YOUTH AND CONFLICT IN PLATEAU STATE, NIGERIA: FORMATIVE RESEARCH FOR AN ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION INTERVENTION

NANCY NANCHIN KATU-OGUNDIMU (Ph.D)
Department of Mass Communication
University of Jos
nanchinwura@gmail.com
+2348147502541
.

Abstract

This project is a formative research for the design of an Entertainment-Education strategy to address the problem of youth involvement in violent conflict in Plateau State, Nigeria. The paper examined the problem theoretically and provides a contextual framework for understanding why and how youths in the state are involved in the conflict and how mobilized to participate in the peace building process. Specifically, the research attempts to answer the questions: Why are youths in Plateau State involved in the conflict and how can their energies be channeled into making them productive stakeholders in the peace building process in the state?

The study was conducted in Jos North and Bassa Local Government areas. Research methodology is qualitative, and data was collected using key informant interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and short essays. Findings reveal that poverty; high rate of unemployment and political and economic exclusion are major factors influencing youth participation in the conflict the research. The paper recommends the design of a communication strategy with Entertainment-Education that will help integrate youths into the peace process as well mobilize them for civic and political participation in the development of Plateau State.

Keywords: Youth, Armed Conflict, Entertainment-Education, Qualitative, Plateau State

Introduction: Youth and Armed Conflict

> The number of active armed conflicts in the world has fluctuated between 30 and 40 each year since 2000 after having reached 55 early in the 1990s. Africa and the Middle East are major hot spots; other regions of conflict can be found in Asia and Central America (United Nations, 2010, p. 1).

This quote aptly describes the current state of many societies around the globe. The involvement of youth in these conflicts remains a dominant discourse among civil wars and violent conflict researchers because young people constitute the bulk of the population most affected by violent conflicts either as victims or perpetrators. About 300,000 children and youth are currently involved in armed conflict in different parts of the world, particularly in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (UN Youth News Flash, 2009). Armed conflict has devastating consequences on the lives of young people; apart from destroying family values, education, and increasing unemployment, these conflicts influences a rise in youth health risks, high-risk drug use, anxiety and depression, which has devastating consequences for countries experiencing war (OECD, 2011). This has led to several initiatives and interventions at the local and especially international levels aimed at

addressing the problem. The most significant is involvement of United Nations General Assembly through the 119 ratified Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children and youth in armed conflict. The convention provides a framework for governments, non-governmental organizations and agencies of the United Nations to initiate programs that will focus on the problem of youth engagement in conflict (UN, 2010).

Despite its vast land mass, abundant natural resources and rich ethnic and cultural diversities, Nigeria has almost since its independence been experiencing one form of violent conflict or another. From the Niger-Delta region in the South-South to the Northern part of Nigeria, violent sectarian, religious and inter-communal conflicts have remained very active threats to the nation's existence. For decades, communities in different parts of the country have been in conflict for political and economic reasons. The problem is compounded by increased involvement of young people in the crisis with the emergence of militant youth groups in the country.

Unlike other armed conflicts over political and economic resources in the country, the situation in Plateau State remains one of the most volatile as it has become notorious for its spate of incessant communal and sectarian crises, which have taken thousands of lives and left many displaced from their homes. The involvement of particularly out-of-school and unemployed youth as hired perpetrators in the conflict is also very problematic because of the impact it has in reducing productivity, decreasing economic life, and undermining state security, which has great implications for the wellbeing of the people (OECD, 2011).

This qualitative study therefore examines the problem of youth involvement in armed conflicts theoretically and attempts to provide a contextual understanding of the problem in Plateau State. The aim is to find out why and how youths in the state are involved in the crisis with a view to assessing the challenges of reconciliation and reintegration. The paper has five sections: A review of the problem in Plateau State, theoretical framework, methods, findings and recommendation.

Ethno-Religious Conflict in Plateau State
A review of the conflict situation in the north-central region of Nigeria (where Plateau state is located) shows that violent conflicts, particularly sectarian, religious and ethnic, have for many years remained one of the major hindrances to peace in the region. A 2009 publication of Women Environmental Program, Nigeria (WEP) indicates the influx of people to the region led to unequal distribution of population, competition for scares resources and ethnic rivalry among other issues. Plateau State has since 2001 and 2012 experienced over 10 major crises, with a series of sustained attacks on villages and places of worship in what the Human Rights Watch describes as "inter-communal violence with tragic regularity" (Human Rights Watch, 2001, p.5). Since the 2001, other violent conflicts broke out in 2002, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2010 & 2011. To many Nigerians, Plateau State had before 2001 provided haven for people fleeing conflicts from states like Kaduna, Bauchi, Taraba, and Nassarawa. The increase in population as a result, led to an increase in the stretching of scares resources and as "resources became stretched, tensions began to rise" (Human Rights Watch, 2001, p.5).

