THE EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS-BASED CONFLICTS ON NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY: THE CASE OF JOS, PLATEAU STATE (2001-2016)

BY

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2014/FEB/MIRD/M1381/WKD

A RESEARCH DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY OF NKUMBA UNIVERSITY

JULY, 2017

DECLARATION

I, **SAMUEL NANKPAK ABASHE,** hereby declare to the Academic Board of Nkumba University that this research dissertation is my original work and has not been presented to any University or Higher Institution of Learning, and any reference to the work of others, acknowledgment has been made. Further, any errors or omissions are solely my own.

Signed: …………………………..   **Date: …………………………**

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APPROVAL

This research dissertation titled **"THE EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS-BASED CONFLICTS ON NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY: THE CASE OF JOS, PLATEAU STATE (2001-2016)"**,is now ready for submission to the Academic Board of Nkumba University for the Award of a Master of Arts Degree in International Relations and Diplomacy.

Signed: ……………………………   **Date: …………………………….**

DR. ASIIMWE SOLOMON MUCHWA (PhD)
(SUPERVISOR)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my Late Mother Dr. Ngo Yop Hannatu Chollom who dedicated her life fighting inhumanity to mankind, mediating over conflict in her community/region and out spoken on women's rights. It is this that I was inspired to write my dissertation on conflict. Also not forgetting her outstanding support and guidance throughout my early education. May Her Departed Soul continue to Rest in Perfect Peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I greatly thank my friends in the academic field, colleagues, the management of United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and my manager with the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU) for supporting me throughout my studies and I also this opportunity to thank my supervisor Dr. Asiimwe Solomon Muchwa whose guidance has made it possible for me to finish on time. Thank you very much indeed.

I extend sincere thanks to all the respondents from the field that provided me with information from which this research was compiled, for without cooperation, accomplishing this task would remain a nightmare. Thank you very much.

Lastly, I thank my course mates who have been so helpful and encouraging. Thank you so much and may the Almighty God bless you all.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AG	-	Action Group
ANPP	-	All Nigerian People's Party
AQIM	-	Al-Qaeda in the Islam Maghreb
BAA	-	Bero-Anaguta-Afizere
CAN	-	Christian Association of Nigeria
CAR	-	Central Africa Republic
CECOMPS	-	Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies
CEPID	-	Centre for Peace Initiative and Development
CLO	-	Civil Liberties Organization
COCIN	-	Church of Christ in Nigeria
CPA	-	Centre for Peace Advancement
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization (s)
DAC	-	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	-	Department for International Development
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	-	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EU	-	European Union
EW	-	ER-Early Warning-Early Response
FAO	-	Food and Agricultural Organization

FCC	-	Federal Character Commission
FEDECO	-	Federal Electoral Commission
FG	-	Federal Government
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
FOMWAN	-	Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria
GIZ	-	German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation
GNPP	-	Greater Nigerian People's Party
HRW	-	Human Rights Watch
ICCPR	-	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICG	-	International Crisis Group
IRIN	-	Integrated Regional Information Networks
ISA	-	Identity Structure Analysis
JNI	-	Jama'atu Nasril Islam
KII	-	Key Informant Interview (s)
LGA	-	Local Government Area (s)
LGMC	-	Local Government Monitoring Committee
LTIE	-	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MNC	-	Multinational Corporation
NAPEP	-	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NCNC	-	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
NIIA	-	Nigerian Institute for International Affairs
NIPPS	-	Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NPC	-	Northern People's Congress
NPP	-	Nigerian People's Party
NRN	-	Nigeria Research Network
PBSO	-	Peace Building Support Office
PLASIEC	-	Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission
OCHCR	-	Office of the Higher Commissioner for Human Rights
OECD	-	Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	-	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OPEC	-	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PRP	-	People's Redemption Party
SAI	-	School of Advanced International Studies
SFCG	-	Search for Common Ground
STF	-	Special Task Force
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	-	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children's Fund

UNRISD	-	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UPN	-	Unity Party for Nigeria
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
USIP	-	United States Institute for Peace
WANEP	-	West African Network for Peace-building
WB	-	World Bank
YACP	-	Young Ambassadors for Community Peace

OPERATIONAL TERMS USED

National Security: National Security is a concept that a government, along with its parliaments, should protect the state and its citizens against all kind of "national" crises through a variety of power projections, such as political power, diplomacy, economic power, military might, and so on.

Violence: Violence is the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation.

Religion: Religion is any cultural system of designated behaviours and practices, world views, texts, sanctified places, ethics, or organisations, that relate humanity to the supernatural or transcendental.

Religious violence: Religious Violence is a term that covers phenomena where religion is either the subject or the object of violent behavior. Religious violence is, specifically, violence that is motivated by or in reaction to religious precepts, texts, or doctrines. This includes violence against religious institutions, people, objects, or events when the violence is motivated to some degree by some religious aspect of the target or by the precepts of the attacker. Religious violence does not refer exclusively to acts committed by religious groups, but includes acts committed by secular groups against religious groups.

Political intolerance: Political Intolerance is the unwillingness to extend basic rights and civil liberties to persons and groups whose viewpoints differ from one's own.

Sharia, **Sharia law**: Sharia, Sharia Law or Islamic law is the religious law forming part of the Islamic tradition.

Ethnoreligious group: Ethnoreligious group is an ethnic group whose members are also unified by a common religious background.

Ethnic conflict: An ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society.

ABSTRACT

The research problem of the study is "the effects of religious conflicts in Jos Plateau State and their implications for the Socio-Economic and Political development of Nigeria". The incessant religious conflicts have become a major problem confronting the state and the nation at large. The conflicts have resulted to the death of many Nigerians and the loss of property worth billions of naira. This has led to the expression of disappointment by well-meaning people within and outside Nigeria. The researcher therefore researched into the root and remote causes of these conflicts. That's was done through the historical method. Data was obtained from primary sources through oral interviews and self-administered questionnaires as they relate to the research topic. Randomly selected respondents and interviewees in Plateau State were used for the study. Secondly sources like the library and archives were consulted for data. The internet was equally a great source of information for the study. Findings revealed that the root and remote causes of the ethno-religious conflicts are tied to the Sharia law, intolerance, indigene/settler syndrome, unemployment, poverty, unguided utterances of religious and political leaders, lack of proper education, and absence of good governance among others. The conflicts by implication have resulted in the irreparable loss of human and material resources that could have been useful for social and economic developmental purposes of the nation. The conflicts have also posed serious consequences on the nation's political system as it affects democratic values and norms. The researcher by way of conclusion hoped that sincere government schemes and efforts be established to achieve social, economic and political distributive justice for all people in the country. With that incessant conflicts shall be controlled.

CHAPTER ONE
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter contains the background to the study, problem statement, purpose of the study, study objectives, research questions, scope of the study, and significance of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

The study was about the effects of religious-based conflicts on Nigeria's national security: the case of Jos, plateau state (2001-2017)

1.1.1 Conceptual Perspective

According to Imobighe (1990), the core interest of Nigeria's national defense policy is to ensure the nation's survival and security. National security entails a condition, in which citizens of a country enjoy a free, peaceful, and safe environment, and have access to resources which will enable them to enjoy the basic necessities of life. Thus, the security of a state directly translates to its ability to protect its citizens, as well as national assets, from both internal and external threats. It also facilitates individuals and groups in carrying out their legitimate businesses without any significant undue hindrance. A nation's security may be undermined by either external or internal conflicts or violence resulting from social, political, religious, and economic misunderstandings within it.

Imobighe (1990) defines national security, as a more specific concept, implying the absence of threat to life, property, and socio-economic wellbeing of a nation and its people. It is further described by Imobighe (1990), as freedom from danger, or from threats to a nation's ability to protect and defend itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests, and enhance the wellbeing of its people from abroad.

From this selection of definitions, two broad perspectives can be identified. First, there is the traditional perspective in which national security is perceived as the state of military preparedness to defend a country against external threats. Second, there is the more recent and broader conceptualization of national security which encompasses, besides the state of military

preparedness, such other dimensions as political security, economic security, social security and environmental security which impact on the quality of life or wellbeing of the population.

This broader view, therefore, regards national security as the ability of a country to maintain its sovereignty, protect its political, economic, social and other interests in a sovereign manner and act likewise in its relations with other states in the international system. It follows then, that national security entails the protection of all the national interests upon which the survival of the country depends. It is not only about the security of national territory and infrastructure but also, about the good life, the basic values which keep the community together and advancement in the quality of life available to the individual (William, 1987).

According to Greely (1982), the term religion comes from either the Latin word religare (meaning to read or pursue together; the same roots goes to legible and intelligent), or much more likely and generally accepted, from the term religare (to tie back, to find fast). Hence a religious man used to mean a monk tied by his vow; and the words "to bring home, ligaments and ligatures" go back to the same root for the Romans, it meant being tied back, staying connected with ancestral customs and beliefs, a kind of ancestor loyalty. Religion is value-based; as such people are usually emotionally attached to it and less tolerant of any unwelcome attack upon it (Aliyu, 2009).

Religion suggests an attempt by man to work out a relationship with a super-ordinate being often epitomized in God. Implicit in this is an interaction between religion and the society within which it functions. Consequently, because of its tendency to color relationships, religion has become a major influence in politics and crises, playing significant roles in the entire societal process especially in multi religious societies. For the early Christians, the word would originally have meant being tied back, or being connected to God. As used in Arabic and therefore in Islamic literature, religion means obedience, being in debt, restoring one's rights, adopting as a habit, forcing, calling to account, managing, rewarding or punishing, serving, lending and so on (Aliyu, 2009). It can also be seen as a community of persons united by faith, united by a search for "the divine," and defined by its manner of confronting the problems of human existence.

The definitions and perception that people have accorded to religion have not only differed from one historical epoch to another, but have also varied from one conventional wisdom to another. It is

against this background that Marx conceived religion as "the sigh of the oppressed creature. It is the opium of the people." The foregoing definition of religion by Marx presupposes that religion is not only a mental abstraction but also an immaterial object of drowsiness. To him, religion not only blurs the true class consciousness and rational ability of masses but further injects into them an aura and ecstasy (Karl Marx, 1932). The above views of religion depict religion as something to be denied or dismissed as belonging to the past phase of human development. In reality, however, despite the advances in science and technology, there is a growing interest in and turning towards religion throughout the world.

The collapse of communist systems has opened the gates for the return of religion to the former communist societies. All of these show that western theories of religion have been largely flawed, as religion is a rising value in the world and more people are turning to it every day. For the purpose of this study, religion is understood as the search, inherent in man, which the spirit makes in order to apprehend the infinite, the longing and endeavor of the individual with regard to his sense of unfulfilled desire for infinity (Stephen, 2009)

The term violence has attracted a wide range of definitions in literature. The Princeton Cognitive Science Laboratory defines it as "an act of aggression (as one against a person who resists); a turbulent state resulting in injuries and destruction; ferocity: the property of being wild or turbulent." According to Abdulkadir (2011), violence is an integral part of man's existence and a common occurrence in human societies. It could be due to differences in political ideologies, as was evident during the Cold War period, and terrorism, bad governance, ethnic nationalism, economic and religious reasons, and in some cases a combination of two or more of these factors.

A more comprehensive definition is that of Cadfy quoted by Stephen (2009) who defines it as "physical and non-physical harm that causes damage, pain, injury or fear" However, while violence may be physical or non-physical, and while it's immediate target may be either human beings or material structures, its ultimate goal is usually to destroy the existence or degrade the dignity of a person or group of persons. This definition is considered sufficiently comprehensive and is therefore adopted for the purpose of this study.

According to University of California-Santa Cruz (2002), Religious conflicts can be described as disagreement based on differences in faith and belief. They further point out that most conflicts,

referred to as religious in Nigeria may also be ethnically based, as well. Ethnic conflicts usually revolve around resource conflicts in which the conflicting groups have different distinct cultural identities. Obviously, these conflicts are not confined to any specific geo-political region of Nigeria or any part of the world. Religious violence is a term that covers all phenomena where religion, in any of its forms, is either the subject or object of individual or collective violent behavior.

Concretely, it covers both violence by religiously motivated individuals or religious institutions of any kinds, a different sect, or secular targets. Religious violence, like all violence, is inherently a cultural process whose meanings are context dependent. It may be worth noting that religious violence often tends to place great emphasis on the symbolic aspect of the act (University of California-Santa Cruz, 2002).

Since the contemporary Nigerian society is characterized by violent conflicts over ethnicity and religion, most especially in the Northern states of the country. Widespread violence and simultaneous sporadic and reprisal attacks have culminated into high level of insecurity and uncertainty to the core continued existence of Nigeria as a federal state. The recurring violent attacks have become a major phenomenon in day to day socio-political discourse in Nigeria. Many scholars opined, that, the major causes of the upheaval is a result of continues government neglect to address key issues at the point of incubation and as well lack of good governance. And to a larger extent, some scholars are already predicting civil war and the eventual disintegration of Nigerian society. The nature and composition of Nigerian state is both vital and central to the nature of various relationships that exist within it.

1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

The issues that generate the fiercest contestation include those that are considered fundamental to the existence and legitimacy of the state, over which competing groups tend to adopt exclusionary, winner takes all strategies, which include the control of state power, resource allocation, and citizenship (Osaghae, 2009). As a consequence, deeply divided states tend to be fragile and unstable because, almost by definition, there are fewer points of convergence and consensus among the constituent groups than are required to effectively mitigate or contain the centrifugal forces that tear the society apart (Osaghae, 2009). It is incontrovertible that ethno-religious and political crises have strong implications for the security of Nigeria (Nhema and Zeleza, 2008).

This study was underpinned by a combination of two theories and these are the conspiratorial explanation and the Lubeck theory (Ogbu, 1996). According to him, the religious explanation posits that in an attempt to improve the economy through social policies, there have been pandering of religious groups creating more states. The conspiratorial theory, emphasizes that the architects of religious violence have had hidden political agendas, informed by the historical indoctrination that religion and history cannot be established without political supremacy. The third model, which is the Lubeck theory, focuses on the socio-economic wellbeing of the people as being the roots of religious-based violence.

1.1.3 Historical Perspective

Nigeria is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, and multicultural society with enormous potential for economic, social, and democratic development. However, intense conflicts and violence that manifested within it even from its earliest time under the colonial rule have made development and progress elude the country. Nigeria is usually characterized as a deeply divided state in which major political issues are vigorously contested along the lines of complex ethnic, religious, and regional divisions (Osaghae, 2009). The causes of these conflicts may not be unconnected with the way and manner religion is portrayed to its adherents and mistrust between the followers of the various religious and ethnic groups.

Religious conflicts are recurring phenomena affecting the security of many countries around the world. In a study conducted to investigate the causes of most violent conflicts, religion was found to be a crucial issue (Abdulkadir, 2011). The study found that societies that are divided along religious lines are more prone to intense and prolonged conflict than countries where people have problems arising from political, territorial and ethnic divisions (ibid). The explanation for this may lay in the belief among many believers that it is only by strict adherence to the religion that they could attain self-purification and divine acceptance in the hereafter. Religious convictions can be so strongly held that, to some adherents; it becomes a matter of life and death. Or, it could be as simple as a person's religion being used as a convenient way of differentiating himself from someone else, especially when both are in competition for resources.

The global security environment has witnessed many religious-based conflicts in contemporary times. In India, bloody confrontations between Hindus and Muslims have frequently led to

insecurity in the sub-region and even the establishment of new nation states like Pakistan and Bangladesh. The violent religious crises in countries like Northern Ireland, Lebanon and the former Yugoslavia underline the seriousness of religious-based violence. The phenomenon of religious-based violence does not only manifest itself in inter-religious settings but can also be found within adherents of the same religion. This can be seen in the case of Northern Ireland, for instance, where Christians of the Catholic and Anglican denominations battle each other. Similarly, rivalries between the Muslim sub-sects of Sunni and Shiites in Iraq, Yemen and Saudi Arabia have always been fierce and bloody (Peters, 1994).

