

PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION ON ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AS A CAUSE OF
CONFLICT. A CASESTUDY OF JOS-NORTH METROPOLIS, NIGERIA

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine the influence of ethnic and religious identity on conflict formation and escalation of the Jos-North crises and provide proposals for new management strategies for the control of this social phenomenon. The study focuses on Jos-North metropolis in Plateau state Nigeria. The conflict in Jos characterized as inter-religious or inter-ethnic between the majority Christian 'indigenes' (Anaguta, Berom and Afizare) and the minority Muslim Hausa-Fulani groups. The conflict erupted due to social and political exclusion on the basis of ethnicity and religion, discrimination and bias in government also increased the tension. The main purpose of the study was to provide an in-depth insight and understanding on the influence of ethno-religious identity on conflict. This study assumes that ethnicity and religion plays an important role in the escalation and formation of conflict. And it is expected that the findings would help in the mitigation of identity conflict. Qualitative research method was employed to secure an in-depth understanding and elicit practical experience and perception of the phenomena being studied. To ensure that people's perception on the influence of ethno religious identity on conflict and their needs, interest and position were revealed, questionnaires and interviews were the method of enquiry. The sample of the study included 50 respondents from 4 wards in Jos-North metropolis. Data from the findings was presented descriptively using the thematic analysis. The findings revealed that Jos-North conflict is fueled by the fear of religious and ethnic domination and the need for recognition by the ethnic group. And, to mitigate this conflict there is need for dialogue, sensitization for community and religious leaders and amendment of the constitution to redefine the provision for indigeneship. The researcher recommends that there is need for the government and civil society to develop programs for social reorientation of the citizenry. And also put in place an operational preventive strategy in the form of early warning and preventive diplomacy.

DECLARATION

I ADAMA GRACE KEFAS do hereby declare that the research presented here is a result of my work except where it is acknowledged and that it has never been submitted nor will it ever be submitted to another university for the awarding of a degree.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the glory of God and My parents Mr. and Mrs. Kefas Ishaya Ambair.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Col	Cornel
FCC	Federal Character Commission
LG	Local Government
LGA	Local Government Area
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
NYSC	Nigerian Youth Servicer Commission

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of the study ethnic and religious identity as a cause of conflict, a case study of Jos-North Metropolis, Plateau State Nigeria. Identity plays a role in the development, maintenance and formation of a conflict, because threat to identity may cause or escalate conflict. When a conflict between two parties involves a core sense of identity, the conflict tends to be protracted (Northrup, 2003). Ethno-religious conflict means a situation where the relationship between members of ethnic or religious groups in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation (Ostein, 2009). In Nigeria, it is interesting to note that ethnic and religious intolerance have become a hinge for various forms of nationalism ranging from assertion of language, cultural autonomy and religious superiority to demands for local political autonomy which sometimes leads to contextual discrimination of members of one ethnic or religious group against another on the basis of different socio-cultural symbols and religion. In fact, mutual suspicion and lack of cordiality among the various ethnic components explains why ethno-religious conflicts have become a permanent feature of Nigeria as far back as 1980s to date (Okapachi, 2012).

The complex ethnic, religious and communal identities are most salient in and the main basis for the violent conflict in the country. This is from the point of view that identities are commonly assumed by citizens especially for political purposes and competition for resources and privileges (Suberu, 2005). According to Okpanachi (2012), Nigeria is governed by a set of common assumptions on ethnicity. First, ethnic identification is presumed to be the most salient and consistent source of social identity in Nigeria. Second, ethnicity is regarded as a central avenue for collective action. Thirdly, ethnicity is assumed to be a generally destabilizing influence, with particularly corrosive influences on democracy. A number of implications follow from these premises. Since political competition is organized along ethnic lines, both democratic and authoritarian regimes presumably have an ethnic character. Civilian governments allegedly encourage ethnic political parties, while military regimes are said to reflect a clear sectional ruling group. Structures of political control are also constituted ethnically, through clienteles' networks and patronage systems. Ethnic identity, in a context of rivalry over scarce resources, is viewed as fostering polarization and conflict (Okpanachi, 2012).

Religion has always been important in Nigeria (Egwu,2001). The intensity of religious identity in Nigeria is regarded as one of the highest in the world. This claim is supported by the fact that Nigerians are more likely to define themselves in terms of religion than any other identity. Indeed, according to the authoritative May-June 2006 survey on Religion and Public Life conducted by the Pew Forum on "Religion and Public Life", 76% of Christians say that religion is more important to them than their identity as Africans,

Nigerians or members of an ethnic group. Amongst the Muslims, the number naming religion as the most important factor is even higher (91%). In fact, Christian and Muslim identities have been the mainstay of religious differentiation and conflict, with Nigerian Muslims much more likely to evince a religious identity than Christians. Underlying this deep religious identity is the deep distrust each group feels toward the other. According to a Pew Survey, most of the country's Christians (62%) say they trust people from other religions only a little or not at all. A similar percentage of Nigeria's Muslims (61%) say they trust people of other religions little or not at all (Okpanachi, 2012).

With all the debate going on about the identity most salient in Nigeria, it is clear however that most times, ethnicity and religion rarely operate in isolation. Rather they interact with one another in a complex and conflicting ways. It is with realization of this fact that the term ethno-religious identity has been coined to capture the tendency for the boundary between ethnicity and religion to unite during moments of conflict and violence (Egwu, 2001).

1.2 Background of the Study

Nigeria is a plural, highly complex, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religions polity, with a diversity of ethnic groups. (Danfulani, 2009: Smyth and Robinson, 2001). This identity is played out in the way the country is divided along the lines of religion, language, culture, ethnicity and regional identity Osaghae and Suberu (2005:4).

Violent identity conflicts since 1999 have become a method of collective action by diverse ethnic and religious groups that are engaged in political power contestations. The most prominent of these conflicts are those that have turned Muslims against Christians in a dangerous convergence of religion, ethnicity and politics.

Plateau State is one of the thirty-six constituent states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and according to the 2006 census has a population of 3.1 million people. It is a Christian majority state within northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria as a whole has a majority Muslim population but there are also large numbers of Christians. Plateau State is located in the north-central zone and forms part of the middle-belt, a geopolitical idea which demographically consists mainly of national minorities most of them Christians within the old Northern Region (Ostein, 2009). Jos is derived from *gwashor jot*, a Berom word for “water spring,” long lost in the midst of development. It is said that a small hill village called *Gwash* occupied the present location of Jos. Hausa traders who arrived supposedly mispronounced *Gwash Jot* for Jos and the name stuck.” According to the Afizere, Anaguta and Berom, their “ancestors and founding fathers fought against and repelled the Jihadists in the 1870s. They expressed their determination to defend and retain their ancestral title in perpetuity (Ostein, 2009). In 1873, Sarkin Yaki Ahmadu led the first Hausa-Fulani invasion, under the command of Sarkin Bauchi Ibrahim and Chiroma Usman. Badly beaten by the joint forces of the three tribes, the Hausa-Fulani did not attack again until the advent of the white colonialists (Emelonye, 2011).

The town of Jos, the Tin City was established in 1915 as a tin transportation camp and its early history was closely linked to the prosperity of the tin mining industry. In 1976 it became the capital of, first, the Benue-Plateau State and, later, the Plateau State of Nigeria and has become an important administrative and commercial centre, therefore hosting people of different backgrounds (Emelonye, 2011). With a population of about 800,000, Jos remains one of the most cosmopolitan towns in Nigeria. It was regarded as the "home of peace" or as the safest city to live in Nigeria (Inusa, 2002). Beginning of the early 20th century, after the British took over and Christian missionaries began reaching them, the Plateau peoples mostly converted to Christianity under the pax Britannica (roughly 1900 to 1960), Hausas and other northern Muslims finally found it possible to occupy parts of the Plateau. They entered and settled peacefully to work in the tin mines or farm or do leatherwork or cut nails and hair or teach the Qur'an or trade or do business and no doubt for many other reasons as well. As they came they established their own self-perpetuating, always expanding, and largely self-governing communities in Jos and other places on the Plateau (Ostein, 2009). With the collapse of the mining in Jos, Most artisan and traders remained in Jos and made it their permanent home.

Plateau State is among the most ethnically and linguistically diverse States in Nigeria, it has more than 30 ethno-linguistic groups in the state recognized by the state government as indigenous (Ostein, 2009). There is also a long history of migration of people from across Nigeria to Plateau. Therefore, defining which groups are "indigenous" and are "settlers" became one of the main areas of conflict. Ethnicity is a prominent form of collective

mobilization, communal politics tends to override class politics in Plateau State, partly because Plateau peoples are minorities in the regional and national contexts and have mobilized around ethnicity in their quest for greater autonomy from the majority groups (Higazi A. , 2011). Identity has remained a big issue in Nigeria because of the diverse nature of ethnic groups in the country, the difference in religion, beliefs, values and customs has been an incubator for conflict. Plateau State is one of the main sites of ethnic and religious violence in the north-Central part of Nigeria (Kwaja, 2011). In the past years, there have been recurrent crises across the state, in both the urban and rural areas. The conflict erupted due to political exclusion on the basis of ethnicity and religion. As communal politics became more acute, social and political exclusion on the basis of ethnicity and religion increased. Discrimination and bias in government and the narrow ethnic and religious politics among both Christians and Muslims increased tension and polarization along communal lines. Also, social problems at different levels of society have increased the propensity for violence (Higazi A. , 2011). The Muslims who are mostly the Hausa-Fulani feared religious and cultural domination from the Plateau state indigenes who happens to be predominantly Christians (Eriksen, 2001).

The dominant Christian (indigene) population in Plateau State are saying that until the problem is given a constitutional solution the hospitality of the people of the State should not be abused by settlers who make outrageous and bogus claims for rights and privileges which do not exist anywhere else in the Federation (Danfulani 2006, quoting a group called the Plateau Patriots).

According to Bagudu (2003), this is because of the constitutional right acclaim to the indigenes at the expense of the non indigenes in the community. The FCC is empowered to issue regulations which among other things define an indigene of a State (FCC Act S17 (2)

(k)). It has issued such regulations, defining an indigene of a State as an indigene of a Local Government in that State, and continuing: An indigene of a Local Government means a person:

1. either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents was or is an indigene of the Local Government concerned; or
2. who is accepted as an indigene by the Local Government.

Acceptance as an indigene by a local government is indicated by issuance of a certificate of indigeneship. Whoever controls the local government controls the issuance of indigene certificates, the Hausa-Fulani in Jos who have long claimed to be indigenes of the place as much as anyone else, by virtue of their long residence there and the alleged emptiness of the land when they got there. When they were in control of the local government, have issued indigene to themselves (Bagudu, 2003).

An election for the Jos North local government council and chairmanship was held in 1991, soon after the new LGA was created. The winner of the Jos North chairmanship was Sama'ila Mohammed a Jasawa (Hausa-Fulani). This was exactly what the Jasawa had worked toward and the indigenes had feared. The elections passed off peacefully, and there were no incidents of communal violence during Sama'ila Mohammed's term. But the indigenes complained about his appointment of other Jasawa to key positions in the local government, and most especially about the fact that he began issuing indigene certificates from Jos North to Jasawa. Sama'ila Mohammed's tenure of office ended prematurely in November 1993 when General Sani Abacha, upon seizing control of the federal

government, dissolved all democratic structures in Nigeria, including elected state and local governments officials (Bagudu,2003). General Abacha, a northern Muslim appointed Col. Mohammed Mana, another northern Muslim, as military governor of Plateau State. The day-to-day running of local governments was left in the hands of their existing Directors of Personnel Management (DPMs), pending further instructions (Bagudu, 2003). In 1994, the military governors throughout the country appointed five-person caretaker committees to run the local governments. The man appointed by Col. Mana to the chairmanship of the Jos North caretaker committee, in early April 1994, was Alhaji Aminu Mato, a Hausa-Fulani. Mato was not acceptable to the Jos indigenes (Bagudu, 2003). In April 1994 they staged a protest at the Government House in Jos, against his appointment of a Hausa-Fulani as chairman. Col. Mana nevertheless swore Mato into office on 6 April, and the handing-over ceremony was fixed for 8 April at the local government headquarters. The indigenes swore not to allow (Mato) assume office. On the 8th of April people swarmed to the venue to prevent the handing-over from taking place (Bagudu 2003). Col. Mana on seeing the tension backed away from Mato's appointment, ordering the DPM to continue running Jos North until further notice. This in turn infuriated the Hausa-Fulani. The following day, the Hausa-Fulani butchers slaughtered animals on the highway near the Jos abattoir, saying these and other acts of protest would continue until Mato was installed. On 11 April the Hausa-Fulani held a meeting near the central mosque, calling for people to come out in mass for a demonstration the next day.

