

**POST-CONFLICT RECONCILIATION AND PEACE BUILDING IN PLATEAU
STATE**

BY

**DINDAM CHANGWAK ADIKO
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UNIVERSITY, KEFFI.**

**PROJECT SUPERVISOR:
DR. CANICE ERUNKE**

DECEMBER, 2019

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation has been written by me and it is a report of my research work. It has not been presented in any previous publication for state diploma or degree. All quotations are indicated and sources of information specifically acknowledged by means of references.

DINDAM CHANGWAK ADIKO
NSU/GDM/PCS/0032/17/18

Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation (Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos, Plateau State) meets the regulations governing the award of Master of Science in Peace and Conflict Studies, of the Institute of Governance and Development Studies of Postgraduate Studies, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

Dr. Canice Erunke
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

Date

Member, Supervisory Committee

Date

Dr. Shuaibu Umar Abdul
Internal Examiner

Date

Prof. Zamani Andrew
Director of Institute

Date

External Examiner

Date

Prof. Jonathan M. Ayuba
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all the victims of violent conflict in Plateau State, and to my friend, brother and mentor, NANNIM JOSEPH LANGYI for the confidence reposed in me in everything I do and shouldering the financial responsibility of this program.

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ABSTRACT

The study aims at pacifying the people so that they can't relapse to violent conflict as the means to settle their differences. The study is also aimed at illuminating post-conflict reconciliation and peace building as the major means of achieving sustainable development in plateau state. The Study carried out a general overview of the post conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State. The Study deployed the qualitative research method, which allows for data collection using personal observation and interview. The study reviewed extant literature on post conflict and reconciliation/peace building, and the nexus between the two variables. The study adopted two theories namely: The Liberal Interventionist (LI) Theory and Conflict Trap Theory. Data were generated from the field which was used to answer the research questions. Subsequently, findings from the study revealed, that post conflict reconciliation and peace building in plateau State have not achieved its purpose due to the reoccurring nature of the conflict and that this halt the process of sustainable development in the State. Also the study revealed that, the immediate driver of conflict in Plateau State is the State is SETTLER and INDIGENE problem. Other remote drivers include, religion intolerant, unemployment, non-implementation of the recommendations of the commissions of inquiry set-up by State or Federal Government, ethnicity, and politics .The study recommends among, others that, government should intensify action in the fight against insurgency and terrorism; consistently and constructively invest in youth empowerment and inclusion in governance; immediately address the humanitarian crisis in Plateau State.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

From time immemorial, the global communities have invested billions of dollars to assist war-ravaged societies around the world. This assistance comes in form of post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and peace building in order to consolidate peace in these war ravaging societies (Paris, et al 2009). Post-Conflict reconciliations and peace building has become an important aspect in the international system. A critical example is the post-war reconciliation, reconstruction and peace building in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, etc (Ottaway, 2003).

In Africa, the story is not different. Due to the ravaging nature of post-conflict societies, the international community(s) funded post-conflict reconstruction and peace building in some of the African states of Namibia, Angola, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, etc (MacGinty, 2005). This broad-based international agenda often inextricably linked to discussion around nation/state-building, is rightly described by Paris (2004) as “the most ambitious and concerted international effort to rehabilitate war-shattered states since the allied reconstruction of Germany and Japan following World War II” (Paris, 2004: 4).

Less inspiring, however is the partial success to outright failure of the majority of these interventions over the years, whether under UN or US auspices. These complex, costly and risky international undertakings have not only failed to produce desirable results, but have left efforts to effectively and successfully restructure post-war states and societies an elusive goal. Iraq and Afghanistan are some of the failed intervention states. Also in Africa, peace

building and reconstruction suffered setback in societies like Angola, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, etc (Chaldler, 2006).

In Nigerian, the 30-months of civil war (2nd July, 1967 to 15th January, 1970) led to the destruction of lives and properties worth billions of Naira. After the war, Nigeria was confronted with the challenges of rebuilding the war shattered environment and to reconcile the warring parties. This made General Yakubu Gowon (rtd) the then former Nigerian Head of State who embarked on the reconstruction, reconciliation, rehabilitation of the country which is popularly known as the 3R program or “no victor no vanguard” policy. The main aim of the 3R program was to repair the substantial damage done to the economy and infrastructures especially in the eastern region of the country. Unfortunately, this program was hardly carried out as the government was ineffective in the implementation especially in regards to the rehabilitation of the people (Ejike, 2010).

Until recently, Jos city and Plateau state in general enjoyed tremendous peaceful inter-ethnic and religious relations. In fact, it is this disposition that gave the state its identity slogan, “Home of Peace and Tourism”. The ethno- religious conflagrations that have ravaged the state since 1994, especially since 2001, have shattered its image and perceived immunity from the deadly pattern of ethno-religious violence witnessed in some Northern parts of the country like Kano and Kaduna states. Ethno-religious conflicts are progressively becoming pervasive and intractable, shaking the foundation of mutual coexistence in the state and the nation at large (Alubo, 2007).

Plateau state is unique for its ethno-linguistic diversity with more than 50 indigenous ethnic groups. Jos, the state capital is also known for its cosmopolitan nature as a consequence of mass migration from other parts of the country arising from the boom in tin mining activities

of the British colonialists at the turn of the 20th century. Beside the indigenous ethnic groups of Afizere, Anaguta and Berom, other ethnic groups from the rest of the state as well as the country abound. There is a significant population of Hausa/Fulani, Igbo, Urhobo, Yoruba and a host of other groups who have migrated to the Plateau since the early days of colonialism, tin mining and the city becoming an administrative nerve centre as a state capital.

Established around 1915 as a tin mining and transportation hub, its early history was invariably related to the prosperity of the tin mining industry. Plateau state has a predominant Christian population and significant Muslim populations in three of the 17 Local Government Areas (Jos North, Kanam and Wase). Located in the North-central region of Nigeria, Plateau is endowed with a beautiful topography comprising undulating hills and picturesque landscapes that serve as tourist attractions for many Nigerians and foreigners alike. The plateau boasts of the coolest weather among Nigerian states, a very attractive feature for many, particularly for the expatriate European community (Danfulani, 2005). In the mid- 1990's the ethno-religious disparity and competing political interests in Jos between the indigenous ethnic groups (the Berom, Anaguta and Afizere) on one hand and, the Hausa- Fulani settler community on the other hand, had become poignant. This has led to unprecedented tension and violence with devastating consequences, loss of lives and property in 1994, 2001, 2002, 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011. From 2012 to 2015, there were records of silent killings, planting of bombs in public places and clashes in some of the Local government Areas of the State. In 2016 and 2017, crisis does not break out in the capital city of Plateau, Jos. These ethno-religious clashes have stealthily spread to other Local government areas and communities in the state at large, incorporating other

communal groups that were earlier not part of the conflict. It is pertinent to note that as the crises spill-over to the rural areas it took a guerilla warfare pattern where communities were ambushed, people killed and displaced in increasingly large numbers on both sides of the conflict.

The plight of these displaced people in their various place of refuge can be best described as critically threatening. This is more so considering the fact that they have been dislocated from their family and social capital bases. This has created the need to reconcile the warring parties and reconstruct the deteriorated economy, political and socio-cultural system of the State; and more importantly, consolidate peace through peace building. Peace building and reconciliation offer themselves as the important components for rehabilitation, reintegration and economic recovery. Taking Jos, Plateau State of Nigeria, this work therefore provides an understanding of the need to reconcile, reconstruct and consolidate peace in the conflict - torn Jos, Plateau State of Nigeria.

Reconciliation has emerged as a master narrative of our time, offering a promise to remedy the harm done and heal both society and individuals from the experiences of violence and conflict (Scheper-Hughes 1998). It could be a process of addressing negative relationships between two enemies through engendering minimum reliance between them. One of the most identifiable characteristics of reconciliation is forgiveness. In other words, the warring parties must be ready to forgive one another. They need to examine and address their previous relationship and their violent past. The purpose of post conflict reconciliation is to eliminate mistrust and hatred among the former enemies. Reconciliation is the process for doing exactly that.

It is pertinent to understand that the concept of reconstruction is very vital to the understanding of the concept of reconciliation in any post conflict society. Here, reconstruction implies an entity that has collapsed or is no longer in existence and is to be reconstructed to its original state in any post-war community involved the revamping of political system of that community (These encompasses constitutional reforms, decentralization of state function etc), economic system, social system (this also involve the rehabilitations of social services like education, Health care, War related social problems and social integration: integration of stigmatized person, reweaving the social fabric etc), (Sorensen, 1998). Thus “peace-building as reconstruction” would refer to strategies adopted to rebuild states emerging from war.

Thus, peace-building is broadly defined as consolidation of peace after an armed conflict ceases in war-torn societies. It includes a very comprehensive approach ranging from providing humanitarian assistance to reconstruction of political and civil institutions for creating workable and self-sustaining structures as well as reconciliation attempts addressing the causes of the conflict (Etekpe, 2012).

Our major concern here is to assess post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in, Plateau State. It is important to note that peace building and reconciliation becomes inevitable to restore enduring peace and kick-start development.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Violence conflict had led to the collapse of political, social, cultural and economic structures in many parts of the world. The case of violent conflict in Jos, the capital city of Plateau State, Nigeria, is not an exception.

Jos, the capital of Plateau State, is known for its natural beauty and temperate climate, which attracts local and international tourists. Many use the moniker, “Home of Peace and Tourism,” nostalgically to refer to Jos, which owes its prominence to tin mining (Nnoli, 1978).

The impact of the armed conflict in Jos and Plateau State at large manifested itself in the area of infrastructural decay, Roads, bridges, water and electricity supplies as well as telecommunications installations and equipment have all been destroyed, particularly since 2001. Other physical assets destroyed have been homes, clinics/hospitals, schools, markets, shops, offices and parks. Perhaps the greatest destruction has been homes as evidenced in the large number of people internally displaced by the violence. On some occasions communities have been completely destroyed. Historically, agriculture and mining were the main economic activities in Plateau State and Jos in particular. The State used to be prominent in tin mining, millet, corn, rice, yams, tomatoes and groundnut production. In recent times, however, violent conflict have destroyed farms and displaced farm owners and workers, severely disrupting the planting cycle have negatively impacting on the food security (Ngare, 2012).

Apart from the physical destruction done by the reoccurring conflict in Jos, Plateau State, the conflict has created emotional devastation among an untold numbers of Men and Women in the State. Trust among the people has become the thing of the past. Despite the silent of the battle ground, the conflict continues in the individual minds and emotions. Hatred and Mistrust became the two major virtues that control the warring parties.

It is important to note that, there were series of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building efforts that were carried out both by government and private sectors aimed at

halting the reoccurrence of violent conflict in the State. However these efforts seem to be void of positive result due to the consistence reoccurrence of the conflict in a large scale. Therefore, it will not be strange to conclude that, there are challenges embedded in the peace building process in Jos which need to be solved in other to avoid the reoccurrence of these conflicts.

Many writers have written on post-war reconciliation and peace building without looking or examine the challenges and prospects that usually accompany it. For instance (Osanthan, 2016; Etekpe, 2012 and Smith, 1919). They all wrote on post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding without looking or examine the challenges and the prospects of the tasks. Their work centered most on the process and models of post-war reconciliation and peace building. This is one of the academic problems that this research work aim to finding solution to.

Another academic problem that is part of this research work is that, to some scholars, peace building are activities that usually kick-start after a ceased fire in a war-torn society. However, peace building can start even amidst of violent conflict. This is another area that this study will look into it.

The concept of national security has been conceived as a limited role of the military might. However, the issue of national security is more than military might. It encompasses issues like human security, food security, environmental security etc This work will make an attempt to examine the concept holistically.

Therefore, the problem of this research lies in finding solution to ensure peace so that development through reconciliation and peace building may flourish. Also to assess the extent of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, and Plateau State at large.

1.3 Research Questions

Against the background of the problem, the study attempted to find answers to the following questions:

- i. What are the factors responsible for violent conflicts in Jos, Plateau State?
- ii. What are the successes of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State?
- iii. What are the challenges of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State?

1.4 Research Objectives

The general Objective of this study is to examine “post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State, Nigeria”. For the purpose of this study however, the specific objectives are the followings:

- i. To examine the factors responsible for violent conflict in Jos, Plateau State.
- ii. To examine the degree at which post-conflict reconciliation and peace building will bring lasting peace and development in Jos, Plateau State.
- iii. To investigate the successes of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State.

- iv. To examine the challenges of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State.
- v. To ascertain other alternative ways that can be adopted to bring about peace building in Plateau State?

1.5 Research Propositions

- i. Unemployment, religion intolerance, and ethnicity are the factors responsible for violent conflict Jos, Plateau State.
- ii. That post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos has greatly brought lasting peace and development in Jos, Plateau State.
- iii. That Post-Conflict reconciliation and peace building succeeded in some parts of Jos, Plateau State.
- iv. Corruption, lack of transparency/accountability, ethnicity are assumed to be the challenges of facing effective post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State.
- v. There are alternative ways to be adopt to bring about peace building in Plateau State

1.6 Significance of the Study

Many writers have written on peace building and post-conflict reconciliation on a global scale without giving attention to Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria. Therefore, this work will centre on humanitarian intervention in Jos Plateau State, Nigeria in the form of peace building and post-conflict reconciliation. By evaluating the causes of violent conflict in the State, it will therefore be easy to find a lasting solution to the conflict in the State. Therefore, the findings of the research will be very important both for government and organizations who would

like to contribute in the peace building process in Plateau State. A major significance of the study is the fact that it will lead to the generation of a valid and reliable data that could assist policy makers take decisions from a better-informed perspective, position and opinion about how best to handle the violent conflict in Jos in particular and Nigeria at large, Security and to make better preparations of the absorptions of IDPs into communities. Practically, this work provides an insight into the impact of the violent conflict on national Security; it also draws the attention of the government to the plight of the IPDs and the host communities.

Teachers, students and researchers of peace and conflict studies in Nigerian higher institutions of learning will find the work benefiting to them as it furnishes them with current information on violent conflict in Jos Plateau State.

Ultimately, it is expected that, issues interrogated in the course of this study, would generate further debates that would open up new frontiers of inquiry in the future, thereby contributing to knowledge.

Finally, the result of this study will help new researchers who want to embark on the similar or same area of study. It will serve as a reference to them and also advance their understanding of some of the concepts that were used in this work.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study covered Jos North and Jos South of Plateau State, Nigeria. Secondly, the work cover the period from 2001-2017. As part of the scope of this study, it will critically examine and understand the causes of violent in those areas and possibility

examine government efforts at combating violent conflict in the State. This study will also engross itself with the tasks of finding solutions to the challenges of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State Nigeria.

This study is confronted with a lot of setbacks or challenges among which are, insufficient materials or literature on peace building since the concept is a new concept in the discipline of peace studies, and more especially, literature that discussed peace building and post-conflict reconciliation. It is very good to note that, no research is void of financial constraints. As a result of this, the areas to be covered for the collection of primary data will be limited to Jos North and Jos South. We wish to cover the entire seventeen Local Government Areas of the State. However, financial constrains also is a setback to access the remaining Fifteenth Local Government Areas of the State.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

A research literature review, according to Fink (in Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight, 2006:121), “is a systematic, explicit, and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating and synthesising the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners”. It offers researchers opportunity to build upon some of the works already done by other scholars, and make constructive criticism where applicable. Such review is achieved through a critical evaluation of books, journals, online resources and archival materials, among others, that are relevant to the study. The purpose is to discover and fill gaps in the existing body of literature.

The main thrust of this chapter, therefore, is to establish a link between the structure of the study and its theoretical framework. This was achieved via an in-depth review of relevant literature on the subject matter. Thus, the concepts of, conflict, post-conflict reconciliation, post-conflict reconciliation, peace, peace building, humanitarian/emergency assistance , were thematically reviewed.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Attempt were made in this section to identify, examine and diagnose the views of scholars, and policy makers on concept that are germane to this research problems, such as Peace building, Post-Conflict Reconciliation, Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Humanitarian Intervention, National Security, Conflict, and Peace.

2.1.1 Concept of Conflict

Conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable part of human society. Violent is however not and it is therefore an anomaly. According to Francis (2002), conflict as the pursuit of incompatible interests and goals by different groups in the society, while armed conflict is the resort to the use of force and armed violence in the pursuit of incompatible and particular interests and goals. This makes conflict resolution scholars to conclude that, conflict has an ontological basis in human needs, and it is the denial of these needs that causes violent conflict or resolvable differences to degenerate into armed conflict.

According to Diez et al (2006), conflict is a struggle or contest with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. This is a broad definition of conflict, which denotes the incompatibility of subject positions. At first, the emphasis here is on the opposition or incompatibility at the centre of the conflict, leaving open the exact nature of the incompatibilities. From this definition of conflict, one can deduce that, conflict is not always characterized by violence. However, conflict could escalate and result into physical violence. Conversely, conflict can also lead to a new social or political Organisation and therefore productive, if the disputing parties agree to deal with the incompatibilities at heart of the conflict. They further argued that: conflict is present in generally situations, but it remains confined to isolated instances and so does not take on societal significance; or is dealt with within defined societal rules; is dealt with productively so that it generates a new form of socio-political Organisation through peaceful change.