Most fundamental to the conflict and this research is the involvement of young people, either as victims, or hired inciters and perpetrators of violent conflict in the state. Like young people in other conflict areas in Africa, young people in Plateau state have been described as foot soldiers that are manipulated by political, religious and ethnic leaders with interest in the conflict (Onoja, 2011). It is therefore important to understand the role their perception of the conflict, of their roles they play and the capacity they have of being to peace agents in conflict. This is important because while efforts at resolving the conflict have been stalled due to the lack of political will by both the state and federal governments to implement recommendations of the various Judicial Commissions of Inquiry, interventions by NGOs have also not been sustainable. Most interventions failed to segregate actors into groups and respond to their specific needs.

According to Best (2007):

> …. the interventions failed to segregate the various actors into clusters, and deal with each before having a final big forum within which the different outcomes will be harmonized. Lumping every group into one, in the name of conflict transformation, proved counterproductive (p. 98).

Despite several attempts to address the conflict, Plateau state does not have youth policy. Having a youth policy in Plateau State is critical for the reconciliation and peace building efforts in the state since young people do not only constitute half of the total population in the state. They are also most affected by the crises – both as hired perpetrators and victims of the crises.

This formative research therefore aims at filling this identified gap. The aim is to design an intervention that will help in addressing the problem of youth involvement in conflict. Based on this rationale, the study examined what the youth identify as causes of the conflict in Plateau State, the involvement of young people in the conflict and the roles they can play in conflict transformation and peace building.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical arguments for this project are divided into two subsections: the first subsection discusses demographic youth bulges and how they contribute to fueling war and violent conflicts in societies.

Youth Bulge Theory

When 15 to 29-year-olds make up more than 30 per cent of the population, violence tends to happen; when large percentages are under 15, violence is often imminent. The "causes" in the name of which that violence is committed can be immaterial (Cardwell, 2007).

This quote captures the thrust of one of the most popular theories on youth involvement in civil wars and political violence. Known as the "youth bulge theory," its leading proponent German genocide researcher Gunnar Heinsohn explains that there is a correlation between a large youth population and conflict and/or violent wars (Beeher, 2007). Supported by other proponents of the theory like Jack Goldstone, Henrik Urdal and Gary Fuller, Heinsohn argues that a society stands the risk of experiencing violent crisis when the larger part of its population comprises of young men between the ages of 15 and 25 (Heinsohn, 2009). Certainly, some countries have large youth populations and experience no such level of violence. Youth bulge theory explains a correlation between a large youth population and conflict and/or violent wars (Beeher, 2007). Proponents of the theory argue that a society stands the risk of experiencing violent crisis when the larger part of its population comprises of young men between the ages of 15 and 25 (Urdal, 2006; Beeher, 2007; Heinsohn, 2009).

Different studies identify youth bulges as a major cause of civil unrest and political violence in several countries (Beeher, 2007; Cardwell, 2007; Urdal, 2006; Heinsohn, 2009). Empirical studies tested over a long period of time (1950 to 2000 across national statistical model for internal armed conflict as well as terrorism & rioting between 1984 and 1995) reveal that societies with youth bulges have been the most vulnerable to political violence and civil wars (Urdal, 2006). Out of an estimated number of 67 countries with youth bulges, 60 are currently experiencing some form of violence, either civil wars or mass killings (Urdal, 2006; Beehner, 2007; Caldwell, 2007). Current statistics show that young people under the age of 24 constitute the bulk of the population in the Middle East countries (Fuller, 2004). The current political uprising and violent political climate in some Middle East countries can be linked to the growing population of young people. The reality of these political protests being witnessed today in some Middle East countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Libya, to a large extent, validates arguments of youth bulge theorists.

For example, lack of economic opportunities, competition for economic opportunities, high unemployment rate, especially among the growing youth population are believed to have greatly contributed to the conflict

in Sierra Leone (Keen, 2005). Nigeria is another country so far experiencing the impact of these demographic bursts. The country's former Minister for Finance and Managing Director with the World Bank, Ngozi Okonji-Iweala describes youths in the country as "one of the untapped growth drivers" of the country. She warns that ignoring such a potentially productive population is not in the best interest of the country (Kolapo, 2010). Her statement is apt in describing the current situation in Nigeria where the youth population (ages 10-24) constitutes about 40 million of the current 140 million that populates the country; young people account for a large percentage of country's population figure, representing an important and dynamic force in the Nigerian society (FMH, 2009).

As in many African countries, the Nigerian youth is faced with daily challenges like poverty, high rate of unemployment, massive job loss and economic deprivation which have undoubtedly diminished their hopes for the future. The youth bulge coupled with these frustrations, have contributed to the rising wave of crime and violent conflicts among youths in the country. It is therefore not surprising that many young people resort to 419, an internet scam to swindle unsuspecting victims. It is also not a surprise that so many disillusioned young men turn to Islamic radicalism and extremisms such as "Boko Haram" (western education is a sin) or even take up arms as militants in the Niger Delta (Ikelegbe, 2006).

The youth bulge problem is also playing out in Plateau State where young people constitute 50 percent of the estimated 3.5 million populations in the state (UNFPA, 2001). Catholic Archbishop of Jos Archdiocese, Ignatius Kaigama who was former president of the Plateau State chapter of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Chairman, State Council of inter-faith dialogue, identified the large number of youths in the state and the high unemployment rate as factors contributing to the problem of youth involvement in violent conflicts in the state. He believes these factors have made it possible for "political opportunists" and "ignorant religious preachers" to hire youths as perpetrators of the crisis (NPR News, 2010).

