnicity used to be a unifying agent in Africa and Nigeria, in particular, before the colonialists used it as an avenue of achieving their political and economic interests of profit and capital accumulation to remedy the production deficiency in Europe. Though resistance came in full force from Africans, the use of armed forces and material and ideological attacks by the imperialist forced Africa open to manipulation and exploitation. Nnoli asserted that ethnicity is more grievous than tribalism because of its primordial tendencies. He goes further to define ethnicity as:

---a social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of the largest possible competing communal groups (ethnic groups)

seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system. The relevant communal factor may be language, culture, race, religion and/or common history. Ethnicity is only one phenomenon associated with interactions among communal groups (ethnic groups). Others include trade, diplomacy, friendships, enmity, co-operation, self-abrogation and self-extension (Nnoli, 2008: 05).

The functions of ethnicity are reflected in its socio-political complexity, which is either negative when used to achieve selfish goals or positive when it is consistent with democratic governance. Its nature and dynamics range from its concept to its application to daily living. Theories of ethnicity range from Liberal, Marxist and Nationalist approaches in explaining and describing relationships. It can be sociological or class based. Thus, the class formation is the “National or Ethnic question”, as seen by Marx and Lenin and attested to by Rosa Luxemburg.

Again, Nnoli (2007) shows how ethnicity manifests to create a conflict of coexistence in Africa and how this manifestation consequently effects democratic transition in many African countries. He begins by comparing the conjuncture of ethnicity attributed to the decade 1985-1995 as the period of upsurge in both conflicts and democratization, especially in countries like Angola, Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, Algeria and Congo, etc. He raised the following fundamental questions like: Is there any link between the phenomenon of ethnic conflict and

democratization? Is democratization a resource for an impediment to ethnic conflict? Is ethnic conflict a resource to democratization? At what stage in the democratization process does ethnic conflict intervene? What stage of the process of democratization, if any, produces ethnic conflict? What needs to be done so that democratization will contribute to the resolution of ethnic conflict? How does the link between ethnic conflict and democratization affect the transition from authoritarian to democratic politics? What is the impact of ethnic conflicts on democratization and what is the impact of democratization on ethnic conflict?

Nnoli (2007) defines ethnic conflict as “the product of contradiction among ethnic groups for which the groups have not found a solution. It often arises from insecurity of members of groups engaged in intense socio-economic and political competition especially for access to political power” (Nnoli, 2007:1-2). This is to say that ethnic conflict creates hostility; suspicious actions, counteractions expectation, opening up the possibility for inter ethnic violence. Ethnicity thus becomes a states’ political tool or target, manipulation and competition. It creates a process where politicians use their ethnic background for support in multi-party elections campaigns and in using it to create a one party dictatorship or an authoritarian system of governance. Thus, deviating from encouraging

competition and access to power by favourable democratic policies, rather than creating a domination and inequality to participation and contribution. It is assumed that this ethnic exclusiveness can only be solved by democratic transition. This is because democratization provides “opportunities for the amelioration, if not elimination, of ethnic conflicts” (Nnoli, 2007:4). This is possible through the decentralization of state power, and promoting values and attitudes for social justice and equity by state and civil society. This could also be by a geographical or federal system plan, functional lines or organs of government and popular sovereignty by elective organs of government.

Ethnic identity has in the post-colonial era become more intense through the collaborative efforts of mobilizing ethnic supports to manipulate against rewarding competition for power and resources. Clear examples existed in Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, Liberia, Congo Democratic Republic and Rwanda. Thus, ethnicity has played both positive links in the nationalist’s pressure for independence during colonial rule and has mobilized the insistence to achieve political independence. The negative aspect of ethnicity has been in the post-colonial era when “the struggle for power and wealth among the various factions

of the petty bourgeoisies led its members to polarize the society into hostile and competing ethnic groups and even sub-ethnic identities” (Nnoli, 2007: 10-11). Thus, in the struggle for democratization, the authoritarian regimes use its policy of divide and rule to resist any pressure towards it.

Egwu (2007) maintains that “the political and social mobilization of ethnic identity, which defines the problem of ethnicity, is central to Nigeria politics” (Egwu, 2007: 54) and useful in explaining the dynamics of Nigerian conditions. Thus, class interests and issues serve the political dynamics of African people because “ethnicity is a political resource used by the dominant elites or members of the ruling class in the quest to maintain their leading positions in the political economy” (Egwu, 2007:54). The conflict generated by ethno-religious identities on the political set-up has been alarming in Nigeria in the last two decades. This coincides with economic and social crisis and the market reform of the IMF/World Bank, which later witnessed the introduction of the structural adjustment programme in Nigeria. This is also in addition to the earlier ethno-religious tensions in the country starting with the civil war down to conflicts like the Zango Kataf, Tiv-Jukun, Zaki-Biam, Kano, Bauchi, etc. crises. Egwu (2007) further sees

ethnicity as a complex dynamic of daily human existence and struggles. He posits that the impact of ethnic politics on Nigeria varied on its negative mobilization and use for domination.

Ciroma (1998) is of the view that isolationism and the narrowness of vision accompanied by increased intra and inter-communal and group conflict render development unrealistic. In Nigeria, parochialism and particularism create undesirable upheavals of ethnic and religious conflicts. Economic and education increase develop a level of political awareness, consciousness and articulation in group's solidarity to accessing power and resources. This is drawn from the fact that "Pluralism and inter-dependence have become undeniable and immutable facts of our present world setting" (Ciroma, 1998:18). Nigeria, like the U.S.A., USSR, China, etc. has not been an exception to this expression of history and cultural movements. Ciroma (1998) further stresses that "in spite of our present and past difficulties, in spite of our ethnic, political and religious plurality and the problems these have posed, the building of a united nation that is virile and self-reliant remains for all of us in the country a veritable imperative" (1998:36). These injustice and inequality relegate coexistence and incite violent conflict. The nation, therefore, needs harmony, cohesion, cooperation, open sincere and honest dealings by the leadership and followers.

2.1.6. Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Plateau State

Ethno-religious conflict has since the transition to democratic rule become prevalent in Nigeria and Plateau state has witnessed an upsurge in its occurrences and re-occurrences. The issue of political representation in the Jos North local government area and the native-settler or indigene-non indigene claims have caused great loss of lives and properties in the area. Pam Sha (1998) maintains that Plateau State witnessed many conflicts that were rooted in intra- and inter-ethnic differences. He identified the followings: land disputes, territorial claims, chieftaincy and political power sharing as the issues that always lead to conflict in Plateau State. Pam Sha (1998) stresses that the religious factor is crucial in understanding the ethnic conflicts in the sense that religion plays a crucial role in the generation and expansion of these ethnic conflicts, especially in situations where there are alignments between ethnic and religious boundaries.

Pam Sha (1998) analyzes two broad theoretical perspectives on group consciousness. On one hand, he believes that “people are by nature divided by language, custom, religion, race and territory, and ethnic consciousness expresses deeply rooted human sentiments. This implies that human beings have the tendency of favouring members of their own group if they have to make a choice between outsiders and their group members” (Pam Sha, 1998:39). The other

perspective stresses the constructive aspects of ethnicity, which argue that “the mere fact that people share a common language, religion, culture, race or territory, does not mean that they would wish to live their lives on the basis of these affinities, or even be conscious of them. It is believed that perception; attitudes and behaviour may be influenced by the unequal ways groups are treated in society” (1998:40).

For instance, the economy may distribute roles and opportunities differentially, so that some groups may dominate the ‘commanding heights’ of the economy, or control bureaucratic power in ways that may not be acceptable to others excluded. When this happens, individuals may compete over land, business assets, jobs, incomes, political offices, access to education, and language and religious rights. This is seen as vital to promoting group security and survival, and can and does provide for mobilizing solidarity. This perspective appears to have informed the recent analysis of ethnic relations and conflicts in Plateau State.

In furtherance of his argument, Pam Sha (1998) outlines the migration of different groups to the urban center as a factor that causes conflict. He argues that “owing to the scarcity of resources that becomes prominent in most urban areas, competition over social, economic and political resources occur amongst these

groups. Ethnic identity formation and projects meant to enhance ethnic security and hegemony are pursued. Privileged classes become factionalized and ethnicity becomes politicized leading to conflicts and violence” (1998:61). He concludes by suggesting peace-building mechanisms, such as advising government to take particular actions in eradicating poverty, starvation, diseases and reversing the trend of environmental destruction, etc.

The cause of the conflict in Jos can be attributed to political selfishness in elections and appointments at all levels by the indigenes or settlers, the so-called non-indigenes or vice-versa. Best (2007) is of the view that the indigenes and the settler non-indigenes in Jos, specifically the Hausa and Fulani, have had a running competition for prominence in Jos. The conflict in Jos became structured and palpable following the creation of Jos North Local Government in 1991. Things came to a head in 1994 when the two groups openly engaged in violent confrontation over the appointment of a Hausa candidate to chair the Jos North Local Government Council and the consequent opposition from the indigenes. The violence immediately acquired religious and ethnic colouration. Best (2007) further argues that:

at the bottom of the Jos conflict is the competition for political control as well as the issue of indigeneship. The competition and conflict spring from

who is an indigene and who is not, and the rights and privileges derivable from being an indigene. Thus, indigeneship is not a mere status but a status that begets specific political, economic and psychological benefits. Non-indigenes, as defined and understood locally, are not entitled to certain political rights and privileges, while indigenes are assured to be entitled to political rights and privileges (Best, 2007: 7 – 8; Human Rights Watch, 2001, 2004).

There have been cessations of violence and incessant attacks in various ways at different times in Plateau State over the years. Government (both federal and state) spirited individuals and interfaith NGOs put in efforts to restore peace in Jos, with different levels of success and failure. Today, the situation in Jos can best be described as an uneasy calm, or negative peace. This means the absence of direct violence, but the prevalence of other factors and conditions that can generate and re-ignite dysfunctional conflict between the parties to the conflict, namely “the Hausa/Fulani settlers the (non-indigenes of Jos) and the indigenes (the Berom, Anaguta and Afizere ethnic groups)” (Best, 2007:9).

2.1.7. Gaps in the Literature

From the literature review, it is obvious that most studies emphasize on conflict management with lesser emphasis on peace-building (being an emerging area). Most of the management of conflict carried out in the literature has been on adhoc basis and is not sufficient in unraveling the current conflicts bedeviling

societies, especially those with ethnic and religious sentiments. The combination of studying the role of FBOs and CBOs together is more holistic, inclusive and participatory because it looks at causes and resolution and emphasizes on reconstruction after a violent conflict.

For instance, in Zangon Kataf in Kaduna, the resolution of relocating the urban market to a new site resulted to a more bloody conflict. One is surprised that no sustainable solution has been found to the Ife-Modakeke conflict that started since the 1830's; while the Aguleri-Umuleri crises re-occur every thirty-one years starting from 1933 to 1964 to 1995 and 1999 (which was only four years apart). In spite of government efforts in constituting several judicial commissions of inquiry, state of emergency, multi-joint security operatives, etc. with the aim of managing and resolving conflicts, these conflicts linger. Therefore, promoting peace and consolidating the relative peace institutionalized using the peace-building mechanisms mentioned in this study will go a long way in promoting peace and preventing future re-occurrence of conflict.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theory serves a very significant purpose in any scientific research, because it is within the framework of a particular theory that a researcher makes his/her analysis. "Theories and models are some of the vital ingredients of analyses of social phenomenon"(Egomwan, 1991:45). It is based on this reasoning that this study will adopt the 'conflict resolution techniques' and 'dispute management systems' as its theoretical framework.

The theory has its origins in the "Judeo-Christian culture that developed in Europe and North America and was particularly shaped in the twentieth century by the first and second world wars" (Stewarts, 2006). Principal proponents of the theory included philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel (1858-1914) and Gestalt (influential on social psychology) psychologist Kurt Lewin (1890-1947). Other scholars who have contributed strategically to the development of the theory included Mahatma Ghandhi, among the precursors; Kenneth Boulding, Johan Galtung and John Burton, among the founders; and Herbert Kelman, Roger Fisher, William Ury, Adam Curle and Elise Boulding, among those who carried the subject forward thereafter.

Conflict resolution came of age in the United States in 1957 with the founding of the Journal of Conflict Resolution by Kenneth Boulding (1910-1995), Anatol

Rapoport (1911-) and Herb Kelman (1920-), among others at the height of the Cold War, when the development of nuclear weapons and the conflict between the super powers seemed to threaten human survival. A group of pioneers from different disciplines saw the potential of applying approaches that were evolving in management, industrial relations, social work, social psychology, international relations, communications and systems theory to conflicts in general. It was through Burton that conflict resolution techniques expanded to the international arena, following his problem-solving workshops in Cyprus and Sri Lanka. He “synthesized the main theoretical assumptions of conflict resolution, which are known as ‘human needs theory’. This theory operates on the premise that a precondition for the resolution of conflict is that fundamental human needs be met” (Stewarts, 2006).

However, the theory attracted interest, grew and spread during the 1970s and 1980s. Roy et al (2010) are of the view that the practice of peace-building following terrible violence became particularly important after the Cold War ended. The conflict resolution technique is now highly diverse both in theory and practice. According to Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002),

...conflict resolution techniques stimulate stakeholder participation, encourage policy ownership, and build institutional

capacity....ultimately; these techniques are forward-looking mechanisms, seeking to bolster a transformation of the situation from the negative to the positive” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002:205).

The theory has “ideas and practices that are applicable to transforming entrenched conflict, negotiating mutually acceptable agreement, and building constructive relationships after a destructive encounter” (Roy et al, 2010: 353-354). Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002) further posit that conflict resolution techniques can be categorized into four basic mechanisms, namely: Confidence Building; Joint Problem-Solving; Mediation and Negotiation. Confidence building mechanisms are used to develop trust and confidence among parties that may be in conflict or that need to enhance their cooperative bonds. This is usually a step-by-step process in which graduated unilateral concessions are made by one party and in-kind reciprocation is sought from the other parties. By indicating good-will and an honest desire to cooperate, confidence building mechanisms often lay the foundation for additional conflict resolution methods. Joint problem-solving involves the joint search for ways to deal with a dispute that divides the parties or a problem that they both need to resolve to mutual satisfaction. Brinkerhoff and Crosby (2002:209) opine that:

Interactive joint problem-solving is usually conducted in workshops that are facilitated by third parties who set the terms of reference and agenda for the sessions. In these workshops the parties can share differing perspectives, think and problem-solve together, find opportunities for creative idea generation, and overcome deeply rooted conflicts through dialogue. Success in problem-solving often leads to the commencement of negotiations (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002:209).

Mediation involves third parties who facilitate a process of dialogue among the principal protagonists. This is a viable alternative if the actors in a conflict are willing to find a solution, but require the services of a third party to help them to reach it. Third parties can be governmental officials who carry the weight, power and influence of their governments into a mediation effort, or they can be non-governmental, unofficial mediators, practicing what has become known as track-two diplomacy. Mediation can be a catalyst to begin negotiations or can be used to overcome an impasse within a negotiation. Negotiation is a process of joint decision-making in which the principal parties seek to accommodate their conflicts of interest and develop a mutually acceptable solution. Negotiation typically seeks to achieve integrative solutions, in which an outcome is found that satisfies and reconciles the conflicting interests of all sides, but neither side views itself or the other as a clear winner or loser. All the parties usually benefit in such integrative agreements.

Ury, Brett and Goldberg pioneered the Dispute Management System (DMS) in the 1980s “as a method for resolving intractable or frequent conflicts in troubled organizations, businesses, or entire industries” (Eric, B. & Julian, O. 2003). Their pioneering work was done at the Caney Creek Coal Mine, a mine that had been plagued by strikes in the 1970s. At the center of their method were three heuristics for analyzing conflicts and designing new systems, which could deal with these conflicts quickly and efficiently, before they escalated into the frequent strikes and lockouts that had been occurring at this mine almost routinely. Thus, Dispute Management Systems (DMS) are long-term, pre-arranged, and institutionalized dispute resolution mechanisms “that aim to either prevent or contain conflict, foster constructive social relationships over time among potential disputants, and provide opportunities to build local capacity and ownership over the process of dispute resolution” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002:213). Examples include formal structures associated with democratic governance, such as ombudsman’s offices or grievance commissions where conflicting parties can voice their differences and seek an impartial hearing. They also include more informal procedures, such as negotiation sessions that are triggered automatically when opposing stakeholder groups seek to express their opinions about newly proposed administrative regulations, mediation

mechanisms that offer disputants the support of neutral third parties who can search for common ground when the parties refuse to speak to one another directly, and cooling-off periods to enable disputing parties to regain their composure and reevaluate their positions and interests.

Ury, Brett, and Goldberg (1991, quoted in Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002:213) opine that: “Dispute management systems are usually created before there is a conflict, in anticipation that implementation situations may engender disputes in the future” (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002:213). While the stakes are still low, a DMS mechanism can be designed that is perceived as fair and acceptable to all the stakeholders and that spells out an orderly and rational process by which future disputes can be recognized, dealt with and managed.

From 1994 to 2011, Plateau State “showcased how identity-based mass violence in any typical multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious state in Nigeria can evolve into a major recurring crises” (Right To Know, 2010:ix) with repeated experiences in 2001, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011 and with each incident being more severe than the preceding one. The conflict there has been on an ethno-religious divide between ‘Hausa/Fulani Muslim ‘settlers’ and ‘Afizere, Anaguta and Berom

Christian 'indigenes' crises; grievances related to land, economic deprivation, political marginalization – especially the 1994 appointment of a Jasawa man as the Jos North local government chairman, the 1996 appointment of a Jasawa as the secretary of Jos North Education Authority, the denial to grant indigeneship certificate to the Jasawas, and the pastoralist-farmer sour relationship. These crises have turned into violent conflicts that have resulted to loss of lives and properties.

Looking at this theory, it is appropriate for this study as a framework of analysis because the conflict in Plateau State has lasted for a long time and has had far reaching negative consequences on the inhabitants of the state. Thus, what is needed now is to first build the people's confidence in the peace-building process and, thereafter, initiate the process of involving all the stakeholders in finding a solution to the crisis through mediation and negotiation. At the same time, if we look at the Dispute Management System (DMS) that places emphasis on a long term approach to resolve conflict, the crisis in Plateau State demands a method that will ensure permanent and long lasting peace in the state. All these issues are embedded in the tenets adopted in this theory.

