



**Report on Campaign against Electoral Violence – 2007
Plateau State**

**With the collaboration of
YARAC - Youth, Adolescent, Reflection and Action
Center**

YARAC



Creativity & Service

**REPORT ON
ACTIVITIES
DURING
THE
CAMPAIGNS**

REPORT ON THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

As a prelude to the Campaign against Electoral Violence in Nigeria, a survey was conducted with the aid of the annual Afro-Barometer/PSI surveys. The specific targets though in relation to the CAEVIN Project in Plateau state included two local government areas in just six(6) states. The whole essence of the survey was to determine change in perceptions before and after sensitization through campaigns in these states which have been noted to have a propensity towards conflict and other negatives during periods of election.

Surveys in Plateau state were conducted in two local government areas. Jos-n North and Qua'an Pan. In Jos-North there were two designated enumeration areas, and these were;

Those for Jos-north were;

- Unity Commercial Institute
- Alhaji Sabitu Abass

Those for Qua'an Pan were;

- Agwan Dan Zaria in Piya (or Ampiya)
- Mai Anglican, Pandam

From the surveys taken, one clearly noticeable drawback was the fact that the names of designated enumeration areas had been extracted from an obsolete source, thereby creating a drawback in locating these places. All of the designated places have had their names replaced, and it was later discovered that the names were extracted from a 1970's census document. Places like Unity Commercial and Angwan Dan Zaria for instance had lost their names due to the either the change in the name of the landmark, as was seen with Unity Commercial, which was the name of a school, and is now called Highland College. In the case of Angwan Dan Zaria, the death of Dan Zaria, and the subsequent emigration of his whole family, encouraged the renaming of the place to COCIN I. Although these obstacles were overcome, it would have been much more efficient if the designated areas were actually well determined, possibly by the survey group, or the project team first before the survey was conducted. It would be the best thing to do in subsequent project if and when they are run.

Thus, it will be noticed that in our reporting, we have denoted the areas using their present designations, and not the former names. Please find the names listed in the next page.

Contemporary Designations for the Enumeration Areas

Former Designation of Area	Present Designation of Area
1. Unity Commercial Institute	Apata Jenta/Kasuwan Nama
2. Alhaji Sabitu Abbas	Anwan Ciminti, Rikkos
3. Angwan Dan Zaria, Piya	COCIN I
4. Mai Anglican, Pandam	Kasuwa

In each LGA, one of the two designated areas was either designated as the Treatment area or the Control area.

✘ **For Jos North:** Apata Jenta was designated as the treatment area and Rikkos designated as the control area.

✘ **For Qua'an-Pan:** Pandam designated as the control area and Ampia designated as the treatment area.

The Survey was conducted within the final week of January, in the two local Government areas, first in Jos-North, and then Qua'an Pan. Two members of the Project team, Henry G. Mang and Marcellina Gwahza joined the survey team taking notes and identifying the target interviewees during the survey. This was primarily done so that these same people would be directly targeted during the campaigns. Also, the project team members tried to find out more about the community, in terms of its leadership and youth structure, so as to find it easy when searching for contacts during the campaigns. The survey used a random sampling technique which bordered on random habitable structures and interviews with people of alternate sexes. Although this was relatively easier to do in the Unity commercial area, due to its awkward but understandable street naming and house numbering, Sabitu Abbas and All of Qua'an Pan was not as easy to do. Sabitu Abbas has houses so clumped together that the random sampling was quite difficult to achieve. With Qua'an Pan though, the problem had to do with the population, the villages are relatively small compared to those of Jos-North, thus, the randomization of dwelling structures was not convenient.

CAMPAIGNS

The actual campaign project commenced from the 15th of February. The project supervisor Mr. Austin Emeanua wrote to the partner organizations via e-mail dictating the general run down of activities by which were to be followed through during the process of executing the project. Amongst our responsibilities were to:

- ✘ Carry out a campaign against electoral violence.
- ✘ Develop a drama presentation for road side show in selected sites.
- ✘ Locating and interviewing individuals listed from the previous research.
- ✘ Distributing IEC campaign materials to individuals in defined site or target areas, recording the interview and taking the pictures of the recipient.

This activity was to commence as a follow up to the survey conducted in the two selected LGA's.

- ✘ **For Jos North:** Unity Junction designated as a treatment area and Rikkos designated as the control area.
- ✘ **For Qua'an-Pan:** Pandam designated as the control area and Ampia designated as the treatment area.

The campaign was strategically designed and the activities laid out as follows:

DAY 1 –

- ✘ Sensitization of the community which includes a town hall meeting, locating and interviewing of target individuals, pasting posters and handing out handbills and stickers, distributing IEC campaign materials while taking photos and video recording of the events.

DAY 2 –

- ✘ Sensitization which includes locating and interviewing of target individuals, distributing IEC campaign materials, taking photos and video recording of the event, pasting posters, sharing hand bills plus taking the radio jingle by a vehicle through target communities.

DAY 3 –

- ✘ Sensitization of the community on the campaign against electoral violence, distributing IEC campaign materials which include T-shirts, face caps,

hijabs, posters, handbills and stickers, still and motion picture recording of the event, road side show which includes the drama presentation.

METHODOLOGIES

In the two areas, the methodologies used varied. This was because of the considerations made by the team of the varying nature of the two communities. While Jos-North communities are located in a more urban setup, where relationships are not strongly held, and populations are very high and thus less personal interactions. Ampia is much smaller, and the community is strongly interacted, with almost everybody knowing the other. Thus, it was decided that for Jos-North, a drama team will be used, and the team will also join in the campaign train around the community. This more or less interactive campaign was done because of the difficulty to find available members of the community due to the fact that most of them were either busy at school or at their places of work. Fortunately, as will be seen from the drama, the community joined in rejecting the actions of the bad “Mr. Monday.” Thus, although the people were mostly busy in the mornings and afternoons, they had time in the evenings to view the drama.

In Ampia though, the methodology was greatly altered, the use of community theater was maximized, with only three among the actors being professionals, and most of the actors being amateurs. The team spent three days with members of the community in Ampia, sleeping with them, eating with them and also helping out in chores. This endeared the team to the community, and had better effect on the community because the people felt the touch of service, they did not feel as if they were just visited, but that we were one whole. They identified with their own and even after the play, some of the actors were still being referred to with their stage names.

It has become obvious that community theater is the most effective method of presenting drama in most places, and thus there is need in most cases to give time (if there is) to relating to the community.

THE FOLLOWING ARE A RUNDOWN OF EVENTS THAT TRANSPIRED IN THE PROCESS OF EXECUTING THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

APATA JENTA/KASUWAN NAMA

INTRODUCTION

The following are a reflection of the activity that took place in respect to the campaign against electoral violence in Apata:

After of course all logistics necessary for the success of the campaign where appropriately arranged for instance: the campaigners and dramatist, campaign outreach vehicles, radio and loud speakers and generator including the radio jingle, the campaign IEC materials which include the T-shirts, face caps, hijabs, posters, handbills and stickers and banners, the following tasks were assigned to all team members:

ACTIVITIES

- ✘ Conduct campaign against electoral violence
- ✘ Locate and interview individuals listed from the previous phase of the project.
- ✘ Distribute IEC campaign materials
- ✘ Record names, still and motion photos of recipient
- ✘ Road side show/drama presentation.

**CHRONOLOGY OF ACTIVITIES DURING THE CAMPAIGN IN
APATA JENTA/KASUWAN NAMA**

DAY 1 (15/02/07)

- Town hall meeting with *Mai-angwa* of Jenta Apata, elders, the Youth Leader youth, and market women, where we explained the reason for our coming and introduced the project to them, telling them about and the coming drama the next day.
- Campaign team divided itself into two groups, visiting the homes of those that had been interviewed in the previous Afro-Barometer/PSI survey, only a few of them were met at home, this was because most of them were at work. Some were met later in the evening, but for

those that were not met, messages were left for them, asking them to come for the drama.

- Interviews were conducted with the people met; videos and still pictures were taken of the people.
- While all this was taking place, the rally was conducted using three vehicles with the biggest, an 18 seater bus, embroidered with the CAEVIN banner on both sides. The jingle was played in English, Hausa and Pidgin English. While this was going on, someone was announcing the drama on the microphone.

