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The Christian-Muslim conflict of Jos, Nigeria – causes and
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The Christian-Muslim conflict of Jos, Nigeria causes and impact on development

by

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine conflict and how it impinges on development. Conflict is an inevitable element of human existence since creation and has always affected human activities and endeavors in several ways. Understanding the dimensions of human conflict therefore provides blueprints on how to manage and resolve conflicts. This makes this study timely. In this research, some relevant related to conflict management approaches were examined. The research adopted a case study approach using the Jos Plateau conflict in the Plateau State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Data was collected and analyzed using a mixed research methods approach. The findings show several causes of this conflict among which are differences in religious beliefs among the people of the area, socio-economic causes, political tensions and land disputes. The consequences of the conflict identified are: it retards development in the area, creates fear and feelings of insecurity, destruction of property and loss of human lives. This study also examined how the conflict impinges on people-cantered development. In terms of how the conflict can be mitigated, respondents think education, creation of employment opportunities, the administration of justice and the practice of tolerance values is going to promote a spirit of coexistence and eventually result in a more peaceful and stable environment.

Keywords: Conflict management, conflict resolution, people-cantered development, human conflict.

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I dedicate this work to God and also to my parents.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The issues on conflict vary in many perspectives. In most part of the world conflict has come about as a result of political divides. An example of such is the political crises in Sudan's Darfur region which seventy thousand (70,000) people lost their lives and about two million (2,000 000) people displaced in 2003 (Cobham, 2005: p1). Recent examples of political conflict are in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya.

Also within the confine of societies, an ethnic conflict arises to divide the people based on beliefs and culture. The conflict between Kwazulu-Natal (Zulus) and the Dutch (Boers) is an example of such conflict. The outcome of the conflict was the imposition of the improvised Dutch language (Afrikaans) as the national language. The Zulus, Xhosa and other South Africans did not agree to Afrikaans as the official or national language and further resulted in a conflict between the Dutch and the people of Kwazulu-Natal in 1836 (De Maio, 2009:p72).

Another well noted ethnic conflict is that of the 1994 'Guinea fowl' war in the northern part of Ghana. The main cause of the conflict was a chieftaincy dispute between the people of Konkomba (the minority) and the Dagomba's referred to as the kingdom. Although, this war is known to have begun in the 1980's, what triggered it was the fight over a client resulting in a scuffle between a Konkomba and a Dagomba youth traders (Oelbaum, 2010p7).

A difference in religious belief, mainly between Christians and Muslims, which is the main topic under investigation, is also a major source of conflict in many societies around the world. An example is the on-going conflict between Muslims in Egypt and the Coptic Christian Minority. This conflict escalated after the recent revolution early 2011 in Egypt, where after the idealism of political changes in February, worries of increased sectarian

violence between these groups increased (Spencer, 2011). These are old rooted conflicts that need to be resolved in a country that strives towards more stability, peace and development. It is therefore imperative to state the research topic under consideration; "THE CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM CONFLICT IN JOS, NIGERIA; CAUSES AND IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT".

There have been lots of conflicts in Nigeria from the political divides and ethnic tensions. However, this research will attempt to investigate conflicts that have come about between Christians and Muslims in Jos, Nigeria. In the subsequent paragraphs, some of the reasons which make this research necessary will be explained.

One disturbing element in conflicts is the division it brings after peace is made. An instance to this effect could be the genocide in Rwanda, 1994. After the conflict, there was still some division between the Tutsi and Hutus (Malan; 1997 pg39). This research will attempt to find out the division among Christians and Muslim in Jos and further address the need to help resolve the conflict to the lowest ebb.

Also, in most conflicts, weapons such as firearms, cutlasses, and clubs and traps like landmines continue to affect the community even after peace is made. An example could be the landmine legacy after the Rwanda genocide (Malan; 1997 pg39). The firearms also cause lots of damage to the environment and that affects agriculture. This research will further find out the level of environmental degradation and its effect to development among the people of Jos.

In addition, this research will explore how people in Jos think the conflict can be resolved. To this, many views will be collected and therefore will help identify the best way in resolving such conflict in societies.

The subsequent subheadings will define key terms, give a background of the research and the methodology.

1.1. Definition of Key Terms

1.1.1. Conflict

Avruch (2003) defines conflict as 'a competition by groups or individuals over incompatible goals, scarce resources, or the source of power needed to acquire them. This competition is also determined by individuals' perception of goals, resources, and power and such perceptions may differ greatly among individuals'.

Conflict can also be defined as a situation in which two or more decision makers are in disputes over some issues. Thus, the conflict model is designed to reflect the way in which a human being perceives reality. In this way, the conflict model may be useful to the individual for reinforcing his or her perception and understanding of the conflict (Fang, Hipel, & Kilgour, 1993).

1.1.2. Ethnic Group

Is a group of people who are generally recognized by themselves and/or the others as a distinct group, with such recognition based on social or cultural characteristics (Sotiropoulou, 2002).

1.1.3. Religion

There are quite a number of definitions for religion. However, they all have their short falls from other intellectual critics. For instance Guthrie (1993); from a social science perspective observes religion as a means of human attributes into perceived world as the importance of religion.

In reference to Dow's, (2007) article *A Scientific Definition of Religion*; Kirkpatick (2005) sees religion as 'a perceived psychological attachment, a powerful emotional relationship to things'. With this it will be of essence to define the two popular religion in the world (Christianity and Muslim) which in recent time members of these faiths have been in a perpetual conflict in Jos; Nigeria.

1.1.4. Christianity

Christians are followers of Jesus Christ; the Son of God. Members of this faith believe Jesus is the messiah who came to this world died for the sins of man. The three main principle of this faith is the life, death and resurrection of the saviour; Jesus Christ (Ratzinger, 2000).

1.1.5. Muslim

The followers of Islam (Muslims) believe Prophet Muhammad is a true prophet of God and the founder of the Islamic faith (Lewis, 2003).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Whereas the Hausa-Fulani otherwise referred to as the Jasawa in the area assert that they own Jos using colonial evidence and historiography dating between 1902 and 1947, the Berom, Anaguta, and Afizere, who claim joint ownership of Jos, say the name 'Jos' is derived from the Berom word 'Gwash' or 'Jot', meaning a water spring. Using the same colonial evidence maintains that between 1920 and 1932, they were so recognised by the British imperial masters. The problem here is who owns the land and given the level of killings, claims and counter-claims over Jos, what practicable approach can be adopted to restore peace and mutual living in the embattled city? Again, on account of the manifest economic drawback it has had on the Nigerian state, how do we reconcile the paradox of affluence and poverty coexisting in the city? These are problems which the international community seem eager to

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see from a government that at best seem confused with what step to take in this bloodletting conflict (Ukaogo, 2011). Notwithstanding, the conflict has impeded socio-economic development in Jos. The pressing question here would necessarily be – How do we move on and encourage economic development that would benefit all? This has become all the more important because the region where Jos is located in Nigeria is in dire need of development ranging from human capital development through infrastructural development to industrial development amongst others. This in all sincerity constitutes grave dangers to not only political/democratic consolidation in the country but also hampers inter-group relations, and invariably demobilising the very drivers of development in the society (Alemu, 2010).