In finding sustainable peace to the ongoing conflicts in Plateau State, the joint interactive problem-solving workshops and third party mediation will go a long way in dousing the tension of post-conflict transitions involving IDP repatriation and resettlement, the continuation of religious and ethnic cleavages, and necessitating the rebuilding of the economy, extensive land reform, and the reconstruction of housing and infrastructure. For instance, the role of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Jama'atul Nasri-Islam (JNI) in granting relief materials to the internally displaced people of Plateau State; the role of the Inter-Faith Mediation Center, Kaduna in facilitating a technical committee on the "Alternative Peace Reconciliation Road Map" that has eighteen concerned people of Plateau State in search of peaceful co-existence in the state, organised in NIPSS Kuru on May 26, 2010; the interactive joint problem-solving workshop facilitated by the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR), organized in the Gwong Gwom's Palace in Plateau State in 2010, etc. Unilateral confidence building measures will also assist in demobilizing and disarming combatant units while dispute management systems, such as grievance commissions as set up in Plateau State, will also serve as peace-building efforts against long-standing grievances. For instance, from 1994 to 2011, several judicial commissions of inquiry were set up by the Federal and the Plateau State

government to investigate the crises and recommend possible solutions. The reports and white papers of these commissions of inquiry have remained unpublished, inaccessible and not implemented until recently around 2010 when government published and released three of these commissions' reports. The laxity on the part of the authorities to implement the report's recommendations creates a breeding ground for the escalation of the conflict not only in Jos, but potentially in similar areas in the country.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

There were two sources of data used for this study, one the primary and the other the secondary sources of data collection. The primary data was gathered through the conduct of specialized interviews, questionnaire administration and Focus Group Discussion. Data was also collected from secondary sources and covered the available and related literature on peace-building in Plateau State in particular and Nigeria in general. This was accessed from publications, such as textbooks, articles from academic journals, government gazettes, official documents, magazines and newspapers, as well as unpublished works, such as theses, dissertations, and workshop/conference papers. The Internet was another source from where secondary data was collected. The analysis of the data collected involved both quantitative and qualitative methods and was presented using simple percentage tables.

3.2 Research Design

The research design for this study is the descriptive method. The study utilizes survey techniques by the use of questionnaire administration, interviews and the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) method for the collection of data from a population based on the sampling techniques used.

3.3 Area of the Study

This study is carried out in Plateau State. It is located in Nigeria's middle belt region with an area of 26,899 square kilometers. The state is located between latitude 8° 24'N and longitude 8° 32' and 10° 38' east. It is named after the picturesque 'Jos Plateau', a mountainous area in the north of the state with captivating rock formations. Bare rocks are scattered across the grasslands, which cover the plateau. The state is situated in the tropical zone with an average temperature of between 18 and 22 c. Harmattan winds cause the coldest weather between December and February. The warmest temperatures usually occur in the dry season months of March and April. The mean annual rainfall varies from 131.75cm (52 inches) in the southern part to 146cm (57 inches) on the plateau. The highest rainfall is recorded during the wet season months of July and August.

The state shares boundaries with Bauchi State to the North East; Kaduna State to the North West; Benue and Nassarawa States to the South West; and Taraba State to the South East. It has seventeen local governments distributed among the three senatorial districts of north, south and central. The Plateau North Senatorial District is made up of Jos North, Jos South, Jos East, Bassa, Riyom and Barikin Ladi Local Government Areas. The local government areas in Plateau Central Senatorial District include Mangu, Pankshin, Bokkos, Kanke and Kanam while in the southern senatorial district; there are Wase, Langtang south, Mikang, Quan Pan and Shendam Local Government Areas.

3.4 Population of the Study

The target population of this study is Plateau State, which has a population of “3,206,531” (National Population Commission, 2006). The state has seventeen (17) Local Governments Areas within the three senatorial zones of North, South and Central that formed the cluster. The elements to sample within these clusters using the multi- stage sampling method include Shendam and Quanpan, which were randomly selected from the southern senatorial zone; Jos North and Riyom also randomly selected from the northern senatorial zone while Pankshin and Mangu were also randomly selected from the central senatorial zone. The

population of the elements sampled from Plateau State is as follows: Shendam has a population of 217,170; Quanpan, 180,000; Jos North, 429,300; Riyom, 64,000; Pankshin, 168,718; and Mangu, 203,514. The total population of the elements sampled is 1,263,612. The choice of these elements will give the researcher the opportunity to consider the resultant samples representative of the state and hence generalizable to the same and to similar populations.

3.5 Sample Technique

The multi-stage sampling method was adopted as the sample technique. At first, a number of first-stage units are selected (the six local government areas in the three senatorial zones); from each of the selected first-stage units, wards/districts are selected randomly as the second stage units and this forms the elements sampled from where the survey was drawn. One hundred (100) questionnaires were administered on each of the selected local governments and a total of six hundred (600) questionnaires in total were administered on the sampled population.

On the other hand, specialized interviews were conducted and forty four (44) people were interviewed on questions related to peace-building efforts and ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau State. The distribution of the people

interviewed was based on the six local government areas and the wards/districts selected while administering the questionnaires. Six (6) people were interviewed in the Shendam local government area; seven (7) in Quanpan; fifteen (15) in Jos North; four (4) in Riyom; three (3) in Pankshin; four (4) in Mangu; both the co-executive Directors of the interfaith mediation centers , Kaduna were interviewed in Kaduna State; both religious (Muslim and Christian) youth leaders were also interviewed in Kano State and a professor of peace in the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington, DC was interviewed. The choice of the two Co-Executive Directors of Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna was as a result of their immense contribution to peace-building process, especially in Plateau State while the Christian and Muslim youth leaders were invited to Kano and interviewed. They were invited and interviewed in Kano because Plateau State was very hostile as a result of the high level of violent conflict. The peace professor (David Smock) was chosen because of their (including the USIP) role in sponsoring the peace-building process of Yelwan Shendam in 2004. This brought the total number of people interviewed to forty-four (44). The target groups to which the questions were directed included: political leaders; business-men; traditional rulers; members of professional groups like the Academic Staff Union of Universities, the Nigerian Union of Journalists, Human Rights Organizations; Civil Servants; Women

Groups; Peasants; NGO's, Civil Society Organizations, Faith-Based and Community-Based Organizations and youths while a group of eight to ten people were engaged in a Focus Group Discussion and data was obtained from participants based on their personal views, knowledge and experiences of the ethno-religious conflicts vis-à-vis the peace-building efforts in Plateau state.

The six (6) groups engaged in Focus Group Discussion total fifty-two (52) with the distribution of the participants given as follows: eight (8) people participated in the discussions in Shendam local governments; twelve (12) in Quanpan local government, though it might be termed a rural area in my study, we were lucky to be there on a market day so this inform the large size of the participants; thirteen (13), in Jos North local government; six (6), in Riyom local government; seven (7), in Pankshin local governments; and six (6), in Mangu local governments. It was very difficult to ascertain the occupation of each of the members that participated in the group discussions, as they all cut across different occupation and groups like religious leaders; traditional leaders and chiefs like village and ward heads; political leaders; security outfits like the police, the army, civil defense, etc.; non-governmental organizations; community based organizations; civil servants; market women and men; students; youths, etc.

3.6 Instruments for Data Collection

The research techniques used in this study were questionnaire administration, specialized interviews and Focus Group Discussion techniques. The researcher collected information through structured questionnaires that were administered on specific categories of people in the population, who included a political party Public Relations Officer (PRO); academic staff, including a head of department; Civil and Public servants working at local government secretariats, state and federal level; Faith-based members like Reverend fathers, Pastors and Imams, including the Co-executive Directors of the Interfaith Mediation, Kaduna; Community-based leaders and members, including the Assistant secretary of Jasawa Youth Development Association (JYDA), Traditional and village heads; Cattle tenders and farmers; Non-Governmental Organizations leaders and members including the project manager of USAID, the research fellow of the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR), a member of Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN), and the Secretary of the Centre for Peace Advancement of Nigeria (CEPAN); Youths and Youth leaders that include Christian and Muslim youth leaders; Mass Media that include a member of Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ); Students of University of Jos and College of Education Pankshin; Businessmen and Traders; Medical Doctors and Nurses; Lawyers,

including the secretary of the Council of Ulama; Local government authorities; the Police, the army and State security services, including the Head of Operation MESA and Joint Task Force (JTF); a professor of Peace-Building in the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Washington DC and government officials whom the needed information were obtained from.

The adoption and usage of questionnaire, interview and focus group discussion techniques is based on the following reasons, as maintained by Ndiyo (2005:61): It helps to accumulate information from individuals at relatively low cost; It permits generalization to be made to a wider population even when only a sample is studied; It is flexible to permit the use of a variety of data collection techniques; It sensitizes researchers to potential problems that were originally unanticipated or unknown; It is a useful tool for verifying theories; It creates room for interaction; and It makes respondents feel freer in expressing their minds.

In addition, data were collected with the help of fourteen (14) research assistants. These research assistants assisted in administering six hundred (600) questionnaires, interviewed forty-four (44) respondents and engaged about fifty two (52) people in a focus group discussion within the time frame of the study. The research assistants were recruited in university of Jos with the assistance of

the head of department of political science, Dr. Galadima and Dr. Felix (a lecturer in the same department). They gave us access to a lecture room, which we used in training the research assistants. The training workshop involved telling them what is required of them, the likely challenges they might face, the strategies and patience involved in obtaining information from respondents and the remuneration involved.

After the training workshop, we now set out starting with the central mosque; we were received and also introduced to CAN headquarters by two JN1 officials attached to us in the central mosque to assist us. The volatile nature of the area (Plateau State) influenced our selection decision to be partly on the basis of local government area so that the people of the area will accept us and see us together with their natives. For instance, in Riyom, Mangu and Pankshin, we had research assistants that were from these areas and they took us straight to the village and district head, introduced us and as a result of their subjects or natives as part of the research assistants, the team was welcomed, granted interviews and we administered our questionnaire without much of a problem. But the story in Quanpan (Bakin Ciyawa and Namu) is different. While administering the questionnaires and conducting interviews in Bakin Ciyawa, the deputy chairman of the local government area stopped us and told us to obtain a formal permit

from the chairman. We went to the secretariat and were directed to obtain a police permit first (knowing very well that the DPO had travelled). The DCO refused to give us the permit, saying he was not authorized. When we realized these people in authority were only trying to stop us technically, we decided to ignore them and continue because of time and financial factors. Later, the deputy chairman came back and threatened us with arrest and detention and at that juncture we left.

In Namu, we went on market day and people were willing to participate in the interview and discussion. While conducting the field work, we noticed some youths gathering with their attention on us. We noticed their number increasing and one of the research assistants told us we needed to leave the place, and warned us that the youths might be planning to attack us. We started sneaking out of the place, but still one of the research assistants was chased. But God saved him, as he was able to use the large crowd as a shield to run away.

A Councilor in the Ba'a ward already heard about us and on reaching there he prevented us from administering the questionnaires and conducts the interview. Other challenges experienced included people complaining about timing: they gave excuses, such as going to the farm, the market, the office, and their

businesses and general indifference or disregard for what we were doing, despite telling them that we could wait for days. Also, most of the respondents were either scared to cooperate or were not friendly due to illiteracy or low levels of education or otherwise. We also faced challenges from intellectuals, interfaith leaders, elites, politicians, etc. due to their tight schedule or otherwise. I had to travel to Kaduna, Abuja and even Lagos to interview some dignitaries without success.

Beside the challenges experienced, the field work was a success and the use of some natives of the area yielded positive results. We also came across people who really helped in making the field work a success. For instance, some members of the Jama'atul Nasri Islam (JNI) were those that took us to the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) headquarters in Jos, where we understood the categorization of the association into five (5) different blocks that comprises Roman Catholic; Organization of African International Churches (OAIC); Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN); Christian Churches of Nigeria (CCN) and Churches of Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (CPFN). Though the Plateau State CAN chairman, Arch. Ignatius A. Kaigama, travelled, we were received and treated well and our assignment was a success. At the Central Mosque, we were able to

meet with Sheik Balarabe Dawud (the Chief Imam) and some of the Jos Muslim Ummah. They also treated us well and our interaction with them was very fruitful.

Sarkin Naraguta was the first person that introduced us to the draft report on the “Alternative Peace and Reconciliation Road Map document” facilitated by the Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna even before the document was released. This document really assisted the study positively.

3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis

Based on the data collected in the field in respect of this study, tables were constructed in relation to the questions raised for detailed presentation in numerical units, interpretation and analysis. A percentage method is used to analyze the data collected. The analysis of the data collected involved both quantitative and qualitative methods and was presented using simple percentage tables.

CHAPTER FOUR

A HISTORY OF PLATEAU STATE AND THE ROLE OF FAITH AND COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN PEACE-BUILDING

4.1 Plateau State: An Overview

Plateau State derives its name from Jos Plateau; it is the twelfth largest state in Nigeria roughly located at the centre of the country. Its capital is Jos. The state has an area of about 26,899 squares kilometers and an estimated population of over three (3) million people. It is located between latitude 8° 24`N and longitude 8° 32` and 10° 38` east. The northern part of the state is mostly rocky and the area contains within its infractions chains of hills and many captivating rock formations. Its picturesque landscape ranges from bare rocks and artificial hillocks and deep gorges from years of tin mining in Jos. It shares common boundaries with Benue, Nassarawa, Kaduna, Taraba, Bauchi, Gombe and Kano State (Plateau State of Nigeria, 2007).

Plateau State is a product of half a century of boundary adjustments arising, on the one hand, from the ambition of the colonial masters to create a province, which consisted largely of Non-Muslims, under one resident, in order to protect

the railway line being constructed at that time, and guarantee the sustenance of tin mining activities (natural resources), which began in 1902, and the strong desire of the people in this area of political self- determination, on the other hand. In the formative years of British colonialism in Nigeria, much of the present Plateau State was part of the Bauchi Province under whose regime the people of the state, irrespective of their differences, were united primarily with a common language, Hausa, for easy and effective communication. “The people have since then been living mutually together in peace and harmony” (Balogun, 2005:1).

In 1906, Jos was administered as part of Bauchi with headquarters at Naraguta (Narrkuta), which was later transferred to Jos. In 1926, the Plateau Province, comprising Jos and Pankshin divisions, were carved out of the Bauchi province, at various times between 1926 and 1976. The boundary of the Plateau province oscillated, paralleling the general trend of political development in the country, as the government of the day acquiesced to the agitation of different ethnic groups to be merged with their kith and kin that are of larger concentrations in other provinces. During this period, therefore, some administrative units or divisions, as they were then called, from neighboring provinces were added to or subtracted from Plateau province (Plateau State of Nigeria, 2010).

In May 1967, Benue and Plateau Provinces were merged to form Benue-Plateau State, which is one of the twelve states the military administration of General Yakubu Gowon divided in place of the former four existing regions. The division of the country into smaller semi-autonomous states was an attempt to introduce a sense of balance between the regions (north, south and west) and to save the federation from total disintegration, which was imminent from the polarization of the country along ethnic lines after the bloody military take-over of 1966 and the subsequent crisis which led to an attempted secession by the eastern region (Biafra war/civil war).

Benue-Plateau State emerged as one of those large states of the federation with a large number of diverse ethnic identities living together peacefully, but immediately after the civil war, pressure was mounted on the federal government by these diverse ethnic identities for the creation of more states. When the country was, however, further divided into nineteen states in 1976, Plateau Province was severed from Benue-Plateau State to become the Plateau state. In 1996, the present Nassarawa State was carved out of the western half of Plateau State by the Abacha military regime.

The pre-colonial setting of Plateau was basically on political, economic and socio-cultural organizations. Thus, a village republic was under the leadership of paramount chiefs and council of elders where religion and festivals bind relations and mode of production were socially owned by families and community levels whereas agriculture, trade and mining serve as the basic economic activities. Goshit (2006) maintains that “the imposition of the British colonial rule on the Jos Plateau area as from 1902 onwards had serious implications for the inter group relations in the area” (Goshit, 2006: 471). The “foreigners” that existed before the colonial intervention were the Hausa, the Fulani and the Jukuns. The colonial settings allowed for the massive influx of migrants such as Europeans, Yoruba and Ibos. These make Plateau a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. Colonial rule, instead of promoting national integration, rather adopted a policy of racial, ethnic and religious divisions. Thus, after independence, those divisions became a problem to the state in terms of competition for scarce resources and power, which consequently have been an issue on the part of the said indigenes majority of whom are Christians and settlers who are minority Hausa and Fulani Muslims. The state is inhabited by both Christians and Muslims. The Christians are in the majority while the Muslims constitute a significant minority. It is home to several ethnic groups, which fall into two broad categories: those who consider

themselves “indigenes” or the original inhabitants of the area-among them the Berom, the Afizere and the Anaguta and those who are termed “non-indigenes” or “settlers”, composed in large part of the Hausa (the majority ethnic group in Northern Nigeria), but also of southern Igbo, Yoruba and other ethnic groups. Some of the “settlers”, notably the Hausa, have been living in the area for several generations. Neither the “indigenes” nor the “settlers” are monolithic in religious terms, but Christianity tends to be the dominant religion among the indigenes, while Islam is the dominant religion among the settlers (Human Rights Watch, 2001; 2005; Ambe-Uva, 2010: 43).

In Plateau State, conflicts have been long time grievances on land and the economic, political, religion and ethnic divide between those who claim to be ‘indigenes’ and those termed ‘settlers’. It started gaining momentum with local government re-organization where Jos North Local government was created in 1991 and the winning of the local government chairmanship election by Samaila Mohammed (a Jasawa); the local government chairmanship appointment of Aminu Mato (a Jasawa) in 1994; the appointment of Ado Ibrahim (a Jasawa) as the secretary of the Jos North Education Authority in 1996; the denial to grant indigeneship certificates to the Jasawa and the federal government appointment

of Mukhtar Mohammed as the Jos North coordinator of the National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP) in July 2001, but until then, the grievance,

had not led to large scale loss of life. However, in September 2001, tensions suddenly exploded in the state capital Jos, and around 1,000 people were killed in just six days. What had originally been an ethnic and political conflict turned into a religious one, as the ethnic divide happened to coincide with the religious divide: the conflict between 'indigenes' and 'settlers' became a conflict between Christians and Muslims, as both sides exploited religion as an effective way of mobilizing large-scale support. Then violence spread out of Jos to other parts of Plateau State, and scores, and possibly hundreds, more people were killed....in cycle of attacks and counter-attacks by both Muslims and Christians....and have become increasingly well-armed and have attacked their opponents with impunity, using religion as a tool to whip up sentiment and to spur on their followers (Human Rights Watch, 2005:2).

Since then, different committees and commission of inquiries were set up either by the federal government or state government to investigate both the remote and immediate causes of the conflicts, "assess the damage, identify those involved and advise as to what further action, if any, should be taken against them, and, finally, to make recommendations about how to avoid re-occurrence (cited in Ostien, 2009:14).

4.2 The Political Evolution of Plateau State

Plateau State officially became a state on February 3rd, 1976 and was further divided to give birth to Nassarawa State in October 1996. It is one of the thirty-six

states that make up the Nigerian federation. It has seventeen local governments, distributed among the three senatorial zones of north, south and central. The Plateau North Senatorial zone is made up of Jos North, Jos South, Jos East, Bassa, Riyom and Barikin Ladi Local Government Areas. The local government areas in Plateau Central Senatorial zone include Mangu, Panshin, Bokkos, Kanke and Kanam while in the Southern senatorial zone there are Wase, Langtang south, Mikang, Quan Pan and Shendam Local Government Areas.

