



REPORT

of the

Northern States Governors' Forum

Committee on
Reconciliation,
Healing and Security

Submitted to the

Northern States Governors' Forum

On Thursday, April 25th, 2013



Northern States Governors' Forum

**Committee on
Reconciliation,
Healing and Security**

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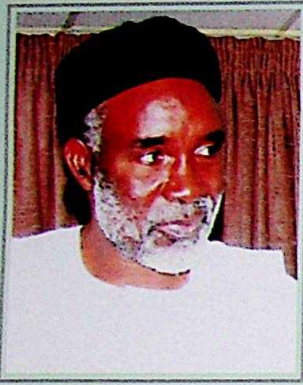
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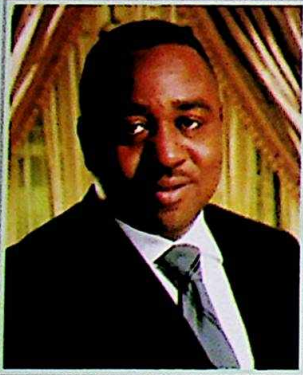
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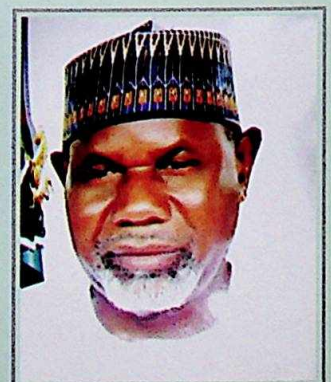
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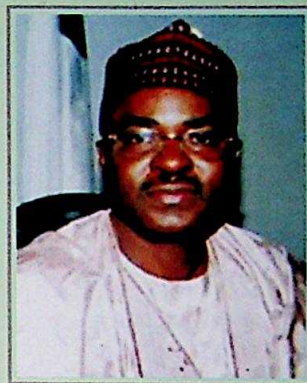


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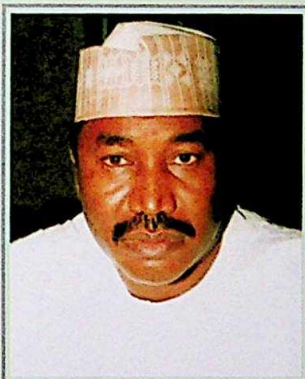
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Executive Governor, Nassarawa State



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JOHAN JANG
Executive Governor, Plateau State







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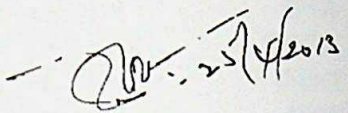
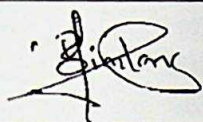
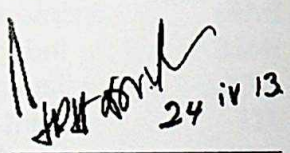
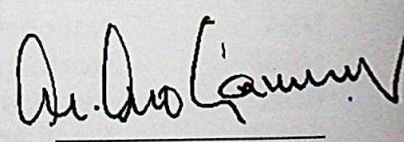
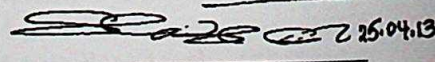
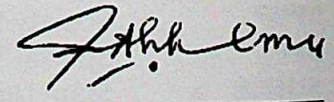

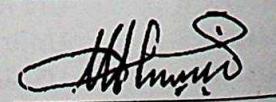
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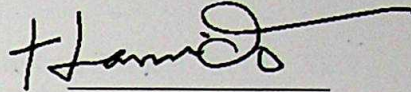
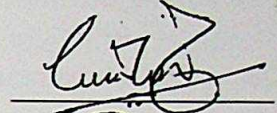
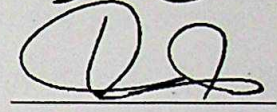
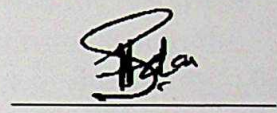



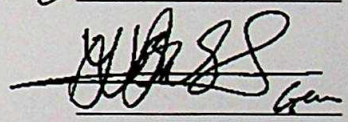
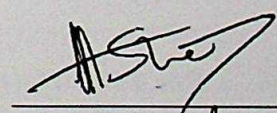
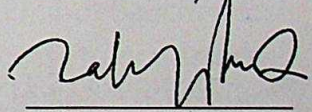
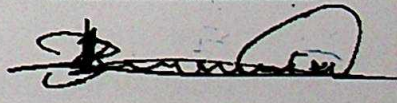
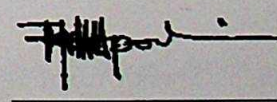
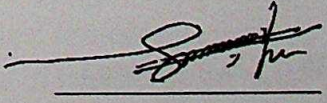
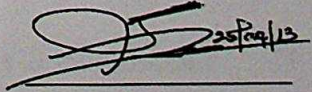
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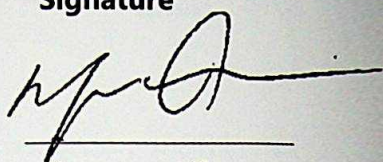
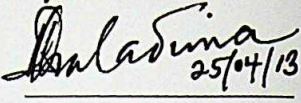
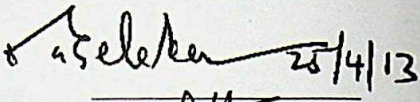
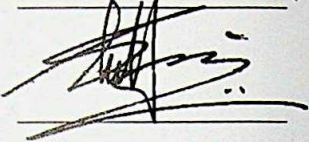
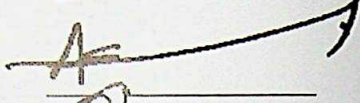
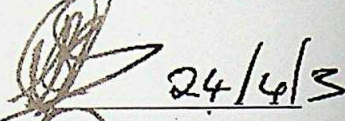
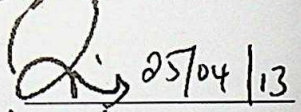
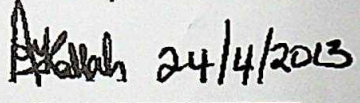
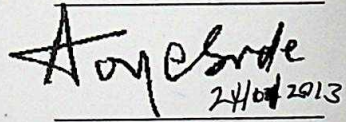
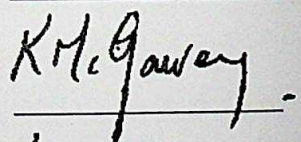
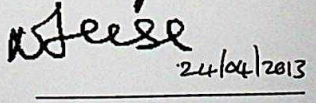
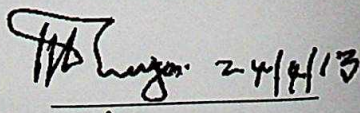
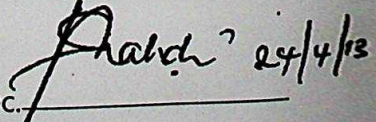
List of Abbreviations