Nigeria, one of the largest and most important countries in the less developed world, has been in the news in the last fifteen years as a major African theatre of religious violence and aggression, as has Sudan. A religious divide separates Christians and Muslims, and long-standing intra religious conflicts further divide the people. The imperfect distribution of adherents to Islam and Christianity is complicated by ethnic differences as well. The religious crises in various parts of Nigeria have continued to pose serious threats to its national security. Apart from recording heavy loss of lives, destruction of property and displacement of citizens, the problem becomes complicated as regards the choice of targets and the types of weapons deployed during these crises (Grin, 1990)The use of weapons during such crises "encourages reprisal killings, which spark off new rounds of violence between warring groups." According to Salawu (2010), this situation inhibits the ability of security agencies to quickly defuse the crises and restore law and order. Thus, there is a tendency for the crises to escalate and become prolonged. As a result of these crises, large numbers of lives and property were lost and the States are seen by many people outside them as no go areas. Businesses are struggling to survive due to lack of investment directly resulting from the overall lack of security.

In Nigeria, an unprecedented number of conflicts arising from mostly religious-based disputes have been witnessed in some parts of the country since 1999. It has been estimated that since the transition to civilian rule in May 1999, no less than ten thousand lives have been lost to religious-based violence. Many of these conflicts were basically between Christians and Muslims, although there have been cases where members of the same sect engaged in violent conflict because of different (Ploch, 2012) interpretations of the holy books. Nevertheless, the most frequent religious

conflicts have been those between Muslims and Christians like the ones that occurred in places like Sagamu in Ogun State, Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, and Plateau. These conflicts threaten to transform religion in Nigeria from a unifying and edifying force into a destructive or even disintegrative social element, threatening the peace, stability and security of the country and beyond.

According to the HRW (2011) most of the religiously-motivated violence in the country in recent times has centered on the introduction of the Sharia penal code in some northern states of Nigeria. In the past decade, more than 3,800 people have been killed in inter-communal violence in Plateau State, including as many as 1,000 in 2001 in Jos and more than 75 Christians and at least 700 Muslims in 2004 in Yelwa, southern Plateau State. In November 2008, two days of inter-communal clashes following local government elections in Jos left at least 700 dead.

The International Religious Freedom (2010) reports that in January 2010, several hundred people were killed in sectarian clashes in and around Jos, including a massacre on January 19 of more than 150 Muslims in the nearby town of KuruKarama. On March 7, at least 200 Christians were massacred in Dogon Nahawa and several nearby villages. Over the next nine months, more than 120 people died in smaller-scale attacks and reprisal killings leading up to the Christmas Eve bombings and renewed sectarian clashes.

1.1.4 Contextual Perspective

Sectarian and Inter-communal violence in Plateau State and northern Nigeria has a history of spreading to other regions. Following the 2004 violence in Yelwa, reprisal killings in Kano State left 200 Christians dead. Muslim attacks against Christians in the northern city of Maiduguri in 2006 led to reprisal killings of more than 80 Muslims in eastern Nigeria (HRW, 2011).

The HRW (2011) reveals that members of the security forces have also been implicated in serious abuses. In November 2008, Human Rights Watch documented 133 cases of unlawful killings by the federal police and army sent to Jos to quell the sectarian violence. Witnesses told Human Rights Watch that, on January 10, 2011, at least one soldier was seen participating in the attack on Wareng village, which left 15 Christians dead.

The Human Rights Watch Report (2013) points out that the federal and Plateau State governments have not only failed to tackle the root socio-economic causes of the violence, they have also failed to break the cycle of killings by holding those responsible to account. In all but a handful of cases - 17 Hausa-Fulani men were convicted by the Federal High Court in Jos in December 2010 - the perpetrators have not been brought to justice. In the absence of effective redress through the courts, communities that have suffered violence frequently resort to vigilante justice and exact revenge by inflicting commensurate harm on innocent members of the other community.

HRW (2013) pointed out that the federal and Plateau State governments set up various committees and commissions of inquiry that have examined these issues, but the reports from these bodies, and the occasional government white paper, have mostly been shelved. Despite repeated outbreaks of violence, the government has largely ignored the findings and failed to implement the recommendations.

The federal government, however, has taken some steps to beef up security in Jos and surrounding communities since early 2010. While the military presence has had some effect in deterring and responding to attacks, the underlying causes of the reoccurring outbreaks of violence remain.

These crises are eloquent manifestations of threats to national security as they could inhibit peace and security of any country. They are also injurious and prejudicial to individual and corporate interests of the citizenry and the sovereignty of the nation. Ethnic and religious crises disrupt public order and undermine individual safety thus creating insecurity. These situations disrupt normal productive activities which erode public confidence in government to provide security and safeguard lives and property.

These conflicts in Nigeria have raised concerns in the international circles as to whether Nigeria was becoming a base for terrorist organizations (Dunmore, 2003). It is the concern for the implications of these activities on Nigeria's security and her international relations that sparked the researcher's interest in this study.

First, Jos Plateau State is used as a case study largely due to its centrally located position within the country. The state has an almost equal population of Muslims and Christians, which makes it extremely catastrophic whenever there is a crisis between the two religious denominations (Allen

Jr., 2013). Also, the destruction of lives and property in such instances can be enormous. Secondly, it is used as a case study because it is a border state and therefore any violence within the state might spill over to the neighboring countries. There is also the likelihood of religious violence being fueled or sponsored from outside the country.

1.2 Problem statement

Plateau State is in an area of central Nigeria known as the Middle Belt that divides the predominately Muslim north from the largely Christian south. Local political elites have long battled for power and control of limited resources and have stoked religious tensions to those ends. Widespread poverty and unemployment, fueled by endemic government corruption and mismanagement, have created an explosive social mix as competition intensifies for scarce opportunities to secure government jobs, education, and political patronage (Kwaja, 2011). However, the actions taken to control these conflicts in the Jos area have mostly been ineffective. A large number of commissions, have been tasked with examining the conflict, but they have had little impact in practice. It appears that local politicians may have used the tensions for personal gain, causing the heads of the Christian Association of Nigeria and the Nigerian National Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs to clash, which clash is believed to have caused so many problems which are political, economic and social. Therefore, it is upon this background that the researcher wants to find out the effects of this tragedy to the national security of the Nigerian government.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to find out the effects of Religious-Based conflicts on Nigeria's national security with of the case of Jos, Plateau State.

1.4 Objectives of the study

   i. To find out the factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State
   ii. To find out the effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria
   iii. To establish strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security

1.5 Research questions

   i. What factors are responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State?
   ii. What is the effect of Jos religious crises on national security in Nigeria?

iii.   What strategies can be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security?

1.6   Scope of the study

The scope was divided into the Content scope, Geographical scope, and Time scope.

1.6.1   Content Scope

The study focused on conflict and national security with specific focus on finding out the factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State; examining the relationship between religion and violence in Jos Plateau State; examining the impact of Jos religious crises on national security; and exploring strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the impact of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security

1.6.2   Geographical Scope

The Study focused on Jos Plateau State located in Central Nigeria bordered by Bauchi, Gombe States in the North East, Kaduna State in the North West, Taraba State in the South and Nassarawa State in the West.

1.6.3   Time Scope

The study covered the period from 2001-2016 The choice of the time frame is informed by the fact that since 2001, there have been records of large-scale religious violence in Nigeria up to 2016.

1.8   Significance of the Study

This study was considered significant to Nkumba University and various stakeholders in Nigeria because it seeks to throw light on the phenomenon of religious-based violence in Nigeria, using Jos Plateau State as a case study.

To policy makers and religious leaders:

The study was also expected to be a useful guide to policy makers on how best to tackle the issue of religious violence in the country and this could be used to propel various religious leaders to sensitize their followers on the need for religious tolerance, so that religious violence may be minimized

To the International Community:

The international community will be more aware of Nigeria's policy on religious-based violence.

To Nkumba University:

The findings of the study will throw light on the phenomenon of religious-based violence in Nigeria especially to students of international relations and Diplomacy as well as those undertaking Public Administration and management. The findings were also expected to increase on the reference material within Nkumba University Library

To other researchers:

Finally, it can help other researchers and scholars in carrying out further research on the same or similar topics.

1.8   Arrangement of the Study

The study was arranged in five interrelated chapters. Chapter one presents an introduction to the study. The second chapter reviews the literature base of the study. It highlights literature review relevant to the study. In the third chapter, the methodology that was used to generate data to answer the research objectives was described in this chapter. Chapter four focused on presentation, analysis and interpretation of findings and Chapter five presented the conclusions and Recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

This chapter presented the review of literature related to the theme of the study which about the effects of religious-based conflicts on Nigeria's national security. The study literature was structured along the following sub-themes; the factors responsible for religious-based violence in Plateau State, the effects of Jos religious Crises on the national security of Nigeria, and the strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national Security.

2.2 Literature Survey

This section enabled the researcher to identify studies that have been carried out in the Federal Republic of Nigeria whose findings relate somehow to the current theme in order to identify the research gaps that the current study sought to fill.

Okpanachi (2016), carried a study on Ethnic and religious crises in Nigeria. The researcher examined the relationship between religion, ethnicity and conflict in Nigeria, focusing mainly on issues in the North of the country. The researcher also looked at the notion of Identity and how it explains the crisis of development and complexities in modern Nigeria. The researcher found out that inter-religious conflicts in Nigeria form part of the dynamics of identity politics. Political elites in Nigeria have always sought to reap advantages from the multidimensional identities, more so during electioneering periods, and this has resulted in conflicts and instability. This politicization of religious identities during contests for political office often lacks any sustaining unifying ideology. Somehow, politics in Nigeria are fashioned on the appeasement of religious motives. As a consequence, religion attains the level of deification that is difficult to challenge or overpower. This study did not focus on factors responsible for religious-based violence in Jos Plateau State and the current study will fill this gap.

Ushe (2015) carried out a study on Religious Conflicts and Education in Nigeria: Implications for National Security. The study examined education as a catalyst for resolving conflicts and enhancing national security in Nigeria. The study utilized both secondary sources and observation

methods for data collection and presentation. The study revealed that religious conflicts and insecurity have been endemic in Nigeria in the last two decades and that the Muslims and Christian adherents have fought wars in Nigeria than they had actually fought for peace, thereby threatening peaceful co-existence and national security among the citizenry. This study did not focus on the effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria and the possible strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security. Thus, therefore the current study will fill this gap.

2.3 Review of Theoretical Theories

The purpose of this section is to explore the themes and schools of thought on religious-based conflicts and national security. This is done in order to define the scope and variety of conflict so that the conflict is put into perspective. A review of conflict theory reveals a number of observations. First, there is a large volume of literature written about the nature and theory of conflict, especially with regard to warfare. Second, there is lack of consensus among both contemporary and historic views of human conflict. Third, among the literature most relevant to political science theoreticians, there are several dichotomies that divide the search for dominant paradigm.

2.3.1 Social Learning Theory

Schelling (1960) propounded the social learning theory which is based on the hypothesis that aggression is not innate or instinctual but actually learned through the process of socialization. This hypothesis is the contention of the *Seville Statement*. One acquires aggressive attributes by learning them at home, in school, and by interaction with their environment in general. Interaction in society helps to focus and trigger stored aggression onto enemies. This is an important concept, particularly when the conflict is ethno-national or sectarian in nature. Social learning theorists have tried to understand the relationship of the individual in their environment and how this relates to group aggression. Socialization into a violent environment like West Belfast has detrimental effects on childhood development. This is the precursor to aggressive and anti-social behaviour in the teen and early adult years. Children who grow up watching their parents and neighbours being hassled by the police, army or 'other' community often become petrol bomb wielding teens. This aggression

can escalate if unchecked or encouraged, so the theory is applicable to the understanding of the impact of religious-based conflicts on Nigeria's national security.

2.3.2 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed by psychologist Henri Tajfel (1979), and it offers insight into the conflict in Northern Ireland has noted the importance of this theory: "What is different and important about Social Identity Theory is that it is based on normal psychological processes that operate under all circumstances not just under conditions of intergroup conflict." We create our social identities in order to simplify our external relations. Further, there is a human need for positive self-esteem and self-worth, which we transfer to our own groups. We also order our environment by social comparison between groups. The concept of *ingroups* and *outgroups* is important in this analysis. Cairns (1999) explains another important concept from Social Identity Theory: what Social Identity Theory has helped social psychologists at least to recognize that individuals are different in groups and that it is this difference which produces recognizable forms of group action. In other words, what Social Identity Theory has done is outline a process which places the individual in the group and at the same time places the group in the individual.

At the core are relations between the minority and majority communities. Tajfel outlines the importance of stability and legitimacy with regard to majority / minority group relations: There is little doubt that an unstable system of social divisions between a majority and a minority is more likely to be perceived as illegitimate as a stable one; and that, conversely, a system perceived as illegitimate will contain the seeds of instability. It is this interaction between the perceived instability and illegitimacy of the system of differentials which is likely to become a powerful ingredient of the transition from the minority's acceptance of the *status quo* to the rejection of it. But the most important activity is to ensure that peace and stability prevail in the country that is the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Literature Review

National Security

According to Rothkopf et al., (2005), National security is a concept that a government, along with its parliaments, should protect the state and its citizens against all kind of "national" crises through a variety of power projections, such as political power, diplomacy, economic power, military

might, and so on. He further argues that measures taken to ensure national security include: using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats, marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation, maintaining effective armed forces, implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures (including anti-terrorism legislation), ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure, using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information, using counterintelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats.

Lederman (2010) argues that national security objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."National security is an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might."

National security then is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders.

Religious-Based Conflicts

According to Assefa (1990), he argues that since the awakening of religion, wars have been fought in the name of different gods and goddesses. Still today most violent conflicts contain religious elements linked up with ethno-national, inter-state, economic, territorial, cultural and other issues. Threatening the meaning of life, conflicts based on religion tend to become dogged, tenacious and brutal types of wars. When conflicts are couched in religious terms, they become transformed in value conflicts. Unlike other issues, such as resource conflicts which can be resolved by pragmatic and distributive means, value conflicts have a tendency to become mutually conclusive or zero-sum issues. They entail strong judgments of what is right and wrong, and parties believe that there cannot be a common ground to resolve their differences. "Since the North-South conflicts in the Sudan have been cast in religious terms, they developed the semblance of deep value conflicts which appear unresolvable except by force or separation". Religious conviction is, as it has ever been, a source of conflict within and between communities. It should, however, be remembered that it was not religion that has made the twentieth the most bloody century. Lenin, Stalin, Hitler,

Mao Tse-tung, Pol Pot and their apprentices in Rwanda maimed and murdered millions of people on a unprecedented scale, in the name of a policy which rejected religious or other transcendent reference points for judging its purposes and practices (Weigel, 1991: 39). Those policies were based on an ideology having the same characteristics as a religion.

Since its independence in 1960, Nigeria has struggled with the challenge of managing its religious and political diversity. The major test of Nigeria's ability to manage this diversity, and promote national integration, has been ethno-religious crises and their devastating effects in Plateau State, primarily in Jos, and Borno State, primarily in Maiduguri. Although violence occurs throughout Nigeria, incidents of identity-based violence in Plateau State – the second most ethnically diverse after Adamawa State – outnumber occurrences in other states. The state's diverse population is considered to have two identities: "indigenes" and "settlers" and reflect two major religions, Christianity and Islam, respectively. Cyclical sectarian conflicts often arise during elections and the Jos crises have resulted in grave human rights violations, polarized local society and significant material losses. The violent confrontations in Plateau State prompted the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), a Nigerian-based NGO to petition the International Criminal Court to investigate human rights abuses and possible crimes against humanity. (Olaniyi, 2010) Through a letter dated 5November 2010, Louis Moreno Ocampo, Chief Prosecutor of International Criminal Court (ICC), informed SERAP that the ICC was analyzing the situation to establish a reasonable basis that crimes within the ICC's jurisdiction had been committed in Jos. (Olaniyi, 2010) At the time of this compilation, the status of the official findings of the International Criminal Court on possible crimes against humanity has not been made public.

2.5   Factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State
2.5.1 Constitutional violation
It has been observed that constitutional violation is one of the grey areas that have continued to promote religious conflicts in Nigeria. This has on several occasions prompted the call for a Sovereign National Conference because of the perceived marginalization of a section of the country, and also because of the Sharia and OIC issues, and power sharing among others. Government should therefore try to address all forms of marginalization, the Sharia and OIC issues once and for all. It should also discourage any tendencies towards secession and integrate groups

that feel alienated into full political and economic life of the country. In addition, unemployment into the Federal or State Public Services, the principle of "Federal Character" is applied. The Federal Character Commission is expected to monitor these patterns of recruitment and call for corrections. In fact, forms for recruitment into public services also provide for an identification of one's religion (Olaniyi, 2010).