Plateau State has one of the largest concentrations of ethnic minorities in Nigeria with over 58 relatively small ethnic communities spread across its seventeen local government areas. These ethnic groups are broadly categorized into the Chadic and the Benue-Congo language groups. Among the Chadic speakers are the Angas, Mwaghavul, Mupin, Goemei, Montol, Ron, Kulere, Deomak, Memyang, Fier, e.t.c. They live predominantly in the central zone of the state with others in the southern zone. The Birom, Afizere, Anaguta, Amo, Buji, Jere, Irigwe, e.t.c. are found in the Northern zone. These multi-cultural groups in Plateau State had no evidence of conflict, as their people lived peacefully in harmony then. Longkat (2006) captures this harmonious coexistence when he posits that “the people settled peacefully in their areas and use cultural, economic, political and religious festivals in interacting with neighbours” (Longkat, 2006). It is the consequence of

the British invasion that marked a turning point in the political history of what has now come to be known as Plateau State.

When the Plateau Province was created among the then thirteen new provincial administrative units, which came into existence as one of the Northern provinces in 1926, the geographical position of Jos at the northern edge of Plateau easily qualified it to be the seat of the administrative headquarters of Jos division. The province was created out of Bauchi, Mubi and Nassarawa Provinces. Before that development, not more than five years after the official founding of Jos in 1915, it was made the headquarters of Naraguta division then under Bauchi province when the divisional headquarters was transferred from Naraguta to Jos.

During the same period (1920-1921), the Governor of the Northern Nigerian region had declared Jos a second class town. It is worthy of note that early development of Jos in terms of infrastructural facilities like roads, communications, health services, banks, etc. warranted the vesting on Jos having a headquarter capacity. The 1920-21 transfer from Naraguta to Jos, for instance, was accentuated by the difficulties of access to the new railway and the consequent growth spurred in Jos after the establishment. One other reason is the favourable climate of Jos and the potentialities in terms of mineral resources,

natural scenery on the shores of Niger like Lagos, Calabar or Sapele, which suited the colonialists.

Presently, Plateau state administrative structure, like that of any other state's administrative structure in Nigeria, consists of the state cabinet, which is being headed by a civilian chief executive (or governor) with the assistance of a deputy governor, secretary to the state governor, commissioners, special advisers, permanent secretaries, board chairmen, general managers and local government chairmen; the state House of Assembly (the legislative arm) consists of 25 members and 11 special advisers. The State House of Assembly is headed by a speaker of the house in conjunction with a deputy speaker. The cabinet members of the local governments' council (councilors) also constitute the legislative arm. The state is also divided into chiefdoms and emirates, each encompassing ethnic groups who share common affinities (Blench et. al., 2003).

4.3 Economic Development in Plateau State

Tin mining is to Jos-Plateau what gold mining and its trade was to the ancient Sudanese empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai many centuries ago. In the case of Jos-Plateau, it is a well-known fact that Jos owes its existence to the discovery of tin and that it grew to accommodate the interest of the mining industry.

Tin mining played an important role in the economy and the rise of Jos-Plateau as far back as the 16th century and perhaps much earlier. Prior to the coming of the colonialists, tin mining was proficient only in the northern part of the Plateau around Bukuru, Ngell and Tilden Fulani. The tin then mined from alluvial and oxide deposits and smelted by traditional method had its ore brought by traders to Ririwen Delma, which were important contents for smelting tin to straw tin bars. Sani (2010) maintained that the origin and discovery of tin in Jos commenced

In 1830s but it was not until 1902 the first sample of tin ore sent to England by Sir Williams Wallace (then acting high commissioner) had been examined by the imperial institutes, where over 80% of tin dioxide equal to about 64% of metallic tin, and Jos Plateau was proved to be its source (Sani, 2010).

The British incursion into the Plateau was spurred by the mining department of the Royal Nigeria Company in accordance with the aims of the colonial administration in Nigeria. The administrative machinery that evolved was made up of a central treasury, the police, the prison and courts in each division under the direct control of the District Officer.

The importance of tin to the British then was of great magnitude, considering the industrial development of Britain, and the use of tin in British industries, which

made Jos-Plateau an important economic base for the colonialist. This is further stressed by Obadiah and Asmau (2010) when they state that “the British discovery of high grade tin and columbite in Jos marked a turning point and special phase of colonial rule on the Plateau” (Obadiah and Asmau, 2010: 160).

Jos Plateau grew rapidly due to the exploratory activities of the colonialist in mineral resources. The exploration of the colonialists in the area brought about the establishment of infrastructural facilities meant for trans-communication and to facilitate the smooth evacuation of these mineral resources from Jos to Europe. For instance, the establishment of a rail line that started as a narrow gauge rail shuttle line that was later expanded and linked to Port Harcourt line in 1927. Other infrastructural facilities established in the area were the telegraphy line connected to Bauchi; road transportation networking; schools; hospitals (these were previously provided on racial basis); banks; water; electricity; museum and “the completion of the building of the Jos main market in 1929 at the cost of 12,100 pounds, to cater for the growing economic prosperity that characterized the tin city” (Sani, 2010:19).

The booming economic activities coupled with the provision of infrastructural amenities also paved the way of trading in Jos-Plateau. This brought about the

influx of people into Jos who either came as traders, farmers or workers in the tin mines, as the town is endowed with abundant mineral resources like Tin (Cassiterite), Monazite, Columbite, Kaolin, Clay, Mica, Zircon, Marble, Barites, Quartz, Gemstone, Talc, Dolomite, Feldspar, etc. The economic activities continue to progress to the extent that “a modern smelting company was established in 1960 in order to meet the wishes of the Nigerian government. Consequently, Makeri Smelting Company was opened in 1962 and is one of the best then” (Sani, 2010: 18).

Many industries have over the years, taken advantage of the abundant raw materials in Plateau State. These include mining-related industries, such as Makeri Smelting Company; Kaolin industry in Barikin Ladi; Gold and Base, Exlands and Kaduna prospectus. Some of the industries in Plateau State are agro-based types utilizing local agricultural materials. A few well known agro-based industries in the state are NASCO food, NASCO packs, Jos International Breweries, Northern Nigeria Fibre Products and Grand Cereal and Oil Mills Ltd (Plateau State of Nigeria, 2010).

With the discovery of oil in the 1970s, the national government neglected mineral and agricultural production and shifted emphasis to the oil sector. “The

development of the petroleum industry caused a total shift in economic focus from agriculture to petroleum production” (Darren and Lewis, 2010; 272). Nigeria’s over reliance on oil as its major exchange earning yielded a lot of returns as a boom was experienced in the 1970’s, the 1990’s and in the 21st century, which saw an increase in the country’s revenue resulting in “great increase in its expenditures on education, defense and infrastructure. The university system was expanded, roads and ports were built, and industrial and office buildings were constructed...” (Darren and Lewis, 2010; 272), which is also the case in Plateau state.

“The desire to promote economic development” (Handelman, 2011; 276) by governments, influences the Plateau state government to set up the Plateau Industrial Development Authority (PIDA) to serve as a link between it and the business community, so as to facilitate the rapid growth of industrialization in the state. Presently, industrial factories are mostly concentrated in Jos, which is one of the leading industrial centers in northern Nigeria. There are over sixty factory/industrial establishments in Jos. They range in size from the small to the very large, and depend entirely on imported machinery and a combination of local and imported raw materials for their production. These industries engage in various forms of manufacturing, which include food processing, the production

of packaging materials, cosmetics, furniture, confectionaries, livestock feeds, detergents, beer, soft drinks, pharmaceuticals, building materials, steel and metal sheets, book publishing, tin smelting and lead materials (Plateau State of Nigeria, 2010).

4.4 Socio-Cultural Development in Plateau State

Plateau State is heterogeneous and consists of over 58 relatively small ethnic groups spread across the state. The people have a very rich cultural heritage, which they religiously hold. It results into many festivals that provide entertainment to the people and visitors. For example, the hunting festival, which served “as a basis of clan identification and incorporation and/or fusion, also served as a calendar by which the people used to determine the dates of movements from one settlement to the other or determine the ages of their children” (Longkat, 2006:175). The agricultural festival is also a principal occupation in which the community experiences a lot of entertainment, especially after harvest. “The principal festival of the year takes place when the corn is ready for harvesting...at night the women dance round singing, whilst the men beat drums and blow horns till far into the morning” (Temple, 1965:13-14). Other festivals are inter-group marriages, which solidify the bond of relationship among

clans and involve a lot of socio-cultural activities, trade relations between clans, etc.

The people of Jos Plateau have similarities in their cultural and traditional ways of life. They are sociable, accommodating and co-exist peacefully. The diverse ethnic groups that exist in the state “provide some of the dominant cultural traits of the nation’s rich cultural heritage. The art treasures and artifacts of the state occupy significant places of honour in galleries the world over and their dances and songs have won distinction at international festivals” (Plateau State of Nigeria, 2010).

A common feature among the highly heterogeneous ethnic groups in Plateau is the strong affection to dance and the culture of feat festivals, initiation rites and naming ceremonies, religious rituals and ancestral worship, etc. This strong affection to culture and festivity further binds them together to live in peace and harmony. Indeed, the cultural factors that bind the people are more than those that divide them. Some of the cultural festivals are: the Afizere cultural festival in Jos North/East on January 1st annually; the Irigwe New Year celebration in Miango/Kwall also on January 1st; the Taroh cultural day in Langtang North/South around March/April; Resettlement day in Langtang south around March/April; the Pan cultural festival in Doemak town (Ba’ap) around March; Goemai day in

Shendam town, Quan Pan around March/April; Pu'us Kang Mushere in Ikgwakap (Bokkos), the Zarachi festival in Kwall and Miango, Nzem Berom in Jos North/South, Barikin Ladi and Riyom all in April; also are Puska at in Mangu town and Pusedung in Pankshin town/Kanke both around April. In November, there is the Thaar cultural community festival in Wase town; the Ron/Kulere festival in Bokkos town around December/January and; and the Bogghom cultural festival in Kanam town around December/January.

In terms of language, each of the varied ethnic groups has its own distinct language but English and Hausa remain the predominant languages used as lingua francas.

4.5 The Role of Faith and Community-Based Organizations in Peace-Building Processes in Plateau State

Just as the early 1980s to the late 1990s saw the proliferation of various Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) agitating for democracy and democratization due to the collapse of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, the introduction of the neo-liberal economic reform programs and the institution of autocratic and one party regimes in Africa and Nigeria in particular so was the proliferation of ethnic and religious violence witnessed in Nigeria in general and Plateau State in particular from 1999 (when the military handed over power to the civilians) to 2011.

Undoubtedly, Auwal captures it when he posits that “the period that stretched from 1986 through 1993 was one that saw the heightened negative influence of the military....this military hegemony, spurred the proliferation of civil society organizations and social movements in Nigeria” (Auwal, 2005:1).

Civil society as a concept in the social sciences has been approached differently in the literature cutting across different interpretations. For instance, Diamond (1999) argues that civil society as a concept is “...the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules” (Diamond, 1999:221). Thus, identities within civil society remain independent of the state by jointly increasing their own rules, but “civil society and the state are not totally detached as a relationship is established between the state and society (Richard, 2006: Joseph, 2010: Mohammed, 2010). Still dwelling on the state-civil society interactions, Rothchild and Lawson (1997) draw their analysis much closer by highlighting African political exigencies that explain the fragility of civil society on the backdrop of post-independent regime formation and management in Africa. They capture the classical origin of the concept of civil society, which they trace down to the early philosophers, such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Marx and

Gramsci whose works engineered the evolution of the “social contract” from which civil society today derives its antecedent.

Again, deriving examples from the African countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Uganda, Sudan, Mozambique, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Zambia and a host of others, Rothchild and Lawson (1997) view the present existing African political environment as authentic to the principle of ‘social contract’, as held by these classical scholars mentioned above. They particularly cite the instance of ethnic stupor in which African states conduct their politics, which is divisive rather than integrative. For instance:

Ethnic self-determination movements, large scale societal disengagement and ethnically based clientelism in numerous African countries indicate the absence of a social contract and these fundamentally divided societies are likely to produce civil societies significantly more sequenced than European philosophy would suggest, at least in the short run (Rothchild and Lawson, 1997: 255).

CSO therefore have a constructive role to play in peace-building processes, especially in such a fundamentally divided society as operated in Plateau state, Nigeria. “Civil society institutions include Non-Governmental Organizations

(NGOs), Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), peoples' organizations, community-based organizations, civic clubs, trade unions...cultural and religious groups" (Richard, 2006: 273). Kew (2004) posits that "non-governmental organizations (otherwise called non-profit organizations) are one part of the many associations that constitute civil society". For better clarification, a non-governmental organization, according to Zaffarullah and Rahman (2002), is an organization (maintained primarily at the grassroots level) that is dedicated to the design and implementation of social and economic development programs for the emancipation and empowerment of the poor (Zaffarullah and Rahman, 2002:1018). As civil organizations, NGOs are voluntary, independent and not geared towards the profit motive and are aimed at providing services to the disempowered people regardless of any prejudicial consideration (Mohammed, 2010: 26).

In the midst of the persistence conflict in Plateau State and the incapacitation of the governments in resolving the conflict, this section consists of analysis on the role of faith-based and community-based organizations as it involves peace-building in Plateau State. Some of these organizations that work towards peace-building process in the state include, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN); the Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI); Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'a Wa-Iqamatul Sunnah

(JIBWIZ); the TEKAN Peace Desk; the Coventry Cathedral International; Inter-faith Mediation, Kaduna and a host of others. For instance, the effort of Center for Peace Initiative and Development (CEPID) in organizing “radio and television announcements to promote peaceful co-existence, with the support of USAID’s office of Transition Initiatives” (Krause, 2010:51) in Plateau State; CEPID, the Civil Liberty Organization (CLO), the Center for Peace Advancement in Nigeria (CEPAN), the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR), etc also carried out several workshops and training on peace and tolerance for youth leaders of both faith and for community members. Some of these organizations (like the CLO) visited security agencies to improve communication between grassroots and security officers; “The Kaduna-based Inter-Faith Mediation center repeatedly visited Jos and other towns in Plateau State, such as Yelwa, where they worked towards a peace declaration” (Smock, 2006); The Canadian High Commission, in co-operation with the center for Humanitarian Dialogue and Young Ambassador for Community Peace and Inter-Faith Foundation (YACPIF), sponsored a forum for dialogue on peace-building and conflict mediation in Jos, Plateau State, on February 29, 2012. About “thirty religion leaders, community leaders and the representatives of NGOs working for peace in Jos gathered to discuss the factors contributing to the ongoing crisis in Jos, as well as strategies to end the cycle of

violence” (Weekly Trust, March 31, 2012). The YACPIF also organised a football peace tournament that involved “two hundred and sixty football players that played across eight different venues in Plateau State namely: Jos North, Jos South, Barikin Ladi and Riyom local government areas” (Daily Trust, February 9, 2012). The venues where the football matches were played were venues tagged ‘no go areas’ due to their proneness to conflict. Twenty-four teams were carefully selected to participate in the tournament and jerseys distributed free, all with the sole aim of dousing tension and imbibing the spirit of brotherhood that usually goes with sporting activities.

4.6 Peace Building Strategies

Peace-building is much more than just repairing physical infrastructure after a violent conflict occurs. Peace-building priority is to restore a sense of security through restoring the legitimate government institutions that are regarded by citizens as serving all groups and are able to dispel persisting tensions; provide special opportunities for political, legal, economic and administrative reforms to change past systems and structures, which may have contributed to economic and social inequities and conflict; and initiatives for participatory debate and the assessment of the role of the military in relation to the state and civil society. Peace-building strategies must be coherent, comprehensive, integrated and

aimed at helping address the root causes of conflicts. Thus, the following peace-building strategies will be outlined and discussed.

4.6.1: Good Governance

This is recognized as a pivotal peace strategy. “It is a relative term to which there is no consensus, but most will agree” (Best, 2006:102) it ensures that political, economic and social priorities are based on broad consensus in society. Good governance should, among other things, be

participatory, transparent, equitable and accountable. It should enhance high-level institutional effectiveness and economic growth. The rule of law must prevail, complemented by a politically stable environment for the formulation and implementation of government policies. It ensures co-operation between the political class and the administrative class for the delivery of high quality services needed for sustainable development and growth (Ikotun, 2010:298).

When all people’s human rights are respected, when society is governed by the rule of law, and when ordinary men and women are involved in the political process, resorting to violence to effect political change is obviously less likely. Efforts to support participation, democratization and peace-building, through the strengthened institutions of governance, are clearly interlinked.

4.6.2: Free, Fair and Violence-Free Elections

The conduct of elections for public office shall be free, fair and devoid of violence. A free and fair electoral process guarantees the emergence of a legitimate leadership, which, in turn, brings about good governance. Peace-building places elections at the top of the political agenda. Political institutions must be seen as legitimate and competent. Free and Fair elections are important mechanisms for establishing political legitimacy.

4.6.3: Democracy and Democratization

Francis (2008:145) defined democracy as “a set of ideals, institutions and processes of governance that allows the broad mass of the people to choose their leaders and that guarantees them a broad range of civic rights”. Democratization enables the population to articulate its needs and interests and to protect the rights and interests of marginalised groups, and the most vulnerable. A democratic system, according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (1998:58) also “provides mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, including the distribution of political and economic power, and mechanisms for transferring political control”. By supporting and consolidating democratic institutions, which include political parties and representative

institutions, decision makers can contribute to building peace and stability. Thus, focus should be on promoting democracy, the rule of law, human rights and good governance in a wider range of policy decision making.

4.6.4: Promoting Dialogue

This involves communication, co-operation and collaboration. Efforts in fostering inter-community relations in a divided society include trade, interaction and dialogue. These efforts play an important role in defusing inter-community tensions, break down long-standing social barriers and foster tolerance and understanding. The building of social networks of trust not only contributes to social reconstruction, but also to the building of the social capital that can help prevent recurring outbreaks of violent conflict in the future. Emphasis should be on programmes to support intercultural understanding, the promotion of multilingualism and cultural expression by minorities and promoting the identification of shared heritage, values and goals across different social groups.

The collaboration process, according to Best (2006),

is one in which parties work together on their own, to resolve problems through constructive dialogue or other activities like joint projects, sharing of community schools and health centers, markets, bridges and culverts, as well as other utilities, etc. Collaboration helps to build trust, confidence and mutual respect. It works on the basis of conflict parties, either potential or

actual, working together on a number of identified common themes and issues, or projects, which intensify communication and activities between them (2006:104-105).

