

NRSP MAPPING CONFLICT PREVENTION ACTORS AND INITIATIVES IN SELECTED STATES

REPORT FOR PLATEAU AND KADUNA STATES

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Summary of conclusions

The mapping found that the drivers of the protracted social conflict in both States are multi-dimensional ranging from historical antecedents, political, economy and elites' manipulation that now shapes causal factors along social-political and religious identity (through exclusionist and marginalization tendencies as well as their manipulations) by the elites. Ironically, religion which is generally seen as the causal factor is believed to be a catalyst for instigating violence by the conflict entrepreneurs who understand the psychic of the people and how cheap to use religion for achieving personal greed. Youth unemployment is high and lack of social service scheme coupled with drug abuse and addiction that have worsen the level of poverty and hopelessness amongst the citizenry.

The following short term and long term recommendation are possible response that the NSRP can support towards achieving its defined outputs in the Middle-Belt.

Short Term Recommendation

Plateau State:

1. Establish "Peace Constituencies" at the Ward level of the four (4) conflict prone Local Government Councils in which State of Emergency has been imposed by the Federal Government. The focus will be to promote trust and understanding in a multi-cultural society through community cohesion and development. NSRP can execute this in two phases – first; carry out capacity building that will address the three output of the programme viz: Conflict Early prevention architecture as well as coordination between the state and non-state actors; address the drivers of conflict that are specific to the conflict (s) concerned and engendering the peace-building process by balancing the involvement of both sexes from the design of the intervention stage. The target beneficiaries will cut across Ward heads, Community leaders, Youths, Women and the various security agencies.

This is in tune with the idea of "Peace cells at ward level" as suggested by the Commissioner of Police during the Stakeholders Peace Parley held on the 19th December, 2011 and the Senior Adviser to the Governor on Peace building in Plateau State to be set up.

2. Economic empowerment of Youth and Women for community development. The community needs assessment will be carried out through Participatory Rural Appraisal method.

3. Support the high profile advocacy by two Peace laureates and the peace-building activities of Plateau Peace Coalition.

Kaduna

1. The same "Peace Constituencies" can be established in Kaduna in consultation with the Security agencies in determining the pilot Local Governments to start with from the 23LGCs in the State. Currently, DFID is supporting a Consultant – Dr Lanre Adebayo, who is doing a research project on Post Conflict Peace-building in collaboration with IPCR (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja in Five

(5) Local Government Councils. The project involves giving some amount of money (about N1million) to the selected communities. The beneficiaries involve people across the divide.

2. Economic empowerment of Youth and Women (including the widows and the IDPs from the previous crisis).

Long Term

1. Scaled up the "Peace Constituencies" to cover the remaining LGCs in the two States. Support CS initiative in addressing the root causes of Conflict.

2. Support the LGCs and the State Legislatures on Conflict sensitivities in development and law making.

1. INTRODUCTION: SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES BETWEEN PLATEAU AND KADUNA STATES

Plateau and Kaduna States are situated in the Middle belt of Nigeria and share a number of similarities in terms of their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. They are cosmopolitan societies that reflect all the multicultural characteristics of a pluralistic society. There is a mix of Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion worshippers in the two States. Most of the minority ethnic groups are found in these two States with a large number other Nigeria ethnics groups living in the areas.

However, the facilitating variable for the historical transformation of Jos, Plateau to cosmopolitan city can traced to the early 20th Century tin mining business that attracted miners and auxiliary workers from different parts of the Northern region of Nigeria. Kaduna on the other hand, emerged as a cosmopolitan city as result of the aftermath of being the seat of the Northern regional Government in Nigeria for both the colonial and the post colonial regimes.

The conflicts in these States have become protracted and sophisticated in the kind of arms being used in the conflicts. The pattern of settlement is now polarized along ethno-religious lines. The ethno-religious dimension of the conflict has therefore being construed to be the root cause as against the actual structural causal factors of bad government, corruption and political disenfranchisement.

The Conflicts history in Kaduna State dates back to 1987 with the outbreak of violence in College of Education, Kafanchan which later spread to the other parts of the State. Jos conflict can be traced to the appointment of Aminu Mato in 1994 as the Jos North Local Government Chairman.