DAY 2 (16/02/07)

- Campaign team divided itself into two groups as the day before, visiting the homes of those that had been interviewed in the previous survey.
- Interviews were conducted with the people met; videos and still pictures were taken of the people.
- While all this was taking place, the rally was conducted using three vehicles with the biggest, an 18 seater bus, embroidered with the CAEVIN banner on both sides. The jingle was played in English, Hausa and Pidgin English. While this was going on, someone was announcing the drama on the microphone.
- Drama conducted at the junction of Jenta Apata, with a sizable number of members of the community in attendance.

DAY 3 (17/02/07)

- Town hall meeting with *Mai-angwa* of Kasuwan Nama, Mallams, elders, the youth and market women, where we explained the reason for our coming and introduced the project to them, telling them about and the coming drama that evening. The young children were much more interested in our coming than the elderly, who wouldn't accept Tee-shirts and caps, but preferred hijabs for 'their wives,' they said.
- Campaign team divided itself into two groups as they had done in Apata on the previous days, visiting the homes of those that had been interviewed in the previous survey.
- Interviews were conducted with the people met; videos and still pictures were taken of the people.
- While all this was taking place, the rally was conducted using three vehicles with the biggest, an 18 seater bus, embroidered with the CAEVIN banner on both sides. The jingle was played in English,

Hausa and Pidgin English. While this was going on, someone was announcing the drama on the microphone.

- Drama conducted at the junction of Jenta Apata, with a sizable number of members of the community in attendance.

OUTPUT

All tasks assigned were successfully accomplished in respect to the activities that occurred in Apata.

- ✘ In regards to the tracking and interviewing of individuals listed from the previous research during the first phase of the project, we were able to track down quite a number of them and thus sensitizing them as we interviewed them and handed IEC campaign materials. Their names and photos were taken.
- ✘ During the campaign, as we went round tracking down specified individuals, we pasted posters and distributed hand bills generally sensitizing the community on our mission and encouraging them to participate in the campaign against electoral violence in Nigeria.
- ✘ The campaign took off on the 15th of February 2007 and went on for 2 days. On the 3rd day, the same activity sustained only this time there was to be a road side show/drama presentation at UNITY JUNCTION.
- ✘ Using vehicles, we took round a radio jingle that propagated the message against political violence at the same time using a microphone we invited members of the community to make themselves available at the road side show/drama presentation taking place at Unity Junction by the University of Jos Staff Quarters Apata.
- ✘ The road side show/drama presentation was very successful in regards to the response that developed on the side of the community members. The drama presentation was performed right in the middle of the street at the Unity Junction. We used the campaign vehicles to create a road block stopping all forms of traffic thus preventing traffic obstructions during the drama presentation. The theatrical concept in which the drama was presented is called the street theatre approach. This approach was exceptionally convenient as it accommodated external interference or participation from the audience, and was flexible enough to interact with the audience as we saw in the field during the drama presentation. There were instances where members of the community got personally involved, we saw women in the community condemning the violent politician in the play, expressing physically and verbally their displeasure in violent politics and assuring that violent politics would not be successful in their community. At the tail end of

the drama presentation, the characters at the last scene of the play were made to freeze while a brief interview was conducted amongst members of the community. Amongst individuals interviewed include the youth leader of the community, the area head, or *Mai Angwa*, and many others who expressed their views of the events that occurred in the play. A majority of those interviewed expressed their displeasure in the violent politician portrayed in the play as well as the manner in which he conducted his campaign. When asked what manner of treatment such violent politicians caught deserved, most suggested that they be judged under the full length of the law. Those interviewed were given one or two campaign materials as a form of empowering them to participate in the campaign against electoral violence. Their names as well as still and motion photos were recorded. The play took place at about 5pm and the whole event rounded up at about 6pm.

OUTCOMES

During the process of executing the campaign, we encountered certain problems. The following are a reflection of problems or difficulties we encountered during the campaign:

- ✘ A few of the individuals whom we were meant to locate as a result of the previous research conducted in this target area were no longer residing in the area, they had relocated to some other area or even another State, others were not available as they had to attend to some other business at the time of our arrival. Another major problem we encountered in locating some of this specified individuals was due to the fact that some of their residences were not properly defined.
- ✘ Just before the drama presentation, we experienced a low turn up of community members at the designated site for the road side show/drama presentation and this almost killed the aim presenting a drama show. But as the road was blocked and the music blared from the big speakers, and a few jokes were made on the microphone, people started coming over.
- ✘ Distribution of IEC campaign materials was hectic due to the impatience of certain individuals that refused to understand that we had a procedure to follow.

INNOVATIONS TO PROBLEM SOLVING

- ✘ During the field exercise of locating and interviewing individuals that were listed from the previous phase of the project, those individuals we did not meet at their residences due the fact that they had other businesses to attend to during the time of our arrival, we left behind information about our

campaign and if possible they should meet with the campaigners at the site situated for the road side show/drama presentation which some of them did, and after introducing themselves as the people visited in the previous research and telling us that they heard about our visit to their residences. For others, we were actually able to meet and interview them. For the ones we still did not meet on the second day, but were sure they still resided at the recorded address, we left behind one or two IEC materials so they are aware of our presence.

- ✘ Just before the drama presentation we experienced a low turn up of the community members and this discouraged the aim of campaign. Without wasting time we initiated some theatrical term called gyration where by popular songs are sang to attract or draw the attention of the audience from external distractions. We also played music and danced even with some of the few community members available using the T-shirts and caps as bait, this brought some manner of spectacle that attracted even a larger amount of community members, also we told jokes which also losing the crowd and added more humor to the whole activity.
- ✘ As the campaign was in progress we experienced difficulty distributing IEC campaign materials due to the nature and character of most individuals in the area. In the field work we saw individuals practically turn almost aggressive, expressing their desire to own one or more of the items we had to distribute regardless of the procedure which we as campaign staffs were instructed to follow. As a result to this we had to make the community members queue up while we distribute and record their names and photo shots as well as the item given, some times we made a list of individuals and used the list as a row call to hand over the IEC materials, other times when it got to crowded and hectic we just stopped the process to reduce the crowd and calm down nerves.

CHALLENGES

Some of the challenges experienced during the campaign in Apata, Jos North area are as follows:

- ✘ Seeing the disappointed faces of some of the individuals who desperately wanted a T-shirt or some other IEC campaign material.
- ✘ Locating the addresses of the listed individuals from the first phase of the project.
- ✘ Having to motivate members of the community to come round so we could have a reasonable amount of spectacle before the drama presentation.

✘ There were requests from members of the community for pamphlets and material that they could use to sensitize their friends or members of their families who were not present. Fortunately, YARAC had produced a newsletter on Elections and Violence, and these were distributed during the campaign on the second day. We would like to note that this written material will be quite effective in future if this project is to be run.

SOMETHING INTERESTING

On the community response towards the campaign at Apata, we would rate as highly positive and successful. The activity went smoothly and the experience was quite exciting for all participants. I believe they are empowered and more than ready to vote against violent politicians and electoral violence.

KASUWAN-NAMA

INTRODUCTION

The following is the description of the total activity that took place in Kasuwan-nama in respect to the campaign against electoral violence in Nigeria.

Kasuwan-nama designated as the treatment area according to the research findings of the previous phase of the project meant that it had evidence of violent activity in the past and making it necessary for the campaign to be conducted in this selected site.

ACTIVITIES

- ✘ Conduct campaign against electoral violence
- ✘ Locate and interview individuals listed from the previous phase of the project.
- ✘ Distribute INEC campaign materials
- ✘ Record names, still and motion photos of recipient
- ✘ Road side show/drama presentation.

OUTPUT

Below is a reflection of the tasks we were able to accomplish during the campaign against electoral violence in Kasuwan-nama.

- ✘ In regards to the tracking and interviewing of individuals listed from the previous research during the first phase of the project, we were able to track down quite a number of them and thus conducted campaign, sensitizing them as we interviewed them and handed IEC campaign materials. Their names and still as well as motion photos were taken.
- ✘ During the campaign, as we went round tracking down specified individuals we pasted p
- ✘ posters and distributed hand bills generally sensitizing the community on are mission and encouraging them to participate in the campaign against electoral violence in Nigeria.
- ✘ The campaign took off early on the morning of the 17th of February. Repeating the activities of the previous day at Apata, Unity Junction, using the campaign vehicles, we took round the radio jingle propagating the message against electoral violence and violent politicians. At the same time we used the opportunity to invite members of the target area to the community center located at Kasuwan-nama to come and participate in the

activities which would be taken place which include the distribution of IEC campaign materials, interviews and drama presentation.