This strategy could eventually create a chain of collaborative activities that support peace-building.

4.6.5: Empowering Civil Society Organizations

The institution of civil society plays a vital role in divided society in rebuilding bridges of communication between polarized groups through “supporting some traditional institutions of authority; promoting dialogue and co-operation; and supporting the freedom of, and access to, information for all members of society” (OECD, 1998:65). Where the authority of a government is weak, traditional institutions often have a significant influence on communities and can be essential mechanisms for effective peace-building, specifically building on those traditional authority institutions that include “community elders, religious leaders and tribal councils that contribute to the process of peace-building and reconciliation in a significant and constructive way” (OECD, 1998:65). Efforts to foster inter-community relations, including trade, information exchanges and dialogue can play an important role in defusing inter-community tensions,

breaking down long-standing social barriers and fostering tolerance and understanding. Other strategies played by CSOs include serving in a preventive capacity of an early warning function, for instance, “alerting the international community to potential breakdowns in a distressed country’s government or in relations among the country’s major domestic groups” (An International Directory, 1998:22); Human-rights monitoring; Supporting peace constituencies; Advocacy; Lobbying; and Education.

4.6.6: Mediation and Negotiation

Mediation is the voluntary interference of a third party in fostering and settling parties in conflict. The role of the mediator, according to Best (2006:108), “is to create the enabling environment for the parties to carry out dialogue sessions leading to the resolution of a pending conflict”. Negotiation, on the other hand, “is a direct process of dialogue and discussion taking place between at least two parties who are faced with a conflict situation or conflict...its aim is to reach agreement through joint decision making between parties” (Best, 2006:105). Strengthening skills for effective arbitration, mediation, negotiation and reconciliation can help to increase the chances that conflict prevention, management and resolution strategies will be accepted as appropriate and

legitimate by decision makers. Training for effective arbitration, mediation, negotiation and reconciliation efforts builds and cultivates the skills necessary for participation in the restructuring of the society, economy and political institutions. Such training should target groups and individuals, particularly women, in positions to play critical roles in the transition to a more just and equitable future. The OECD (1998) maintain that,

Development projects aiming at addressing such concrete issues as land or water management, health and transportation can also provide important avenues for inter-community co-operation. By bringing together technical specialists from communities in conflict to open up dialogue on mutual interests they can be instrumental in fostering a shared sense of identity, and facilitating the identification of common approaches towards joint solutions to socio-economic challenges and constraints. Beyond their concrete development impact these projects have a broader confidence-building impact on society, enable different groups to better identify common goals, and also facilitate effective participatory development processes (OECD, 1998:68).

4.6.7: Peace Education and Trauma Healing

Since ethnic and religious conflicts heighten hatred and become a barrier to peace-building, “empowering the survivors...through offering advice, support, assistance, affection and care” (Judith, 1997:133) and the inculcating of peace education into our children’s curriculum and teaching same right from primary

schools (when they are still young) up to higher institutions of learning will go a long way in preparing the children growing into peace loving adults and tend to douse hatred hence, promoting peace-building. Enright et al (2010:307-308) posit that the curriculum could be designed as follows: In grade 3 (primary 5) the focus is more deliberately on the concept of agape. By grade 5 (primary 7), the curriculum challenges the students to consider not only the theme of forgiving, but also the themes of seeking to be forgiven and receiving forgiveness. By secondary school, the students will be asked to develop a deep understanding of friendship and how forgiveness can play a part in fostering it. By later secondary school, the students will be challenged to bring their learning into their community for the purpose of healing the misunderstanding, prejudices and hatred that have grown and established themselves over centuries. The students, of course, will be taught the virtue of temperance, the golden mean that any one person is limited and can only do so much. It is the addition of others like themselves, those helping foster forgiveness and friendship, who can make an impact on the community.

Trauma healing will go a long way in helping with forgiveness and recovery, so as to break the violent circle while inculcating peace education in schools will groom children into peace loving adults. This method was practiced in troubled Belfast in

North Ireland and proved successful. To put it in Lederach and Appleby's words, "peace-building must address the healing of peoples scarred and alienated by the lived experience of sustained violence in their communities and nations. Healing increasingly is understood not as post conflict form of therapy but as a precondition for the prevention of renewed conflict and the transformation of destructive social and structural patterns" (Lederach and Appleby, 2010: 28).

4.6.8: Poverty Reduction and Wealth Creation

Government at all levels shall double their efforts at reducing tensions in the society by investing proactively in wealth creation, poverty reduction, fair distribution of resources, generation of employment opportunities and the establishment of social security systems.

4.6.9: Conflict-Sensitive Development

Governments should formulate and implement peace-based development and avoid conflict-based development. According to the National Peace Policy (2009:31), peace-based developments are those investments and developments that promote inter-community harmony and co-operation. Thus, project planning processes shall, from inception, account for the nexus of peace, human security and development, including exit strategy and sustainability. A peace and conflict

impact assessment (PCIA) shall be conducted precedent to all investment and development projects. This will involve specifying the sectors that are vulnerable the most to conflict and to both undertake an assessment of the impact of that conflict and proffer solutions as to how best to mitigate it.

4.6.10: Financial/Economic Reconstruction

The OECD (1998:76) posit that the need to preserve peace and stability, rehabilitate essential infrastructure, reform public institutions, jump start the economy and create employment opportunities places heavy demands on budgetary resources. At the same time, the need for a stable, balanced economy and the restoration of private investors' confidence requires that inflationary pressures be contained. During the immediate post-conflict phase, the focus of a government's economic policies should be to ensure that the priority expenditure required for peace-building and reconstruction (including payments to demobilized soldiers, the rehabilitation of war-damaged infrastructure and the provision of basic social services) are programmed in a manner consistent with the need to return to a stable macroeconomic environment (appropriate budgetary and monetary policies).

4.6.11: The Judicial System

The absence of a fair judicial system can trigger frustrations, which obstruct peace-building. A reliable legal system is an essential factor in democratization, good governance and human rights. The maintenance of law and order must be matched by a commitment on the part of government to meeting citizen's basic needs and safeguarding their basic rights.

4.6.12: Media Professionalism

The media "are the aggregate of public opinion and the voice of the people" (Best, 2006:113). The media can promote peace and escalate conflict with their reporting. As a peace-building mechanism, the importance of a free press for encouraging democratic tendencies and respect for human and civil rights is well recognized. Conversely, the dissemination of distorted or biased information can fuel tensions in politically and socially unstable environments. During periods of crisis, simple access to free, fair and complete information can contribute significantly to easing of tensions.

In its social education role, unbiased coverage by the media can address many social issues of concern to the target audience, and in the process it can help to reduce tensions and build trust across society. In addition, independent media

may provide a “voice” for the disadvantaged, as well as watchdog mechanisms for ensuring the accountability of leaders. It may also ensure that each side to a dispute is allowed to hear the other’s position, thereby opening lines of communication where few might otherwise exist.

Other peace-building mechanisms include periodic constitutional and legislative review so as to address contentious issues in the polity; control the proliferation of small arms and light weapons; monitoring and responding to early warning signs; the use of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) processes; gender sensitive policies; policies on the physically challenged and the aged; the promotion of peace enhancing programmes, such as sports, entertainment, cross-cultural marriages and exchange programmes; arbitration; conciliation; adjudication; and security sector reform so as to improve accountability and professional conduct and strengthening civilian oversight; etc.

4.7 Peace-Building Efforts in Plateau State

The people of Plateau State (being a multi-cultural community) have been living a peaceful life “while respecting their differences and resolving their conflicts non-violently” (Dunmoye, 2004:5) for a very long time and that was why the state earned the apothegm ‘Home of Peace and Tourism’, but “the agitation by

especially the Hausa/Fulani for political hold, prominence and traditional rulership, but most fundamentally for the indigeneship of Jos, against the resistance by the indigenous ethnic groups, on the other hand, created the initial background to the heightening of tension in the city” (Best, 2007: 05). Tension was so high due to the fact that the inhabitants of the state are either members of a particular ethnic or religion organisation or the other, and take sides along either their ethnic or religion identities. The consistent tension in Plateau State was what brought the search for a peaceful co-existence, as experienced in the state before and, thus, the different activities by the government, Non-governmental, community-based and faith-based organizations and other actors in building peace in the state. The following efforts adopted by these actors are as follows:

Both the federal and state government had set up several judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the root causes of these conflicts and suggest a sustainable peace process. These commissions of inquiry included the 1994 Justice Aribiton Fiberesima’s commissions report on the Jos Metropolis riot; the Justice Suleiman Galadima’s commission of inquiry 2001; the judicial commission of inquiry into the civil disturbances in Jos and environs of September 7, 2001 headed by Justice Niki Tobi 2002; the judicial commission of inquiry into the civil disturbances in

Shendam, Langtang north, Langtang south and Wase local government areas in 2003 headed by Justice Felicia Dusu; Justice Jummai Sankey's report on Quanpan, Shendam, Langtang north and south, and the Wase crisis of 2002; the Rev. Pandang Yamsat administrative report on peace and security in Plateau State in 2002; the Plateau peace conference of 2004; the 2009 Bola Ajibola report; and the Chief Solomon Lar Presidential Advisory Committee of 2010. All the above judicial commissions of inquiry are government efforts aimed at stimulating a continued dialogue and peace-building that will bring about harmonious co-existence in the state. But, unfortunately, none of the findings of these reports was published until recently in 2010 when four of these reports and white paper were published and released.

Civil society organizations also pursued a range of peace-building efforts in Plateau State. These organizations comprise inter-faith groups, community-based organizations and other non-governmental organizations. The role of these organizations in peace-building process cannot be quantified. Their nature of being faith-based and closer to the grass-root level make the achievement of their aim and objectives clearer and possible. Among their objectives are facilitating peace processes by bringing warring parties together to dialogue; organizing peace workshops, seminars and conferences; the provision of relief and

humanitarian materials to the displaced and and generally taking action for social development. Despite the achievements of these organizations, they are perceived by their critiques as “incapacitated institutions that have a limited capacity to occupy the role of the state in the realm of social and economic development, much less significantly impact on democratic values in the society they represent” (Mohammed, 2010:4). Unhealthy competition and over-reliance on foreign donors for fund have also weakened most of these organizations. At times, some of them end up being politicians’ apologists. Richard (2006) captures it when he maintains that they are faced with legitimacy, identity and mandate challenges:

 Their moral authority for representing the voiceless has been questioned since they are not elected. Similarly, the very nature of their formation makes them very only accountable to their funders and to a limited degree to the national NGO registration office. Elected government officials are often at pains in appreciating criticisms from such “self- styled” institutions and individuals. This is because they see themselves as having the only authentic legal authority and mandate to represent their people (Richard, 2006:288).

But no matter what these organizations weaknesses or challenges might be, they still remain very helpful in bringing about social, economic and political

development in societies. They ameliorate and supplement government efforts in society.

4.8 The Muslim Position on Peace-Building Efforts

Verily Allah so command that ye practice justice, benevolence and charity to all as to your own kith and kins. And He forbids you to act in an unseemly manners, to do evil deeds and to cause breach of peace" (Qur'an 16, Vs 91, cited in Shekoni, 1988; 73).

Apart from emphasizing 'submission to Allah' and the belief that Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God, Islam emphasizes justice, fairness, generosity and charitiveness in all our dealings so as to keep society in harmony. Dreadful conducts by individuals or groups cause disintegration in the society and hence bring about aggression in the society. So, for Islam to promote these tenets of justice and fairness it recommends the following to its followers: *Shahada* – to bear witness that there is nothing worthy of worship but God and Prophet Mohammed is God's messenger; *Salat* – to perform the prescribed five daily Islamic prayers; *Zakat* – to give out the purification tax which is 2 1/2% tax of one's assets; *Sawm* – fasting from sunrise to sunset during the month of Ramadhan and *Hajj* – performing pilgrimage to Mecca for those who have the financial ability.

The rationale behind these principles is to bring man closer to God and improve the lot of the common man by raising his standard of living.

As an integrating factor, one importance of religion (be it Islam, Christianity or the Traditionalist) is that it “provides principles of organizing society because it expresses the central belief about proper behaviour on which the continuity of human life depends” (Kazaure, 1988: 4-5). That is to say that religion can contribute to harmony, progress and contentment in a society when properly practiced and if abused, it can lead to desolation, innumerable suffering and widespread destruction, as can be seen in many parts of Nigeria. “The period 1980 – 2005 has witnessed at least 140 violent conflicts and crises” (Elaiwu, 2005:28) all over Nigeria as a result of the historical antecedent of the two dominant religions in Nigeria. Kazaure further argues that:

Islam and Christianity met in Nigeria after they had fought each other for centuries in Asia, North Africa, the Middle East and Southern Europe. The present friction between the adherents of the two religions in Nigeria could be a carry-over of centuries of mutual bitterness. But there is no doubt that local inter-ethnic ill-feeling in Nigeria, and the manner of the spread of Islam and of the introduction of Christianity to the country have greatly exacerbated this bitterness (Kazaure, 1988:7).

For a very long time, religion and ethnic diversities have constituted anathema to national unity in Nigeria, as it is witnessed in many parts of the country with particular reference to Plateau State. The state has witnessed a continuous bloody ethno–religious conflict that has rendered “53,787 people killed and more than 200,000 displaced between September 7, 2001 to 2004 (18,931 men, 17,397 women and 17,459 children); 25,129 houses and 8,165 shops burnt (including schools and the international market) and 1,826 cattle destroyed” (Human Rights Watch, 2005: v; Thisday: October 7, 2004).

Due to the perilous nature of the conflict, various judicial commissions of enquiry were instituted to investigate and recommend solutions to the conflict in Plateau State, but the problem is always either the so-called ‘indigenes’ or ‘settlers’ would disagree with the composition or the outcome of the commission, which in its own self contributes to further escalation of the conflict. Ostien (2009) is of the view that the appointment of the committee of inquiry by Yar’adua generated a lot of protest by the Plateau State indigenes, as they feared the committee will be biased against them and they refused to appear before the committee. The same thing happened when a similar committee was appointed by Jang and the Jasawa’s protested against it and also refused to appear before it. To make things worse, Jang filed a lawsuit challenging Yar’adua’s right to appoint a committee to

investigate problems within his jurisdiction as governor. The Jasawa also filed a lawsuit challenging Jang's right to appoint a committee to investigate a dispute to which he is a party to. Since then, several episodes of the conflict have been taking place in Plateau State and nothing comes out from the lots of the commissions of inquiry instituted. Hardly a month go by without the occurrence of conflict or a reprisal attack in Plateau State. As a result of all these, a technical committee of eighteen concerned people of the state (comprising nine Muslims and nine Christian men and women) with enormous experience in administration, theology and judiciary were brought together on October 10, 2010 at National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) Kuru to produce an *'Alternative Peace and Reconciliation Road-Map'*, which will serve as a reference point in permanently resolving the conflict in Plateau State under the guardianship of the co-executive directors (the Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum) of the Interfaith Mediation Centre with headquarters in Kaduna State, Nigeria. Both Muslims and Christians were asked to submit their grievances and recommend likely solution to the conflict. As a result, therefore, the Muslim grievances or position on the conflict, as contained in the *'Alternative Peace and Reconciliation Road-Map'* (2010:9-14), were as follows:

1. *Policy of Exclusion* – The policy of exclusion from the state government to Muslims in the state. For example, the rejection of Aminu Mato as caretaker chairman of Jos North in 1994; Rejection of Hon. Mukhtar (late) as NAPEP coordinator for Jos North and replaced later by a Christian Igbo woman from the south-eastern region and this was accepted by the Christian brothers and Plateau state government in 2000; There is deliberate attempt of denial of Hausa/Fulani and other Muslims access to education in all Plateau state government institutions and; Denial of certificate of occupancy and citizenship certificate for access to university.

The Muslims, therefore, recommend that, to eradicate mistrust, disrespect and gain absolute loyalty of the over forty percent Muslim population in the State, government and the policy makers should adopt an inclusive policy against the present status quo. For instance, the Hausa/Fulani should be considered as indigenous people of Jos-North based on historical antecedence; equal access to education and the abrogation of indigene versus non-indigene school fees dichotomy, as applicable in Niger State; and equal playing ground aimed towards growth and development should be created as exemplified in Unguwar Ayagi in Kano State where the Nupe are dominant and their son contributed to the development of the state as Governor (the late Alh. Sabon Bakin Zuwo), the minority in Kano produce the present democratic executive governor of the state (Ibrahim Shekarau) and in Lagos State, three non-indigenes were produced as governors namely, Lateef Jakande originally from Kwara State, Senator Ahmed Bola Tinubu and Alh. Raji Fashola both originated from Osun State originally.

2. *Issues of Traditional titles* – changes of traditional leadership and denial of access to traditional leadership from 1947 to date. Also, the removal of two Muslim ward heads from Jos joint traditional council, i.e Ali Kazaure and Abba Na-Shehu wards from a long historical heritage enjoyed as part of the joint traditional institutions of Jos and its environs denied.

The Hausa/Fulani acknowledge the change of the traditional leadership and administration of Jos from the Hausas to the Berom after thirteen generations of leadership (from Sarkin Jos Mallam Bunu to Sarki Isyaku) from pre-colonial period to 1947 and also recognize the paramount status chief of Bwong Gwom Jos Dr. Gyang Buba as the royal father of all the people living in Plateau State and Chairman of Council of Chiefs. They also recommended that the State Government and the Chairman Council of Chiefs should call for the reinstatement of the two traditional ward heads of Ali Kazaure and Abba Na Shehu wards into the Joint Traditional Council of Jos; re-install their former traditional rulership of Magajin-gari, later Wakilin-gari and presently Turakin-garin Jos as recognized by the colonial administration from 1900 – 1947 and the first Berom paramount ruler HRM Fombot so as to cater for their over 500,000 people culturally, socially and traditionally; and request for a revisit to the justice Yahaya Kanam (Rtd) of April 23, 1976 panel that recommended a creation of a district in

Jos town and Bukuru old town comprising all the Hausa ward heads for the purpose of peace and stability.

3. *Misrepresentation of Usman Dan Fodio Jihad* – Misconception of jihad and objectives of Usman Dan Fodio reformation of 1804 has enhanced negative stereotype against the Muslims in the state.

We yearn for the state government, traditional and religious institutions leadership to checkmate the transfer of negative stereotype and prejudices and the generalization of bad behaviour of a few to a whole community. There is a need for a framework to stop people, especially religious and political leaders, from the deliberate manipulation of the ignorant majority of Muslims and non-Muslims through the erroneous representation of Islam and Muslims. Both Muslims and Christians must have a strategy to stop the negative use of other's scriptural text and symbols to score political manipulation in Plateau State.

4. *Government Lack of Political Will* – Insincerity on the part of the state government towards a sustainable conflict resolution by denial of equal rights of hearing and impartial decision on contending issues.