2. STUDY PURPOSE, METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

- a) To better understand the local drivers of violence in each state, relevant actor in instigation, prevention and management
- b) To identify potential programme partners
- c) To collect data on promising conflict prevention and peace building initiatives
- d) To capture findings in a) meetings template and b) short analytical report for discussion with the core NSRP team in January 2012.

The study was carried out using participatory approach which allowed the respondents perspectives to be heard through the use of guided semi-structure interview for individuals; Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); participatory workshops and attendance of activities of an NGO and the Security agencies. The

process of setting up interviews or inviting respondents and participants was largely dependent on phone calls and text messages at short notice or introduction by other interviewees. This method was particularly helpful for security agencies that were able to assist with interviews with their sister agencies.

In Jos, a total number of eleven (11) individual interviews were conducted; 5 Focus Group Discussions and two workshops. The first workshop (17 participants) was for the NGOs working in the areas of peace-building, development and human rights; the second workshop (31 participants) was for Women, Youths and Community Based Organizations.

In Kaduna, a total of individual six (6) interviews were conducted; six (6) Focused Group Discussions and one workshop for NGOs (21 participants); Faith Based Organizations; Networks and Women Groups.

Some complained of the short notice and a key lesson learned for next time would be to give adequate notice prior to embarking on such an exercise.

Interviews were generally straight forward. We found that the letters of introduction were helpful. There was a fair bit of protocol in order to see State security agencies. However, they collaborate very well with one another and seeing one agency is an opportunity to get them to assist with an appointment with their sister agency. Below is the gender analysis of those contacted during the field work through interview, Focus Group Discussion and Workshops.

	MALE	FEMALE
Interviews and FGDs- Jos	23	3
Workshops	12+ 14	5+17=22
Interviews and FGDs-Kad	19	8
Workshops	7	14
Total	63	47

Workshops. Two sets of workshops were held in Jos and one in Kaduna.

Day 1 members of civil society organisations working in the area of peace were invited through phone calls, personal invitations and emails. Following opening formalities, Introductions were made by individuals in an interactive manner. The facilitators gave the workshop over view and objectives. The workshop proper, the participants were grouped randomly and given group work as outlined in Appendix 2.

Individual Interviews/ one on one. These were carried out with a broad range of actors. The interviews were mostly held at their offices of operation or in the case of Traditional leaders in the community.

Focus group discussion. Focus group discussion was held with Women's Organisation, NGO, State Security service and Governmental Parastatals.

Attendance at functions. The team attended Apurimac Onlus graduation ceremony of beneficiaries of skills acquisition event. This gave us the opportunity to see their grandaunts first hand, to see their level of interaction with other NGOs as well as the capacity of the NGO. The graduation was conducted on the 6th of December 2011.

On the 19th December 2011, Commissioner of Police convened A Stakeholders' meeting on Peace Parley in Jos. It has in attendance all the heads of the Security agencies in Jos and cross section of Traditional, Community and religious leaders, Civil Society Organisations – both the NGOs and Faith Based Organisations. Others invited include retired officers: military General- General Joshua Dogonyaro; AIG Ali Jos and AVM Danbaba (Commandant, Operation Rainbow – The Plateau State Security Outfit).

3. FINDINGS: GRIEVANCES THAT DRIVE VIOLENT CONFLICT

The perspectives of the drivers of conflict vary with the level of individual's conflict experience and or the identity of the respondents. However, to begin with, it is worth analyzing why religion happens to be the first grievance identified by Women and youth groups in Plateau State and most of the other respondents in the two States, while the underlying factors are not recognized. This interpretation stems from the fact that once violence broke out, places of worship are the first target for destruction along killing, maiming and burning of personal properties on the basis of religious differences. Political and economic factors appears to be the underlying grievances that drives the communal conflicts in the two States, while colonial and historical antecedence in the process of state formation ad initio provided platform for defining the parties in the conflict. All these underlying factors manifest themselves in different ways that the common man on the streets simply translates from ethnic and religious lens alone. The historical relationship between the natives and non –natives in Jos, Plateau State and Zaria Emirate and the minority ethnic groups in the Southern Kaduna, Kaduna State, prior to and the immediate decades after the Nigeria's Independence shapes peoples' perception of religion as grievance.