As a federation, citizenship should be a concurrent matter under the constitution. Each state should have a residency requirement, given the laws of the state. A state could provide that if you have lived for 15 or 25 years in the state, or if you were born there and contributed to its development, you should be given a certificate of indigeneship and entitled to all the privileges of a citizen. However, this means that you cannot carry your family in truckloads to your original village for census exercises or elections. You have a new base of territorial identity. Let us be honest with ourselves. We cannot eat our cake and have it. We cannot run a federal system and run away from issues of dual identities (Olaniyi, 2010).

2.5.2 Electoral Malpractice and Political Intolerance

Leaders who are not genuinely elected lack legitimacy. These leaders only know themselves. Nigerians must avoid electoral malpractices. Election rigging is an evidence of democratic deficit which replaces the people's mandate. The level of political intolerance is amazing even within the same political party. Nigerian political, religious and traditional leaders must learn to interact and dialogue with one another so that their followers can pick up the signal. Political leaders should avoid the current winner-takes all in the country's political terrain. Each State and Local government must establish power-sharing arrangement to accommodate various ethno-religious groups Kukah (1993:24). Given the perception that the control of state power is important, groups often decide which political platform is the best for the pursuit and the promotion of their interests. Thus, politics in Nigeria is not game but a battle. Nothing wins much as success, and nothing fails as much as failure. The political exclusion of political failure has been a major source of conflict.

In addition, the blatant rigging of elections-as done in 2003/2004 and 2007 if I may add creates a reservoir of ill-will for the so-called winners. Seeing no prospects of peaceful change, the aggrieved often take the violent route. Even the judiciary could not, in such circumstances be trusted. Similarly, the political intolerance of members of political parties generates intra-party and

inter-party conflicts. At times, ethno-religious support gets mobilized to achieve targets. In addition, the "Tarzarcemania" (or self-succession) of political incumbents generates conflicts as there are often zones or groups which are opposed to the self-succession of the incumbents. Electoral malpractices often offend the sensibility of those already dissatisfied with incumbent regimes Kukah (1993:24).

2.5.3 Economic Causes

Onayeikan (2010:34) argued, not without some justification that: The recurring violent conflict between the Hausa/Fulani settlers and the Beroms is not simply a matter of their religious differences, but that it has more to do with the competition for limited land and other economic resources in the area. Land and resources have been a major cause of conflict all over Africa and have often led to ethnic confrontation and conflicts. In a situation such as that prevailing in the Plateau area where Fulani herdsmen are pitted in competition for land against the Beroms, an indigenous group that is largely agrarian, the eruption of ethnic conflicts all but becomes inevitable without the intervention of the state to ensure that the legitimate demands of both ethnic groups are made.

Therefore, in seeking to tackle the problem, Onayeikan (2010) feels that the federal and state authorities must demonstrate fairness to all parties concern. Open partisanship in support of one party can only aggravate the situation and make peaceful resolution of the conflicts even more difficult. Many of the ethno-regional conflicts we have today are related to strategic nature of interaction among groups as they compete for scarce but a locatable resources. But the researcher, as the state or government, at all levels, becomes the main allocator of resources and also sets the terms for such distribution, government becomes also an object of group competition. Controlling government also means the control of resources and the power for their distribution. Thus, as groups contest for political power, ethnic and religious sentiments and loyalty get easily regimented for the achievements of goals. Yet ethnic and religious sentiments are issues of primordial identity with large emotive contents. Thus, often the contest for the control of state policy, produce religious and ethnic interests. These resources could be land for farmers, or boundaries for claimed lands or grazing lands. The creation of additional states heightens these

problems in certain areas, especially in the north-central zone to where there have been recent migration and pressures on resources.

2.5.4 External Influence

Usman (2010), a Muslim Cleric in Jos North Local Government Area, though, not very optimistic believed that the problem in Jos Plateau was being orchestrated from outside the State. Usman said that the Christians and Muslims of whatever ethnic background had lived together peacefully for several years until 'outside' influences began to emerge. According to him "We had no problem until some forces from outside began to put ideas into the heads of our Muslim brothers on the need to Islamize the State or agitate for certain rights and since then, we have not known peace", he alleged.

2.5.5 Poor standard of education

Kukah (1993:24) stated that one of the reasons expressed generally by some Nigerians as the causes of religious conflicts in the North where this is common, is that the standard of Western Christian Education Civilization and the growing numerical strength of the indigenous Northern and Middle Belt Christians have continuously been a threat to the Northern – Fulani Islamic hegemony. This is because of their abhorrence of non-Muslim ruler-ship over them, with Muslims living in the fear that the Christians could one day take over the mantle of political leadership over them. This suits the interest of the members of Northern Hausa-Fulani Islamic hegemony, to continue the Jihad started by Usman Dan Fodio, revived by late Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto to Islamize Nigeria, in a religious ambition camouflaged and enrobed in political gab, tactically and cleverly packaged and disseminated.

2.5.6 Non implementation of Conflicts Reports by Government

The researcher believes that the implementation of conflicts reports encourages the incessant ethno-religious conflicts in the country. For instance, Tobi (2009:18–21) commission of inquiry on the Jos Plateau 2001 civil disturbances made some observation and recommendation towards the controlled of the conflicts in the state but was not implemented.

2.6   The following were some of the recommendations:

The use of loudspeakers mounted on the external walls of churches and mosques should be made illegal by a law of the Plateau State House of Assembly. The practice by any religious group causes annoyance and inconvenience to the adherents of other religions. The evidence before the commission shows that during the September, 2001 conflict, some religious bodies made use of such loudspeakers to mobilize their members to join in the killing of people of other faiths and destroying their properties, thus escalating the crisis.

The Jos Metropolitan Development Board (JMDB) should act on the Board Edict No.5 of 1974; to ensure that the indiscriminate construction of places of worship in residential areas of Jos and other towns is stopped. The practice creates inconveniences to residents and in times of crisis innocent residents become easy targets of religious bigots and fanatics. Government should ensure that Alhaji Tijani Abdullahi's mosque at Congo-Russia, Jos where the crises started on 7th September, 2001 and which was destroyed during the crisis, is not rebuilt.

The Inter-religious committee has been shown to be very ineffective in its duties. It should therefore be-disbanded and in its place a new committee should be formed whose membership should include both Muslims and Christians and which should meet more regularly. The persons to be appointed into the Committee must be persons who are not fanatics but persons of liberal minds, even if they do not hold leadership positions in their respective religion. Similar Committees should also be formed at the Local Government level.

Both Christian and Muslim leaders should be admonished through the inter-religious Committees to educate their members on the consequences of killing human beings or destroying their properties and on the need for religious tolerance generally. In particular, members of the Islamic faith should be educated on the true meaning of "Jihad" and the need to abstain from the use of derogatory language in describing the adherents of other religions for example, the use of the term "arne or arna" to describe nonmuslims.

Government should encourage the establishment of inter-religious clubs in secondary and post-secondary institutions through the Ministry of Education for the purpose of inculcating in the student's mutual respect for each other's religious beliefs Government should monitor the

establishment of private schools and their syllabi with the aim of detecting and eliminating religious fundamentalism.

2.7   The effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria

Plurality of ethnic and religious group ideally should not be a problem for they are parts and parcel of societies. Diversity and pluralism are known to be the basic of cosmopolitan and complex societies and other cultures such as ours in Nigeria but Jos Plateau State in particular. However, according to the researcher the management of these factors by socio-political systems and controllers of political power often breed sectarian and other conflicts. The multi ethno-religious nature of the society should not be a problem. That will be a problem only when ethnicity and religion are made means of narrowing people's participation in social, economic and political spheres in various forms, as given by Kukah (1993:24).

The last two and half decades (80 – 2010) witnessed a resurgence of violent religious conflicts in Nigeria with obvious and severe consequences on political instability, low economic development, negative international image, break down of social order and heightened mutual suspicion between Christians and Muslims. These have led to the death of hundreds of thousands of people.In fact, the conflicts have impacted negatively on every aspect of life. That is why Sani (2007:194) stated that: The conflicts have impacted negatively on political, social and economic development. Religious fanaticism affects or limits social interaction and harmony. These have also affected the social components of associations as exemplified by the situation in Jos Plateau where there is sharp segregation of restructuring of the town in settlement by people along religious and ethnic divides. From the foregoing, we shall now look at the negative social, economic and political effects of ethno-religious crises on Nigeria (Jos Plateau State in particular).

2.7.1 Social Effect:

 According to Ibrahim (2002:9): The year 2000 Sharia crises in Jos Plateau created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups in the State. They feared that the new legal regime would affect them adversely, despite claims to the contrary by the Muslim supporters. Indeed, many voices on both sides called for partitioning of Nigeria rather than the adoption or abandonment of Sharia legal system. From the observation and opinions of many, ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in the destruction of property and death of several of hundreds of thousands of people, men and women.

The conflicts have resulted in the irreparable loss of human resources that could have been used for developmental purposes. The sad elimination of the breadwinners of such families led to increase in begging, prostitution and unemployment. Sadly, still, where both parents were eliminated, the children (boys or girls) were forced to assume parental roles at tender ages which also have its negative social implication. In most cases the wounds left in the psyche of these people might not be obvious, but are often said to be mentally, psychologically and emotionally far reaching. These children may grow up with their minds fixed on hatred and set for revenge. No meaningful social development can thrive under the circumstances of religious crises (Arukwe, 2004: 184).

2.7.2 Economic Effect:

Ethno-religious crises have also contributed to the weakening of the nation's economic development. The statistical breakdown of personnel and material resources wasted in Jos Plateau State alone can in a glance give insight into what Nigeria has lost to ethno-religious crises. Ahamdu Bello Way, Jos Plateau, by all standards is one of the most beautiful streets in Northern Nigeria that houses business shops and political offices. Car Malls and financial institutions equally jostle for accommodation along the road. A peaceful protest match by Christians against plans to adopt Sharia ignited violence and carnage which turned out to be the worse in the history of the State and the nation in general (Tell, March 13, 2000 p.14).The material and human resources wasted from February 20 to 24, 2000, include, many shops, which were burnt down by the rioters. About 300 houses and shops at the Abuja junction Garage, Charity Hotel and Rakiya Memorial hospital as well as Magistrate Court were destroyed. Forty-five fuel tankers were burnt down. Not less than 200 houses were burnt in Barnawa located in the South Eastern part of Jos Plateau. Fifty business shops between Leventis roundabout and Katsina road were burnt down. Fifty-million-naira worth of goods in Labaran Ali Electronics Store were burnt down and about sixty million naira Electronics and building material shops on the same Ahmadu Bello road were destroyed.

The 2000 February ethno-religious crises in Jos Plateau did not allow some foreign investors who came into the state to invest in the Agricultural sector to do so. Instead, they were abruptly ferried out of the State by security agents. The same crises led to the shifting of that year's Jos Plateau Trade Fair a week further. Despite the shifting, several foreign participants who had earlier indicated their interest to be at the fair hurriedly cancelled their participation. Jos Plateau State that

was fast becoming an industrial centre suddenly lost that status. Also, to that effect, several direct air flight to Jos Plateau State and other States in the northern part of the country were cancelled. These crises made both local and foreign investors see Nigeria as no-go-area that is full of risk and uncertainties in doing business. Ethno-religious crises discourage growth in the sense of industrialization. This is because; no businessman or industrialist would want to invest where the safety of their investment is not guaranteed (Arukwe 2004:181).

2.7.3 Political Effect:

Ethno-religious crises have serious consequences on the nation's political development. It affects our democratic values and norms and also delays viable political transition and consequently decimates the aspiration of producing a nation state. The Nigerian political evaluation has been characterized by periodic instability instigated mostly by the elitist manipulation of religion as a survival strategy. Religious membership and association rather than the political parties selected these candidates for elections.

These have also contributed to the electoral violence that we have witnessed in the past and in these recent years. For instance, in the 1964 general elections, the violence instigated led to the 1966 military coup and political instability, which culminated in the civil war. Yet, the violence occurred in 1983, 2003 and even in the 2007 general elections. These are obvious indications that politicians have not learnt any lesson from their mistakes of then past. Most politicians are particular about the issue of who takes what, rather than how democratic norms and values would be entrenched in the nation. The political future of the country depends on the level of which the various religious components can tolerate themselves. The religious polarization of Muslims and Christians poses serious challenges to democratization in Nigeria.

It is the obvious instability and deficiency in the democratic process that prompted religious and ethnic nationalism. It has resulted in the emergence of socio-cultural groups like Ohaneze, Afenifere or Oduduwa movement and then Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF). These groups now act as political platforms to actualize the aspiration of their adherents. This has prompted Muslim fundamentalists craving to convert Nigeria into a theocratic state governed by Sharia and also prompted Christian fanatics craving to convert Nigeria into a theocratic state governed by the Canon Laws.

The above craves according to researcher; by both Christians and Muslims have serious security implication for the waves of religious violence in Nigeria. Money is wasted on litigation and out of courts settlements. Funds are also wasted in mobilizing and sustaining security operatives and the proliferation of small arms. Arms are now getting into wrong hands. Some of these arms are legally imported or smuggled into the country, or are violently acquired from law enforcement agents. Realizing the security implication of these arms getting into wrong hands, made the Federal Government established a task force to work towards retrieving such illegal arms.

2.8 Strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security

2.8.1 Literacy level

The level of literacy in the Northern part of Nigeria is low. This is because the North despite the vast resources at its disposal has not shown enough commitment necessary to turn around the educational sector. Regrettably, the zone has the highest school drop-out rate in the country. Most of these school drops-out in their bid to survive turn to menial jobs as means of livelihood. Some of these drops-outs eventually graduate to become miscreants in most cases that serve as the willing tools in many ethno-religious conflicts in the country. Therefore, there is need for government policy to place priority on the nation's educational development. The cling illiteracy equally requires special focus on Islamic education in Nigeria. The structure of the nation's Islamic schools gives room for religious indoctrination and inadequate acquisition of Islamic education from Islamic schools. There is also the need for modernization of the traditional Qur'anic school (Makaranta Allo) system of education, which would add value to the system in the process. This could be done either by a complete reform of the system or its integration into the modern formal system of education. President Obasanjo administration to some extent was proactive in policies aimed at promoting the educational development of the country. The implementation of Universal Basic Education (UBE), early child care and education, free launched for pupils in the nation's primary and junior secondary schools and the tackling of adult literacy through National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult Literacy and non-formal education are indicative of such determination.

2.8.2 Religious Knowledge

Islam according to Muslims is a religion of learned people therefore; ignorance has no place in it. It is the only religion according to its teaching that demands knowledge as criteria for admission. Yet, many of the Islamic adherents suffer high level of illiteracy and ignorance of the religion. Most of the Islamic religious preachers lack deep knowledge and interpretation of the Qur'an, Hadith, Sunna and Figh. This makes many of them interpret the Qur'an according to their biases and passion. This contributes to the low level of literacy in the Qur'anic school thereby, leading to indoctrination of the pupils against other religions. This therefore becomes a motivating factor to those Muslim adults and youth who participate in most of the ethno-religious conflicts in the North. Today, Wanton arson, murder and destruction of property are persistently going on in the North in the name of religion. This is because of the glaring inadequate knowledge of the religion. To deal firmly with these conflicts therefore demands that government handles the hoodlums decisively according to the laws of the land, no culprit should be spared when caught committing such devilish acts during ethno religious conflicts. That will serve as a deterrent to others.

2.8.3 Regulating Religion

As a regulatory measure, religious leaders should be screened, registered and granted license to preach. They must commit themselves to un-provocative and non-violence act while their constitutional rights to freedom of speech and association is guaranteed. Religion should be used to promote institutional integration instead of otherwise. Religion should be given its proper place in national life commensurate with our historical situation. It should be seen purely as the private affair of an individual based on his or her convictions, not forced on him or her. Killing in the name of religion is a distortion of the message of God. There is the need for the reorientation of Nigerians, particularly among the youths. There is also the need for the review of the school curriculum so as to lay more emphasis on the application of religion to orientate the minds of young pupils. It is also necessary to incorporate peace study and conflict resolution as part of school curriculum. Pupils should be re-oriented to support national goals and aspirations.