The following day, Jasawa youths took to the streets.... This later finally degenerated into chaos and violence in the city of Jos, leading to the destruction of property and the death of four persons. Parts of the Jos ultra-modern market, the

Gada Biyu market, and an Islamic school and mosque along Rukuba Road were destroyed. (Best 2007: 55)

But the chairmanship of Jos-North has never again been held by a Hausa-Fulani person. It is not only from the local government chairmanship that the indigenes have sought to exclude Jasawa. An attempted appointment in 1996 of Ado Ibrahim a Hausa-Fulani, to the position of a Secretary to the Jos North Education Authority sparked violence as the indigenes strongly opposed the appointment, the government dropped him (Best, 2007). Then, there was the issue of indigene certificates for the Hausa-Fulani. This seems not to have come to a head until 1999. Until then the governorship of the state continued in the hands of military governors, most of which are northern Muslims appointed by Sani Abacha. But on 29 May 1999, after series of elections to all offices, the entire country was handed back to elected civilian rulers. Joshua Dariye, a Plateau Christian, from Bokkos local government, was elected governor of Plateau State. Frank Bagudu Tardy (or Taddy), also a Plateau Christian, Anaguta by tribe, was elected chairman of Jos-North, in an election unmarred by violence. Under Tardy the issuance of indigene certificates from Jos North to the Hausa-Fulani was completely stopped (Best, 2007).

The Hausa-Fulani petitioned the LG Chairman in a letter of 20 October, 1999, but were not satisfied with his response. Key Hausa/Fulani leaders paid a visit to the LG Chairman to register their concern. They were still not satisfied with the outcome of the meeting. They further, finally petitioned the Plateau State Government. The Hausa/Fulani note that the local government authorities did not revert to the status quo, and the Plateau State Government did nothing about it further (Best 2007).

With the return to civilian rule under the Christian indigenes of Plateau State, the Hausa/Fulani were increasingly excluded from participation in state and local government and the benefits flowing there from. This formed the background to the September 2001

and subsequent crises. The cause of the September 2001 Jos crisis was another attempt to exclude a Hausa-Fulani from appointive office. This time the appointment was made by an agency of the federal government, the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP). In late July 2001, Mukhtar Mohammed was named the coordinator NAPEP for Jos-North Local Government (Bagudu, 2003). Once again the indigenes set their faces against it. Within Jos, controversy, insults, threats, and tensions escalated throughout August, finally exploding into violence on 7 September (Best, 2007).

From September 7 to 13, 2001, Jos...became the scene of mass killing and destruction. Initial figures compiled by local human rights groups, religious communities and other organizations indicate that more than 1,000 people were killed.... [S]ome villages on the outskirts of Jos had been almost completely destroyed; they lay abandoned and empty. In the centre of town too, extensive damage to mosques, churches, schools, shops, homes, and vehicles was clearly visible. (HRW 2001)

The Jos crisis of September 2001 was the beginning of a series of outbreaks of communal violence, in Jos and elsewhere in Plateau State, continuing in 2002, 2003, and 2004 (Best, 2007). All of this was repeated in November 2008. The political culture has been very divisive, polarizing groups along ethnic and religious lines instead of accommodating people in an inclusive system of government. Due to the violence since 2001, there has been an increase in xenophobia and ethnic and religious prejudice on all sides. To a large extent, political legitimacy is defined, and exclusion practiced, in terms of indigeneity which refers to “place of origin” that is defined by ancestry rather than by birth (Bach, 1997; Human Rights Watch, 2006).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Jos, the Plateau State Capital in Nigeria has over the years witnessed violent communal clashes across ethnic and religious fault lines. These clashes have claimed thousands of lives, displaced hundreds of thousands people, and fostered a climate of instability throughout the region (Kwaja, 2011). Large scale violence has occurred periodically since 2001, in recent years the attacks have become more frequent and widespread. The conflict in Jos is often characterized as inter-religious or inter-ethnic between the majority Christian ‘indigenes’ (Anaguta, Berom and Afrizare) and the minority Muslim Hausa-Fulani groups (Ostein: 2009). As is often the case with the identity conflicts in Africa, these are socially constructed stereo-types that are manipulated to trigger and drive violence in Jos (Kwaja, 2011). They veil deeper institutional factors within the Nigerian social fabric that are abused and exploited to deny citizens access to resources, basic rights, and participation in political process for instance, the Nigeria’s constitution grants every citizen the right to settle anywhere within the country and prohibits the government from discriminating against citizens based on ethnicity or religion. Nevertheless, strong regulations continue to favor the indigenes within states and even Local Governments (Higazi, 2011). Non-indigenes (settlers that have their origins in other states) are excluded from university scholarships, pay higher school and university fees, and cannot be recruited into the civil service, also the lack of political representation for the non-indigene settlers; this makes the indigene status highly contested, especially since it is linked to important political, economic, and educational benefits (Ostein, 2009). The Hausa-Fulani population complain that it is almost impossible for them to receive indigene status when

they are also part of the state, therefore they should be given their quota and they will take it by force if necessary (Isa-Odidi, 2004). Religion is involved because the Hausa-Fulani are Muslims while the Plateau tribes are mostly Christians. Therefore, apart from the honor of ethnicity, the honor of religion is also there to be defended by violence if necessary. It is based on the above mentioned, that this Study examines the influence of ethnic and religious identity construction in conflict formation and escalation of the Jos-North crises and provides proposals for new management strategies for the control of this social phenomenon, which is fast becoming a permanent feature of the Nigerian social map.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will explore people's perception on ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict. Based on the desire to live in peace and transform relationships in communities, this study intent to inform the community on how best to pursue peace through human interaction. Furthermore, the study will provide the researcher an in-depth insight and understanding on the concept of ethno-religious identity and conflict. Lastly, findings in the study will add to the body of knowledge and ideas in the field of identity and conflict situation.

1.5 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the influence of ethnic and religious identity in terms of conflict formation.
2. To identify the needs, position, interest and perception of the conflicting ethnic and religious groups
3. To identify the effective ways to mitigate identity conflict

1.6 Research Questions

1. How does identity motivate a group to engage in aggressive behaviour?
2. What are the needs, position, perception and interest of the conflicting group
3. What are the ways to mitigate identity conflict

1.7 Assumption

This study assumes that ethnicity and religion plays an important role in the escalation and protraction of conflict. And it is expected that the findings about this study would have some influence in the mitigation of identity conflict.

1.8 Delimitation

This study is limited to ethnicity and religion as a form of identity. This is because ethnicity and religion compared to other forms of identity play an important role in the escalation and protraction of conflict. The study will be limited to Jos-North local government area. The study will be carried out on the grounds that this community was affected by the conflict. The study will target residents of Jos which include both Hausa-Fulani and indigenes tribes (the Berom, Afizare and Angas), non-governmental organisation knowledgeable in the field of conflict.

1.9 Definition of Terms

Ethnicity

A social group of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, social, cultural experience. Ethnicity connotes shared cultural heritage, ancestry, language, homeland or ideology and symbolic systems such as religion, rituals, cuisine, and physical appearance. Ethnic groups have a consciousness of their common cultural bond (Monier, 2011). An ethnic group does not exist simply because of the common national or cultural origins of the group, however. They develop because of their unique historical and social experiences, which become the basis for the group's ethnic identity (Eriksen, 1996).

Religion

Is an organized collection of beliefs, cultural systems, and world views that relate humanity to an order of existence. It conciliates powers superior to man which are believed to control the course of human nature and human life. Many religions have narratives, symbols, and sacred histories that are intended to explain the meaning of life or explain the origin of the Universe. From their beliefs about human nature, people derive morality, ethics, religious laws and a preferred lifestyle (Thorman, 2003). Religions have organized behaviors and a definition of what constitute membership. The practice of religion may also include rituals, sermons, commemoration of deity, gods or goddesses, sacrifices, festivals, prayers, initiation, meditation public service or other aspect of human life (Fernando, 2010).

Conflict

Is present when two or more parties perceive that their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties. These parties may be individuals, small or large groups, and countries (Swanstrom and Welssman, 2005).

Identity

Is a person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliation. It is the distinctive characteristic belonging to any given individual or shared by all members of a particular social group (Royer, 2012).

1.10 Structure of the Study

The study will explore the influence of ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict with a focus on Jos local government area in Plateau State Nigeria. Chapter one of the study will describe the background and the problem statement of the study. Chapter two will cover the literature review the social identity theory and the basic human needs theoretical framework on identity and conflict. Chapter three will cover the research methodology and chapter four will present data, its analysis and interpretation. Chapter five will cover the research findings in the context of the research objectives and question, recommendations and areas for further research.

1.11 Conclusion

The chapter looked introduced people's perception of ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict. It looked at the background to the concept of ethno-religious identity, historical occurrence of ethno-religious conflict. It also highlighted the place of identity on the hierarchy of needs, and gave some background information into Jos and Plateau state. It explored the violence that has struck the Jos-North metropolis.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at John Burton's theory of human needs and Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory in the context of ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict. It explores the discourse on the causes for formation, escalation and protraction of identity conflict. This chapter is informed by theories which look at identity as a cause of conflict if threatened and social mobilization to cause conflict. John Burton's theory conceptualizes unsatisfied human needs more especially identity as a strong enabler for social mobilization and reason underlying most protracted conflict. The social Identity theory assumes that identity and group affiliation influences how people view and respond to conflict.

2.2 Human Needs Theory

According to Maslow (1943) human beings need a number of essentials to survive and every human being is trying to meet needs on a certain level at any one time. These needs are in a hierarchy in terms of their importance. Maslow's pyramid starts with the basic items of food, water, and shelter, followed by the need for safety and security, then the need for belonging, love, self esteem and lastly, personal fulfillment.

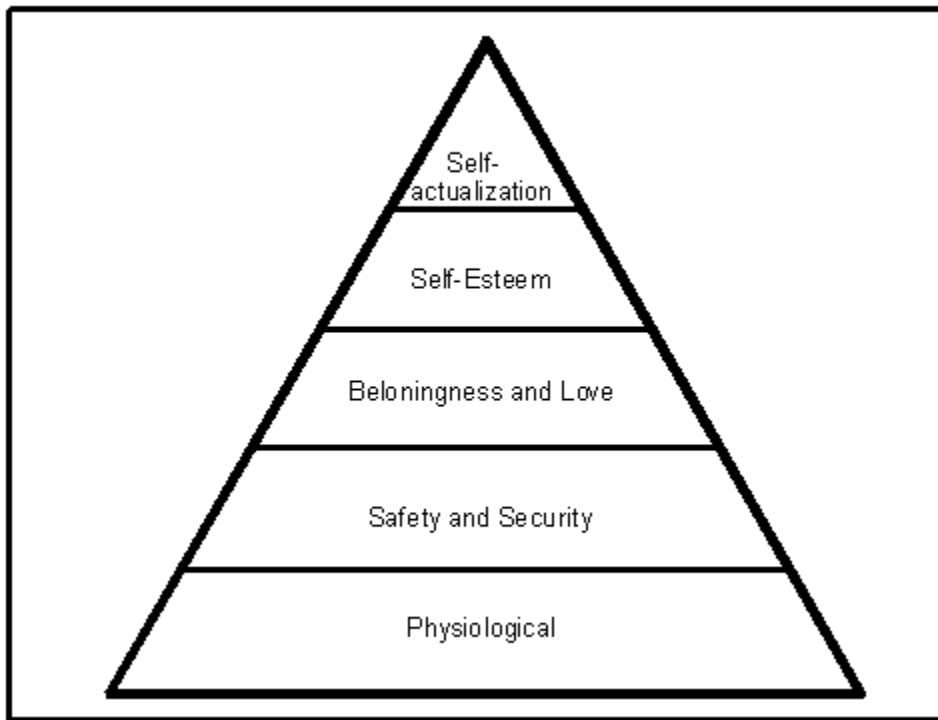


Figure 1 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Source: Derived from www.communicationtheory.org/maslow-hierarchy-of-needs

Psychological needs; these include the most basic needs that are essential for survival, such as the need for water, air, food, and sleep. Maslow believes that these needs are the most instinctive because all other needs are secondary until these physiological needs are met.

Safety; this involves the need for security which is important for survival, which is not as demanding as the physiological needs. Examples of security needs are; the desire for steady employment, health care's, safe neighborhoods, and shelter from the environment

Belonging; this is the need for a sense of belonging, love, and affection. Relationships that will help fulfill this need for companionship and acceptance, which involves social, community, or religious groups.