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AFD	Agence Française de Développement (AFD) African
AFDB	African Development Bank
BOA	Bank of Agriculture
BOI	Bank of Industry
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
COIN	Counter Insurgency Strategy
DFID	Department for International Development (British Government)
EU	European Union
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, The German Society for International Cooperation
HCD	Human and Social Capital Development
ICRC/RC	International Committee of the Red cross/Crescent
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEC	Independent Nigerian Electoral Commission
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JTF	Joint Task Force
LGA	Local Government Area
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NATCOM	National Communication Corporation Ltd
NDE	National Directorate of Employment
NIREC	Nigerian Interreligious Council
NNDC	Northern Nigerian Development Corporation
NSA	National Security Adviser
NSGF	Northern States Governors' Forum
RDA	Regional Development Agency
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SIEC	State Independent Electoral Commission
SME	Small and Medium Scale Enterprises
SMEDAN	Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria
SPSP	Society for Peace Studies and Practice
STF	Special Task Force
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
TOR	Term of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Project
UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	US Agency For International Development
WANEP	West African Network on Peace Building

Committee Members

S/N	Name		Signature
1.	Amb. (Dr.) Zakari Ibrahim mni, CON	Chairman	 23/4/2013
2.	His Royal Highness, Dr. Joshua Y. Dimlong, Ngolong Ngas	Dep. Chairman	
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4.	His Royal Highness, Dr. Haliru N. Yahaya, Emir of Shonga	Member	 24 iv 13
5.	His Royal Highness, Alh. Zayyanu Abdullahi The Emir of Yauri	Member	_____
6.	AVM Mouktar Mohammed (Rtd)	Member	
7.	Prof. Shedrack Best	Member	 25.04.13
8.	Dr. Sheikh Ahmed Lemu OFR	Member	
9.	Hon. Justice Umaru Abdullahi CON	Member	
10.	Hon. Justice Usman Baba Liman	Member	

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12.	Bishop Buba Lamido	Member	
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32.	Maryam Uwais MFR	Member 
33.	Rev. Kallah Abare	Member 
34.	Mrs. Aisha Oyeboode	Member 
35.	Rev. Sr. Kathleen McGarvey OLA	Member 
36.	Dr. Nguyen S. Feese	Member 
37.	Sheikh Karibullah Nasiru Kabara	Member _____
38.	Sheikh Yusuf Sambo Rigachikun	Member _____
39.	Iliya I. Danga	Member/Sec 
40.	Saudatu Mahdi MFR	Member/Dep. Sec. 

Acknowledgements

The issues of insecurity and communal conflicts in the North are no doubt a problem that has become a source of grave concern to the people of the region and Nigeria as a whole. The appointment of the Northern States Committee for Reconciliation, Healing and Security by the Northern States Governor's Forum was therefore a highly commendable step towards a peaceful North that allows for development. It is therefore very important to commend the foresight and the resolve of the Northern States Governors' Forum in taking the giant initiative for establishing this Committee. In addition, the Governors deserve commendation for their various supports to the committee, particularly their financial contributions that gave the Committee the lifeline to carry out the assignment given to it. Further commendation should go to the Governors of Niger, Katsina, Jigawa and Kogi states for their additional financial contributions to the funds made available for the assignment. The kind support and hospitality of the Governors of Borno, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, Plateau, Nasarawa and Yobe States also deserve the appreciation of the members and the people of the North; they have shown great commitment to the mission of the Committee in giving their maximum cooperation and attention to members in all the occasions the Committee visited these States.

The work of this Committee would have been a lot more difficult but for the support of our traditional leaders and religious leaders across the whole of the region. In particular the support of the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Muhammadu Sa'ad Abubakar III and that of Cardinal John Onaiyekan, the Shehu of Borno, the Emir of Kano, the Emir of Bauchi and the Gwong Gbon Jos made it possible for the Committee to have access to grassroots communities and to information that otherwise would have been obtained at best as hearsay. The partnership of the Sultan and the Cardinal is an asset to the North and their vision of religious understanding and respect for each other is a rock the North should build on for its rebirth.

The Committee would also like to appreciate the tremendous support received from individuals and organisations towards the accomplishment of its assignment. Alhaji Dahiru Mangal stands out in his great financial contribution to the Committee's work. The NSGF should in its time extend the appreciation of the people of the North to him for his commitment to evolution of peace and harmonious living in the North. The contributions of Mrs Aisha Wakil towards finding a lasting solution especially to the

insurgency in the North also stand out. Indeed, we have recommended that her great resolve and sacrifice to the cause of peace should be recognised and her services and knowledge should be availed of in finding an enduring solution to the insurgency. Likewise, the Committee appreciates the commitment and warm acceptance of its mission by the various stakeholder groups in all the states visited (Borno, Yobe, Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna, Plateau and Nasarawa) for their candid contributions and for giving the Committee their confidence in finding the way forward for the North. The Committee also appreciates all those who responded to its call for memoranda or contributed at the public meetings with stakeholders in various locations. They indeed widened the Committee's vision and understanding of issues and impacted a lot in shaping this Report.

No doubt the work of the Committee had attracted the attention of many others who saw it as an opportunity to assist the North in reinventing itself to a peaceful and developed region. Of special mention are the Country Director of the World Bank, ESSPIN and NSRP who made presentations to the Committee, and who with other Development Partners are already working with the Committee on producing a Plan for the Development of the North. We appreciate the ESSPIN (DFID) and NSRP for their presentations and contributing ideas on a holistic approach to education and security in Nigeria. The great sacrifices made by the office of WRAPA must also be recognised and appreciated; the Committee at various times had to depend on the staff and resources of WRAPA for the organising, processing and production of documents without which the work would have been stalled.

While the Committee worked in the field or discussed at plenary or in their sub groups, the work of capturing the proceedings and preparing the records fell on the team of staff that formed the Secretariat. The leadership of the Secretariat no doubt did wonderfully well in making the work of the Committee flow smoothly while not losing valuable information and data. The documentation provided to facilitate the Committee's work is simply excellent and the Secretary of the Committee Mr. Iliya Danga and his able deputy Saudatu Mahdi deserve a loud congratulation from all of the Committee members and the NSGF. The secretariat staff namely Aliyu Isah Ekkan, Musa Rogo, Usman Hassan Ibrahim, Bukhari Muhammed Bello Jega, Bilal Bugaji and Baiwa Muhammed made the secretariat work excellently to achieve the expectations of the Committee as and when due. They need the commendation of all. On the other hand, the Coordination of the Committee activities fell on the shoulders of Professor M. K. Yahaya who had to coordinate the activities of the Committee with the NSGF. The stress involved in managing resources and getting activities running while meeting the expectations of the Committee and NSGF for information and meeting of deadlines was not an easy task. Professor Yahaya did them very well and should be thanked.