Although the statistical relationships and demographic explanations of youth bulges provide insight to a deeper understanding the problem of youth involvement in conflict, critics of the theory believe there are other factors that trigger violent conflicts within societies (Hilker and Fraser, 2009). While youth bulges have been the major causal factor of conflict in some countries, some critics give an example of China which has not suffered any form of violent conflicts though it has a large youth population. They also debunk views that "male" youth pose the greater threats and while insisting that "women make up 10-40 per cent of armed forces and insurgent groups worldwide" (Hilker & Fraser, p.3). Others argue that having a large youth population is not necessarily bad as it is providing effective and productive manpower for some developing societies like Western Europe:

> Western Europe, for example, with its aging population, could benefit immensely from a higher percentage of youth. Indeed, Western Europe is compelled to permit considerable immigration from abroad to meet its labor needs. But if societies lack the social
> infrastructure to integrate, employ and care for a growing population, the
> potential demographic benefits of a youthful population instead become a serious
> drain on the resources of the state and form a dangerously unstable element within   society

(Fuller, 2004, p.5).

While the youth bulge theory is consistent with the situation in Plateau State, the demographic perspective to the problem does not in itself explain why youth in the state have been actively involved in the crisis. Exploring other theories could therefore give a clearer and broader picture of the problem in the state.

Grievance Model
The major argument by proponents of the grievance model lies on the basic concept that civil wars/violent conflict occur when marginalized people fight against economic, political and social inequality in a society, a protest which according to (Murshed & Tadjoeddin, 2007) comes in the form of "justice-seeking" (p.5). The model explains that grievances in a society emerge due to factors like religious and ethnic hatred, inequality, oppression and marginalization of one group by another in each society. Two studies (Collier &

Anke, 2000; Collier & Anke, 2004) categorize this kind of conflict into four groups: ethnic or religious hatred, political exclusion, political repression and economic inequality/struggle for scarce natural resources. Specifically, multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies are more prone to conflict because if inequalities are properly addressed could ultimately result in war (Stewart, 2004; Arowobusoye, 2005).

The grievance model explores the possibility of a cohort of young people engaging in violent conflicts when they are seeking to redress what they perceive as economic, political and social inequality in a society (Murshed & Tadjoeddin, 2007. p.5). Violence in this instance is used among young people in reaction to other social factors such as structural exclusion, poverty, lack of positive engagement opportunities which lead to disillusionment with the society. Proponents of this model argue that when that scenario is created, young people are therefore left with no alternative engage in violence because it remains the most effective option to "a voice, lead and make an impact" (Hilker and Fraser, 2009, p. 26).

Method of Data Collection
The study employed qualitative methods. The data gathering techniques used included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and document analysis to gauge the perceptions of young people about the conflict.

Ten 60-minute interviews using unstructured and semi-structured questions were conducted in Jos North and Bassa Local Government areas. Six FGDs were also conducted with young people between the ages of 15 and 24. Three out of the six groups consisted of Muslim and non-Muslim secondary school students between the ages of 15 and 18, and the other three groups consisted of out-of-school Muslim and non-Muslim youth ages 19 and 24. The groups were divided into these age range to allow for a more open discussion between peers. Participant observation complemented the focus group discussion as non-verbal cues and signals observed helped a great deal in detecting feelings and meanings among participants (Prat, 2008; Boeije, 2010).

Short essays also complemented the FGDs conducted with both Christian and Muslim youths ages 15 -24. Short essays, like documents that include letters, photography and pencil sketches, provide "rich, descriptive insights into local worldviews and realities, serving as instruments of both research and praxis (Law & Singhal, 1999, p.327) and also helps in the "development of stories and expression of views that were previously rejected, silenced, or overlooked in other research activities" (Singhal &Ratinne-Flaherty, 2006, p. 316; Singhal, Harter, Chitnis & Sharma, 2007). Topics for the essay were suggested by the secondary school students who jointly agreed on the topic, "How young people in Plateau State can contribute to peace." 14 essays were received and analyzed for this study.

Data Analysis: An Interpretive Hermeneutics Approach
Transcribed notes from in-depth interviews, focus group discussions as well as short essays and field notes for observation provided the main data for analysis and data were coded using Atlast-ti, computer software. The interpretative paradigm for this qualitative inquiry is Hermeneutics, whose foundational question lays in answering and understanding the conditions under which a human act took place that made it possible to interpret its meanings, particularly its historical and cultural context (Patton, 2002). It is also a bounded interpretation that allowed the author to construct reality based on their interpretation of the data (Chang, 2010) from "praxis" or "certain standpoint" (Patton, 2012, p.115).