- ✘ The drama presentation was fairly successful regarding the fact that there was a reasonable amount of the community members available by the time the drama presentation was to start, but on the other hand, the question of whether or not the audience got the message is rather questionable as I would reflect under the sub topic (problems arising).

OUTCOME

During the process of executing the campaign in Kasuwan-nama, we encountered certain problems. The following are a reflection of problems or difficulty we encountered during the campaign:

- ✘ Some of the individuals listed for the previous phase of the project that we were supposed to locate and interview we did not meet at the recorded location due to reasons beyond us. For some of those individuals not available they had either relocated to another residence or State as the case may be, some others had other business to attend to and so were not available at the time we arrived.
- ✘ Due to the fact that most of the individuals that turned up at the community center at Kasuwan-nama were more like street thugs, the attitude they portrayed in respect to the campaign activities were rather unprecedented. For instance, during the drama presentation some of the community members mostly youths expressed pleasure and support towards the violent attributes portrayed by the violent politician in the drama play. They even participated in the scene during the play where we had the violent politician calling for his thugs to disrupt the coming election if it is not in his favour.
- ✘ The most disturbing aspect of the campaign activity was when we tried distributing the IEC campaign materials. The process was disrupted due to the thug attributes portrayed by most of the community members. It got to a point that we had to exit the community center due to the violent nature the situation turned into.

INNOVATIONS TO PROBLEM SOLVING

During the kasuwan-nama campaign against electoral violence, most of the innovations we developed towards solving problems were spontaneous decisions, which are reflected below:

- ✘ As we located and interviewed individuals listed from the previous phase of the project, those we could not find at their recorded residences due to the fact that they had other businesses to attend to, we either left behind

messages to enable them know about our presence and campaign program and at times left one or two campaign materials behind for them, while others who had relocated permanently left us with no options.

- ✘ For an individual whose residence we found hard to locate, we asked for directions and most times got lucky to find the particular person we had on our list.
- ✘ Just before the road side show drama presentation, we experienced a low turn up of the community, we then used the campaign vehicle to penetrate deep in the neighbor hood of Kasuwan-nama inviting members of the community to come and participate in the campaign activity promising them caps and T-shirts which worked fairly as the turn up of the community actually grew.
- ✘ The thug nature of most of the community members who turned up for the campaign disturbed the fluid process the campaign activity anticipated. During the drama presentation, the crowd expressed pleasure and support towards the violent politician portrayed in the play completely missing the message, to help the situation we now had to propagate the message against electoral violence during the short interview session after the drama presentation which also failed to an extent as most of the community members that were interviewed agreed to be violent for any politician who is ready to pay the sum of N50, 000.
- ✘ The most scary part of the campaign was the sharing of IEC campaign materials which resulted into a rowdy situation with community members struggling and breaking every sense of orderliness until we were forced to exit the scene, stopping the process completely but we were able to speak with the youth leader who volunteered to distribute the IEC materials amongst community members and help record the names of the recipient as well as propagate the message against political and electoral violence on our behalf.

CHALLENGES

- ✘ When things got really violent, getting every one of the campaigners away was a challenge.

SOMETHING INTERESTING

Kasuwan-nama is a spot labeled a treatment area meaning that it had tendencies to be violent from past records. Most individuals who reside there are street people and are far ignorant of facts that affect the Nigerian state of mind. This

area as well as many others needs serious attention lest they face a major crisis in the nearest future.

AMPIYA

INTRODUCTION

The campaign at Qua'an-pan was situated in the local of Ampiya, a settlement labeled as the treatment area. Our project entailed that we take the campaign to these settlement and do a rundown of the campaign activity.

Our journey to Ampiya started on Sunday the 18th of February, 2007 at about 12:30 pm and we arrived about 5:30 that evening.

Without wasting time we proceeded to visit the community leaders according to the rules of community development and enlighten them about our mission and campaign plans.

We were welcomed handsomely by the community who accepted our visit and promised to support the campaign as best they could.

Below are a rundown of activities that took place in Ampiya:

ACTIVITY

- ✘ Conduct campaign against electoral violence
- ✘ Locate and interview individuals listed from the previous phase of the project.
- ✘ Distribute IEC campaign materials
- ✘ Record names, still and motion photos of recipient
- ✘ Road side show/drama presentation (community theatre for development)

CHRONOLOGY OF ACTIVITIES DURING THE CAMPAIGN IN PIYA

DAY 1 (18/02/07)

- Town hall meeting with *Mai-angwa* of COCIN I, elders, the Youth Leader youth, and women, where we explained the reason for our coming and introduced the project to them, telling them about our desire to work within the community in producing a drama with them.
- The team had a meeting with the Mai angwa (Village Head) of Piya and a few elders of the village, where they expressed happiness with our coming, and also gave us rooms to sleep.

DAY 2 (19/02/07)

- The team had community meetings, first with the older men, then young men and lastly with the women, in each of these meetings, which were quite informal, we encouraged them to express themselves as much as possible.
- Campaign team divided itself into two groups; the first group visited the homes of those that had been interviewed in the previous survey, while the second group started rehearsing the drama with some members of the community at the primary school premises.
- Interviews were conducted with the people met; videos and still pictures were taken of the people.

DAY 3 (20/02/07)

- Town hall meeting with *Mai-angwa*, Mallams, elders, the youth and market women, where we explained the reason for our coming and introduced the project to them.
- Campaign team divided itself into two groups as they had done in the previous day, visiting the homes of those that had been interviewed in the previous survey. The team had to go deep into the woodland where the Fulani were settled because some of them were interviewed. The other group continued rehearsing to perfect on the play.
- Interviews were conducted with the people met; videos and still pictures were taken of the people.
- While all this was taking place, the rally was conducted with the whole community coming out and singing songs, carrying the banners round the whole village before coming to the primary school premises.
- The drama was conducted at the Piya primary school premises, with almost the whole community present, a sizable number of Fulani in the community were in attendance.

OUTPUT

All tasks assigned were successfully accomplished in respect to the activities that occurred in Apata.

OUTCOME

- ✘ The following day the 19th of February, we preceded with the campaign a plan which is to visit community members interviewing and distributing IEC materials. After reminding them about the first phase of the project where they had the survey, we then enlightened them about our campaign and propagated the message against electoral violence. We then interviewed some of them and distributed a few materials to attract others in the community. The community members expressed great enthusiasm and cooperated fully with us. Apart from locating target families or community members, group interviews were also taken with the community women, the community youth, and also the community elders given us a variety of information about electoral violence.
- ✘ We were able to distribute all IEC campaign materials amongst community members, distributing the Hijabs amongst the Fulani's that reside in Ampyia, who are mostly Muslims, other where given caps or T-shirts with posters being distributed and pasted on trees or walls of houses. The campaign went as far as neighboring communities to Ampyia like the Fulani settlement stretching out to a wider settlement.
- ✘ For the roadside show/drama presentation in Ampyia it took a different approach which is the community theatre approach. In this approach the community members are used as the characters in the drama or play. We had volunteers who participated in the play stating rehearsals at about 2:30pm till about 4:30. Amongst the community members that volunteered for the drama presentation, we had the community youth, women and some elders of the community, the play was explained to the volunteers while the acted out the scenes. At the end they were able to deliver a sound drama presentation which took place on the 20th of February at the community school center. Before the drama presentation, there was a short rally with children singing songs with the community youths holding the banner meant for the campaign. The rally was to inform other community members about the drama presentation and the venue situated for the activity. The drama presentation I personally consider better than those we had earlier in Jos North. The community responded well to the events that occurred in the drama and this was proven during the interview session immediately after the drama presentation. They community comments showed high positive understanding towards the play and campaign message.

CHALLENGE

The biggest challenge encountered in Ampiya has to be the spread of the structures and the trekking we had to do during the campaigns. The road networks are bad, some are just foot paths. This took most of the time, and thus, on the second day, we took the decision to divide the team into two groups the first group was to work on the drama, while the other went to the various places. The lack of motor able roads actually slowed the spread of the campaign.

**CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
ELECTORAL
VIOLENCE
PROJECT
DESCRIPTIVE
REPORT ON
ENUMERATION
AREAS**

GEOGRAPHICS OF PLATEAU STATE AND LGA'S

Plateau state is located within the political north of Nigeria. In reality though the position of the state is in what is now commonly called the 'Middle Belt.' Positioned within 8° 30" and 10° 30" longitude, by 8° 30" and 10° latitude. As the name describes, its capital and most of the northern part of the state is situated on a plateau. Because of this the weather is relatively quite cool, and thus more inviting to tourists who find the equatorial heat of the other areas inconvenient. The lowlands, which take the larger land mass, are more fertile than the highlands, but do not have the convenience of good weather. The lowlands produce most of the tuber crops like yams and cassava, while the highlands produce mainly cereals and also potatoes. Due to diminishing tin mining activities, the excavated mining ponds created from mining in the colonial days are being used for irrigation purposes during the dry season, which commences from September of every year to March. The Rainy season begins from march and terminates in September. The dry season is characterized by dry dusty periods with strong winds. In the months of December, the weather is relatively cold, with up to lows of 15 degrees Celsius in the highlands. The lowlands at that time maintain an average of about 25 degrees Celsius at those times.

Jos-north

Jos-north is in the northernmost parts of the state, comprising most of the highland. It borders Plateau state to Bauchi State, towards the North-east, and also borders with three four three other local government areas within the state. Bassa, to the North-west, Jos-east to the east, and Jos-south to the south. All these local governments were under the Jos Division in colonial and early post colonial times. In the 1970's, with the creation of Plateau state, Bassa and Barkin ladi Local Government Areas were carved out of Jos, leaving Jos Local Government Area. In 1991, the Babangida administration created two new local government areas, from Jos; these were Jos-north and Jos South. With Jos-north becoming the state capital. This particular demarcation of Jos into North and South has been seen as a major factor for conflict in Jos.

Qua'an Pan

Qua'an Pan shares borders with Nassarawa State to the South-west, Shendam to the South-east, and Mikang to the north. It was created out of Shendam local government area in 1991, due to prolonged protests by the Pan people over what they had termed as over-domination¹

¹ Interview with the chief of Piya, 20th February 2007.

POPULATIONS

From the most recent population census carried out in Nigeria, an estimated 4 million people live in Plateau state, with Jos-North and South have the largest concentration of people. Jos has tremendously grown in recent years, and this has been attributed to various factors. The most common has been the fact that ethno-religious riots had been rife in the far north, mainly killing southerners. Jos being a liberal and mainly Christian dominated area, served as a haven for fleeing southerners who felt it would be a safer place to live in contrast to either Kano or Kaduna states. Other factors have been increased commerce, the railways and also its proximity to the capital Abuja, which is about two and a half hours drive from Jos.

Qua'an Pan on the other hand is situated in the lowlands, and is more sparsely populated. This does not stop emigration to the area though. Because of the fertile soil, which is good for farming yams, people from other local government areas have and still continue to migrate to the area in search of rented land for farming. These populations of migrants though are relatively smaller than those moving to Jos-North.

PEOPLING AND DEMARCATIIONS OF JOS-NORTH

Jos-North, the capital of the state was created as a Tin mining area in the early years of the twentieth century. With the discovery of Tin in commercial quantity, the British Colonial government encouraged labour migration into the mines fields. Most of these migrations came from the far north, mainly Hausas, who worked as manual labourers. In the tin mines. The British miners had also come with a few skilled workers, mainly Igbo from the south-east and a few Yoruba. Also, people from other West African countries like Sierra Leone and Ghana accompanied the British miners. As the mining developed, Levantines, Indians and Yoruba's came in as traders and businessmen, thus, by the mid 1920's Jos had a relatively large heterogeneous population. This population boom was soon to increase by the periods of the 2nd world war, when the need for tin increased due to its use in the war efforts. A new regime of conscription for mine labour was introduced, commonly called '*dibban gwamna*' or literally meaning 'government fetching.' With this, large amounts of men were forced to leave their villages to the mine fields in Jos. People from as far as present day states of Benue, Kogi, Niger, Kwara and Taraba were conscripted. Many of these people never left Jos, and thus the heterogeneity greatly increased.

In all this, one must emphasize that there were even before the coming of the Europeans, ethnicities autochthonous to the area, these specifically included the Afizere, Berom, and Anaguta. Others were the Buji, Amo, Rukuba and Aten. All these groups, although present in the area, lived as loose family conglomerations, and thus there were no large towns, but hamlets. Large population increases began with the quest for tin.

With the tin mines also came a pattern of apartheid. Various ethnicities were clumped together separately, thereby creating blocks. Thus, while the whites (meaning Europeans) lived in the European sector, the Levantines, and Indians, settled not far from them, while the skilled Africans, (mainly southerners and other West Africans) lived in their own sector. The Yoruba traders had their own area, and the predominantly larger migrant population, the Hausa, lived close to the mines in Naraguta, later extending close to the skilled workers sector. The autochthonous communities then were left around the peripheries of the area, because they had initially not welcomed the invasion of the Europeans on their land. Thus they kept their distance from the new community.

With these divisions, there was created a latency which would later manifest after more than half a century. This and the impact of identity construction, either through religion or ethnicity led to conflict in the once serene and peaceful city of Jos.

PEOPLING AND DEMARCATIONS OF QUA'AN PAN

The Area known as Qua'an Pan comprises primarily of two groups. One of which is made up of a conglomeration of many sub-ethnicities, or dialects. The 'Kofyer' as denoted by the colonial administration had consisted of about seven different dialects of a common language, a unique thing about this group was the fact that each dialect possessed various cultural identities, but had allegiance to one leader. The Kofyer are presently generally called the 'Pan' and are predominantly farmers.

The second group is the Goemai. These are a smaller group within Qua'an Pan, who migrated to the area. They met the pan people there, and had lived together with them peacefully. The Goemai are an extensively large ethnicity, located mainly in Shendam local government area, east of Qua'an Pan. There are three main areas where the Goemai reside in Qua'an Pan, and these are Kurgwi, Kwande, and Namu. The first two have a very large population of Goemai and the third (Namu), has a less, but sizable population. All other areas have a large majority of Pan. The Pan make up an estimated 90% of the total population of

the Local Government, with the Goemai with about 6% and other groups (mainly migrants) taking about 4% of the population.

The plains of Qua'an Pan are very fertile and have for years been the source of most of Plateau states yams. (Yams are a staple in Nigeria diet, and are a well prized agricultural commodity.) With so much fertile land at their disposal, there has never been enough manpower to maximize the production of yam crops. This has encouraged migration into Qua'an Pan by people of various other ethnicities than the Pan or Goemai who have found it inviting for agricultural purposes.

The Local Government Area has eight districts, one of which is mainly Goemai and the other seven are mainly Pan

In a unique twist, the village of Piya, which is penned as the treatment area in this study, consists of mainly immigrants from other local governments around in search of available farmland. A lot of these immigrants have stayed in these lands for over 40 years, but are still renting under landlords. The ethnicities include, Mwaghavwul, Mupun, Tal, Tiv and Berom.

Pandam, is popular for its wild life reserve and a beautiful natural lake. Although presently not popular as a tourist resort, it is a seasonal fishing resort where many people from the far north of Nigeria and around Plateau state come to fish commercially during the dry season. This has been on for a long time, and quite a number of people from Kano, Nassarawa and Taraba have settled in Pandam.

JOS-NORTH

AREAS COVERED (TREATMENT AREA)

APATA JENTA AREA

- CHURBE JUNCTION
- APATA STREET
- IDIAKA STREET
- JENTA APATA
- ECWA BISHARA #3
- CHOLLOM STREET
- DODO STREET
- ADETUTU STREET
- MAICHIBI STREET
- DANJA STREET
- ANGWAN SUYA
- JUBILEE JENTA
- OJUKWU STREET
- EJIAKU STREET
- ANGWAN LAMBU
- MONONIA JUNCTION

KASUWAN NAMA AREA

- KASWAN NAMA
- MALLAM BOYI STREET
- KASUWAN KAJI
- EMENIKE STREET
- KWARARAFI
- WANEGBO STREET
- AKPORIDO STREET
- MOHAMMADU WADA STREET
- PATRICK DOKOTRI STREET
- ABDULSALAMI STREET

AREAS COVERED (CONTROL AREA)

RIKKOS AREA

- NDLEA AREA OFFICE (RIKKOS)
- ANGWAN CIMINTI
- YAN SHANU
- KATON RIKKOS

DESCRIPTION OF AREAS

TREATMENT AREA

The area around the former Unity commercial Institute, (now Rockland Commercial College) which serves as our treatment area, lies within one of the most densely populated areas in Jos. It has a well networked street pattern composed of closely built structures, (mostly one storey buildings, and quite old). Most structures with inhabitants consist of more than one household; the structures usually have frontage rooms with flush doors which are used for commercial activity, mainly as provision stores, hair dressing salons, tailoring shops or restaurants. The places of residence are attached from behind these frontage rooms. The streets are narrow single lanes and well interconnected. The expanse of the survey area is an estimated six square kilometers. Due to its size and for efficiency during the project, the area was divided into two segments.