Esteem; After the first three needs have been satisfied, esteem needs becomes increasingly important. These include the need for things that reflect on self-esteem, personal worth, social recognition, and accomplishment.

Self actualization; here, people are self-aware, concerned with personal growth, less concerned with the opinions of others, and interested fulfilling their potential.

However, John Burton perceived human needs in a different way. He assumes that human needs surpass just subsistence needs, it includes physical and non-physical essentials that are needed for human growth and development, as well as things humans are innately driven to attain (Burton, 1990b, p.12). For the purpose of this study, the John Burton's theory will be adopted for the theoretical framework. In Burton's (1990b) view, the need of identity, recognition, security and personal development provide a relatively objective basis for transcending local political and cultural differences, understanding the sources of conflict to design conflict resolution processes. Burton pointed out that human needs are non-negotiable (p22) in his explanation;

Needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for. Thus, the human needs approach makes a case for turning away from traditional negotiation models that do not take into account nonnegotiable issues. These include interest-based negotiation models that view conflict in terms of win-win or other consensus-based solutions, and conventional power models (primarily used in the field of negotiation and international relations) that construct conflict and conflict management in terms of factual and zero-sum game perspectives (p23).

Burton distinguished ontological needs from values and interests. He defines ontological needs as non-negotiable while values offer limited opportunities for negotiation and interests as negotiable issues (p26). Burton differentiated conflict from the term dispute. He defined 'conflict' as an action over non-negotiable human needs, while dispute was over negotiable values (p27).

The Human needs theory asserts that the frustrations of ontological, mostly non-material human needs are the cause of deep-rooted violent conflict. Burton and Sandole (1986) accept those needs as articulated by Paul Sites: response, security, recognition, distributive justice, meaning, rationality and control (p. 338). Unlike material needs, the means for satisfying these non-material needs are not necessarily in short supply. While these needs are not subject to negotiation and bargaining, their satisfaction amongst the parties can in fact promote their satisfaction in others (Burton, 1990, p. 242). The key lies in finding appropriate satisfiers that achieve this win-win scenario. Burton (1990b, p.45) identified four needs that are universal and nonnegotiable. These needs are not hierarchical, rather they are sought simultaneously. Burton's list of human needs include;

1. **Security;** The need for structure, predictability, stability, and freedom from fear and anxiety. Security includes human welfare needs, human rights, physical, emotional, spiritual and economic well being (Burton, 1990b:66).
2. **Recognition;** This is the need for recognition of one's language, traditions, religion, cultural values, ideas, and concepts. Recognition also includes being acknowledged and appreciated by others, significance, dignity of self-worth. Recognition gives voice. The desire is that the other will recognize us according to our own estimate of our worth. The need for recognition begins with the Self but can be extended to those with whom one identifies or to those perceived as unjustly devaluing them. In the situation of where the self is the under-valued, the need for recognition results in a passion for justice(Burton, 1990b: 64).

3. **Identity;** According to Burton (1990b: 65) identity goes beyond a psychological sense of self, he defines identity as a sense of self in relation to the outside world. Identity connotes; beliefs, values, cultures, religions, spirituality and our ability to act as a group or an individual. Identity becomes a problem when ones identity is not recognized as legitimate, considered inferior or is threatened by others with different identification. Identity is one of the crucial needs identified by Burton (1976:12) because it is an extremely strong catalyst for social mobilization. The difference between “us and them” represents a potential societal fracture and a causal for strong competition amongst players (Burton, 1972:28).
4. **Personal development;** it involves a dimension of people seeking a sense of self or personal fulfillment doing all what they are capable of doing (Burton, 1990b: 67)

Burton (1990:301-335) views, identity, recognition, security and personal development as most salient in understanding of destructive social conflict. As Burton describes

We believe that the human participation in conflict situation are compulsively struggling in their respective institutional environment at all social levels to satisfy primordial and universal needs such as security, identity and development. They strive increasingly to gain the control of their environment that is necessary to ensure satisfaction of these needs (1990b:95)

This means that the struggle for primordial needs is theoretically related to the frustration aggression theory. The frustration of unsatisfied needs can lead to aggression and consequently to conflict. Also, there are certain ontological and genetic needs that are sought after and if the socialization process is not compatible with such human needs, far from socializing, will lead to frustration and anti-social personal and group behaviors. Burton (ibid) argue that conflicts over needs are fundamentally different from conflicts

over interests, because interests are negotiable, whereas needs are not. Identity conflicts engage strong passions and can lead to great destruction. Burton's notion of needs falls under criticism especially from cultural anthropologists and relativists who were critics of the Basic Human Needs theory state that they do not agree with Burton due to the fact that many conflicts involve both needs and interests (Sandole, 1993). So, conflict resolution cannot come about by just meeting human needs. For example, when looking at the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, it is understood that both needs (identity, security, freedom) and interests (i.e., resource allocation, international boundaries) are involved. Consequently, even if the needs of both parties get met, the conflict will probably not be resolved. Resolution can only come about when both needs and interests are dealt with (Marker, 2003).

2.3 Social Identity Theory

The Social Identity Theory was developed in 1979 by Tajfel and Turner. The theory was developed to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. The Social Identity Theory proposes that membership to social groups forms an important part of an individual's identity. Tajfel and Turner argued that 'people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories, such as organizational membership, religious affiliation, gender, and age cohort' (1979: 5). Social identity is a person's sense of who they are base on their group membership. Tajfel (1979) asserts that a person's group (like family, social class, ethnic group, religion) which he belongs to is a source of pride and self esteem. Therefore, in order to improve our self image, we enhance the group status we

belong to by dividing the world between “them” and “us” through the social categorization process. This is known as in-group and out-group, the Social identity theory states that the in-group will discriminate against the out-group to enhance their self-image. After the stage of social categorization, it’s the **social identification**; we tend to identify with the group we have categorized ourselves as belonging to. If for instance you have categorized yourself as a christian, the chances are you will adopt the identity of a christian and begin to act in the ways you believe christians act (and conform to the norms of the group). There will be an emotional significance to your identification with a group, and your self-esteem will become bound up with group membership (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Once we have categorized ourselves as part of a group and have identified with that group we then tend to compare that group with other groups. If our self-esteem is to be maintained our group needs to compare favorably with other groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). This is critical to understanding prejudice, because once two groups identify themselves as rivals they are forced to compete in order for the members to maintain their self-esteem. Competition and hostility between groups is thus not only a matter of competing for resources like jobs but also the result of competing identities.

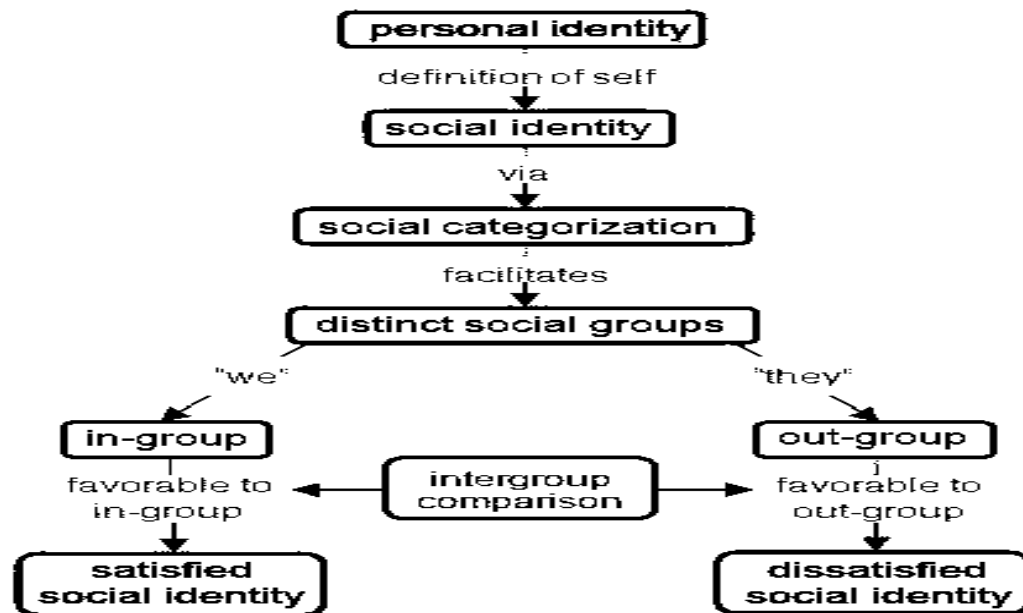


Figure 2: Process of Social Comparison

Source: Derived from www.age-of-the-sage.org/social_identity_theory

The figure illustrated shows that social categorization triggers social comparison. Social categorizations are evaluated by comparison with other groups to define the group's place in the society. To get an idea of the superiority or inferiority of the group and how relevant our belonging is, we compare it with other groups' characteristics, members and benefits. The closer the other groups are to ourselves in terms of the dimension on which we compete, the more relevant we feel and the more we need and want a positive outcome which largely determines our social identity and self-esteem.

The Social Identity Theory asserts that a person has not one, "personal self", but rather several selves that correspond to widening circles of group membership. Different social

contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on basis of his personal, family or national “level of self” (Turner et al, 1987). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), members of a group create a sense of in-group feeling; therefore they will favor their own group at the expense of out groups. Consequently the theory states that when an individual is interacting with someone else, they will not act as a single individual but they rather act as a representative of a whole group or category of people. Even during a single conversation an individual may interact with another person both on a personal level and as a member of a particular group.

A social identity is first of all a category, a way of grouping a number of people together on the basis of some shared features. Beyond labeling, social identity has many implications, both for the persons who claim the social identity and for others who see them as members of particular categories. Thus the category label can in a sense be considered the frame for a painting that is rich in cognitive beliefs, emotional associations, and behavioral consequences (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The cognitive aspects of a social identity can be extensive and varied, including personality traits, social and political attitudes, and memories for identity related events. Because social identities are developed and defined within a social world, many of these cognitions are shared. Tajfel and Turner (1979) talk in terms of self-stereotyping, suggesting that when one views the self in terms of a particular social category, one takes on the stereotypes by which society has defined that category. In Tajfel and Turner’s theory (1979: 49), social identities include not only cognitions but emotions as well. Thus to be a feminist or an environmentalist, for

example, may entail strong, affectively based feelings about social equality or the preservation of the environment. Similarly, ethnic and national identities often carry deep emotional meanings. Consider the recent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, among Serbs, Croats, and Muslims; or the killings in Africa of Hutus and Tutsis; the troubles between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland; and the continuing conflicts in the Middle East between Palestinians and Israeli Jews. In each case, identification with the ethnic group has a strong affective element that underlies the cognitive meanings associated with the identity. The recognition that identification has an emotional as well as a cognitive basis has a long history in psychology (Tajfel and Turner, 1979:45). The depth of emotion and cheer intensity of the conflict can be sensed through the atrocities that are carried out by the violent extremes of both communities (Tajfel and Turner, 1979:47).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

2.4.1 Ethnicity

Horowitz (1985) refers to ethnic groups as groups that are defined by ascriptive differences, whether the medium is color, appearance, language, religion, some other indicator that are of common origin. Some ethnic identities are on the basis of “inherent biological, cultural, or racial traits” these boundaries have not shifted for the most part. But, the features of ethnic groups, as they exist today, are overwhelmingly subjective and have taken on a “presumed identity” (Mishali-Ram, 2006). As much as ethnicity is characterized by a shared identity within a particular group, it is simultaneously defined by its dissimilarity with other group. Members of an ethnic group share an identity base on a

common trait or belief, their ethnic characteristics (such as language, race, religion) may not be generally identical and if they are, these features on their own are certainly not unique to that group. The variation in the combination of traits that forms an “ethnic identity” means that an individual usually shares commonalities with more than one ethnic group.