Findings and Discussions
Participants of the study identify scarce economic resources, political and political marginalization, repressive government policies and the lack of good and effective leadership in the state as factors responsible for conflict which has lasted for over fifteen years. In line with the grievance's theory, the participants argued even though the problem in Plateau is tagged "ethno-religious" the underlying causes are deeply rooted in more economic problems. Some respondents identified the large demographic youth bulge and high rate of youth unemployment as major triggers of youth involvement in the conflict. Some argued

that of them say that poverty has made them open and vulnerable to recruitment by politicians, religious and ethnic leaders who are benefitting from the crisis
:

Non-Muslim Youth Leader:
>There is a lot of idleness…Plateau State is almost, almost 75
>percent of the population is all youth. I mean youth in Plateau constitute 75 percent of the population and I mean out of this 75 percent when you look at them, 80 percent are all idle, they have nothing doing. There is also drunkenness, consumption of harmful drugs; all these are now taking over control of most of our youth…. unemployment, poverty, consumption of drugs, especially alcoholism and all have you, have contributed seriously to the action of our youth as it affects the crisis.

Focus Group Discussion Participant:
>So, what the youth find themselves doing is, they are brainwashed and told that if you allow these things happen know that it is your future we are fighting for and then of course if you tell any young man that I am fighting for your future, stand up oh because we are fighting for your future. That is what they do, they just brain wash them and before you know it, somebody is killing and maiming in the name of I am protecting my father's land. That is exactly how, and they plan it and throw it into the hands of the youth and go and sit down.

However, Muslim youths in the state argue that they are most affected:

Muslim Youth Leader: We see youths, especially, others wearing good clothes, going to good
>schools, drive big cars and we here, what do we have? Nothing! Only because we are not Christians, or they say we are not from this state. Okay, look at recently the governor, Jonah Jang banned the use of commercial motorcycle called Achaba, who are the ones affected? Who rides the motorcycles? Muslims, of course! Most us get money to feed from the bike business. Our brothers engage in this bike. If he stops this bike there will be problem. If he knows he wants to stop it, he should give them alternative jobs. We are most affected with this.

These issues reinforce the grievance theory model in the way participants identified economic and political disparity between the "indigenes" and "settlers" in the state. Muslim youth particularly attribute this to what they describe as "discriminatory policies" of the state government has reduced their chances of getting quality education and employment in the state:
Participant:
>I am sure you are aware that none of us here or even anybody in our family can apply not to talk of getting the state government scholarship to the university or polytechnic. The scholarship is all for Berom people…I was born in Plateau State, in Jos North Local Government, I do not know anywhere except here and I cannot get scholarship. Is that fair? Okay, we are in Jos North; we say give us indigene certificate, they say no, and only give us residence permit. This is also our country. Why will our youth not fight for their right? We are living people too.

For the Christian youths, perceived marginalization by the Hausa-Fulani community is a national problem and not peculiar to Plateau State alone. Some of them wondered why Hausa-Fulani "non-indigenes" in Plateau State capitalize on the issue to create tensions in the state. According to one of the participants:
Participant:
>All these agitations by the Hausa Fulani people are not common and peculiar to Plateau State. By this I mean that in Hausa dominated states, non-indigenes cannot own land or property nor to talk of political appointments or even asking for any rights. No one can do what they are doing in Plateau in other northern states of Nigeria. Why is it only Plateau?

The participants argued that both government and NGOs non-government organizations have not done enough to address the problem, particularly as it affects youths in the state. While some of them acknowledge the role that some NGOs are playing in working with youth in the state, they argued that youth affected by the conflict are excluded in the projects. They argued the young people are excluded in peace building process and ignored their efforts at promoting peace among youth but have tried several times to sabotage their own initiatives.

Essay Writing

The views of some secondary school students were presented through short essay. Writing on the topic "How youths in Plateau State can contribute to peace," most of the essays identified youths in the state serve as vanguards of peace, who have a responsibility to promote promoting peaceful coexistence among Christians and Muslims in the state. Below are some excerpts drawn from the essays:

Views of some secondary school students which were expressed through short essays also suggest ways youth in the state can contribute to the peace building process. Writing on the topic "How youths in Plateau State can contribute to peace," all the students suggest that youths in the state serve as vanguards of peace by promoting peaceful coexistence among Christians and Muslims in the state. Below are some excerpts drawn from the essays:

Excerpt 1:

"the youth must be the focal point of peace in Plateau State…I suggest that a voluntary organization known as peace corps should come on board where the youth of different tribes and religion be brought together to be involved in preaching peace."

Excerpt 2:

"There should be constant orientation among the youths and the organizations so that when conflict occurs, it will not expand because they are educated about it. There should also be cooperation. Cooperation should be practiced among their self, either Muslims or Christians so that peace can occur. LET ALL SAY NO TO VIOLENCE, YES TO A PEACEFUL NIGERIA!"

Excerpt 3:

"If youths can be peer educators to each other, encouraging themselves, helping each other, advising each other, holding seminars where motivational speakers can come and encourage and teach them on life techniques, it could help them not to be ignorant."

Excerpt 4:

"One saying goes, a single broom can be broken but a bunch of broom cannot be broken which means if you stay alone you must fall down one day but if you join, you will not fall. Youths of all religion should find way of working together to peace peach and how we can settle without using gun or knife."