1.3. Hypothesis/Assumptions

The hypotheses to be tested in this research are that:

H_1: Whilst at the surface the conflict is seen as caused by religious differences, there are important underlying socio-economic drivers that are not well understood

H_2: The conflict undermines economic and social development in Jos.

1.4. Scope of Study

Nigeria, an oil rich country in the West African sub region has had its share in number of conflicts: political, religious and ethnic. Among such conflict is the resent clash between Christians and Muslims in Jos; a small community in the northern part of Nigeria located in the Jos plateau. The area of focus for this research will be in DogonDutse; a small town in Jos where the conflict is believed to have commenced. This research will consider a population size of 25 respondents from DogonDutse.

1.5.Aims/Objective

The study aims at achieving a number of these objectives:

- To investigate underlying causes (remote and immediate) of the Jos conflict;

- To examine the impact of the conflict on the socio-economic and political development of Plateau state in particular;

- To critically examine the interconnectedness and linkages between conflict and people centred development;

- To examine if conflict resolution strategies in the region could bear dividends in the area of development;

1.6.Methodology

The research is based on primary and secondary data sources. One of the foremost methodological questions of relevance is the problem of tools and criteria for evaluation and measurement. Literature exists on the Jos crisis which encourages us to value secondary data sourcing. The secondary data source is the closest and contestable and has covered a wide spectrum in subject matter. The data will be sourced from textbooks, magazines, newspapers, monographs, government publications, unpublished works etc.

Primary data sourcing will be gathered through interviews with a number of individuals such as active participants in the conflict, victims of the conflict, academics, members of the civil society and government officials.

1.7.Significance of the Study

The conflict between the Christians and Muslims in Jos has been going on from 2004 till date. There is therefore the need to investigate the root causes of the conflict in order to arrive at a lasting solution to the conflict. This research aims to contribute to the understanding of

the root causes of the conflict and as well as suggest a way to help curb the conflict. In addition, this study will contribute to other academic works already done on the same topic.

1.8.Limitations of the Study

There are numbers of limitations to this research. Among such are;

- Travelling expenses

- Language barrier

- Permission from the community chairman

In the next chapter, much explanation will be given in the context of conflict among Christians and Muslims in Jos. This will be done by consultation with other academic works.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1.   Conflict

The main aim of this study as indicated earlier is to investigate the underlying causes of the Jos conflict in Nigeria, how it impacts o the development of the area and possible remedies to this crisis. In this chapter, reference will be made to academic writers, the press, journals and other literatures on previous conflicts.   Conflict generally speaking, is a universal phenomenon. It is common among persons, social groups, ethnic and religious groups could arise in various forms. Conflict can therefore be categorized in three forms: Economic, Value and Power conflict (Fisher; 2000). In some cases conflict among persons emerges around wealth distribution, betrayal of love and conflict among petty traders fighting over a client might be categorized as economic or social conflict (Fisher; 2000). In such cases, both parties are bond to exercise some control over the other (Oberschall; 1973 p31).

Value conflict arises based on conflicting convictions or ideology. Citing an example of such conflict could be the secessionist crisis in Uganda in 1965-1966. This was recounted during the era of the colonial rule by the British. The British favored the Kingdom of Buganda and was therefore resented by the other tribes in Uganda (Oberschall; 1973 p31). According to Fisher (2000), "each conflict has a strong value component. Wherein, each side asserts the rightness and superiority of its way of life and its political-economic system."

Power conflict arises when one party wants to use the power or influence they have to suppress the other. The struggle that unfolds as a result ends up victorious for one party or mayhem for both parties. This type of conflict can occur between individuals, groups or politicians (Fisher; 2000).

In many parts of the world, religious differences have at some point resulted in clashes as one or more groups would acclaim importance or superiority of their religion (Smock; 2008). This can be within a country for example, Sudan since independence, September 11 in USA or within ethnic and religious groups in Jos, Plateau State in Nigeria. In the subsequent paragraphs, much explanation will be given about religious conflicts. This chapter will go further to explain the interfaith dialogue between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. It is organized around the following headings: religious conflict, concept of development conflict and development, religious Conflict in Nigeria: Jos - Plateau State, conflict management and resolution, people Centered Development, geographical and historical outline of the Jos conflict.

2.2. Religious Conflict

It is acclaimed that almost every religion in the world has had its fair share in conflict (Smock; 2008). Among some of the religious conflicts in the world are; the clashes between Christians and Muslims in Yugoslavia in 1990s (Ahmed; 1999), clashes between Christians and Muslims in Egypt (January 7th, 2010), (Lazaro; 2010) as well as clashes between Hindus and Muslim in India in 1998 (Jha; 2005).

The main reason which accounted for religious clashes in Yugoslavia, was as a result of "deep ethnic and religious hatred between differing groups and of the desire of those in power" to expand their territory. The clashes spread throughout major cities in Yugoslavia; from "Slovenia through Croatia and into Bosnia-Herzegovina" (Caldwell; 2000).

In the case of Egypt's religious conflict, the main cause was seen identified to be a 'payback' fight from Christians who attacked Muslim during funerals of the dead. According to one reporter, Lazaro (2010), Christian attacks on Muslims were acts of "retaliation for the alleged

rape of a Muslim girl by a Christian man". Other writers like Tadros (2010) also identified social traditions which is been enforced by the state as a recipe for religious conflict in Egypt.

Religious clashes between the Hindus and Muslims in India are also one of the documented religious conflicts in the world. Economic strength of both the Hindus and Muslims is seen as the necessary cause for the religious tension between the two religious groups, Hindus and Muslims (Jha; 2005). Hindus in India are seen to be poor as compared to their religious counterparts, the Muslims. The struggle of identity by the Muslims which was alleged to have been masterminded by the British colony is also an attributing factor to religious conflict in India (Yamin; 2008).

The above discussed gives a little insight in religious conflict globally. Religious conflict is found in many developing and developed economies. In the subsequent discussion, more will be said about the clashes between Christians and Muslims in Jos, Nigeria.