2.4.2 Religion

Appleby (2005) defined religion as ‘the human response to a reality perceived as sacred.’ Religion may also refer to a ‘formally organized community of faith’, but can also refer to ‘the beliefs and spirituality of individual members, subgroups, or movements operating at various psychological and social distances from the institution and the official custodians of the tradition. Religion is a type of identity formation; it is the sense of group membership to a religion. This identity formation is important because this group membership pertains to one’s self concept. According to Seul (1999) religion remains a powerful source of an individual or group identity because religion often serve the identity impulse more powerfully and comprehensively than other repositories of cultural meaning can do or does. In terms of religion and identity Seul (1999) argues that apart from religion “no other repositories of cultural meaning have historically offered so much in response to the human need to develop a secured identity, therefore religion is often at the core of individual and group identity.” Religion constitutes an integral part of culture capable of forming personal and social identity and influencing subsequent experience and behavior in profound ways. What separates religion other “integral cultures” that forms a person’s

and social identity is the perceived encounter with the sacred (the idea of holiness) It is the sacred that account for the ambivalent nature of religion, its capacity for extremes of violence and peace (Appleby, 2000). Religion is able to provide individuals with aspects that significantly contribute to their identity. These include moral frameworks, institutions, traditions and so forth. This can provide the individual with a sense of stability and belonging (Seul, 1999). Seul (1999) assumes that “the peculiar ability of religion to serve the human identity impulse may partially explain why intergroup conflict so frequently occurs along religious fault lines”. Religion is treated by many conflict analysts as a detachment of ethnicity. Stewart (2009) argued that religious organizations are usually stronger than ethnic organizations. Religious groups also receive more external support than ethnic organizations. As religion plays such an important role in a person’s identity, it is important to understand the definition of religion. All religions have their established doctrine and principles, which followers of the religion must accept and obey without question. Many religions have almost similar doctrines, but then there are also religions which are exactly the opposite of each other. The fact that religions differ from each other leads to conflict, because the followers of every religion is convinced that their religion is the “right” and the only true religion. One of the problems with religion is that the scriptures are sometimes vague and people can interpret it differently depending on the time and context. Therefore different interpretations of religious scripture can also lead to conflict (Ysseldyk, 2010).

2.4.3 The Phenomenon of Ethno-Religious Identity and Violence

Ethnic identity is closely linked with religion. It might be practically impossible to separate defining characteristics of a group's cultural composition when religious belief is an integral part of ethnicity, as the both are very important components of a people's self identity (Salawu, 2010). For example, in the Sudan, southern Sudanese Christian people, who are the Dinka and the Nuer, have fought a long civil war against the northern Sudanese Muslims aided by Iran who wish to establish an Islamic state throughout the country. Even though the northern Sudanese leaders claimed that Islamic (i.e., sharia) law would not be introduced in non-Muslim areas of the country, it became clear that their aim, was involving forced conversion of Christians and pagans to Islam and to eventually "Arabize" the entire country in a form of "ethnic cleansing". Obviously, culturally and often religiously distinct southern Sudanese would regard such an objective as good as an assault upon their way of life, even their very survival (Arcan, 2014).

Ethnically and religiously diverse societies carry various degrees of conflict potential. Ethnic and religious emotions, rooted in historical memories of grievances, are at the core of conflict potential. Identity, as Donald Horowitz (1985) argues, "embodies an element of emotional intensity that can be readily aroused when the group's interests are thought to be at stake". A sudden, key structural change (such as the collapse of communism in Bosnia and decolonization in Rwanda and Sri Lanka) can upset previous political and institutional arrangements. And, when these institutional mechanisms are no longer in place, the nation faces a period of political and economic transition in which the old institutional

mechanisms no longer works while the new will not yet function and the social costs grow. This creates an environment of instability and uncertainty about political, social, and economic future of the communities, or to use Lake and Rothchild's (2000) term "collective fears of the future". Such a situation facilitates a manifestation of emotional antagonisms amongst ethnic and religious groups. Identities play major roles in the way groups interact with each other, with religion and ethnicity forming the very basis for social interactions. Religion and ethnicity mostly leads to violence within peculiar circumstances usually at times when they become "fused with violent expressions of social aspirations, personal pride, and movements for change" (Juergensmeyer, 2001). These circumstances can often be found where groups actively pursue a positive identification in the hierarchy of social groups. Religion is a subset of ethnicity, ethnic groups are usually divided along religious lines therefore, a threat to religion can trigger ethnic and religious violence, as Selengut (2003) argues "so long as religion is about ultimate truth and commitment to the sacred, a vision of utopia described in Holy Scripture, men and women will be defenders of the faith and willing soldiers in the battles for God."

2.4.4 Historical Cases of Ethno-Religious Warfare

2.4.4.1 The Northern Ireland Conflict

The Troubles in Northern Ireland reflected one of the most modern examples of religious and ethnic intolerance. The "Troubles" can be classified as an ethnic, religious, and political conflict in Northern Ireland. The conflict began at its peak with 1960's civil rights marches (Love and Lewis, 1998). The Troubles primarily centers on the conflict between

Northern Ireland's Protestant and Catholic communities. Catholic Ireland was ruled by Great Britain from the twelfth century to 1920. And, during that time, there were numerous insurgencies by the Catholics against their Protestant landlords. Massacres of both Protestants and Catholics took place all through the 1600s, as the two sides battled for supremacy and the right to occupy the land each now called home (Love and Lewis, 1998). The laws endorsed by the all Protestant Parliament of Ireland barring Catholics from all the offices, land ownership, schooling, and other avenues leading toward wealth and education (Love and Lewis, 1998) effectively established the existing hatreds between the two communities and glorified a violent action by one community to 'defend' itself from the other.

From 1921 to the early 1960s, Protestant leaders dominated the Northern Ireland's political and social climate. Political and social control by the Protestants, led to resentment and anger from the Catholic minority. In 1960, Catholic resentment coupled with economic problems such as unemployment, unequal employment opportunities, unequal political participation, and allocation of housing. These led to mass protest by the Catholic community (Teh, 2012). Due to the escalating violence and rebellion Great Britain was forced to consider granting Ireland some form of 'Home Rule'. But, as a result of the Mistrust and bad feelings from the colonization of Ireland by Protestant settlers, followed by centuries of political and social segregation of Catholics and Protestants in all parts of Ireland. Both Catholic and Protestant extremists rejected the plan out of hand (Love and Lewis, 1998). The communities continued to be defined by its religious affiliation, with

little mixture between the two groups in the three decades that followed. And, Violence and urban terrorism continued for the fear of extinction, which is generated out of the perception of a threat to religious and ethnic Identity (Teh, 2012).

2.4.4.2 The Rwandan Conflict

A cycle of ethnic conflict and violence started after independence. The effects of colonial rule were felt during the next few decades that followed the Independence. Hutu leaders were determined to retain power when the RPF a rebel army largely consisting of exiled Tutsis who had established themselves in Uganda invaded Rwanda with the help of the Ugandan government demanding a share of power, the right for the Rwandan refugees to return home (Batware, 2012). According to Kaufman (2000), “Rwanda's genocide must have been motivated by an exceptionally hostile, eliminationist Hutu mythology aimed against the Tutsi. There was extreme mass hostility against Tutsi and chauvinist mobilization due to the pre-existing ethnic divide between the Hutu and Tutsi. The cleavage between the Hutu and Tutsi was fueled by factors like the creation myth and also the Belgium colonizer. The creation Myth considers the Gatutsi to be the successor of Kigwa and therefore, should be exempt of any menial tasks. While, Gahutu was to be his servant. And Gatwa was made to be the clown in society (Kaufman, 2000). The myth was used to justify the Tutsi minority rule, over the Hutu majority and the marginal Twa. These myths were supported by the European colonizers and extended to fit the Eurocentric idea of superiority (Jean, 2010). The Belgian colonizers saw the Hutu as ignorant, slaves by nature, with no ambition. As for the Twa, they were described as being the most primitive

of the three groups. , The Tutsi received much praise from their Belgian colonizers because during this period of Social Darwinism, they felt the Tutsi were the more evolved ethnic group in appearance and intelligence and related to Europeans therefore more superior (Jean, 2011). Tutsis were favored in terms of education and employment over the Hutus who were neglected. Also, the Belgian administration introduced identity cards to distinguish ethnic origin. These cleavages led to tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis (Jean, 2010). And the only way to retain the Hutu regime after independence was the complete elimination of the perceived racial enemy (Hintjens, 1999).

2.4.4.3 The Nigerian Conflict

Ethnic ties, though weakening remains powerful in the lives of most Nigerians. The Indigene/settler fracas most often than not end in ethno-religious violent conflicts most especially in the north The increasing level of violence informed largely by intolerance, hatred and stereotypes in Nigeria has risen to civil level. The role of religion as reinforcing with ethnicity as instrument for assertiveness is provoked not as an end in itself but by a social and economic conditions to resist extinction, domination and marginalization, it is the combination of perceived ethnic threat and personal vulnerability that force people to fall back on community, groups, religion and other cleavages (Raji, 2003). These Ethnic divisions were conserved and sometimes even further articulated and made stronger under the British indirect rule.

The colonial era

The colonial powers and the elites succeeding them have used ethnicity for political ends. When the Federation of Nigeria was formed in 1960, there were 140 million people of remarkably diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds. There were more than 250 ethnic groups, most prominently amongst them are the; Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, and Tiv. The tension between these groups was increased by the British reign, where the colonial powers often pitted one ethnic group against another (Hawley, 2008). In the struggle, there were massacres that some consider ethnic cleansing attacks against the Igbo. The Nigerian Civil War, known as the Biafran War, of 6 July 1967 – 15 January 1970, was an ethnic and political conflict caused by the attempted secession of the south-eastern province of Nigeria as the self-proclaimed Republic of Biafra. The conflict was as a result of economic, ethnic, cultural and religious tensions mainly between the Hausas of north and the Igbo of the southeast of Nigeria (Hawley, 2008).

Of the ethnic groups that made up Nigeria, the largest were the Muslim Hausa in the north, the Yoruba who are half-Christian, half-Muslim in the south-west, and the Igbo who are predominantly Christian in the south-east. At independence a conservative political alliance had been made between the leading Hausa and Igbo political parties, which ruled Nigeria from 1960 to 1966. This alliance excluded the South-western Yoruba people. The well-educated Igbo people were considered to be the main beneficiaries of this alliance, taking most of the top jobs and leading business opportunities in Nigeria (Hawley, 2008). The Yoruba westerners, went into alliance with the Hausa northerners. This new political alliance excluded the Igbo-dominated East from power, and threatened to sway back the gains of the Igbo elite. Also, the discovery of large quantities of oil in the south-east of the

country had led to the prospect of the south-east becoming self-sufficient and increasingly prosperous. However the exclusion of easterners from power made many fear that the oil revenues would be used to benefit areas in the north and west rather than their own (Hawley,2008). And, the elections of 1965 saw the Nigerian National Alliance of the Muslim north and the West face off against the United Progressive Grand Alliance of the Christian east. The Alliance of North and West won a crushing victory under Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, accompanied by the claims of electoral fraud led to a military coup by the Igbo officers. General Ironsi became head of state. Some months later, a counter coup by northern officers placed General Yakubu Gowon into power. Ethnic tensions increased, with massacres of Christian Igbos living in the Muslim north (Atofarati, 1992). As political groups developed, they centered on ethnicity and tribes, rather than nationalism. Nigeria had never been “one homogenous country,” but rather, an artificial structure imposed by the British. The colonial master “unified” the country to control her vital resources for their economic interests (Atofarati, 1992).

Post colonial era

Today’s poverty and ineffective governance has sharpened ethnic divisions. Misunderstanding also develop as ethnic and religious groups see each other as rivals that must be surpassed by any means, therefore hampering national integration. (Olu-Adeyemi, 2003) As the state begins to lose legitimacy and authority, the fear of uncertainty increases to the extent that citizens resort to self-help and seeking security and solidarity in their own ethnic, religious or regional affiliation (Olu-Adeyemi, 2003).

The first leg of ethnic and religious riots in Nigeria in recent time was in July 1999, when some Oro cultists in Sagamu, in Ogun State accused a Hausa woman of coming out when the cultists were outside with their gnome. This led to some altercations, which eventually led to full-blown crisis. Many people, majorly of Hausa and Yoruba tribes lost their lives (Olu-Adeyemi, 2003). Another ethno-religious conflict that left a remarkable mark in Nigeria was the Kaduna/Enugu riots. The root cause of this riot was the introduction of the Islamic Legal Code (Sharia) by some governors of the northern states of Nigeria (Atofarati, 1992). Zamfara State Governor Ahmed Yerima was the first to introduce the Islamic Legal Code in October 1999, which was greeted with pockets of unserious protest. Initially, no harm was committed during the protests over the introduction of the Sharia code (Atofarati, 1992). However, fire ignited when Governor Mohammed Makarfi of Kaduna State tried it in February 2000. Because of the deep seated animosities between the Muslims and Christians in Kaduna State in general and the state capital in particular, coupled with the fact that both are almost at par in population, the two groups went for their swords and many were slain in cold blood (Olu-Adeyemi, 2003).