From documented data used in this research and findings drawn from respondents and participants of this study, there are five fundamental issues that stand out:

- ✓ There is lack of religious and ethnic tolerance which stems from deep mistrust existing among youths of the different religious and ethnic groups in this state.
- ✓ Another critical issue that has emerged is that there is very poor communication among youth and between youth and government.
- ✓ There is a high rate of poverty and unemployment among youths in the state.
- ✓ Youth in the state are excluded from participating in decision-making especially by the state government.
- ✓ There is very a poor or almost non-existent structure and policy in place for youth development in Plateau State.

Strategic Communication Recommendations

To address these problems and influence change towards conflict, it is important to design a holistic communication strategy that will isolate and target young people. These strategic communication

recommendations aim moving young people from violent relationships and polarization to peaceful coexistence.

This paper recommends the design of a communication strategy to be implemented at Individual, group, community and structural.

Individual level: Approaches on this level should include mobilizing individual youths for peace building by influencing cognitive, behavioral and attitudinal change through one-one-one interaction. This can be achieved through interpersonal communication using the youth-peer initiative where youth of the different religious, ethnic and social groups will be trained as peer conflict managers and taught negotiations skills, which they can apply on an interpersonal level.

Young people can also be taught about perceptions and biases, anger management, verbal communication skills and listening skills which they to improve their relationships with one another. Since peer influence has to a large extent increased the involvement of youth in the crisis, this strategy should use this influence in a more positive way. This approach stems out of suggestions by especially FGD (15-18 years old) who identify the need importance of peer education as a peace building strategy.

Group Level: On this level, youth groups (religious, ethnic, cultural) should be encouraged to work cooperatively with one another to achieve common goals. It is intended that deep group engagement between the groups would not only help the youth overcome existing hostility and devaluation of one another but also promote positive relationship between the youth groups. Examples of group-based programs that could be organized at this level are sports, community service, citizenship and leadership training, and conflict resolution and mediation.

Communication strategies using Entertainment-Education could be introduced at this level to help in building their skills on negotiation, decision making, and teaching them to resist peer pressure. On a general level, apart from peer bonding, intervention at the group level will go a long way in providing the youth positive identity, group empowerment, leadership skills, team work and indeed, self-governance skills as well as assist them to better understand their role in contributing towards peace in Plateau State and Nigeria as a whole.

Community Level: Intervening at the community level is very critical for sustainable peace in the state. Even though the target group for the proposed intervention is the youth, the religious and ethnic hostility is equally visible at the community level. The goal is to promote dialogue at this level and strengthen the capacity of warring members of community to manage and mediate conflicts within themselves. An example of programs that could be initiated for this level of is a youth-driven and youth-run program interactive radio program that could engage the community and mobilize them to dialogue. This is a critical mechanism for building a peaceful state. There could also be an Entertainment –Education component of the intervention, which would allow members of communities engage each other, with the goal of helping them discover their common values, culture and heritage as a people despite religious and ethnic differences. The successes recorded using this strategy in countries like Angola and Sierra Leone provides an important framework for replication.

Structural Level: The underlying problems and causes of the conflict in Plateau can also be traced more to power imbalances between the Muslim/non-Indigenes and the Christian/Indigenes as well as structural inequalities embedded in the Nigerian Constitution as a whole. Intervening at this level will allow for mobilization of the people to take collective action on issues of power, inequality and human rights as citizens of the country. The major program at this level could be advocacy with the goal influencing the creation of a policy for youth development, influence policy change at the state level with regards to political and economic exclusion of those regarded as non-indigenes, as move for constitutional reform at the national level that will redefine the concepts of citizenship and indigene ship in a way that promotes exclusion and equality of rights of all Nigerians irrespective of ethnic and/or religious beliefs.

In conclusion, the paper recommends that such communication strategies serve as complimentary components of existing programs by providing a platform for dialogue and positive youth engagement in the conflict transformation and peace building processes.

References

Abu, S. & Goyit, W. (2005). *Pens and Peace-Proceedings from workshops on conflict resolution and peace building*. Jos, Nigeria: Nigeria Standard Publishers.

Tahir, T. A. (February 7, 2010). *Jos crisis: Has the media lost its conscience?* Sunday Trust Newspaper.
Retrieved from
http://sunday.dailytrust.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2813:jos-crisis-has-the-media-lost-its-conscience&catid=41: latest-news&Itemid=26

Ambe-Uva, T (2010). Identity politics and the Jos crisis: Evidence, lessons and challenges of good governance. *African Journal of History and culture*, 2(3) pp.42-52.

Arowobusoye, O. (2005). Why they fight: An alternative view on the political economy of civil war and conflict transformation. Accessed from

Ballentine, K & Nitzschke (2003). Beyond greed and grievance: Policy lessons from studies in the political economy of armed conflicts. IRA policy report. Retrieved from http://www.gpia.info/files/u16/Ballentine_Beyond.pdf

Bratic, V. (2008). Examining peace-oriented media in areas of violent conflict. *International Communication Gazette,* 70(6) 487-503.

Beeher, L. (2007). "Effects of Youth bulge on civil societies."
http://www.cfr.org/publication/13093/effects_of_youth_bulge_on_civil_conflicts.html

Best, S. (2007). *Conflict and peace building in Plateau State, Nigeria*.
Spectrum Books Limited: Ibadan, Nigeria.
Boigie, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California.
Sage Publications Ltd.