2.8.4 Drug

The nation's primary and secondary schools have sadly turned out to be den of drug addicts and cultists. This has contributed to the rising incidence of crime in and out of the schools. The

government, therefore, needs to empower the agency responsible for the campaign against these vices, so as to stamp them out of the society. Drugs have become a sort of solace for criminals and most young people in the North and other cities in the country. Drug taking gave them a false sense of accomplishment, ecstasy and protection, hence its continued patronage. Addiction to drugs hampers these young people's ability to reason effectively and show compassion in the process. Hence, at the slightest provocation, they let loose their fury and resort to violence. Most of these drug addicts are usually from broken homes or those neglected or abandoned by their parents.

2.8.5 Probe Panels

Government should strengthen its machinery to enforce the implementation of probe panel reports, so as to prevent criminal impunity on the side of the offenders and their sympathizers. Regrettably, each time there is ethno-religious crisis; those who ought to have been prosecuted and tried and consequently punished for their roles in the crisis are always pampered. In some instances, people who committed grievous offenses like arson and murder were being protected and prevented from prosecution by their godfathers or prominent personalities. This gave the culprits further boost to perpetrate more heinous crimes in future. In treating the reports of the probe panel on any ethno religious conflict, government should ensure that there is no sacred cow in the administration of justice.

2.8.6 Leadership

The role of good leadership in the prevention of ethno-religious conflicts cannot be overemphasized. This is why Professor Chinua Achebe in 1983, asserted that: The problem with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate, or water or air or anything else. Nigeria's problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility; to the challenges of personal examples which are the hall mark of true leadership. The failure of leadership in Nigeria is responsible for the numerous conflicts witnessed in the country. Until when qualitative leadership is provided, peace may continue to elude Nigeria. A responsible, respectable and responsive leadership is indispensable in the nation's quest, not only for development but also for the sustenance of peace and promotion of national integration.

A self-serving leadership with a narrow socio-economic and political interest, characteristically appeasing the class of a privileged few and ostracizing the mass of the people through economic policies that dis-empower them, and entrancing socio-economic injustice, has by its conduct created a volatile atmosphere for all forms of conflicts. Successive government in Nigeria, whether military or civilian, had continue to retain social and political system that emphasized more on boosting the fortunes of those in government, and those with government.

2.8.7 Education

Nigerian citizens irrespective of religious affiliation have a right to balanced and objective education. Respect for each other's religion must be inculcated in the citizens through sound education. Religion ought to help engender good knowledge of other's religion particularly in a pluralist nation like Nigeria (Achunike 2007:12). Government should consider it an urgent need for the provision of Western education alongside Arabic education for the Northern 'Almajiris' so that they be denied being agents of religious crises in the country because they constitute a ready instrument for unleashing religious mayhem. Government should also demonstrate political will in the establishment and respect of the rule of law, which should dispense equal justice to the high and low. Any person or group of persons engaging in the promotion of disunity and religious crises should be identified and sanctioned with appropriate penalties.

2.8.8 Reconciliation

Government should set up an independent inter-religious council comprising of members from Christianity, Islam and the African Traditional Religion (ATR). The Council should be saddled with the responsibility of reconciling warring religious factions or groups in the country. This is important because, if the council is dependent on government, it may achieve little or no success. That is why the researcher agree with Kukah (2003:41) who stated that "the National Council for Inter-religious dialogue set up by the Obasanjo administration was still dependent on the government." Kukah further asserted that: The council continues to hold many meetings, but their practical outcome is minimal. The public really has no contact with what the council is doing. Moreover, the body is still being funded by the Federal Government… It is difficult to say how long the council will last for and whether there are any pans in future for it to become independent and more assertive in addressing national issues. Its role need not be that of a fire extinguisher in

times of crises, although it has so far failed to fulfil even that role. Properly handled, it can serve as a moral compass for the nation. Whereas the Christian leaders have independence and no links with government, the Muslims leaders are all appointed and funded be government. It is hard to get them to criticize government policies.

2.8.9 Dialogue

The researcher feels as rational beings, dialogue is a good and effective tool in solving ethno-religious crises. Sincere and open hearted dialogue becomes crucial when discussing religious issues. Christians and Muslims should all think more rationally, critically and appreciates the dignity of human person and the sacredness of life. They should also work together in the areas where they find themselves in order to improve on their lives condition, fight against drug abuse, prostitution, HIV and AIDS and so on. Dialogue is the gateway to achieving sustainable peace in our conflict torn society.

2.8.10 Government Sensitivity in Political Decisions

Nigerian government should be sensitive, fair and just in their decisions and policies. It is wrong for government to be a conflict – generator. Nor should government overheat the polity through hurriedly rehearsed and unthought-of-out policy because it suits the interest of a few people either in government or who have influenced over government. Good governance entails catering for the interests of the majority while protecting the interest of the minorityKayamo, F. (2010).

2.8.11 Political Maturity in Leadership

According Kayamo, F. (2010) Leadership is not all about privileges to loot public treasury or push personal interest to the disadvantage of the public. Leadership is responsibility, an obligation to demonstrate commitment, integrity, honesty and decency in handling the affairs of a heterogeneous group which chose someone as a leader. The speeches and utterances of our religious, ethnic, traditional and political leaders before, during and after ethno-religious crises clearly show that they do not have patience, understanding, honesty, maturity and tolerance, which are marks of good leadership. It is even worse when those leaders manipulate ethnic and religious` identity for their selfish ends. Mature leaders must treat their followers with respect and not talk down to them. -They must encourage mutual respect even in contexts of vehement disagreement among groups. We need a conference of all ethnic and religious leaders to discuss and also learn the values of

tolerance and accommodation. This takes a long time to achieve, but we must not underrate it. We must start now. We can start this first at the State and Regional levels and then have delegations to a Northern Conference. Therefore, all State governments should host a State Conference on ethno-religious conflicts.

2.8.12 Mutual Respect and Recognition of Claim of Others

Most of the ethno-religious crises we have witnessed in the country emerged from the lack of mutual respect for one another. We cannot all be the same. We must realize that even within single religious and ethnic groups there are differences in perspectives and opinions. Disdain and arrogance (bankrupt of content) are often marks of inferiority complex (Elaigwu 2004:24). Similarly, as we earlier on mentioned, we must be able to dialogue with one another, no matter how difficult. We should respect and recognize the claims of others in a competitive context even if we disagree with such claims. Non-recognition of claims generates major conflicts, which often mobilizes ethnic and religious loyalties. Recognition of claims, while disrupting the nature of claims, creates a basis for discussion. Government can be helpful in meditating in some of these conflicting claims. It should not wait until the competitive process turns into violent interaction among claimants.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Independent Variables   **Dependent Variables**
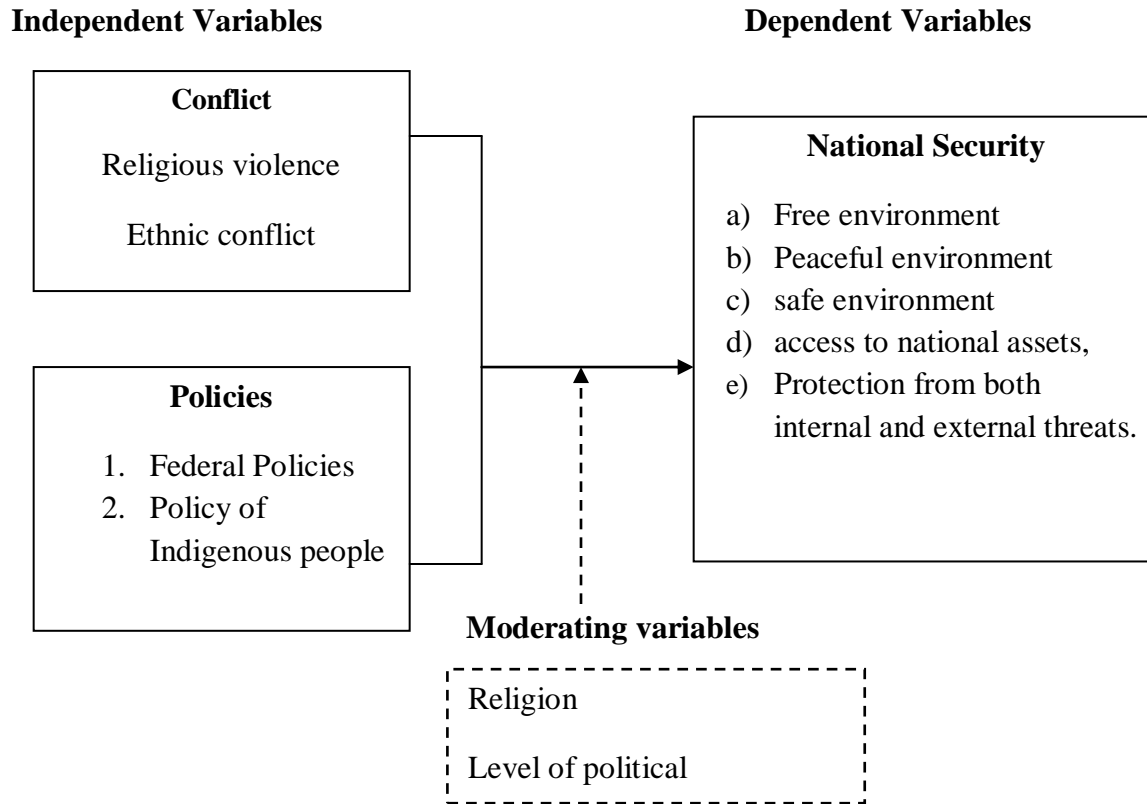
Source: Researcher (2017)

The independent variable conflict affects the national security in terms of disturbing the free environment, destabilizing the peaceful environment and safe environment while limiting access to national assets as well as reducing the people's protection from both internal and external threats. This is further exacerbated by the presence of low level of political maturity, different religious beliefs and policies such Federal Policies and the policy of Indigenous.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

This chapter shifts the focus of the study to a discussion of the research methodology for this study. In this chapter, the research design, population, sampling strategies, data collection methods, tools validation and reliability, procedure, data quality control and proposed data analysis techniques will be discussed.

3.2   Research Design

Research design refers to the steps researchers follow to complete their study from start to finish. It includes asking research questions based on theoretical orientation, selection of respondents, data collection and reporting of the results (Marvasti, 2004). Similarly, Kumar (2005) defines a research design as a plan, structure, and strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research question or problems. The plan is the complete scheme or program for the research. It involves plans for data collection, the instrument for gathering information, how information gathered would be processed and analyzed to give meaning to a research finding. Kumar (2005) posits that the function of a research design is to conceptualize an operational plan to undertake the various procedures and tasks required to complete a study, and to ensure that these procedures are adequate to obtain valid, objective and accurate answers to the research questions.

This study adopted a cross sectional Case Study Design within a qualitative framework. A case study is defined to be "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" Yin (1991.p.23). This method is chosen because it is valuable, has distinctive characteristics that include looking out for all the relevant evidence, looks at different interpretations of the situation, identifies the most significant aspects in the area under study and calls for the use of the researcher's prior expert knowledge to further the analysis. It can also be used in combination with other methods.

3.3 Area of Study

The Study focused on Jos Plateau State located in Central Nigeria bordered by Bauchi, Gombe States in the North East, Kaduna State in the North West, Taraba State in the South and Nassarawa

State in the West.

3.4 Study Population

The population of this study was drawn from politicians, opinion leaders, academics, local government leaders, NGO's plus individuals who would be very useful according to the researcher's topic.

3.5 Sampling Frame

According to Singh (2007), sampling frame is defined as a subset of the population, which provides a broad and detailed framework for selection of sampling units. Goodwin (2002) defines a sampling frame as a complete list of individuals from which the sample will be drawn. Thus a sampling frame involves selecting the respondents of the study. According to Saunders et al. (2003) deciding on a sampling frame depends on the research questions or objectives of the study. The sampling frame of this study composed of politicians from the four mentioned political parties and those individuals, as they were decided by the researcher totaling to 250 respondents.

3.5.1   Sampling strategy

In this research, the researcher used cluster sampling. According to Wilburn (2006) cluster sampling involves dividing the population into groups (c1usters) of items that serve as primary sampling units. A random sample is then taken on these clusters to select respondents. The main reason for sampling clusters is that it is not time consuming and reduces the cost of locating and listing the sample as opposed to the selection of individual items at one time. Thus, the purpose of cluster sampling is not to get the most efficient sample but to get the most precise results per unit cost.

3.6   Data Collection Methods

The research study applied the following data collection methods;

3.6.1 Interviews

The interview method is selected because it allows the respondents to express their mind, allows the study of non-verbal communication and enables the researcher to avoid alienation from the respondent. It is also found to be flexible, with high response rate, easy to administer and ability to probe and seek clarifications during the interview. The interview guide was used as a research

instrument, and it was constructed in such a way that it allows flexibility during the interviewing process.

The Interviews were conducted following a number of successive steps. Basically it involved selecting and approaching individuals, arranging time, date, duration and conditions of the interview. The respondents were selected basing on the criteria of knowledge about the subject in question. The researcher targeted 100 interviewees from all the categories of people that was targeted.

3.6.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were open ended. This technique was used to attract a large response of respondents from the population. It contains majorly three sub headings, that is; demographic characteristic of respondents, description of dependent variable and description of independent variable. The results given by the questionnaires were categorized and summarized accordingly. The researcher gave out 150 questionnaires to 150 respondents.

3.7 Data Collection Tools/Instruments

A number of tools were used for data collection and these included; open-ended questionnaires and interview guide.

3.7.1 Open-ended Questionnaires

The researcher used an open-ended questionnaire as it allowed respondents to include more information, such as feelings, attitudes, and their understanding of the subject. This instrument was used to attract a large response of respondents from the population. Open ended questions enabled the researcher to obtain in-depth opinions of respondents.

The researcher chooses questionnaires because the research contains variables that could not provide data through direct observation. Such data requires the respondents to express their feelings, opinions about the effects of religious-based conflicts on Nigeria's National Security thus questionnaires being the most appropriate tool to be used.

The questionnaires were hoped to reach the respondents in time. The respondents interpreted questions in the right way since the researcher presented to interpret the questions. Questionnaires were expensive to carry out in terms of transport to reach the respondents, printing them and in reaching out people of the targeted population sample.

3.7.2 Interview Guide

According to Angrosino (2002), the easiest way to understand a person is to speak to them. Interviews are a way to connect with people; an opportunity to hear them describe their experiences in their own words. Speaking to people about their everyday lives can help you define and describe the problems they face, understand the environment they're part of, and even start to picture the ways in which you can reach them. Interviews can also act as evidence for why your work is needed, or even what impact your work is creating.

The researcher set questions to guide the oral/ mouth to mouth interactions between the researcher and the respondents. The data collected by this method was more correct compared to the other methods that were used for data collection. The interview method was good to use since the researcher was to the field himself and asked the respondents more information that was necessary for the research thus yielding more information from the field compared to other methods.

Interview method was time consuming and it had little tie with language barrier. But getting the appropriate respondents was quite hard as many of them skipped appointments.

3.7.3 Review of existing documents

The Secondary data was collected from previous studies and some publications such as magazines, brochures, minutes, textbooks, internet, among others. Obtainable documents such as reports, journals, existing literature, textbooks, minutes and publications was used to get relevant information for the study. The various reports and publications concerning business activities were used to help in the findings.

These included; library research, published and unpublished literature, official reports and other important policy documents and position papers were sought from resource centres such as; Newspaper publications, Nkumba University library and other sources deemed important.

3.8 Data Collection Sources

The researcher used two sources of data that is, primary and secondary data. Primary data will be obtained from the field using interviews and questionnaires methods and the secondary data was obtained from the existing materials including, published text books, journals, magazines, articles, reports, internet and newspapers.

3.9 Data Quality Control

The following criteria were applied to this qualitative and quantitative study in order to make the research credible that is reliability and validity. Respondents' checking was undertaken to give credibility to the analysis. It was now up to the reader to determine whether the text had sufficient credibility/ vesimilitude to describe it as a quality piece of research.

3.9.1 Validity

Questions were asked relevant to the objectives and were first taken to the supervisor and distinguished academics to ensure validity or relevance. The researcher also revealed literature to ensure that questions tallied with objectives.

3.9.2 Reliability

Information given was assured of consistency and accuracy which underlined the concept of reliability of data collection instruments. The researcher ensured that the information given was in line with the objectives and instruments that were designed in a way that the researcher avoids bias. Errors and faulty information was avoided since data was collected from different sources using multi methods.