The Constitution

The Nigerian State failed completely to provide social safety nets for citizens, they perpetuate older support networks based on ethnicity. No group however small wants to die out, or wants its language and traditions to die out, or its traditional privileges to be further reduced (Bagudu, 2003). Beyond continued support for their much curtailed traditional rulership and administration of their traditional laws and customs in local

courts, Nigeria's ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, conceived as indigenes of particular LGAs, find support in the constitution and laws of Nigeria. In particular, the claims of indigene groups to reserved access to specified resources have legal backing (Bagudu, 2003). According to Isa-Odidi (2004), the word indigene entered Nigeria's constitution in 1979, when the phrase belongs or belonged to a community indigenous to Nigeria was used in the definition of citizenship (section 23 (1)(a)). The phrase "federal character" also entered Nigeria's constitution in 1979, to denote a principle of minority-group inclusion in federal government and its affairs: the relevant subsection 14(3), reads as follows:

The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few States or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies.

The word indigene was then linked with the phrase federal character in the section of the constitution empowering the president to appoint ministers (S135(3)):

Any ministerial appointment...shall be in conformity with...section 14(3) (i.e. federal character) provided that the President shall appoint at least one Minister from each State, who shall be an indigene of such State.

Constitutional negotiations in the late 1980s and early 1990s further expanded the federal character principle and linked it with the notion of indigeneship. Most importantly, in 1995 a new Federal Character Commission (FCC) was included among the federal executive bodies defined and mandated by the constitution (Isa-Odidi, 2004). The FCC was then established in 1996, under its own statute, still very much operative. The FCC is empowered to issue regulations which among other things define an indigene of a State

(FCC Act S17 (2)(k)). It has issued such regulations, defining an indigene of a State as an indigene of a Local Government in that State, and continuing:

An indigene of a Local Government means a person:

1. either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents was or is an indigene of the Local Government concerned; or
2. who is accepted as an indigene by the Local Government...

It is observed that discrimination by government on the basis of ethnicity and place of origin is a major contributor to ethnic and ethno-religious violence all over the country (Bagudu, 2003).

Millions of Nigerians who live outside the socio-political space within which they can affirm their indigeneity suffer exclusion and are exposed to all kinds of humiliation. While some have endured deprivations in passivity, others have contested their exclusion, leading to a spate of communal conflicts. In many instances, this has assumed the dimension of violent conflicts with their consequences for development, national unity and the resolution of the National Question. (Egwu: 2005).

2.5 Conclusion

Chapter 2 looked at what various authorities in the field of ethno-religious conflict. After a brief introduction it looked at the theoretical framework, which is based on John Burton's Human Needs Theory. The theory was also linked to Ted Robert Gurr's Relative Deprivation theory and its links to conflict was also touched on. The phenomenon of ethno-religious identity and conflict was discussed. The historical occurrence of Ethno-Religious conflict. Finally, it looked at ways of mitigating the conflict.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the research design and methods used in this study to gather information to address the research objectives and questions as outlined in chapter one. It outlines the philosophy that underlines the research designs and instruments used during the study. The chapter also provides an outline of the data collection as well as the means used for the data analysis. It provides an overview of the research design, population, sampling procedures, data collection tools and data analysis.

3.1 Research Methodology

Rajasekar, Phiominathan and Chinnathambi (2013) defined research methodology as the systematic way to solving problems. It is the strategic procedures by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena.

This study assumed the inductive approach which enables the researcher analyzes the data to see if any patterns emerge that suggest a relationship between the variables. As according to Gray (2004), the choice of a research methodology is influenced by the researcher's theoretical perspectives and the ways in which the ways in which data will be used.

3.2 Research Strategy

The Purpose of the research strategy is to indicate the overall research plan and the specific technique used to obtain data. The research strategy alternatives are many. According to William (2007), they include alternatives such as; Grounded theory (where the researcher attempts to derive an abstract theory of a process or interaction in the views of a participants in a study); ethnography (the researcher focuses on everyday behaviors to identify norms, beliefs, social structures, therefore, ethnography studies tries to understand the changes in the groups culture overtime); phenomenology (here, the theory focuses on the participants perception of an event or situation, the study collects data that leads to identifying common themes in people's perception of their experiences.); surveys (usually used where large volume of data are involved with quantitative method of analysis); Action research (is a form of inquiry that seeks to address both the practical problems of people and the goals of social sciences within a mutually acceptable ethical framework). Given the nature of the research problem outlined in chapter one, the researcher adopted the phenomenological research alternative as being appropriate for this research, as it seeks people's perception on ethno-religious identity as the cause of conflict in jos-North.

3.3 Research Design

According to Van Wyk (2000), it articulates what data is required, method to be used for the collection and analyzation of data and how it will answer all the questions. The researcher used the qualitative research as opposed to the quantitative approach because it focuses on the participant's perceptions and experiences. It emphasizes the importance of

looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found. According to Tewksbury (2009) a qualitative research method focuses on interpretation, contexts, environmental immersions, depth of understanding of concepts and operationalizing what particular concepts and variable mean. The study was conducted aiming to illustrate the perception of people on the influence ethno-religious identity on conflict formation in Jos-North as well as the needs, interest and position of the conflicting groups. The researcher used in depth interviews and questionnaires to collect the data needed for the study.

3.4 Study Population and Sample Size

According to Polit and Hungler (1999; 37), Population is an aggregate of all the objects, member or subject that conform to a set of specifications. Therefore, the target population defines those units which the findings of the research are meant to generalize. The population for this study is the 4 communities in Jos-North that have been affected by the conflict. And, the sample is 50 people from these communities. Questionnaires were distributed to members of these four communities. An in depth interview was held with community leaders, religious leaders' women and youth leaders.

3.4.1 Sample

According to Polit and Hungler (199:95) sampling is the process of selecting a portion of the population to represent the entire population. Purposive sampling was used in this study where the researcher identified communities where the research was carried out i.e. Anguwan Rukuba, Bauchi Road, Abature and Nassarawa Gwom. The researcher identified

these communities based on their potential to provide useful information related to the subject of research, as they were actively involved in the conflict. From the communities the respondents were randomly selected using a stratified random sampling i.e. on the basis of gender and age i.e. from 18years of age upwards. Besides purposive sampling, quota sampling was used to select other respondent. The respondents were split into groups of; ward chiefs, religious leaders, youth and women leaders. Using a stratified random sampling, the subject's pools were randomly selected on the basis of gender, age.

3.6 Data Collection

Data collection is an important aspect of any type of research. The researcher decided the data collection techniques while considering its overall appropriateness to the research (Lyberg and Kasprzyk, 1991). Two data collection tools were used; self-administered questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

3.6.1. Self-administered Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a series of written questions a researcher presents to subjects requesting their response (Johnson and Christensen, 2010). Questionnaires was administered to 40 respondents from the 4 wards in order to get the various views on their perception, needs and interest of the conflicting ethnic and religious group in Jos-North. Considering the time constrain to this study, the questionnaire will enable the researcher collect a broad range of data within a limited time.

3.6.2. Interview

According to Patton (1990) interview involves oral questioning of respondents when you want learn more about someone's impressions or experience. The researcher used a semi-structured interview. An interview guide was used to conduct a one-on-one in-depth interview with the respondent which gives them the chance to talk freely about their perceptions and experiences. The interview was conducted with ; 3 wards chiefs, 3 women leaders, 2 youth leaders and 2 religious leaders.

The interviews enabled the researcher to get rich and detailed data especially since the research design involves an analysis of people's perception, needs and interest. Also, in the course of the interview, new insights were obtained as the topics are explored in-depth and the interviewer had the chance to probe answers so that the interview can build on their responses.

3.7 Data Analysis

The study collected data that led to identifying common themes in people's perception of their experiences, needs, interest and position on the issue of ethno-religious identity and conflict. Therefore, the researcher analyzed the data using thematic analysis. The researcher developed codes or phrases according to the research questions that will serve as labels for sections of data. Then, gather the data relevant to each theme and develop a

detailed analysis of each theme. After which the researcher merge the analytical narrative and data extract and contextualize the analysis in relation to the theoretical framework.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The following research principles were adhered to in the course of this research to safeguard the rights of individuals and institutions;

1. Consent; according to Drew (1985:45) consent involves respondent's choice to participate in a study. In the course of this study, consent was obtained from individual respondents and ward heads. This was essential to ensure that the respondents participate voluntarily in the study. The researcher obtained both oral and written consent. During the research process written consent was obtained from the ward heads of the communities involved in the study permitting the researcher to enter the communities to conduct the research. And an oral consent was obtained from individual respondent during the data collection
2. Confidentiality and Anonymity; The researcher explained to the respondent that their response will be treated with confidentiality and used strictly for academic purposes and that their names will not be revealed or used in writing of the research report.
3. `Do no harm; the researcher took the necessary measures to ensure that no physical, emotional or psychological harm comes to the respondents. The researcher allied with a community based organization (Center for Peace Advancement in Nigeria)

that provides trauma healing, counseling services and support to deal with trauma issues in case the research causes distress to the respondents

4. **Respect for Individual Autonomy;** the researcher informed the respondents that they are free to decide to continue or withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason even when consent has already been given.

3.9 The Credibility of Research Findings

Lincoln and Guba (1994) argue that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in research. The following provisions may be made by researchers to promote confidence that they have accurately recorded the phenomena;

1. **Tactics to help ensure honesty in informants when gathering data;** each respondent was given the opportunity to refuse to participate in the project so as to ensure that the data collection session only involves those who are genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely.
2. **Peer and superior scrutiny of the research project;** opportunities for scrutiny of the research should be welcomed; in the course of the research, the researcher was involved in presentations and got fresh perspective that such challenged the assumption made by the researcher whose closeness to the project frequently inhibits the researcher's ability to view it with real detachment. Questions and observations enabled the researcher to refine the methods or develop a greater explanation of the research design and strengthen argument in the light of the comments made.

3.10 Conclusion

Chapter three focused on the methodology the researcher used while conducting the study. It illustrates the means by which the research was organized and carried out. The study was qualitative with a strong focus on phenomenological research philosophy. Data collection was done by the use of self-administered questionnaire and personal interviews. Questionnaires were used to enable the researcher quickly gather information from a lot of people in a short space of time and the interviews were conducted to get an in-depth knowledge on the respondent's perception on ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict. Chapter four presents data analysis and findings.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. During the course of data collection, respondents described their perception on the influence of ethno-religious identity on conflict formation and escalation. Data is presented descriptively using research themes informed by the respondents' narratives. The following sections outline the main themes and patterns emerging from the interview and questionnaire transcripts. The data presentation, interpretation and analysis were guided by the research objectives and research questions.

4.2 Respondent Rate

Table 1 Questionnaire respondent rate

STRATA	No. of Males	No. of Females	Total
Anguwan Rukuba	6	5	11
Bauchi Road	5	2	7
Abature	5	2	7
Nasarawa Gwom	5	5	10
	21	14	35

Out of the 40 questionnaires distributed only 35 were filled and returned. The researcher was able to interview the 10 respondents which included 2 Religious leaders, 3 Ward heads, 2 youth and 3 women Leaders. The number of women participation was low more especially among the Muslim communities because their husbands and fathers did not

consent their participation. During the interview, the researcher found out there was no female youth leader.

4.3 Research Findings

It is submitted that ethno-religious identity has an influence on conflict formation and escalation. Through the questionnaires and interviews with community and religious leaders, youth and women leaders, i have made the following findings.

4.3.1 Relationship between Religious and Ethnic Groups in Jos-North

Both Muslim and Christian respondents felt there has not been peaceful co-existence in Jos-North because of the violent clashes and that the relationship between the Hausa-Fulani who are mostly Muslims and the indigenous tribes who are predominantly Christians has not been cordial since the second crisis erupted in 2002 which lasted for 12 to 13 years, both groups continued to live in mutual suspicion, distrust, hate and fear. Respondents said before the crisis both Hausa-Fulani and the indigenous tribes groups were living peacefully, they co-existed with each other, living peacefully and in harmony. They all lived in the same community, have a joint New Year celebration, Christians would share their Christmas celebration with the Muslims and the Muslims would share their Sallah celebration with the Christian, they would attend each other's weddings. But, now because of the fear of being killed or harmed both groups are now constrained to associate only in their environments and with their fellow ethnic or religious members. As the crisis continued from 2002 through to 2010, respondents note that people began to

relocate to areas where they can find people the share the same faith with. According to them, wards that use to inhabit both Muslims and Christians are now solely Muslim or Christian, that means where Muslims are few they try to relocate to where they can find more Muslims and likewise the Christians because people are afraid of what can happen when another crisis escalates, as a respondent puts it during an interview

when the crisis starts and you are Christian in a Muslim dominated area, it will only take the grace of God for you to come out alive and likewise, a Muslim in a Christian dominated area, that is why the relationship between the two groups continuous to detoriate because it's hard to make friends with the opposite group when people are afraid to visit each other (Interview with Muslim religious leader, 20 March 2014) .