The onerous task of synthesizing all the documents and results of visitations and stakeholder meetings fell on the Report Writing Sub-Committee appointed by the general membership and authorised by the Chairman. The members include Dr. Shettima Aji Ali who chaired the team, Professors Habu Galadima, Shedrack Best and Mohammad A. Mainoma, Rev. Sister Kathleen McGarvey OLA, Maryam Uwais, Iliya Danga and Saudatu Mahdi. The committee worked tirelessly through long hours and at weekends including Sundays to make the report a reality. It was not a small feat to sift through the hundreds of pages of documents to understand the messages in each presentation and to capture all the findings and suggest recommendations and implementation strategy that is accepted by all Committee members as a reflection of the desires of the people of the North. The Committee has shown how unity of purpose and commitment to duty are paramount to achieving results. It is a sacrifice and commitment that deserves applause.

Finally, though not the least, all the members of this Committee have no doubt made great sacrifices of their time and resources, most often travelling very long distances and missing important engagements elsewhere to make themselves available to serve. The contribution of members has been without rancour and genuine to their hearts, since all are very conscious of the need to find a way forward for beloved country particularly the North. It is in this regard that the NSGF should do all it can to protect the integrity of these members by committing to the implementation of the Report. The Chairman of the Committee His Excellency, Amb. (Dr.) Zakari Ibrahim, **CON, mni**, showed what it takes to be a listening leader, patiently ensuring that every member's contribution was heard. So also was the Deputy Chairman, His Royal Highness Dr Joshua Y. Dimlong, the Ngolong Ngas. Our traditional fathers on the team, His Royal Highness, Dr. Muhammad Barkindo Aliyu Mustapha, **CFR**, the Lamido of Adamawa, His Royal Highness Dr. Haliru N. Yahaya, **OON**, Emir of Shonga, His Royal Highness, Alh. Zayyanu Abdullahi, Emir of Yauri, and the religious leaders have all been hallmarks of humility and provided the excellent leadership to the Committee. All Committee members are grateful for this. The Committee members thank the NSGF for appointing them into this Committee, for the great confidence reposed in them and for giving them an opportunity to contribute to finding a lasting solution to conflicts, insurgency and underdevelopment in the North.

Executive Summary

On July 26th 2012 the NSGF, disturbed by the increasing spate of violence and consequent socio-economic problems bedevilling the North, formed by the Northern States Committee on Reconciliation, Healing and Security. The Committee, to be chaired by Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim, CON, mni has forty members. The Committee was inaugurated on August 22nd 2012 and was given eight terms of reference to work on towards finding enduring solution to the problems of the North, including finding ways to reverse the declining fortunes of the North in all strata of life (economy, education, health, coexistence, political relevance and others).

To achieve its assigned objectives, the Committee considered a methodology that included brainstorming, calling for memoranda from the public, stakeholder meetings and consultations and literature review of Reports of various Federal and State Committees established at different times to confront similar problems in the region. The Committee divided itself into three main sub-Committees: Reconciliation and Healing, Security, and Social and Human Capital Development.

The Committee received and processed 137 memoranda, Reports and White Papers; visited seven states (hotspot states) making consultations and meeting with the traditional hierarchy, the Governor and stakeholders in each of the states visited. Consultations were widespread and open; Borno, Yobe and Plateau States were visited twice in the effort to get more details or initiate a process for reconciliation or security. The Committee also met with the National Security Advisor and the Director General of the State Security Service, the Speaker House of Representatives and some development partners (the World Bank, ESSPIN).

Key Findings:

1. There was general satisfaction with the formation of the NSCRHS by the NSGF indicative of the general concern in the whole of the North about the prolonged insecurity and communal/religious conflicts and a yearning for peace and unity and for socio-economic development of the region.
2. The problems of the region have roots in deep seated grievances and unmet expectations of the people on issues of equity and justice, lack of reachable economic opportunities and rivalries for resources.
3. There is a proliferation of small arms in the region mostly smuggled through the porous and poorly policed borders of the northern borders of Nigeria.
4. Encroachments on grazing lands and population growth have narrowed the availability of this resource to Fulani nomadic pastoralist, creating frictions and conflicts between this group and farmers (who are often of different tribes and coincidentally, religion as well). This friction often translates into ethnic and religious conflict.
5. Government response to insecurity management has increasingly become militarised. The military has become dependent on use of force, often indiscriminate resulting in communities being harassed and inflicted heavy losses in life and property. This has bred a gap between the larger community in hotspot areas and the security agencies hindering cooperation between them and the public militating against successful fighting of crime and insurgency.
6. Prolonged security challenges and poor governance has drifted the North to very low ebb. There is strong desire from the populace and concerned citizens to address this so that the region can be peaceful, united and developing.
7. There is growing and widespread impunity and citizen desperation leading fuelling resentment which is finding violence as the way out of their predicament. This, in addition to widespread poverty and lack of skills and capacity for self empowerment is largely responsible for you restiveness in the North.

The NSGF should capitalise on the high integrity capital of the membership of this Committee and accord all degree of commitment to the judicious implementation of the recommendations in this Report.

Overall Recommendations

The recommendations in respect of each of the terms of reference are presented below for ease of reference.

TOR i: Liaise with Stakeholders in the northern states, particularly the affected states, and get to the root of the security challenges and proffer solutions:

Recommendation 1:

Government at all levels, especially in the affected States, should vigorously promote dialogue and peace building activities among communities to enhance forgiveness, reconciliation as well as trust and confidence building.

Recommendation 2:

Government should initiate a wide-ranging process for the immediate recovery of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) from the individuals and groups. In addition, in the States where appointees to the Office of Security Adviser have not been made, the respective Governors of those states may consider and appoint same with minimum delay.

Recommendation 3:

Governments in the Northern states should ensure strict compliance with all existing different grades of cattle routes in the region. Furthermore, existing grazing reserves should be preserved and enforced and, new grazing reserves should be developed. In the long run, however, the NSGF should work with the Federal Government to develop scientific and less nomadic methods of animal husbandry that will allow nomadic pastoralists to settle down and raise their livestock in conformity with global best practices.

Recommendation 4:

The Northern Governors should work with the Federal Government to ensure that Security Agencies, especially the Joint Task Force/Special Task Force, adopt the intelligence-led approach to security. This reduces the over reaction of security agencies in their operational areas, which has tended to be counter-productive.

Recommendation 5:

In view of the problems associated with the indigene/settler divide nationwide, the States and Federal Government should find practical and non-confrontational ways of addressing the problem.