Rumell (1991), treated conflict broadly as a philosophical category symbolizing the clash of power against power in the striving of all things to become manifest. On the other hand, he argued that, conflict can be seen simply as a separate category of social behaviour, i.e. as two parties trying to get something they both cannot have. Moreover, conflict can be

stopped as a potentiality or a situation, as a structure or a construction, as an event or a progression. Therefore, the concept of conflict is multifaceted; it encloses a family of forms. Conflict could be understood as a social occurrence. He defined Conflict as a balancing of vectors of powers, of capabilities to produce effects. It is a clash of powers. It is pertinent to note however, that, Conflict is not a balance of equilibrium of powers. Conflict is the pushing and pulling, the giving and taking, the process of finding the balance between powers. It is a continual balancing of outward directed and inward bearing vectors of power, a perpetual conflict. Most fundamentally, therefore, conflict is correlative to power (Rumell,1991). Conflict is universal, as Heraclitus (cited in Rumell, 1991) pointed out:

Our very experience presupposes conflict in its generation, and our knowledge, apart from its priory categories, is based on such conflict. Our learning about ourselves, others, and reality, our growth and development, and our increasing ability to create our own heaven or hell, comes through conflict. The desire to eradicate conflict, the hope for harmony and universal cooperation, is the wish for a frozen, unchanging world with all relationships fixed in their patterns with all in balance. One in which we cannot hope nor plan for a better tomorrow, but can only follow our inevitable course, with the determined ups and downs of a wooden horse on a merry-go-round (Rumell, 1991:34).

Conflict can be defined as “the pursuit of incompatible interest and goals by different group” (Woodward, 1995:64). He further stressed that armed conflict is the resort to the use of force and armed violence in the pursuit of incompatible and particular interest and goals. The worst forms of armed conflict include mass murder and genocide against unarmed civilians.

Conflict generally refers to a condition in which one identifiable group of human beings (whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, social, economic, political, etc) is engaged in conscious opposition to one or more identifiable group because these groups are

pursuing what are, or appear to be, incompatible goals (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraf, 2000). Thus conflict is an integral part of human existence. Most often, it is endemic in all human relations and interaction. All human societies tend to experience conflict at one point or the other in the history, in the process of their regular interactions.

Georg, S. (1956), defined conflict as “a design to resolve divergent dualism; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it will be through the annihilation of one of the confronting parties”. According to him, conflict serve as a social purpose and reconciliation came even with the total destruction of one party. Conflict socializes members into a group and reduces the tension between two group members. Furthermore, he determines three possible ways to end a conflict. First, conflict may end with a victory of one party over another; secondly, the conflict can resolved through compromise and thirdly, through conciliation. However, not all conflicts may be ended as discussed. For instance, those conflicts that are characterized by high level of emotions involved cannot be resolved by compromising. Georg made a huge contribution in the study of conflict resolution as he clearly determined a positive social function for conflict.

Lewis (1967), an American sociologist an author of the function of social conflict gave a following definition of conflict: “the clash of values and interests, the tension between that is and what some groups feel ought to be”. According to him, conflict served the function of pushing the society and was leading to a new institutions, technology, and economic, systems. The most important contribution that Coser brought to the study of conflict resolution was determination of functional and dysfunctional roles of conflict.

From the above definitions it is obvious that there is no just one practical definition of conflict. Each person has an individual way of thinking and behaves differently from others

in similar situations. It can be concluded that conflict can affect everyone to varying extent (Leung, 2010).

2.1.2 Concept of Post-Conflict Reconciliation

According to reconciliation scholars there is no universal applicable meaning to the concept of reconciliation. Indeed, reconciliation will mean different things to different people and at different times as it will be seen in later discussions followed. However, it would be necessary to trace some root words where the term reconciliation comes from before applying it to any given context. According to scholars such as Philpott noted that the concept of reconciliation has ancient meaning, which means “restoration of right relationship” (Philpott, 2006:2).

In Hebrew reconciliation comes from the phrase “*tikkun olam*”, which means “to heal, to repair, and to transform” (Philpott, 2006). Also in its Greek version, its root words are “*katallage*”, “*apokatallasa*” and “*diallaso*”. All these words denote the concept of reconciliation, they mean “to adjustment of difference, reconciliation, restoration to favor; to reconcile completely, to bring back a former state of harmony, and change the mind of anyone, to be reconciled, to renew friendship with one” (Philpott, 2006). In Latin reconciliation comes from the word “*concilium*”, meaning “a deliberative process by which adversaries work out their differences in council”. In Arabic reconciliation is expressed as “*Salima*” which denotes the meaning of “peace, safety, security, and freedom, to be righteous, to do right, settlement, compromise, restoration, and restitution” (Philpott, 2006).

Auerbach (2006), highlights that reconciliation implies both a process and an outcome. He observes there is more emphasis stressed on the former when reconciliation is being

undertaken by any society. In his essay the term reconciliation is used interchangeably with the phrase “stable peace; it is the long-term goal of any process of conflict resolution”.

Writing about reconciliation as both process and outcome Auerbach in his essay discussed Kriesberg’s four characteristics in the process of reconciliation that former enemies are ought to follow in their pursuit of reconciliation. According to Auerbach, Kriesberg observes that in an effort toward reconciliation those involved such as the perpetrators and victims are required to meet some requirements, he asserts that “they acknowledge the reality of terrible acts that were perpetrated; accept with compassion those who committed injurious conduct, as well as acknowledging each other’s suffering; believe that their injustices are being redressed and anticipate mutual security and well- being” (Auerbach, 2006). From the above it can be said that reconciliation is a process and an act of reestablishing broken friendship which is the outcome aspect that involves two parties, that is, the perpetrator and the victims.

According to Anderlini, Conway & Kays (2007), reconciliation can simply mean ‘coexistence, dialogue, forgiveness and healing’ and is not an ‘attempt to restore things to how they were before the conflict, but rather about constructing relationships in a way that allows everyone to move forward together’. They further argue that ‘reconciliation is often seen to be crucial if peace processes are to succeed, as it establishes relations among parties after a conflict and decreases the risk of further violence’.

Hugo van der Merwe, Project Manager at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa, defines reconciliation as “all initiatives which bring together, or engage, both sides in a pursuit of changing identity, values regarding interaction, attitudes, and patterns of interaction that move them to a more cooperative

relationship.” Van der Merwe investigates reconciliation from three dimensions: the spheres of relationships (concerning identity, values, attitudes and behaviour), the substantive components of reconciliation (justice, truth, healing and security), and the social levels of reconciliation (national, community and individual). He argues that reconciliation is a significant component in every phase of the peace-building process. In other words without reconciliation, peace building process will be a mere dream.

2.1.3 Concept of Post-Conflict Reconstruction

While conflict is ongoing, the provision of humanitarian assistance - basic food, shelter and medical services - is a priority for both national and international actors. The signing of a peace agreement or other event that marks the official end of war signals the beginning of post conflict reconstruction. Large bilateral or multilateral agencies arrive to work with national governments, and to manage and disburse most funds for social and economic reconstruction. This transition from war to peace is not smooth. More often than not “emergency relief, rehabilitation work and development assistance co-exist...and interact” (Osantha, 2016). When peace agreements hold and military violence subsides, the focus of aid shifts from emergency relief to long-term social and economic development.

Post conflict peace building and Post-Conflict Reconstruction have close relationship to each other. They are both aimed at creating sustainable peace in a war torn country. Successful post-conflict reconstruction, it has been seen, is the backbone of post conflict peace building. This also ensures that the society would relapse into conflict. From earlier time in the context of post war societies, the term reconstruction often meant physical reconstruction in war affected areas. “Reconstruction”, for example, was defined in the term in the journal scientific month in 1919 (Cited in Smith 1919):

reconstruction in its most limited sense, applies to the reparation of actual damage done by war. This includes the rebuilding of houses, villages and towns which have been destroyed; the replacement of industrial plants and machinery which have been destroyed or carried off; the restoration of mines, railways, canals, roads, woods, orchards, and so forth and of the surface of the soil (Smith,1919:27).

This definition, one could see, focuses quite exclusively on rebuilding of physical assets damaged by the war. At the end of World War II, the occupying forces carried out post war reconstruction over Axis powers - installed new governments with democratic constitutions, supported physical and economic reconstruction (Ramsbotham, et al, 2001). The Marshall plan at the same time was served to recover the war torn economies in the western alliance by the USA (Kunze, 1997). Post War reconstruction was on its way to change its definitional and programmatic content.

With the attention of post conflict peace building in 1990's, the concept no longer referred merely to physical reconstructions. Barakat, (2005), for example, indicated three major post conflict activities in this idea of post war reconstruction. They are: Physical/socio-economic and political-rebuilding infrastructure and essential Government functions.

1. Capacity building and institutional strengthening-improving the efficiency and effectiveness of existing institutions.
2. Structural-reforming the political, economic, social and security sectors.

This goes to suggest that the idea of post conflict reconstruction has been widened by incorporating non-physical dimensions of institutions and capacity building into its ambit. However, the definitions of post-conflict reconstruction and peace building is most often what the scholars have given. They are in the contemporary times quite often been defined by two most important organizations which also are the most active in the field of post

conflict reconstruction. UN, which has been the most active world agency to engage with post-conflict or post-war reconstruction, has been very active through the 1990s. It is at this time its secretary General Boutros-Ghali tried to underline the activities and the sectors which might be involved by the UN in post conflict reconstruction. They were disarming the previously warring parties and restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring of elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights reforming or strengthening Governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation (Ghali, 1995). Societies emerging from conflict have become a growing concern for many international donors.

There is awareness that while war has ended, peace, especially sustainable peace, is not so easily forthcoming. Dire poverty, ongoing ethnic, political or religious rivalry, the proliferation of arms, nonexistent governments and infrastructure all pose tremendous threats that can easily lead a country back into war. Simultaneously and despite the overwhelming challenges, the post conflict period is also a period of hope and opportunity. Coming after years or even decades of fighting, it is a time - albeit brief - when financial and technical resources are available to help address the root causes of war and shape the future of a nation.

At the international level, there is acknowledgement that in many cases, “winning the peace” poses a bigger challenge than winning the war and that nation-building is a complex and long-term process. There is also an understanding that no single institution can address every issue.

2.1.4 The Concept of Peace

Peace is generally defined as the absence of war, fear, conflict, anxiety, suffering and violence. It is primarily concerned with creating and maintaining a just order in society and the resolution of conflict by non-violence means (David, 2003). In general, six meanings of peace are agreed on by many peace researchers including ; peace as the absence of war (absence of direct violence), peace as justice and development (absence of structural violence), peace as respect and tolerance between people, peace as *Gaia* (balance in and with the ecosphere), inner peace (spiritual peace), and peace as “wholeness and making whole”.

Galtung (1992), distinguish three types of violence which are very vital to the understanding of peace and conditions that create peaceful situations or “peacefulness”. Direct violence i.e., physical, emotional, and psychological violence; structural violence, i.e., deliberate policies and structures that cause human suffering, death and harm, and cultural violence, i.e., cultural norms and practices that create discrimination, injustice and human suffering. It was Galtung who broaden the definition of peace through classifying it into “*negative*” and “*positive*” peace.

Negative Peace: To him, Negative peace means, absence of direct violence, war, fear, and conflict at individual, national, regional and international levels. Negative peace is also defined as a peace without justice. It is a false sense of “peace” that often comes at the cost of justice. In a negative peace situation, it may not see conflict out in the open, but the tension is boiling just beneath the surface because the conflict was never reconciled. “Peace is not merely the absence of some negative force -war, tension, confusion, but it is the presence of some positive force-justice, goodwill, the power of the kingdom of God.”- Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968).

Efforts to achieve negative peace emphasize: managing interpersonal and organizational conflict in order to control, contain, and reduce actual and potential violence, reducing the incidence of war by eliminating the extreme dangers of the war system and limiting war through international crisis management, preventing war through strategic deterrence and arms control. The concept of negative peace addresses immediate symptoms, the conditions of war, and the use and effects of force and weapons. Words and images that reveal the horror of war and its aftermath are often used by writers, artists, and citizen groups in their efforts to stop it.

Positive Peace: Positive Peace is a true, lasting, and sustainable peace built on justice for *all* peoples. Efforts to achieve positive peace emphasize: establishing peace through world order by supporting international law, compliance with multilateral treaties, use of international courts, and nonviolent resolution of disputes, participation in international organizations, trade, and communication, establishing social equality and justice, economic equity, ecological balance; protecting citizens from attack, and meeting basic human needs, establishing a civil peace that provides the constitutional and legal means necessary to settle differences nonviolently, eliminating indirect violence, that shortens the life span of people, sustains unequal life chances, or reduces quality of life for any citizen, Practicing conflict resolution as a foundation for building peaceful interpersonal relationships. The concept of positive peace involves the elimination of the root causes of war, violence, and injustice and the conscious attempt to build a society that reflects these commitments. Positive peace assumes an interconnectedness of all life.

In conceptualizing peace as the absence of war, if there is a war, there is no peace, and if there is no war, there is peace, however war may be defined as the absent of peace. A real

change in the peace occurred around 1970. The concept of peace embraced by peace studies underwent a radical change at that time. From 1945 to the 1960, there were no major wars contrary to the fear of researchers, though there were many local wars. But, on the other hand, the so-called “North-South Problem” emerged, or more precisely, came to be perceived, as an urgent issue facing the whole world. The recognition of the North-South problem awakened peace studies to tragic miserable situations in developing countries manifested in famines, poverty, underdevelopment, and gross human right violations. It is against this background that many researchers began to ask whether the absence of war really mean peace. The question can, from our perspective be rephrased into the question whether peace consists of only one value or whether the absence of wars is the only peace value (Kende, 1989).

2.1.5 Concept of Peace Building

According to (Dilek, 2005), peace building is one of the new fields in international relations discipline comes into lime light in the middle of 1990s. The concept “peace building” was first used by the former UN secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in “An Agenda for Peace” in 1992, as part of the UN strategy for resolution of conflicts since traditional peacekeeping proved to be ineffective to cope the security challenges in the post-cold war era. “An Agenda for Peace” formulates a new policy to strengthen the capacity of UN and consist of four elements. These are preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building. Preventive diplomacy seeks to solve disputes before violence breaks out; peacemaking and peacekeeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve once it is obtained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for conflict peace building, which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and people. Therefore “peace building

refers to those conditions that will enhance transition from a state of conflict to coexistence and thus contribute to sustainable peace” (Moshe, 2001).

As described in “An Agenda for Peace”, peace building requires strengthening the institutions to “consolidate a sense of confidence and well being between people” (Boutros, B.G. 1992). The concept improved in the 1995 “supplement of An Agenda for Peace”, to include “the creation of structures for the institutionalization of peace” as an essential goal (Boutros B.G. 1995). This mean that peace building measures could also support preventive diplomacy and the goal of both preventive and peace building should be the creation of structures for the institutionalization of peace, which is a “vague operational target” that lead to different interpretations about how to institutionalize peace (John, 2000). The Brahimi Report (2000), recommended that, effective peace building requires active engagement with the local parties and that engagement should be multidimensional in nature. First, peace operation must ensure desire to change the quality of people’s lives, free and fair election should be viewed as part of broader efforts to strengthen governance institutions, human rights component of peace operation is indeed critical to effective peace building and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants - key to immediate post-conflict stability and reduced like hood of conflict recurrence - is an area in which peace building made direct contribution to security and law and order.

For the purpose of this research work, we can define post-conflict peace building as “strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur”. This definition takes a long-term focus and incorporates the goals of both negative peace (absence of physical

violence) and positive peace (absence of structural violence), a distinction first outlined by Galtung.

There are arguments that peace building must concentrate on basic human needs, such as stability, security and adequate economic conditions or the acknowledgement of the identity that can cause conflict among different ethnic groups if threatened. Some focused on supporting the establishment of a local capacity to resolve conflicts peacefully. Within this context, the clear target is strengthening the role of civil societies in post-war societies. Yet, development of the concept of peace building in the 1995 supplement indicates the changing policy within the UN circle. The concept understood to include “continuum of activities, which may be present in all phases of conflicts differing whether the objective is the prevention of the violent conflict, support to peace making processes, or post-war reconstruction”.

To Jeroen, Z. (2001), peace building is a long-term political, economic, and social provision to address the causes of conflict, the interdependent quality and consequent importance of coordination and encircling preventive peace building measures. He further stressed that, core of peace building lies in the incentive to change a war-torn society to society based on the promotion of peace.

Taking a cue from the Johan Galtung’s terminology, peace building is interpreted not only ending the warfare described as negative peace but also targeting the “root causes” of conflict, which is positive peace (John, 2000). Uniqueness of peace building with regard to other international peace operations rest in this focus on targeting the roots of conflict within societies. Galtung (1969), pointed out that differing from the various methods for the solution of conflicts, peace building has a connective approach: “peace as the abolition of

structural violence” in the form of suppression rather than the abolition of “direct violence” which is the armed struggle.

Furthermore, parameters of peace which are classified as peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building are not detached:

making peace by successfully ending the hostilities and keeping it by monitoring the parties compliance with the peace agreement that has reached in negotiations provides mandate for peace building. When it is appropriately coordinated peace building can contribute to the peace making and peacekeeping process. Finally, peace building can complete the circle by ensuring against the recurrence of conflict by building capacities for, among others, labor negotiation, civil society reconciliation, fair courts, and an electoral process that enable a society to resolve its conflicts before violence breaks out (Jeroen, 2001: 24).

Therefore, advocates of peace building argue that the conditions that lead to internal conflicts and their consequences require a comprehensive approach to keep peace. This goes “military and security priorities to address the issues of governance, democratic, legitimacy, rule of law, or functioning civil society that may enable war-torn countries to increase their resistance to new round of violence”. Hence, considering the challenges of ethnic conflicts long-term treatment envisaged for international involvement. It is claimed that although “peace could be kept for one or two years after conflict ends, peace is unlikely to stabilize, deepen and become more irreversible rather than less in such a short time”. Therefore, for a working definition, peace building is broadly defined as consolidation of peace after an armed conflict ceases in war-torn societies. It includes a comprehensive approach ranging from providing humanitarian assistance to reconstruction of political and civilian institutions for creating a workable and self sustaining structures as well as reconciliation attempt addressing the causes of conflict.