- **Apata Jenta Area**
- **Kasuwan Nama Area**

This division, as will be seen later in the statement of methodology used is due to the unique heterogeneity and ethnic structure of the two areas.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The treatment area chosen has a relatively long history of inter- ethnic group relations, and as will be seen in its history (later on in the work) many of the occupants came during the high periods of Tin Mining on the Jos Plateau,² and the settlement patterns indicate clusters of groups similar to each other.

² Although a brief history of Jos will be given, a recommended reading material will be Plotnikov, L: *Strangers in the City: Urban Man in Jos, Nigeria*, 1967, University of Pittsburg Press.

Although composed of different ethnicities, most of the residents in areas such as *Apata*, *Idika Street*, *Jubilee Jenta* and others are from the South-East and South-South. Other ethnicities are found in these areas too, but not as large in the populations of the former two. Areas off *Apata*, like the *ECWA Church Bishara #3* and *Chollom* street consist mainly of local ethnic groups, predominantly *Berom*, *Buji*, *Anaguta* and *Rukuba*. So also *Angwan Suya* and *Dodo* street, in contrast to the other streets, consists predominantly of local ethnicities (usually referred to as *indigenes*). The *indigenes* have always tended towards the claim of ownership of the land and term the other ethnicities from other areas as settlers. Thus, even though the ethnic composition of the area is predominantly Southern, the Ward Head of *Apata Jenta* Ward is a *Berom*, an Indigenous group. The youth leader also is *Berom*. After the 2001 communal crisis in Jos, the area and its adjoining areas became virtually all Christian.

In a sharp contrast, the *Kasuwan Nama* area is Predominantly *Hausa*, and Muslim. The *Hausa* Population is very large and it extends up to *Bauchi Road*, *Masalachin Jumm'aa* (*Jumm'aat Mosque*) and *Anguwan Rogo*. Some other ethnicities live in the streets which virtually separate the two designated areas. Streets like *Mohammadu Wada*, *Abdulsalami* and *Patrick Dokotri* streets. Thus, these virtual separating streets have a mixed ethnic and religious population. The *Kasuwan Nama* area is predominantly Muslim Dominated. A few *indigenes* can be found in the areas around *Ali Kazaure*, a street near the *Kasuwan Nama* area, but the street was not part of the survey undertaken.

EDUCATION

A large percentage of those interviewed were educated up to secondary school level, although a few were not and thus were interviewed in *Hausa* or *Pigeon English*. There is a supposition that the Education level in the two areas is significantly different. There are more Western educated people in the *Apata Jenta* area than there are in the *Kasuwan Nama* area. (This supposition is not empirical)

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

Most of the commercial activity that takes place in these areas is trade. There are provision stores in almost every street, also restaurants, tailoring shops, GSM call centers and small vegetable markets at *Chollom Street*. Other commercial activities include barbing/hairdressing salons, laundries, pool offices and brothels. *Kasuwan Nama* (*Hausa* for Meat Market) is actually part of a larger Market called *New Market* a large market for general wares and food

stuff. There is a Community Center in *Kasuwan Nama*, and within the community center is a Magistrate court. There are many commercial motorcycle riders, commonly called *Achaba* or *Going!* Some of them have been reported to be notorious criminals, and following the death of a Governorship aspirant, and the subsequent attempt on another's life in July 2006, the state government placed an 8:00pm curfew on all motorbike riders within Jos and environs. It was alleged that assassins hired motorbike riders as getaway transports.

ELECTION VOTERS REGISTRATION

As at the period of the Survey, (23rd -25th January) the Voters registration center located on Apata street was deserted, and some respondents complained about the shoddy way the registration was being handled. One respondent reported that he had to go up to Tafawa Balewa street to be registered and was told to pay ₦ 20 for him to be registered. This allegation was later confirmed by a local radio station.³ Other reports have been given of inadequate registration machines and also callous handling of the machines by the operators.

Cases of violence during the voters registration exercise were reported in areas close to the survey area, but not exactly in the places surveyed, but due to the proximity of the areas reported to the treatment area, these reports were documented by the journalist in Jos-North.

DESCRIPTION OF AREAS

CONTROL AREA

The Rikkos area is a large area, divided mainly into two;

Rikkos (NDLEA)

Katon Rikkos

The Enumeration area tagged *Alhaji Sabitu Abass* is a street area within *Rikkos (NDLEA)* which is just a small part of the scope of the survey.⁴ The area is hilly and extends on a long range; the downhill slopes are where the houses and streets are lined up along it. On the one side is *Rikkos (NDLEA)* while the other side is *Katon Rikkos* which when translated means *Greater Rikkos*. The name *Rikkos (NDLEA)* came about with the sighting of the *National Drug Law*

³ *AIT Raypower* report on that day, 24th January 2007, which reported the same incident.

⁴ From observations during the survey, the designations for both *Unity Commercial Institute* and *Alhaji Sabitu Abbas* have been phased out. The school previously called *Unity Commercial Institute* is now called *Rockland College*, and the junction to it is called *Churbe Junction*. So, also, *Alhaji Sabitu Abass* is now called *Angwan Ciminti*.

Enforcement Agency office in the area. Thus the two *Rikkos(s)* are two sides of a hill. Although *Katon Rikkos* Extends toward the *Liberty Dam* area, but the Survey did not reach that area.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The two areas are sharply divided into *Hausa* Areas, and Non Hausa areas. This sharp division arose due to the 2001 Jos violent crisis. The various ethnicities and religions migrated to areas they felt were safe for them due to the ethnic and religious factors. Fighting occurred in the area in September 11th, 2001 during the period of the crisis, also in *Eto Baba* an area very close by in May the 2nd 2002.⁵

The main population in *Rikkos (NDLEA)* Is *Hausa*, and Muslim. There are a few *Yoruba's* in the area since it is linked to a larger *Yoruba* populated area called *Nassarawa*. On the other side of the hill, in *Katon Rikkos* the population is predominantly Christian with a mixture of various ethnic groups. The largest population though is *Afizere (Jarawa)*, an indigenous ethnic group. The *Tinna Junction* area is a mixture of ethnicities, from different parts of the country, they are mainly Christian.

EDUCATION

The population is relatively mixed in terms of education, as there are Muslim schools which have Western Educational orientation. This has appealed to the hearts of the *Hausa* Muslim population which has had its own skepticisms with Western Education. But the fusion of the Western and Islamic education, they have been encouraged to put their wards in schools. The other side in *Katon Rikkos* has also a mix, because there still are Indigenous families which do not take the need for education seriously.

⁵Danfulani U.H.D, Fwatshak S.U. African Affairs, Volume 101, Number 403, 1 April 2002, pp. 255(13) Oxford University Press

HISTORY OF CONFLICT IN JOS-NORTH

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. According to the 1952 census figures, Christians formed 84.5 per cent of the population of Jos town, with Muslims making 12 percent and adherents of traditional religions the remaining 3.5 percent.⁷ Today, Plateau State enjoys a majority Christian population of about 95 per cent, while Jos town itself is overwhelmingly Christian. In 1967 it became the capital of the defunct Benue-Plateau State and was transformed into the capital.