The state government and all its agencies must be seen to be fair, remove emotional attachment to conflict issues and ensure the proper implementation of

a just outcome, sustainable peace and reconciliation. A joint advocacy network for affirmative action focused around issues and not identities should be set up.

5. *Misconception of the Shariah* – Misconception of the introduction of the Shariah in Zamfara state and other northern states within Muslim/Christian communities of Plateau state which aggravate the fragile Muslim-Christian relation.

There is the need for a mechanism by the Ministry of Justice in collaboration with Customary and Shari'ah Court judges to carry out sensitization across the grassroots in conjunction with the state inter-religious council so as to enhance peaceful co-existence in the dialogue legal process in Plateau State and put-off mischievous religious and political manipulators from exaggerating and aggravating the already fragile rapport between the Christian-Muslim relationship.

6. *Exclusion of Muslims in Plateau State Civil Service* – Denial of access to employment of Muslims in the Plateau civil service, and negligible percentage in political appointment. For example, out of over one thousand two hundred and sixty staff of Jos North, less than ten percents are Muslims, while Muslims constitute seventy-five percents of the population of the area.

Towards an effective good governance and transparency, the state government must be seen to exercise the equitable distribution of position within its civil service without bias to others as a result of their ethnic or religious affiliation,

especially in Jos north as a case study, likewise Wase, Kanem, Shandam local government authorities, etc and a monitoring and evaluation mechanism of the civil service should be put in place.

7. *Jos Master Plan* – Misuse and abuse of Jos master plan to exterminate the Muslim population out of Jos. For example, total elimination of Dilimi Kwaymush settlers, Kuru Kerami, Sabon Gari Connel, among others.

A new modern mega city for Jos (as created in states like Lagos, Port Harcourt, etc) outside the Jos native town would enhance development and reduce economic wastage and the danger of violent conflict in the state. The government should also develop the city of Jos evenly and discontinue to discriminate against the old city 'native town'. The master-plan of Jos should lay emphasis on greater Jos and make Jos south and Jos north a modern metropolitan city where new city and old (historical) city co-exist.

8. *Jos North Local Government Area Relocation* – Relocation of Jos North Local Government secretariat to remote part of the city in Birom village of Dung, near Jos-South.

The Hausa acknowledge government's legitimate right to relocate its structures, however, to be fair and equitable, there is the need for state government and its

agency to leave some departments within Jos native town and facilitate equitable development across the local government authority project site.

9. *Jos Native Town and Jos Township* – Under-development of Jos native town (where there is more concentration of Hausa and Fulani Muslims population) as against Jos township with established administration from 1926 – 1976.

Since the inception of the city development from a hamlet under Naraguta village and to a town under the Bauchi Emirate (1880-1926) to being a native authority under the new Benue-Plateau, the colonial leaders divided the city into two (Jos native town and Jos township) so as to avoid conflict due to the rapid growth of the city. Jos native town constitutes the first pre-mining settlers who are dominantly Hausa Muslims whereas Jos Township constitutes other ethnic nationalities and civil servants of colonial administrators. The Hausas request government to stop the biased development of Jos Township alone and develop both Jos native town and Jos Township.

10. *Prejudices Against Hausa/Fulani Muslims* – There are deep rooted prejudices by some tribes at the fringes of Jos and its environs against Hausa/Fulani Muslims indigenous people of Jos.

11. *Relationship Between COCIN and Plateau State Government* – Inseparable relationship between democratically elected government of Plateau State and Church of Christ Nigeria (COCIN) an indigenous Plateau Christian tribal political movement.

The Hausas acknowledge religion has a positive contributing role in enhancing the spirit of transparency and accountability that make up for good governance. However, they recommend religious leaders and institutions must know their boundaries of giving positive and inclusive advice as they perceive the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) to be seriously interfering with the state government ability to be a neutral umpire in its system of governance, which is seen as a sustaining factor for mistrust between other citizens in the state and the government. They also recommend to the state inter-religious council to develop a mechanism for checking religious leaders who abuse the ethics of their profession and encourage those who are politicking under the noble religious garment to resign and join political parties across all religious persuasion.

12. *Plateau State Electoral Commission (PLASEC) Biased Attitude* – PLASEC biased attitude of conducting electoral processing in Jos North through illegal transfer of collation centers within 24 hours, to two different locations from Jos North local government secretariat to JMDB quarters Tudun Wada and further to Kabong local education authority primary school, which trigger the unfortunate November 2008 crisis in the state. A similar case also happened during the 2003 election process in which ward collation centre of Naraguta B was changed from Ungwar Rogo local education authority school to Barrack Nasarawa and then to Eto Baba area which trigger violence conflict that led to loss of life and property.

The state government must be seen to be transparent in its action on the electoral process. It must employ credible people into PLASEC and give the electoral body enough resource materials on time, ensure that it releases the electoral timetable far ahead of the electoral dates and avoid the late transfer of collation centers in less than twenty four hours, as previous events indicated. Government and the electoral tribunal should listen to the report of electoral observers across the state.

13. *Destruction of Jos Main Market* – Destruction of Jos main market in 2002 and deliberate refusal by the state government to reconstruct the market so as to economically sabotage the large Muslims traders. Instead, the government proposed to relocate the market to a dominant Christian area of Jos south in 2008 from a dominant Muslims area in Jos North.

They recommended that government should find a lasting and mutually acceptable solution to the issue of the destructed market by engaging in dialogue with the victims of the Jos main market fire disaster as soon as possible on a sustainable resolution of the crisis.

14. *Agenda of Ethnic Cleansing* – The perceived agenda of ethnic cleansing of Hausa/Fulani indigenous Muslims from Jos North was legitimized by 'Plateau Resolve' of 2004, which pronounced the elimination of Hausa/Fulani from Jos North and approved the area to Afizere, Anaguta and Birom ethnic communities against the earlier settlers who migrate to this area pre-1900 A.D. For example, the agenda of ethnic cleansing inform the burning and destruction of houses and mosques across Jos during any

crisis like Dilimi, Kwang, Eto Baba, Kuru Karemi, Sabon Gari Connel among others and they are undisputable evidences.

The state government must set up a truth and reconciliation commission to create a platform for sincere reconciliation and take measure in punishing those that engaged in extra-judicial killings in the state; religious institutions must set up a mechanism to promote the spirit of forgiveness within the adherents; traditional rulers must promote the culture of acceptance of the others; the state, religious and traditional institutions should declare a “forgiveness” day in the state; and the state government must put in place a joint security rapid response squad stations in all the flash point within Jos north and south local government areas until a sustainable peace and reconciliation is achieved.

15. *Imposition of Candidates* – Imposition of candidates from Jos south on Jos north and a Christian-Christian tickets agenda in Jos north, Hon. Timothy Gyang Buba was once an elected councilor in Jos south however, the government and Plateau State Electoral Commission (PLASEC) approved his imposition and declared him winner over a dominant Muslim majority local government area of Jos north because he is a younger brother to the paramount ruler of Birom chieftdom His Royal Majesty Da Buba Gyang and a cousin to the present Governor of the state David Jonah Jang.

There is the need for a strong advocacy to the authorities concerned and the citizen to stop politics with bitterness and stop damaging the carrot of ethnicity and religious identity, but play politics around issues. Political parties and PLASEC

must be seeing to play by the rule and there is the need for more advocacies on citizenship and inclusive system of government.

16. *Provocation and Incitement by Religious and Traditional Leaders* – Religious and traditional leaders provocation and incitement of innocent persons to anger, by custodian of our religious and cultural heritage on the basis of fabricated lies/falsehood in Plateau state.

Government should set up a law against hate crime. The Inter-religious council should provide a guide and encourage a bureau for religious establishment by government. Likewise, an Early Warning and Early Response (EWER) mechanism is needed in the state to monitor provocative preaching and incitement in addition to training stakeholders, traditional, religious, youth and youth leaders, politician etc, on peace and reconciliation matters.

17. *Proliferation of Small Arms and Ammunitions* – In the recent crisis we witness proliferation of sophisticated weapons in the hands of people during the crisis which was the cause of the largest casualties and extra judicial killings during November 28, 2008; January 17-19 2010 and March 2010 bloody crises.

Government and security agencies should put in place a mechanism to check the illegal possession of arms and ammunitions mostly in the hands of both serving and retired military and Para-military personnel.

18. *Pastoralist and Farmer Relationship* – Encroachment on the cattle reserved routes whose shepherds are predominantly Fulani Muslims has caused serious violent conflict across international cattle routes in Plateau State with indigenous farmers who are predominantly Christians which has escalated the fragile relationship in Jos.

Government at state and federal levels and other relevant agencies should reroute all cattle routes, demolish and relocate all structures and farmland along the routes across grazing areas in Plateau State. The state government should pay adequate compensation to all affected farmers to enable us to have a sustainable peace in the state.

19. *The Indigene/Settler Syndrome* – There is the misuse and abuse of the concept of indigene and settler syndrome to create conflict and abrogate Hausa/Fulani Muslims out of present Plateau state, where they have lived for century and contribute positively to socio-cultural economic and linguistic heritage of Plateau state. Today, there is deliberate attempt to remove Hausa/Fulani in all the state relevant documents i.e. diary, calendar, gazettes, etc; Denial of new certificate of occupancy and; the strategic trilogies processes of obtaining certificate of acknowledgement from the state government affirmed our conviction thus: Denial of access to *indigene certificate* later changed to *citizen certificate* and now *resident certificate* to enable our children get effective access to education and employment in the state.

The Hausa/Fulani acknowledge the constitutionality of these issues; however, the pronoun is the most used level of provocation of negative reaction, as well as in building walls of hate and division in the society, which must stop. They

acknowledge that human beings are all strangers on earth and migration patterns would continue to change and people would move as a result of natural or man-made disasters. They, therefore, recommend the state government to look at various commissions of inquiry and panels that have given various contradictory advice and state government gazettes that have also been in place to look at workable solutions between the two groups. The Hausa advise the Plateau State Government to borrow a leaf from developed nations and learn their methodology of the integration of non-indigenes/natives into their society/nation.

4.9 The Christian Position on Peace-Building Efforts

And thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength....thou shalt love thy neighbours as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these (Mark, 12: 28-31, cited in Osam, 1988: 294-295).

These are the two fundamental teachings (commandments) of Christianity: to love God and love one's neighbour. Jesus Christ told Christians to love God and their neighbours as both have a symbiotic relationship. For instance, loving God is completely meaningless without loving your neighbour even if he hates or curses you. This has been the practice of Jesus Christ on earth, as was evidently seen in

his last day on earth. He was said to be tortured, crowned with a thorn plaited crown, nailed on a cross, blood streaming from his body and stuck on the cross by the Jews but still, it was said he was able to say “father, forgive them; for they know not what they do” (Luke, 23-34, cited in Osam, 1988). The Christian philosophy emanating from this, therefore, is that man should love one another as the Christian doctrine of love and forgiveness is basic to Christian theology. Christianity, is said like both Judaism and Islam, to be ‘ethical monotheism’, meaning belief in one God and commitment to certain ethical laid down principles.

Plateau State over the years has assumed the status of a ‘*missionary centre*’ due to the establishment of various headquarters of missionary organizations there and the environmental feasibility of missionary activities before the break out of violence. Some of these Christian missions include: Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA), Ekklesiyar Yan’uwa a Nigeria (EYN), Tarayyar Ekklesiya a Nigeria (TEKAN), Fellowship of Christian Students (FCS), Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), Sudan United Mission (SUM), Nigerian Fellowship of Evangelical Students (NIFES) and a host of others.

The Christians have their national organisation (the state chapter) called Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). The organisation is structured in blocks so as to carry all the state Christians along. The representation (CAN membership) includes the following blocks:

- Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN)
- Organisation of African Instituted Churches (OAIC)
- Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN)/ Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (CPFN)
- Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN)
- TEKAN and ECWA

Like the Christian, the Muslims also operate under the umbrella of '*Jos Council of Ulama'* (the Jos Muslim Ummah) headed by a chairman. The council is an umbrella of the following seven Islamic organizations:

- Jama'atul Nasri Islam (JNI)
- Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'ah Wa'ikhamatul Sunnah (JIBWIS) 1
- Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'ah Wa'ikhamatul Sunnah (JIBWIS) 11
- Fityanu Islam
- Munazzamatul Fityanu Islam (Tijjaniyya)

- Rahatul Islam (Qadiriyya) and
- Muslim Brotherhood

In recent years, prominent positions at the federal (representation), state and local levels have been dominated by the Christians (indigenes), leading to bitterness and alleged marginalization by Muslims while the Christians are also bitter and allege that Muslims dominate and monopolize the economic activities in the state to the detriment of the indigenes, which constitutes a major part of the misunderstanding. The Human Right Watch and Dunmoye put it aptly thus:

...groups considered 'indigenes', or the original inhabitants of an area, are granted certain privileges, including access to government employment, scholarships for state schools, lower school fees, and political positions. To secure access to these privileges, they have to produce an "indigene certificate" which is granted by the local authorities. "Non-indigenes" or "settlers" are denied these certificates and the accompanying privileges (HRW 2005, 08: Jega, 2000 quoted in Dunmoye, 2004: 04)

Such marginalization and deprivation further deteriorate the relationship, "as conflict is intensified in ways that are sometimes exceedingly difficult to undo" (Pruitt and Kim, 2004:89). It is evidently seen in the Plateau State conflict from

the way “mosque loudspeakers and church pulpits, religious leaders on both sides were using the holy books to call for blood” (Griswold, 2010: 22).

In an attempt to find a lasting solution to the conflict in Plateau State, Christians were also asked (as done to their Muslims counterparts) to submit their own recommendations to the technical committee working on the Alternative Peace and Reconciliation Road Map for Jos and its environs, as facilitated by Interfaith Mediation Center, Kaduna on May 26, 2010. The Christian members of the committee held several meetings and finally outlined their position by declaring in the report that, “we the Christian members of the committee, after very careful study of the situation in Jos and environs as it pertains to peaceful co-existence, are of the opinion that for permanent peace to reign in Jos the following actions need to be taken by the respective persons, groups or communities, as indicated in our recommendations below as stated in the *Alternative Peace and Reconciliation Road-Map* (2010:1-13):

1. *The Hausa community in Jos should denounce their ownership claim of Jos - in line with the various existing authorities/documents and accept the realities and integrate into the three traditional communities of Afizere, Anaguta and Berom (See appendixes I, II, III and IV).*

They claimed that these authorities and documents, which were reports of diligent inquiries and investigations carried out by Government between 1994 to date, confirmed the ownership of Jos as belonging to the trio of Afizere, Anaguta and Berom to the exclusion of the Hausa and that the Hausa should denounce their ownership claims.

2. Individual and communities should respect government policies on community leadership.

The Christians posit to have acknowledged the constitutional rights of any citizen or group that moves into Jos to stay as home and that such citizens must also respect the values and cultural heritage of the host community. They stated that the Hausa do not respect the community's values and culture, as they gave an example of the disrespect "Hawan-Daba" recently embarked on in Jos town by the late Alhaji Inuwa Ali, Turakin Jos (a title holder in the Gbong Gwom's Palace). They believe the Hausa leader knew very well that he was not qualified to perform that function because only a paramount ruler like his appointer, the Gbong Gwom, is supposed to perform such a ceremony. So, they believe the performance of the function by the late Alhaji Inuwa Ali was a ploy to erode the

traditional stool of the Gbong Gwom Jos and install that of the Emirate system in its place.

- 3. Establish ethnic community leaders forum resident in Jos and environs for continuous dialogue on quarterly basis or whenever necessary*

It was agreed among the various representatives of communities that reside in Jos in 2004 that 'a permanent peace committee that would be responsible for initiating dialogue among the communities of Jos be put in place to avoid a recurrence of Crisis'. In line with this, a proposal was made for the establishment of a Jos Metropolitan Community Leaders Forum (JOMECOLF) for promoting communication, cordial and friendly co-existence among residents of Jos metropolis and quick detection of early warning signs.

- 4. Religious leaders to avoid provocative and inciting preaching with necessary corrective measures in place*

Religious and traditional leaders should be encouraged to preach peace, tolerance and forgiveness always. They should avoid using audio tapes, VCDs, television and newspapers to make provocative, subversive and inciting statements. In the same vein, government should try to identify all religious leaders operating in the state

with their addresses, the group they represent and the role assigned. Government should also streamline all religious bodies' operating worship places under the umbrella bodies of CAN and JNI/NSCIA respectively to allow for proper control and monitoring of these bodies.

5. Establish grassroots inter-religious forum for dialogue in order to compliment the efforts of the state and local governments. The establishment of inter-religious fora at district and ward levels should also be encouraged.

6. Establish a peace and reconciliation commission

With the various crises that have occurred in Plateau State within the last ten years, the people of the state have surely offended each other, especially when they had all engaged in mutually destructive wars. In addition to the foregoing, most commissions of inquiry reports on the above crises have remained unimplemented. This, therefore, means that the perpetrators of these crises still walk the streets as free men while their victims continue to leak their wounds and mourn helplessly. The solution to this, therefore, is the constitution of a peace and reconciliation commission in the state, which will function alongside an amnesty committee so as to ensure that no person that appears before the commission is jailed. This will provide an avenue where past reports on the crises

will be implemented and the people of Plateau State will also get an avenue to purge themselves of all ill-feelings harboured for years against each others.

7. Avoidance of derogatory name calling and religious leaders should be responsible to ensure that this is done

The use of derogatory name calling as “Arna” (infidel) is so common in Plateau State and it hurts to call a believer an infidel. So, in order to maintain and sustain peace in the state, inciting and derogatory statement against others should be avoided; the promotion of good neighbourliness should be promoted; and Religious, Traditional Leaders, Parents and any person standing in *loco parentis* should ensure the adherence to these practices.

8 Establish skills acquisition centers to empower the youth and women

In order to take care of the growing number of unemployed youths roaming the streets in search of jobs, government should initiate deliberate program towards youth empowerment by identifying the various small scale businesses and encouraging them to register and be granted aid. Government should also subsidize vocational education under religious bodies towards youth and women development.

9 Establish recreational centers for the youth

There is the need to establish unity re-creational centers in various locations of Jos to keep the youth busy. This can be done by either the state or federal governments

or both, an NGO, any public-spirited individual or group. Such centers can serve as unifying where both the Christian and Muslim youth will always meet to recreate.

10 There should be patriotism among all Jos residents

Lack of patriotism among Nigerians is a major disservice to our great nation. We, therefore, recommend that government should try to identify people whose stock-in-trade is the perpetration of economic, political and religious mischief in the state and always caution them.