Political manipulation of religion for personal gains is one of the underlying factors that has been recognized by both Nigerian and the International scholars. As will be seen below in 3.2, the Commandant of the Special Task Force also attributed the cause of the conflict in Plateau State to "politics" that is simply given a religious colouration and used as a delivery mechanism for mass mobilization. Equally, the Director of CECOMPS, University of Jos in 3.3 below, described religion as an "emblem" for prosecuting personal agenda by the political elites.

3.1. The women and youth group described the current situation regarding crisis in Plateau State thus:

1. Religious intolerance, issues that has been accepted before the crisis are no longer tolerated now in both side, which leads to insecurity
2. Follow up to one above is lack of confidence and trust among different ethnic and religious groups. This leads to Muslims/Christians living apart, unlike in the past where things are being done in common. This disintegration has led to separate market thereby affecting the economy which leads to a lot of social and economic problems.
3. Another prominent issue faced on the plateau is the in discriminate use of drug leading to more violent, and fire arms are mostly in the hands of the society who uses them indiscriminately

4. Unemployment has caused a lot of problem leading to drug intake in the society. This also leads to high crime rates that is being experienced currently
5. Underdevelopment; the government of the state hide under the canopy of crisis to develop area of their interest at the detriment of the others, there is also discrimination in employment
6. Government and civil society are more engaged in peace moves
7. Education is now currently polarised along religious lines
8. Government has initiated a peace building unit
9. More involvement of women. Women have been known to participate as combatants.
10. More involvement of youth. The increasing numbers of the youth as fighters in the conflicts and their involvement in crime and drug abuse is evident. This situation is further worsened by the youth rate of youth unemployment and under employed
11. Agitation for compensation. Compensation for victims has been seen as too little too late or minimal for the example the recent compensation for youth corpse victims of the post election violence.
12. Sophistication in the use of arms. The conflict which started with the use of stones and sticks in September 2001 has now become more complex in Plateau State where weapons for fighting have graduated to the use of more sophisticated firearms and bombs. Large stocks of arms are believed to be in hands of the civilians illegally. This portrays a key accelerator that can escalate a trigger of conflict to violence but now and in the future.
13. Cannibalism. Silent Killing and Cannibalism has crept into the conflict scene.
14. Education was proliferated and is still proliferating till today; the crisis has also graduated from the use of sticks to that of guns and now bombs. Then finally it led to cannibalism. There is more involvement of youth and women in peace activities and also that of government.

3.2. The perspective of the Commander of the Special Task Force

- The crisis in Jos is Political but has been given a religious coloration. The main problems identified include lack of infrastructure, social amenities, schools, roadways hospitals which are like prescription centres.
- There is therefore a need to start with fundamentals such as education, employment and job creation. Young able bodied men turn to Gasko (illicit gin) and sniff gutters etc
- The planned removal of commercial motorcycles from the streets for example without alternatives like “keke NAPEP” (tricycle) is not advisable. Rather, there is a need to register all cyclists, give them ID numbers and colour code their jackets to indicate their area of operation.
- A lot of the crisis is fuelled from within and outside the state. These groups of people behind the conflicts are usually not identified as parties to the conflict.
- The General also unveil the characteristics of a group of people described as a “cabal” profiting from the distribution of relief materials who are affected by the conflict in the State. He cited an instance when he personally caught a NEMA vehicle / lorry loaded with relief materials a day after the distribution of relief material in Barkin Ladi by the same organization. The Plateau State Assistant Secretary of CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) was fingered as the one that called NEMA office to demand for relief materials for those he claimed were given the previous day, and a lorry load materials was dispatched to him.

- The media also engages in unbalanced reporting (he gave examples of Daily trust and Nation newspapers.)

3.3 The Director of Conflict Management and Peace studies in the University of Jos stated the grievances as follows.

Angwan Rogo believes that University community has been unfair. Since 2001 students have left hostel accommodation which was in the community. This has caused overcrowding within the campus and therefore there is a need to build mutual trust with the community which hosts the University. They have complained that the University discriminates concerning admission, employment, security, since access to their community has been blocked due to the erection of a gate. Community members now have to go all the way round.