Respondents say, even now that the crisis has subsided, Jos-North is still polarized because of the lack of trust and fear between the people. The crisis has also affected the relationship between the younger generations, because now Christian and Muslim children go to different schools. This is because, in the heat of the crisis Muslim parents withdrew their children from schools that are in Christian neighborhoods and so also the Christian parents. Some respondents say that now children are growing up with hate, distrust and prejudice for the religion and tribes other than theirs. During an interview, a youth leader gave an instance where he bought his child a water gun for his birthday and the child told him that “he will use the gone to shoot all the Christians”. This is because of the children are not given the chance to interact with each other to find out for them-selves if the other group is really bad or not, they only use what they hear people say within their environment.

4.3.2 Religion as a Cause of Conflict

Different views were given by respondents on how they believe religion is responsible for the crisis that has been arising, these are as follows;

Religious Teachings

Many respondents asserted that religious teachings that are motivated by conflicting beliefs contribute to conflict or violence. They gave an example of how religious leaders teach that “a good Muslim is one who is able to withstand a Christian’s conversion campaign and a good Christian is one who is able to confront a Muslim and challenge the Quran’s authority. The respondents felt that these teachings cause stereotyping and prejudice that express fear and anxiety about the domination of others. A respondent mentioned that violence erupts when groups begins to demonize and differentiate others. One of the women leaders stated that religious teachings have a significant role in the lives of people as they deal with issues affecting their lives and community, she further explained that some religious leaders gives moral justification for killing saying that violence is a duty to eliminate obstacles or threats to their existence.

A reproachful teaching is one of the common causes of violence identified by many respondents. They say that both religion claim monopoly of the truth and the rights to eternity in heaven and this religious cliché is imbedded in the public teaching of both religions as religious sermons are often loaded with messages delegitimizing the other religious group. They gave examples where some Christian preachers use or interpret the

Qur'an to delegitimize Islam while justifying the exclusive existence of salvation within the ambience of Christianity. And also, Muslim preachers referring to Christians as *kafirai* (unbelievers) or *arna* (infidels) saying how can Christians say they believe in Jesus Christ as the son of God when God is not a man, how can he have a child.

Religious Intolerance

The respondents indicated that religious intolerance is the reason for favoritism and competition for political and economic resources amongst the two religions which often leads to tension, hostility and violence. As one woman explained, this intolerance is the reason why the Muslims responded violently to the failed election in 2002. Some Muslim respondents mentioned that, religious groups have demonstrated arrogance and insensitivity because of their intolerance of the other religion in an annoying, disruptive and obstructive mode of worship. They gave an instance of Christian's tradition of organizing crusades and revivals on public high ways obstructing vehicles and people's movement which others from different faith see it as an affront to their legal rights. And also, the Christians respondents stated that the Muslims block major roads during *juma'at* (Friday) prayers. The Respondents' affirms that, this was the spark of the 2001 Jos crisis, when a Christian woman insisted on having her right of way which was blocked by Muslim worshippers on Friday. While some Christian respondents acknowledge that religious intolerance in the form of judgmental and scornful delegitimization of opposing religious groups often result into violence. During an interview, a youth leader gave an

example where Abubakar Gumi the leader of the Izala Muslim group came out heavily against Christians during his interview with a magazine, saying;

You see the Christians are fighting on the basis that they have seen that they are losing because Christianity is not based on anything. I ask what Christianity is and even the Christian prophet doesn't know, all that he said is that Christians are followers of the one who was crucified, so, you Christians followed him while he was being crucified and they allowed it? This means that if I become a Christian I would have nothing to do except going to church on Sunday and look at good women (This week Magazine, 1997).

The youth leader further said that, with this kind of statement the Christians would *stand* up and retaliate because there are times when the Christians like the master would take up their whip and flog sense into people. The Christian respondents said that the Muslim community does not tolerate marriage between their daughters and Christians referring to the Christians as *arna*(infidels) who should not be in marriage with a true Muslim girl. According to the respondents, this attitude has breached the law of communal harmony and has given birth to deep rooted bitterness that has continued to fan the conflict in Jos.

Fanaticism

Christian respondents affirms that the increasing incidence of the Jos crisis and even others in the Northern states is because of the growing number of fanatics who carry their religious beliefs to the extreme; they are usually prepared to wage war against those who have contrary beliefs that are not acceptable to them. They gave an example of the *Maitasine* (meaning religious cleansing) crises in the 1990's in Jos and other Northern states. The sect was proclaiming that their brand of Islam is superior to everyone including Christianity by killing Christians and the Muslims that do not belief in their teachings.

Some Muslim respondents also gave an example of how a girl went on a public tirade on Muslims at a *Jummat* (Friday) service of the month of Ramadan taking place in the university's central mosque on Friday 13th August, 2010 to preach Christianity to the Muslims in the mosque. She was said to have disguised herself as a Muslim lady with *hijab* (head cover) in order to gain access to the section of the mosque reserved for women. She waited for the congregation to stand in prayer then she started screaming

"Jesus is the way, accept him. He will be coming back soon. Allah is not the way. Except you accept Christ in your life, you are not safe. All of you, no matter the number in this congregation, accept Jesus Christ as your lord and savior. Allah is not God, Jesus is Lord"(Interview, 23, 25March, 2014).

The Muslim respondents think it was a deliberate plot to aggravate violent response from the Muslims. Other Christian respondents stated that, the quest for Muslims to Islamize and instate sharia law in the state and Nigeria as a whole, claiming it's the viable solution to the problems in the state and the whole country is the reason why Christians are becoming violent in their resistance.

4.3.3 Ethnicity as a Cause of Conflict

The respondents gave different views that ethnicity contributes to conflict through;

Ethnic Rivalry

Respondents and the ward heads see's ethnic rivalry as a cause of conflict. They believe that when people of diverse cultures, traditions are brought together, rivalry is inevitable amongst them. They stated that when colonialism imposed the Hausa-Fulani emirs on the non-Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups, it created rivalry between the two groups because up

untill now the non Hausa-Fulani are filled with rage and resentment towards the Hausa-Fulani and it has been fueling the division between the Berom, Anaguta, Afizare and the Hausa-Fulani. The respondents claim that ethnic rivalry reinforces ethnic division that tears the community apart by causing ethnic groups to start leaving in fear, hatred and suspicion of the other groups in all spheres of contact.

Discrimination

Respondents asserted that when certain groups begin to feel discriminated, it later ferments into anger, resentments and lust for revenge. This is because the frustration within the group creates a growing tendency to use violence as a viable means to correct the situation. Also, differential treatment causes aggressive competition amongst the ethnic groups. The Muslim respondents stated that when the Hausa-Fulani began to feel marginalized in terms of public job opportunities, admission into schools, paying higher school and university fees they responded violently.

Fear of domination

Some respondents think that the fear of ethnic domination by other ethnic groups with domination complex will lead to ethnic competition for scarce resources, political power and rights for ethnic dominance. The respondents think that there is likelihood of conflict when groups begin to demand for the rights for their group in terms of political participation, a share of education and employment opportunities and other privileges. This

is because there will be disagreement and opposition which foster resentments followed by ethnic mobilization that will result into violence.

4.3.4 Causes of Conflict in Jos-North

Politics

Because of the elite's intense struggle for power and state's resources, Nigeria's politics as a whole is based on politicization of religion and ethnicity in the contest for political power. Blame was attributed by some respondents to State and local Government political leaders for fanning the ethnic and religious division to advance their own political interest. According to respondents, political leaders use ethnic and religious sentiments to cover and divert attention from their incompetence and corrupt practices while the ordinary citizens wallow in poverty. According to respondents, some of these politicians even provide the unemployed youths with drugs and ammunitions to commit atrocities in the name of politics. The feeling that the politicians in Jos North are trying in one way or another to dominate the others was prevalent across groups, they affirm that the struggle for control brought about rivalries leading to these violent clashes. According to Respondents, the political elite deploy the strategy of ethnic and religious mobilization and exclusionary politics to establish hegemonic control in the state. They therefore, create a cleavage between ethnic and religious groups to gain mass base support in order to penetrate and monopolize the political space.

A ward head during an interview expressed that,

“The over ambitious elite are exploiting the deep seated prejudice of ethnic and religious groups for their political benefit which causes grievances that usually result or has escalated into violence. He explained that people within the state are saying they rather have Berom in occupying all the positions in the state than to have a Hausa-Fulani (Muslim) who would later impose sharia law in the state. They therefore, want to make sure that it doesn’t happen, even if they have to do it violently (Ward head interview, 28TH March 2014)

Land Dispute

There was a feeling that the cause of the conflict in Jos-North is the longstanding dispute between the Hausa-Fulani and the Berom. Some explained that the Hausa-Fulani are cattle herders while the Berom are farmers, therefore, they fight over access to pastoral land and farm land. The Berom are tied to the land as peasant farmers while the Hausa-Fulani are dry season farmers and cattle herders. The Hausa-Fulani respondent stated that the Berom people refused the Hausa-Fulani access to land to enable them herd their cattles saying that the Hausa-Fulani are not entitle to land on Berom Land. Therefore, the land is an important sensitive factor that can trigger or has triggered the conflict in Jos North.

A youth leader gave an instance during an interview, he said the,

crisis started in a district of Jos North because a Fulani’s cattle entered the Berom’s farmland at night and destroyed the crops and when the Berom man noticed in the morning, he organized his people and stole cattles to compensate for the damaged crops. But, the Fulanis struck back by killing the Berom people on their farmlands (Interview, 22 March 2014).

The cattle do go to the Berom’s farms and destroy their crop which is a lost to them, therefore the Berom have to take actions even if it meant through violence. While some of the respondents are saying the Beroms steal the Fulanis cattle and that furiates the Fulani man to start attacking people. A Ward head said, as the adage goes,

Kill a Fulani's child he will forgive but if you touch his cows only God can deliver you from him (Interview, 22 March 2014).

The respondents explained that the Fulani herders take their cattle to graze on the farms and when the farm owners refuse to let them, they retaliate. This has been the cause of the 2010 crisis; those villages that refused to let the Fulanis graze their farmlands were attacked by Fulani militia.

Religion

Muslim respondents related religious prejudice to the cause of the conflict. The Christians beliefs that once the Muslims are given political control of Jos North and Plateau state the will introduce or enforce the sharia law just like they did in Kebbi and Zamfara state. Some of the Christian respondents stated that if the Muslims have Jos North, they will take control of Plateau state and Nigeria as a whole. A religious leader stated that,

Plateau state is the Jerusalem of Nigeria and once it is conquered the whole country is conquered (Interview, 24 March 2014).

Thus, if the Muslims have Jos, they have Nigeria. Therefore, there is a need to protect Jos North even if they did it violently.

During an interview a Christian religious leader expressed that,

“we thought the crisis was political but from all indication it is not. Because, our churches and Christian houses were attacked and our clergies killed, but, the politicians and political party offices were not attacked. I belief the attacks were carefully planned and executed under the umbrella of elections” (Interview, 25 2014).

Christian respondents also think that the crisis was not political but an attempt to actualize the Usman Dan Fodio jihad to forcefully bring down Christianity and impose Islam in the state which failed during the Pre-colonial and colonial era.

Ethnicity

The respondents do feel that the ethnic prejudice also played a role in the cause of the conflict. Some respondents says that the indigenous tribes belief that the Hausa-Fulani viewed themselves as superior to the indigenous tribes and have no respect for them or their culture, the respondents said therefore, the indigenous tribes became more adamant to completely accept the Hausa-Fulani as part of them and more reason for the political exclusion. Some respondents described that, the Hausa-Fulani feel they are more superior to everybody; they do not have respect for the native tribes or their culture. A Ward head during an interview gave an example where after the 2008 crisis, Alhaji Mustapha Aliyu the Shehu of Borno on an NTA (Nigerian Television Authority) program confirmed that the problem was created by the Sardauna of Sokoto who in his speech after independence stated thus,

“the new nation Nigeria should be an estate of our great grandfather Usman Danfodio, we must ruthlessly prevent a change of power, we use the minority in the North as willing tools and never allow them to have control over their future”(Alhaji Mustapha Aliyu, NTA broadcast, 2008).

The ward head believes that is why the Hausa-Fulani are fighting not to be schemed out of Jos politics.