11 Minimize noise in worship places and blockage of road with respect to other road users and the law

Both religions should minimize polluting the air with noise emitted from loudspeakers of their worship places so as to desist from disturbing other people. As for blockage of roads during worship time, when it becomes necessary to block public roads during worship, it has to be by prior police permit/clearance and the police and road safety officials should assist in controlling traffic; where police permit is sought and granted, the Churches and mosques concerned should put enough diversion signs from the blocked point and the churches and mosques concerned should inform their uniformed scouts diverting traffic to be courteous in their actions. They should appeal to people to bear with them and not be unruly.

12. Balanced and objective reportage

The Christians claimed to have watched with mixed feelings the style of the reportage by the *Daily Trust Newspaper*, which, to all intents and purposes, has been swayed by primordial sentiments and has allowed such to becloud their sense of judgment, thereby desecrating the sanctity of objective journalism. Its style of reportage leaves so much to be desired at least within the context of a sound journalistic practice. It is their candid opinion that this media house does not live up to its responsibility as a true vanguard of the society, as the several reports published by the newspaper have caused further damage to the situation in Jos.

13 Establish ministries for religious affairs

Nigerians are incurably religious and have often pandered to extreme religiosity, most often with very violent dimensions. The federal, state and local governments have not been giving religious affairs adequate attention. Even the said inter-religious committees (like NIREC) created only exists at the federal and state levels and not the local levels where the bulk of the people reside. These inter-religious committees are elitist in nature and without any authority whatsoever to take action of any sort even in the face of a conflict. As a result,

therefore, a Ministry of Religious Affairs should be established like the Niger Delta Ministry in order to pay proper and sustained attention to religious issues.

14. Avoid negative solidarity and importation of conflict from other religions to Jos

During and after November 28, 2008 Jos crisis, the Hausa/Muslims filmed dead bodies and selected alleged destructions of Muslim properties by Christians produced same en-mass on CD and DVD, distributed them to most Hausa and Muslim dominated states presumably to generate their sympathy and get their solidarity. This negative solidarity sparked up a series of vortex across the northern states, which are security threat to Jos and the nation in general.

15. Exchange visits by traditional rulers between kingdoms and chiefdoms

Traditional rulers should be encouraged to visit one another and even worship together if they share the same faith. The same is recommended for Muslim and Christian leaders at the state levels, who should be encouraged to discuss common problems together and also understand their areas of differences.

16. Government should properly delineate Jos North boundaries to avoid disputes

There should be proper boundary demarcation especially between Jos north and Jos south local government areas and the same thing should be done whenever a new local government, chieftdom, districts, wards and village are created in the state.

17. Punishment of suspects: All persons indicted by the various Judicial Commissions of Inquiry should be properly prosecuted by governments so as to serve as future deterrence to others.

CHAPTER FIVE

ASSESSING PEACE-BUILDING IN PLATEAU STATE: DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

As earlier indicated in the research methodology, the research was conducted in Plateau State using the obtrusive and unobtrusive survey method of questionnaire administration, specialized interview and focus group discussion (FGD) within the six (6) local governments in the three (3) senatorial zones of Plateau State. Two (2) local governments were randomly selected from each of the three senatorial zones of North, South and Central zones that were considered prone to the ethnic and religious conflicts bedeviling Plateau State. Data was collected in Jos North, Riyom, Pankshin, Mangu, Shendam and Quanpan and presented in numerical units in the following tables; interpreted and analyzed, using percentages.

5.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 5.1: The Age Distribution of the Sampled Respondents

Years	Frequency	Percent
Below 20 yrs	39	7.1
20 - 30 yrs	207	37.9
31 - 40 yrs	168	30.8
41 - 50 yrs	84	15.4
51 - 60 yrs	39	7.1
61yrs & above	9	1.6
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2010

Table 5.1 above provides details of the age distribution of our respondents. From the table, majority fall within the age bracket of 20 to 30 years followed by 31 to 40 years bracket, which represent 37.9% and 30.8%, respectively. This inferred that majority of our sample population are youth. This affirms Obasanjo's assertion that in Nigeria, youth "are persons of ages 18 to 35....This category

represents the most active, the volatile, and yet the most vulnerable segment of the population socio-economically, emotionally, and in other respects (Obasanjo, 2001).

Table 5.2: The Sex Distribution of the Sampled Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	394	72.2
Female	152	27.8
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2010

Table 5.2 above indicates that the number of male respondents is 72% while female respondents out of the total number of the 546 questionnaires returned is 27.8%. This shows that the sex distribution of the sample size has a higher percentage of males than females. This can be explained mainly due to the fact that most females prefer to keep their distance when it comes to physical combats that involve violence.

Table 5.3: The Respondent's Level of Education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Primary	21	3.8
Secondary/Post-Primary	95	17.4
Tertiary/Post-Secondary	313	57.3
Postgraduate	92	16.8
Religious	16	2.9
Non-Formal	9	1.6
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2010

Education is one of the vital tools in determining the level of the understanding of a society. From the above table, 57.3% respondents indicate their level of education up to tertiary/post-secondary level, followed by 17.4% in secondary and post secondary and 16.8% having post-graduate education, while only 1.6% have non-formal education, which indicate relatively educated respondents. Respondents who have attained tertiary and post-secondary education constituted a larger proportion of the sampled population numbering three hundred and thirteen. The implication of a higher number of respondents with

tertiary and post-secondary education was because of the interest among respondents who attain higher education, thus, making them more conscious and aware of the actors involved in peace-building process. .

Table 5.4: The Status of the Respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Civil Servant/Government Employee	198	36.3
Self-Employed/Business Person	130	23.8
Unemployed	107	19.6
Retired	9	1.6
Others	102	18.7
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2010

The occupational distribution of the respondents is also a good determinant of understanding the psyche of a society. Out of the 546 respondents interviewed 198 (36.3%) were civil servants and government employees, who are mostly teachers, public bureaucrats, agencies workers security outfits, etc. This is followed by the self-employed and business-men, constituting 130 respondents

(23.8%); the categories of occupation here include farming, petty traders and market women, artisans, builders, business men, etc. The unemployed constitutes 19.6%, followed by the retired 1.6% and others 18.7%, who constitute mostly students, civil society, faith based and community based organizations leaders and employees.

Table 5.5: The Ethnic Groups of the Respondents

Ethnic Group	Frequency	Percent
Afizere	7	1.3
Anaguta	7	1.3
Berom	82	15.0
Fulani	46	8.4
Hausa	101	18.5
Ibo	27	4.9
Naraguta	11	2.0
Yoruba	22	4.0
Others	243	44.5
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2010

“Plateau state has one of the largest concentrations of ethnic minorities in the Nigerian federation with over 58 relatively small ethnic communities” (Auwal, 2010: 51). Out of the 546 questionnaires retrieved, others constitute 243 (44.5%) respondents because many were really scared or otherwise to state their ethnic group identity. The high percentage of the other categories in the data shows the numeracy of the ethnic groups in Plateau State. Not all of these groups could be listed in the table. The Hausa are 18.5% and their concentration in Jos North made it a little bit easier, though a number of them were found in other local governments. The Berom ethnic group constitutes 15%, while the Afizere, the Anaguta, the Fulani, the Ibo and the Yoruba all have less than 10%. The indifferent attitude of the respondents to answer the question on which ethnic group they belong do really affected this question, as the bulk of the respondents (44.5%) falls under this category.

Table 5.6: The Religious Affiliation of the Respondents

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Christianity	374	68.5
Islam	158	28.9

Traditional	10	1.8
Others	4	.7
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Religion is one of the most sensitive issues in Plateau State conflicts, as it is divided along religious lines. The predominant religions there are Christianity, Islam and Traditional religion. From table 5.6 above, the number of Christian respondents is 374 (68.5%) followed by Muslims with 158 (28.9%) while the Traditionalists are 10 (1.8%) and others 7%. From the above data, there is an indication that Plateau State has a higher number of Christians than Muslims or Traditionalists.

Table 5.7: The Political Party Affiliation of the Sampled Respondents

Political Party	Frequency	Percent
PDP	327	59.9
AC	62	11.4
ANPP	70	12.8

AD	20	3.7
Others	67	12.3
Total	546	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2010

Table 5.7 above shows 327 (59.9%) respondents are members of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP); whereas 70 (12.8%) belong to the ANPP, 62 (11.4%) the Action Congress (AC), 20 (3.7%) Alliance for Democracy (AD) while 12.3% either were non-partisan or do not belong to any of the above parties listed. It is very clear that Plateau State is dominated by the PDP given the high number of respondents who are members of the party followed by the ANPP. The above data confirms to the fact that the inhabitants of Plateau State are politically conscious and participate fully in politics notwithstanding whether they are alienated by the political class or not.

Table 5.8: Participation in civil society activities by respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	431	78.9
No	115	21.1
Total	546	100.0

Source: survey Research, 2010

From table 5.8 above, 431 (78.9%) respondents answered yes to the question raised, that they have been participating in the civil society activities in the state while 115 (21.1%) said they have not. From the above data, we can confidently say that most people in Plateau State have been participating in civil society activities either as organizers of such or as participants.

Table 5.9: Factors Responsible for the Persistence of Ethno-religious Conflicts in Plateau State by Respondents

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Identity Division	221	40.5
Contradicting Government Policies	67	12.3
Inadequate Security	50	9.1
Instigation by Local Leaders	72	13.2
Political Marginalization	50	9.1
Economic Deprivation	80	14.7
No Response	6	1.1
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

From table 5.9 above, 221 (40.5%) respondents maintained that the conflict is identity based, meaning it's both an ethnic and religious conflict where people disrespect other religions and tribes and use abusive words against others; 80 (14.7%) posit that the conflict is about economic deprivation with lack of

necessary resources, which brought about abject poverty in the state; 72 (13.2%) were of the view that community leaders instigate youth by telling insightful stories and rumours that escalate conflict; 67 (12.3%) believe government's bad policies like proscribing '*Achaba*' (commercial biking) when the tempo was high without alternative jobs for the youths, demoting traditional chiefs to third class chiefs, etc were factors responsible for the persistence of the conflicts; 50 (9.1%) maintained that inadequate security personnel was another responsible factor; another 50 (9.1%) responded that the factor responsible for the persistence of conflict in the state is political marginalization and 6 (1.1%) did not respond to the question at all.

During the specialized interview and the FGD, most of the respondents gave the remote causes of the conflict to be political representation, as some of the respondents argued that in "Nigeria, access to power is access to resource and access to juicy contracts and positions" (Field Interview, January 2011). Other reasons listed by the interviewees are economic deprivation; the real ownership of Jos township; poverty; unemployment; religion and ethnic incitements and reprisal attacks, while they further qualified the immediate causes to be among others, historical injustices and the pains of wounded memories; the external influence of some Chadians, Nigeriens, Cameroonians, Sudanese, etc; conflict and

counter conflict between the Fulani nomads and native pastoralists, which a pastor in Jos attested to as having an international dimension:

The Fulani nomads and pastoralists live in many countries. They use the Trans Sahara route which passes through Mauritania, Senegal, into Ghana, Nigeria, out to Niger, Chad, and Cameroon and up to Central Republic of Africa. So, an attack on a transiting Fulani is an attack on all other Fulani in neighboring countries and if there is going to be a reprisal, then other Fulani's will get involved. Within the immediate outskirt of Plateau State, there are Fulani who live temporary in places and move on. So, if you have a challenge with a Fulani and he moves on, the next caravan of Fulani can be attacked with the assumption of the one's people has challenge with (Field Interview, January 2011).

Other factors include inadequate security personnel; poor geographical/demographical settlement and; government lackluster attitudes towards early warning signals. For example, the March 7, 2011 genocide in 'Dogo na Hawa' would have been averted if government had fulfilled its promise of paying compensation, as maintained by some respondents engaged in focus group discussion. These explanations show that there is no one single factor responsible for the conflicts in the state, but rather a combination of factors that cause and escalate the conflict, though religion is a fundamental factor because

each party to the conflicts used religion in order to draw sympathy and affection from other interest groups outside its constituency.

Table 5.10: The Respondents' Position on how Persistence Ethno-Religious Conflicts Impeded on Peace-Building Efforts

Response	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	360	65.9
Agree	101	18.5
Disagree	32	5.9
Strongly Disagree	19	3.5
Don't Know	34	6.2
Total	546	100

Source: Survey Research, 2010

As indicated in table 5.10 above, 360 (65.9%) respondents responded positively by indicating '*strongly agree*' while 101 (18.5%) responded positively also by

indicating ‘agree’, which insinuate that a higher percentage agree that the persistence of ethno-religious conflicts has impeded peace-building efforts in Plateau State. 32 (5.9%) and (19 3.5%) disagree and strongly disagree respectively with the notion, while 34 (6.2%) indicate they don’t know. This is an indication that most of the people in Plateau state agree that persistent ethno-religious conflicts are a great hindrance to the peace-building efforts in the state.

Table 5.11: The Consequences of Ethno-religious Conflicts in Plateau State by Respondents

Consequences	Frequency	Percent
Increased Poverty in the state	44	8.1
Created enmity & hatred between Christians & Muslims	88	16.1
Loss of lives and properties	161	29.5
Increase in insecurity in the state	41	7.5
Disruption of economic activities in the state	82	15.0
Others	78	14.3
No Response	52	9.5
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.11 above presents the consequences of ethno-religious conflict in Plateau State. 161 (29.5%) respondents maintain that the greatest consequence is the loss of lives and properties; 88 (16.1%) posit it to be the high level of enmity and hatred between Christians and Muslims; 82 (15%) were of the view that the conflict really disrupted economic activities in the state and further caused untold hardship on the populace while 44 (8.1%) were also of the view that absolute and increased poverty is one of the consequences of the conflict. 41 (7.5%) maintained that increased insecurity in the state was as a result of the consequences of the conflict; 52 (9.5%) refused to answer or comment on the question. The remaining 78 (14.3%) gave other reasons like the disruption of social development; creating a large number of homeless and IDPs; the high rate of widows and orphans created in the state; increased emigration; tarnishing and bastardising of the image of the state locally and internationally; the gas emissions from the burning corpses, houses and properties caused a serious health problem; and a very disturbing consequence is the change in some youth into carnivores, as they resort to eating other dead human beings out of hatred or otherwise. As Daily Sun reported, "some of the youths in expressing their victory

over the two persons attempting to bomb the Churches displayed cannibalism when they merrily fed on the roasted flesh of the men; passing a limb from one to the other to have a bite” (*Daily Sun*, March 21; 2011).

Table 5.12: The Strategies used by the Government in Promoting Peace in Plateau State by Respondents

Strategies	Frequency	Percent
Equal treatment of all indigenes	22	4.0
Punishment of perpetrators of crises	9	1.6
Ensure good governance	68	12.5
Provision of adequate security	232	42.5

Others	138	25.3
No Response	77	14.1
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.12 above presents the strategies used by government in promoting peace in Plateau State. 232 (42.5%) respondents maintain that government provides adequate security to manage conflicts in the state; 138 (25.3%) give other reasons like government's indifferent attitude to early warning signals, the late response of security personnels to conflicts, government's bad policies, government taking sides in the conflict, the marginalization of a segment of the society, etc; 68 (12.5%) are of the view that good governance as practiced by the government in Plateau state is one of the strategies adopted by it in building peace in the state; 22 (4%) were also of the view that equal treatment meted on all the indigenes in the state was another strategy adopted in building peace in the state; 9 (1.6%) are of the opinion that punishing the perpetrators of the crises is another strategy while 77 (14.1%) refused to answer or comment on the question. It can be

inferred from the above data presentation that government's highest priority or strategy in promoting peace in Jos is the provision of security personnel.

Table 5.13: Whether Efforts by Government in Promoting Peace in Plateau State are Effective by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	257	47.1
No	289	52.9
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.13 above shows that 257 (47.1%) respondents answered *Yes* to the question whether government's effort in promoting peace and stability in Plateau state have been effective while the remaining 289 (52.9%) answered *No* to the question. Those respondents that answered *yes* to the above question gave instances of the provision of security personnel to stop and prevent further re-

occurrences of the conflict. Other reasons given by them include the setting up of judicial commissions of inquiry to investigate the remote and immediate causes of the conflict and suggest recommendations; the provision of relief materials to the affected persons; inviting religious and traditional leaders to meetings in search of solutions to the conflict and the use of Plateau Radio Television (PRT) to air peace jingles in creating awareness that people should live in peace and harmony. The remaining 52.9% respondents on their part claimed that the Plateau state government had done little or nothing to resolve the conflict; instead, it fueled the conflict, as it has become a party deeply involved in it. They further assert that the strategies adopted by the state government is lopsided, as it favors the said indigenes alone because after each crisis, the government looked the other way and deprived the Hausa/Fulani any relief items and treatments. Some of them argued that the state government ignores early warning signals that would enable it to take a preventive role instead of allowing the crisis to explode and start relying on the federal government to assist with the mobilization of soldiers to contain the conflict and not resolve it. They posit that the failure of the state government was the main reason why the federal government had to mobilize the army and even declare a state of emergency in the state in 2004.

Table 5.14: The Membership of Faith-based Organizations by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	436	79.8
No	110	20.1
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.14 above indicates that 436 (79.8%) respondents belong to faith-based organizations while 110 (20.1%) answered no or do not answer the question. By indication, most of the people in the state are affiliates of a religion, as most of them indicate being members or as belonging to one or two of the following organizations: TEKAN peace desk; Church of Christ of Nigeria (COCIN); and Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) which is an umbrella to many Christians organization; Jama'atul Nasrul Islam (JNI); Jama'atul Izalatul Bidi'a Wa'Iqamatul Sunnah (JIBWIS); etc. This is an indication that people in Plateau State are

religious, as most of them are either members or leaders of a religion organization.

Table 5.1: The Membership of Community-based Organization by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	336	61.5
No	210	38.5
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.15 above indicates that 336 (61.5%) respondents belongs to community based organizations while 210 (38.5%) answered no or do not answer the question. Most of them belong to a community organization, as indicated above,

as most of them responded by saying they belong to one of the following organizations: Beroms, Anagutas, Jasawa, Hausa, Fulanis, etc. while some of them cited community-based organizations like Jasawa Community Development Association (JCDA); Plateau Indigenous Development Association Network (PIDAN); and many others.

Table 5.16: Whether FBOs and CBOs Play Vital Role in Promoting Peace-building in Plateau State by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	231	42.3
Agree	168	30.8
Fairly Agree	82	15.0
Disagree	25	4.6
Strongly Disagree	6	1.1

No Response	34	6.2
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

As indicated in table 5.16 above, 231 (42.3%) respondents strongly agree that faith and community-based NGOs play a significant role in promoting peace in Plateau state; 168 (30.8%) also agreed with the assertion; 82 (15%) fairly agree with it; 25 (4.6%) disagree; 6 (1.1%) strongly disagree and 34 (6.2%) did not answer the question. So, going by the above responses, one can conclude that majority of the people living in Plateau state agreed that the role of the FBOs and CBOs in promoting peace in Plateau state has been a very significant and positive one. Peace-building is not just a day issue, it takes time to entrench, as maintained by an official of one of the NGOs that:

Peace-building is not something you can quantify because it has to do with attitudinal change. Attitudes of people are built from a character while the character is build from a person's habit. So, it takes time or years to do that. It takes time (years) to overturn what somebody has learnt (Field Interview, July 2010).