Recommendation 6:

The NSGF should set machinery in motion to articulate a common vision for the region.

TOR ii: Dialogue with any identified groups with a view to negotiating the way out of the menace:

Recommendation 1:

NSGF should immediately request the Security Agencies to unmask and bring to justice the individuals and groups using the "Boko Haram insurgency" as a franchise for political violence, economic rivalry and criminal activities in the States in the North.

Recommendation 2:

The NSGF should demand of the Federal Government to assume its responsibility to ameliorate the condition of victims of collateral damage arising from the counter-insurgency operations in line with international best practice.

Recommendation 3:

Notwithstanding the position which will be taken by the Federal Government as regards the issue of Amnesty, the NSGF must do something concrete to resolve the respective security challenges.

Recommendation 4:

The NSGF should commence the immediate establishment and institutionalization of Rehabilitation Funds which will be used to rehabilitate the members of the militant group[s] that embrace peace and dialogue as well as those that are affected and afflicted by the insurgency in the region.

Recommendation 5:

There is a particular woman, of credible standing in the Borno community, who is trusted as a mother figure and who has committed herself to acting as

Recommendation 5:

The laws governing the use of derogatory and offensive language which has the effect of denigrating human dignity and freedoms of any person should be enforced in all northern states and appropriate sanctions should be applied to hold persons and institutions accountable.

Recommendation 6:

The NSGF should promote the culture of exchange of visits among traditional rulers, Governors, media executives, and business community leaders, and of students exchange programmes within the North.

Recommendation 7:

The NSGF should use the media effectively to create awareness about the Directive Principles of State Policy rights enshrined in Sections 10, 14, 15, 17 as well as the fundamental rights provided under Chapter Four of the 1999 Constitution, and to promote the culture of civilized dialogue and of tolerance of persons with different beliefs, self-restraint, equality of constituent groups, respect for the rule of law and an impartial government.

Recommendation 8:

- i. The NSGF should invoke the corporate social responsibilities of the private sector where available to support the economic empowerment of the people and the development of the region.
- ii. The NSGF should encourage the professionalization of the NNDC or the Association of Northern States' Chambers of Commerce or any other appropriate institution, so that these play key roles in the implementation of development programmes and the creation of opportunities in the North.
- iii. The NSGF should harness all available economic incentive schemes from the Federal Government and from international and local development agencies (SMEDAN, NAPEP, MDG Office, NDE etc.) and finance institutions (CBN, BOI, BOA etc.) and create awareness among the people of their various states to make concerted utilisation for self empowerment and economic development.

Recommendation 9:

In recognition of the relevance of culture and history in nation building, the NSGF should take steps to enhance the understanding of our history and

appreciation of the diverse cultures of our northern state communities and indeed, of Nigeria as a whole.

Recommendation 10:

Governors in their respective States should ensure that there are rigorous campaigns for forgiveness to help the people realize that forgiveness is the only path to healing and to creating a more peaceful, harmonious and productive future.

TOR v: Organize meetings and have interactive sessions with stakeholders across the States:

Forms of engagement ranged from direct and indirect engagements to face-to-face dialogue to facilitate negotiations of positions and to set up the parameters for sustainable peace. Against the backdrop of this principle, the NSGF Committee on reconciliation, healing and security in fulfilment of its mandate, especially TORs (ii) and (v), identified and organized meetings with a wide cross section of stakeholders in seven (7) out of nineteen (19) Northern States with particular reference to flash point States of Borno, Yobe, Plateau, Bauchi, Kaduna, Kano, and lastly Nasarawa State and the Federal Capital Territory.

The findings and recommendations presented in this Report already reflect what was gathered from these visits and interactions. However, some general observations pertaining to all States and some specific observations pertaining to particular States have been summarized in the main body of this report.

TOR vi: Engage experts from relevant organizations for further discussions and strategic input:

Recommendation 1:

On education, Government must focus on the larger issues such as the review of the curriculum for teacher education, the capacity of the teachers, school reforms, school based management and development, family and community participation in school activities and linking training vocational training to mainstream education.

Recommendation 2:

Government should devise a mechanism that provides effective teacher training with external support, advisory services and post workshop

mentoring; funds provided through SUBEB should be utilized to achieve stated objectives. Similarly, the Head Teacher and the community must be engaged to participate fully in the entire process to ensure some degree of responsibility and accountability.

Recommendation 3:

There is a need to translate policies into action, with each of the policies formulated being backed by the desired funding. As such, there is the need for an integrated approach that will involve all identified factors that will bring about the desired change.

Recommendation 4:

That beyond the determination of the Committee's tenure, the designated Sub Committee team need to continue working with the World Bank and other Development Partners, to finalise two strategic documents; viz. the short term intervention Concept Note and the comprehensive, long term Road Map for the Northern States, with a view to ensuring the strict and uninterrupted implementation of their contents over a term of 10-15 years.

TOR vii: Recommend mechanisms for peace building and entrenchment of enduring democratic values at the Ward, Local Government and State levels:

Recommendation 1:

Governments in the Northern States should strengthen democratic practice and institutions, human rights, the rule of law, delivery of public services, citizen engagement and government accountability.

TOR viii: Design mechanisms to address youth restiveness and unemployment in the region:

Recommendation 1:

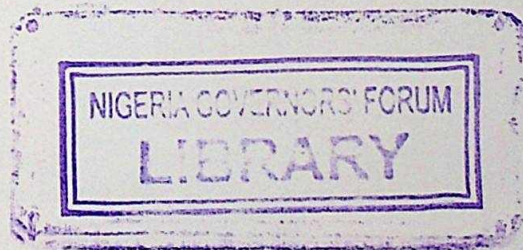
The Northern States Governors, in collaboration with the Federal Government should intensify efforts at reducing poverty, ensuring sustainable development, improving human development indicators, and making significant progress toward achieving the MDGs by 2015 and beyond.

Recommendation 2:

The NSGF should take the necessary steps to address the high incidence of maternal and child mortality, low rate of education for the girl child and the poor arrangements for continuing education for school dropouts and divorcees.

Recommendation 3:

The registration of marriages and the reckless abuse of divorce need to be regulated by law so as to protect, safeguard and preserve family values and the sanctity of marriage.