Bratic, V & Schirch, L. (2007): Why and when to use the media for conflict prevention and peace building. Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict.
Retrieved from
http://www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Programmes/Awareness%20Raising/Issue%20paper%20Media%20and%20Conflict%20Prevention%20-%20final%20version.pdf

Burton, J. (1988). Conflict resolution: The human dimension. *International Journal of Peace Studies,* 3(1). Retrieved from http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol3_1/burton.htm

ETA Evaluation Briefs (2008). Data collection methods for program evaluation: Focus groups.
Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/evaluation/pdf/brief13.pdf

Caldwell, C. (2007) Youth and war, a deadly duo. Financial Times
http://www.ft.com/cms/s/652fa2f6-9d2a-11db-8ec6-0000779e2340.html

California Department of Health Services (1998). Good questions, better answers: A formative research handbook for California HIV prevention programs. Retrieved from http://www.cbrc.net/hivcbr/library/good-questions-better-answers-formative-research-handbook

Centers for Disease Control (2011). Formative Research. Social Marketing. Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/nccdphp/dnpa/socialmarketing/training/phase2/index.htm

Chang, J. (2010). Hermeneutic inquiry: A research Approach for postmodern therapists. *Journal of Systemic Therapies*, 29(1), 2010, 19–32

Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in war. *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4),563-595

CRY Uganda (2010). Conflict resolution by youth: Youth as a resource.
Retrieved from http://cryuganda.org/#

Danfulani, H. U. (2006). The Jos peace conference and the Indigene/Settler in Nigerian Politics Presented at a conference at Pieter de la Court building, Wassenaarseweg, 52, Leiden http://www.ascleiden.nl/GetPage.aspx?url=/events/event-1966171506

Danielsen, G. (2005). Meeting human needs, preventing violence: Applying human needs theory to the conflict in Sri Lanka, USAL. Retrieved from http://www.cnvc.org/sites/cnvc.org/files/NVC_Research_Files/NVC%20and%20Violence%20Prevention/Danielsen2005.pdf

Dolan, T. (2009). Media for next generation peace building in Iraq. Retrieved from
    http://www.usip.org/files/resources/iraq_youth_media.pdf

Doyle, J. D. (2006). Queer music radio: Entertainment, education and activism.
    Journal of Popular Music Studies, 18(2), 215-219.
    http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/dialogue3_arowobusoye.pdf

Economy Watch. (2010). *"Unemployment in Nigeria."*
    http://www.economywatch.com/unemployment/countries/nigeria.html

El-Battahani, A. (2006). A complex web: Politics and conflict in Sudan. *Conciliation resources*
    http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/politics-conflict.php

Encyclopedia of Nations: Nigeria. Retrieved from
    http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Nigeria-POPULATION.html

F.M.H. (2009). Assessment report of the National Response to young people's sexual and
    reproductive health in Nigeria.
    http://www.actionhealthinc.org/publications/docs/Assessment%20Report%20of%20Nati
    onal%20Response%20To%20Young%20People's%20Sexual%20and%20Reproductive%
    20Health%20in%20Nigeria.pdf

Ford, S. (2009). Religiosity and US national security. *The Daily Clarity*. June 5th, 2009
    http://mydailyclarity.com/2009/06/religiosity-and-us-national-security

Fuller, E. G. (2004). The youth crisis in Middle Eastern Society. *Institute for Social policy and
    Understanding*. http://ispu.org/files/PDFs/graham%20fuller%20paper.pdf

Gatkouth, J. M. (1985). Ethnicity and nationalism in Sudan. *Ecumenical Review*. Retrieved from
    http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2065/is_n2_v47/ai_16885559

German foreign policy .com (2008) "World Power Theory"
    http://www.germanforeignpolicy.com/en/fulltext/56132/print?PHPSESSID=fnp8m2l183l
    2n3n42vudjg93k0

Goldstone, J.A. (1991). *Revolution and rebellion in the early modern world*. University of
    California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.

Goldstone, J. A. (2001). Toward a fourth generation of revolutionary theory
    Annual Review of Political Science, 4, 139–187.

Guttman, N., Gesser-Edelsburg, A., & Israelashvili, M.(2008). The paradox of realism and
    authenticity in entertainment-education: A study of adolescents' views about
    anti-drug abuse dramas. *Health Communication*, *23*(2), 128-141.

Hadley, C., Handley, A. & Stevenson, J. (2010). Indicators of knowledge, attitudes, and practices
    regarding maternal health in Amhara and Oromiya Regions, Ethiopia: Formative research report.
    Retrieved from
    http://www.nursing.emory.edu/manhep/news/Formative%20Research%20Report%20122910.pdf

Harris M. B (2009) Iran's youth bulge and its implications for U.S. national security. A research
    report (unpublished) Retrieved from
    http://www.dtic.mil/cgibin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA47
    5570

Heinsohn, G. (2009). Ending the west's proxy war against Israel. *Today's World Street Journal*
    http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123171179743471961.html

Hernandez, O. (2000). *Formative Research*, Chapter 7 in Brian D. Day and Martha C. Monroe
    (Eds.) Environmental Education Communication for a Sustainable world: Handbook for
    International Practitioners (2000). Retrieved from
    http://www.aed.org/Publications/upload/environmentaleducation.pdf