2.1.6 Concept of National Security

Security is an ambiguous term that defies a universal definition. This is because it is possible to apply the term to range of ideas that operate at many levels of analysis, and because judgments of relative level of security from objective to the subjective (Wing, 2000).

According to Dunmoye, (2011), security “connotes freedom from danger or anxiety”. It is in this vein that security must be viewed as an inalienable right of human beings. He further stressed that, the capacity to ensure survival remains the most important preoccupation of all human beings because nobody can engage in any productive or leisure activity unless the safety of life is assured (That, the meaning of security or national security should be beyond the Westphalia conceptualization in terms of external attacks). In other words, the concept have incorporated other aspect of human endeavors. It is in the light of this that Mcnamara said:

Security is not military hardware though it may include it security is not military force, though may involve it security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompasses it. Security is development, and without development, there can be no security (Mcnamara, 1968:149).

It is apparent that without internal development, order and stability are impossible. It is not a misconception to say that insurrection and external aggression can threaten national and human security. The potential threats are always there, and will usually require military capabilities to deal with such problems. Invariably, this is only narrow aspect of the broader scenario. Military can forcefully ensure law and order but it cannot ensure legitimacy. It cannot force the citizens to cooperate with the formal authority.

Shinkaiye (2004), defines security as “the sum total of all actions and measures, including legislative and operational procedures adopted to ensure peace, stability and general wellbeing of a nation and its citizens”. To David (2011), she defined security also as “the sum total of actions and measures adopted by the state or nation for the defence of cherished values conventionally, the sum total can be argued here to mean the totality of those impacts of military conditions and these could include all those physical aspects of planning, strategizing, mobilizing and deployment of personnel both military and para-military in safeguarding a state or a nation”. She noted also, non-conventionally, security could mean not only the methods a state adopts in protecting its own security by providing the necessary conditions for meeting human needs but use of those weapons created to militaristic conditions. In other words, security is the absence of any potential threats and fears both internally and externally. National security may mean the ability of the state to develop to a full potential or it may simply mean the ability of a state to survive external attacks, no matter what the human cost to its inhabitants (Wing, 2000).

Human security is usually one of the most important aspects of national security. Human security is usually described as prioritizing the security of people rather than states. It extends the idea of security beyond states to include erstwhile modalities of underdevelopment: poverty, population growth, resource competition, health pandemics, foreign migration and, so on. Human security is argued as a concept that bonds peace and development. Human security means human liberation, that is to say, from physical and artificial hindrances such as war, poverty or political oppression, which prevent people from choosing freely and acting freely on what they have chosen. By shifting the idea of security

from nation-based to individual-based security, it becomes possible to discuss the protection of individual security which cannot be addressed adequately by nation-based security.

2.1.7 Concept of Humanitarian/Emergency Assistance

According to Dilek, L. (2005), Humanitarian/Emergency assistance is a set of integrated and coordinated measures that seek to save and sustain lives, maintain basic human dignity, ensure the protection of civilians, support the return and reintegration of displaced populations and help resuscitate socio-economic activity, particularly in the immediate post-war situation when state capacity is most limited. Activities under this element stabilise and rehabilitate the society including the return, reintegration and rehabilitation of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), ex-combatants and other war affected populations. Furthermore, the commencement of recovery creates huge expectations for peace dividends, which, if not met, could seriously jeopardise the chances of progress towards peace and stability. These activities can also provide unique platforms to link the emergency/recovery, reconstruction and development phases. Thus, while focusing on urgent life-saving and life-sustaining assistance, humanitarian assistance must link with the subsequent phases of the post-conflict reconstruction and development process. This link is enhanced by the fast-tracking of key development measures during the recovery phase.

2.2 Empirical review/Review of the Previous Studies

This area would be focusing on the review of related literature, which includes literature on; nature of Jos, Plateau State conflict, causes of violent conflict in Jos, Peace building and reconstruction efforts in Jos conflict, relationship between peace and sustainable

development and nexus between post-conflict reconstruction, peace building and national security.

2.2.1 Nature of Jos, Plateau State Conflict

The Jos situation has not been a case of continuous violence. As stated above, the first outbreak of violence occurred in 1994. This was followed by recurrent violence since 2001 which gained frequency and intensity over the years and has persisted to date. The nature of the crisis is such that each succeeding incident of violence was more organised and the interval between the outbreaks became shorter with the passing years. The 1994 crisis was a case of a riot that resulted in the death of four persons and the destruction of several public and private properties (Fiberesina, Report 2004). The 2001, 2004 and 2008 crises, which were the high points of violence, were manifested in the mass and gruesome killings of the indigenes/Christians by Hausa/Fulani Muslims and vice-versa; and in the wounding, maiming as well as destruction of properties especially churches, houses and business premises. According to reports, attacks and communal clashes, particularly in Shendam, Qua, Pan, Wase and Langtang in Jos South led to the death of between 1000 and 2000 persons between 2002 and 2004 (Danfulani, 2006). On 24 February 2004, a group of Hausa/Fulani Muslims, who arrived at the COCIN church in pick-up trucks chanting religious slogans, massacred about 100 Christians using machetes and guns. About 700 Hausa/Fulani Muslims were killed in a well-planned and coordinated retaliatory attack from Christian groups two months later (Krause, 2011). There were few incidents of attacks from 2004 to 2008. On 28 November 2008, Jos erupted in intense post-election violence initiated by Hausa/Fulani Muslims that lasted two days. The report of the commission set up shows that much planning and resources were put into these attacks (Ajibola Report, 2009).

However, from January 2010 the attacks became more frequent. Indigenes from the Berom ethnic group attacked Hausa/Fulani dominated villages in Bukuru, Jos. There are strong indications that this was not a spontaneous attack as according to Higazi's (2011), account of the crisis, Berom youths armed with guns and machetes, were brought into Bukuru in Toyota Hi-Lux vehicles. This led to violent clashes between rival groups in Places like Kuru Jenta, Sabon Gida Kanar, Gero, Timtim and others in Jos were destroyed almost completely. The attacks on all the above-mentioned places occurred simultaneously. The victims, ranging in age from months to 100 years were brutally murdered. There have been allegations that the attacks were sponsored by politician and the district heads. Most reports put the number of persons killed at over 200, with more than 700 seriously injured and about 10 000 displaced. Subsequently, on Sunday 7 March 2010, over 300 Berom villagers were brutally murdered and their houses burnt down in a massive attack by Fulani Muslims, which attack nearly wiped out the villages of Dogo Nahauwa, Zot and Ratsat in Jos South LGA. Victims, mostly women and children, were macheted, stabbed and hacked to death. The few survivors were seriously wounded. Reprisal killings continued in Jos between March and December 2010, culminating in a bomb attack on Christmas Eve that killed over 80 people and injured more than 120. The year 2011 did not bring a break in this violent bloodshed as killings, maiming, disappearances, displacement and destruction of properties continued. Villages in and around Jos were raided in commando-like operations by heavily-armed people, leaving many dead and injured. Ninety six persons were killed in reprisal attacks on both sides of the conflict in January 2011. Another attack by Christians on Izala Muslims, who were celebrating Eid-el-Fitri on 29 August 2011 in Jos, led to a violent clash that claimed the lives of at least 70 people and threw the state into fresh upheaval. In September, more than 120 persons, including five entire families were brutally murdered in

retaliatory killings. Through the rest of 2011, the violence would subside briefly only to erupt again.

As mentioned previously, there were series of silent killing and missing of people, minimal eruption of the conflict in some parts of the State from 2012 to 2017. Within this period, there were planting of bombs in religion worship centers by the insurgent groups will usually evokes retaliation from the other group.

2.2.2 Factors Responsible for Violent Conflict in Jos, Plateau State

Some of the factors identified as causes of conflicts in the region are remote and proximate. However, most of the causes identified reinforce one another. As noted by Best (2007) the Hausa/Fulani attribute causes of conflict in the area to ethnicity, religion and their economic prosperity reflecting in the large herd of cattle they have which made them object of envy to the indigenes. The indigenes argued that they do not envy the Hausa/Fulani and that conflict between them often cropped up when their cows (the Fulani cows) destroyed their (indigenes) crops. But the Yorubas in the area view the conflicts as been politically motivated by the politicians in the area. Some of these factors are discussed below.

Ownership of Jos

Following the outbreak of violent conflict in the ancient city of Jos in 2001, according to Osita (2011), the then Governor Joshua Dariye of Plateau State, set-up a commission of inquiry to find out the cause of the conflict in Jos and provide a lasting solution to the conflict. According to the commission the cause of the conflict is the long existing mistrust, suspicion, rivalry, accumulated grievances and tension between the members of the Afizere, Anaguta and Berom ethnic groups and the Hausa-Fulani (also referred to as Jasawa) ethnic

group - all of which laid claim to ownership of Jos. The former contended that they were “indisputable indigenous people of Jos” and the Hausa-Fulani settlers “strangers” who migrated into Jos for various reasons, including economic ones. The Hausa-Fulani justified ownership by claiming political ascendancy since 1902.

Their assertions of ownership were cited as remote cause of the crisis that culminated in violence. The seed of discord was believed to have been sown in 1987, when the Jasawa Development Association allegedly urged the Jasawa community to wrest rule and ownership of Jos, from other ethnic groups. In 1991, General Babangida’s federal military government split the Jos North Local Government into Jos North Local Government Area and Jos South Local Government Area, with Jos and Bukuru as their headquarters, respectively. This was evidently against the wishes of the Afizere, Anaguta and Berom communities who had lobbied for the creation of a Federe Local Government Area instead. With the division, the Afizere, Anaguta and Berom communities found themselves in Jos South Local Government Area, while the Hausa-Fulani community was left as the majority ethnic group in Jos North Local Government Area. The former decried this arrangement as a “grand plan” by the Hausa-Fulani to wrest ownership and control of Jos from them. The Afizere, Anaguta and Berom communities also resented the fact that the new districts left their paramount ruler, the *Gbong Gwom*, isolated in a Hausa-Fulani enclave in Jos. The Hausa-Fulani, however, accepted the creation of the new local government areas.

Thus, it would be summarize that, the cause of the conflict was the struggle for control and domination of Jos by the Berom, Afizere and Anaguta communities as one group and the Hausa-Fulani community as another.

Ethnicity

The heterogeneous nature of Jos and Plateau State in general has been identified as a key factor to the conflicts in the area. Aside this, lines of ethnic identity quite frequently do coincide with religious affiliation. While the indigenes are mostly Christians, the Hausa/Fulani are predominantly Moslems. Which is why conflict between the two groups is often seen as religious (Onuoha et al, 2010).

Political Factors

The balkanization of Jos Local Government Area in 1991 into Jos North and South (while Krause, 2011 said it was divided into Jos North, South and East) by the Babangida's military regime has often been used as a sad commentary in respect of Jos crisis. This is because the exercise gave the Hausa/Fulani group numerical domination in Jos North. Throughout the period of military regime Hausa/Fulani extraction was always appointed to chair the Local Government, a development that pitched the Hausa/Fulani population against the indigenes. A more direct link to this was when local government election in November 2008 sparked violence in Jos North Local Government on the claim by the Hausa/Fulani that Jang's administration planned to rig the election in favour of his cousin, Berom who contested on the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) (Suleiman, 2011). Added to this is the fact that, the Hausa/Fulani group does not feel represented in the government of Jang's, the present governor of Plateau State (ICG, 2012).

Religion

Philip Dafes (the former Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria Plateau State Chapter cited in Adi, 2011 before and Suleiman, 2011) is of the opinion that that violence in Jos is more of religion in the sense that there has been no political party office burnt or

destroyed in the crisis but several religious worship centers have been razed. In other words, the religion bodies suffered more damage than any political or traditional organization bodies. It is based on this fact that many Christian leaders in Plateau state, the Jos conflict is seen as primarily religious (Best, 2007). They view the conflict as a campaign to forcefully bring down Christianity in order to impose Islam on the people of Plateau State. In the same vein, HRW (2009) noted that in November 2008 crisis; forty-six churches were vandalized and set ablaze with a number of clergies killed. The JNl, in their perspective, the conflict is an attempt to get rid of Islam on the surface of earth. The two groups viewed the conflict as an attempt to persecute the adherence of their faith. Certain practices by both the religion also contribute to the outbreak of the conflict. This is in line with the trend of thought of Suleiman (2011) that blockage of roads during worship and indiscriminate use of speakers among others accentuates violent conflicts in the area.

Youth Unemployment

ICG (2012) noted that lack of opportunities and growing rate of unemployment among youth, especially from the late 1980s, have aggravated tensions in Jos and the rest of the country. Onuoha et al, (2010) equally aligned with this argument that high level of poverty, unemployment and underemployment, especially among youth is a contributory factor to the outbreak of violent conflicts not only in Jos, but Nigeria in general even though the figure of unemployment in Jos is not available.

2.2.3 Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building Efforts in Jos, Plateau State

Various degree of efforts were made to consolidate peace in Jos, Plateau State through reconciliation and peace building due to the ravaging nature of the conflict on both human

and the physical environment and also to stop constant reoccurrence of the conflict. According to some of the reconciliations peace building process include: setting up various commissions of enquiry with mandates which include; find the remote and the immediate causes of the violent conflict in Jos and to figure out ways of resolving and bring an end to these conflict.

(i) Commissions of Enquiry

The establishment of Commissions of Enquiry or equivalent bodies to look into the outbreaks of violence and their causes has been one of the most characteristic responses of the state government to conflict. Since 1994 such bodies include:

1. Justice Niki Tobi commission, 2001.
2. The Sankey Commission Report (2001).
3. The Yamsat Administrative Report (2002).
4. The Dusu Commission Report (2003).
5. The Okpene Commission Report (2003).
6. Plateau Peace conference, 2004.
7. Bola Ajibola commission of inquiry, 2009.
8. Solomon Lar presidential advisory committee, 2010.
9. Various inter-faith/religion dialogues from 2011 to 2017.
10. NGO intervention in form of organizing seminars and workshops by bringing the warring parties together to reconcile. One of these NGO in the forefront of this task is Search for Common Ground (SFCG).

It is pertinent to notes that, the purpose of these commissions of inquiry into Jos, Plateau State conflict is to figure out ways of halting the constant reoccurrence of violent conflict in the State and its environment.

For instance, the recommendations of the Plateau Peace conference of 2004 include the following: The conference included many security and public safety related recommendations, among them:

- i. Setting up community-level security committees.
- ii. Empowering traditional rulers with ability to curtail small-arms proliferation
- iii. Using community policing as approved and monitored by police and traditional rulers.
- iv. Putting in place proactive mechanisms for tackling security problems through local government councils, including regular meetings of local government peace and security committees
- v. Prosecuting those possessing illegal weapons.
- vi. Recruiting and training more police and immigration officers, including adequately equipping security agents with modern tools for effective performance.
- vii. Preventing illegal arms importation and manufacturing in the country.
- viii. Providing adequate funds and logistics to enable security agents to identify security threats promptly and to take appropriate immediate action.

The conference highlighted some economic problems confronting the state as youth unemployment, destruction of economic ventures, including the Jos Main Market, uneven development, pressures on land use, attributable to increased human and livestock populations, mining and land speculation. The conference noted as impoverishing factor to

the state, the non-utilization, mortgaging and sale of state investments such as; the Plateau Highland Bottling Company, Plateau Ceramics, Kuru Livestock, and Panyam Fish Farm. Delegates viewed the destruction of the Jos Main Market as a deliberate strategy to weaken the state's economic base and called on the Plateau State government to release the report of the committee that investigated the destruction of the market.

In view of the state's weak economic base and its implications on crises, the conference recommended authorities to undertake the following:

- Organizing a summit to develop an economic strategy in conjunction with the state government and the Plateau Chamber of Commerce, Mines and Agriculture (PLACCIMA).
- Tackling illiteracy at all levels of society so as to reduce poverty.
- Providing contract opportunities to “indigenes” of the state.
- Ensuring equitable distribution of economic resources to citizens.
- Completing all on-going road construction projects in the state.
- Providing electricity and deepening development in rural areas.
- Reviewing sales and leases, resuscitating or reacquiring government corporations with the aim of identifying credible and productive investors.

It is good to note that, most of the recommendations of this conference were not implemented due to some challenges. The inability of the government at the State and Federal level to implement the recommendations of the commissions of inquiry that were constituted after any of this conflict has contributed to the constant reoccurrence of this conflict.

(ii) Operation Rainbow

Operation Rainbow (OR) is a military-civil security force established in June 2010 as a joint initiative between the federal and state government. It brings together personnel from the Special Task Force (STF), Mobile Police (MOPOL), Nigeria Police, Department of State Services (DSS) and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence (NSCD). With support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), OR has been able to set up an early warning and early response infrastructure. This system includes a situation room that relies on information from trained persons across all 17 local government areas of the state. OR's human security programme also includes skills acquisition and leadership training for women and youth, organized in conjunction with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), also known in some cases as civil society organisations (CSOs). This is why the International Crisis Group has described OR as one of the most holistic responses to the Jos crisis.

(iii) Strengthening community representation

In order to improve relations between ethnic and religious communities, in October 2012 the Plateau State Governor appointed five senior special assistants on community relations, representing respectively the Hausa, Fulani, Tiv, Igbo and Yoruba communities in the state. This move was intended to accommodate the state's diversity and build a more inclusive political system. In addition, as leader of the PDP in Plateau, Governor Jang in 2007 introduced a zoning arrangement that assured broader representation between the three senatorial zones of the state. The governor also recognised religious and ethnic diversity in the appointment of special advisers, permanent secretaries, senior special assistants, special assistants, and chairs and members of state boards and parastatals.

(iv) Establishment of the Plateau State Inter-religious Council

The Plateau State Inter-religious Council was established in 2008 by Governor Jonah Jang to improve trust and communications between the two main religious groups in the state. The council is co-chaired by the Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Emir of Wase, representing the Jama'atul Nasril Islam (JNI). Its terms of reference charge the council with the responsibility of fostering and promoting dialogue aimed at addressing the grievances of various sectors of society.