The 'potato riot' of 1945 between Hausa and Igbo traders in Jos market, which left at least 2 people dead, could be well described being the first urban riot recorded in Northern Nigeria.⁶ This riot which originated from a conflict between an Igbo and a Hausa trader over space to sell potatoes had great ethnic and regional undertones. As Danfulani says;

Labels such as 'settler', 'native', 'non-native', 'host community', 'foreigner', 'native foreigner', 'stranger element', 'squatter', 'non-squatter', 'immigrant', 'migrant', 'indigene', 'non-indigene', *mbák*, *Gambari*, *Hausa-Fulani*, *nyamiri*, *nasara*, *ngwa*, *arna*, *kirdi*, and *baro* among many others are used daily in Nigeria to describe, stigmatize or stereotype the "other" as a category who "does not belong".⁷

Coincidentally, among the areas affected by these riots are some parts of the Control Enumeration Area.⁸ The prelude to the Nigerian Civil war saw the pre-war riot, popularly called the *Araba* riots. These riots, which concentrated on the massacre of the Igbo people within Jos and environs⁹, sparked off a major sequence of ethnic animosities thereafter during The post-civil war era. Some scholars see the creation of the Berom chieftaincy stool (The *Gbwong Gwom*),

⁶ L. Plotnicov, 'An Early Nigerian Civil Disturbance: The 1945 Hausa-Ibo Riot in Jos', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1971, p. 297-305.

⁷ Danfulani, U.H.D; *The Jos Peace Conference and the Indigene/Settler Question in Nigerian Politics* ASC, Leiden/University of Jos, Nigeria (2006)

⁸ The *Nassarawa* area, and *Yandoya* (Yam market) which are located within or near the Rikkos area.

⁹ Adam Higazi (Researcher): Research Interview with a British Citizen living in Jos, Nigeria for over 48 years.

in 1947, which removed the leadership position from the hands of the appointed Hausa *Sarkis*, who ran the mining camp settlements, annoyed the Hausa community, which saw itself as the “landlord” community in Jos. Danfulani, in his work on the Jos crisis and the issues concerning ‘Indigeneship’ and ‘settlers’ gives a detailed narrative of events from 2001.¹⁰ But below is a summary of events from 1947.

EVENTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN JOS

S/ N	EVENT	YEAR
1.	Potato Riots: two were killed. Immediate cause: Argument over market space between an Igbo and Hausa Trader.	1945
2.	Fighting Between Hausa and Indigenes over political appointments in Native Authority, and an attempt to remove Bitrus Rwang Pam, son to the 1 st Berom Chief, as Head of a Native Authority Committee. <i>Three incidences (non specific, and only minor injuries in these cases).¹¹</i>	1948/ 1949
3.	Araba Riots (Pre-Civil War): Massacre of Igbo people, fueled by rumors Spread by some Northerners of ethnic Killings in the South-East. Rumors later found to be false, but many Igbos were killed in Jos and its environs. Many survivors –if not all, fled back to the South-East, and not all returned after the war. There had been questions of ownership of abandoned property.	1966
4.	Riot in Bauchi Road: Following a demonstration by University students the day before, young people rioted on Bauchi road destroying cars and wounding people. No deaths were recorded. Although no concrete reasons have been given, suspicions were that the results of earlier elections held in December the previous year in which an <i>Anaguta</i> , man, Gini Umaru, had won; annoyed some people, and the demonstration by students became an opportunity to be used as a reason to riot.	1987
5.	Riot in Bauchi Road: this followed the appointment of Alhaji Aminu Mato, a Hausa man, as chairman of the Caretaker Management Committee of Jos North Local Government. This was subsequent to the division of Jos Local Government into Jos North and Jos South in 1991, an action	1994

¹⁰ Danfulani, U.H.D; *The Jos Peace Conference and the Indigene/Settler Question in Nigerian Politics* ASC, Leiden/University of Jos, Nigeria (2006)

¹¹ Sen Luka Gwom: *The Berom Tribe of Plateau State, Nigeria*, (1986, Self Published). Moses Nyam Rwang, Biography as written by Gyang Pwajok. (Unpublished). Moses Nyam Rwang is a foremost Berom statesman and Rights activist.

	particularly resented by the Berom, who view it as a favour by the then military head of state, General Babangida, to Jos Muslims, since it gave the Muslims an electoral advantage over the Christian population.	
6.	Fighting in Jos-North L.G.A office , due to an argument over 'Indigineship Certificate.' Argument and fight between L.G.A staff and a group of Hausa boys who were refused indigene certificates due to a new rule made by the then L.G.A Chairperson, Frank B. Tardy.	1998
7.	Jos Ethno-Religious Crisis: This started in Jos-North (<i>Congo-Russia</i> , also called <i>Chwelnyap</i>) and extended to three other Local Government areas. Seen as the worst case of violence in Plateau State.	2001
8.	Violence during Party Primaries: Violence erupted in <i>Eto Baba</i> , a place very close to the Control Enumeration Area, after arguments ensued during Party Primary elections. Many Hausas, who had come from Angwan Rogo, and Angwan Rimi to vote, were killed by non Hausas, and as the survivors ran back, they also killed non-Hausas on the way.	2002

*Compiled by Henry Gyang Mang ©2007

FOR QUA'AN PAN

AREAS COVERED

TREATMENT AREA: PIYA

COCIN I

COCIN II

COCIN III

PIYA HAMLETS

- ANGWAN MISSION
- ANGWAN DAN ZARIA
- ANGWAN KANGDAMAN
- ANGWAN YASHI
- ANGWAN MUPUN
- ANGWAN CHAKFEM
- ANGWAN DABBA
- ANGWAN DOEMAK
- ANGWAN RUMADA
- ANGWAN FULANI
- ANGWAN JIPAL

CONTROL AREA: PANDAM

PANDAM HAMLETS

- MAI ANGLICAN CHURCH
- PANDAM RESERVE AREA
- ANGWAN HAUSAWA

DESCRIPTION OF AREAS

TREATMENT AREA

Piya, or Ampiya is a village settlement lying between Kurgwi and Namu in Qua'an Pan L.G.A. The inhabitants are predominantly farmers a few are commercial motorbike riders. Mainly Christian. The community is divided into three areas, all denoted by the COCIN church close to it. Thus, there are COCIN I, COCIN II and COCIN III. Angwan Dan Zaria, is under COCIN I and "Dan Zaria," the former "Mai Angwa" died a long time ago.

There are specifically 11 *Angwas* (Small hamlets comprising of about five(5) to twelve(12) structures. And they are listed in the preceding page. The structures comprise of three or four units of mud houses built side by side to make a "U" shape. In the middle is usually a Barn built spherically with a hole for fetching grains. Most Structures consist of extended families of up to three or four households. In some cases, a member of the family moves a small distance of say thirty(30) meters to build his own house away from that of his father.

In the Fulani settlements, there are two groups of Fulani. The first group are permanent residents that have resolved to stay in Ampiya permanently, they indulge in both cattle rearing and farming on the land. They have a community head and have had good relations with the other groups of people in Ampiya. The second group consists of Migrant Fulani, who only station in an area for periods of up to just four to six weeks. The unique thing about this group is that they will always station in Ampiya at that specific period of the year. They the have familiarized with the community. The Fulani are Muslim and they relate well with their Christian neighbors.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

The major crops in this area are Guinea Corn and Yams, which are sold mainly on market days either at Gidan Dabat, Kurgwi, Kwande or Namu.

In contrast to the survey conducted in Jos, Qua'an Pan had its own unique challenges. Public transport was relatively difficult to most of the places. The scarcity of motor fuel also encouraged outrageous increases in transport costs. The Treatment area, Piya, had only motorcycles as the main mode of transportation.

EDUCATION

There is a primary school in Ampiya, which serves the whole community, the only secondary school is located in *Gidan Dabat* and serves Ampiya and *Gidan Dabat*. Quite a number of the young people in Ampiya have at least gone to secondary school, and a few have gone further, but then few have really left the village for jobs outside, they see farming as a more promising venture because it sustains them.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Although a rural setting, Piya is quite heterogeneous, with various Plateau ethnic groups living there. Unexpectedly, we learnt that the largest population in terms of ethnic grouping were the Mwaghavwul from Mangu¹², and of the 12 village heads (*Mai Angwa's*), eight are non indigenes of Qua'an Pan. This was unexpected due to the fact that the area is a predominantly Pan area. Other groups living in Piya include; Chip, Angas, Berom and the Pan. The *Mai Angwa* Gideon Mangtu, in an informal interview, said he came over to the area, an estimated 40 years ago, and gave birth to his first son, (a pastor residing in Kurgwi) in Piya. He says he has no other place to go to, and that the Pan people have taken them as people of the land. He still feels that even though they are accepted as people of the area, they are not fully participatory when it comes to political issues. He disclosed that his first son had harboured the ambition of contesting as ward councilor for their ward (Kwande Ward), but he (the *Mai Angwa*) discouraged him, sighting the possibility of anger from the other groups, most especially the *Goemai* in Kwande. Mangtu said that if his son were to win, the people of Kwande, who claim ownership of the land will chase them off the land.. He says that he encourages his people to vote, but then, they support those who promise development to their village, and don't necessarily go by ethnicity. His son, the pastor, sees the political struggle as that between the people of Kwande, and those of Kurgwi, the two big towns which make up the two wards, which the village is divided between.