2.3.   Concept of Development

In this research, I seek to discuss how the conflict in the Jos plateau affects the development of the area. It urges on the need to resolve or manage the conflict as a means of expedite development in this conflict stricken area. This section of the literature review provides the reader with a view of what is considered to be development. The concept of development is quite a controversial one. There is no universally accepted definition as to what constitutes development. Many economist, development practitioners and development organizations attempt to measure or determine standard of development in the world by quantifying economic growth by ways of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP). The United Nation Development Program (UNDP) ever since its maiden edition of the Human Development Reports (HDR) lunched in the 1990s has adopted the use of the

Human Development Index (HDI) as a composite statistical measure of levels of global development.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development – OECD (2007) - cited in Mac Ginty and Williams (2009: 92) in the 'Handbook on Security and Sector Reform' redefine security to include "safety and well-being of…people". The concepts of safety and well-being as indicated form an important cornerstone of the concept of development as conceived in this study. The concept of development as propounded by post World War II modernization theorists of development describes a move towards achieving a style of living and adoption of technologies from the North (advanced industrialized countries). This view has been shared by Martinussen (1996). He had also synthesized development to mean:

> *A process whereby the real per capita income of a country increases over long period of time while simultaneously poverty is reduced and the inequality in society is generally diminished - or at least not increased.*

This concept has been widely adopted by the World Bank and other international development organizations. However, it is noted that "there has never been general agreement on how to define economic growth; nor on how best to measure growth in developing societies. Yet, wide approval has been gained today for a notion which defines economic development" *(ibid).*

Some welfare economists such as Sen (1988) and Streeten (1994) have disputed increased incomes as the lone basis on which to measure development. To them, human welfare should be the overall objective and essence of development.

Development as conceived in this study hinges on the move towards attaining better standards of living for a given society. For the purpose of this research, development would be the achievement of better socio-economic and political life for the Jos Plateau area. A better socio-economic and political life here is one that promotes social integration and co-existence towards achieving economic, social and political development. Hence development is not defined in strictly economic terms but in a wider sense that embodies political and social issues. It is increasingly embracing issues of sustainability – that is developing in ways that guarantees possibilities for better quality of life for future generations.

2.4.   Religious Conflict in Nigeria: Jos - Plateau State

Plateau State is currently the main site of ethnic and religious violence in northern Nigeria. The past decade has seen recurrent crises across the state, in urban and rural areas (Blench; 2009). Thousands of lives have been lost in these violent conflicts. There has been extensive damage to property, and the development prospects of the state have been set back (Otufodunrin&Minchakpu; 2011). The violence has mainly been along religious lines, between Muslims and Christians, but ethnicity also has a central role in the conflicts and there are considerable political interests at stake (Otufodunrin&Minchakpu; 2011). Jos, the state capital and a major northern city with a population of some one million inhabitants, is the epicenter of much of the insecurity in Plateau State and has been the site of some of the worst of the violence. Episodes of mass killing and destruction have occurred in Jos in 2001, 2002, 2008 and 2010.

The violence has also affected other parts of the high plateau, in rural areas outside of Jos – particularly in 2001-2 and 2010, when hundreds of people were killed in villages, in their

fields, or while tending cattle. There have been massacres in the old mining settlements on the plateau, notably in 2001 and 2010 (Otufodunrin&Minchakpu; 2011).

In rural areas there has also been widespread violence between Berom farmers and Fulani pastoralists. This is generally framed as a conflict over land, but contrary to media reports, many of those involved tend not to think the conflict is about a struggle for grazing land or farmland. In some areas valuable dry-season farmland has changed hands, with Hausa and Fulani farmers being forced off the land (Blench, 2004). But much of the violence appears to be politically inspired and xenophobic rather than arising out of competition for land – as the killings in the old mining settlements suggest.

The violence in Plateau State began after two decades of increasing collective violence in other parts of northern Nigeria, the worst of which occurred in Kano, Kaduna and Bauchi States. Plateau State was largely peaceful during this period, 1980-2000. In fact, the first episode of mass violence in Jos since the anti-Igbo pogroms of 1966 occurred again in 2001 (Danfulani&Fwatshak, 2002; Higazi, 2007).

This work explores why the peace in Jos was broken, when the city was previously known for its relative harmony and cosmopolitan outlook. Furthermore, why has communal violence not only occurred in metropolitan Jos but in rural areas and provincial towns in Plateau State too? The urban-rural dynamics and the specificities of urban and rural areas need to be understood, but also contingent factors like the policies, dispositions, and ideologies of particular state and local governments, religious groups, and ethnic leaders (Danfulani&Fwatshak, 2002; Higazi, 2007). In general, the timing and extent of the violence is related to the political shifts that occurred after the transition from military to civilian rule

in Nigeria in 1999 and this had an impact on inter-group relations in Plateau State. The various interventions by the state and federal governments, the army and police have failed to prevent the violence, and there has been a lack of serious political dialogue to try and resolve it. As a consequence of a decade of intermittent violence, sophisticated weapons are now widely available in Plateau State and this does not bode well for the security of the population (Otufodunrin&Minchakpu; 2011).

One of the features of the violence in 2010 was the increased use of guns compared to previous riots in Jos. The recurrent crisis in and around Jos has cost many lives and the root causes have yet to be addressed. Government reports have tried to explain the complicated situation, assess the number of deaths and come up with policy recommendations. It seems as if the presence of the military has calmed down the situation, but the conflict has neither been solved nor has it been channeled into peaceful conflict resolution mechanisms (Otufodunrin&Minchakpu; 2011).

In fact, there seems to be a lack of clarity on what are actual causes of the conflict. Some call it a religious conflict, others see land interests at play, and yet others believe that the distinction between indigenous people and settlers and their implications lie at the heart of the conflict. This lack of clarity further complicates the search for policy solutions.

2.5. Conflict and Development

This study seeks to explore the relationship between conflict and development. It examines the causes of the Jos Plateau conflict and how this crisis impacts on development. This therefore makes it necessary to consider a section in this review on conflict and development. Conflict of all dimensions, be it political, social or economic, impacts on development. For

example, House of Commons International Development Committee of the United Kingdom Department for International Development – DFID (2006) points out that:

> *There is an increasing recognition that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) will not be achieved unless more is done to prevent and resolve violent conflict…While the link between conflict and development is a relatively new field, the Government must prioritize it in order to improve development outcomes among the poorest. Preventing and ending conflicts will do more to create a climate for poverty reduction than any amount of costly aid programmes.*

Generally speaking, conflicts that manifest themselves over protracted periods will impede development. However, some people have argued that post-conflict situations provide opportunities for post-conflict reconstruction. To Thomas (2006:186) development cannot begin until war had ceased in a conflict stricken area. Where conflict is properly resolved and where transformation and reconciliation are achieved, development can take place. These processes can create safety nets of accountability and awareness towards conflict mitigation and avoidance.