On the religious front, appreciable progress was made in engaging religious and community leaders. However, the council was not in a position to foster serious discussion of key issues such as indigenusness and citizenship, which can only be addressed through constitutional reform. Continuing uncertainty over this issue makes for volatility in the relations between protagonists.

(v) The State Emergency Management Agency

In the aftermath of the 2001 conflict, the PLSG constituted the Relief Material Management Committee, chaired by the Commissioner for Women Affairs and Social Development. The strategic role played by this committee, and its subcommittees on medical recovery and relief in emergency response, led to it being institutionalised in 2013 by the Plateau State House of Assembly as the State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA). Currently the SEMA is chaired by the Deputy Governor, and is responsible for emergency preparedness and response, including food, water, medical care, protection against abuse and violation of rights, as well as temporary shelter and basic sanitation.

(vi) Employment generation

Several state programmes address the issues of unemployment and poverty, which is clearly linked to the propensity for violence in the state, especially among the youth. These programmes include the establishment in 2009 of Agricultural Services and Training Centres (ASTCs) in each of the three senatorial districts, as part of a 10 billion investment in the agricultural sector. The aim of these comprehensive modern farm centres is to increase agricultural productivity by providing diverse field services and technical training to staff and farmers, along with farm inputs such as tractors, seedlings, herbicides, soil-testing equipment, harvesters, cold storage and marketing facilities. The Youth in Agriculture programme of the ASTCs also provides direct employment for youth.

The Tackling Poverty Together (TPT) programme, launched by the government in the transport sector, provided direct employment for 910 youths. The state government purchased 500 tricycles (Keke NAPEP), 400 cars and 10 buses, which are currently in use for commercial purposes. Public works in partnership with the private sector have also generated direct employment for over 1,000 people in the provision of public infrastructure.

(viii) Partnership with civil society and international development partners

The state has sought to bridge the communication gap with civil society in the state through the establishment of the offices of a Special Adviser on Peace Building, and a Special Adviser on Civil Society Organisations/ Non-Governmental Organisations, whose roles are to co-ordinate with non-state actors. This has entailed regular meetings and dialogues, joint Salah and Christmas feasts, as well as frequent discussions with border communities.

The Plateau Oneness Dialogue Forum, an initiative of Governor Jonah Jang coordinated by the Directorate of Research and Planning in the Governor's office, has proven to be an

important platform for the exchange of ideas between government and citizens. With support from the German International Co-operation (GIZ), the forum has convened dialogue sessions on issues related to the media and conflict management, the role of academia in conflict management, youth and security, and setting benchmarks for safety.

(ix) Deployment of Military Troops

Another response by the Federal government has been the deployment of the Special Task Force to ensure and maintain peace in Jos. However, this has not succeeded in putting an end to the violence. Indeed, several reports from victims and survivors indicate that the military officers are complicit in the killings as they are alleged to assist assailants. Several extra-judicial killings by government security forces were also alleged. These accusations persist despite denial by the STF.

(x) Civil Society Efforts

Civil society actors have pursued a multitude of violence prevention and peace building efforts. These include traditional leaders, NGOs, religious organizations, humanitarian relief agencies, and community-based organizations.

Before the first major riot, the Jos-based NGO Centre for Peace Initiative and Development (CEPID) organized radio and television announcements to promote peaceful coexistence, with the support of USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (HRW, 2001). CEPID also carried out workshops on peace and tolerance for youth leaders of both faiths after the September 2001 events and contributed to research and publications on the Jos conflict. The Nigerian Civil Liberties Organization, headquartered in Lagos, visited security agencies to improve communication between grassroots and security officers. The Jos based NGO

Centre for Peace Advancement in Nigeria also offered workshops, community engagement, and trainings. Staff members of the Jos-based NGO Inter-Gender undertook advocacy visits to local government officials, community leaders, and security forces to improve communication (Ityavyar, 2004).

The Young Ambassadors for Community Peace and Inter-Faith Foundation organized social activities to bring together youths of different religious backgrounds and held a peace march within the city of Jos. The Pretoria based Damietta Peace Initiative (DPI) has built up several mixed community groups and trained facilitators in basic conflict management strategies. One notable group currently brings together Christians from Congo-Russia with Muslims from neighbouring Nassarawa Gwom, two communities that have engaged in heavy fighting in the past. Group members act as local peace agents, facilitate communication, and reach out to youths to encourage them not to join in the fighting. DPI also facilitated the establishment of women's groups in the mixed neighbourhood of Dadin Kowa, in support of violence prevention. A relatively new initiative is the Muslim - Christian Youth Dialogue Initiative, set up by two youth leaders from the JNI and CAN. Their objective is to carry the top-level interfaith dialogue to the grassroots and reach the youth population.

The Kaduna-based Inter-Faith Mediation Centre repeatedly visited Jos and other towns in Plateau State, such as Yelwa, where they worked towards a peace declaration (Smock, 2006). The Centre brought together community youth leaders in metropolitan Jos after the latest riot in January 2010 (IMC, 2010). USAID promoted the concept of 'peace clubs' in secondary schools. The clubs met regularly to discuss matters relating to inter-community relations, religious issues, and tolerance. The Plateau State government then ordered the

establishment of peace clubs in every Plateau State secondary school (USAID Nigeria, 2009). USAID also established 'Basketball for Peace (BB4P)' programmes to offer youths 'opportunities to bridge differences with others and to practice self-discipline during basketball training and competitions' (USAID Nigeria, 2009, p. 1). Locals complained that basketball was not a popular sport among Nigerian youths, who much prefer soccer. In response, local initiatives such as DPI, Justice Development and Peace/Caritas, and the Ambassadors for Peace organized soccer tournaments for at-risk youth from poor areas of the city centre.

Local NGOs face several challenges. First, there appears to be little communication and coordination between NGOs and grassroots peace initiatives. Many pursue very similar programmes of youth sensitization and workshops for peace. They all target youth groups in poor areas that are worst affected by violence. Since 2009, the Justice Development and Peace/Caritas office has tried to address this communication gap. It organized regular stakeholder meetings with other NGOs, relief agencies, and civil servants to exchange information for better coordination, particularly of emergency response activities. Most activists also admit that it is difficult to reach out to youths who have actively taken part in rioting. Core gang members from within the city or from militia groups based in small towns and villages outside of Jos are difficult to identify and to integrate into such workshops.

The deterioration of communal relations, spatial segregation, and the traumatic impact of violence also negatively affect civil society actors. Despite their aims and objectives, many activists have internalized one-sided narratives of violent incidents. Their accounts are often characterized by major omissions regarding violence perpetrated by their own religious

group. Explanations for the crisis and descriptions of the current situation are often biased and distort facts and information. For example, a Christian NGO leader explained that during the violent clashes within the city, the mosques would play calls for prayer day and night, but that Christians would not ring church bells or use church loudspeakers. This statement was clearly contradicted by residents who stated that both churches and mosques made use of their loudspeakers constantly during violent clashes from as early as 2001, marking the violence as 'religious'. The polarization of religious communities affects the work of civil society activists, further hampering communication and cooperation.

Local journalists also struggle with such tendencies and find it difficult to report without bias. Several training workshops for journalists in relation to the communal conflict have taken place in Jos over the past few years to curb sensationalist reporting. Nevertheless, both sides have fiercely criticized local and international news coverage of the Jos crisis. Muslims complained of bias in some local newspaper accounts, while Christians strongly condemned international reporting. In interviews conducted for this study, Christians claimed that articles and reports are one-sided, that Christian deaths were under-reported, and that the international media failed to understand to what extent Christians have been victimized. The Citizen's Monitoring Group, an initiative established after the January 2010 riots, claims that:

Hausa Muslims have produced an effective propaganda machine that misinforms the world that they are hated, killed and sent out from Plateau State[while] in every instance of violent outbreaks they have been the initiators(CMG, 2010, p. 8).

(xi) Inter-religious Dialogue

The state government set up the Inter-Religious Committee for Peace and Harmony in Plateau State after the 2001 crisis. The committee is jointly chaired by the chairman of CAN in Plateau State and the Emir of Wase. During the first years, Archbishop Ignatius Kaigama and the late Emir of Wase, who died in 2010, held these posts. Both religious leaders toured through the state, preaching peace and reaching out to local communities. Bishop Kaigama repeatedly criticized the local political elite. On the five-year anniversary of the 2001 riots, he pointed out that ‘while the common man at the grassroots had come to appreciate and understand the need for all people to live in harmony, the message was yet to sink into the minds of politicians’ (Moses, 2006). But other religious leaders and NGO staff were less optimistic about the grassroots-level impact.

(xii) Community Initiatives

Despite pressure on resources in the rural areas, many rural communities have managed to remain peaceful. As Blench notes, farmers and herders have established good relations in many parts of Plateau State over the past century (Blench, 2003). A long-established practice is the sending of young boys from indigenous groups to the Fulani herders for one or two years in exchange for cattle. Peaceful communities are notably marked by regular consultative meetings, for example in Bokkos LGA South of Jos. In response to the first Jos crisis in 2001, many indigene and Hausa community leaders arranged meetings. They agreed to remain peaceful and urged their communities to refrain from violence. Often, community leaders would follow up on such messages to guard their communities from the spill-over effects of the Jos violence. Such [0omeetings were not held in some of the most violent areas, such as Miango, Riyom, or Vom (Blench, 2003). Higazi also noted that in Wase and other rural areas many mixed communities initially organized religiously mixed

vigilante patrols and meetings to stem the tensions prior to the outbreak of violence (Higazi, 2008). Traditional leaders often facilitated the return of displaced people in the villages.

Post-Conflict Peace Building is the backbone of enduring peace and sustainable development in any post-conflict society.

2.2.4 Post-Conflict Reconstructions in Plateau State

Once order has been restored, decisions must be made about whether to return to house, business and place of worship damaged or destroyed during the violence. Those who decide to return have to resume their day to day lives and renegotiate their social relationships; they may also have to try and replace lost stock or equipment, revive the economic relationships on which their employment or business depend and repair or reconstruct building. During this period, what assistance is available to those affected?

It is important to note that, the aftermath of any violent conflict is the destructions of lives and property. Physical facilities are damaged much in most cases contribute to the fleeing of the victims to a more secured or safest place. Repairing or rebuilding of these physical facilities is both important to those who continue to live in a neighborhoods or are making decision about whether to not to return. In addition, if many people decide that they cannot return, the viability of the congregation may be threatened. Thus churches or mosques authorities not only mobilized funds from amongst their members locally and elsewhere for rebuilding but may also encourage the victim to return to their previous neighborhood. For

instance, after the conflict in Jos, Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), made funds available to churches for building and various churches encourage their members to return to their previous areas of residence (Best & Carole, 2011).

A few of the organizations that provided relief during and in the immediate aftermath of the violence also made available building materials to those seeking to repair or rebuild houses or business premises. For example, the Anglican Communion provide roofing materials to those whose houses had been burnt down during the 2001 violence in Jos, and the distribution of building materials, including cement, to church members engaged in building through their congregations was reported to have continued long after other forms of relief had ended.

JNI and Rahatul-Islam Wal Hajj were also reported to have made building materials available to Muslims whose houses have been destroyed in Jos, and JNI assisted more than 175 people to move back to their homes in nebourhoods such as Tudun Wada and Dutse Uku.

With funding and assistance from the Danish aid agency DANIDA, the Lutheran Community Development Association (LUCODA) assisted fifty families (both Christian and Muslim) with building Materials following the 2004 violence to reconstruct their original houses or build a new house elsewhere.

The Stephanus Foundation, a Christian organization, assisted both Christian and Muslim in all the flashpoints in Plateau State with rebuilding by providing two additional rooms victims to their old houses were able to build.

2.2.5 The Successes of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Plateau State

Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos conflict has recorded a minimal success in some parts of Jos. According to Jana (2011), for instance, the community of Dadin Kowa located in Jos South LGA - has remained peaceful to date. Several mixed communities surround the settlement; some have seen sporadic killings (such as Rayfield) and violent clashes (such as Anglo Jos). The majority of Dadin Kowa's population is Christian, although there is a significant Muslim minority. The population is mixed in terms of economic and social status, with large houses on the outskirts and cramped streets of poor settlements in its centre.

Women played a major role in keeping peace in the community. After the devastating 2008 crisis, more than 200 women came together with support from DPI to voice their fears regarding potential future violence. They met and discussed issues and everyday challenges against the background of the ongoing crisis. Many Christian families had fled to Dadin Kowa from violence-affected areas. Some of the women who had found security in Dadin Kowa had lost their husbands and children, their houses, and their businesses. They brought with them their grief as well as stories of atrocities and loss. The influx of displaced persons increased tensions. Many women worried that their community could soon also be affected by violence. After the gathering, the women regularly met in several smaller groups to address problems and establish dialogue with each other. The women's groups largely managed their regular meetings on their own after several of them had received short-term training from DPI.

When violence broke out again in January 2010, these women went to their religious leaders and pleaded with them to forbid any violence and to undertake measures of violence prevention. Pastors and imams met together with several elders and agreed on a 'peace declaration' that was read out to the community. Elders organized local youths into mixed vigilante groups to guard the settlement against outside attackers. When youth groups from neighbouring settlements came to attack Muslims in Dadin Kowa, a local pastor successfully pleaded with them and averted violence, (Jana, 2011).

There are situation where during festive celebration, the former conflicting parties tend to invite their friends for celebration. This act shows, there is success in the post-conflict reconciliation and peace building. In one of the report according to Jana (2011), Peace efforts around the 2010 Sallah celebrations "Mujab and Soraya were excited when they recalled details of their latest peacemaking initiative. In mid-November 2010, they had invited Christians from neighbouring Congo-Russia to join them for the Islamic Eid-el-kabir Sallah celebrations". Mujab and Soraya are Muslims from Nassarawa Gwom, one of the central poor areas in Jos. Their neighbourhood experienced the worst of the violent clashes in 2001, 2008, and 2010. Supported by staff from the Damietta Peace Initiative, they had escorted 39 Christians from Congo-Russia through the 'no-go area' that divides the two neighborhoods. Ten years earlier, Muslim youths had regularly gone out dancing in Congo-Russia. 'The soldiers were really worried', both proudly recalled when Christians entered a Muslim stronghold during a religious holiday. National media crews came to film the joint celebration and many of their friends and family recognized Mujab and Soraya on the television. Exhilarated by such publicity for their courageous initiative, both planned to visit their Christian friends during Christmas, as many people in Jos used to do a decade earlier.

‘I will go anywhere they invite me’, Mujab proclaimed, despite the real danger of being ‘silently killed’ when entering the ‘wrong’ territory. Sadly, the 2010 Christmas Eve celebrations came to an abrupt end after several bombs killed 107 people and injured many more.

2.2.6 Challenges of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Plateau State

Reconciliation relies on the premise of changing individual perceptions in order to overcome hatred and mistrust of perpetrators and former enemies. The process of bringing about these changes is in itself one which requires considerable effort. Furthermore, in order to achieve reconciliation in a post-conflict society, it is essential to consolidate and coordinate these individual changes to achieve reconciliation as a group.

Although there are difficulties in garnering agreement to reconcile individuals as well as in coalescing individual reconciliation into group reconciliation, it is vital to promote reconciliation as a tool for social change in order to realize peace building. In the case in our study, it was difficult to identify the perpetrator of the conflict. Each of the party to the conflict claimed been the victim of the conflict. Post-Conflict Reconciliation can only be possible when one party accept responsibility of being the perpetrator of the conflict. The so-called indigenes and settlers do not realized the importance of this fact.

Corruption and lack of Transparency from the side of the policy makers and some NGOs in the cause of exercising their responsibility played a significant role in achieving success in post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State. In some cases, some of these public officials have been accused of diverting resources that are main for the promotion of peace building process to their private usage. For instance, following the aftermath of the

conflict in 2008, relief materials main for the victims of the conflict were diverted by some group of persons. This will always result to lack of accountability.

Another important factor promoting the reoccurrence and escalation of the conflict in Plateau State is the inability of the Government at the Federal and State levels to implement the recommendations of the various commissions of inquiry. The reports of these commissions of inquiry were all submitted to the Government but nothing was done about them (Best, 2011).

Krause, (2011), posited that, the inability of peacemaking stakeholders especially government to resolve the underlying causes of the conflicts has been an underlying factor behind the consistence reoccurrence of the conflict. The causes often addressed are usually the trigger causes and they are mostly dealt with on the periphery to bring hostilities to an end. This, more often than not paints a seemingly peaceful scenario. The underlying causes remain, to be stroked by yet another misunderstanding. For instance, the inability of the Nigerian constitution to address the issue of citizenship and indigeneship is another pressing issue that needs urgent attention from the national assembly.

According to Adeleye (2017), Lack of functional rehabilitation and compensation for victims of the conflicts has contributed to the escalation and the elongation of the conflict. The peace building efforts of government have rarely put into consideration the need to rehabilitate the victims and perpetrators of violence in the conflicts. Also, compensation and relief materials in the instances when they have been given out to victims have been meager and insignificant compared to the magnitude of loss experienced during the conflicts.

Perceived prejudice and partiality of individuals initiating the peacemaking processes is also an impediment to post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in every post-conflict society. The inability of people to rise above their biases and sentiments for or against any of the conflicting parties is a serious challenge as it does not enable all parties concerned to trust the process. This can result in lack of cooperation or total boycott of the peacemaking initiative by an aggrieved party. This has rendered some initiatives unpopular, one-sided and has made the work of peacemakers cumbersome and difficult. The task of convincing the conflicting parties about the neutrality of peacemakers has not been entirely successful for both government and corporate initiated peacemaking mechanisms. For instance, most of the reports of the commissions of inquiry into Jos conflict were considered as bee bias by the Hausa/Fulani especially the commissions that were set up by the State Government. This is evidenced in the fact that the Chairman of the JNI was once stopped from going into the hall during one of the conflict resolution meeting in Jos. This is a clear indication of insincerity and unfaithfulness from the side of the Plateau State Government (Krause, 2011).