Hill, Z, Manu, A., Tawiah-Agyemang, C., Gyan, T., Turner, K., Weobong, B, Ten Asbroek, A. H.
    A. & Kirkwood, B. R. (2008). How did formative research inform the development of a
    home-based neonatal care intervention in rural Ghana? *Journal of Perinatology*, **28,** S38–   S45;
Online journal Available at   http://www.nature.com/jp/journal/v28/n2s/abs/jp2008172a.html#aff1

Hilker, M.L. & Fraser, E. (2005). Youth exclusion, violence, conflict and fragile states. *A report
    prepared for DFID"s Equity and Rights Team,* Social Development Direct.
    http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/CON66.pdf

Human Rights Watch. (2001). Jos, a city torn apart
      http://www.hrw.org/en/node/76864/section/4

Human Rights Watch (2005). *Revenge in the name of religion*: *the cycle of violence in Plateau*
      And Kano States. Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11755/section/2

Human Rights Watch. (2006). "*They do not own this place: Government discrimination against*
      '*non-indigenes,* vol. 18(3). Retrieved From
      http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2006/04/24/they-do-not-own-place-0

Human Rights Watch (2011). Events of 2010. {Retrieved March 28, 2011}
      http://www.hrw.org/en/world-report-2011

Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of the world order*.
      New York: Simon & Shuster
      http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2005/05/24/revenge-name-religion

Ibiyemi, S. (October 9, 2010). *Unemployment rate hits 19.7% in Nigeria.*
      Nigerian Tribune Newspaper. Retrieved from
      http://www.tribune.com.ng/sat/index.php/news/2223-unemployment-rate-hits-197in-nigeria-fg-
      .html

Ibrahim, I. (March 28, 2010). *Frustrations of Nigerian youths*.
      News watch magazine online. Retrieved from
      http://www.newswatchngr.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1923&It
      emid=48

Ikelegbe, A. (2006). Beyond the threshold of civil struggle: youth militancy and the
      militarization of the resource Conflicts in the Niger delta region of Nigeria. *African Study*
      Monographs, 27(3): 87-122

Institute for Governance and Social Research (2011) *Youth Peace Conference: Towards*
      enduring peace in Jos." Retrieved from
      http://www.igsronline.org/jprt.html

Interfaith Mediation Center (2010*). Peace building and reorientation for religious community*
      youth leaders in Jos metropolitan areas. Retrieved from http://imcnigeria.org/events.htm

Irobi, G. E. (2005). Ethnic conflict management in Africa: A comparative case study of Nigeria
      and South Africa. *Beyond Intractability.* Ed. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research
      Consortium, University of Colorado, USA. Retrieved from
      http://www.beyondintractability.org/case_studies/nigeria_south-africa.jsp?nid=6720

Kauaoci, A. (2004). Population transitions, youth unemployment, postponement of marriage
      and violence in Algeria. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 9 (2):28-45.

Keen, D. (2005). *Conflict and collusion in Sierra Leone*. Palgrave Macmillan:
      Oxford, UK.

Kolapo, Y. (April 10, 2010). *Okonjo-Iweala harps on utilizing Nigeria's youth population*
      Punch Newspaper. Retrieved from
      http://www.punchng.com/Articl.aspx?theartic=Art20100410212632

Krohnert, S. (2006). The formation of extreme youth bulges and armed conflict between 1950-
      2000: An empirical analysis *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International*
      Studies Association, Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego,
      California, USA. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p98895_index.html

Lloyd, C. (2002). Thinking about the Local and the Global in the Algerian Context

Miller, M. J. (2007). The crisis in Dafur. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 18 (4), p. 112-130.
      Oxford Development Studies, 30(2), 151-163.

Mohammed, A. S. (2004). The impact of conflict on the economy: The case of Plateau State of
      Nigeria.
      http://www.odi.org.uk/events/2004/06/16/32-background-paper-abubakar-sokoto-mohammed-
      impact-conflict-economy-cace-plateau-state-nigeria.pdf

Murshed, S. M. and Tadjoeddin, M. Z., 2007. Reappraising the greed and grievance:
      Explanations for violent internal conflict, MICROCON, Research Working Paper 2,
      Brighton. http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/RWP2_MM_ZT.pdf

NPR News (2010*). "Roots of Central Nigeria violence deeper than faith."*
        http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=125683485

OECD (2011). Reducing the involvement of youth in armed conflict: Programing note, conflict
        and fragility. OECD Publishing. Retrieved from
        http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264107205-en

Onoja, A. (February 27, 2011). Centre Begins Peace Process in Jos. Daily
        Independent Newspaper. Retrieved from
        http://allafrica.com/stories/201102280476.html. February 27, 2011.

Ostein, P. (2009). Jonah Jang and the Jasawa: Ethno-religious conflict in Jos, Nigeria.
        http://www.sharia-in-africa.net/media/publications/ethno-religious-conflict-in-Jos-
        Nigeria/Ostien_Jos.pdf

Oyefusi, A. (2008). Oil and the probability of rebel participation among youths in the
        Niger- Delta of Nigeria, *Journal of Peace Research,* 45(4): 539-555.