This study seeks to highlight the negative impact the Jos Plateau conflict has on the socio-economic, political development of the area. It emphasizes the need to manage or resolve this conflict as a move towards achieving meaningful development for the area.

2.6. Conflict Management and Resolution

Managing and resolving conflict in the Jos Plateau is cardinal to realizing meaningful development in the Jos Plateau of Nigeria. But what is conflict management and resolution? This section presents a basic notion of these two concepts. Proponents of conflict

management believe that it is not usually impossible to find a permanent fix to conflict nor it is possible to avoid conflict in our daily businesses and interactions. Hence our daily experiences are all about managing conflicts and our relationships with others around us. This view is shared by Mac Ginty and Williams (2009:102), who indicate that "it is usually impossible to do anything but try to grease the wheels of a conflict…The aim is the minimization but not necessarily elimination of violence; stability in so far as it can be achieved; and 'realist' expectation of getting people to agree". Proponents of conflict resolution on their part believe in finding a permanent fix to the resolution of conflict through processes such as mediation and arbitration. As put by Mac Ginty and Williams (2009:103), "it is usually held to mean an attempt to fully…resolve the underlying root causes of a conflict, by it is hoped, resolving or indeed transforming the relationship of the parties so that they develop an entirely new and peaceful relationship." Jeong (2008:244) shares the same viewpoints that it involves highlighting the wider social and political sources of a conflict in seeking to break the perpetuating cycle of oppression and resistance.

One of the central issues hinging on this study is to explore the possibilities to seeking permanent solutions to the conflict in the Jos Plateau. Hence it shares the ideas of Fischer and Schmelzle (n.d.) who point out that violence or situations of conflict "… should be avoided in structures and relationships at all levels of human interaction" and that "all constructive conflict work must address the root causes that fuel conflict".

2.7.   People Centered Development

People centered development has diverse interpretations. It is generally qualified as a people focused development - development that tackles the immediate concerns of the communities involved. Korten (1990) writes that a people centered development is an approach to

development that "seeks to return control over resources to People and their communities to be used in meeting their own needs. This creates incentives for the responsible stewardship of resources that is essential to sustainability''. According to "A Journal of Economics in Transition" (1997), it is development in which profit is defined in human terms rather than pure quantitative analyses that remove human and social concerns in the name of profit – it advocates for the development of localized people-centered economics. As used in this study it can be attributed to an approach to development based on social capital, a situation where people can pull together their resources in order to achieve common goals for their mutual benefits. It is development based on a participatory approach which focuses on the basic needs of the people such as clean water, health care and education - participation in the sense interpreted by USAID (2000) as the "involvement by local populations in the creation, content and conduct of a program or policy designed to change their lives". The main reason for such an approach is to offset the challenges involved in receiving official assistance either from national or international bodies to meet the basic needs of the community. This seeks to understand how the conflict on the Jos Plateau of Nigeria would affect such communal development initiatives.

2.8.   Geographical and historical outline

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 majority Christian state within northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria as a whole has a majority Muslim population but there are also large numbers of Christians living there, both in the far north (all of the main cities have Christian areas, mainly in "new" neighborhoods – established during the colonial period – called *SabonGaris*) and in the middle-belt, which is mainly Christian but still considered as part of the north. 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 now Christian – within the old Northern Region (Mohammed; 2005).

Plateau State takes its name from the high plateau which dominates the state's topography. The social development of plateau peoples and the historical position of the Plateau in relation to the rest of what is now northern Nigeria are somewhat distinctive, partly due to the terrain and the tremendous ethno-linguistic diversity of the area. There are dozens of languages spoken in Plateau State, marking it out from the predominantly Hausa-speaking areas further north – although, being the regional *lingua franca* of northern Nigeria, Hausa is also widely spoken on the Plateau (Mohammed; 2005).

There has been a reaction against this in some areas, with a cultural resurgence that is encouraging the replacement of Hausa place name with indigenous ones, and to a lesser extent the use of indigenous languages rather than Hausa. The sense of difference on the Plateau is also clear in social attitudes, politics, and patterns of life, and has affected trajectories of contemporary conflict in Plateau State, with mobilization around ethnicity and ideas of indignity being of major importance (Mohammed; 2005).

The particularities of the Plateau and the minority status of its inhabitants after their incorporation into the system of British colonial rule as part of the North from the early twentieth century has fed into one aspect of Plateau politics: the assertion of autonomy from the Muslim north. Middle Belt writers have described the Hausa/Fulani presence in, and perceived domination of, the lower north as a form of "internal colonialism" (Logams, 2004).

But although this is a prominent political theme in Plateau State, it is not the only one. Historically, there were regional connections between the Plateau and surrounding peoples of the savanna plains and there were also non-conflict encounters with Muslims, such as in trade. In the regional system of colonial rule and in the First Republic (1960-66), there was both divergence and convergence in the social practices and political linkages between what was then Plateau Province and the rest of the North. It is only recently that religious violence has started in Jos (Logams, 2004).

The high plateau constitutes only part of Plateau State: a slightly larger portion of the state's territory is lowlands plains, beneath the plateau escarpment. Muslims established more settlements and had a more extensive presence in the lowlands than on the high plateau – at least going back to the nineteenth century in Wase, and perhaps earlier in Kanam, the two emirates within Plateau State (Ostien; 2009).

The ethnic composition and social relations of Plateau State, in its totality, were further diversified by migration from throughout Nigeria from the early colonial period, stimulated by industrial-scale tin and columbine mining on the plateau. This led to the establishment of Jos and many smaller mining settlements, from the early twentieth century, inhabited mainly by people from other parts of Northern Nigeria and from Southern Nigeria. For some of the indigenous communities of the Plateau, such as sections of the Berom and Anaguta, mining and colonialism led to dispossession from large areas of their customary land (Ostien; 2009).

Rapid social and economic transformation also ensued, and the indigenous inhabitants of the Plateau were marginalized in the colonial economy and social order. In the lowlands, agricultural production was commercialized to supply the mines fields. In some areas, non-Muslims were for the first time placed under the authority of Muslims as part of the indirect

rule system (Ballard, 1972; Rotimi, 2010), sowing some of the seeds of later conflicts. Jos grew as a town of migrants, who arrived there from other parts of Nigeria. From its genesis, Jos has had a substantial southern Christian population – the Yoruba and Igbo comprise the majority of Christians in Jos. In rural areas and in the smaller towns of the Jos Plateau, indigenous Christians form the majority, but in Jos itself the population of Plateau peoples is relatively small. Politically, Jos has tended more towards progressive parties, but ideology has become less important in contemporary politics. With the break-up of the regions into states in 1967, power has steadily shifted towards Christian majority in Plateau (Ballard, 1972; Rotimi, 2010).