The inadequacies of the justice system to bring conflict perpetrators to book is also a contributing factor or a barrier to post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State. The state's inability to bring the prosecution of accused persons in relation to the Jos conflicts to a logical conclusion has denied victims the access to justice. Few prosecutions were made in relation to the intensity of the conflicts under study, fewer convictions obtained while many accused persons were acquitted. This has emboldened the perpetrators to continue and angered the victims to seek revenge thereby fuelling and prolonging the conflicts.

Demilitarization in form of disarmament has not been carried out fully or holistically. This has led to the easy spread of small arms and light weapons in most parts of the State which made the people to be prompt to violent. The proliferation and increased usage of small arms and other weapons have greatly shaped the course of the conflicts and the rate of havoc wrecked during these conflicts. The inability of government to disarm and prevent the local production of these weapons has aided the rapid increase in the number of arms in circulation. They have become instruments and have been instrumental to the prolonged and recurrent conflicts.

Another important aspect to note about the challenges of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building is the intense violation of human rights by the security operative agents in the State in the name of keeping peace.

2.2.7 Relationship between Peace Building and Sustainable Development

Peace is the most important component of sustainable development. A healthier business environment is important for development, and in conflict-ridden communities, business operations are disrupted due to the unreliable social services and the prevalence of social problems such as poverty, hunger and inequality. In order to escape direct, structural and/or cultural violence, businesses may be forced to close down and move to safer locations, even as the people remaining in these conflict-ridden areas experience poverty, hunger and decreased opportunities. The traditional notion of peace - the absence of conflict - is not enough to bring about sustainable development. If a government ends armed hostilities by issuing a ceasefire without addressing its underlying factors, conflict may resume, further disrupting business operations and exacerbating poverty, hunger and inequality (Thakur, 2005).

Positive peace acknowledges that ending conflict is not enough and that true peace requires a more holistic approach. The Eight Pillars of Positive Peace strengthens a society from within by creating an environment that nurtures communities and supports enterprise. A society that can support businesses is a society able to provide basic social services and livelihood opportunities, resulting in peace as well as sustainable development. In a society where positive peace prevails, all sectors help bring about the positive economic, political and social factors that lead to sustainable development. Businesses, for example, can pay their workers competitive wages use responsibly-sourced materials and not participate in bribery. With decent wages, workers can afford basic needs, allowing them to become more productive. When manufacturers use responsibly-sourced materials, they contribute to positive change. And when companies do not engage in bribery, they help discourage employees, other businesses and governments from enabling corruption. These outcomes help ensure greater profitability for enterprises in the future. Promoting peace and sustainable development reduces poverty and prevents conflict, translating to a healthier business environment that allows for a more effective delivery of products and services. For instance, the advanced western society like USA, Russia, UK, Germany etc. have somehow experienced some level of violent at one point or the other. Ending the violent plunged them to sustainable development (Jonh, 2000).

It is also good to understand that sustainable development centered on a determination to end poverty and hunger, in all their forms and dimensions, and to ensure that all human beings can fulfill their potential in dignity and equality and in a healthy environment. This is to say that, sustainable development gives more priority to human development. It also extend its tentacles to cover range of issues like; determination to protect the planet from

degradation, including through sustainable consumption and production, sustainably managing its natural resources and taking urgent action on climate change, so that it can support the needs of the present and future generations, to ensure that all human beings can enjoy prosperous and fulfilling lives and that economic, social and technological progress occurs in harmony with nature, determined to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development. Jonh, (2000) reported that, United Arab Emirate is one special example of a country that is experiencing tremendous transformation due to the absent of direct and structural conflict.

2.2.8 The Nexus between Post-Conflict Reconciliation, Peace building and National Security

Based on the conceptual clarifications of the three concepts i.e post-conflict reconciliation, peace building and national security, it is very hard to draw a dividing line among the three concepts. In order words the concepts are interrelated and interdependent to one another. All the concepts aimed at creating sustainable peace in a war-torn society. Successful Post-War Reconciliation, it has been seen, is the backbone of Post-Conflict Peace building and national security. This also ensures that the society wouldn't relapse into conflict (Osantha, 2016).

The subject matter of post-war reconciliations encompasses activities such as: forgiveness, unity, rebuilding of physical socio-economic infrastructures that are essential for government to function well, strengthening of existing institutions, and structural reforms of political, economic, social and security sector (Barakat, 2005). This goes to suggest that, the

idea of post conflict reconciliation has been widened by incorporating physical dimensions of institutional and capacity into it ambit.

UN, which has been the most active agency to engage with post conflict peace building, has been very active through the 1990s. It is at this time its Secretary General Boutros-Ghali tried to underline the activities and the sectors which might be involved by the UN in the post conflict reconstruction. They were disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring of elections, advancing effort to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening Government institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation (Ghali, 1995).

In the part of peace building, the “Report of the Secretary General on Peace building in the aftermath of conflict” in 2009 identified several tasks that must be accomplished during the course of peace building in such areas in the immediate aftermath of conflict. The areas include:

1. Support for basic safety and security, including mine action, protection of civilians, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), strengthening of the rule of law and initiation of security sector reform.
2. Support for political processes, including electoral processes, promoting inclusive dialogue and reconciliation, and developing conflict management capacity at national and sub-national levels.
3. Support for the provision of basic services, such as water and sanitation, health and primary education, and support for the safe return and integration of internally displaced persons and refugees.

4. Support for restoring core government functions, in particular basic public administration or public finance, at the national and sub-national levels.
5. Support for economic revitalization, including employment generation and livelihood issues (in agriculture and public works) particularly for youth and demobilized former combatants, as well restoration of basic infrastructures (United Nations, 2009).

National security here according to Anyadike (2013: 13), “is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, diplomacy, power projection and political power”. Before now, National Security was conceived as the limited role of the military, it is now all encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge the non military or economic security of the Nation and the values espoused by the national society.

A state is secure only when the aggregate of people organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when state itself, is able to ensure independence in its development.

We earlier mentioned from the above that, post-conflict reconstruction is the activities that involve the rebuilding of deteriorated socio-economic and political system in a war torn society. The implication is to achieve positive peace. So in this vein, post-war activities, also constitute the scope of National Security. Invariably, if war-torn societies are neglected, the societies in question will be insecure and be vulnerable to the attack of social challenges or structural violent or possible relapse to conflict. In order words, peace building means, building a society in which positive peace is secured - peace without structural violence such as poverty and discrimination - or a society which guarantees human security (Galtung, 1996).

Post-Conflict Reconciliation, peace building and national security have a close relationship, so sometimes it is difficult to understand the difference between the three concepts of post-war reconstruction, peace building and national security are interdependent due to their close linkage, since the reconstruction activities are directly supporting the accomplishment of peace building objective which both are geared toward national security. We will be right to say, post-war reconciliation and peace building are national security and national security can be void without incorporating their tenets.

This is because Post-Conflict reconciliation and Peace building of war-torn societies is based intellectually on the current consensus around universally accepted values such as market - oriented economic reform, democratization, civil society building, human rights, rule of law and good governance (Stephen, 2016). Most practitioners and policy makers agree that these values advance national security. Post-Conflict societies face a high risk of reverting to conflict during the first five years after the onset of peace. When War emerged, the country concerned experiences widespread insecurity, worsening infrastructure, a renewed emphasis on subsistence agricultural sector, worsened social indicators and weaken institutions.

2.2.9 Gaps in the Literature

Having reviewed some literature that are relevant to the research area, the following gaps have been identified:

- i. Many writers have written on post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding without looking or examine the challenges and prospects that usually accompany it. For instance (Osanthan, 2016; Etekpe, 2012 and Smith, 1919). They all wrote on post-war

reconstruction and peacebuilding without looking or examine the challenges and the prospects of the tasks. Their work centered most on the process and models of post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding. This is one of the gaps that, this study intends to fill.

- ii. And more importantly, is the fact that, most of the literature reviewed on post-war reconciliations and peacebuilding in this work did not take into cognizance, the demand for post-war reconciliation and peacebuilding in Plateau State, Nigeria. Their works were mostly on post-war reconliation and peacebuilding in Kosovo, Bosnia, Rwanda, Afghanistan, (Osantha, 2016; Dilek, 2005; & Paris et al, 2009.) This, constitutes a gap that this study have filled by developing a framework that will addressed the challenges of post-war reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State, Nigeria.
- iii. Some Literature looked at post-war reconstruction as activities that are limited to the physical rebuilding of war torn environment (Smith, 1919). It is worthy of note that, with the changing nature of warfare, post-war reconstruction encompasses not only the physical infrastructures development but, encourages the revamping of the deteriorated and weak socio-economic and political system of a war torn societies. This is done in other to consolidate peace in a war-torn society.
- iv. To some scholars, peace building are activities that usually kick-start after a ceased fire in a war-torn society. However, peace building can start even amidst of violent conflict. This is another area that this study will look into it.
- v. The concept of national security has been conceived as a limited role of the military might. However, the issue of national security is more than military might. It

encompasses issues like human security, food security, environmental security etc This work will make an attempt to examine the concept holistically.

- vi. Many of the literature reviewed in this study do not examined the relationship between post-reconciliation, peace building and development. This study established important of peace building to development and a war torn society.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study entitled“Assessment of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace building in Jos, Plateau State”, the study adopted the theory of liberal interventionism which is based on the work of Emmanuel Kant (perpetual peace).

2.3.1 Liberal Interventionist Theory

The dominant theory of peace building among democratic sovereign states is the theory of liberal interventionism. The proponents of this theory argued that although there are many limitations sand shortcomings to liberal peace building but it cannot be replaced because it is the only solution to rebuild the War-Torn societies (Paris, 2010; Call & Cook, 2003; Chesterman et al; 2005; Fukuyama, 2004). This theory suggests that peace building and reconciliation involves the transplanting of western models of social political and economic organizations into War shattered states to pacify the people and ensure peace.

The theory typically prescribes democratic reforms, such as a focus on elections, human rights and the rule of law alongside reforms of state institutions as well as neoliberal economic reforms which support market privatization, deregulation of fiscal constraints and an emphasis on foreign private investment. The justification to support this theory and export it abroad is predicted on the belief that liberalism is the antidote to illegitimate

violence and authoritarianism (Hoffman, 1995). Traditional liberalism, therefore, formulated a vision of peace as only possible when liberalism is adopted. Democracy peace theorist, for instance, asserts that liberal states-uniquely amongst themselves-do not go to war against each other. They take pride in the triumph of liberalism to sustain peaceful existence among fellow liberal states across North America and Europe and over an impressive 150year history (Keohane, 2002). So convinced are many liberals about the intrinsic tendency within liberalism to steer societies toward peace, the echo Kant himself, who adopt and practice liberalism is the mechanism of peace building and reconstruction in any post-war society (Keohane, ibi & Francheschet, 2002).

To halting wars and respond to their destruction is structured in liberal interventionism, an evolving tradition within liberalism often traced to Immanuel Kant's seminar writings on "perpetual peace" (Francheschet, ibi). According to Francheschet (ibi), Liberal Interventionism is a multifarious of global and domestic reform, interested in the nature of sovereign states and the kind of freedom thy can afford the individual both within and across territorial boundaries. In this sense, the liberal domestic project becomes one to promote and protect individual freedom, justice equality, progress, rule of law and peace. This agenda requires both political liberalism (motivated by respect for human rights, freedom and liberty) and economic liberalism (motivated by self interest, greed, and ambivalence to social cost) (Francheschet, ibi).

The liberal state is based on the concept of night watchman state, the role of the state was generally restricted in terms of guaranteeing human rights. The of the state in the liberal perspective is to evict those who disturbed the peace and order of a state , primary function of state was to maintain the public order and to defend the land. The legal relationship

between state and security resulted in the right of freedom which were guaranteed in civil constitutions and democratic government based on the principle of autonomy by the people.

2.3.2 Substance of the Theory

There are many proponents of the theory of liberal interventionism. Some of these proponents are: John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Michael J. Sandel, John Rawls Immanuel Kant etc. The assumptions or substances of these theorists include:

1. The Liberal theorists believed that, the primary function of the state, to take necessary action for the protection of life, liberty and property of her citizens. Today we call these rights basic and no responsible government can avoid the responsibility. According to Locke, people of the state of nature because of the non-existence of proper authority and clear law, could not enjoy the right to life, liberty and this encourage to form a State. Here, it is expected that, the state should protect law and order.
2. The Liberal Interventionism theorists believed that, a state does not endorse the domination of a particular ideology; various opinions or ideologies work and exist side by side. It is a state of multiple ideas, ideal ideologies and views and all of them enjoy ample opportunity and atmosphere for work.
3. J. S. Mills conceived of a state whose chief function would be protecting the democratic rights of the citizens and ensure, through the adoption of measures, the functioning of democracy. It is the function of the state to protect the citizens from all sort of oppression. Sometimes, citizens are subjected to different forms of coercion, and

- oppressive measures and it is the duty of the state to provide maximum protection to all of them.
4. That, Liberal state can reasonably be called a reformist state. Through frequent reforms a liberal state brings about changes in political system. In fact, liberalism or liberal state is closely linked with reforms and in that sense it is based on reformism ideology that it came into being (Kant, 2006).

2.3.3 Relevance of the Theory to the Study

This theory is relevant to the understanding of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and peace building in post-conflict societies. It is good to note that, one of the assumptions of this theory is the liberal state intervention in the socio-political and economic sphere of the state. During violent conflict, the socio-political and economic systems of the state are destroyed. There is need for the state to intervene by rebuilding them. The Liberal interventionist advocated the strengthening of economic governance (reforming tax, fiscal and monetary system), reform of public expenditure (health and education) and attracting foreign direct investment. These activities will help to consolidate peace in Plateau State.

The Theory also advocates the role of modern liberal state which is the protection of lives and properties of her citizens. The contemporary nature of Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria is that which there are gross violations of human rights. Therefore, there is need to protect the lives and the properties of the citizens in the State.

It also advocates peace building activities which revolved around the removal of structural violent in other for the state concern to attend development. It is in line with these demands that, the state needs to intervene in other to consolidate peace in Plateau State, Nigeria.

2.3.4 Criticism of the Theory

1. That societies in need of intervention or international rescue can be seen as irrational, assumed to be prone to chaos and sometimes even barbaric violence. This in turn results in these society being objectified or deemed passive.
2. There is a vast amount of research that analyses from top-down perspective the way in which external interventions (especially humanitarian interventions, peace building and state-building interventions) are executed and implemented. In the process of implementation, there is exhibition of lack of political will, under-financing of mission, insufficient force, poor logistics issue of coordination between actors, which in turn lead to legitimacy and authority problems, and undesirable outcomes (Doyle and Sambanis, 2006; Thakur 2005; Weiss 1999).
3. Liberal intervention weakened the state domestic moral legitimacy. This is because, Interventionism in African context primarily benefit the local elites and the donor themselves.

2.3.5 Conflict Trap Theory

In this Study, conflict trap theory is another theory adopted as the framework of analysis. The exponents of this theory are Paul Collier, V.L. Elliott, Havard Hegre, Ankle Hoeffler, Marta Reynal-Querol and Nicholas Sambanis. To them, conflict trap denotes that once a conflict has erupted, it tends to develop a momentum of its own. Peace seemingly becomes elusive and hard to restore. Even when peace is restored it often does not endure (Collier et. al 2003).

The exponents of conflict trap ascribed the lengthy pattern of a typical conflict to a number of interlocking factors.

Conflicts in multi-ethnic societies are enduring possibly on account of their ready vulnerability to the rallying, massaging and mobilization of ethnic sentiments for both the warring groups and the government. In addition, in a plural society, particularly where the population has significant grievances, conflict usually becomes an effective political strategy for pursuit of their interests and goals. Also, even if the custodians of power and authority in the society are willing to concede to the demands of the groups, they are usually neither trusted nor believed to have credible means of committing the warring factions to agreement. The warring groups might be afraid that once they hold the olive branch the custodians of power and authority would renege on any agreement (Collier et. al 2003).

Furthermore, it is also contended that it is even difficult for the custodians of power and authority to concede to demands of the warring groups because such could encourage the flowering, proliferation, mushrooming and radicalization of other groups, which often have opposing objectives. Also, a significant pattern to lengthy conflict is the extremely unequally distributed income and a very low average income, possibly on account of the cost of sustaining conflict is low if there is an expansive layer of economic destitute and possibly significantly weak institutions such as the security agencies, which are unable to deter and apprehend violators of the laws. More so, sustaining conflict has become easier because the warring groups have easy access to armaments for prosecuting conflict (Collier et. al 2003).

Yet, very important to the lengthy pattern of conflict is that once a conflict has occurred a template is raised. It becomes difficult to return to status quo. Presumably, conflict reinforces hatred, and may shift the balance of influential interests in favour of continued conflict. Also, the criminal entrepreneurs that profit from the conflict would do anything

including sabotaging peace process for it to continue. According to Paul Collier et. al. (2003:12):

Violence entrepreneurs, whether primarily political or primarily commercial, may gain from conflict to such an extent that they cannot credibly be compensated sufficiently to accept peace. Those who see themselves as political leaders benefit from war because they can run their organizations in hierarchical, military style with power concentrated in their own hands, something much more difficult to justify in peacetime. Those who see themselves as extortionists benefit from the absence of the rule of law in the areas they control. However, leaders see themselves as if they will have invested in expensive military equipment that will become redundant once they agree to peace. Asking a rebel leader to accept peace may be a little like asking a champion swimmer to empty a pool (2003:12).