It is a life process that entails a range of related characters and actions that work at both short-term and long-term spheres. As a continuous process, it “encompasses poverty reduction, humanitarian relief, disarmament, demobilization and re-integration programs for ex-combatants, economic development projects, human rights monitoring and advocacy, and everything in between” (Fast, 2010: 272).

5.17 The Strategies used by Faith and Community-Based organizations in Promoting Peace Building in Plateau State by Respondents

Strategies	Frequency	Percentage
Seminar and Workshops awareness	175	32
Roundtable Discussion and Dialogue	136	25
Provision of Relief Materials	194	35.5
Conflict Entrepreneurs	41	7.5
Total	546	100

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.17 above shows the responses of the activities of faith and community-based organizations in the promotion of peace-building in Plateau State from the

questionnaire and interview conducted. 175 (32%) respondents maintain to have taken part in the organization of seminars or/and workshops to sensitize the populace; 136 (25%) are of the opinion that these organizations took part in the organization of roundtable discussions and dialogue; 41 (7.5%) that these organizations are conflict entrepreneurs that are concerned with their own selfish interests while the remaining 35.5% maintain to have provided relief materials in different forms to those harshly affected by the conflict or witnessed such activities. For instance, a leader of one faith-based organization posits that faith and community-based NGOs have two roles to play, intervention and prevention. “For intervention, we have done a lot of workshops and for prevention; we have done a lot of awareness in interfaith dialogue by bringing Muslims and Christians together to dialogue; At the end, we give out communiqué on how the two faiths would stay and live together in unity” (Field Interview, July 2010).

In Plateau state, there are all kinds of NGOs with the aim of becoming the voice of the under-privileged and opening up communication channels because once the channel of communication is cut off, nobody understands what the other is saying. But some of the respondents engaged in a focused group discussion see

these organizations as pro-government and pro-certain religious group and are seen as being used by the government to perpetuate their interests or escalate the conflict because they support their members (ethnic and religious groups). Others see them as an avenue for making money from international donors. A journalist argues that “they don’t have sincerity of purpose anymore as they have allowed money to infiltrate the NGOs and the supply of relief materials to people only confirm the much money they received as aid” (Field Interview, July 2010). In another development, an interfaith chairman of an emergency relief committee also posits that:

Over 70% of these NGOs are selfish as they turned the conflict into an ‘enrichment ventures’ as they are sometimes used by government and politicians for their own selfish interest by taking sides, the remaining percentage are working hard to bring about justice. Even within the interfaith group (which he belongs), the leaders are so much concerned with relief materials for self enrichment than solving the conflict. I know this because I receive and distribute the materials. Leaders would claimed to have some amount of IDPs, after collecting the materials, they will end up consuming it or even selling the materials in the market (Field Interview, July 2010).

It is important to note that, despite these entire problems discussed above, these NGOs still remain a big hope to the people, as the names of especially the catholic

Bishop Kaigama, and JNI members keep on resurfacing, as we interviewed and engaged people in discussions. A lot of the respondents talked much about the assistance of these groups. They assisted, irrespective of one's religion or ethnic identity, as established from our interview. Fundamentally, Adejumobi (1999) categorized the level of NGOs involvement in conflict resolution in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular into three:

The first level is the provision of humanitarian services to refugees and displaced persons. The second level is the process of direct negotiation in conflict situations. Thirdly, NGOs engage in peace-building through one or all of the three processes of (a) demilitarization, demobilization, and adaptation to civil life; (b) rehabilitation of basic social services; (c) creation of awareness and consciousness through enlightenment on the superiority of cooperative conflict resolution over destructive conflict resolution; and (d) promotion of popular participation, rule of law, fairness, justice and equality (cited in Joseph, 2010: 375).

Another limitation of these organizations is the lack or limited political will to effect and implement rules. For instance, a former state director of sport that owns a traditional title presently in Plateau state maintains that "the NGOs might contribute to the promotion of peace but government is the one that have direct role in peace-building". He further argues that NGOs "are just like any ordinary

people going anywhere they think people are not happy, console and enlighten them” (Field Interview, July 2010). Like the former director, a barrister who is the secretary to one of the warring factions also posits that:

The role of these NGOs is limited, whatever role need to play need the backing of government. The organizations can come up with communiqué after series of seminars and workshops but without the backing of government, without the sincerity and political will of the government to ensure there is peace; all the efforts will be in vain (Field Interview, July 2010).

So there must be sincerity of purpose in resolving conflict before permanent peace is realized, because the political will to turn things around must be present. Paul (1998) stresses this point when he argues that “one of the most difficult problems those seeking to prevent or resolve conflicts have to overcome is the lack of political will for action” (1998: 24). To do away with this problem, these NGOs need to relate with the state in promoting peace-building, especially as it relates to political will.

Table 5.18: Whether Efforts by Faith and Community-Based organizations in Promoting Peace-Building in Plateau State are Effective by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	393	72
No	153	28
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.18 above shows that 393 (72%) respondents agree to the assertion that the activities of faith and community-based organizations in promoting peace-building in Plateau State have been effective while the remaining 153 say they have not been, since the conflicts keep recurring.

Those that agreed to the assertion above described these organizations contributions to peace-building in Plateau state as the provision of relief materials like food, medicine, shelter, etc to the needy; creating awareness through the

organization of seminars, workshops, dialogue and roundtable discussions so as to re-orient people of the state in line with the need to live with each other peacefully, tolerate one another and bring back the state image to the aphorism of ‘home of peace and tourism’, etc. Some of the respondents also claimed to have assisted the Internally Displaced People (IDP) with relief materials or witnessed where such instances or action took place in the state. These interfaith or community-based organizations fit into such assignments because of their “familiarity with the local situation and their close contacts with grassroots movements which are seen as major advantages in complex intra-state conflict” (Paul, 1998: 22).

Table 5.19: Suggestive ways of Promoting and Enhancing Peace Building in Plateau State by Respondents

Measure	Frequency	Percent
Provision of employment and scholarship	39	7.1
Equal treatment of all groups in the state	68	12.5
Increase security in the state	84	15.4
Ensure good governance	106	19.4

Creation of awareness on the need for peace	51	9.3
Others	81	14.8
No Response	117	21.4
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.19 above indicates that 39 (7.1%) of the respondents maintain that to promote peace-building in Plateau State the government must provide employment opportunities and grant scholarship to students; 68 (12.5%) are of the view that equal treatment should be given to all groups in the state; 84 (15.4%) posit that government should increase the security level and improve the preparedness to police the state; 106 (19.4%) that good governance will go a long way in enhancing permanent peace in the state; 51 (9.3%) that a lot needs to be done in the area of creating more awareness so as to let people know how important peace is to the development of society; 117 (21.4%) did not answer the question while 81 (14.8%) gave other reasons like encouraging religious leaders to be in the fore-front in preaching peace sermons and forgiveness; controlling the small arms in circulation; the enforcement of the law; the implementation of the recommendations of past judicial commissions of inquiry; prayer and fasting; the

creation of cattle rearing grounds and dams to ease the Fulani predicament; checkmating external factors influencing the conflict and that government should be fair and just to all irrespective of culture and religion.

5.3 Testing Assumptions 1

As earlier stated in the methodology, this study encompasses both primary and secondary method of data gathering. This includes the data collected, presented and analyzed from questionnaire administration, interview, Focus Group Discussions and secondary materials, using the SPSS progression. At this juncture, this research tests the validity or otherwise of the two propositions stated in chapter one, using the empirical data generated. The two assumptions are as follows:

- i) The enlightenment activities of faith-based organizations are likely to promote peace-building in Plateau State;
- ii) Dialogue between Faith-based organizations and grassroots mobilizations are likely to boost and promote peace-building in Plateau State.

iii)

5.3.1 Assumption 1

The enlightenment activities of faith-based organizations are likely to promote peace-building in Plateau State

As earlier stated, a number of questions were presented to the respondents on the general assessment of peace-building efforts in managing ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau state with the aspiration of testing the validity of the assumption generated. In response to assumption 6.3.1 above, a higher percentage of the respondents responded positively to the question the enlightenment activities of faith-based organizations has in promoting peace-building efforts in Plateau State. This is captured more aptly in table 6.20 below.

Table 5.20: The Enlightenment Activities of Faith-Based Organizations in Promoting Peace in Plateau State

Strategies	Frequency	Percentage
Seminar and Workshops awareness	175	32
Roundtable Discussion and Dialogue	136	25
Provision of Relief Materials	194	35.5
Conflict Entrepreneurs	41	7.5
Total	546	100

Source: Survey Research, 2010

Table 5.20 above shows the responses of the enlightenment activities of faith-based organizations in the peace-building process in Plateau State from the questionnaire and interviews conducted; 175 (32%) respondents maintain either to have taken part in the organization of seminars and workshops to sensitize the populace or agreed with the assertion that the organizations in question do; 136 (25%) are of the opinion that these organizations took part in the organization of

roundtable discussions to dialogue; 41 (7.5%) that these organizations are conflict entrepreneurs that are concerned on their own selfish interests while the remaining 35.5% maintain to have provided relief materials in different forms to those harshly affected by the conflict. This data shows that, a total number of 505 (92.5%) (when summed up) are of the view that the activities of these organizations are of great importance in enhancing peace-building in the state since a total of 92.5% attest to the fact that these organizations' activities include organizing seminars, workshops, roundtable discussions, dialogue and the provision of relief materials to the needy and IDP, which are all enlightenment activities. On the other hand, only 41 (7.5%) disagree with these assertions and termed these organizations as conflict entrepreneurs who capitalize on the conflicts to enrich themselves. They see these organizations as pro-government, that is, used by the government to perpetuate their interests. Others see them as an avenue for making money from the international donors. A journalist argues that "they don't have sincerity of purpose anymore as they have allowed money to infiltrate these organizations and the supply of relief materials to people only confirm the much money they received as aid" (Field Interview, August 2010).

It is important to note that, despite the above problems raised, majority of the respondents interviewed maintain that these NGOs still remain a big hope to the

people, as they assisted, irrespective of one's religion or ethnic identity, as established from our field work. A good example is my presence at the organization of a mediation process with communities living in Plateau State tagged "Enduring Peace in Jos: Arresting Cycle of Violence", which is spearheaded by the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR) with other Non-governmental organizations. The aim is to allow communities living in Jos to voice out their grievances, allow them also to recommend suggestions and, at the end of it, the organizers (NGO's) together with these communities' leaders will interact with the sole aim of resolving the differences. A member of one of these NGO does concur this when he maintains that: "We enlighten people in seminars and roundtable discussions; we enlighten people about peace-building and conflict transformation. We enlighten them to see the important of making peace and imbibe the spirit of compromise, accommodation and tolerance" (Interview, July 2010)

Another member of the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR) maintain that,

...presently, together with other NGOs from different divide, engages the communities involved in the conflict in a mediation process in the Gbong

Gwom Jos palace. The mediation process brings all the aggrieved communities to say their minds and after saying their minds, we will bring them all together and see whether they can really make compromise (Interview, July 2010).

In the analysis of the eight critical statements relating to the contribution of NGOs in conflict prevention and transformation, according to an International Directory (1998), NGOs are believed to

...have the flexibility, expertise and commitment to respond rapidly to early sign of trouble. They witness and give voice to the unfolding drama, and they provide essential services and aid. Not least, they inform and educate the public...on the horrors of deadly conflict and thus help mobilize opinion and action (An International Directory, 1998:27).

From the above analysis it can be maintained that the role and activities of these interfaith organizations are all about peace enlightenment and enhancement. We can conclude that it validates our first assumption stated above to be true or positive, as can be seen from the respondents' view with a combined 92.5% view being positive.

5.4 Testing Assumption II

Dialogue between faith-based organizations and grassroots mobilization are likely to boost and promote peace-building in Plateau State.

Table 5.21: Whether FBOs and CBOs Play Vital Role in promoting Peace-building in Plateau State by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	231	42.3

Agree	168	30.8
Fairly Agree	82	15.0
Disagree	25	4.6
Strongly Disagree	6	1.1
No Response	34	6.2
Total	546	100.0

Source: Survey Research, 2010

As indicated in table 5.21 above, 231 (42.3%) respondents strongly agree that faith-based and community-based organizations play a significant role in promoting peace-building in Plateau state; 168 (30.8%) also agreed with the assertion; 82 (15%) fairly agree with it; 25 (4.6%) disagree; 6 (1.1%) strongly disagree and 34 (6.2%) did not answer the question. So, going by the above responses, one can conclude that majority of the people living in Plateau state agreed that the role of the FBOs and CBOs in boosting and promoting peace-building in Plateau state has been a significant and positive one since a combined 481 (88.1%) all either strongly agree, agree or fairly agree in testimony to the assertion.

For those that belong to any of these organizations discussed above, when asked to describe their organization's contributions to the peace-building efforts in Plateau state, most of them indicate the provision of relief materials like food, medicine, shelter, etc to the needy, others engaged in massive educational and awareness creating like organizing seminars, workshops, dialogue and roundtable discussion so as to re-orient people of the state in line with the need to live with each other peacefully, tolerate one another and bring back the state image of 'home of peace and tourism'. Some also claimed to have assisted the Internally Displaced People (IDP) with relief materials. These organizations fit into such assignments because of their "familiarity with the local situation and their close contacts with grassroots movements which are seen as major advantages in complex intra-state conflict" (Paul, 1998: 22).

Justifying the role played by FBOs and CBOs in promoting peace-building is the institutionalization of a technical committee of eighteen concerned people of Plateau State (comprising of nine Muslims and nine Christian men and women) with enormous experience in administration, theology and judiciary under the supervision of the co-executive directors (the Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum)

of the Interfaith Mediation Centre with headquarters in Kaduna State, Nigeria on October 10, 2010 at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru to produce an *'Alternative Peace and Reconciliation Road-Map'*, which will serve as a reference point in permanently resolving the conflict in Plateau State. Both Muslims and Christians that were party to the conflicts in the state were asked to submit their grievances and recommend likely solutions to a permanent peaceful co-existence. Both parties in conflicts submit their grievances and made recommendations on how to ensure peace in the state.

Throughout the interview and discussions, the names of especially the catholic Bishop Kaigama and JNI members keep on resurfacing, as their assistance could not go unnoticed by the respondents. What this signifies is that the provision of humanitarian materials; the organization of seminars and workshops; and dialogue and roundtable discussions all constitute the roles and activities of these organizations in Plateau State with the main aim of promoting peace. For instance, a respondent maintains that:

...as a Muslim, my house and two cars got burnt in the conflict; the Bishop Kaigama's interfaith group got me a rented house and paid for two years where I live presently with my wife and two children. In addition,

they also help me with block, zinc and wood to start work on the burnt building (Field Interview, January 2011).

Another point of reference in testing this proposition are the FBOs and CBOs peace-building promoting activities in 2004 Yelwa-Shendam crisis where genocide was committed (which led to the declaration of state of emergency in the state). These FBOs and CBOs did a lot of grassroots mobilization, dialoguing, negotiation, reconciliation and mediation, including bringing the local governments and traditional institutions together. People were able to open up and the leaders of both parties in conflict finally agreed to stop shedding blood by agreeing to address the contentious issues about the recognition of leadership (with some few issues unresolved). This intervention, according to a pastor of an inter-faith mediation, “saw the cessation of conflict in Yelwa for some years as no blood was shed for five years even with the present conflict in the state” (Field Interview, July 2010: January 2011). Another respondent maintain that:

The sustainable factor of this conflict is religion. So, it falls on the religion leaders to be in the forefront in breaking the cycle of violence by involving grassroots mobilization, dialogue, forgiveness on the part of the traumatized and amnesty (Field Interview, January 2011).

In a focus group discussion conducted with some members of the interfaith mediation Kaduna, we were able to understand that the organization gathered one hundred and twenty youth in Plateau State in one of their peace process dialogue workshop and the Christian and Muslim youth leaders were part of the workshop. They confessed to be sponsored by politicians in the state to commit atrocity and havoc, but the workshop transformed them and they became peace ambassadors presently. In the discussion, they posit that,

We both have our different camps with our boys which we used against each others. The politicians capitalize on our unemployment and poverty to further create enmity among us by providing us with resources to create havoc but with the interfaith workshop, we realize the consequences of our actions and plan to work for peace. We were given peace certificate and become peace ambassadors. We have started making achievements before the bomb blast change the course of things...which means, some people do not want the unification (Field Interview, January 2011).

Grassroots mobilization and dialogue can go a long way in dousing conflict and promoting peace in any society. Thus, we can conveniently, therefore, say that this second assumption is also positive, as dialogue between faith-based organizations and grassroots mobilization has to an extent boosted and promote peace-building in Plateau State.

5.5 Summary of the Research Findings

This section of the study attempts an appraisal of the findings emanating from the analyses made thus far. Firstly, is the high hope or confidence people have in faith and Community-based organizations when it comes to promoting peace. These organizations are more holistic, inclusive and participatory because they look at causes, resolution and emphasize on reconstruction after a violence conflict and also prevent future re-occurrence of violent conflict with their peace-building activities. This is justifiable in 2004 where genocide was committed in Yelwa Shendam (which led to the declaration of state of emergency in the state). These faith and community-based organizations did a lot of grassroots mobilization, dialoguing, negotiation, reconciliation and mediation, including bringing the local governments and traditional institutions together. Due to the trust and confidence people had for these organizations, they were able to open up and the leaders of both parties in conflict finally agreed to stop shedding blood by agreeing to address the contentious issues about recognition of leadership (with some few issues unresolved).

Secondly, in relation to the above, the study assesses the contribution of these faith and community-based organizations as better options in promoting peace in Nigeria in general and Plateau State in particular (being very close to the grassroots levels) than reliance on positioning securities to mount road blocks to contain violent situations or forming judicial committees whose results are never considered or implemented.

Thirdly, the flash-light of these conflicts continues in some parts of the state and this can be partially attributed to the continual movement of the Fulani being nomads (despite the relative peace experienced in the state as a result of these organization's peace-building activities). A group of Fulani that attend a peace-building dialogue, seminar or workshop might have long gone with the knowledge they acquired on peace-building in the state while another set of Fulani might not be aware of the peace-building provisions and make them vulnerable to conflict. So, summoning or inviting the Fulani to a peace process might prove difficult because of their migrating nature and character. This will serve as a draw-back in the peace-building process.