During the Sallah crisis when Muslims were attacked at the praying ground, the Governor did not condemn it and did not visit the victims which made the Muslims to identify him as interested party.

There are some conflict entrepreneurs amongst the politicians and religious leaders reaping from the crisis as they thrive in the resulting confusion that follow such conflict. Some of the Politicians lack competitive spirit and pitch one community against another as a strategy for excluding some groups from participating in an election. Such political elites use religion as an “emblem” for prosecuting personal agenda.

It is however important note that structural inequalities in infrastructural development and political participation which can easily be define along ethnic lines in both States will continue to accelerate any key trigger like election into violence. The minority ethnic groups who are mostly Christians in the Southern Kaduna feel marginalized in the political space by the Hausas who largely of the Islamic faith in Kaduna State. In Plateau State on the other hand, the natives hold view that the non-natives (often referred to the “Settler group” has taken over the economy of the State, which give them an advantage in commerce and socialization over the natives. Though, the settler community in the State include the three major ethnic groups and many others, the conflicts in the State is often describe as being between the Hausa/Muslims and Indigene/Christians. There is increasing discontent about the Beroms/ Governor Jang’s administration by other natives in the State. Aside from the complaints of political and developmental marginalization by other natives, the Anaguta ethnic has long drawn battle with the Beroms over the ownership of Jos which got to the Supreme Court.

4. EVENTS THAT TRIGGER VIOLENT CONFLICT (OR COULD DO)

The trigger events in some cases can be traced to an isolated issue or in other cases can be traced to a process such as elections. Generally, the triggers have led to violence erupting simply because the root causes have not been appropriately addressed.

The history of triggers in the two States is as follows.

4.1 Jos

1. Protest over the appointment of the coordinator for National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP) for Jos North Local Government Area.
2. Blockage of road for Islamic prayer purposes in 2001
3. Speculations over the Jos north local government results in November 2008

4. Attempts to prevent the renovation of a residential house of the 2008 crisis victim in January 2010
5. Bomb blast at Kabong and Anguwan Rukuba on 24th December, 2011
6. Attempt to prevent the Muslims from performing the Eid el Fitr prayer at Rukuba road in 2011.
7. Reprisal as a result of the killing of 3 (Berom) indigenes of Barkin Ladi by suspected Fulani herdsmen in December, 2011
8. Appointment of caretaker chairman of Jos north in 1994
9. Killing of Muslim youths who were on their way from marriage in Mangu in 2010
10. Religious crisis in Yelwan Shendam in 2004

4.2 Kaduna

1. 1987 Kafanchan crisis induced Rev Bako provocative preaching using the Quran a reference point at the College of Education trigger religious reprisal attacks across the State.
2. 1992 Zango Kataf crisis was ignited by problem associated with decision about local market between the Hausa and the Kataf.
3. 2000 February sharia crisis on its adoption by the State while the Christians protested to resist its adoption.
4. 2000 May Sharia part 2 in Kaduna
5. 2002 eclipse sighting citing crisis in Kaduna
6. 2003 Miss World crisis triggered by This day Newspaper
7. 2011 April post election violence in some parts of the Northern States including Kaduna, triggered by loss of Presidential election by the CPC against the PDP ruling party.

5. WHO IS KEEPING THE PEACE NOW – AND HOW?

5.1 Government

Government at both the Federal and State are keeping the peace through:

- the deployment of security agencies to the violent conflict to keep the peace in both States
- Setting up of Inter-religious peace committee in the case of Plateau State while Kaduna State in addition also establishes Bureau for Religious Affairs for Christians' and Muslim matters.
- Setting up of panels of enquiry to look into the conflict and make recommendation for Government consideration.
- Provision of relief materials to the IDPs.
- Appointment of a Special Adviser on peace building to coordinate the efforts of the State and NSA in the peace-building process.