Pandit, E. (2007). Young people make strife: Problems with the youth bulge theory.
        Retrieved from
        http://rhrealitycheck.org/article/2007/04/11/young-people-make-strife-problems-with-the-youth-
        bulge-theory/

Patton, Q. M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*.
        Sage Publications, Inc.: Thousand Oaks, California.

Parliamentarian Network for Conflict Prevention, "Rising unemployment and the
        global youth bulge"
        http://www.parliamentariansforconflictprevention.net/page/rising-unemployment-and-global-
        youth-bulge

Petterson, D. (2003). *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, conflict, and catastrophe*.
        Westview Press: USA

Philips, A. (April 2010). *Jos crisis is more than Religion*. Retrieved from
        http://www.ajol.info/index.php/afrrev/article/viewFile/60229/48475

Piwoz, E. G. (2004). *What are the options? Using formative research to adapt global
        recommendations on HIV and infant feeding to the local context*. A publication of the Department
        of Child and Adolescent Health and Development. World Health Organization. Retrieved from
        http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2004/9241591366.pdf

Plateau Indigenous Development Network –PIDAN (2010). "*The history, ownership,
        establishment of Jos and misconceptions about the recurrent Jos conflicts*. Jos, Nigeria: Dan-Sil
        Press

Quist-Arction, O. (2010). *Roots of Central Nigeria violence deeper than faith.* Retrieved from
        http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=125683485

Stewart, F. (2004). Development and security. *Conflict, Security and Development*,
        (3), 261-288.

Schmidt, W. P., Wloch, C . , Biran, A. , Curtis, V. , & Mangtani, P.(2009). Formative research
        on the feasibility of hygiene interventions for influenza control in UK primary schools.
        BMC Public Health, Vol. 9. On-line Journal retrieved 24th May 2010.
        http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2458/9/390#IDAJN0JX

Scwartz, S. (2010). "*Youth in post-conflict reconstruction: Agents of change*" United States
        Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C. United Nations Program on Youth-2010.
        http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/global.htm

Search for Common Ground (2010). Understanding differences: Acting on commonalities.
        Retrieved from
        http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/sierra/pdf/Sierra_Leone-December_2009_Update.pdf

Singhal, A., Cody, M. J., Rogers, E. M., & Sabido, M. (2008). *Entertainment-Education
        and Social Change: History, Research and Practice.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Singhal, A., Harter, L. M., Chitnis, K., & Sharma, D. (2007). Participatory photography as
        theory, method and praxis: analyzing an entertainment-education project in India. *South-
        North Journal of Cultural and Media Studies*, 21(1), 212-227.

UNDP. (2006). Youth and violent Conflict: Society and development in crisis?
         http://www.undp.org/cpr/whats_new/UNDP_Youth_PN.pdf

UNFPA. (2003). Program Document between the Plateau State Government and UNFPA,
         http://nigeria.unfpa.org/documents/Plateaustate.doc

UN youth Flash Volume 6(9).
         http://www.youthlac.org/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=575

United States Diplomatic Mission to Nigeria (2011). United States ready to share conflict
         resolution experiences with Nigeria.
         Retrieved from http://nigeria.usembassy.gov/ev-021011.html

United Nations System Action for Youths: The World Program of Action for Youth to the
         Year 2000 and Beyond. http://www.un.org/events/youth98/backinfo/ywpa2000.htm

Urdal, H. (2004). 'The devil in the demographics: The effect of youth bulges on domestic armed
         conflict, 1950-2000', Social Development papers. Washington, DC: Conflict prevention
         and reconstruction unit, World Bank. '
         http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Research-and-Publications/Publication/?oid=57846

Urdal, H (2006). A clash of generations? Youth bulges and political violence. *International
         Studies Quarterly* (50): 607-629.
         Retrieved from http://www.prio.no/upload/prio/ISQU_416.PDF

Urdal, H. (2008). Population, resources, and political violence. A Sub national study of India,
         1956–2002. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52 (4): 590-617.

Women Environmental Program. Conflict in the Middle-Belt region of Nigeria: Endangering
         Peace in Agila Society.
         http://www.wepnigeria.net/files/WEP%20Reports%20for%20WEB.pdf

Woods, P. (2006). Qualitative research. *Educational research in action.*
         Retrieved April 1, 2011} F:\Qualitative DataAnalysis\qualrshm.htm

World Youth Report, 2003: Chapter 14, Youth and Conflict. Retrieved 04/26/2010
         http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/ch14.pdf

Yemen Times (2010). "Yemen's youth bulge and unemployment-an explosive mix."
         http://www.yementimes.com/DEFAULTSUB.ASPX?pnc=3&pnm=Localnews

Youth and Conflict tool kit, 2005. Retrieved from
         http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/crosscutting_programs/conflict/publications/docs/CMM
         _Youth_and_Conflict_Toolkit_April_2005.pdf

Zakaria, F. (2001, October 15). The politics of rage: Why do they hate us? Newsweek Magazine.
         http://www.newsweek.com/2001/10/14/the-politics-of-rage-why-do-they-hate-us.html