¹² Mwaghavwul are from Mangu Local Government Area. This area is very far from Qua'an Pan and the fact that the *Mai Angwas* are not necessarily from the Local Government Area shows cohesion amongst the inhabitants of the area.

ELECTION VOTERS REGISTRATION

Although the whole community came out to register for the oncoming elections, the village head reports that they were not given their cards, but were told the printing machines were not working, so they should wait for a week. This was almost a month before the survey. And as at the 19th of February when the campaign was on, they had not received their voters cards.

THE HISTORY OF SETTLERS IN AMPIYA

Focus Group Interview with

- **Istifanus Chakarpo**
- **Ta'anan Sule**
- **Godwin Matthew**
- **Macrobo Emmanuel**

Istifanus Chakarpo, the *Mai Angwa* of *Angwan Mission* in a Focus group discussion, said that his parents came to Ampiya about 36 years ago from Mangun, in Mangu Local Government Area, but he says before them, Baba Thomas, was the first person from Mangun that came to Ampiya via Kurgwi. He says that Baba Thomas met Goyam, a Goemai from Kurgwi, who had married the daughter of the Village head of Kwande, Dankabo, and had inherited land in Ampiya from his father in-law, which he loaned to Baba Thomas to farm and pay tribute. This, Chakarpo says, angered the sons of Dankabo, who tried to lay claim to the area. Thus, being stuck in the middle, the settlers in Ampiya were left with the need to appease both parties. And they at a certain period had to pay tribute to both parties, until the ownership issue was resolved by sharing the land between the two parties. Thus, the 'settlers' in Ampiya have had to live under the shadows of the two towns, Kwande and Kurgwi. Chakarpo says that the land owners on the Kurgwi side are much more friendlier than those from Kwande, and thus they sometimes have problems going to court and minor tussles.

On the issue of Indigineship, all group members, except Ta'anan Sule cannot apply for Indigineship certificates in Qua'an Pan, and have to go back to Mangu anytime they need to get them. Zacheus Ibrahim Kundyeng says his fears are not for his generation, but that of his future families, who will lose Identity because of their loss Mwagavwul identity and also loss of

inheritance back in Mangun, and at the same time, their inability to be fully accepted as indigenes of Qua'an Pan.

In an informal interview with a group of four youth, (two were Pan, while one was Mwaghavwul and another Chip) I inquired whether they would like Piya to be designated as an electoral ward, they all supported the idea, but when I asked if the creation of a ward will encourage cohesion or bring dissention, they were unsure, this, they said was because at present the tussle for ward councillorship is between the people of Kurgwi and Kwande, and issues are based on ethnicity, they have always considered the politics of electoral ward as one between these two towns even though they are part of the ward and thus they have hardly looked at the possibility seriously. They within themselves as youth see their various ethnic differences as just linguistic, but they emphasized that they cannot speak for others within the community, one of them, said; "we will cross that bridge when we get there."

DESCRIPTION OF AREAS

CONTROL AREA

Pandam is located in the extreme South-East of Plateau State. It lies in the boundary between Plateau State and Nassarawa State. In fact, it is just Forty(40) kilometers from Lafia, the capital of Nassarawa State. Pandam is a small village located within a Game Reserve. The village is popular for its large lake, which has a unique variety of Tilapia fish. Periodically (during the first three months of the year), Hausa fishermen from Kano come to the village to fish, it is said the fishing during this period is quite lucrative

EDUCATION

Pandam has a primary and secondary school, and many of the young people are educated to the secondary level. There are still many more who have refused to go to school and have chosen farming and Fishing as their vocations. During the rainy season, they farm, and then fish in the dry season. The money they make from these has distracted them from going to school.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The ethnic composition of Pandam consists mainly of *Pan* people. Also, there are small populations of other Plateau ethnic groups like *Angas*, *Goemei*, *Mupun*, *Tarok* and *Mwaghavwul*. In contrast though to *Ampiya*, the other ethnicities are relatively fewer.

A growing Hausa community is emerging in Pandam due to the fish trade. As a good number of Hausa people come seasonally to fish, a few of them have chosen Pandam as a permanent abode, and thus, the population has for some time now grown significantly. An area between the main village and the lake is now popularly called *Angwan Hausawa*, meaning *Hausa Area*. Although the Hausa are not politically large as a big political power bloc, they have grown significantly enough to influence the effect of local elections if they take sides. Thus, the politicians have had to relate with them.

ISSUES OF CONFLICT IN PANDAM

In an interview with some community leaders, they offered little information on the history and on issues of conflict in the town, but there have been in previous years cases of violence due to commercial activity, and also cases of local political violence between local politicians over ward councillorships, but there has not been any report of a serious concerted act of violence. Local political rivalry and thuggery though has been observed to be very common in Pandam. From the observations made by both the field interviewers and observers, politicians in that area are prone to violence. One of the interviewers, Mary was harassed and threatened by a person claiming to be the councilor representing the area, who said, he should have been informed by the group before embarking on any interviews within that community. The purported councilor, who came in the company of four people, who shouted as he talked, made noise about how he can deal with anybody who does not respect him in the village.

Fortunately for the survey team, they had met the Village head, and he was not as unfriendly. He introduced some of the community leaders who were also quite friendly and hospitable.

Some of the young people were volatile, from interviews, it was noted that many of the people were ready to sell their votes for N50. Some said that they had sold their votes previously for just N50, while others sold for N500, and that they were ready in 2007 to sell for much higher, with some saying up to N5,000, they were also ready to advise others to collect money and vote for the person seeing it as a welcome idea, in the observation some percentage see the cause of people selling their right as lack of income advising that people should collect the money and vote for their choice.

One *Mr. Sani Mailafiya* of *Angwan Hausawa* made a statement that he doesn't believe his vote will count saying "no matter whom we vote for things will not get better" the same person supported the implementation of *Sharia* to reduce the rate of crime. On the issue of reacting to violence, one Tarok youth said that if confronted with violent he will fight back, while some said, "only a coward that will not fight back but report a case to the police."

The people's expectation is to see a future leader that will bring about reduction of school fees, stop corrupting in the country, payment of teachers salaries, bring electricity to the community, more pipe borne water and create more schools for the children.

EVENTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN QUA'AN PAN AND ENVIRONS

S/N	EVENT	YEAR
1.	Ethno-Political Violence in Wase between the Tarok and Hausas of Wase had its immediate cause being over farm land. The Tarok had refused to give in to poll tax demands by the Hausa rulers. Although both groups claim the other started, it is widely accepted that the violence started with Tarok being attacked on their farmlands by	
2.		
3.	Ethno-religious violence in Yelwan Shendam. First attack on Tarok and Goemai people, killing about 65 people and burning houses. Refugees who ran into a church were killed in the church. Survivors claimed that the men that attacked them were tall and spoke Fulbe (Fulani language) Soldiers and Riot police were sent to quell the fighting after almost 24 hours.	2004
4.	Reprisal attacks by the Tarok and Goemai on Hausa/Fulani settlements in Yelwan Shendam led to massive destruction of the Hausa sector of the town. More than a thousand people were killed, and buildings were destroyed.	2004
5.	Ethnic violence in Namu District of Qua'an Pan. This was between the Goemai and Pan ethnicities over the creation of new development areas. (Development areas are newly created Local Government areas not officially placed in the state or national Gazettes) The immediate cause was said to be the announcement by the state government that the capital of the Development area will be called Namu (A Goemai name) instead of Jepjan (a Pan name) This led to the killing of over 200 men and women. A second spate of violence occurred about a month after the first, and was said to occur when a few Pan youth accosted a Goemai man by the riverside demanding that he return the sand he had fetched from the river to rebuild his house which was destroyed during the first conflict. He was killed and this annoyed the Goemai, which led to the second conflict.	2006
6.	Another Ethno-political conflict occurred in Namu just about a month after the 2007 elections, precisely on may 26 th when Pan youth on a riot attacked the newly installed Goemai chief of Namu, who was turbaned by the outgoing governor, Joshua Dariye. The Pan youth rose angrily at the issue because they felt slighted that their (the Pan) chief was relegated behind the Goemai chief, and thus went on rampage after the turbaning. Again Yahaya Kwande has been accused by the Pan for instigating the turbaning, which he knew would be offensive to the Pan people.	