Following from the above assumptions, the conflict trap theory is apt and relevant for the appreciation of the challenges of ethno-religious conflict management in Nigeria. It offers deep insights to the interlocking factors that sustain conflict. It presupposes that once conflict has occurred it lengthens and becomes challenging to restore peace on account of a number of factors such as ethnic pluralism, proliferation of arms, existence of income disparities, existence of expansive republic of hoodlums and the activities of criminal entrepreneurs.

The conceptual and theoretical excursion reveals various perspectives for the appreciation of violence. Notably, each of the perspectives may be perfunctory, deficient, incomplete and restrictive but in sum they are illuminating and complementary.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEACH METHODS

INTRODUCTION

This research assesses post-conflict reconciliation and peace building Plateau State. In this section, an attempt is made to describe and define the steps, processes and methods used in the conduct of this research work.

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted a social survey research design. Secondary and primary data were used in conducting the research. Secondary data were gathered from the works of other scholars while primary data were gathered through the administration of unstructured interviews and the opinions of respondents on Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace building in Jos, Plateau State.

3.2 Population, Sample Size and Sampling Technique

3.2.1 Population of the Study

The target population of this study is anchored on relevant bodies responsible for post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State. In view of the above imperatives, the population of the study stood at three hundred and four (304) comprising of SEMA and PSPBA. The table below shows the populations as thus:

Table 1: Population of the Study

Bodies	Population	Percentage %
SEMA	216	72%

Plateau State Peace Building Agency	88	28%
Total	304	100%

Source SEMA and PSPBA: 2019

3.2.2 Sampling Size and Sampling Technique

Based on the target population above, the researcher employed sample size determination as suggested by Black and Champion in 1976, which state said that 10% of the target population can be used to represent the whole. Therefore the sample size for this study stood at 30 which is the 10% of 304. This sample size is distributed between the following bodies(1).SEMA21 and PSPBA 9. Thereafter, purposive sampling technique was used to draw the required sample for each stratum, from the study population. This way, the researcher interviewed respondents he considered knowledgeable on the subject matter under investigation. In arriving at the sample size of 30 respondents, the researcher adopted the Black and Champion technique of sample size, which stated that ten (10%) of the entire population can represent the whole population of 304 people. Therefore:

$$\text{SEMA} = 216$$

$$\text{PSPBA} = 88$$

$$\text{TOTAL} = 304$$

$$\text{SEMA} = \frac{216 \times 30}{304} = 21$$

$$\text{PSPBA} = \frac{88 \times 30}{304} = 9$$

$$\therefore \text{SEMA}, 21 + \text{PSPBA}, 9 = 30$$

Table 2: Table Showing Interview Groups

S/N	CATEGORY	SAMPLE
1	SEMA Officials (PLATEAU STATE)	21
2	Plateau State Peace Building Agency (PSPBA)	9
Total		30

Source: Field Survey, 2019

3.3 Method of Data Collection

In order to ensure high degree of empiricism and factualism in the validity of and findings of study, a blend of both primary source and secondary source of data collection were adopted. Primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time and thus happen to be original in character. The tools for this research were unstructured questions to conduct interview.

The secondary data to be used in this study include reports and publications of government (reports of the difference commissions for conflict resolution in Plateau State, SEMA), textbooks, academic journals, Newspapers, Magazines, Online resources (internet). The imperative of secondary data for this research cannot be over emphases. It will help in the understanding of major concepts like Peace building, Post-Conflict reconstruction, Conflict, Peace, Humanitarian Assistance etc.

Considering the nature of the phenomenon under study, data were collected in Jos North, Jos South LGA, and The Institutes of Peace and Conflict Resolution, University of Jos.

Interview was conducted through the administration of unstructured questions. Respondents were drawn from government officials of Peace Building Agency and officials of SEMA.

In arriving at the choice of respondents, the researcher relied on purposive sampling technique to select respondents, he considered knowledgeable in the subject matter under investigation.

3.4 Technique for Data Analysis

Flowing from the qualitative nature of this research, the method of data analysis that was adopted for this study is thematic analysis. One of the advantages of this method of analysis is its theoretical freedom (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It can be either inductive or theory-driven. However, for this study, the analysis was driven by both theoretical interest and the nature of the data. Consequently, according to Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009), this thesis report is a kind of abductive analysis; meaning that, the analysis recognises the dialectical relationship between theoretical perspective and data analysis. Thus, the analysis took a semantic approach (where themes were identified from “the surface meanings” of the data), in contrast to analyses at the latent level, where the researcher goes beyond what the respondents actually said, in a bid to identify the ideas that informed respondents opinions/views. This was done by infusing the themes that were generated from primary data sources, into the researcher’s claims and arguments.

Taking a cue from Braun and Clarke (2006), the following procedures were adopted to achieve this objective

Step 1: Reading through all the interview to get a summary;

Step 2: Second reading and line-by-line coding was done assigning each sentence in the interview, a code that defined the main quality;

Step 3: Merging of codes into larger units;

Step 4: The combination of codes into themes;

Step 5: Selection of intense, convincing quotations as examples, final breakdown of selected extracts. Logical analysis was completed by combining themes from primary data sources with secondary data.

It is pertinent to note however, that, thematic analysis is not without its own criticisms. According to Mason (2002), in thematic analysis, the overall picture is lost, as codes are separated from their context. He then suggested that, thematic analysis be combined with a more person-centred approach. Be that as it may be, however, I argue that, a pure thematic analysis method, is the most appropriate method of analysis in this research, as a more person-centred approach, could have compromised the anonymity of the respondents.

3.5 Justification of the Method

By approach, we simply mean, an overall orientation of the phenomenon under study, while rationale, simply mean, the justification for adopting certain approaches in conducting research. In this study, the approaches adopted are: primary and secondary data, and qualitative method of data analysis, case study research design and interpretism philosophy. This approach is imperative because of the phenomena under study. Primary data for this research will be sourced from the individuals, traditional rulers and government officials, and organizations who have vast knowledge of the current peace building and reconciliation

in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria. And more importantly, are the questions to be answered in this study, the adoption of qualitative approach will help to have an objective finding.

Case study research design is preferred in this study because of its adaptability to different types of research question and different research setting (Walsham, 1995). The use of multiple sources of evidence allows triangulation of finding which according to Yin (2009), is a major strength of the case study design. Case study also offered the benefit of studying phenomena in detail and in context, particularly in situations where there are many more variables of interest than there are observations. Another potential reason for adopting a case study for this research is that, the format may make the research accessible to wider relationship than some other design.

However, this study envisages several challenges that may arise as a result of the research methodology employed. Aside the fact that respondents opinions are subject to change since man is a dynamic being, respondents may be unwilling to cooperate with the researcher and the researcher has little or no control over individual responses.

In the case of interview which will be adopted in this research is time consuming, energy-wasting and can be quite expensive because of the face-to-face contact and the personalized nature of the interview sessions.

There are limitations and problems associated with qualitative data analysis and this study may also suffer these limitations. For instance, qualitative research is usually subjective thereby raising issues of validity and reliability. That is why Osuala (2001) posited that, because of the subjective nature of qualitative data and its origin in single contexts, it is difficult to apply conventional standard of reliability and validity. He further maintained

that, context situations events, conditions and interaction cannot be replicated to any extent nor can generalization be made with any confidence to wider context than the one study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter is focused on the presentation and analysis of data collected for this research. Also, the propositions for this study were also tested. Data collected from the interview, personal observation, and secondary sources were presented and analysed; attempt was made to link the theory with reality, using thematic analysis, as the method of data analysis. The material that were analysed, consist of transcriptions from the interviews, and notes taken during, or just after the participant observation sessions. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and word-for-word, to ensure that the transcripts represented the written text. After the first reading, the researcher checked the transcriptions against the tape-recorded material, and changes were made, where the need arose. All interviews were transcribed as soon as possible, thereby, retaining the context in which statements were made. This was necessary, to overcome the controversy surrounding the subject of transcriptions.

Thus, through the interviews, personal observation and secondary data, post-conflict reconciliation and peace building were discussed.

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

This section is concerned with the presentation of data (responses) from thirty (30) respondents interviewed during the field work. According to Burnard (2004), in writing and presenting qualitative research, there are two main approaches to writing up the findings of qualitative research. The first is the traditional approach, which is to simply report key findings under each main theme or category, using appropriate verbatim quotes to illustrate

those findings. This is followed by a linking separate discussion section, in which the key findings are discussed in relation to existing research/literature and theories, as in quantitative studies, while the second approach, is to do the same, but to incorporate the discussion into the findings section. For the purpose of this study, the traditional approach was used.

4.1.1 Demographic Distribution of Respondents

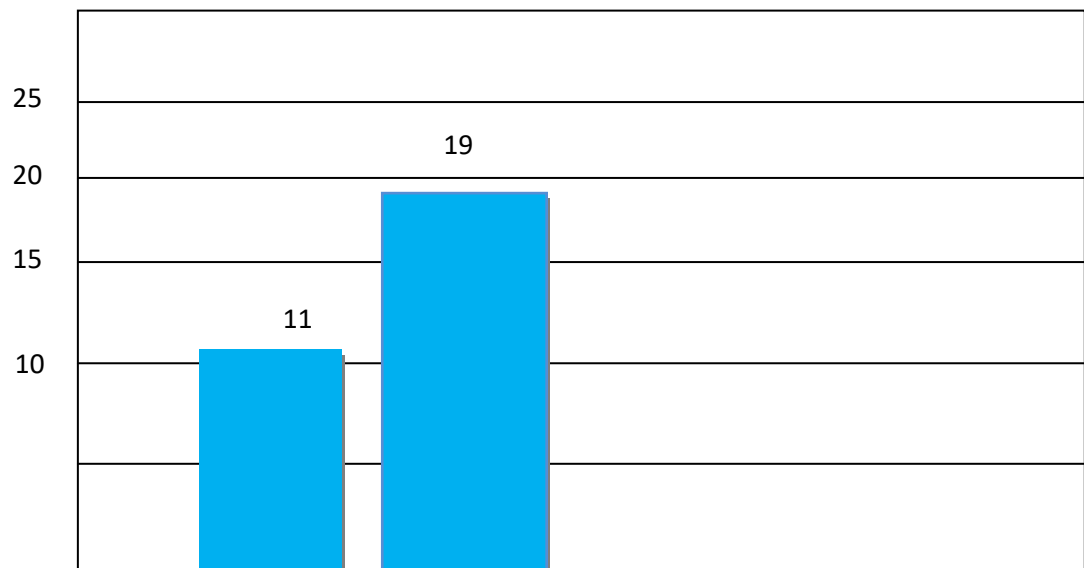
Details on demographic issues were calculated and presented, with the aid of frequency tables. The responses were then calculated in percentages and the figures were charted in a bid to give us a graphic representation of the response for a simple comprehension.

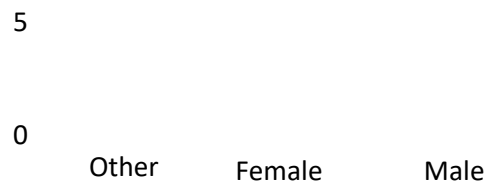
Table 4: Sex Distribution of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Male	19	63
Female	11	37
Total	30	100

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Figure 1: Histogram showing Sex Distribution of Respondents





Source: Field Survey, 2019

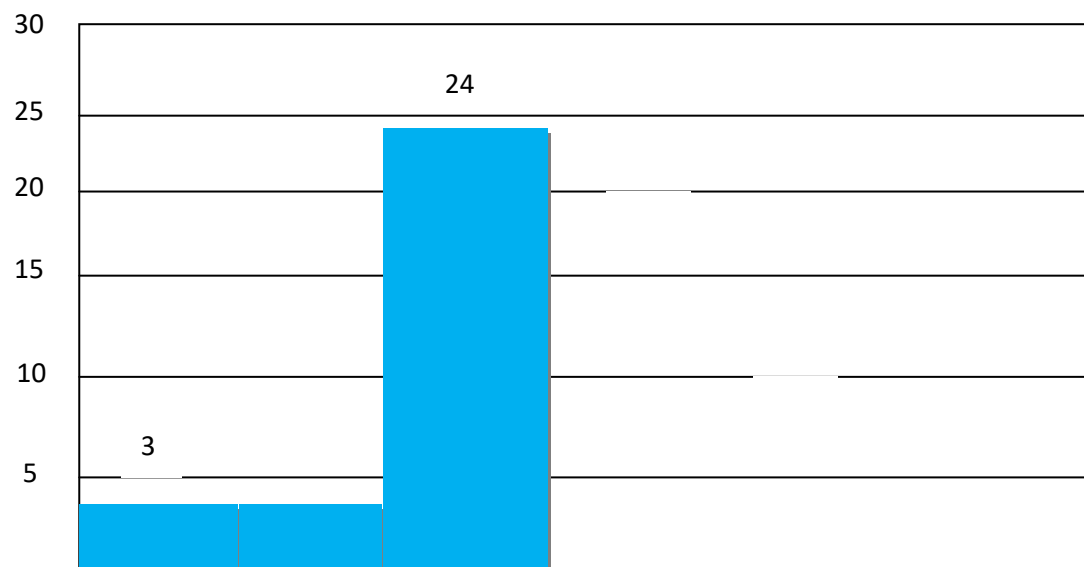
Histogram above revealed that, 19 (63%) of the respondents were male and 11 (37%) were female. This representation is further reinforced by the histogram in figure 1. Consequently, it can be inferred that, males are as interested as females about post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State.

Table 5: Marital Status Distribution of Respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Married	24	80
Single	03	10
Others	03	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Figure 2: Histogram showing Marital Distribution of Respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2019 ³

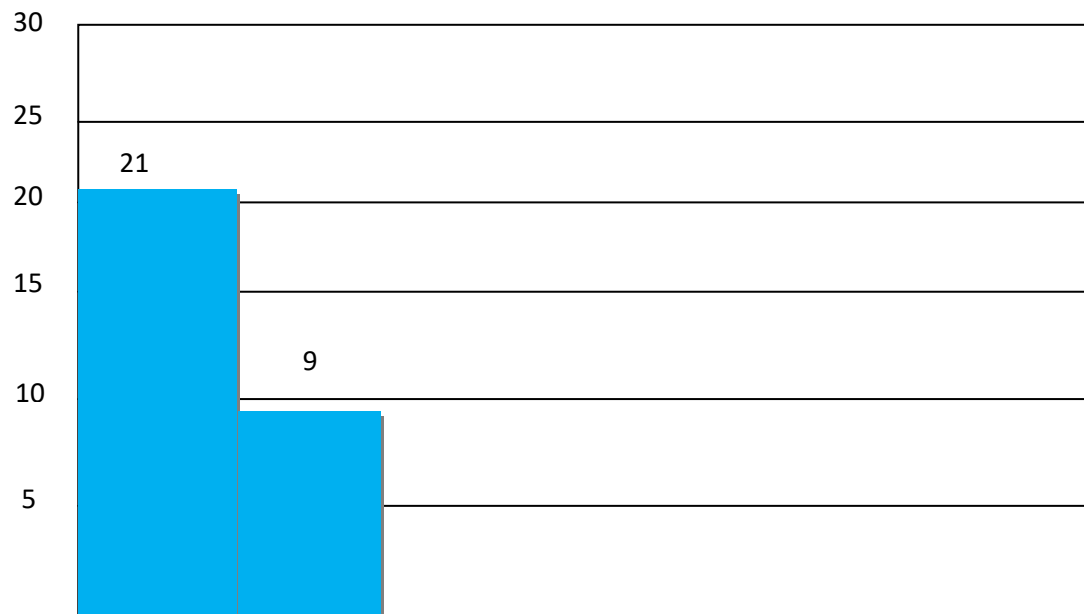
The above Table revealed that, 80% of the respondents were married, 10% were single and 10% represent others i.e., those divorced and widowed. The histogram in figure 2, further elaborated the above representation. Thus, we can deduce that, the married persons participated in the study more than their single counterparts and the others category. Also, that the married persons are more concerned about post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Plateau State than the singles and the others categories, when considered against the background of the level of responses gotten from them.

Table 6: Occupational Distribution of Respondents

BODIES	Frequency	Percentage (%)
SEMA Staff	21	70
PSPBA	09	30
Total	30	100

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Figure 3: Histogram showing Occupational Distribution of Respondents



0
SEMA PSPBA

Source: Field Survey, 2019

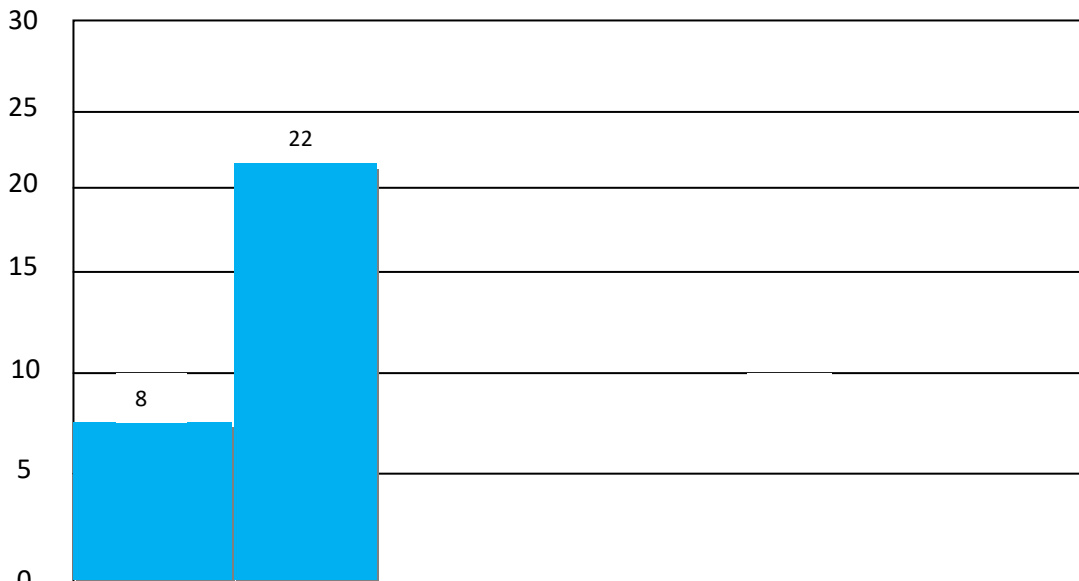
Table 6 indicates that, 70%, and 30% of the respondents were SEMA Staff and PSPBA Officials respectively. With the aid of our histogram, the marginal differences of the occupational groups were equally provided. Consequently, we can infer that, the study represents the interest of all the occupational groups in the state.