The Indigene/Settler status

The Hausa-Fulani respondents see the issue about the indigene status as the driver for the Jos conflict. They say that the Hausa-Fulani are not considered as indigenes and are not given the indigene ship of Jos when they have claims by virtue of long residence there and the land was empty and not belonging to anyone when they settled there. While the indigenous tribe respondents stated that the Hausa-Fulani are not indigenes of Jos Plateau state, so why do they keep contesting for the indigene status. According to the Berom respondents the Nigerian constitution defined an indigene as a person whose parent or grandparent was or is an indigene of the local government or who is accepted as an indigene by the Local Government. They further explained that, this means the Hausa-Fulani are not indigenes because their parents or grandparents are not indigenes of Jos, therefore they have their origin up North and cannot be accepted as indigenes because Jos land belongs to the Berom's and the Afizare's. A number of respondents during an interview felt that, it is almost impossible for the Hausa-Fulani to get indigene certificates from any Local Government Area except Jos-North because the Hausa states no longer recognizes them, so if Jos-North denies them indigene certificates, they will be at the disadvantage and suffer hardships. Some stated that if the Hausa-Fulani gets the indigene ship certificate from other Local Governments it will be of little or no help to them, because the certificates are not from Jos and Plateau state where they reside. Therefore, they will not get considerations in the state or Local Governments. And in the Hausa Local Governments, the actual residents have their issues to deal with and will give emigrants little or no considerations.

Political representation

The Hausa-Fulani respondents felt that they are not given political representation in the state. According to them, influential positions in the Plateau state government and Jos-North local governments have been dominated by mostly the Beroms, at the disadvantage of the other tribes except for the Hausa-Fulani and this has been creating feelings of resentment and marginalization on the part of the Hausa-Fulani. It was pointed out that, in other Hausa states, settlers are not allowed to be elected, their role is to only vote. According to the respondents during interviews, the Hausa-Fulani are not the only settlers who have been in Jos for a long time, the Yoruba's, and the Ibo's have equally been in Jos for as long as the Hausa-Fulani have been, they also own properties and have contributed as much as the Hausa-fulani to the community development. They are also excluded from governance and the benefits of indigeneship in Jos, but they do not request for political control or indigene status unlike the Hausa-Fulani.

Bad Governance

Other respondents related bad governance to the cause of the crisis that has befallen Jos-North and Plateau states as a whole. Respondents gave different views about how bad governance has contributed to the conflict;

- **Marginalization and Political Exclusion**

Respondents feel that the Hausa-Fulani's are being marginalized in terms of exercising their civil rights. Some said the lack of indigeneship for the Hausa-

Fulani is making life difficult for them as they are excluded from university scholarships, they pay higher school and university fees and are not recruited into the civil service in the state and also they lack political representation. All these said the respondents infuriate the Hausa-Fulani and they respond to it violently.

Some of the respondents stated that the Hausa-Fulani are being excluded from appointive, elective and representative positions in both local and state government. They gave an example of the 2001 Jos crisis that escalated due to the attempt to appoint a Hausa-Fulani to the office of the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), after the appointment of Muktar Mohammed there was tension, threats, insults by the indigenous tribes that later exploded into violence.

- **Unemployment**

As a result of bad governance within the local government, state and federal government as a whole the rate of unemployment continues to rise, as the youths continue to graduate from higher institutions every year, there are no jobs for them and they add to the growing number of the unemployed on ground, the respondents continued that the high unemployment rate most especially within the youths do not only force them to go into criminal activities including robbery and drug abuse but also makes them vulnerable to manipulations by politicians to engage in violence most especially during elections period, causing tension in the community and later violent attacks.

4.3.5 Mitigation Strategies

The respondents suggested some strategies that if addressed will be effective in mitigating the conflict in Jos-North.

Promote Good Governance

Some respondents assume that only transparent and accountable leadership will arise above primordial considerations and only that will be able to enhance peaceful co-existence between the people of Jos-North and Plateau state as a whole. They stated that in order to bring together ethno-religious group in Jos, good governance must be adhered to because all the groups must have confidence in the justice system so that their basic rights will be protected as well as institutions that will ensure adherence to the rule of law. The Hausa-Fulani respondents believed that the restriction of political space has been one of the causes of the violence in Jos-North, because there is only one group ethnic/religious group controlling the political position in the state. Therefore, there should be an environment of tolerance for the expansion and equal rights of participation in the political process of the state to ensure that all the stakeholders in Jos-North are given the opportunity to contest and win elections irrespective of their ethnic or religious background. Also, some respondents feel that marginalization often leads to aggressive behavior because the ethnic and religious groups feel deprived; it is perceived that the control of power in the community by the indigenous tribes builds up sentiments that lead to violence amongst they Hausa-Fulani. Therefore, it is necessary that government adopt an inclusive structure that will accommodate all religious and ethnic groups for the sake of

peace and development. Some of the respondents at the interview stated that government should provide adequate employment opportunities most especially for the youths so that they will be off the streets in order for them to be less vulnerable to be manipulated by the politically powerful and wealthy elite.

Amendment of the Constitution

The Hausa-Fulani respondents assume that amending the constitution on the provisions for citizenship will help in mitigating the conflict, because the contradiction in the constitution promotes the indigene-settler conflict. And a respondent gave an example that the “indigenes” are saying that until the constitution is amended on the indigene status, the settlers should stop making outrageous claims for rights and privileges that do not exist anywhere in the country. Therefore, the respondents feel that if this provision in the constitution is addressed, the issue of identity conflict will permanently be mitigated.

Dialogue

The Christian respondents noted that there is a need for dialogue to put a stop to this violence. They explained that dialogue meetings may be helpful in making them speak their minds about their actual needs and positions which if satisfied will help them to overcome the hatred and continuous fighting. One of the women leaders during an interview stated that *“through dialogue, bad feelings and differences will be worked on and reduced”*. This is because talks and discussions creates avenues for relieve and

expression of emotional feelings of hatred for each other. Respondents asserted that an open discussion will create an avenue for the people of Jos-North to come up with an interactive problem solving measures that would work for all parties.

Sensitization for Religious and Community Leaders

Christian respondents suggested a sensitization program for all the religious and community leaders through meetings, workshops and seminars. The respondents believes that if they can get to these group of leaders, most of the problems will be resolved since all the religious and community leaders have great influence on their followers and community members and the perpetrators take actions base on the approval from their religious or community leaders, therefore, if the leaders accept peace, so will their members.

4.4 Data Interpretation and Analysis in Relation to Theory

The interpretation and analysis are done in light of the key research questions. The analysis is contextualized in relation to the theoretical framework which is guided by the Human Needs Theory and the Social Identity theory.

The influence of ethnic and religious identity on groups to engage in aggressive behavior

When group members feel that their sense of self belonging is threatened or when denied legitimacy, they produce a strong response that can be both aggressive and defensive. As

Burton (1990, p.45) stated that identity is one of the crucial needs that people will do almost anything that violates fundamental norms to attain. The findings in this study unveiled that the reason behind the Jos-North conflict is the perceived threat to religion and ethnicity. The respondents disclosed that they perceive threats to their religion through;

1. Religious teachings which sometimes are the reasons behind stereotyping and prejudice which cause anxiety about domination by others and it also demonize the other group. This fosters grievances which later results into violence.
2. Reproachful teaching insinuating monopoly of the truth and rights to eternity in heaven and that cliché is imbedded in religious sermons which usually delegitimize the other religious group which leads to grievance and later results to violence.

An analysis of the findings also shows that groups that are motivated by religious imperatives are likely to engage in aggressive behavior. Religious fanatics who carry their religious beliefs to the extreme are usually prepared to wage war against those who have contrary beliefs that are not acceptable to them. Just as in the case of the “Maitasine” (meaning religious cleansing), the sect was proclaiming that their brand of Islam is superior to everyone including Christianity by killing Christians and the Muslims that do not believe in their teachings. The findings revealed that the need to preserve ethnic identity can lead to an aggressive behavior. The contestation for indigene ship by both the Berom and Hausa-Fulani is on the basis of preserving their ethnic identity. The Berom and other indigenous tribe feels the Hausa-Fulani are trying to claim their land, which they consider as “raini” which means disrespect for the indigenous people of Jos-North because it is not

this way anywhere in the country or even among the Hausa states. While the Hausa-Fulani on the other hand feel that they will be at the disadvantage and will suffer hardships if they do not get the indigene status from Jos-North because, it is almost impossible to get the indigene ship from any other Local Government as the Hausa states no longer recognizes them as indigenes. This is explained by the Burton's Identity Theory (1990, p 301) which views identity, recognition, security and development as most salient in destructive conflict. The berom, Anaguta and Afizare fear for their physical security and religious freedom if they accommodate the Hausa-Fulani, they belief it might be the beginning of sharia in Jos-North and even Plateau state. Therefore, they will make sure it doesn't happen even if they have to do it violently and the Hausa-Fulani yearn for recognition of their ethnicity and religion. Burton (1990b, p.64) agures that the need for recognition can result in a passion for justice at same time, the Hausa-Fulani stated that they should be given their quota or they will take it by force if necessary.

Also, the Social Identity Theory asserts that identity embodies an element of emotional intensity that can be readily aroused when the group interests are thought to be at stake, which lead to intolerance, competition and eventually violence. This explains the Hausa-Fulanis violent response to the issue of the indigene status which links to their political exclusion and marginalization in terms of university scholarships, paying higher school and university fees and recruitment into the civil service. The social identity theory states that members of a group create a sense of in-group feeling, therefore they favor their own groups at the expense of the other group, this explains the reason why the influential

positions in Jos-North local government and plateau state government are mostly dominated by the Berom and other tribes excluding the Hausa-Fulani which creates a feeling of marginalization and resentments. This situation usually produces an aggressive response that results into violence.

As Burton stated (1990), the lack of identity in the form of lack of political representation could actually be a source of physical conflict. This explains the findings which shows that the exclusion of the Hausa-Fulani from appointive, elective and representative positions in both local and state governments infuriate them and they respond to it violently. The study unveiled that ethnic and religious prejudice can motivate aggressive behavior. Analysis of the findings showed that the Berom, Anaguta and Afizare perceives that the Hausa-Fulani see themselves as superior and have no respect for them or their culture, as such, the Hausa-Fulanis want to use them as tools to achieve their aims of preventing power change in the country. Therefore, the indigenous tribes in protecting their honor resorted to political exclusion of the Hausa-Fulani and respond violently if they perceive power change. This is explained by the Social Identity Theory which asserts that, in groups struggle to maintain integrity they enact and influence conflict.

Also, the Hausa-Fulani see their exclusion from political positions and marginalization as an act of resentment to their ethnic and religious group, therefore in order to protect their group, they respond to it violently. According to the Social Identity Theory, when a group

sees a situation as illegitimate, they act collectively as a group to challenge the status quo and this can influence conflict.

Needs, interest and position of the conflicting groups

From the analysis of the findings, the research was able to identify the needs, interest and positions of the Hausa-Fulani group and the Berom, Anaguta and Afizare group.

Needs

The Hausa-Fulanis needs are explained by Burton's need for recognition and security that is nonnegotiable. The Hausa-Fulani need recognition for their ethnicity and their religion in Jos-North, which will be achieved by acquiring the indigene status not residence certificates to enable them enjoy the privileges and rights attached to the indigeneship in Jos-North. As Burton states. Recognition gives voice. And their insecurity is the fact that the other Hausa states no longer recognize them. Therefore, they have to constitute themselves into Jasawa (meaning people of Jos in Hausa) community in Jos-North.

Burton's need for security defines the need of the people of Berom, Afizare and Anaguta. Their need is for the Hausa-Fulani to stop contesting for the indigene status, because they fear for political, cultural and religious domination by the Hausa-Fulani as well as their physical safety. This is because they perceive the Hausa-Fulani as having superiority complex; therefore, they will take over the city once they get the indigeneship.

Interest

The Hausa-Fulani want political control of Jos-North Local Government because they believe that the city of Jos was founded by them. At the same time, they want to claim ruler ship because during the colonial period the ruler ship title of the city was under the Hausa-Fulani, therefore, they want an Emir installed in Jos and the Gbong Gwom (Chief) Jos should relocate to outside Jos city.

Their interest is to continue having political control of Jos-North, because other ethnic groups outside their areas of origin in the country are treated likewise as stated by the Federal character.

Positions

The Hausa-Fulani believe they have to fight for their rights. As presented by Burton (1990b, p95) human participation in conflict is the strive to gain control of their environment that is necessary to ensure satisfaction of their needs.

In their position, Hausa-Fulani cannot get an indigene status in Jos-North because they are not indigenes until the constitution says so.