3.10 Data Collection and Processing

In order to shift the power of the researcher/participant relationship to the study participants, the research was undertaken in environments that were selected by and comfortable for study respondents. Interviews were conducted in comfortable places for respondents. Key informants were interviewed at their convenience. In this way it was an interviewee-guided interview and the researcher was able to direct, select and structures the story. Data editing, coding the data and cleaning was done after data had been collected to ensure that all mistakes made by respondents were cleared then entering the data into the computer for analysis and summarizing the data.

3.11 Data Analysis

During information collection and analysis, information from documents and in-depth interviews were related to the assumptions made before, in the theoretical discourse as well as during the data collection. They were assessed with regard to the degree to which this collected information is valid. Interpretation of findings was done in the context of the research topic, nature and objectives

of the study as well as the methodology employed. While in some cases inductive generalization was made, in other cases analytical generalization were also used. Data analysis was based on both descriptive and inferential statistics techniques where the researcher examined the findings and explained them to give meaning to the findings.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

For any research to be valid and objective in nature, it has to take into consideration of the ethical aspect. Ethical considerations refer to the morality, uprightness and justification of the researcher's conduct in carrying out research. The researcher was guided by the following main considerations;

Confidentiality was observed and kept by the researcher for all information given by the respondents anonymously.

The researcher was honest in his work by avoiding any form of falsification, misrepresentation, plagiarism and any other form of academic malpractice that could hinder the dependability of the data collected. In addition, the researcher reported the actual findings without omission and adding personal information to distort the information.

Participation in the research was as voluntary, based on consent to avoid collection of wrong data and other inconveniences to the researcher.

The researcher was non-discriminative in nature when selecting samples. This was implemented by avoiding bias in selecting respondents according to their sex, tribes and even culture. Thus the researcher gave all the people equal chances of being chosen.

The Researcher was also prudent to document information from archives only with the consent of respondents.

The researcher acknowledged all published sources of literature used in the study.

3.13 Limitations of the study

i. There was a problem of unavailability of target respondents. They were not readily available to provide information needed for the study because of some responsibilities that could have taken them out of their offices or work premises.

ii.   The available respondents hesitated to give information thinking they were being tricked to see if they could release the information and that information could be taken for person gain, despite the fact that there was an introductory letter from the University which was addressed to the responsible authorities.

iii.   Some respondents did not return the questionnaires in time and some were not willing to take part in the study.

Conclusion

The research methodology was organized in such a way to minimize error in the design and the data collection process, thus getting the best results of the research. Therefore, high level of validity and reliability of the data was guaranteed and taken very important.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on the presentation, analysis and discussion of the information collected during field work in the study on the effects of Religious-Based conflicts on Nigeria's national security with of the case of Jos Plateau State. The research was conducted in Jos Plateau State Nigeria. These findings were grouped under four headings:

    i.   To find out the factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State

    ii.   To find out the effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria

    iii.   To establish strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security

A total of 250 questionnaires were given out to all categories of people that were targeted and only 170 responded. According to the respondents this was a good turn up. It was from these respondents that the analysis below was drawn.

4.1 Demographic Information on the Respondents.

The distribution of the respondents and selected characteristics of the respondents was organized into different variables selected from the study. The selected variables were from Church officials, health officials, local government officials, County health department officials, NGOs officials participants within the local population. The demographic characteristics were considered because of their key roles that they played in their various capacities as key stakeholders. The respondent's age was looked into because age is the determinant in each level of appreciation of service offered. The demographic characteristics of the respondents which were considered are shown below.

4.1.1 Age Groups of the Respondents

The researcher investigated about the age groups of the Respondents. The age composition of the respondents was by grouping the respondents" ages in different age groups. Studying the age composition of the respondents was deemed necessary because it was thought that people of different age groups determine the level of satisfaction the issue under study. By studying age

groups thus balanced views were achieved on the different factors that determine level of satisfaction. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Age of Respondents

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	18-24	51	30.0
	25-30	68	40.0
		51	30.0
	Over 30years	170	100.0
	Total		

Source: Primary Data 2017

The statistics in Table 1 above indicate that the larger number of the respondents was between 25–30 years that are 40% followed by those over 30 years and then those who were between 18 – 24 were also 30%. The statistics shows the respondents were drawn from different categories of age groups. Therefore, this provided chance of balanced opinions about the problem of religious conflicts in Jos and Plateau region in Nigeria because all the age brackets were represented.

4.1.2 Education Levels of the Respondent

The researcher was interested in the level of education to find out the perceptions of respondents regarding the contribution of NGOs in delivery of basic health services in partnership with local government. The responses were shown as below;

Table 2: Highest Level of Education

		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	Primary and Below	60	35.0
	Secondary and above	102	60.0
	Never been/Went to school	8	5.0
		170	**100.0**
	Total		

Source: Primary Data 2017

According to Table 2, the larger number of the respondents 60% had attained secondary and above, 35% had attained primary and below and 5% had never been/went to school. Looking at the data in the Table the majority of the respondents had attained an education level of secondary and above. This provided the researcher the opportunity of collecting dependable data as these with the help of researcher could give informed data about the issues under study.

4.2. The factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State as presented by the respondents

According to some respondents, the drawing of geographical boundaries and the bringing together of diverse ethnic groups under one territory and one system of government are at the crux of Nigeria's identity crisis. The boundaries drawn by the colonial powers did not take differences in language, culture and systems of governance between these groups into account. This was also discussed by Graf (1988, p.7) who asserted that under the British colonial administration, Nigeria was not created from *"people's shared historical, economic or social experiences, but merely by the arbitrary amalgamation of a number of disparate ethno-cultural units"*. And Oyovbaire (1979, p.83) in his book also observes that, "all the colonial rule did in the context of national unity was to amalgamate and divide for its own purposes of domination and exploitation". This is why Sir Ahmadu Bello (1962), the first premier of northern Nigeria referred to the amalgamation as "the mistake of 1914". The merging of identities, irrespective of boundaries and differences, was sustained by the British colonial administration using the divide and rule method.

According to the respondents, British colonial administration was firmly supportive of the *"ethnic concept of citizenship" and post-colonial governments have done little to "fundamentally change this policy"*. Sir Hugh Clifford's discussion on nationality in Nigeria stated that nationalism was impossible, as the country did not have a common language, origins or religious beliefs. The respondents emphasized the incompatibility between Nigerian nationalism and the different self-governed and mutually independent territories that made up the new Nigeria, territories that were separated by different histories, tribal, religious, political and social barriers.

Post-Colonial Era

Some respondents' submission was on the post-colonial era. They said that by 1963, Nigeria had progressed from being a three-region federation to a four-region federation and a mid-western state. According to them the decisions by various military regimes and civilian governments to divide the country along administrative lines emerged in response to requests by minority groups for autonomy and access to national resources. However, post-colonial era was discussed by Sayne (2012, p.2), he wrote that it has failed to manage diverse interests and demands and instead has

created new demands for political control and resources. It has also amplified ethnic and religious divides and made the indigene versus settler dynamic much more salient as ethno-religious dynamics, power struggles, and violent conflict are more pronounced at lower levels. Mutual suspicions and tensions have not always existed between the major ethnic groups in Nigeria, particularly when the regions were autonomous. This is in line with the findings from the respondents.

They continued to say that each had a constitution, civil service, police force, an independent judiciary and a large degree of independence in managing their affairs. Given this independence, inter-group challenges and political wrangling were less salient. However, a shift from autonomous regions to one entity and the centralization of control and resources resulted in competition between regional and ethnic identities for resources and control. The stakes associated with political control also increased drastically between groups.

However, some scholars have written on this same issue saying that while tensions and rivalries also exist at the national level between the major ethnic groups and minority groups remain discontent, tensions and rivalries between the northern region of the country and the rest of the country also emerged (HRW, 2005, p.7). For instance, when the British divided the country into three regions, the first Governor General, Lord Lugard allocated about two-thirds of the country and its population to the northern region as discussed by (Collis, 1970, p.84). Furthermore, northerners were largely in control of political institutions, thus giving rise to negative sentiments among other groups that endure to the present. While these tensions existed, this does not suggest that there was ever a coherent north. Some respondents noted that while colonialism brought together many northern ethnic groups under one political unit, indirect rule and native administration generated grievances between groups.

These tactics poisoned inter-ethnic relations between the Hausa-Fulani and other groups in northern Nigeria according to respondents. To this day, there is no coherent north. According to the respondents;

"the 1967 Biafra War attests to the challenges of inter-group relations as it mainly pitted northerners and the federal government against the Igbo-Easterners and was a response to the prospect of "continued northern hegemony" in Nigeria".

A religious dimension surfaced as the Biafra population was predominantly Christian and the conflict was seen as a Christian-Muslim conflict, pitting the Muslim north against the Christian south.

According to respondents, group struggles for political control increased as a result of the dominance of petroleum in Nigeria and the immense wealth accrued from its production. During the 1980s, oil accounted for 85-90% of state revenue and it is still a major source of income for the country. Some respondents observed that;

"the struggle for oil resources was mainly for "personal advancement and group security".

Borrowing Harold Lasswell's (1936) expression, he notes that as petroleum is the state's major source of revenue, it determines "who gets what, when and how".

Respondents continued to say that the struggle for resources in Nigeria is heavily centred on the question of the beneficiaries of the allocation of such resources. Tensions are further exacerbated by struggles over access to resources controlled at the federal, state and local government level. While political leaders have benefited from the oil wealth, the communities where the oil is extracted from remain politically and economically marginalized and are considered the poorest regions in the country. Multinational corporations (MNCs) who entered Nigeria before independence and who are involved in sectors like banking, manufacturing and oil further sustain the state's benefits from oil and this according to the respondents, is one of the major sources of the problems in the country.

Respondents further argued that;

"the colonial era created a shaky political foundation for inter-group relations by using a divide and rule system of governance".

They further argued that colonial actors were "aware of the fact that the unity and combined efforts of the natives would militate against its interests". They added that they played ethnic differences and different cultures in Nigeria against each other and "disrupted a previously organic process of interdependence between them". Borrowing the words of Osimen et al. (2013, p.79), they concur with the respondents. However, according to the researcher faulty integration in Nigeria can be attributed to the idea and application of amalgamation. Thus, they write that:the amalgamation of these peoples, who are ethnically, religiously, culturally, and idiosyncratically different, coupled with the fact that structurally the emergent regions before the amalgamation were practically of unequal sizes, unequal population… created the historical antagonistic centrifugal forces that have always worked to the advantage of the originators of the amalgamation.

Respondents continued to discuss that while colonialism was largely to blame for these shaky foundations, the evolving Nigerian state contributed to the process in the post-colonial era. They noted that the creation of states and local governments did not result in "mutual sympathy, mutual respect and consideration" among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria, instead it resulted in more groups calling for more states to be created within their ethno-cultural territory. Integration therefore did not occur with a stepped increase of states and LGA, as creating more of these would only create new majorities and minorities and not eliminate minority fears of domination by the majority.

The findings made it clear that the Nigerian state and the political elite's exploitation of ethnic and religious differences have further hampered integration. It should be born in mind that the mere existence of ethnicity or class and the competitive processes associated with it do not necessarily cause conflict and violence as attested to by the experiences of countries like Ghana, Cameroon, Tanzania and the Uganda.

According to respondents, apart from ethnicity, issues of a religious nature have created tensions in Jos Plateau politics. For instance, the adoption of the Sharia Law by 12 states in northern Nigeria has alienated the Christians who have lived in these areas for a long time. The creation of a federal Sharia court of appeal, which was meant to deal only with issues related to Islamic personal issues, divided the country particularly during the late 1970s, with Christians calling for its relegation to the subnational level (USIP,2011, p.40). According to some respondents, Christians in Nigeria

publicly voiced their dissatisfaction when Nigeria became a registered and full member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) under the regime of General Babangida (a Muslim). According to Osaghae (1998, p.250), he concurred with the respondents *"the viewing of most actions, policies, and appointments through the lens of religion, balance of religious propaganda in educational institutions, allocation of air time on radio and television; a fair balance between Christians and Muslim public holidays; and the religious composition of the armed forces"*. On the other hand, Muslims were angered by the revival of full diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Israel in 1973, an action welcomed by Christians.

To the researcher, it is clear that religion (even as the face of something deeper) could no longer be delinked from the political arena. The political elite have contributed to the dominance of religion. For example, while the elite ignore and do not adhere to religion most of the time, they use it, particularly during elections and for political gain and some respondents asserted that despite changes in regimes and governments, there has been a "continuity of ideas, problems, even of political personages" as the according to respondents, "politicizing of ethnicity did not turn out to be a temporary phase in the process of nation-building". What has become common is the precedence of "private interests and national and regional elite fractions" over the state fulfilling its obligations to its citizens this was also discussed by (Mu'azu, 2011, p.11) he said, "the relationship between the state and its citizens has deteriorated, with citizens lacking trust in the government, due to decades of ineffective and dysfunctional military and civilian rule".

According to respondents, in addition to the ethnic and religious dynamics, indigene-settler divides, particularly in Plateau state, contributes to the deepening of identity-based divides and vice versa. Indigenes and settlers can be divided along the lines of ethnicity, language or religion. For example, in Plateau state the main warring groups, Hausa and BAA, largely subscribe to different religions, cultures and languages. The indigene and settler dynamic emerged through the system of regionalism during the colonial era. This notion of regionalism is distinct from political science's understanding of regionalism. They characterize it as "a system in which citizens who are not originally from a region are discriminated against, and are excluded from, the provision and enjoyment of public goods".

One respondent said *"the government of the region makes public goods exclusive to citizens whose origins are from the region"* gained momentum and became prominent in the post-colonial Nigerian states, this was also discussed by (Osaghae, 1998, p.7). According to respondents, Regionalism now features strongly in contemporary Nigerian politics due to the indigene-settler dynamic. However, the indigene-settler divide is not always about people who do not belong in the state. Important aspects of the conflict and violence often involve groups of people who belong to the state but are deemed to come from a different part.

Some respondents commented that the division of Nigeria into 36 states has not done away with regionalism. However according to Osaghae (1998, p.7), the government has further established regionalism with a "more particularistic form of discrimination statism". Some respondents noted that states were created to satisfy the economic interests of the major ethnic groups and were used as *"mere conduit pipes for Federal economic and political patronage rather than an instrument of spreading development to the grass root communities"*. Furthermore, states are now practicing exclusivity based on an individual's origins. The issue of indigeneity has become a significant problem in Nigeria, according to respondents pitting indigenes of a particular state against non-indigenes, the latter being "people who cannot trace their ancestry to the original inhabitants of an area".

According to respondents, historically in Plateau state, indigene certificates were certificates granted by local authorities to "non-indigenes" or "settlers" to grant those privileges such as access to scholarship opportunities at state schools, discounted school fees, government employment and political positions. For the researcher, this practice has changed as individuals who were born and have only ever lived in Plateau state have not been accorded the status of "indigene" and have had these privileges withdrawn. According to the 167-page report on the Plateau Peace Conference of 2004, issues with indigeneship included the "perceived discrimination and denial of rights politically and socially". At the conference, claims made by the Jasawa for the status of indigenes and for indigene certificates were "decisively rejected"; thus, the only concession granted to them was the right to contest elected positions that according to (Ostien, 2009, p.16).

According to the researcher, rationale for indigeneity and the indigene certificate is weakened by the fact that many groups have lived in other states for generations. They said "Overall, the

indigene issue has been detrimental as it has made it difficult for Nigerians to obtain equal rights anywhere in the country". In addition, "many people born and brought up in a particular area are not accorded that status, even though they may have never lived in any other part of Nigeria". The indigene principle or indigeneity factor means that, "some groups control power and resources in LGA while others who have migrated for different reasons – are excluded. Particularly because of their negative consequences such as the conflict in Plateau state.

Interviews conducted by the researcher revealed that many attribute the conflicts in the town of Yelwa and the LGA of Shendam to the actions of traditional leader Long Gamai in stopping the granting of indigene certificates to Muslim groups like the Borghom and Pyem. According to the respondents, the conflicts in the state stem from competition between *"indigenes" and "non-indigenes"*. According to the indigene-settler dynamic has resulted in violence, especially when land, political appointments and development funds benefit some groups at the expense of others. According to respondents, disputes between settlers and indigenes have mainly been over political positions, the use of land and conflicts between Fulani cattle herders and the indigenous pastoralists. Cattle grazing, another dimension of the conflict has created conflicts due to the presence of Fulani cattle herders who allow their cattle to graze and destroy the land owned by indigenes said by respondents.