Benue-Plateau State was created in 1967. Plateau State was formed after the division of Benue and Plateau into separate states in 1976, and the state boundary was again altered in 1996 when Nassarawa State was carved out of Plateau – which may have had some deleterious effects on Plateau as many educated Muslims moved to work in the new Nassarawa State government and civil service. The salience of communal identities is now more prominent and appears to have increased as a result of the violence over the past decade, which has generated greater spatial polarization of people in Jos along religious lines and accentuated social and political divisions between Muslims and Christians. Consequently, more people are directly affected by and conscious of social divisions now and articulate their religious and ethnic allegiances more categorically than they did previously (Ostien; 2009).

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

2.1. **Introduction**

The research design and method that was used for this study is discussed in this chapter. As indicated earlier in chapter 1, the overall purpose of this study is to examine the causes of the Jos conflict in Plateau State Nigeria and its impact on development in the area. In this section I shall be examining the overall strategy adopted in this study, data collection and data analysis methods and the limitations of the research methodology adopted.

3.2. **Research Approach**

The overall research approach that was used in this study is the case study research approach. According to Yin (1994), a case study research is one in which "focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context". It is "suitable for studying complex social phenomena" (ibid. 1). In a case study, researchers aim at exploring a phenomenon or concept within a limited setting. Such a setting could be geographical, a group of people or any other aspect in social sciences as within the interests of the study.

The case study research approach is justified by the time limit and the resources available to finish this research. It also helps to gain a clearer focus on what to research. The case of the Jos crisis in the Plateau State of Nigeria has been selected owing to the need to investigate the root causes of this conflict which has resisted a permanent solution for so long and has caused untold poverty and hardship in the region. It has also led to loss of lives and properties. It is therefore an urgent necessity to educate the people on the negative consequences of the conflict and work towards arriving at a lasting solution and also to suggest possible suggestions to help curb the conflict.

This study uses the mixed research methods, that is, it combines both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative research investigates attitudes, behaviours and experiences of people. This is appropriate in bringing to the fore the illustration of a case under consideration (Babbie, Mouton and Prozesky, 2001: 270). According to Taylor-Powell & Renner (2003), "qualitative data consist of words and observation'. Quantitative research on its parts deals with variables that can be measured in mathematical or statistical terms dealing with quantifiable data or information. Thus,

The main concern is with rigorous objective measurement in order to determine the truth or falsehood of particular predetermined hypothesis. Although, this is somewhat of a caricature even of current practice and knowledge in natural science, these philosophical assumptions underpin claims of the superior rigour of quantitative methods in economics and development research" (Mayoux, 2006).

The data that was collected, analysed and presented therefore reflects all these approaches as indicated above.

3.3. **Data Collection**

This section describes how the data used in this study was collected. The two main sources used to collect data were primary and secondary data sources. Primary source data is data that may not be readily available for analysis. Such data has to be collected first from the field using a variety of data collection techniques. Secondary data on the other hand is that which is readily available in forms that can be incorporated in this research to answer the main questions posed by this research.

3.4. **Primary Data Sources**

The three techniques that were used to gather primary data are self-completion questionnaires, field interviews (both structured and unstructured) and field observations. A total of 25 questionnaires were administered in the field. Potential respondents or subjects of these questionnaires were mainly the people of Jos Plateau and other people elsewhere who in one way or the other have background knowledge of this conflict. The main advantage of using questionnaires as a method of primary data collection is that questionnaires are structured to suit the objective of the research and to answer the research questions posed. Hence they are more focused compared to other methods of data collection. However, they limit the possibility to ask further questions in order to obtain more information on the research.

In order to counter the shortcomings of relying on questionnaire, primary information was also obtained by conducting face to face interviews with resource persons in the field. This served as a data triangulation method for primary data collection using questionnaires. These interviews were conducted with community leaders and other people who have an in-depth understanding of the Jos Plateau crisis. Examples of such persons were government officials and religious leaders in the area and neutral parties who have no stake or interest in the conflict as they can offer a more balanced view of the conflict. Interviews provided an opportunity to meet respondents in person and this allowed face to face communication between the researcher and the respondents.

Field observation is one last way by which primary data was collected. This was done by making notes on obvious events in the field which were not have covered by the interviews and questionnaire but are relevant to answering the research questions posed above. Such events can be recorded on notebooks for eventual synthesis and inclusion in the data analysis.

3.5.Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data is information's from books, reports, policy documents, journal articles and the internet. The secondary data is information that has already been collected and recorded by other researchers.

Information from the internet as a means of collecting secondary data can come in three main forms. This could be online sources found on web pages and can be copied unto word documents for further analysis, or this could be pdf or word documents which can be downloads and saved for further analysis. Online journals are also internet source and comes in the form of downloadable pdf documents or can be accessed and read online.

However, recent advances in information and communication technologies have led to massive publication of inaccurate and unreliable information and data on the internet. It becomes necessary therefore to treat online information cautiously. The reliability of such information will have to be ascertained prior being incorporated in the research. Library information was drawn largely from both digital and analogue sources of the NMMU library.

3.5.Framework for Data Analysis

This section deals with the methods used to analyse the data that was collected for this study. This research used a mixed methods approach, combining both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of data analysis.

3.5.1.Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data analysis provides us with the opportunity to analyse non-numerical data - the data that cannot be quantified or measured in mathematical and statistical terms. It deals with

predominantly textual data. The process of qualitative data analysis involves describing data, noticing or observing patterns, collecting evidence and reflecting on what has been noted.

One way that qualitative data was analysed was by summarising and reducing, arranging and sorting data. After this the data was classified, grouped into themes, coded and then integrated into the body of this work to answer important research questions and objectives as spelt out earlier. The main way by which the analysed data was incorporated in this work was through discussing, analysing and embedding relevant information gathered and analysed into the body of the research (Winstanely; 2009).

3.5.2.Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative data analysis is essentially numerical in nature. That is, it deals with numbers and with mathematical and statistical variables. Levels of measurement for such data can be nominal, ordinal or rational in scale.