Strategies to mitigate the conflict

Good Governance

The findings revealed that good governance can be an effective strategy to mitigate identity conflict. Good governance attempts to capture all the considerations involved to insure that stakeholders' interests are addressed. As Burton (1990b, p66) stated the need for security in terms of human rights is nonnegotiable therefore, it should be primarily addressed as the basics for peace negotiation. Good governance reinforces human right which brings about reform of democratic institutions that establishes mechanism for the inclusion of the groups in decision making process. Analysis of the findings shows that popular participation through good governance will curb the violence because it gives the opportunity for legitimate representation of both parties to be part of the decision making in the community. Good governance will also insure inclusiveness of community members. This will address the Hausa-Fulani's claim of excluded from the political offices.

Amendment of the Constitution

The analysis revealed that the problem of Jos-North stems from the discrimination and exclusion of people on the basis of ethnic identity and it has been supported by the Nigerian constitution. According to the Social Identity Theory, groups tend to compare their group with other groups, and if the comparism is not favorable to them, they are force to compete even violently in order to maintain their integrity. Therefore, for the Hausa-Fulani to compare favorably to the indigenous groups, the indigene ship provision should

be amended in the constitution. The finding revealed that amendment of the constitution by redefining of the indigene ship and other limiting factors or disentangling of the concept of indigene ship from the Nigerian constitution can help mitigate the violence. Also, strengthening citizenship will address the problem of indigene verses non indigene. The constitution can also strengthen individual rights and accord them more importance than group rights because protecting and promoting group rights have been responsible for the escalation of the conflict on indigene ship.

Sensitization for Religious and Community Leaders

Findings revealed that community and religious leaders can serve as advocates of peace. As according to the social identity theory, social identity groups shape a person's perception of others in terms of stereotyping and prejudice. Therefore, if the leaders of these groups are sensitized and have accepted the diversity of the various ethnic and religious groups, they will impact on their members the use of non-violent and non political weapon to fight for positive change. Because religious leaders more especially have allowed religion to form the basis for expression of disequilibrium in the society therefore allowing the religious institution becomes the vehicle for expression of popular discontent.

Dialogue

Findings revealed that dialogue between various groups in Jos-North will help defuse the conflict. As Burton (1990b, p 65) stated identity becomes a problem when it is not recognized as legitimate, considered inferior or threatened by others with different identification because it is a strong enabler for social mobilization. Therefore, there is need for dialogue which opens up doors to enable people open up to other perspective different from their own. It helps build deeper understanding of the contentious issues thereby making ways for forgiveness, rebuilding trust, acceptance and respect which is the road to peaceful co-existence and developing a tolerant attitude and behavior.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented, interpreted and analyzed the findings from various respondents. The findings indicated that religion contributes to conflict through religious teachings, fanaticism, intolerance and ethnicity through ethnic rivalry has led to violence. The respondents also identified the causes of the Jos-North conflict as political, religious, ethnic, land dispute and bad governance. However, the findings also showed mitigating strategies for resolving the conflict.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the research, its major findings and recommendations. It envisaged that the conclusions arrived at will contribute to already existing literature.

5.2 Summary of research

The study sought to examine people's perception on ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict using Jos North metropolis as a case study. It set out to examine the influence of ethnic and religious identity in terms of conflict formation. Also, to identify the needs, interest and position of the conflicting groups. And to identify effective ways to mitigate the identity conflict. To unravel people's perception, interest, needs and position, questionnaires were distributed to forty respondents and interviews were held for ward heads, religious leaders, youth and women leaders. The information from these key respondents was corroborated with findings from the questionnaire distributed throughout the four wards (Anguwan rukuba, Bauchi road, Nassarawa Gwom, Abatuwa). Qualitative research method was employed to secure an in-depth understanding and elicit practical experience and perception of the phenomena being studied. To ensure that people's perception on the influence of ethno religious identity on conflict and their needs, interest and position were revealed, unstructured questionnaires and interviews were the method of enquiry to give the researcher room to be flexible and also create a relaxed environment for

the respondents and also to be able collect a broad range of data within a limited time. The research findings showed that Religion causes conflict through religious teachings, intolerance and fanaticism which delegitimizes the other religion causing stereotyping and prejudice which later erupts into violence when the other group feels demonized. And religious fanatics who are usually prepared to wage war against those who have contrary beliefs that are not acceptable to them. Also, ethnicity causes conflict as a result of ethnic rivalry, discrimination and fear of domination. This fosters resentments as groups live in fear, hatred and suspicion of the other groups. The respondents identified politics, ethnicity, religion and bad governance as the causes of conflict in Jos-North. They also identified strategies of mitigating the conflict as; promoting good governance, amendment of the constitution, dialogue and sensitization for the religious and community leaders.

5.3 Conclusion

From the analysis of the findings, the researcher concludes that the conflict in Jos-North metropolis is influenced by the fear of domination and extinction of ethnic and religious groups. Where there is diversity of religion and ethnicity in the population of a particular place, it forms the basis for group discrimination and grievances because it is possible to discriminate against ethnic and religious groups by the majority based on their difference in interest and goals in the society. And, religious and ethnic groups support the use of force when their core interest is being threatened. Therefore, a perceived threat to survival of a religion or ethnicity will resuscitate religious institutions and ethnic groups to mobilize for protest or rebellion. Ethnic and religious conflict is driven by the fear that the existence of

the group is at stake which motivate violence in the notion of self defense. The Hausa-Fulani felt that their existence is under threat because they are not given indigeneship in Jos-North and it is almost impossible for them to receive the indigeneship from other Hausa states. Therefore, they were prepared to fight for their rights at any price with whatever means possible to acquire power in order to preserve their identity.

Ethnic or religious division and perceived threat results from domination of the states' machinery by one group or coalition of its elites to deny access to basic human needs for the other group. This act of domination causes ethnic and religious groups to form militia to intimidate the opposing group. Most conflict arises when ethnic and religious groups seek dominance by excluding others from most especially positions of power in the state's institutions and in doing so, they assume superiority over the other group. This becomes a threat to the other religious or ethnic group. The Jos-North crisis is also characterized by identity politics. Identity politics is a mode of mobilization that is connected to the idea that some social groups are oppressed. The research revealed that the Jos-North conflict is mainly struggles over political and economic control between the Hausa-Fulani settlers, who are predominantly Muslims and the indigenous Afizare, Anaguta and Berom who are predominantly Christians. The issue of indigene status as the access to political representation, positions in the civil service, opened the floodgates for the politics of labeling. This ethnic and religious label is used to mobilize, manipulate and control the conflicting parties because in a socio-political environment characterized by strong patronage networks, exclusion of one fraction of political elite is felt as a socio-political

decline amongst its constituency. This fostered the boundaries between the Berom, Anaguta, Afizare and the Hausa-Fulani in order to secure political control over the Local Government Areas. The cynical manipulation of religion and ethnicity by political elite has led to a combative dimension in Christian and Muslim relationship in Jos-North and even Nigeria as a whole. Ambitious individuals exploit deep-seated prejudice for personal benefit and struggle for ascendancy over the Jos-North and Plateau state body politic.

5.4 Recommendation

1. The government should develop a program for social reorientation of the entire citizenry. Such social orientation will go a long way in changing the negative stereotypes and prejudice that have characterized the Nigerian people, In particular, the National Orientation Agency (NOA), the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) can serve as bridge builders that will discourage the spirit of division among Nigerians and foster oneness which is necessary for building one nation with one destiny as contained in the Nigerian constitution.
2. The government and the civil society should put in place an operational preventive strategy for conflict prevention which will carry out activities that would serve as;
 - i. Early warning: which will identify rising tension and emerging conflicts and collect information by finding fact and other data's that are then translated in to early warning signals so that State and Local governments can be warned.

- ii. Preventive diplomacy to stop the escalation of conflict, this can take the form of mediation, conciliation, or negotiation. It reduces the risk factors that shape conflict onset and limit its spread when it occurs. Is a non-coercive and low-key approach that is open to private individuals as well as national and international civil society organizations.
3. The civil society can adopt the grass root approach to peace building, it is based on the assumption that social construct leads to violent conflict can be deconstructed and reconstructed so as to offer peaceful alternatives to resolving conflict. The grass root approach creates an environment conducive for lasting peace through community policing, community peace committees involving both ethnic and religious groups. It also increases the local actor's sense of ownership to challenge validity and accuracy of their perception of the other party in conflict through public foras or barazas because sometimes it's the wrongful perception of the other party that causes conflict. The grass root approach ensures participation and empowerment of people at the local level which is the best way to identify and take seriously the other party's need, concerns and attitudes.

5.5 Areas for Further Research

During the study interesting issues emerged, therefore the researcher suggests the following topics for further enquiry.

5.5.1 The role of social media in conflict situation

During the conflict in Plateau state, the social media also help in escalating the crises at some point. Text messages were being sent round saying that one group or the other is planning to attack at this time or day and videos of how many people were killed and how it was being done. The people that are being most affected by them at that time retaliate thereby making it difficult for the peace process.

5.5.2 Impact of bad governance on youth development

Plateau state and Nigeria as a whole are suffering from poor and bad governance. In Nigeria the issue of bad governance is more common than good, the lack of good governance, corrupt practices of government officials has resulted in under development of states and local government causing inadequate training programmes, unemployment, inadequate recreational facilities, lack of quality education and all these affect youth transition into adulthood.

5.5.3 Understanding traditional approach to peace building

Traditional mechanisms exist and have done so for years, providing a strong system of both governance and reconciliation, outside of the formal mechanisms imposed by the Western world. Culture is a very useful approach as it does not only identify the sources of conflict in terms of groups holding steadfast to their ethnicity, but also offers effective solutions as culture determines how groups perceive conflict and its resolution.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter served as a summary of the research study which affirms that ethno-religious identity influence conflict formation and escalation in various ways and also offers suggestions on strategies to mitigate the conflict as discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter also provided recommendations as well as suggestions for further research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Questionnaire

RESEARCH TOPIC: People's perception on ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict. A case study of Jos-North Metropolis

Respondents to this questionnaire have been purposively selected. Please note that you are not required to write your name on this questionnaire. Also take note that your response remains confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this dissertation. You are there encouraged to honestly answer all your questions.

Section A: personal details

GENDER

Female ☐ Male ☐

AGE

18-23 ☐

24-29 ☐

30-35 ☐

36-41 ☐

42-Above ☐

Ethnicity

Religion

Ward

SECTION B: Fill in the space

1. Briefly explain the beliefs of your Religion

.....
.....

2. What role does your faith play in your day to day experience

.....
.....

3. How do you view the relationship between religious groups in Jos-North

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Do you think religion contributes to conflict, if so how?

.....
.....
.....

5. How do you view the relationship between ethnic groups in Jos-North

.....
.....

6. Are you able to identify the groups involved in conflict

.....

.....

7. Do you think ethnicity contributes to conflict, if so how?

.....

8. What do you think are the causes of the crises in Jos-North

.....

9. What do you think should be done to stop this conflict?

Appendix 2 Interview Guide

1. How do people relate in this community
2. Do you think people are living peacefully in this community? If yes or no why?
3. What is your opinion about the Jos crises concerning the; parties involved and the causes
4. Do you think that ethnic and religious group encourage their members to engage in Violence
5. What do you think should be done to stop this violence

Appendix 3 : Ward consent form

CONSENT FORM

I am Adama Grace Kefas a Master's student in the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance at Africa University in Zimbabwe. I am conducting a research as a prerequisite for my master's degree. The Research topic: People's perception on ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict.

I will like to seek for your consent to be a subject to this study. The study seeks to gather information on people's perception on the influence of ethno-religious identity as the cause of conflict in Jos-North. As well as the needs, interest and position of the people.

Your participation is completely voluntary and during data collection, you will have the opportunity to withdraw from the study. If you agree to participate in this study, I would appreciate your signature on this form.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Adama Grace Kefas

.....

I have read the information provided above. I voluntarily accept to participate in this study

.....

Signature

Date

Appendix 4 Participant consent form

CONSENT FORM

I am Adama Grace Kefas a Master's student in the Institute of Peace, Leadership and Governance at Africa University in Zimbabwe. I am conducting a research as a prerequisite for my master's degree. The Research topic: People's perception on ethno-religious identity as a cause of conflict.

I will like to seek for your consent to be a subject to this study. The study seeks to gather information on people's perception on the influence of ethno-religious identity as the cause of conflict in Jos-North. As well as the needs, interest and position of the people.

Your participation is completely voluntary and during data collection, you will have the opportunity to withdraw from the study. If you agree to participate in this study, I would appreciate your signature on this form.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Adama Grace Kefas

I have read the information provided above. I voluntarily accept to participate in this study

Signature

Date