The implementation proposals in this framework have been selected based on prioritization for impact and realistic timelines within the tenure of the current leadership in the States. Even as it is noted that governance is a continuous activity the fact remains that turnover in political vision/personnel often times militates against continuity of programmes and projects. Therefore, committing these set of Governors (initiators of the NSGF Committee) to specific actions within their tenure is critical and hopefully an opportunity to further demonstrate goodwill, unity and sincerity of purpose for the attainment of immediate relief and long term peace and prosperity. The actions proposed also have an encompassing nature or ripple/trigger effect on others and in

ACTION	OBJECTIVES	2013												2014		2015		2016		REMARKS
		May to December 2013								June - December 2015				Jan - June 2016						
		2 nd Qtr.	3 rd Qtr.	4 th Qtr.	1 st Qtr.	2 nd Qtr.	3 rd Qtr.	4 th Qtr.	1 st Qtr.	2 nd Qtr.	3 rd Qtr.	4 th Qtr.	1 st Qtr.	2 nd Qtr.						
1	NSGF should facilitate the emergence of an independent body to promptly facilitate dialogue/mediation/reconciliation among all aggrieved groups.																		Action points to be undertaken during the periods indicated towards stated outputs	
2	The NSGF should convene a high-powered dialogue of key stakeholders of the North.																		1. The body/membership of the NSGF Committee could (on voluntary terms) form the nucleus of this independent body. The NSGF should therefore extend recognition and liberty to the Committee to undertake the complementary interventions that support any other in initiative of the NSGF. Activities proposed here are for an inaugural meeting and one meeting by the end of 2013 2. This dialogue could be facilitated by a post-committee or coordinating group with a specific mandate from the NSGF. 3. Among those to be invited are key actors, past and present, in the Judiciary, Executive, Legislature and organized private sector.	
3	NSGF should promote interstate visits, dialogue and co-operation among Governors																		1. NSGF may consider hosting its earliest statutory meeting in Borno during which both Borno and Yobe States can be visited. Subsequently the meeting rotates to Bauchi or Plateau such that two States can be covered at any meeting.	
4	NSGF should promote the culture of exchange of visits among top class traditional rulers; the students exchange programmes and other business and agricultural groupings.																		1. The budgetary implication of this should be part sponsored by the NSGF and the structure of the hosting community/institutional / social platform. 2. State Governments should also embark on symbolic reparation by extending psychological and social support to victims, including erecting headstones, building memorials, renaming public facilities, and establishing days of remembrance.	
5	Initiate a comprehensive study on the damages and losses incurred as a result of violence throughout the region in the last five years (2007-2012).																		NSGF should implement this recommendation in phases. 1. First commission a desk review/audit of documentation of losses and recommendations for compensation from previous Reports/White Papers to generate data for concrete & symbolic actions. 2. Commission study into whole regime of violence to guide the establishment of long-term structures/interventions including Establishing a Rehabilitation Fund under the aegis of sons & daughters of the North and with contributions from all levels of Government, the private sector, donor agencies and individuals.	
6	Sponsor ten thousand youths from each of the nineteen northern states within a year, for Leadership and Development training.																		1. Preparations and logistics for this can be done in 2013 with a strengthening of any existing youth empowerment initiatives. In 2014 the budgetary provisions for this can be made and first batch of trainees enroll and graduate in 2014. 2 nd batch will be admitted in 1 st Qtr of 2016 2. Put in place mechanisms for regulating registration of marriages and the reckless abuse of divorce to protect and preserve family values and the sanctity of marriage.	

7	The NSGF should demand of the Federal Government to assume its responsibility to ameliorate the condition of victims of collateral damage arising from the counter insurgency operations	To ensure accountability of the Central Government to the acts of commission and omission of security agents			1. This recommendation is in line with international best practice. 2. It is also in cognisance of the constitutional responsibility where deployment and control of security apparatus is the exclusive preserve of the Federal Government.
8	Each State Government should secure existing grazing reserves, and where expedient; create new ones thereby defining their own cattle grazing routes, which will then be harmonized with those of adjacent states.	To accommodate the livelihood of pastoral Fulani and reduce the frictions and recurring tensions between them and farmers.			1. Institute process for securing existing grazing reserves with active participation of both Fulani & farmers in affected areas. 2. Determine the need for additional or new grazing reserves and create them in consultation with adjacent state(s) 3. Appoint a Committee to work with the FGN to come up with a long term research -driven framework of settling nomadic Fulani pastoralists and changing the methods of raising their livestock.
9	Support Security Agencies to commence community based intelligence systems. Promote the utilization of safe spaces like palaces, public schools, LG secretariats, 'zauren shawara', to engender dialogue between security forces and citizens.	To engender citizen participation in security management and peace building while using less costly mechanisms			1. Delegate partial responsibility to traditional rulers whose structure fits the intent and methodology for the attainment of the recommendation. 2. Tangible motivation and empowerment of all the traditional rulers in the North to support them in the effective and efficient performance of their complementary roles in maintenance of law and order, security management, and most especially monitoring the influx of people within and across their domains. 3. Existing community monitoring initiatives should be strengthened
10	NSGF to liaise with FGN to end impunity within the security forces by undertaking a review of its counter-insurgency strategy and conducting independent investigations, and expediting the prosecution of cases of those against whom there is evidence in accordance with the tenets of the rule of law.	Restoration of confidence in government and the justice system as well as compliance with the rules of engagement			1. This is urgent and must be sustained. Accountability of officers or institutions must be demonstrated to the full extent of the law in line with natural justice, equity and good conscience.
11	NSGF should demand for the immediate release of innocent persons (individuals and institutions from detention centres across the country, as well as where appropriate, to expedite the completion of investigations for prosecutions.	Enforcement of the rule of law and accountability standards			1. This is a priority if the trust and confidence of any aggrieved party is to be gained for sustainable peace. 2. A letter may be written to Mr. President conveying the demand and relevant government and civil society entities copied in. 3. Security agencies must work to unmask and bring to justice the individuals and groups using the "Boko Haram insurgency" as a franchise for political violence, economic rivalry and criminal activities in the States in the North.
12	Liaise with the Federal Government to find practical and non-confrontational ways of addressing the indigene/settler divide nationwide	Attainment of the constitutional freedoms for citizens			1. The ongoing constitutional review process presents an opportunity for addressing the underlying issues of this challenge. 2. The facility of the culture of integration proposed in item 4 above.