5.2 The Religious and community leaders appeal for peace in their sermons in their areas of influence or domain.

5.3 EPRT

EPRT teams are multi- faith, interagency and balanced gender composition of the teams. They were able to penetrate hard to reach areas places and the presence of women on the team allows them to reach women living in seclusion.

5.4 Peace Champions

Generally people are tired of going through conflicts; loss of lives, property businesses and want to move on therefore there are those within communities who have taken it upon themselves to be peace champions.

5.5 Security forces

Efforts of the task force is now more targeted at the grass roots These include the Special Task Force, Police, SSS, Civil Defence, Operation Rainbow, Operation Yaki.

5.6. CSOs

There are a number of Inter-faith Organisations that are gender balanced. However the efforts of CSOs in peace building are increasing but not coordinated. The range of activities of the groups include, Peace advocacy, capacity building, peace education, relief material distribution and, skills acquisitions for youth and women.

5.7. Social media and Drama

Social media is being used by different actors to calm the nerves of the people in the State. Drama and local theatre is also being used .The main stream Media-radio and Television are engaged in playing jingles, documentaries and discussion on Peace and peaceful coexistence.

5.8. Women groups are involved in peace rallies across religious and ethnic divides. Barring religious encumbrances, women are generally seen as having a crucial role to play in peacemaking.

6. GAPS IN THE CONFLICT PREVENTION ARCHITECTURE AND AREAS FOR SUPPORT

6.1 Gaps

The capacity of the State and non–state architecture is low or non-existent in some areas of conflict sensitivity in policy formulation and development plans; conflict prevention and Peace-building.

There is no policy guideline for the management of Internally Displaced Persons as a result of violent conflict in both Plateau and Kaduna States. This is further compounded by non-existence of designated infrastructure for emergencies in the States despite the protracted nature of their conflict experience. In Kaduna State for example about 1,000 people still remain in the Hajj camp following the post – election violence of April 2011. After more than ten years of violent conflicts in Plateau State, the Government has just commenced the process of enacting an edit for the establishment of its State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA).

There is no documentation of lessons learnt from previous projects implemented by NGOs. The (NGOs) do not carry out M & E in most cases and when they do, it is limited to the requirement of the donor’s condition for releasing funds.

There is no coordination among the NGOs in project initiation and design so as to as to avoid duplication of effort.

There is no proper analysis of the conflict carried out within a particular framework in determining the required intervention with a clear exit strategy. (A point where the beneficiaries can take care of themselves or the achieved outcomes can be sustained.)

There is no coordination between the State and Non State Actors in identifying priority areas for intervention and the actual response activities.

The same set of youth groups are always invited to peace workshops and other intervention activities without giving feed back to their constituency. However the

previously arrested arsonists or culprits of violence and the notorious youth are not usually invited to peace workshops.

There is non implementation of White papers from the several investigation panels on previous violent conflicts. The culture of impunity is on the increase as a result of the non- implementation of recommendations by the Government.

6.2 Areas of possible support

There is a need for *Capacity building for key Government officials* at the State and Local Government Council from the executive and the legislative arms on Conflict sensitivity in Governance and Development.

The *Security agencies* can be supported in terms of capacity building on conflict Prevention and Management

In Kaduna 2 *permanent secretaries of the Bureau for Religious Affairs* exist, and their staff will require capacity building on Conflict prevention and Management.

Peer mediation and formation of *Peace clubs* is being done in the schools and can be scaled up

There is the need to create *platforms for Government, Security and the Civil Society Organisations for the coordination* of identifying areas of intervention and evaluation of feedbacks to facilitate the documentation of lessons learnt.

The provision of *economic empowerment* for the youths and women groups through skills acquisition and grants is recommended at the ward level.

Women's voices can be strengthened through participation as complimenting the role of the traditional and religious leaders as their wives since Women cannot be paramount leaders. Increase in education and empowerment also provides impetus to participate in decision making.

The *balancing of gender in the composition of teams* will enable women to participate fully in the project activities as well as get to sensitize women.

Mothers have influence on children and as wives on their husbands; they are therefore better positioned as peace-builders if given the right environment to function as advisers or as role models.

7.0 Recommendations: See Page 1.

7.1 Short Term

7.2. Long Term