Fourth, the Provision of humanitarian materials also constitutes a major role in promoting peace in Plateau State, as was established by Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Jama'atul Nasril-Islam (JNI). The Catholic Arch Bishop Kaigama's activities towards a Muslim youth in the state whose house and two cars got burnt in the conflict and the Bishop got him a rented house, paid his two years' rent where he presently lives with his wife and two children and also provided him with building materials (blocks, zinc, wood, etc) to rebuilt the burnt house.

Fifth, the gathering of one hundred and twenty youths from Plateau State, including the Christian and Muslim youth leaders, in a peace-building workshop facilitated by the interfaith mediation center, Kaduna yielded maximum results, as the youth confessed to have spearheaded the destructive violent conflict in Plateau State. This peace workshop becomes a catalyst for turning the youth into peace ambassadors. They imbibe the spirit of peace by becoming peace ambassadors and started working for the entrenchment of peace in the state.

Sixth, lack of or limited political will to effect and implement rules. Field experience shows that these organizations console and enlighten the depressed but need government backing to make their activities more effective and

efficient. This limited or lack of government backing is a draw-back in the peace-building process. For instance, the 'Dogon Na Hawa' massacre was preventable in 2011 had the state government backed the truce brokered by the Stephneous Foundation between the Fulani and the Berom. One can imagine the number of lives lost in place of cattle due to government indifferent attitude to back these organizations' peace-building activities. So, there must be sincerity of purpose in resolving conflict before a permanent peace is realized, because the political will to turn things around must be present. Paul (1998) concurs this point by maintaining that "one of the most difficult problems those seeking to prevent conflicts have to overcome is the lack of political will for action" (1998: 24). To do away with this problem, these NGOs need to relate with the state in peace-building process, especially as it relates to political will.

In relation to the above findings is the Center for Peace Initiative and Development (CEPID) and Young Ambassador for Community Peace and Inter-faith Foundation (YACPIF) activities among a plethora of other NGOs in peace promoting activities. These NGOs organize 'radio and television jingles in promoting peaceful and mutual co-existence messages, with the supports of USAID's office of Transition Initiatives'; the Canadian High Commission and the center for Humanitarian Dialogue, which sponsored a forum for dialogue on

peace-building and conflict mediation in Jos, Plateau State, on February 29, 2012. About thirty religion leaders, community leaders and the representatives of NGOs working for peace in Jos gathered to discuss the factors contributing to the ongoing crisis in Jos, as well as the strategies to end the cycle of violence. The YACPIF also organized a football peace tournament that involved two hundred and sixty football players that played across eight different venues in Plateau State, namely: Jos North, Jos South, Barikin Ladi and Riyom local government areas. The venues where the football matches were played were venues tagged 'no go areas' due to their proneness to conflict. Twenty four teams were carefully selected to participate in the tournament; free jerseys were distributed, all with the sole aim of dousing tension and imbibing the spirit of brotherhood that usually goes with sporting activities.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

The creation of the Jos North local government in 1991 and the winning of the local government chairmanship election by a Hausa/Jasawa man in the name of Samaila Mohammed; the appointment of Aminu Mato (also a Hausa/Jasawa man) as the Jos North chairman (caretaker committee) in 1994; the attempted appointment of Ado Ibrahim (a Hausa/Jasawa) as the secretary of the Jos North Education Authority in 1996; the denial to grant the indigeneship certificate to the Jasawa in 1999 by the local government chairman Frank Bagudu Tardy (Tarddy) (an Anaguta man); and the federal government appointment of Muktar Mohammed (a Jasawa man) as the Jos North coordinator of the National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP) in July, 2001 all contributed to violent conflict in Plateau State. It started with staged protests by the *indigenes* (the Anaguta, Afizere and Berom) complaining about appointing the Hausa and Fulani into key positions in the local government and counter protests and petitions by the Jasawa for marginalizing, excluding and denying them indigeneship rights since the inception of Tarddy as the local government chairman.

What started as a protest later degenerated into chaos and violent conflict, leading to the massacre of thousands of people, the destruction of properties worth billions of naira and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people. What had originally been an ethnic and political conflict turned into a religious one, as the conflict between indigenes and settlers became a conflict between Christians and Muslims when both sides exploited religion as an effective way of mobilizing large scale support. The state became the scene of mass killing and destruction. The state government's failure to take the looming crisis seriously by becoming indifferent to early warning signals and its inability to resolve the conflict was widely condemned. The military were invited to restore order and in May 2004 and President Obasanjo declared a state of emergency in the state. Some measures of the peace process were restored, but, later on, there was the recommencement of violent conflict in the state.

The federal and state governments also constituted several judicial committees and commissions of inquiry with the sole aim of resolving the conflict by investigating both remote and immediate causes of the conflicts assess the damage done and make recommendations. The committees instituted did not yield the desired result, as none of the reports was released, talk less of implementing them. In 2010, the government released four of this committee

reports. There were also contradictions attached to the appointment of these committees, for instance, when President Yar'adua appointed his committee of inquiry, the Plateau State indigenes refused to appear before it and Jang filed a lawsuit challenging Yar'adua's right to appoint a committee within Jang's jurisdiction. When Jang also appointed his committee of inquiry, the Jasawa refused to appear before it and filed a lawsuit challenging his right to appoint a committee to investigate a dispute to which he was a party. These sorts of accusation and counter-accusations further compounded the conflict.

It is the activities of these faith and community based organizations (being closer to the grassroots level) that bring about relative peace in the state. These organizations play the role of becoming the voice of the under-privileged and opened up communication channels among the warring parties; supplied humanitarian materials to the internally displaced; promoted human spirit, community life, togetherness and increased harmony through long held traditions and culture; organized peace workshops, seminars and facilitate dialogue, negotiation and mediation processes; and other peace-building processes in Plateau State. For instance, the Interfaith Mediation Center Kaduna, the Young Ambassadors for Community Peace and Interfaith Foundation (YACPIF), the Stephneous Foundation; the Center for Peace Initiative and Development (CEPID),

the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR), the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI) and a host of other faith and community based organizations peace-building activities in Plateau State, which include the mediation process that brought an end to the cessation of violent conflict in Yelwan Shandam in 2004; the mediation process that took place in the Gbong Gwom's Jos palace in 2011; the alternative road map to peace and reconciliation that involved a technical committee of eighteen concerned people (nine Christians and nine Muslims) of Jos who were working on peaceful co-existence in the state; the organization of peace tournaments; Television and Radio peace jingles; etc. The activities of these organizations have yielded a relative result in the state as there is calm to an extent that some parts of the state, experiencing periodic conflict, which is partly due to the dynamic nature of the Fulani nomads. These organizations also need the government's backing to make their activities more effective.

6.2 Conclusion

The capacity of a society to continue to exist despite prevailing conflicts depends on its ability to devise the means of curbing the negative impact of such conflicts. The attempts made by the faith and community-based organizations in promoting peaceful co-existence in Plateau State to some extent have recorded success, since there is relative peace in the larger part of the state with the complete cessation of violent conflict in some parts while there still exists flash-light of conflicts in some parts of the state, especially the southern part, due to the continuous farmer-grazer squabbles. The devastating and enduring dimensions of the conflict are as a result of the long standing grievances between the Fulani that are always on the move in search of food and water for their animals and farmers. So, the efforts made at resolving the ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau State, as examined in this study, may seem fruitless until drastic peace-building strategies are implemented while inculcating, backing and empowering community and religion leaders to continue their peace-building activities. The challenge for policy makers in Plateau State in particular and Nigeria in general is to adopt strategies aimed at managing the conflicts and ensuring lasting peace in the state, as recommended in this study.

6.3 Recommendations

For any polity to thrive successfully in Nigeria in general and Plateau State in particular, sustainable peace and development has to be institutionalized. The citizens have to be tolerant of each other and be sincere about ensuring peace in the communities, as posited by the Dalai Lama that,

peace must first be developed within an individual. He believes that love, compassion, and altruism are the fundamental basis for peace. Once these qualities are developed within an individual, he or she is then able to create an atmosphere of peace and harmony. This atmosphere can be expanded and extended from the individual to his family, from the family to the community and eventually to the whole world (cited in Webel, 2007: 03).

Once this is achieved then, we can conveniently start talking of peace-building. On the basis of the findings, the study adopt the following recommendations:

6.3.1: Emphasizes Citizenship Rights

Since 'indigene-ship' has become a major source of disagreement that threatens the corporate existence of Nigeria in general and Plateau State in particular, the federal government should de-emphasize or eliminate the priority attached to

indigenization in the country and promote the use of citizenship rights as the basis upon which rights and entitlements are given through constitutional provision. Emphasis should be placed on state of residence (as operated in the United States and other developed countries) instead of state of origin. Nigerians should be allowed to stay and live in states of their choice, as long as they live up to ten years in the state if there is not any form of criminal records against them.

6.3.2: Poverty Alleviation Strategies

The majority of our vibrant youth willing to work but finding none will continue to be easy victims of manipulation and negative indoctrination by conflict entrepreneurs. The government should, therefore, re-invent new strategies aimed at emancipating the youth from the strangle hold of poverty manifested by the prevalence of the unemployed by setting up vocational training and skills acquisition centers across the state to train and empower all youths without any discrimination. This will ensure their proper growth, assure them of a brighter future and make them have confidence in the state and the country in general.

6.3.3: Peace Education and Trauma Healing

Inculcating tolerance, forgiveness and peaceful co-existence into our children curriculum and teaching same right from primary schools up to higher institutions of learning will go a long way in preparing the children growing into peace-loving adults, develop a deep understanding of friendship and tend to douse hatred, hence promote peace-building.

6.3.4: The Establishment of Community Leaders Forum

The host communities should come up with a forum like the 'Jos Metropolitan Community Leaders Forum' (JOMECOLF) for continued consultation and dialogue in order to promote communication, accommodation, mutual respect and the rights of citizens. This forum should be a continuous process or held on quarterly basis or whenever necessary so as to consolidate the spirit of peaceful co-existence, as well as dispel any sign of future recurrence of conflict.

6.3.5: Pastoral-Farmer Relations

The encroachment on farm lands by pastoralists and encroachment on grazing reserves by farmers has caused serious violent conflict, which has escalated the fragile relationship in Plateau State. Grazing reserves should be established in areas that are vulnerable to pastoral/farmer conflicts and they should improve

their communication gap, promote mutual understanding, co-exist peacefully and mediate over crisis situation as they arise within their groups. They should also constitute conflict resolution committees at ward, village and district levels that will settle disagreements between pastoralists and farmers.

6.3.6: Eliminate Electoral Malpractices

The quest to win elections at all costs and manipulating electoral processes by politicians result in electoral violence, which contribute in escalating conflict. Political parties should strengthen their internal democracy and government should guarantee that votes count in all elections, address election complaints through legal means and empower the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to conduct all elections in Federal, State and Local Government levels.

6.3.7: Special Sporting Events

A special continuous sporting event should be organized as a means of dousing tension and promoting peace. This is demonstrated by the Young Ambassador for Community Peace and Interfaith Foundation (YACPIF) in one of their peace-

building mechanisms in Plateau State where a football peace tournament involving two hundred and sixty football players (that constituted twenty four teams) played across eight different venues in Plateau State with the sole aim of dousing tension, promoting peace and imbibing the spirit of brotherhood in the youth.

In addition, government and security agencies should put in place a strategy to check the proliferation of small arms and ammunitions in the state; examine the recommendations of past reports, weight their feasibility, especially in the interest of promoting peace; the recognition of early warning signals, which should be responded to with early action right from the community to state level; religious leaders should shun provocative and inciting preaching and preach peace, tolerance and forgiveness; promote a just and professional judicial system and media; and democracy should be entrenched and consolidated.

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APPENDIX VI LIST OF THOSE INTERVIEWED

S/N	Name	Religious Leaning	Description	Designation	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1	Habu Galadima*	Christian	Head, Department of Political Science	Lecturer (Ph. D)	Unijos	July 6, 2010
2	Helen Salben Kabiru	Christianity	TEKAN PEACE DESK (Coordinator)	Interfaith	Jos	July 7, 2010
3	Rev. Austin King James	Christianity	Reverend Father and Pastor	Interfaith	Gbong Gwom Palace Jos	July 7, 2010
4	Sadiq Abubakar Musa Hong**	Muslim	Project manager of USAID & North central coordinator of Interfaith Med. Centre	NGO & Interfaith	Jos	July 7, 8 & 9, 2010
5	Abdulrahman Lawal	Muslim	Chairman, JNI Emergency Relief Committee	Lecturer (Doctor of Philosophy)	UniJos	July 9, 2010
6	Umar Faruk Musa	Muslim	State project officer of JNI	Civil Servant & Interfaith	Jos Central Mosque	July 11, 2010
7	Mohammed Tanko Shitu	Muslim	Asst. National Secretary of Jasawa Youth Development Association (JYDA)	CBO	Jos	July 11, 2010

8	Chief Tarzan Ahmadu	Christian	Chief of Bokkos	Former Director of Sport & Community Leader (Doctor of Philosophy)	Gbong Gwom Palace Jos	July 8, 2010
9	Aminu Sadis Abdullahi	Muslim	Secretary, JNI	Interfaith	Jos	July 13, 2010
10	Ahmed Mohd Bello Abubakar	Muslim	Traditional head of Naraguta (Engineer)	Traditional/Community Head	Naraguta	July 13 & 14, 2010
11	CSP Obinna S.O	Christian	Head of Operation MESA & Special Task Force (JTF)	Security	Police Headquarter, Jos	July 16, 2010
12	Sama Sama Dankishiya	Christian	Trading	Businessman	Quan Pan	July 18, 2010
13	Augustine Tamulan	Christian	Political Party PRO	Politician	Quan Pan	July 18, 2010
14	Dantani Sale	Muslim	Retired Military & Presently a Driver	Businessman	Quan Pan	July 18, 2010
15	Abdullahi Maikudi	Muslim	Farming	Farmer	Quan Pan	July 19, 2010
16	Ahmadu Usman Baba Gwaska	Muslim	Security man & farming	Farmer	Quan Pan	July 19, 2010
17	Kabiru Yunusa	Muslim	Cattle tender	Cattle tender	Quan Pan	July 19 & 20, 2010
18	Isyaku Abubakar	Muslim	Cattle tender	Cattle tender	Quan Pan	July 20, 2010
19	Bar. Lawal	Muslim	Secretary, Council of Ulama	Lawyer & Interfaith	Jos	July 22, 2010

20	Ali Garba**	Muslim	Institute of Governance & Social Research (IGSR) Research Fellow	NGO	Jos	July 23, 2010
21	Danjuma Baban Meriam***	Muslim	Community head & Trading	Businessman	Jos	July 23, 2010
22	Dr. Esut	Christian	Medical Doctor	Doctor	Shendam	August 2, 2010
23	Katahiren	Christian	Nurse	Nurse	Shendam	August 2, 2010
24	Haisant Shuaimu	Christian	Civil Servant (Local Government Secretariat)	Civil Servant	Shendam	August 3, 2010
25	Plasida Angulu	Christian	Member, Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN)	NGO	Shendam	August 3, 2010
26	Mal. Danladi	Muslim	Farming & Vigilante Personnel	Farmer & Security	Shendam	August 3, 2010
27	Bulus Innocent	Christian	Journalist	NUJ	Shendam	August 4, 2010
28	Sarkin Hausawan Pankshin	Muslim	Traditional Leader	Community Leader	Pankshin	August 6, 2010
29	District Head of Pankshin	Muslim	Community Leader	Community Leader	Pankshin	August 6, 2010
30	Mr. John	Christian	Retire Military Personnel	Ex-SecurityMan	Pankshin	August 6, 2010
31	Village Head Kwalab 1	Christian	Community Leader	Community Leader	Riyom	August 8, 2010
32	Bulus Danladi Fundun	Christian	Village Head Kwalab 2	Community Leader	Riyom	August 8, 2010

33	Ezekiel Mangaekam	Christian	Pastor of Iklisia COCIN	Interfaith	Riyom	August 9, 2010
34	Dunzaka Tengo	Christian	Student (UNIJOS)	Student	Riyom	August 9, 2010
35	District head of Mangu	Christian	Traditional Leader	Community Leader	Mangu	August 11, 2010
36	Isaac Jeremiah	Christian	Pastor	Interfaith	Mangu	August 11, 2010
37	Musa Bala	Muslim	Imam	Interfaith	Mangu	August 11, 2010
38	Dun Pam Isaac	Christian	Retired Police officer	Security	Mangu	August 11, 2010
39	Zubairu Isyaka	Muslim	Secretary, Centre for Peace Advancement of Nigeria (CEPAN)	NGO	Jos	August 13, 2010
40	David Smock	-	Official, United States Institute of Peace (USIP)		United States of America (USA)	November 30, 2010
41	James Morgan Wuye****	Christian	Co-Executive Director, Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna (Ph. D)	Interfaith	Kaduna	January 18 & 19, 2011
42	Muhammad Nurn Ashafa****	Muslim	Co-Executive Director, Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna (Ph. D)	Interfaith	Kaduna	January 20 & 21, 2011
43	Mark Tela*****	Christian	Christian Youth Leader	Youth Leader	Kano	January 26, 2011
44	Magaji Sule*****	Muslim	Muslim Youth Leader	Youth Leader	Kano	January 26, 2011

*He is our first contact in and also the first person to assist us on the strategy followed in selecting research assistants including the actors involved in peace-building in Plateau State. He introduced us to

Dr Felix who provided us with about seven (7) research assistants. He told us about the mediation process going on in the palace and advised us to meet with Chris Kwaja for further assistance especially on how to attend the mediation process in the Gbong Gwon palace.

**We have had series of subsequent interactions with them and they assisted in smuggling me into the Gbong Gwom Jos palace between July 5, 2010 and July 12, 2010 where the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR) together with other Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO's) organized a mediation process tagged "Enduring Peace in Jos: Arresting Cycle of Violence". Communities living in Jos were invited to come forward and state their problems and also suggest recommendations. I was in attendance when the following communities were invited: Ninzo Community, Bachama Community, Chamba Community, Yungur Community and Kurama Federation Community.

*** Because of the fear of what we've been hearing in Jos pertaining people being killed, I was able to obtain a note from somebody in Kano who introduced me to Danjuma Baban Merian and he accommodated some of us in his house and feed us. He introduced me also to members of Jos Council of Ulama's and a branch of the council – JNI introduced me to the Christians Association of Nigerian (CAN) members where I learned of the five blocks that the comprises the organization.

****These are the Co-Directors of Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna. We have had series of subsequent interactions with them and some of their staff like Abdullahi Mohammed, Sufi, Dangiwa, Sani and Joshu'a. They also introduced me to the Christian and Muslim youth leaders that were physically and directly involved in the conflict. They assisted me with a lot of materials.

*****These are the youth leaders that are directly and physically involved in the conflict. By the time I know them, Jos was boiling in conflict and I was scared to go down there physically so, I called them and make arrangement to pay all their bill and remuneration for them to grant me the interview in Kano which they did.