13	The Northern Governors should support religious organizations to develop a Code of Ethics to self-regulate their behaviour.	Enhance accountability and curtail incidences of incitement of adherents/followers of the different faiths																		1. Self-imposed regulations will reduce apprehensions against government (especially oversight agencies). 2. Enforcement to be secured by the legal endorsement of the regulations as integral charter of incorporation 3. Urgent expansion of the structure and scope of NIREC and similar interfaith agencies within Nigeria to all levels of government in the northern States. 4. Develop model messages by the end of 3 rd Qtr of 2013.
14	Northern Governors must promote a sense of belonging for all and protect the rights of all citizens to the freedom of religion and ensure that those who convert to one religion or the other are protected.	Facilitate integration and ensure State responsibility for the equitable treatment of all citizens																		1. Discourage the use of derogatory and offensive language, which has the effect of denigrating human dignity, and freedoms of any person in all northern states and appropriate sanctions should be applied to hold persons and institutions accountable. 2. Abolish all discriminatory state policies towards religious groups, particularly in the areas of access to lands for places of worship, or access to media spaces for religious broadcasts. 3. The teaching of Islamic and Christian religious education must become an enforceable part of the curriculum of all schools irrespective of how many children there are of each faith.
15	FGN to urgently establish special border patrol units consisting of a combined operation of military, immigration and customs equipped with tracking & monitoring devices tracking & monitoring.	Effectively respond to the challenges of human infiltration and movement of arms and ammunition into and across boarder states																		1. Citizen content in security management strategy proposed in item 8 above will complement this as a starting and sustainability input especially by boarder communities. 2. Constructive sensitization of boarder communities to educate and ensure the extension of cooperation and the reciprocal appreciation of the patrol unit operators.
16	The NSGF should make concerted utilisation of all available economic incentive schemes from the Federal Government and from international and local development agencies.	Support the economic empowerment of the people and the development of the region.																		1. Key existing institutions to engage include SMEDAN, NAPEP, MDG Office, NDE etc. and finance institutions (CBN, BOI, BOA etc)
17	The NSGF should ensure the implementation of the Plan for Development of the Northern States proposed in this document (see Appendix I NSGF Committee Report).	Sustainable empowerment that improves the economic and development indices of the region.																		1. 2 nd & 3 rd Qtrs to finalise both strategic documents; namely; the short term intervention Concept Note and the comprehensive Long Term Road Map for the Northern States 2. Review & validation of Road Map in 1 st Qtr 2014 3. Appoint private sector-driven Team to implement the content of the Road Map from 3 rd Qtr 2014
18	The Federal Government should support NATCOM to conduct a comprehensive survey of SALWs in circulation, and Govts in affected states should commence wide ranging consultations with all the stakeholders on the best possible ways and means to retrieve the SALWs	Significantly reduce the numbers of SALW in the hands of citizens and by extension curtail the use in civil spaces																		1. Urgent consultations in 3 rd & 4 th Qtrs 2013, with all relevant stakeholders on the best possible ways and means to retrieve the SALWs from individuals 2. Documentation and retrieval in from the 2 nd - 4 th Qtr 2014

**REPORT
of the
Northern States
Governors' Forum
Committee on Reconciliation,
Healing and Security**

Background

Concerned about the destruction, killing and instability in the northern states, and in response to these challenges, the Committee for Reconciliation, Healing and Security was set up by the Northern States Governors' Forum (NSGF) on July 26th 2012. The Committee, which comprises eminent men and women of proven integrity, credentials and experience, was inaugurated on August 22nd 2012 at the Niger State Governor's Lodge, No 22, Jose Marti Crescent, Asokoro, Abuja. The Chairman of the Forum and the Chief Servant of Niger State, Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu, CON, Talban Minna, informed members of the daunting task, challenges and expectations placed on the Committee by the Governors' Forum and the people of the North. He further informed members of the Committee that they were expected to assist the NSGF in finding realistic and sustainable solutions to the myriad of problems, especially the general insecurity, afflicting the northern states in particular and Nigeria in general.

The decision of the NSGF to set up this high profile Committee was warmly received by the people in the region and beyond. The general expectations could primarily be attributed to the concern over the gradual drift to anarchy as is experienced by the population.

The Terms of Reference given to the Committee are as follows:

- i. Liaise with Stakeholders in the northern states, particularly the affected states, and get to the root of the security challenges and proffer solutions;
- ii. Dialogue with any identified groups with a view to negotiating the way out of the menace;
- iii. Liaise with the Federal Government and deliberate on the best approach to resolving the security challenges;
- iv. Workout modalities for reconciling warring parties/communities in the North;

- v. Organize meetings and have interactive sessions with stakeholders across the States;
- vi. Engage experts from the Society for Peace Studies & Practice [SPSP], West African Network on Peace building [WANEP] and other relevant organizations for further discussion and strategic inputs;
- vii. Recommend mechanisms for peace building and entrenchment of enduring democratic values at the Ward, Local Government and State levels; and
- viii. Design mechanisms to address youth restiveness and unemployment in the region.

Methodology

- I. Following its inauguration, the Committee adopted the following:
 - a. Brainstorming (internally during plenary, to identify stakeholders in each State);
 - b. Request for Memoranda from the Public;
 - c. Stakeholder Consultations;
 - d. Visit to States;
 - e. Documentation, Review and Analysis of existing Literature, of Memoranda submitted to the Committee, and of previous Reports of Government Committees, White Papers and Commissions of Enquiry.
- ii. The Committee was divided into three Sub-Committees:
 - a. Reconciliation and Healing;
 - b. Security;
 - c. Human and Social Capital Development.
- iii. The Committee called for, received and processed 137 Memoranda, Reports, White papers and Position papers, from most of the 19 northern states. Less than 20% of the Memoranda came from individuals while the majority were from organized groups and institutions. These were documented in electronic form to preserve institutional memory for research and to support the design of general and specific action points being extracted to feed into the final Committee report.
- iv. On Monday 15th October 2012, the Committee, led by its Chairman H.E. Amb. Dr. Zakari Ibrahim, CON, mni, visited the National Security Adviser. The visit included a dialogue session, which was held in company of the Director General of the SSS. The discussions availed the team and the NSA an

opportunity for frank exchange of ideas on the state of security in the northern states.

- v. From 5th December 2012 to 15th January 2013, members of the Committee were assigned in teams to visit six (6) flash point States of Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Plateau, Kano and Kaduna. The visits served the purpose of fact finding, dialogue with stakeholders, commiseration and expression of sympathy, initiating a process of confidence building and restoration of trust towards reconciliation and healing.
- vi. On the 14th January 2013, a meeting of religious leaders and traditional rulers from the northern states was held in Kaduna, led by His Eminence the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji (Dr.) Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III and the Catholic Archbishop of Abuja, His Eminence John Cardinal Onaiyekan. The meeting provided an important opportunity for religious leaders of both faiths to state clearly that the violence and seeming incapacity to co-exist is not rooted in either faith and is to be loudly condemned.
- vii. Further to its mandate, as stated in TOR vi, the Committee entered into serious discussions with International Development Partners and engaged with them in an ongoing process of developing a more comprehensive Plan for the Development of the North, with precise indicators and milestones as well as a monitoring and evaluation framework.
- viii. At the time of its inauguration the Committee was given three months to complete its assignment. In November 2012, the Committee was granted an extension of three months to enable it fulfil its task.
- ix. The Committee submitted its Interim Report on the 14th February 2013. This Interim Report was submitted to the NSGF to provide a brief summary of the findings and the subsequent observations and recommendations there from.
- x. At that point, the Committee on Reconciliation, Healing, and Security had made considerable progress in the task assigned to it and had already achieved remarkable results, by way of gathering information and sensitization, which had obviously influenced the state of mind of people particularly in the six states already visited. However, acknowledging that the processes for attaining the TORs are intensive and long term, the Committee requested that the NSGF consider a further extension to allow

the Committee visit all States (TOR i & v), dialogue with identified groups (TOR ii), and satisfactorily fulfil its tasks of initiating healing and reconciliation (TOR iii, iv, v, vii & viii). This extension was generously granted, the date of completion then extended until 25th April 2013.