Statistical analysis for this study was mainly through the use of univariate descriptive statistics; that is statistical measures using one variable at a time. In this study, measures such as the computation of averages or central tendencies have been used. Data was also analysed and presented using percentages and statistical tables. In addition, data was analysed and presented using bar charts and pie charts. These are pictorial representations that show the distribution of data and variables (Winstanley, 2009)

53.6.Ethical Concerns

Research ethics are concerned with rules and codes guiding the conduct of research. Ethical concerns cut across issues hinging on intellectual honesty and how the researcher treats the research subjects. This research has been based on informed consent, and all necessary

information about the research has been provided to the participants. This research therefore did not only abide by the rules of research methodology but also upheld the dignity of those that were interviewed in the field. Since some of the information that emerged from the research could be of a sensitive nature, ahead of collecting such information respondents were given full assurance of the confidentiality and anonymity of the information they disclose. They were given the full pledge that data and information collected will be used for no other secondary purpose than to meet the needs of this study.

3.7. Limitations of the research Methodology Adopted

In this study, some primary data was collected using self completion questionnaire. One limitation with the questionnaire was that some people have been reluctant to fill them out. Secondly, not everyone can fill out a questionnaire and some people may not understand the questions, thereby leading to the provision of wrong answers. And also questionnaire do not provide us with the opportunity to probe.

Additional primary data was collected through the use of interviews, but the limitation of interviews is that they cannot be used to collect information from so many people at the same time. Information from interviews is generally qualitative in nature and this makes analysis more challenging compared to questionnaires.

Another limitation is that data analysis and presentation techniques used in this research cannot be understood by every reader and this will lead to breakdown in the communication of research results. This problem is not necessarily caused by the researcher but it is a weakness on the part of the reader. However, it is only proper for them to be able to understand the results for this research to have its desire impact.

3.8. Conclusion

In this chapter the approach to attaining the research objectives and to answering the research questions has been explained. The research approach selected for this study has been the case study approach. Data was collected both from primary and secondary data sources and data analysis has been both qualitative and quantitative. The researcher attempted to triangulate data collection methods by using several complementary sources of data as well as various data analysis methods. As obtains with many other studies, the selected research methods have their own limitations. However these limitations do not discredit the results of this research.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

This chapter reveals the findings of this study based on the methodology outlined in chapter 3. It is structured around the objectives of this study as set out earlier – to examine the causes of and consequences of the Jos Plateau Conflict, how it impinges on people centred development and possible conflict resolution strategies to the conflict. The research findings are based on a random sample of the opinions of the people of the Jos Plateau who have lived through this conflict and other people who in one way or the other have good background knowledge of the genesis of the conflict in question.

This chapter begins with a description of the views of the respondents. This is followed by an analysis and synthesis of information of these views as portrayed by the data. The transcript for the questionnaire administered as well as the collation transcript for all the responses can be found in the appendix section of this research.

4.1. Data Description

In this study, 25 questionnaires were administered to sample the opinion of inhabitants of the Jos plateau regarding the conflict. These responses are grouped into the views on the causes, consequences of the conflict and how they think the conflict can be solved or mitigated.

4.1.1. Causes of the conflict

Of the 25 people who completed questionnaires, 14 of them attributed the causes of the Jos Plateau conflict to land disputes. This puts the percentage distribution of land disputes as the cause of the conflict at 56 per cent as illustrated on the pie chart below that shows the

percentage distribution of respondents view to causes of the conflict. This is 10 per cent above an aggregate of the other causes of the conflict put together.
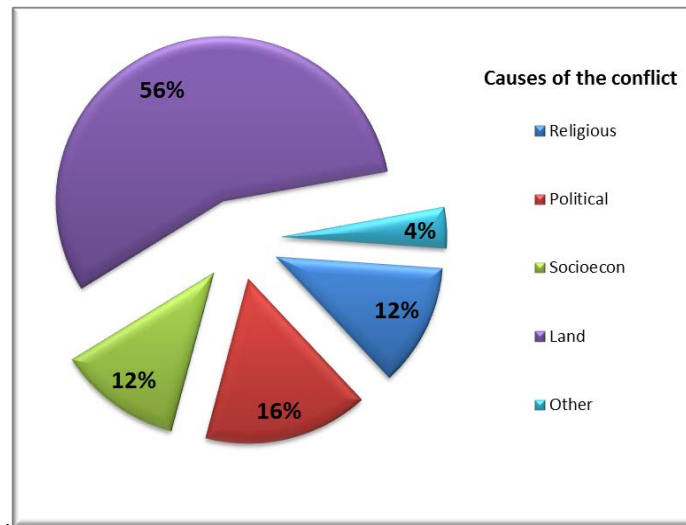

Figure 4.1: Distribution of respondents view about the causes of the conflict

While 16 per cent of the respondents think the conflict is politically motivated, the perception of the conflict as socio-economically and religiously triggered stood at a par of 12 per cent each and other causes at 4 per cent.

4.1.2. Consequences of the conflict

The predominant view among the respondents is that the Jos Plateau conflict generates fear and a feeling of insecurity in the region. This view takes a 32 per cent share of the 25 people who consented to filling out the questionnaires while 24 per cent of this number feels that conflict retards development in the area – that is 8 and 6 people respectively out of the 25.
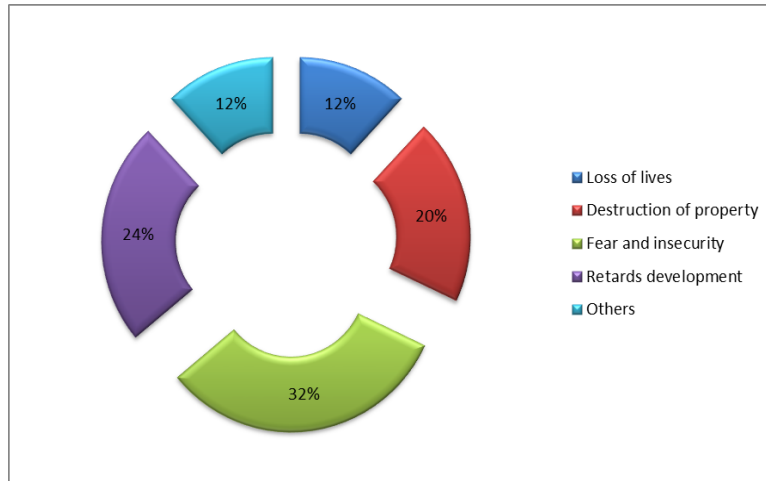
Figure 4.2: Percentage distribution of views on the consequences of the conflict

This result is illustrated on the pie chart above. Its further indicates that the conflict has led to loss of lives and destruction of property as expressed by 20 per cent and 12 per cent of the respondents in that order.