The Constitution mandates Nigeria's state and local governments to have "free rein to pick who is an indigene", therefore allowing state and local officials to "hand out public goods in line with their decisions". While the Constitution could have been stronger and clearer on issues of residency and indigene-settler dynamics, this problem is as much the responsibility of political elites who used its relative silence on the issue to interpret the law in a conveniently parochial manner. This was produced in the IGG report "the failure of the political elite to address and resolve key issues such as citizenship, identity and political inclusion has also worsened the situation (ICG, 2012)". To the researcher, what has emerged is a political environment characterized by struggle (in many cases violent) for control of land, political positions, and access to and ownership of economic resources. Political elites have fueled tensions arising from these struggles and have politicized indigene-settler rights.

According to the respondents, the protracted conflicts in Jos plateau have *"elite political malfeasance at their roots"* and this is evident through their role in "election rigging, divisive use of identity politics, land grabs, or high-level organized crime". They have incited violence and intolerance through remarks and public statements and they are the creators of ethnic militias that promote ethnic agendas and attack innocent civilians. They have also instigated violence by manipulating idle and marginalized youth. While political elites have played on these divides, they are not held accountable as they are never prosecuted. According to the researcher, the problem of indigeneity therefore requires a constitutional solution that must be adhered to and reinforced by political leaders.

Another contentious issue according to respondents is the theological factor. As it were, all religions involve specific intellectual beliefs. Each has a number of literatures held especially scared which contain historical materials with which the validity of the doctrines are connected as well as their modes of propagation. However, according the researcher, owing to lack of in-depth understanding, outright ignorance, misinterpretation or cheer mischief, scriptural texts have been given whimsical and capricious interpretations towards predetermined ends. Such actions have often sparked off emotional responses and violence among the adherents of the various religions in Nigeria. For the researcher, in a situation like this, missionary workers should distinguish between missionary work and conversion work because religious propagation is being altered by social and political changes and most importantly by worldwide mental revolution.

One respondent commented, *"Religious intolerance is a blind and fixated mental and psychological negative attitude towards religious belief and practices that are contrary to one's cherished beliefs and practices"*. Such negative attitudes constantly manifest themselves in violent outburst that spill over the political and economic lives of the citizens. The researcher concurs with the respondents "the inability to recognize and accommodate views and opinions of others is therefore, one of the major sources of religious violence in Nigeria and Nigerian religious adherents, especially the Muslims and the Christians have demonstrated intolerant attitudes to result to violence".

Respondents also mentioned Religious fanaticism as violent and unreasoning religious enthusiasm. Religious fanatics show excessive irrational zeal to defend their religions in Nigeria consequently

become destructive agents of religious disharmony in the society. The adherents of Christians and Muslims are at one stage or another influenced by fanaticism to result to violent confrontation.

The respondents also discussed the unbridled Action of the Press. The traditional function of the press in any society is to inform, entertain and educate. Under no circumstances is the press expected to misinform, mis-entertain and mis--educate people. The mass media practitioners ought to be cautioned in their reports on sensitive issues that could threaten stability order in the society. According to the researcher, in Nigeria experience has shown that the mass media reports, news analysis and features are capable of playing a positive or negative role in the relationship between religious adherents, particularly Muslims and Christians depending on the intention and orientation of the journalist concerned. More often than not the actions or reactions of the Muslims to Christians' action or vice versa are determined by the mass media reports. Press on many occasions in Nigeria had fanned the members of disunity through junk journalism and sensational headlines.

To the respondents such negative and sensational press reports and news analysis often breed religious violence. For example, "the demonstration led by Mallam Yakubu Yahaya which resulted into a riot in Katsina was religious. The demonstration which led to riot was caused by an article titled: "would you marry a known prostitute turned born again?" in Fun Times, written by Orlando Emmanuel Giwa Atanda. In this article, the personalities of both Jesus Christ and Prophet Muhammad were abused and insulted. According to the respondents, this was nothing but a blasphemy and sacrilegious. Members of the public were grossly misinformed by the press with partial reports which created another crisis between Muslims and Christians. Even as at today, the unbridled actions of Nigeria press towards national issues like Sharia and other sensitive religious issues are capable of causing violence.

To some respondents, the problem of poverty, especially in the urban area apparently accounts for the bulk of violence (whether ethnic or religious) due to such problems as unemployment, inadequate housing, physical and social infrastructures. The current depression in the Nigerian economy must have worsened the problem of poverty, thereby partly responsible for the creation of religious violence, said by respondents. Also, poverty creates societal problems particularly when many people cannot afford their needs like shelter, clothing and feeding. Since Nigeria lacks structural economy to cater for large population the consequent poverty creates societal problems.

Extremely poor people can do anything to sustain themselves. Thus, the poor youth (Almajiris) particularly in Northern Nigeria are manipulated with small amount of money to cause religious disturbance such as Boko Haram.

For the researcher, there is mutual suspicion among Nigerians. While some people think that Christianity is an agent of American and European imperialism, others think that Muslims have close ties with Saudi Arabia. Both religious bodies are believed to often get financial support from their applications.

4.3. The effects of Jos Plateau state religious crises on the national security of Nigeria

According to respondents from Jos state, *"there is no gainsaying about the fact that the problem of religious disturbances in Nigeria has devastating effects on the stability order"*. According to these people, the destruction which religious violence has caused to Nigeria cannot be quantified. The frequent clashes which erupted as a result of this has inflicted untold hardship on both the individuals, in term of loss of lives and property and on the government in terms of occasional provisions of relief materials for the victims of religious disturbances. Though, there are many consequences of religious violence, but the most obvious consequence has been loss of lives and property. Innocent citizens are in most cases the victims of violence.

The researcher concurs with the respondents in that religious violence has resulted into large-scale physical displacement and forced relocation of individuals, families and groups in the region. The spate of this violence in the last three decades has certainly resulted in varying degrees of internally displaced persons. Apart from undermining the stability order, religious violence tends to dent the image of the country in the international community. The frequent eruption of religious uprisings has forced some countries to issue travel warning advising their citizens not to travel to Nigeria because of religious tension that could erupt quickly and without warning. The respondents noted among other things that "religious tension between some Muslim and Christian communities results in occasional acts of isolated communal violence that could erupt quickly and without warning." It is a truism that this kind of warning does not augur well for stability order in the country, hence, the need for religious peace.

Some respondents from the area of research said that it causes psychological trauma to those who witness the killing of their relatives, and burning of their properties. It also, increases the unemployment level when most of the small-scale industries that employ young and able youths are lost to religious violence. In other words, religion has been a factor in national development while it has also been manipulated to wrought havoc on the Nigerian populace. Between 2003 to 2016 and Nigeria recorded eight major religious disturbances with heavy human and material losses; many monuments of high and historical value have also been destroyed.

Apart from the monumental losses which can be qualified, the crisis further deepened the division which hitherto existed among the various religious adherents. For example, the psychological trauma and the sear among the victim of religious disturbances is a recurring decimal. Such persons never live to forgive nor forget the persons involved in the circumstances of such carnages said by some respondents.

The incessant nature of violence in the country also has the impact of breeding social miscreant and criminals who by their access to weapons of war (which are usually sophisticated) become terrors to both their immediate community and the larger society. After the crisis, it is always difficult to retrieve such weapons back and because most of these people are originally jobless, they often found solace in terrorizing the society. Also, the inability (in most cases) of the security forces to nip in the bud this religious violence before they escalate to the level of wanton destruction and killing expose the quality (in terms of knowledge, readiness, expertise and equipment

According to the respondents, the crisis of September 7 – 12, 2001 can be explained by examining the tense relations between the Hausa-Fulani and other Jos Plateau communities. These tense relations were fuelled by the rejection by Christian youths (mainly from the BAA) of a Jasawa (Muslim), Mallam Muktar, as the Jos North Local Government Director of the Federal Government's Poverty Alleviation Programme. The youth opposed his appointment for two reasons: his former indictment and eventual removal from office during his tenure as a former chairman of the LGA for the "falsification of birth records, perjury and falsehood" and the appointment of a "person from the minority Jasawa group to head such a sensitive office as that of Poverty Alleviation." The same issue was presented by (Danfulani & Fwatshak, 2002, p.248).

According to many respondents during research, they said that "*the violent action was planned as the crisis started at the same time, right after Friday prayers in major mosques across the capital city of Jos".* Violence spilled over beyond Jos to rural areas. This was referred to as "Dark Friday" due to the nature and outcome of the violence that started at 2:30pm and continued "unhindered" into Saturday 8th September. In the aftermath of the conflict, it was confirmed that students and staff members from the state university had been killed and injured and young girls had been raped. Both Christians and Muslims were killed. Local hospitals and clinics did not have enough facilities to cater for victims and the Red Cross offered its support.

According to respondents, the violence did not end on the 8th. There were reports of secret killings of Christians in Angwan-Rogo, Angwan-Shanu, and other Muslim ghettos in town on Sunday 9th September. It seemed that the 10th and 11th of September brought some peace and stability in the state. However, this was short-lived as Muslims disguised in military gear attacked a village in Barkin Ladi LGA, attacking its largely Christian population and killing nine of them and on Wednesday 12 September saw a recurrence of violence on a greater scale than the previous events. Throughout this period, the security agents responded in a heavy-handed fashion, with a joint unit of soldiers and police using maximum force to halt the riots. According to the interviewees, these acts by the police and the violent clashes led to high casualty rates. And according to them this problem is still being felt to-date.

For the researcher, in 2014 Large-scale attacks occurred in Yelwa town in the Shendam LGA of Plateau state between from February May 2014. These violence maps the attacks, beginning with the killing of Christians in February, followed by reprisal attacks against Muslims in May. A thousand people were killed with the majority, approximately 700, killed in two days of violent clashes. However, this information is justified in the HRW report (2015, p.12), both these events involved deliberate attacks and the majority of victims were Christians and Muslims. The respondents added that, *"hardly anyone was prepared to admit that members of their own community had initiated violence, or had attacked unarmed people".*

Yelwa and Shendam are both towns located in Shendam LGA. As a major commercial town in Plateau state, Yelwa is home to a wide range of ethnic groups with the majority being Muslim. On the other hand, Shendam and its surrounding villages are home to a large Christian population. The

conflict in Shendam LGA has mainly been between the Gamai, the majority ethnic group in Shendam and the Jarawa, a predominantly Muslim group. Based on interviews conducted by the researcher, the conflict (dating back to the 19th century and early 20th century) only turned more violent in recent times because of the "competing claims to the status of 'indigeneship', disputes over the selection of traditional chiefs, and more recently, political rivalry in the context of the local elections of April 2014.

According to the respondents Muslims killed individuals from villages in Langtang South in retaliation for the theft of their cattle while Christians killed several individuals, including the local chief Saadu, (a Muslim Gamai), and burned many houses in Yamini, Lakushi, Sabon Layi and Ajikamai this set the stage for the catastrophic events of 24th February 2014. At approximately on 24th February, Yelwa was attacked and fighting continued until 3 or 4pm Again, each side blamed the other for starting the conflict; however, according to research by HRW, the majority of victims were Christians. Several churches like COCIN 1 were destroyed and at least 78 Christians were killed inside and outside the church compound. According to witnesses, the attackers included Muslim residents of Yelwa, young men between the ages of 20 to 40, and younger boys aged 12-15. A wide range of weapons were used including "machetes, axes, long double-edged sword-like knives known as "barandami" or sickles, and firearms" and victims had their limbs amputated, were mutilated, suffered gunshot wounds and were burned alive.

According to the respondents, in November 2008, violence occurred after the local government council elections in the Jos North LGA. On 27 November, local council elections in the 17 LGA were deemed peaceful and credible; however, violence was triggered by "what appeared to some Hausa-Fulani as an attempt by the Plateau State Independent Electoral Commission (PLASIEC) to alter the votes in favour of the ruling PDP". The PDP candidate, an indigene was declared the winner although he was "reportedly trailing his All-Nigerian People's Party (ANPP) opponent" a settler earlier in the day.

According to the respondents, the attacks began even before the final results were announced. Citing the Bola Ajibola Commission of Inquiry report (hereafter referred to as the Ajibola Commission), news that the results were favoring the indigenes spread, leading to violent attacks. According to the Ajibola Commission, they were armed with cutlasses, swords, machetes, clubs,

bows and arrows and guns. Efforts by the attackers to enter the collation centre were foiled as they were held back by the police.

Beyond the destruction of lives and churches, the attackers destroyed the homes of their Christian neighbors. According to the respondents, in Tudun Wada, Christian youths retaliated by burning down Muslims' businesses and houses in the area. However according to the ICG report, over 200 people died but an additional 130 were victims of randomized "extra-judicial killings by soldiers going from house to house".

In addition to the increased frequency of attacks, the period 2010 – 2012 saw the emergence and frequent use of bombs in Plateau state. These include the suicide bombings on 24 December 2010 killing 80 people and 25 December 2011 killing 50 people. President Goodluck Jonathan declared a state of emergency in Plateau state on 31 December 2011 in order to "reduce the excesses of Boko Haram terrorism and checkmate the illicit activities of similar groups and those sympathetic to the sect's ideology". The year 2011 was described by the respondents as a "bloody year" with hundreds of people killed in the first six months.

4.4. Strategies to Prevent Ethno-Religious Violence in Plateau state
It was clear from the data collected that the political components of the conflict are very important and central to the success of any peace-building framework. This is in line with views of the respondents that peace-building can improve human security by transforming the social and political environment that "fosters intolerable inequality, engenders historical grievances, and nurtures adversarial interactions". This lends credence to respondent's view that the crisis has a "political face" due to the power struggles that lead to violent conflict, elections that threaten peace and the ways in which the question of political control and the ownership of Jos are fundamentally contributing to the violence. According to respondent, it is important that the political system is legitimate this can be achieved by providing infrastructure and investigating attacks on the lives and properties of citizens.

According to respondent of Jos, community-based structures are central to the peace-building framework; thus, it is important that they are strengthened and used more. Respondent noted that sensitization programmes, policy changes, budget formulation, implementation, and agenda setting

require community involvement and advocacy. A community and grassroots peace-building approach is based on the argument that since war involves and affects most of the masses (grassroots people), it is important that they are involved in peace-building and efforts to improve human security. As a solution to this issue, according to one respondent the government has to work hand-in-hand with the community and traditional institutions and leaders because they know the community and can effectively sensitize citizens. Respondent stated that community-based peace-building committees require government support as they carry out responsibilities that the government is ordinarily supposed to fulfill. The government should finance these grassroots institutions, provide resources like community halls, and equip them through workshops and training. The necessary human, financial and technical resources should be provided to district heads so that they can effectively carry out their mandate and responsibilities. It was clearly established that community engagement and involvement are important steps in restoring long-term security. According to one respondent community-based, community-enforced and community-engaged security should be at the core of addressing security gaps.

Respondent stated that traditional institutions should be strengthened and included in policy formulation. The respondent added that these institutions must be free from political interference. Respondent noted that, in contributing to security, traditional institutions and offices should provide lists of potential recruits for the national army from among their constituents.

While most respondents recognized the importance of traditional leadership institutions, one respondent noted *"the need for a total overhaul of traditional leaders because many have accepted bribes, neglected early warnings, and abandoned their duties for vices such as drinking and in many cases were not selected based on merit"*. Respondent stated that traditional leaders should be held accountable and liable for peace in the areas that they govern and should be removed from office when there is a crisis in their area of jurisdiction. This would make them more willing to identify the perpetrators.

The question of who owns Jos and the claims to ownership have been very contentious and for some, this lies at the very root of the violence in the state said by the respondents. According to respondents, the history of the capital city of Jos has been distorted. Thus, there is a need to establish the true historical facts and to avoid distortions passed down to younger generations.

However, the question of who owns the city is a complicated one as different versions of history assert different groups' ownership of the state. A wide range of solutions were offered by respondents with some supporting the removal of indigene versus settler rights, others proposing an accommodation between both groups, and yet others pushing for the protection of indigene or settler rights as the case may be. Some conclusions presented by respondents include:

To the researcher, Politics should be separated from indigeneship. Anyone (regardless of whether they are defined or perceived as a settler or indigene) should be allowed to contest political power and whoever wins the election should be allowed to rule since it is only for a specific term.