- xi. In February members of the Committee were assigned to visit Nasarawa state where, consequent to dialogue with the Governor and some other identified stakeholders, the escalation of a brewing violence was thankfully curtailed.
- xii. A second visit of members of the Committee to Borno, Yobe and Plateau states was undertaken in February where more intensive interactive sessions were held with relevant stakeholders to get to the root of the problems being experienced in these states and to thus identify the best way forward.
- xiii. The Committee continued to dialogue in a non-official way with the insurgents identified in Borno State as it also worked on the completion of this Final Report.
- xiv. In March the Committee visited the House of Representatives, met with the Speaker of the House, Right Hon. Aminu Waziri Tambuwal, and other members of the House, briefed him on the work of the committee and the progress we have made and solicited his co-operation, particularly about the Federal Government entering into dialogue towards achieving political solutions to the insurgency situation.

Scope and Limitations

The Committee experienced administrative and logistical challenges, which limited the Committee to visiting only seven states (Borno, Yobe, Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Plateau, Nasarawa), those we identified as of most immediate priority.

Among the greatest challenges experienced by the Committee were those arising from delayed remittances, inadequacy of the funds, and with the structure of the administration of the funds. These significantly impeded the progress and scope of the assignment.

The time frame given to the Committee, although it was extended, did not permit a visitation to each state to hold interactive sessions with relevant stakeholders.

However, we believe that the findings in the States we have not visited would except, perhaps, for some very few peculiarities, be similar to what we have gleaned from the memoranda, submitted across the states, as well as from visiting the flashpoint States.

Comprehensive Findings, Recommendations and Implementation

This section includes a brief summary of the main issues noted during visits to States and Stakeholder Consultations, from Memos submitted to the NSGF Committee and from an analysis of previous relevant Reports. What is presented here is a brief synthesis of the many grievances and suffering expressed by different communities and individuals. We proffer some recommendations as to how best to confront each particular issue noted and concrete suggestions on how these recommendations can be implemented. We present these below under each of the eight Terms of Reference given to the Committee as its specific mandate.

TOR i: Liaise with Stakeholders in the northern states, particularly the affected states, and get to the root of the security challenges and proffer solutions:

FINDINGS

1. At the root of the security challenges in the Northern States are a variety of factors that tend to differ, in emphasis, from one state to another. These generally include economic issues and narrowing opportunities, conflicts and unhealthy competition around ethnic and religious identities, resource-related conflicts (involving for instance land, territory, and; water bodies); all of which affect relationships between individuals and groups. The case of Fulani herdsmen requires special consideration. Furthermore, the weak adherence to the rule of law promotes impunity as well as a strong feeling of perceived injustice and helplessness from among the populace.
 - a. The conflicts in Plateau, Kaduna and Bauchi States share similar characteristics and contain elements of the factors

mentioned above, albeit disproportionately. These conflicts are mostly rooted in the following:

- Ethnic and religious identities
- Economic inequality,
- Unequal access to political power among ethnic groups,
- The feeling of lack of respect,
- Issues around appointments into traditional leadership positions,
- The deterioration in personal and inter group relationships.

These have snowballed into deep-seated suspicion and the inability to develop cooperative relationships in many instances. These conflicts have been further compounded by the clash over grazing land involving pastoralist Fulani herdsmen and the sedentary indigenous farmers in many rural areas in these states. Due to overlap of ethnic identities with religion it often, unfortunately, finds expression in religion.

- b. Borno, Yobe and Kano States share similar security challenges, which have attained crises proportions in the wake of the Boko Haram insurgency. Although the scope of these security challenges has expanded to engulf most of the northern states today, they are most severe in these three identified states. Several factors have been advanced to explain this security problem, among which are:
- The economic downturn affecting the livelihoods of the citizens resulting in mass poverty;
 - Population growth and unfulfilled expectations;
 - Resource scarcity such as land and water, and the subsequent competition for dwindling resources;
 - Breakdown and deterioration of the strong values and culture in the North;

- The mutual perception of marginalization by Fulani pastoralists and farmers across the states of the north;
 - Ethnicity and the glorification of ethnic differences;
 - The large pool of unskilled, unemployed and indeed unemployable youths, all of whom are ready tools for violence, drug abuse, criminality and insurgency;
 - The narrow scope and poor quality of social amenities, especially in the urban centres of the region;
 - Perceptions of poor governance by the governed;
 - Perceived social injustice;
 - The growing inequality between the rich and the poor;
 - Radicalization of the religious space culminating in provocative and inciting preaching by some religious clerics;
 - The failure of the state through its security agencies to provide security to citizens, leading over time to the evolution of the culture of impunity;
 - The counter insurgency methods of the security agencies that lead to extra-judicial killings, including the killing of the Boko Haram leader Mohammed Yusuf, prompting resistance that mutated into insurgency.
2. There is growing polarization along religious fault lines in the northern states of Nigeria today. Many issues, including even the choice of leaders, tend to be viewed from the prism of a perceived religious divide. Religion often becomes the instrument of offence and defence; and a tool in the hands of desperate groups of people, who utilise it to manipulate the consciousness of the people in the northern states.
3. The transition from military rule to democratic governance in most of the Northern states has not been matched with a corresponding delivery of services that benefit the citizens and the democratic structures that should accord the citizens with

adequate protection and safeguards. Instead, there is growing despair and helplessness, creating the space for armed violence to thrive and for its perpetrators to find justification for doing so.

4. There is increased prevalence of small arms and light weapons in the northern states. The widespread availability and easy access to illicit small arms and light weapons is deeply rooted in the security challenges faced by the people. The widespread proliferation has often led to the acceptance of weapons as a normal part of life and has reduced the incentives to find non-violent solutions to the spiral of insecurity. The easy availability of arms is facilitated by huge cross-border smuggling and mercenary activities (from Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republics for example) deriving from the country's long, porous borders that are poorly policed.
5. Disproportionate use of force as counter insurgency strategy, including the wrong targeting and killing of innocent civilians in the process of targeting insurgents or terrorists by the Joint Task Force/Special Task Force has spurred further grievances, alienating the communities from the security agencies, encouraging the youth to seek radical alternatives and making them susceptible to recruitment by insurgent groups, which leads to a further cycle of violence and insecurity. This is further worsened by the inability of victims to obtain justice, leading to more acrimony.