4.1.3. Possible conflict resolution strategies for the conflict

The pie chart below shows what each of the 25 respondents think should be likely conflict mitigation or resolution strategies to the conflict in the Jos Plateau.
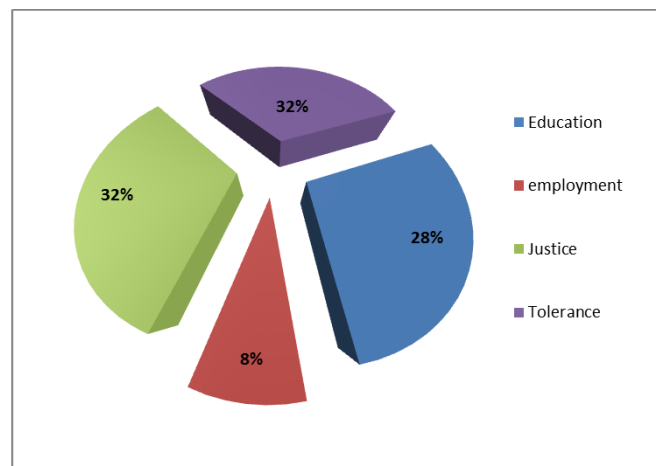

Fig 4.3: Views on the possible conflict resolution strategies for the conflict

Eight out of the 25 respondents each believe that the pursuit of justice as well as the practice of values of tolerance can go a long way to helping the people out of this conflict stricken

situation. The percentage distribution for this view among the respondents stands at 32 per cent each as illustrated on the chart above. The need to educate the populace on the values of coexistence and the need for peace in the area was shared by 38 per cent of the respondents, that is 7 in 25 of those who responded to the questionnaire. 8 per cent of the respondents think the creation of employment for the youths will also be a contributing factor in managing this conflict that is in an almost intractable phase.

4.2. Analysis and Synthesis

This subsection concerns itself with an analysis of the data as described below. It does this in the light of the other two objectives of this study which is to examine the interconnectedness and linkages between conflict and people centred development as well as how conflict resolution strategies in the region could bear dividends in the area of development.

4.2.1. How conflict impinges on people centred development in the area

A section in the literature review examined the concept of people centred-development. This concept has diverse interpretations but in this study, the researcher considers it to mean a participatory approach to development in which communities can pull their social capital together to foster links which can enable them to engage in community self-development ventures. The unique feature of this approach to development is that it tackles the immediate needs that can better the lives of the communities involved, unlike other development initiatives which tend to dwell more on long term visions of addressing such needs. How then, can the conflict in the Jos Plateau impinge on people centred development?

The whole range of factors at the origin of the conflict as illustrated on figure 4.1 above leads to fractured relationships among the people of the Jos Plateau. This creates a less conducive environment on which development can thrive. The consequences of the conflict as portrayed by the responses above (figure 4.2) are self-evident as factors that can retard community self-

development. First, fear and insecurity have led to many people fleeing the area to settle in more peaceful environments elsewhere in the country. The consequences are several folds. The people do not only move away with their human and material resources that can be invested in the development of the Jos Plateau but this situation creates a depressed region with a population that is not strong enough to attract substantial amounts of state sponsored development projects as well as development assistance from non-governmental bodies. Even when such investments are available, they do not come in to boast indigenous development initiatives but mostly as relief efforts to mitigate the consequences of the conflict. This usually happens against a backdrop of competition from more stable and highly populated areas over very limited resources available for public investment projects. These highly populated areas are usually top priority for government investment not only for political reasons but also for the purpose of state welfare.

Secondly, the loss of human life and destruction of property rids the Plateau of the requisite human and material resources necessary for development. Most of the victims are usually people of the active or working age group who otherwise would have invested their energy and resources in the development of the area.

Thirdly, and most importantly as identified by 24 per cent of the respondents, the conflict retards development. All the other factors of this conflict from its causes, through its consequences have strong chain relationship that culminate in this consequence. In other words, land issues, religious as well as socio-economic and political differences in the Jos Plateau has resulted in fear and insecurity in the area, loss of lives, destruction of property. The high point of this interrelationship is that it tends to retard socio-economic development of the Jos Plateau. Other possible factors that usually play down on opportunities to cooperate for fruitful development are strong negative sentiments among the people and fractured

relationships among members of the Jos Plateau community. At the end of the day, the people are left with huge challenges of pursuing a people centred development.

4.2.2. The role of conflict resolution strategies in development in the area

Conflict resolution involves measures and strategies of finding a permanent fix to solving a conflict usually through processes such as mediation and arbitration. As it was indicated in the literature review, managing and resolving conflict in the Jos Plateau is cardinal to realizing meaningful development of this region in Nigeria. The respondents indicated on figure three suggested the following measures to resolving the Jos conflict: education, justice, tolerance and the provision of employment.

Education will entail sensitisation campaigns on the negative consequences of the conflict. Respondents suggesting this conflict resolution measure seem to suggest that the inhabitants of the Jos Plateau lack the necessary spirit of communalism and coexistence with each other and therefore require some sensitisation measures to cultivate this spirit. In the comprehensive role of community leaders, the state and nongovernmental organisations will be primordial in achieving this conflict resolution strategy. But this however does not exclude the citizens of the Jos Plateau as no amount of efforts will yield meaningful results without their cooperation.

By suggesting measure to create employment opportunities in the Jos Plateau, 8 per cent of the respondents as indicated on figure 4.3 should be suggesting that many young people engage in acts of violence due to joblessness and the frustration of having no means to make a living. There are several measures of boasting employment rates which include giving the youths opportunities for vocational training and education, creating industries and making the area worthy of attracting investment from outside the Jos plateau.

The practice of tolerance as indicated by 32 per cent of the respondents requires the people to practise values of coexistence. The best way to achieve this is through educating and sensitising the population.

The administration of justice which also scores a percentage distribution of 32 entails bringing perpetrators of acts of violence to face legal action and possible serving jail sentences. It is a traditional way of dealing with conflict in most situations and is still widely practiced today. The administration of justice through jail sentences can deter people from engaging in acts of violence.

Respondents however did not identify one measure recently proposed by the federal government of Nigeria. According to BBC reports this month, the Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan has ordered the military to "take all necessary actions" to stop ethnic and religious unrest in Plateau state. His order tow after two days after 10 September 2011 bomb explosions which hit the state capital Jos. The attack brought the number of people who have died through such deadly attacks to more than 100 in just 2 weeks.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the causes of the Jos Plateau conflict. It's causes are socio-economic, political, and religious as well due to land disputes. The consequences of the conflict range from loss of lives, destruction of property, fear and insecurity and retarding development in the area. The various measures that have been proposed by respondents to solve the conflict include educating the citizens of the Jos Plateau on the negative consequences of the conflict, creating employment opportunities, practicing tolerance as well as the administration of justice on perpetrators of acts of violence. How the conflict impinges on people centred development and the role of conflict resolution strategies in development in the Jos Plateau area has also been considered.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine the relationship between conflict and development. It used a case study approach based on the conflict in the Plateau area of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This aim of this study was met within the framework of the following objectives:

1. To investigate underlying causes (remote and immediate) of the Jos conflict, examine the impact of the conflict on the socio-economic and political development of Plateau state in particular;

2. To examine if conflict resolution strategies in the region could bear dividends in the area of development;

3. To examine if conflict resolution strategies in the region could bear dividends in the area of development

Regarding the consequences of this crisis on the socio-economic and political development of the area, respondents among other factors pointed out to loss of lives, destruction of property, causing feelings of fear and insecurity as well as retarding development in the area. Of these consequences, the majority of respondents think the leading consequence is the fear and insecurity.