According to some respondents, Spaces to accommodate other groups can be created while other groups can still own the state. In this sense, residence rights could be differentiated from citizenship rights. The creation of a municipal council in response to the conflicts related to the ownership and political leadership of Jos North LGA Respondent. The respondent further suggested that such a municipal council consist of selected representatives of the ethnic groups living in the LGA. Council membership should be on a rotating basis.

Long-term residents and citizens should be given equal access, but settlers should be encouraged to invest their wealth in the state rather than moving it back to their places of origin. For respondents, individuals who have established themselves in the state by either owning land or investing in the state should not be removed.

According to respondent, citizens should be educated and informed on the Constitution because their ignorance and lack of knowledge and understanding of it has created the space for manipulation by political actors. Some respondents felt that the issue of indigene/ settler is a national question that should be properly addressed via constitutional review and amendments. Respondent added that such amendments should be applied across all states of the Republic.

A return to the status quo where those entitled to indigene certificates are issued with these documents Respondent noted that settlers, who mainly came for farming or business purposes should not meddle in the affairs of indigenes like politics or land issues but should concentrate on the economic reasons that brought them to the state. According to some respondents, this is a prerequisite for peace.

A few responses were presented on the question of how to deal with the close links between religion and politics in the state. Some respondents called for the secularization of the state. Most agreed that religion was a personal realm and not for the political arena. Respondent suggested that the legislature and education should trump religion or ethnicity as religion is a personal philosophy between oneself and God. Respondent suggested that those who utilize religion and ethnicity during elections should be disqualified. In addition, religious leaders like pastors and imams should be disqualified from running for political office.

Respondents offered the view that religion as a platform of mobilization will lead to extremism. Furthermore, religious leaders should refrain from inciting violence and should not influence members on who to vote for based on ethnicity or religion. While inciting violence is already a long-standing offense in Nigeria, the fact that it is still occurring speaks to the need for stronger and harsher consequences so that leaders of groups would be mindful and desist from such acts.

There was broad consensus on political parties between respondents and the researcher as an important priority by the people. Political parties provide and popularize their party platforms and agendas, political freedom should be accorded to political actors so that they can contest elections, there should be internal democracy within political parties, such that party leadership is barred from imposing candidates, and independent candidates should be encouraged. Respondents suggested that political parties should be mobilized around ideology and not ethnicity or religion. Opposition parties should therefore focus on poverty eradication and equity instead of engaging in ethnic or religious attacks against the party in power.

According to respondents, there is a need for major electoral reform so that popular consent characterizes the election process and pressures candidates to be accountable to the people. Respondent noted the need to ensure election transparency, credibility and fairness. There is also a need to strengthen confidence in the election process. Respondent noted that the government should provide an enabling environment for successful elections by emphasizing civic education. Conflict will be greatly reduced when people do not vote according to ethnic or religious affiliations (respondents). These views allude to the fact that the existing policies and rules surrounding elections need to be enforced and the police and other law enforcement agencies need to be strengthened to become more effective in enforcing them.

Most respondents supported the view that the public participation of all groups in the political process was paramount. In order to achieve this, the following points were raised:

i.   Citizens need to understand the government's policy direction, focus and priority areas. Each LGA has an information unit saddled with the responsibility of sharing information and educating the communities about government programmes; however, there is a funding gap. Funding should be provided to these units and community representatives should be held accountable if information is not provided.

ii.   Voter education must be provided to all citizens.

iii.   Conscious efforts must be made to include already disenfranchised groups like women, children, men, the aged, and the physically challenged by factoring their interests into all policies and government actions. Respondents suggested that proportional representation should be adopted and the legislature should be "coloured" so that various groups like the disabled are represented and can have their say in the legislative process.

iv.   The fact that individuals of Berom origin (the same ethnic group as the Governor of the state) hold most positions in government needs to be addressed to ensure equal representation of groups (respondent).

Plateau state is diverse with various ethnic groups calling it home. A point of convergence for many respondents was that peace and stability will only be achieved when the interests of ethnic and religious groups are protected and they are treated equally by the state. According to respondents, not all ethnic groups can be on an equal footing since they are numerically different, however inequality can exist in terms of how groups are treated by government. Although this is not an easy task, the state must show through words and action that it is committed and active in protecting all, not some or its interests. In achieving this, it must:

i.   Listen to the specific demands of all groups rather than specific associations and break all links with ethnic umbrella associations.

ii.   Bring the population together and engage with all of them on what the common priorities and needs are in their areas and how solutions can be provided. Needs should be identified based on community demands.

iii.   Decentralize development, distribute amenities on an equal basis, impose the death penalty as the punishment for corruption, and ensure a police and military presence across the state and in villages. Respondents identified the provision of basic needs and social amenities to social groups as inherently protecting the rights of minorities.

One other strategy given by the respondents was prioritizing NHRC. While there is a National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and it has an office in Plateau state, some respondents questioned its relevance and effectiveness. This led to a discussion on the idea of a Human Rights Commission for Plateau state with the specific mandate of focusing on the violence in the state. Some welcomed this idea while others questioned its usefulness.

Respondent argued that a state HRC is needed to investigate violations and oversee the conduct of military and law enforcement personnel. While respondents noted that the HRC is needed to investigate violations, the respondent added that its work should not favour various groups. Respondents stated that citizens need to be sensitized about the HRC, its services, location and availability. Respondents added that the government should adopt a hands-off approach to the HRC because the feeling among people is that once the government is involved in it, it will not work. Respondents also proposed that members of the commission should be selected based on merit and that it should be adequately representative of religion and ethnicity.

There were varying views on the need for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), with some respondents calling for it while others stated that it was not necessary. Respondent KII-JM noted that the TRC should be a precursor to forgiveness, not judgment, after which the government should build trust by treating all communities and groups fairly and inclusively by providing basic needs and infrastructure. For respondents, the TRC is necessary because sharing experiences goes a long way in resolving a situation. Exposing the public to the barbaric nature of the conflict would offer a curative solution, providing psychological transformation and healing, and propelling change.

For respondents, a TRC would be cathartic as the objective is not primarily retributive but compensatory justice. The government should only provide funding; pressure groups can nominate members of this commission, and its reports and recommendations should be dealt with by incorporating non-criminal elements and forwarding criminal elements to the relevant security agencies for further investigation or criminal action. Respondent also commented that a TRC is not part of Nigerian culture; funds should rather be diverted to healing trauma. This respondent noted that genuine love could only be achieved through trauma assistance units, not through a TRC.

Most respondents agreed that the economic component of the peace-building framework mainly has to do with development and that development will limit the need to resort to conflict. The merging of development and peace-building is also established in the UN Nations High-level Panel   Report According to respondents, Islam does not see a TRC as necessary as confession is not an attribute of Islam and northerners are mostly introverts, thus a TRC would not succeed. A TRC is centred on Christian ideas like confession. The introduction of a TRC "by accident" would require that all groups tolerate it.

According to respondents, a framework for redesigning settlement patterns should be applied to the city of Jos, as there is a relationship between city planning and peace. The respondent noted that slums are a problem in any society due to high levels of drugs and prostitution, and gave the example of an area in Jos known as Filin Satan (translated as "Satan's field") where drug addicts, prostitutes and alcoholics reside and where occasional violence has erupted. Government should allocate land to decongest the city centre and dismantle slums. Respondents proposed that compensation be paid for properties when groups have to relocate, and that they be resettled comfortably and in safe areas.

Most respondents reiterated the need to focus on and engage with the youth as key stakeholders in the conflict, particularly because they are mobilized and used for violent conflict. The following recommendations were made:

i.   To address idleness, the state must address the problem of Almajiris (street children) as they are being mobilized into armies (respondents).   In addition, the state should multiply efforts and increase resources for job creation ventures for the youth, a view widely shared among

respondents. The employment of university graduates should be based on merit in order to reduce their availability to be used as conflict peddlers (respondents). The youth should also be encouraged and empowered to participate in farming as it remains a profitable sector (respondents).

ii.   Educational institutions should be standardized to ensure that quality education is provided to students from primary to tertiary institutions and sub-standard schools should be closed (respondents). As noted by Léonce (2005, p.10), the goal of an education system is to develop human capital, which involves "achieving the highest enrolment ratios or mass literacy and (ii) providing the highest quality of education or sophistication". Based on these views, education and training is integral to transforming the conflict in Plateau state.

iii.   Politicians should refrain from providing weapons to young people so that they can kill or intimidate people during elections (respondents).

Many of the respondents felt that the government has become too centralized in its approach, focusing its development projects on major towns and the capital city of Jos while neglecting other parts of the state.   This has resulted in much dissatisfaction, as people feel disenfranchised by the state.

i.   As a solution, respondents recommended that the state engage with the grassroots, particularly in identifying their needs before policies are implemented and projects are conceived. Projects must also be supervised.

ii.   Most respondents reiterated that the state should build infrastructure (roads, schools) and provide resources (water, electricity) across communities regardless of the identities of the groups residing in an area. They stated that this would help to address uneven development across the state especially as these are needs common to humanity, irrespective of identity.

The respondents shared the view that victim compensation is unrealistic and difficult to achieve due to the high costs involved. Compensation could therefore be provided in the following forms:

i.   Respondents reiterated that the government should provide relief and assistance to help victims restart their lives. In cases where resettlement is required, the government should provide victims with food, shelter, clothing, medical care, and education before the full process of re-

settlement is completed. For respondents, the state should only help with some relief assistance, skills and vocational training, and provide employment opportunities.

ii.   Compensation does not have to be financial (respondents) and could involve creating the space to show empathy or mutual love (respondents).

iii.   Other forms of compensation could include building religious institutions (churches and mosques) in Muslim and Christian dominated areas, respectively (respondents).

iv.   Compensation could be in the form of assisting groups to relocate and resettle.

v.   Respondents noted that it would be a challenge to differentiate between genuine/real claims and fake claims. One Respondent noted that the process of handing out relief materials should not be politicized. According to respondent, the government should be removed from any discussions on compensation as it already provides social amenities, security and education.

Accessible roads must be created to allow farmers to transport their goods and to ensure that security actors can gain access to these areas when required. Inaccessible roads are a challenge even during times of peace as farmers are not able to access fertilizers or farm machinery. Farm produce has perished because there are no good roads to transport it to market especially during the raining season. If the structural causes of violence like poverty are to be addressed, an issue such as accessible roads are important and should be prioritized.

The state should collaborate with other funding institutions like the World Bank to develop and implement community projects, which can build the capacity of the youth while constructing much needed infrastructure like roads, wells and boreholes (respondents). Furthermore, it should collaborate and exchange information and personnel with actors from Korea, China and Dubai, in order to learn methods and avenues through which communities can develop and can convert state endowments to increase resources (respondents).

Respondents commented that the government should have no business in the economic sector and that it should rather be private sector driven; however, it can liaise with the private sector and provide an environment in which it can flourish.

A few respondents noted that the main market, once the largest market in Jos that served most of the state should be rebuilt to encourage economic activity. Furthermore, the segregation of markets should be done away with. For example, the satellite market in Rukuba should be open to members of the Hausa-Fulani community and new markets should be built for Muslim dominated areas like Angwan Rogo and Bauchi Road (respondents).

When it comes to scholarships, according to the respondents, employment and admission to educational institutions, the focus should be on merit and competence rather than identity (respondents). Respondents noted that admission is currently granted based on one's name (which is a good way of establishing one's ethnic or religious background). All groups, whether settler or indigene should have the right and opportunity to be employed by the state. In a meritocracy and an open society, employment by state agencies should be determined by who scores the highest (respondents). This is line with Aitken's (2007, p.263) view that ethnic quotas should not be included in constitutional arrangements in order to avoid the institutionalization of ethnicity in post-conflict situations.

Many respondents regarded building coexistence as an important part of peace- building. According to respondents, coexistence existed amongst earlier inhabitants of the state; no one was regarded as an enemy and religion or ethnicity did not define how one interacted with or accommodated others. There is therefore a need to change mind-sets and orientations in order to build coexistence (respondents).

The respondents offered the following suggestions on how to achieve a culture of non-violence in Plateau state:

i.   Respondents noted that this would require reform of the security sector so that it protects and promotes the rights of individuals. The respondent added that as long as citizens have to take their security into their hands and the culture of impunity is not abolished, a culture of violence would persist.

ii.   Psychological debriefing programmes for the youth would assist in addressing the culture of violence (respondents).

iii.   Respondents suggested that the practice or use of violence should be punished in order to limit its use.

iv.   Respondents noted that violence would only bring about more violence in the community and suggested state education programmes to instill a culture of non-violence. Such programmes would enlighten people on the best ways to get their views across peacefully. Elisabeth (2005, p. 904-905) argues that schools and the curriculum are both important elements in the "construction, mobilization and politicization of ethnic divisiveness".

iv.   A few respondents agreed that public enlightenment programmes could be used to encourage the public to embrace non-violence and refrain from violence. The state can benefit from already existing educational programmes led by civil society organisations.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS OF FURTHER STUDY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter contains the summary, conclusions, recommendations on the factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State, the effects of Jos religious crises on the national

security of Nigeria and the strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's National Security as well as areas for further study.

5.1 Summary of findings of the Study

5.1.1 Factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State

The colonial era created a shaky political foundation for inter-group relations by using a divide and rule system of governance. The colonial actors were "aware of the fact that the unity and combined efforts of the natives would militate against its interests" they played ethnic differences and different cultures in Nigeria against each other and "disrupted a previously organic process of interdependence between them". The boundaries drawn by the colonial powers did not take differences in language, culture and systems of governance between these groups into account. The merging of identities, irrespective of boundaries and differences, was sustained by the British colonial administration using the divide and rule method.

Group struggles for political control increased as a result of the dominance of petroleum in Nigeria and the immense wealth accrued from its production. Some respondents observed that the struggle for oil resources was mainly for "personal advancement and group security". The struggle for resources in Nigeria is heavily centred on the question of the beneficiaries of the allocation of such resources. Tensions are further exacerbated by struggles over access to resources controlled at the federal, state and local government level.

Apart from ethnicity, issues of a religious nature have created tensions in Jos Plateau politics. For instance, the adoption of the Sharia Law by 12 states in northern Nigeria has alienated the Christians who have lived in these areas for a long time. The creation of a federal Sharia court of appeal, which was meant to deal only with issues related to Islamic personal issues, divided the country particularly during the late 1970s, with Christians calling for its relegation to the subnational level.

Indigene-settler divides, particularly in Plateau state, contributes to the deepening of identity-based divides and vice versa. For example, in Plateau state the main warring groups, Hausa and BAA, largely subscribe to different religions, cultures and languages. The indigene and settler dynamic emerged through the system of regionalism during the colonial era. According to respondents,

Regionalism now features strongly in contemporary Nigerian politics due to the indigene-settler dynamic.

The researcher revealed that many attribute the conflicts in the town of Yelwa and the LGA of Shendam to the actions of traditional leader Long Gamai in stopping the granting of indigene certificates to Muslim groups like the Borghom and Pyem. the conflicts in the state stem from competition between "indigenes" and "non-indigenes".

The protracted conflicts in Jos plateau have "elite political malfeasance at their roots" and this is evident through their role in "election rigging, divisive use of identity politics, land grabs, or high-level organized crime". They have incited violence and intolerance through remarks and public statements and they are the creators of ethnic militias that promote ethnic agendas and attack innocent civilians.

Religious fanaticism as violent and unreasoning religious enthusiasm. Religious fanatics show excessive irrational zeal to defend their religions in Nigeria consequently become destructive agents of religious disharmony in the society.

The unbridled Action of the Press. the actions or reactions of the Muslims to Christians' action or vice versa are determined by the mass media reports. Press on many occasions in Nigeria had fanned the members of disunity through junk journalism and sensational headlines.

The problem of poverty, especially in the urban area apparently accounts for the bulk of violence (whether ethnic or religious) due to such problems as unemployment, inadequate housing, physical and social infrastructures. The current depression in the Nigerian economy must have worsened the problem of poverty, thereby partly responsible for the creation of religious violence, said by respondents.

5.1.2 The effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria

Religious violence has resulted into large-scale physical displacement and forced relocation of individuals, families and groups in the region. The spate of this violence in the last three decades has certainly resulted in varying degrees of internally displaced persons. Apart from undermining

the stability order, religious violence tends to dent the image of the country in the international community.

The jos religious crises caused psychological trauma to those who witnessed the killing of their relatives, and burning of their properties. It also, increased the unemployment level when most of the small-scale industries that employed young and able youths were lost to religious violence.