Table 7: Educational Qualification Distribution of Respondents

Qualification	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Secondary Education	8	28
Post-Secondary Education	22	72
Total	30	100

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Figure 4: Histogram showing Educational Distribution of Respondents



Secondary Post-Secondary
Education Education

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Table 9 with the support of figure 6, indicates that, 28%, and 72% of the participants have secondary education and post-secondary education respectively. Thus, from these statistics, we can infer that: (1) the people of Plateau State are educated, and the literacy level in the state is high; and (2) that illiteracy plays no significant role in the Perpetuation and escalation of Conflict in the State.

Table 8: List of Respondents

S/N	Names	Position	Local Government Area	Date	Remarks
1	Mustapha Umar	SEMA Staff	Jos North	12/03/2019	Face-to-face
2	Abukar Ibrahim	SEMA Staff	Jos North	12/03/2019	Telephone
3	Nasiru Mudi	SEMA Staff	Jos North	12/03/2019	Via the Internet
4	Haruna Musa	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	12/03/2019	Face-to-face
5	David Okene	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	14/03/2019	Face-to-face
6	Maitala Musa	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	14/03/2019	Face-to-face
7	Olusegun Adeleja	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	14/03/2019	Face-to-face
8	Nafisat Abiola	SEMA Staff	Jos North	15/03/2019	Face-to-face
9	Ezechukwu Odoh	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	19/03/2019	Face-to-face
10	Bright Godwin	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	19/03/2019	Face-to-face
11	Titi Jeremiah	SEMA Staff	Jos North	20/03/2019	Face-to-face
12	Dorathy Iliya	SEMA Staff	Jos North	21/03/2019	Face-to-face
13	Beauty Isa	SEMA Staff	Jos North	21/03/2019	Face-to-Face
14	Muktar Musa	SEMA Staff	Jos North	21/03/2019	Telephone call
15	Audu Isa	SEMA Staff	Jos North	21/03/2019	Face-to-Face
16	Gyang Davou	SEMA Staff	Jos South	23/03/2019	Face-to-Face
17	Dung Amos	SEMA Staff	Jos South	23/03/2019	Face-to-Face
18	Nansel Christopher	SEMA Staff	Jos South	27/03/2019	Through- E-mail
19	Maren Amos	SEMA Staff	Jos South	28/03/2019	Through Phone Call
20	Shom Emmanuel	SEMA Staff	Jos South	28/03/2019	Face-to-Face

21	Nana Danjuma	SEMA Staff	Jos South	02/04/2019	Face-to-Face
22	Tongak Nentawe	SEMA Staff	Jos South	04/04/2019	Face-to-Face
23	Michael Joel	PSPBA Staff	Jos South	04/04/2019	Face-to-Face
24	Pam John	PSPBA Staff	Jos South	07/04/2019	Face-to-Face
25	Kangyang Bitrus	SEMA Staff	Jos South	08/04/2019	Through Phone Call
26	Friday Jude	SEMA Staff	Jos South	08/04/2019	Face-to-Face
27	Abubakar Musa	SEMA Staff	Jos South	10/04/2019	Face-to-Face
28	Abdullahi Ibrahim	SEMA Staff	Jos South	11/04/2019	Face-to-Face
29	Mustapha Ahmed	SEMA Staff	Jos South	11/04/2019	Face-to-Face
30	Dindul Nanfa	PSPBA Staff	Jos North	12/04/2019	Face-to-Face

Source: Field Survey, 2019

4.1.2 Data Presentations

SECTION 1 WILL ANSWER THE FIRST RESEACH QUESTION

1. What do you think are the factors responsible for violent conflict in Jos Plateau State?

The respondent who is a member of the Plateau State Peace Building Agency was interviewed on 12/3/2019 in their located in Jos, Plateau State capital have this to say:

The conflicts resulted as the need for sense of belonging and determination arose among the Hausa after suffering undue marginalization. He explained further that “the Hausa people have not been treated well and their contribution to the society is not a reciate and the only way to register their anger is through conflict. This will make the world to understand us.

Similarly, this respondent, a SEMA staff interviewed on 21/3/2019, through phone call states that:

agrees that the conflicts radiate around the Hausa and their intentions:. Jos has always been peaceful and a place to be proud of until these Hausa people, all of a sudden decided to control everything and everyone in this city. How long they

have nursed the idea and planned it, no one knows but apparently, they have it planned because since they started, they have gone on and on about it.

From another perspective, the respondent, also a member of the Plateau State Peace Building Agency interviewed on 12/3/2019, from their office stated that:

You have the issue of ethnicity; there are those who feel they are indigenes of this place, and then they see the other ones as settlers, those who came later on. And so, they should not enjoy equal opportunities and rights with those who are indigenous to the town...other indigenes from neighbouring local government share the same sentiments with these people, so you have these ones who call themselves indigenes fighting against the Hausa/Fulani who are seen as settlers.

Also, the respondent stated that:

The causes of the conflicts are deep-rooted in the rivalry between the Hausa and the indigenes, they remain unknown to most outsiders but religious discolouration got introduced into the conflicts such that in the course of the conflicts, religion was employed as a tool for it. Terming the conflicts as religious is deceitful on the part of anyone. Religion only became the excuse for the conflicts

SECTION 2 WILL ANSWER THE SECOND RESEACH QUESTION

2. Can you describe the nature of violent conflict in Jos?

Here, the respondent who is a SEMA Staff who was interviewed on 11/4/2019, commented that:

The conflict in most cases is between the Christians and the Muslims and some cases where it is outside Jos city, it is intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic in nature. Like the one that recently happened in southern Plateau between Kwalla and Taroh in Wase LGA and among Taroh themselves.

SECTION 3 WILL ANSWER THE THIRD RESEACH QUESTION

3. To what extent can you describe the destructive nature of Jos, and Plateau State at large as a result of reoccurring violent conflict?

Another respondent was asked to describe the destructive nature of Plateau State and Jos in Particular as a result of the consistence reoccurrence of conflict. The respondent who is a staff of SEMA, on 10/4/2019 from their office commented that:

The level of destructions of lives and properties is highly sympathetic. An untold number of men and women have lost the lives and properties worth billions of dollar. That is properties worth billion of dollar were damaged. The economic of the State has been brought down as a result of the consistence crisis. Many businesses flew to safer environment.

The respond further states:

Successive conflicts in Jos have brought sharp divisions between the Christians and Muslims. In fact, it has resulted in self-imposed gerrymandering of Jos city into exclusive safe homes for each religion.... This has resulted in ghetto-ization of these settlements with serious security implications for the entire city.

SECTION 4 WILL ANSWER THE FOURTH RESEACH QUESTION

4. In what ways do you think Peace can be achieved in Jos, Plateau State?

A respondent in Jos North, who is PSPBA member and also been affected so much by the conflict and was interviewed on 12/4/2019, commented in Hausa Language which was translated to English by the researcher. According to the respondent:

When we reconciled and forgive one another, we will live in permanent peace with our neighbours and it is only through peace that sustainable development can be attained. Peace can promote our cooperate existence with one another despite our religion and ethnic differences. If you look around or observed critically well, Jos is no longer developing as it used to be due to continues crisis. Many people from other parts other country and even outside the country don't want to come and invest their money in Jos. They fear lossing their businesses to conflict. Therefore, if we need development to the highest level, let stop killing ourselves and support the Government in building peace in our various communities.

SECTION 5 WILL ANSWER THE FIFTH RESEARCH QUESTION

5. In what ways do you think reconciliation and peacebuilding will bring lasting peace and development in Jos, Plateau State?

A respondent in Jos North, who is an IDP and also been affected so much by the conflict, commented in Hausa Language which was translated to English by the researcher. According to the respondent:

When we reconciled and forgive one another, we will live in permanent peace with our neighbours and it is only through peace that sustainable development can be attained. Peace can promote our cooperate existence with one another despite our religion and ethnic differences. If you look around or observed critically well, Jos is no longer developing as it used to be due to continues crisis. Many people from other parts other country and even outside the country don't want to come and invest their money in Jos. They fear losing their businesses to conflict. Therefore, if we need development to the highest level, let stop killing ourselves and support the Government in building peace in our various communities.

SECTION 6 WILL ANSWER THE SIXTH RESEARCH QUESTION

6. What do you think are the challenges of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos, Plateau State?

In responding to this question, the respondent being a Staff of Plateau State Peace Building Agency on 8/4/2019, through a phone call, states that:

The inability of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building stakeholders especially government to resolve the underlying causes of the conflicts. The causes often addressed are usually the trigger causes and they are mostly dealt with on the periphery to bring hostilities to an end. This, more often than not paints a seemingly peaceful scenario. The underlying causes remain, to be stroked by yet another misunderstanding.

On a similar vein, another member of Plateau State Peace Building Agency on the same day also through phone call, has this to say:

Perceived prejudice and partiality of individuals initiating the peacemaking processes. The inability of people to rise above their biases and sentiments for or against any of the conflicting parties is a serious challenge as it does not enable all parties concerned to trust the process. This can result in

lack of cooperation or total boycott of the peacemaking initiative by an aggrieved party. This has rendered some initiatives unpopular, one-sided and has made the work of peace builders cumbersome and difficult. The task of convincing the conflicting parties about the neutrality of peacemakers has not been entirely successful for both government and corporate initiated peacemaking mechanisms.

One of the victims of Jos conflict says that:

Lack of functional rehabilitation and compensation for victims of the conflicts. The peacemaking efforts of government have rarely put into consideration the need to rehabilitate the victims and perpetrators of violence in the conflicts. Also, compensation and relief materials in the instances when they have been given out to victims have been meagre and insignificant compared to the magnitude of loss experienced during the conflicts.

The respondent later added that:

The inadequacies of the justice system to bring conflict perpetrators to book. The state's inability to bring the prosecution of accused persons in relation to the Jos conflicts to a logical conclusion has denied victims the access to justice. Few prosecutions were made in relation to the intensity of the conflicts under study, fewer convictions obtained while many accused persons were acquitted. This has emboldened the perpetrators to continue and angered the victims to seek revenge thereby fuelling and prolonging the conflicts.

SECTION 7 WILL ANSWER THE SEVENTH RESEACH QUESTION

7. What in your opinion are the solutions to the violent conflict in Jos, Plateau?

When asked to comment on other alternative ways to bring about peace building in Jos

Plateau State, A respondent commented that:

Our religious leaders need to do a lot in the way we preach. And we must be seen to practice what we preach. Looking at all the crises, you cannot divorce it from religion. So most people say it's a religious crisis. Well, whatever it is on the part of the religious leaders, they must teach the true

teachings of that religion. And then also, there is a lot of corruption, even corruption has eaten deep into churches and mosques (SEMA, 11/4/2019).

4.2.1 Validation of Research Propositions

Validation of Proposition 1: There are factors responsible for violent conflict in Plateau State.

Respondents were asked to comment on the causes of violent conflict in Jos, Plateau State.

Here is a quote from one of the respondents: *stated that*

The conflicts resulted as the need for sense of belonging and determination arose among the Hausa after suffering undue marginalization. He explained further that “the Hausa people have not been treated well and their contribution to the society is not a reciate and the only way to register their anger is through conflict. This will make the world to understand us.

Similarly, another respondent states that:

agrees that the conflicts radiate around the Hausa and their intentions:. Jos has always been peaceful and a place to be proud of until these Hausa people, all of a sudden decided to control everything and everyone in this city. How long they have nursed the idea and planned it, no one knows but apparently, they have it planned because since they started, they have gone on and on about it.

From another perspective, another respondent, a member of the Plateau State House of Assembly stated that:

You have the issue of ethnicity; there are those who feel they are indigenes of this place, and then they see the other ones as settlers, those who came later on. And so, they should not enjoy equal opportunities and rights with those who are indigenous to the town...other indigenes from neighbouring local government share the same sentiments with these people, so you have these ones who call themselves indigenes fighting against the Hausa/Fulani who are seen as settlers.

Also, another respondent stated that:

The causes of the conflicts are deep-rooted in the rivalry between the Hausa and the indigenes, they remain unknown to most outsiders but religious discolouration got introduced into the conflicts such that in the course of the conflicts, religion was employed as a tool for it. Terming the conflicts as religious is deceitful on the part of anyone. Religion only became the excuse for the conflicts

Another respondent believed that religion *per se* was not the problem, rather manipulating religion to achieve private agenda: “there is no religion involved at all but politics and chieftaincy and this is what should be tackled.” Another witness observed,

From my personal interaction...the frequent crises in Plateau have nothing to do with religion. Religion is only co-incident factor used deceitfully as a weapon to achieve selfish and ungodly ambitions [sic] interests by both parties... The main factor for these crises as at today is economic empowerment which has created business and material gap between followers of the two religions.

The remote causes of the Jos conflicts hinge on the controversy over which social and political rights should be enjoyed by the settlers - Hausa/Fulani, cultural intolerance which stems from the seemingly incompatible cultures of the settlers and the indigenes and the belief of the indigenes that the Hausa/Fulani people have an agenda to dominate them and rule over them. Kaplan (as cited in, Oberschall 2009) stated that ancient hatreds theory presupposes primordial and longstanding ethnic group membership, boundaries and identities which resist assimilation and erosion. Thus, it can be said that inter-ethnic relations in Jos is burdened with culturally transmitted memory of past violent conflicts, fears and hostile emotions (Oberschall, 2009). According to a respondent “violence started in Jos when the Hausa/Fulani settlers began making moves to take over all aspects of the city, which the indigenes resisted”.

Given the prevalent suspicion, every action of one group is viewed by the other group to be in accordance with an agenda which is believed to be unfavourable to them. With the remote causes in place, any misunderstanding between individuals or groups of individuals across the divide is further fuelled by the animosity in place. This, according to respondent 'C' is why "immediate causes and dimensions of conflicts in Jos are usually mundane and unreasonable" respectively. According to him, "it explains how a confrontation which claimed hundreds of lives and properties worth millions of Naira should break out as a result of 'mere' usage of abusive words on any value attributable to the ethnicity, religion and political affiliation.

Another respondent was asked to describe the destructive nature of Plateau State and Jos in Particular as a result of the consistence reoccurrence of conflict. The respondent commented that:

The level of destructions of lives and properties is highly sympathetic. An untold number of men and women have lost the lives and properties worth billions of dollar. That is properties worth billion of dollar were damaged. The economics of the State has been brought down as a result of the consistence crisis. Many businesses flew to safer environment.

The respond further states how the conflict have polarized the State into two different camps along Christian settlement and Muslim settlement:

Successive conflicts in Jos have brought sharp divisions between the Christians and Muslims. In fact, it has resulted in self-imposed gerrymandering of Jos city into exclusive safe homes for each religion.... This has resulted in ghetto-ization of these settlements with serious security implications for the entire city.

Validation of Proposition 2: That Post Conflict Reconciliation and Peace building bring lasting and development

A respondent in Jos North, who is an IDP and also been affected so much by the conflict, commented in Hausa Language which was translated to English by the researcher.

According to the respondent:

When we reconciled and forgive one another, we will live in permanent peace with our neighbours and it is only through peace that sustainable development can be attained. Peace can promote our cooperate existence with one another despite our religion and ethnic differences. If you look around or observed critically well, Jos is no longer developing as it used to be due to continues crisis. Many people from other parts other country and even outside the country don't want to come and invest their money in Jos. They fear lossing their businesses to conflict. Therefore, if we need development to the highest level, let stop killing ourselves and support the Government in building peace in our various communities.

The respondent expressed the basic important of peace in Jos which he stated that it will promote development in Plateau State. In order words it is through peace that development can possibly be attained. Indeed the level of development in Plateau State has deteriorated drastically due to consistence crisis. Peace is the most important component of sustainable development. A healthier business environment is important for development, and in conflict-ridden communities, business operations are disrupted due to the unreliable social services and the prevalence of social problems such as poverty, hunger and inequality. In order to escape direct, structural and/or cultural violence, businesses may be forced to close down and move to safer locations, even as the people remaining in these conflict-ridden areas experience poverty, hunger and decreased opportunities. The traditional notion of peace-the absence of conflict-is not enough to bring about sustainable development. If a government ends armed hostilities by issuing a ceasefire without addressing its underlying

factors, conflict may resume, further disrupting business operations and exacerbating poverty, hunger and inequality.

Another respondent who shared his experience of peace building process stated the important of post conflict reconciliation. According to him:

The consistence reoccurrence of conflict in Jos is as a result of hatred and mistrust among the former enemies. I think reconciliation will go a long way to eliminate hatred and mistrust among the former belligerences.

Similarly, another respondent who is an IDPs Staff said:

Post-Conflict reconciliation and Peace Building will ensured sustainable development and bring an end to conflict. In our own parts also the Military, we will reunite with our family in the barracks. It is my desire and prayers that people will see reason to forgive one another and embrace peace for development progress. I heard about Jos and Plateau State before the outbreak of the conflict in 2001. My family love to visit here on vocation but today the story is quite alarming as killing destruction of properties has become the other of the day.