Respondents believe that the cultivation and practise of values of tolerance, administration of justice, sensitisation conflicts against conflict and the provision of employment to the youths will go a long way to mitigate the incidence of conflict in the area.

Based on the synthesis of the research findings, a number of ways were identified which suggested how conflict can impinge on people centered development in the area. It was pointed out that conflict leads to fractured relationships among the people which creates a less conducive environment on which people centered development can thrive; it rids the Plateau of the requisite human and material resources necessary for people centered development, Other possible factors that usually play down on opportunities to cooperate for fruitful development are strong negative sentiments among the people and fractured relationships which usually leave the community with huge challenges of pursuing a people centered development. It was pointed out that conflict resolution strategies in development in the area will be play a string positive role in enhancing people-centered development in the Jos Plateau.

5.2. Recommendations

This study recommends a bottom-up approach in case of any conflict resolution or conflict management strategy in the area. In other words, any conflict resolution strategies should take into consideration the factors surrounding the Jos conflict as identified by the respondents. These include causes and possible strategies to mitigate the conflict situation. The main causes of the conflict as identified by the respondents include political differences and maneuvers, socio-economic differences, religious tensions and land disputes. They went further to suggest that education, creation of employment opportunities, administration of justice and the practice of values of tolerance in the area can reduce the incidents of conflict in the area.

These suggestions as advanced by the respondents should be seriously taken into consideration in managing the conflict in the Jos area. The respondents have lived the conflict and understand its intricacies far better than outsiders. Their perception should therefore

provide the main compass on which to chart the path to peace in the Jos Plateau. This is unlike the case in conflict management approaches were solutions have always come from outsider or taken a top-bottom approach. Such approaches are likely to fail especially if they are based on assumptions that do not reflect the reality on the ground.

Secondly, it is recommended that conflict management and conflict resolution strategies should be preceded by a truth and reconciliation commission or conference among the inhabitants of the Jos Plateau. Among other consequences of the conflict as outlined on Chapter 4 of this study, conflict in any situation leads to fractured relationships among community member. For conflict resolution strategies to work better, it is necessary to begin by mending relations between community members and parties involved in the conflict. One way to do this is through the activities of reconciliation commissions such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in post-apartheid South Africa. The TRC was set up by the Government of National Unity in South Africa "to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during this period resulted in violence and human rights abuses from all sides… The TRC was based on the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995" (TRC:2009). Same happened for Rwanda after the 1994 genocide where close to a Million people were killed in just 100 days. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission were set up in 1999. "The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was empowered to organize national public debates aimed at promoting reconciliation, foster tolerance and a culture of peace and human rights, and denounce any ideas aimed at disunity"(United States Institute for Peace: n.d.). Same efforts are required in the Jos Plateau to enable the people come to terms with their past.

Thirdly, the conflict resolution strategy should be holistic. By holistic, it should not only tackle all aspects of the conflict but should also bring together parties from all walks of life in and outside of the Jos Plateau. Conflict management efforts in the area should involve

transnational organizations such as nongovernmental bodies and intergovernmental organizations. This would give the conflict management effort and international dimension thereby boasting its credibility.

5.3. Study outlook

This study has examined the causes of the Jos Plateau conflict and how it has impinges on the development of the area, with a special focus on its impact on people centered development. Some conflict management and resolution strategies were also examined based on the field work conducted for this study. At this juncture there is a need to point out some possible directions to further explore the Jos Plateau conflict. Firstly, there is always the need to triangulate research findings. Hence a further research on the causes and consequences of the Jos Plateau conflict should remain a concern. This will not only provide a basis for a comparative study, but would also serve to corroborate the finding reported here. It should be noted that the nature, causes and consequences of conflict change over time. A further study in the long term would contribute to documenting facts about the Jos Plateau conflict which can be reviewed sometime in the future to serve as a scale with which to measure the evolution of the conflict.

Secondly, researchers interested in the Jos Plateau conflict can further concern themselves with evaluating the success or impact of conflict management strategies reported in this study as well as other conflict management and resolution measures that are been put in place by the Nigerian government and organizations working to bring peace in the area. This is a major area which was not included within the scope of this study. Every successful conflict management strategy/efforts would require continual monitoring and evaluation which serves as yardsticks for determining progress. A thesis or research focusing on this theme would be a laudable initiative.

Further areas of investigation could be in the role of organizations in conflict management, prevention and mitigation. These organizations could range from grassroots bodies such as traditional councils, community based organizations, local governments, state government up to federal governments and transnational organizations.

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APPENDIX 1: Sample of completed questionnaire used to collect the date

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. RELIGIOUS FAITH OF RESPONDENTS

1) CHRISTIAN   [x]

2) MUSLIM   [ ]

B. COMMUNITY OF RESPONDENTS

i.	DOGON NAHWA	[ ]	v. GERUWA	[ ]
ii.	RATSAT	[ ]	vi. GINGIR	[ ]
iii.	ZOT FORON	[x]	vii. BABUJE	[ ]
iv.	GOM	[ ]		

C. CAN YOU PLEASE IN ONE SENTENCE OR A WORD TELL ME A PRESSING NEED IN THIS COMMUNITY?

Youth unemployment

D. REASONS FOR THE CONFLICT

Please describe the causes of the Christian Muslim Conflict in Jos

The real issue is land ownership and since youths are unemployed they are always available to be used

Please explain how the Christian Muslim Conflict has affected the socio-economic and development of plateau state

People here lost their property and loved ones and as such are afraid to invest their money

What do you think can be done to resolve the Christian Muslim Conflict in Jos?

Youth should be engaged in gainful employment

Thank you for responding

Appendix 2: Summary of all data collected and visualized on charts

Causes of the conflict	
Religious	3
Political	4
Socioecon	3
Land	14
Other	1

Consequences of the conflict	
Loss of lives	3
Destruction of property	5
Fear and insecurity	8
Retards development	6
Others	3

Possible solutions proposed	
Education	7
employment	2
Justice	8
Tolerance	8