The incessant nature of violence in the country also had the impact of breeding social miscreant and criminals who by their access to weapons of war (which are usually sophisticated) become terrors to both their immediate community and the larger society. After the crisis, it is always difficult to retrieve such weapons back and because most of these people are originally jobless, they often found solace in terrorizing the society.

5.1.3 The strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's National Security

Sensitization programmes, policy changes, budget formulation, implementation, and agenda setting require community involvement and advocacy. A community and grassroots peace-building approach is based on the argument that since war involves and affects most of the masses (grassroots people), it is important that they are involved in peace-building and efforts to improve human security. the government has to work hand-in-hand with the community and traditional institutions and leaders because they know the community and can effectively sensitize citizens.

To address idleness, the state must address the problem of Almajiris (street children) as they are being mobilized into armies.   In addition, the state should multiply efforts and increase resources for job creation ventures for the youth, a view widely shared among respondents. The employment of university graduates should be based on merit in order to reduce their availability to be used as conflict peddlers. The youth should also be encouraged and empowered to participate in farming as it remains a profitable sector.

Educational institutions should be standardized to ensure that quality education is provided to students from primary to tertiary institutions and sub-standard schools should be closed.

Politicians should refrain from providing weapons to young people so that they can kill or intimidate people during elections.

Most respondents reiterated that the state should build infrastructure (roads, schools) and provide resources (water, electricity) across communities regardless of the identities of the groups residing in an area. They stated that this would help to address uneven development across the state especially as these are needs common to humanity, irrespective of identity.

Government should provide relief and assistance to help victims restart their lives. In cases where resettlement is required, the government should provide victims with food, shelter, clothing, medical care, and education before the full process of re-settlement is completed. For respondents, the state should only help with some relief assistance, skills and vocational training, and provide employment opportunities.

Accessible roads must be created to allow farmers to transport their goods and to ensure that security actors can gain access to these areas when required. Inaccessible roads are a challenge even during times of peace as farmers are not able to access fertilizers or farm machinery. Farm produce has perished because there are no good roads to transport it to market especially during the raining season.

The state should collaborate with other funding institutions like the World Bank to develop and implement community projects, which can build the capacity of the youth while constructing much needed infrastructure like roads, wells and boreholes. Furthermore, it should collaborate and exchange information and personnel with actors from Korea, China and Dubai, in order to learn methods and avenues through which communities can develop and can convert state endowments to increase resources.

building coexistence as an important part of peace- building. According to respondents, coexistence existed amongst earlier inhabitants of the state; no one was regarded as an enemy and religion or ethnicity did not define how one interacted with or accommodated others. There is therefore a need to change mind-sets and orientations in order to build coexistence

5.2 Conclusions of the Study

This study explored the concept of a peace-building framework as a response to the ethno-religious violence in Plateau state, Nigeria. It sought to identify the key programmes, policies and institutions that are required, and the political, economic, psycho-social and security components that should be included in the peace-building framework. While much has been written on the causes of conflict, this study is forward looking and prescriptive, while undertaking a visioning exercise of what a peaceful Plateau state could look like and how this can become a reality. The study has shown that ethno-religious violence in Plateau state has persisted due to the absence of a comprehensive and evidence-based peace-building framework to shape and guide the state's intervention in reducing direct violence and addressing the underlying causes of the ethno-religious violence. It employed conflict transformation as a critical tool in contributing to a peace-building framework.

States, civil society and citizens themselves need to pay more attention to the ethnic and religious cleavages and resulting conflict that continue to occur on the African continent. Efforts need to be stepped up to resolve these identity conflicts that result from extreme marginalization, injustices and gross violations of human rights. The theories employed by this study are useful in understanding the relevance of a peace- building framework, the priority areas in peace-building efforts and the institutions, policies and programmes required to achieve long-term, sustainable peace. Conflict transformation theory suggests that the achievement of sustainable peace is made possible through three main goals: reducing violence, addressing injustice and rebuilding relationships. This study argues that if a peace-building framework focuses on achieving these three goals, future conflict can be prevented. Political economy theory advocates for the importance of politics and economics in understanding the causes and responses to conflict. Conflict does not function only in a political space; economics has a significant impact. This pattern is consistent particularly in societies where identities feature in political and economic competition and marginalization. This study focused on finding solutions to conflicts of this nature particularly at the subnational level, an area that is widely understudied.

Conflicts remain not about ethnicity, religion or identities in general but about the marginalization, exclusion and inequalities that are associated with them. These identities are superficial and act as a

façade for deep-rooted issues. Identities are part of life, and for many they provide a sense of being and belonging. Since identities will always be part of human relationships and society in general, governments and societies need to embrace these differences, but not at the expense of the peace and security of communities, societies and nations.

Peace-building solutions need to be decentralized, inclusive and based on the needs of grassroots communities. This is because these communities are at the core of the conflict and their members have both been victims and perpetrators of the violence. While peace-building is of the utmost importance in restoring peace it should be decentralized and should address the economic and developmental needs of groups in all areas of the state. While not the only actor, the state plays a critical role in contributing to inequalities between groups and in carrying out violence. The pivotal role of the state in resolving the root causes of the conflict and in finding long-lasting and sustainable solutions for transformation at the lowest levels cannot be overemphasized. In a federal system, the national government should be willing, if necessary, to wield more control over subnational units (states and provinces) to improve peace-building responses. It can act as a check and balance in order to avoid their abuse of power.

A peace-building framework provides a structure and a roadmap for how the complex process of rebuilding societies is achieved. As shown in the previous chapter, a framework outlines the programmes, policies and institutions required for peace- building and conflict transformation, the actors and institutions responsible for implementation, the steps involved in implementation, the estimated timelines, necessary resources, and the possible challenges that might emerge. It is a useful way to measure progress, identify gaps and build avenues for collaboration. It also brings about a coordinated and sustained response to the peace-building process.

Peace-building requires financial resources. Launching a wide range of programmes, developing new policies and creating new institutions is a significant undertaking that requires substantial resources. In finding and accessing resources, high levels of corruption must be curbed. This can be achieved more rapidly through stricter enforcement of anti-corruption laws, making the public aware of government expenditure, providing transparent audit reports and mandatory jail terms for corrupt officials. Increased public pressure is also important in publicizing corruption and calling for harsher responses. The continuous use of state funds for corrupt means will deplete resources

for social programmes and infrastructural development. In addition, the state needs to strengthen its taxation laws and efficiently monitor how finances are used in order to avoid waste. Furthermore, it is important for Plateau state to find ways to increase its revenue and not solely rely on federal allocations.

Peace-building is more effective in a decentralized and truly federal system where subnational units are experiencing rapid population growth. Given the continuously growing population and the need for quicker responses to the security threats and economic needs of constituents, states need to play a stronger role and be given the power to make key decisions on security matters. A paper by Beasley (2006) on job creation in post-conflict societies notes that, decentralization is necessary for sustainable development and long-lasting job creation, two ingredients that are essential for peace and stability. It is also important because peace-building requires on-going engagement with the grassroots. The closer the state is to the grassroots and the more authority it has to implement key programmes, policies and institutions, the more rapidly it can move the peace-building process forward and ensure the security of its people. To avoid state abuse of such power, parliamentary oversight must be strengthened, and the federal government, the media and CSOs can act as stronger checks and balances on the state to perform effectively. There is also a need to build the capacities of local government authorities and curb their excesses.

5.3 Recommendations for the Study
Having exhaustively explored the topic on the effects of religious-based conflicts on Nigeria's National Security in Jos, Plateau State, the following recommendations are provided below;

5.3.1 Factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State
To the academics, they should engage in research on the effects of a functional federalism for Plateau state and how it can be effective in this system.

The parliament should remove discriminatory policies, increase citizen engagement, and remove bias within the state coffers, as the equal treatment of all by the state, regardless of religion or ethnicity, is essential in bringing about sustainable peace.

Undergo a governance review to remove all aspects of marginalization and to replace the concept of indigenization with 'Nigerianism'. In this regard, governance systems must refrain from

pandering to the needs of a particular ethnic group in the state, which causes dissatisfaction among other groups.

Provide the state Office of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) with sufficient resources to carry out its mandate. It is important that its presence and responsibilities are made public and that security officers ensure confidentiality in their engagements with those lodging complaints about violence or abuse in the state.

Engage in a broad decentralization campaign that focuses on security, development and dialogue. This should involve direct engagement with the population at local government, district, ward and village levels. A needs- assessment approach could be used to ensure broad-based and bottom up engagement. Obtaining first-hand information from the grassroots ensures that responses meet people's needs. The state must inform and update citizens on government projects and activities in their areas.

Expand the Office of the Special Adviser to the Governor on Peace-building into a fully-fledged Ministry of Peace-Building. This will involve a shift from the usual ad-hoc and short-term government projects to more long-term, inclusive and comprehensive peace-building engagement. This will require that peace-building and conflict sensitivity is entrenched in the government's three pillars of Education, Health, and Human and Capital Development.

Hold an annual or bi-annual workshop with representatives of each ethnic group to discuss common societal challenges rather than indigene-settler issues. The findings from these processes would be developed into a report for implementation. Progress made would be evaluated against the recommendations of these reports.

Ensure that political actors take responsibility and work together with those in leadership positions to bring peace to the state. Politics and confrontation should not replace collaboration and cooperation amongst the political elite.

Modify the structure of the Jos North LGA to make the Local Council more representative of the desire of all the communities to foster a sense of community and belonging.

Commit efforts and resources to end the high numbers of strikes in tertiary institutions and multiply efforts to provide job opportunities for the youth, as idle youth are more susceptible to drugs and engage in other social vices like crime and other violent activities.

Ensure that political leaders refrain from being partisan or favoring specific ethnic groups and instead focus on how to develop the whole state to benefit all groups.

Identify and develop the resources in each LGA, and build the capacity of the youth in these administrative areas so that they contribute to developing their local governments while improving their economic livelihoods.

Redesign the current setting of urban slums to decongest crowded areas and through intervention programmes such as subsidies and addressing urban poverty.

Reinstate key markets like the Jos Main Market and provide spaces for inter- religious markets with proper security.

Develop a policy and culture of meritocracy at all levels especially for political appointments and the civil service. Avenues should be created for skills development for government staff particularly in conflict transformation and peace-building.

Prioritise state-wide infrastructural development projects including access to good roads across the state.

Act against discrimination in education and employment opportunities between indigenes and settlers in the short term while a long term national solution is in the making. All forms of exclusion by political players must be avoided.

5.3.2 The effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria

The Federal Government should accord the powers of Chief Security Officer to the State Governor. The state government:

Should be given full responsibility and have the final say on responses to security threats and situations of insecurity. The Federal Government can act as a check and balance to ensure that the state government does not abuse this power.

Train and equip the police and other security actors in counter-insurgency and intelligence approaches to fighting terrorism, such as bomb detection, managing mob violence and providing support in resolving disputes through the creation of ADRMs at police stations.

Address human right abuses and end the culture of impunity. Introduce and strongly enforce strict sanctions and punitive measures for gross professional misconduct among security personnel and other categories of public servants.

Disqualify and ban any politician found supporting violence, drug abuse or providing weapons in an effort to contest or occupy any public office.

5.3.3 The strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's National Security

In reducing reliance on the national police force, should create a state police outfit, which should be adequately monitored for abuse of the population, Efforts and resources should focus on training police who focus on the national interest rather than specific individual or subjective interests, and who are willing to perform their duties with no fear and with fairness. These individuals need to be trained, effectively organized, and well-disciplined and should be held accountable when they fail in their duties. In addition to increasing the number of state police, adequate resources must be provided for compensation. This would hopefully deter them from accepting bribes.

Increase the numbers of security personnel particularly in the outlying LGA. While it can be argued that the city of Jos is relatively secure, the same cannot be said of communities outside the capital city. The state should therefore deploy security officials to LGA, particularly hotspots like Wase and Bokkos. It is important that community-based security structures (representative of all groups) work together with deployed officials to improve security. Improve the networks of communication from the capital city of Jos to other LGA, districts, wards and villages, particularly in the area of security. The state must also develop a comprehensive communication strategy to educate and inform the population about peace efforts and progress.

Ensure transparent and public recruitment processes for the state police and other relevant positions. Individuals should be recruited through public and open processes and not through personal connections or highly politicized and religious channels.

Improve and strengthen early warning and response units in order to improve security and prevent violence. Citizens must be informed of government efforts and developments in this area.

Create a State Tribunal to address the violent conflicts in the state. This would ensure that justice is adequately and rapidly meted out. The Tribunal should have an investigative bureau attached to it and it must work hand-in-hand with the Human Rights Commission.

Strengthen inter-agency coordination among security agencies and strengthen existing agencies including the state-led "Operation Rainbow" through capacity building, increased funding and joint collaboration on key projects.

Provide safe zones and security posts in strategic areas within the Jos metropolis and its environs in order to prevent civil unrest. This strategy has proven effective in Kaduna state.

5.4 Areas for further study

1. The importance of establishing African Union peace missions in a way to curb both domestic and international ethno-religious conflicts on the African continent focusing on Nigeria.

2. The conduct of government officials in the national security apparatus so as to ascertain the challenges to peace and stability in the Federal Republic of Nigeria

3. The role of ECOWAS/ECOMOG in the promotion and sustenance of peace and stability in west Africa with specific reference to Nigeria.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

NKUMBA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICAL STUDIES

Date: 10[th]February 2017

Dear Respondent,

RE: REQUEST TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE BELOW

This is to request you kindly complete the attached questionnaire. There is no right or wrong answer. You just need to state that which you deem suits the question asked. Please answer all the items on the questionnaire.

The information you provide will be used anonymously and for academic purposes only. As part of my postgraduate studies am required to carry out field research and write a report on the effects of effects of religious-based conflicts on Nigeria's national security in Jos, Plateau State.

Thank you very much for accepting to complete the attached questionnaire.

Signed;

………………………………

SamuelNankpakAbashe

MASTERS' STUDENT

Guiding QuestionsforSemi-structured questionnaires andKeyInformantInterviews

Objective 1: **To find out the factors responsible for Religious-Based Violence in Jos Plateau State**

a) Currently, what capacities does thestatehaveforpeace-building and conflict transformation?

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b) Do the relevant state actors and institutions clearly understand the root causes ofthe conflict?

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c) How can peace-building be implemented at the state level?
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d) What role should the state have in state-level peace-building efforts?
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e) Should the responsibilityfor conflict transformation and peace-buildingin

Plateau

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e) State fall on the state or federal government?
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g) What should be the role of the Federal government in building peace in

Plateau State?

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h) What aretheingredientsforsuccessful peace-buildingefforts at thestate- level?

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Questions forSemi-StructuredInterviews:

Objective 2: To find out the effects of Jos religious crises on the national security of Nigeria

a) What are effects of these religious wars to the economic, political and social development of the state

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Objective3: To establish strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the effect of this phenomenon on Nigeria's national security

a)   Doyou think that all ethnicgroupsareon an equal footingin Plateau State, if yes or no, why? How can these inequalities be addressed through a) policymaking b) programmes c) institutions?

b)   What efforts havebeen utilizedbytheStateto protect women?

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c)   What policyframeworksand strategies should bedeveloped bythe stateto successfullyprevent the futureeruption ofviolent conflicts?

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d)   What policyframeworksand strategies should bedeveloped bythe stateto successfullytransform the conflict?

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e)   How can longterm and sustainablepeacebeachievedin Plateau State?

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f)   How canyou work withgovernment in resolving thedirect and root causes of violence? And preventing future violence?

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Thank you so much

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What has been the cause(s) of many ethno-religious conflicts in Jos and Plateau States Especially since 1980?

2. How have governments, NGOs, religious organizations/ institutions, groups and individuals helped in managing the conflicts?

3. What has been the role of the security operatives in the conflicts control? Have they promptly responded to most of the conflicts in the two states under discussion?

4. Does the alleged presence mercenaries from within and outside the country and the use of sophisticated weapons signal to a threat to the security of the two states and the country at large?

5. What do you think has been the impact of these conflicts on human and material resources in the Jos and Plateau States and Nigeria in general?

6. To what extent have these conflicts eroded mutual trust and confidence among indigenes and non-indigenes and groups in Jos and Plateau states?

7. What have been the general implications of these conflicts on the entire northern states and the nation at large?

8. How do you think these conflicts can be managed for the purpose of ensuring peace and harmony, socio-economic and political development of Jos and Plateau States and the country at large?

Thank you so much