The above response shows how Plateau State used to be the envy of other people before the outbreak of conflict that distorted process of development in the State.

Another Respondent has this to say when he was to suggest way(s) which peace can be achieved in Jos. He said:

government should acquire open areas in exclusively dominated mono-ethnic/religious areas of the city center for erection of housing estate that could house barracks and security agencies and even civilians so as to punctuate the tone of this non assimilation.

Another respondent also suggested that:

The Plateau State Government to establish a reconciliation commission that would allow parties to meet and reconcile

differences. Those embracing the process would be granted amnesty from criminal prosecution; those who did not, would be investigated and prosecuted.

According to these respondents these steps will go a long way to provide final solution to the reoccurrence of conflict in Jos, Plateau State.

On a similar vein, another respondent suggested that:

Government must implement all the recommendation of the commissions of inquiry created as a result of the violent conflict in Jos, Plateau State. This step will go a long way to halt the reoccurrence of violent conflict in the State.

Validation of Proposition 3: There are no successes of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos, Plateau State.

A respondent from Dadin Kowa in Jos South commented on this when he said:

The community of Dadin Kowa-located in Jos South LGA-had remained peaceful to date. Several mixed communities surround the settlement; some have seen sporadic killings (such as Rayfield) and violent clashes (such as Anglo Jos). The majority of Dadin Kowa's population is Christian, although there is a significant Muslim minority. The population is mixed in terms of economic and social status, with large houses on the outskirts and crammed streets of poor settlements in its centre. This became possible because of our ability to forgive one another and have confidence on one another (Respondent, a traditional ruler).

The above response shows that Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building has gone a long way to halt the break out of conflict in some parts of Plateau State. A good example is Dadin Kowa where the respondent claimed has remained peaceful for a long period of time. This is possible due to the level of trust and confidence the residences have on one another.

Another respondent in Jos South, commented on the level of successes recorded in Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace-Building, commented that:

Before now it is very difficult to find a Muslim man in a Christian dominated areas likewise Christians in a Muslim dominated areas due to suspicious and fear among these two religion groups on one another, but today, the story is quite different. This is because everyone today can go on with their normal duties in all the nook and crannies of Jos without fear of being killed. In December last year my friend who is a Christian invited me to his house to joy them in Christmas celebration. I was highly excited to visit them. That gives me opportunity to see my friends that we have not being together for a long time.

The above response of the respondent is confirmed by the submissions of Krause (2011) who argued that:

Mujab and Soraya were excited when they recalled details of their latest peacemaking initiative. In mid-November 2010, they had invited Christians from neighbouring Congo-Russia to join them for the Islamic Eid-el-kabir Sallah celebrations. Mujab and Soraya are Muslims from Nassarawa Gwom, one of the central poor areas in Jos. Their neighbourhood experienced the worst of the violent clashes in 2001, 2008, and 2010. Supported by staff from the Damietta

Peace Initiative, they had escorted 39 Christians from Congo-Russia through the 'no-go area' that divides the two neighbourhoods. Ten years earlier, Muslim youths had regularly gone out dancing in Congo-Russia. 'The soldiers were really worried', both proudly recalled when Christians entered a Muslim stronghold during a religious holiday.

National media crews came to film the joint celebration and many of their friends and family recognized Mujab and Soraya on the television. Exhilarated by such publicity for their courageous initiative, both planned to visit their Christian friends during Christmas, as many people in Jos used to do a decade earlier.

'I will go anywhere they invite me', Mujab proclaimed, despite the real danger of being 'silently killed' when entering the 'wrong' territory.

On a contrary view, another respondent testified that shortly after their houses were burned, buyers made offers on their distressed properties at discounted rates. The respondent recalled returning to his home, the

Only house that was standing. Virtually every dwelling house on this street was razed down. The houses left...the very few belonging to certain Hausa-Fulani occupants. I then had entrusted my house to a Hausa man. We have lived with him for 15 years. The Hausa man told me certain people wanted to buy the house. I refused. He later approached me to say they wanted to rent, I still declined... Thereafter when it became obvious that they could not take over my house, they decided to set it on fire, being the only house standing after the incident.

Validation of Proposition 4: There are Challenges of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos Plateau State.

In responding to this question, the respondent being a member of Plateau State house of Assemble, states that:

The inability of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building stakeholders especially government to resolve the underlying causes of the conflicts. The causes often addressed are usually the trigger causes and they are mostly dealt with on the periphery to bring hostilities to an end. This, more often than not paints a seemingly peaceful scenario. The underlying causes remain, to be stroked by yet another misunderstanding.

On a similar vein, another member of Plateau State House of Assembly has this to say:

Perceived prejudice and partiality of individuals initiating the peacemaking processes. The inability of people to rise above their biases and sentiments for or against any of the conflicting parties is a serious challenge as it does not enable all parties concerned to trust the process. This can result in lack of cooperation or total boycott of the peacemaking initiative by an aggrieved party. This has rendered some initiatives unpopular, one-sided and has made the work of peace builders cumbersome and difficult. The task of convincing the conflicting parties about the neutrality of

peacemakers has not been entirely successful for both government and corporate initiated peacemaking mechanisms.

One of the victims of Jos conflict says that:

Lack of functional rehabilitation and compensation for victims of the conflicts. The peacemaking efforts of government have rarely put into consideration the need to rehabilitate the victims and perpetrators of violence in the conflicts. Also, compensation and relief materials in the instances when they have been given out to victims have been meagre and insignificant compared to the magnitude of loss experienced during the conflicts.

The respondent later added that

The inadequacies of the justice system to bring conflict perpetrators to book. The state's inability to bring the prosecution of accused persons in relation to the Jos conflicts to a logical conclusion has denied victims the access to justice. Few prosecutions were made in relation to the intensity of the conflicts under study, fewer convictions obtained while many accused persons were acquitted. This has emboldened the perpetrators to continue and angered the victims to seek revenge thereby fuelling and prolonging the conflicts.

It is good to note that, transparency and accountability are some of the challenges of post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in the State. People and organizations who are saddle with the responsibility of carrying out post-conflict reconciliation and peace building are not transparent in discharging their responsibility. There are situations where money or materials main for IDPs were secretly siphoned for individual used. This act will contribute to the alongation and the escalation of the conflict in the different parts of the State. Therefore, it is good that stakeholders should be accountable for every single materials being assigned for the execution of projects in the crisis ridden environment.

Validation of Proposition 5: There are alternative ways to be adopt to bring about peace building in Plateau State.

When asked to comment on other alternative ways to bring about peace building in Jos Plateau State, A respondent commented that:

Our religious leaders need to do a lot in the way we preach. And we must be seen to practice what we preach. Looking at all the crises, you cannot divorce it from religion. So most people say it's a religious crisis. Well, whatever it is on the part of the religious leaders, they must teach the true teachings of that religion. And then also, there is a lot of corruption, even corruption has eaten deep into churches and mosques (SEMA).

In view of the above submission, it is crystal clear preaching and practicing the right teaching of Christianity and Islamic religion can not only bring lasting peace but can also contribute to the development of the society. It is good to note here that both religion advocate for peaceful co-existence in the society. To justify this claim, the word "Islam" comes from the Arabic word "salam" which mean peace. In Islam those who in violent have departed from the true teaching of the Prophet. In the part of Christianity, the forerunner of the religion, Jesus Christ is referred to as "the prince of peace..." Therefore he enjoyed his follower to "live in peace with all Men..."

According to this respondent, corruption is one of the reasons for this erroneous teaching in our places of worship. That is tenets of religion are no longer adhered to due to the corrupt nature of our religion leaders. Therefore, to experienced peace in our society, corruption must be deal with decisively in all aspect our religion lives.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

Based on data which were gathered through unstructured interviews, personal observation, and other secondary data sources, the study arrived at the following findings:

- i. The study revealed that, there are factors responsible for violent conflict in Jos, Plateau State. Some of these factors as revealed by the study include: ethnicity, deep rooted rivalry, issue of indigenes and settlers, political factors, unemployment etc. Religion as claimed by other was just introduced into the conflict to serve as a tool for effective execution of the conflict and it will also help in conversing followers. It is within this framework that, the dilemma of settlers and indigenes is been revealed. The so-called indigenes appropriate every political advantage due to the people of the State at the detriment of the said “settlers”. This continues marginalization according to the “settlers” is good enough to spark conflict in the State.

According to Ejikeme (2016) the complex and precarious situation in Jos, Plateau State was exacerbated by multiple and conflicting claims Berom/Anaguta/Afizere against Hausa/Fulani in the region. The claims and counter claims of Indigeneship in Jos by all stakeholders, the heating up of the polity by the federal government’s nepotistic appointments in Jos in favour of the Hausa/Fulani settlers, infuriated disadvantaged ethnic groups and subsequently caused disharmony, havoc and distress. Apart from indigene/settler disharmonious syndrome, religious and cultural intolerance, political marginalization and economic deprivation are some of the major factors contributing to ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. Considering the degree of emotions and intensity of the conflict by the atrocities that are being carried out by the violent extremists of both Moslems and Christians in the feuds, which gives the impetus for the major political issues that are being vigorously and violently contested along the lines of the complex ethnic nationalities, religious, indigene/settler, and regional divide in the country. The existence and legitimacy of the state are the fundamental matter at issue that generates fiercest contestation among competing

ethnic groups, with zero-sum intent, to control the state power, resource allocation and citizenship status. Every public issue is ethnicized till it degenerate to a serious ethno-religious intractable feud (Smyth and Robinson, 2001). Falola and Heaton (2008) succinctly noted that “since ethnic patronage has remained a key element of Nigerian politics, individuals depend on ethnicity to mobilize and create power relations. When the competition for values (state power) and resources intensifies between and within ethnic groups, individuals with access to the seat of government and state law enforcement apparatuses utilize such mechanisms to exploit ethnic networks, whip-up movements or sentiments to gain support and influence”.

- ii. The study also revealed that post-conflict reconciliation and peace building can lead to positive peace in Plateau State. Therefore, for sustainable development to be achieved, there should be peace. The study revealed that, post-conflict reconciliation and peace building succeeded in some parts of Jos, Plateau State, while it didn't succeed in other parts of the State. For instance, according to the Study, a place like Dadi Kowa in Jos South LGA, is an example of a place that post-conflict reconciliation and peace building have succeeded. According to the Study, since after the violent conflict of 2001 that sparked all over Jos North and South, Dadi Kowa has always remained peaceful. Unlike places like Angwang Rogo, Tina Junction, Terminus, Ali Kazaure and others which have always been affected by any of the outbreak of conflict in Jos. Therefore, it is good to say that post-conflict reconciliation and peace building have recorded minimal success in some parts of the State while outright failure in some parts of the State
- iii. The study revealed that, lack of accountability and transparency from the hands of the stake holders are contributing factor to the challenges of post-conflict reconciliation and

peace building in Jos, Plateau State. In other words, corruption has marred the process of peace-building reconciliation in Jos. There are cases where stake holders siphoned monies main for the execution of projects in the conflict rided environment to their personal use.

- iv. The Study also revealed that, there are other alternative ways to bring lasting peace development Jos. According to the Study, most of the violence conflict in Jos are caused by the way religion leaders present their gospel message to their followers. The right tenets of religion are no longer preach. Therefore, religion leaders can also contribute to the peace-building process in Jos through the teaching of the right tenets of their religion. It is good to understand here that both Christianity and Islam claimed to be religion peace.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study was aimed at filling some of the gaps surrounding the topic. Consequently, in an effort to do this, the study has provided a critical appraisal of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos, Plateau State. The study presented a general introduction to the study; among other things, it provided statement of the research problem, objectives and justification of the study, and also, covered the definition of key concepts and ended with definition terms and acronyms. Next, it focused on literature review and theoretical framework. Literature on the concept of conflict, Post-Conflict Reconciliation, Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Peace, Peace Building, National Security, Humanitarian/Emergency Assistance and a review of previous scholarly works on Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building in Jos, Plateau State. The study adopted the sustainable Liberal Interventionist Theory as a framework for analysis.

Research methodology, covered description of the study area, population of the study, data sources, method of data collection, sampling frame and sampling technique. Unstructured interview and personal observation were used for data collection, while thematic analysis was used as the instrument of data analysis.

Additionally, data presentation, analysis and interpretation was carried out; findings are in agreement with issues evaluated in the course of the study, and these findings are equally highlighted as part of the recommendations. Finally, the study concluded with the summary

of the main contents of all the chapters, general conclusion of the study and recommendations.

5.2 Conclusion

The study undertook an assessment of post-conflict reconciliation and peace-building in Jos, Plateau. The scope of the study is eight (16) years (2001 - 2017). The aim was to assess post-conflict reconciliation and peace-building in Jos, Plateau State and to assess how successful was this concerted effort. The findings revealed that, the causes of violent conflict in Jos are not far from deep rooted rivalry among the ethno-religion colouration of the State. Others, according to the study include; unemployment settlers and indigenes turtles etc.

Jos conflict has caused wanton destruction of lives and properties which consequently had made life difficult and unbearable within the polity. This prompted the government at Federal and State government to rapidly respond to the conflict so as to avert the effect of the conflict. However, the government efforts seem only to be successful in some part of the state and woefully a failure in other parts of the State. This is evidence in the consistence reoccurrence of the conflict in some parts of the State.

Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace Building, if executed successful will halt the consistence reoccurrence of the conflict. Therefore effort must be put in place to avert the consistence reoccurrence of the conflict through tackling the challenges of the post-conflict reconciliation and peace building in Jos, Plateau State. The consistence reoccurrence of this conflict always led to massive destruction of lives and property which has direct and indirect

consequences on the economy of the State and the country at large. Therefore enduring peace can only be achieved through reconciliation and peace building in the entire State.

As parts of the research findings and recommendations, adequate security must be put in place to ensure the safety of lives and properties, rehabilitations and compensations of the victims of the conflict, reconstructions of the destroyed physical facilities within the State so as to improve the infrastructural development, etc.

The clarion call for all political leaders in the State is to intensify effort in the fight against insecurity challenges in the State. Peace will not only promote development but sustained it for the future generation.

5.3 Recommendations

- i. Government at all level must endeavour to checkmate the underlying factors that led to the outbreak of any of the violent conflict in Jos. It is believed that in most cases the causes of these violent activities are not known. This is not a good step in carrying the agenda of peace building programme. Knowing the remote and the immediate causes of the conflict can truly provide a final solution to the feature outbreak of any conflict.
- ii. Federal and State Government must endeavour to implement the recommendations of the various commissions of inquiries that were set up to investigate into the consistence reoccurrence of the conflict and recommend ways of halting it. It is good to understand here that, the inability of the government to implement the recommendations of the commission of inquiry is one of the contributing factors to the reoccurrence of the conflict in Jos, Plateau State. It pertinent also to understand that, any outbreak of law and order is always followed by the formation of commission of inquiry with terms and

conditions of their responsibility. Basically, they are usually formed by the State and the federal government. These commission of inquiry always proffered solution to the government in form of recommendations, however these recommendations are swept under the carpet. In other words, for peace to be sustained and be development t achieved in every parts of Plateau State, as found in some parts of the State, post-conflict reconciliation and peace building is a necessity not and option.

- iii. Some parts of the Nigerian Constitution must be amended so as to address the issue of indigenes and settlers. This is because it is one of the major caused of violence conflict in different parts of the country today. Some group claimed the ownership of certain places which by virtue of this regarded others as settlers who will not enjoy the same privileges as theirs.
- iv. Adequate securities must be put in all the nook and crannies of Jos city to ensure the safety of citizen's lives and properties. The issue of security is a priority in Jos and Plateau State at large. This is because there are report of insufficient or inadequate security in some of the parts of the State that will rapidly respond to the outbreak of law and order. More importantly, is the reason behind lack of achieving peace in all the nook and crannies of the State.
- v. Identify and prosecute those found responsible for organizing and carrying out the violence. Perpetrators of conflict must be brought to book to ensure justice for those who suffered unjustly. Government must be ready to rehabilitate and compensate victims of the conflict. It is good to understand that, compensation and relief materials in the instances when they have been given out to victims have been meager and insignificant compared to the magnitude of loss experienced during the conflicts.

Government officials and individuals found siphoning or appropriating resources meant for promoting peace in Plateau State should be prosecuted and punished according to the provision of the law. This is because it has been revealed that, their role contributed to the elongation and reoccurrence of conflict in Plateau State.

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APPENDIX I

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies
Nasarawa State University,
Keffi, Nasarawa State.

Dear Sir/Ma,

REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN INTERVIEW

I would like to humbly request for your participation in an oral interview which is part of the project towards the final thesis for my Master of Science degree.

My research topic is on **“Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peacebuilding in Jos. Plateau State”**.

This gives an overview of what my research is about.

I will be grateful for your cooperation and consent

Thank you

Yours faithfully

Dindam Changwak Adiko

NSU/GDM/PCS/0032/17/18

APPENDIX II

Interview Schedule

Part A: Personal Data of Respondents

Instruction: Tick where Appropriate

1. Sex: Male () Female: ()
2. Age category: 18-33 () 34-49 () 50-65 () 60 and above
3. Education Background: _____
4. Occupation: _____

Part B: Interview Questions

1. What do you think are the factors responsible for violent conflict in Jos, and Plateau State at large Nigeria?
2. Can you describe the nature of the violent conflict in Jos?
3. To what extent can you described the destructive nature of Jos, Plateau State at large as a result of reoccurring violent conflict?
4. In what ways do you think peace can be achieved in Jos, and Plateau State at large, Nigeria?
5. In what ways do you think reconstruction and peace building will bring lasting peace and development in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria?
6. What do you think are the Challenges of Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Peace building in Jos, and Plateau State at large, Nigeria?
7. What in your opinion, what are the solutions to violent conflict in Jos, and Plateau State at large?

Thank You