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POLITICAL ACTORS IN JOS AND QUA'AN PAN

JOS-NORTH.

1. Frank B. Tardy: One time secretary and later chairman of Jos-north Local Government council. Known for his complete rejection of the claim to Indigineship by the Hausa of Jos. In 1998 he withdrew the giving of Indigineship certificates to any one who was not either Afizere, Anaguta or Berom. This almost sparked conflict, but he received the backing of the Local government chairman then. Tardy won the elections as chairman of Jos-north in 1999, and continued with his policy of strict indigenization, but he fell out with Joshua Dariye, (Governor from 1999 till May 2007) over the creation of districts and chiefdoms (Plateau state local governments are further divided into districts, and each district is under a certain chiefdom, depending on which ethnic group resides in that district.) He then lost re-election in 2001. Although Tardy became influential in the PDP (Ruling Party) he was silent for most of Dariyes second term, until Dariyes impeachment in November 2006.
2. Alhaji Saleh Hassan: The main propagator for Hausa Indigineship in Jos-north LGA. He created the JASAWA community, meaning Hausa indigenes of Jos. Originally an indigene of Terra in Gombe state (North-eastern Nigeria) he claims Indigineship to Jos because he claims that the Hausa's came with the white man to create Jos, and at that time, the Berom, Naraguta and Afizere were living in small hamlets. He also advocates for an Emir in Jos, and rejects the institution of the Gbong Gwom Jos, A Berom Traditional stool which replaced the Hausa *Sarkis* in 1947 after the British colonial government realized that the ethnicities on the Plateau area were in reality much different from the Hausa. Saleh Hassan has been relevant in Plateau politics, being one time party chairman of the NPN in the second republic (1979-1993). His son won the seat to the National House of Representatives for Jos-north. Saleh Hassan has been accused by many leaders of the indigenous groups of fomenting trouble in Jos. The Jos ethno-religious conflict of 2001 2004 led many to accuse Hassan of verbally instigating the violence by his statements before and after the first conflict.

3. Alhaji Samaila Mohammed: One time chairman of Jos LGA (Before it was divided in 1991) He won the seat via elections and served for one term. Although not one prone to controversy, he has been known to support the Hausa cause (Him being Hausa also) for Indigineship, and was said to have allowed the giving of Indigineship certificates to Hausa's during his tenure.
4. Alhaji Muktari Mohammed: Whose appointment in 2001 as Jos-North coordinator for the National Poverty Eradication Program caused the initial sparks for the September 7, 2001 crisis. He had been accused in the 1993 LGA elections of being under aged and falsifying his age. He won the elections, but was disqualified on those grounds. His later appointment by the Federal government after being accused of perjury, caused an uproar, most especially amongst the indigenous groups who saw this as an attempt even by the government in the federal level to foist Hausa domination. Thus, the indigenous youth in Jos and its environs refused to allow Mato to enter office, and this led to immense bad blood, and not long after, the the crisis began.
5. Dr. Danladi Atu: He took over from Frank Tardy, the former chairman of Jos-south under controversial circumstances. Mr. Atu, was appointed and not elected by the governor, due to what the governor termed as potentials for conflict between the Hausa and Indigenous groups. Thus Atu was foisted as chairman and he stayed from 2001 up to 2006, when he was removed after Dariye's impeachment.
6. Alhaji Yahaya Kwande: Veteran Politician and alleged Godfather to Joshua Dariye. He is said to be highly patronized by rich politicians who desire either to be voted in or appointed. Yahaya Kwande, although an indigene of Qua'an Pan, he has been visible in Jos-north politics. In a 2003 debate with the former governor of Plateau state in the 2nd Republic, Solomon Lar, Kwande rejected the notion that Jos belonged to the Anaguta, Afizere and Berom, said that since his children were born in Jos, they should have the right to be called indigines. Yahaya Kwande was one time ambassador in the 2nd republic and also a PDP Stalwart, He encouraged a fractioning of the PDP, and also its eventual split into PDP1 AND PDP2. PDP 2 eventually joined the Action Congress (AC).
7. Nasiru Yahaya Kwande: Being inspired by his father, Nasiru contested for the House of representatives for Jos-north in 2003,

and in 2007, he lost in both periods, but stands beside his father, saying that he does not need to go to Qua'an Pan to contest an election since he was born in Jos. Although a political novice, he is fast gaining popularity in Jos-north.

8. Professor B.T Bingel: Appointed to replace Dr. Danladi Atu in November 2006, he is a professor of History and has hardly indulged in active politics, but has been known to fight the cause of the Berom on their rights to Jos-north. His influence at this time is too close to call.
9. Mallam Ibrahim Saleh Hassan: Son to Alhaji Saleh Hassan, contested and won the seat to the Federal House of Representatives in 2003, he again contested for senate in 2007, but lost. His brother, Saleh, Saleh Hassan contested as deputy governor under the Labour Party, but lost.
10. Joshua Chibi Dariye: Govenor of Plateau state and from Bokkos local government, about 250 km from Jos-north. Has been accused of corruption in and out of government and has been also been accused of frustrating free and fair elections. He was accused also of dereliction of duty during the 2001 crisis, where he was not in the country, and only came back after the crisis was over. Dariye contested and won two terms of elections and governor, survived one period of a state of emergency and was illegally impeached, but came back six months later. He got embroiled in conflict with other politicians who had been his allies, he was accused of carelessly handling the crisis which led to massive killings. He lost the support of the president and also a close ally, Nasiru Mantu, who was then the Deputy Senate President.
11. Nasiru Mantu: Although from Mangu Local Government Area (about 250 km from Jos) his influence as the former Deputy President of the Senate greatly affected the running of the state. Mantu, who was a close ally of Joshua Dariye before May 2004, was alleged to have joined Dariye in rigging and cheating during the 2004 elections, which were termed by pundits as hardly free and fair. Mantu, an indigene, of the Pyem ethnic group in Mangu, is a Muslim and has had many run ins with Christian leaders in the state over some of his utterances and actions which the leaders termed as religiously provocative. He fell out with Joshua Dariye over the killings in 2004 OF Muslims in Kurgwi in Shendam Local government area. He was alleged to have been on great influence

in the authorization of the 2004 state of emergency which removed Dariye for six months.

QUA'AN PAN.

1. Mr. Danjuma Datti: Former Local Government Chairman of Mikang and later Commissioner for information under Joshua Dariye. He has had great influence in the politics of the southern senatorial districts and in areas around Shendam Qua'an Pan and Mikang. He is alleged to be very ruthless and could kill his opponents if he feels politically threatened. It was alleged that he had a hand in the attempted assassination of George Daika, the former speaker of the Plateau state house of assembly. This though has never been substantiated.
2. Mr. George Daika: Former speaker of the Plateau state house of Assembly, who fell out with Joshua Dariye in 2003 and thus lost his seat from 2003. He then partnered with the Mantu team which eventually removed Dariye in November 2007. He then contested for the House of Representatives for Shendam-Qua'an Pan and Mikang LGA's, in April 2007 and won. An assassination attempt was made on his life, where he was badly cut three times on the head, but he survived. Joshua Dariye and his associates were alleged to be the perpetrators, but that has been no evidence to that.
3. Alhaji Habu Shindai: He became the PDP party leader in 2003, after. He hails from Shindai in Namu District of Qua'an Pan. He is Pan, but also Muslim. Shindai fell apart with Joshua Dariye in 2004 and joined the Mantu Camp in 2005, he was instrumental in the removal of Dariye in November 2006.
4. Alhaji Yahaya Kwande: Although discussed earlier under Jos-north, is an indigene of Qua'an Pan and also has great influence amongst the Goemai of Qua'an Pan. Kwande is accused in fueling the crisis in Namu in 2006, where many Goemai people were killed due to the sighting of a new development area in favour of the Goemai in Namu which is predominantly Pan. He was alleged to use his influence with Joshua Dariye to have effected it, and the Pan were particularly angry at that. This led to the crisis that killed an estimated 450 people.

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