RECOMMENDATIONS & IMPLEMENTATION

Recommendation 1:

Government at all levels, especially in the affected States, should vigorously promote dialogue and peace building activities among communities to enhance forgiveness, reconciliation as well as trust and confidence building.

Implementation Strategy:

- I. The NSGF should facilitate the emergence of an independent body, at all government levels, composed of civil society groups,

- religious leaders, traditional rulers/leaders, retired judges, youth and women representatives and other stakeholders, to promptly facilitate dialogue/mediation/reconciliation among all aggrieved groups. This facilitating body should be adequately and competently trained in mediation and Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR).
- ii. Promote inter-state visits, dialogue and co-operation among Governors in the Northern states as a means of building trust among communities in the North.
 - iii. Consider initiating a comprehensive study on the damages and losses incurred as a result of violence throughout the region in the last five years (2007-2012).
 - iv. The Northern States Governors should support initiative on the Almajiri system of education that is already on-going in some states, namely Kano, Borno, Yobe, Katsina, Jigawa and Sokoto, with a view to ensuring similar initiatives are adopted in States that do not already have such measures. In order to move towards a peaceful future, the Northern States Governors' Forum should consider providing token monetary and non-monetary relief to victims of violence in conflicts and insurgencies.
 - v. Consider sponsoring one thousand youths from each of the nineteen northern states within a year, for Leadership and Development training conducted by national and international policy and development institutions/agencies to enable them begin the process of self-redemption, confidence building and constructive engagement.
 - vi. Motivate and challenge all the traditional rulers in the North to effectively and efficiently perform their complementary roles with regards to maintenance of law and order as well as security management, especially in monitoring the influx of people within and across their domains.
 - vii. In order to strengthen the capacity and ensure effectiveness of the lower rungs of the traditional institution in maintaining security, a more defined and attractive remuneration package should be designed and implemented immediately.

- viii. The Northern States Governors' Forum should work with pan-Northern pressure groups to help fashion a common vision for the region. This vision should be in line with a Road map, which is in the process of being developed by the Committee in consultation with Development Partners (see Concept Note in Appendix 1).
- ix. Support the expansion of all institutional initiatives such as NIREC and State Peace Committees for promoting ethnic and religious harmony and tolerance to all levels of government in the North.
- x. Involve more women in security and peace building processes in the Northern states.
- xi. The Northern States Governors need to promote the provisions of Chapter Two of the 1999 Constitution, which enjoins social justice and inclusion and underline the fundamental rights of all Nigerian citizens as enshrined in Chapter Four.

Recommendation 2:

Government should initiate a wide-ranging process for the immediate recovery of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) from individuals and groups. In addition, in the States where appointees to the Office of Security Adviser have not been made, the respective Governors of those states may consider and appoint same with minimum delay.

Implementation Strategy:

- I. Governments in the affected states should commence wide ranging consultations with all the stakeholders on the best possible ways and means to retrieve the SALWs from individuals; notwithstanding the feeling of insecurity among those who own such weapons;
- ii. The NSGF should partner with the Federal Government to direct all relevant security agencies to ensure strict enforcement of all the laws and regulations concerning use and trafficking in illegal arms; while negligence on the part of the security agencies should be severely sanctioned to act as a deterrent;

- iii. The Federal Government should be encouraged to support NATCOM to conduct a comprehensive survey of SALWs in circulation and make recommendations on how to curb them;
- iv. The northern states along with civil society groups should embark on a comprehensive sensitization strategy on the dangers of small arms proliferation in the country to tackle the rampant use of such arms for criminal activities;
- v. The NSGF should take up the promotion of confidence-building measures targeting local arms producers with the Federal Government.

Recommendation 3:

Governments in the Northern states should ensure strict compliance with all existing different grades of cattle routes in the region. Furthermore, existing grazing reserves should be preserved and enforced and, new grazing reserves should be developed. In the long run, however, the NSGF should work with the Federal Government to develop scientific and less nomadic methods of animal husbandry that will allow nomadic pastoralists to settle down and raise their livestock in conformity with global best practices.

Implementation Strategy:

- I. Government should ensure that each State should define its own cattle grazing routes which will then be harmonized with those of adjacent states;
- ii. Governments should secure existing grazing reserves;
- iii. State governments with capacity and who have need should create new grazing reserves;
- iv. NSGF to appoint a Committee to work with the FGN to come up with a long term research-driven framework of settling nomadic Fulani pastoralists and changing the methods of raising their livestock.

Recommendation 4:

The Northern Governors should work with the Federal Government to ensure that Security Agencies, especially the Joint Task Force/Special Task Force, adopt the intelligence-led approach to security that reduces the over reaction of security agencies in their operational areas.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. Promote the utilization of safe spaces like palaces, public schools, LG secretariats, 'zauren shawara', to engender dialogue between security forces and citizens;
- ii. Security forces should be trained in means of engaging host communities with a view to gaining their trust and confidence;
- iii. End impunity within the security forces by conducting independent investigations and the prosecution of cases of alleged abuse;
- iv. Ensure strong civilian oversight of all security forces;
- v. Ensure that the relationship and responsibility between the forces is clarified and coordination and team work is engendered.

Recommendation 5:

In view of the problems associated with the indigene/settler divide nationwide, the Federal Government should find practical and non-confrontational ways of addressing the problem. Meanwhile, NSGF, through its various States, should map out affected areas in the region. This could be of strategic importance.

Implementation Strategy:

The current constitutional review process provides an opportunity to do so.

Recommendation 6:

- i. The NSGF should set machinery in motion to articulate a common vision for the North.

- ii. Northern Governors should commit to implement an agro-based industrialization scheme which will promote inclusive growth, respond to and reduce poverty, inequality and promote gender empowerment.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. In order to ensure the sharing of the vision of setting up this Committee and to secure the support in the implementation of its recommendations, the NSGF should convene a high-powered dialogue. Among those to be invited are key actors, past and present, in the Judiciary, Executive, Legislature and organized private sector. This dialogue could be facilitated by a post-implementation committee or coordinating group with specific mandate from the NSGF.
- ii. Using existing and new community citizen engagement forums, the various State Governments can encourage participation and patronage of small & medium scale farmers to input into the design, implementation and sustenance of the agro-based industrialization scheme.

TOR ii: Dialogue with any identified groups with a view to negotiating the way out of the menace:

In furtherance of the assignment in TOR (ii), members of the Committee capitalised on the opening for dialogue with an identified group of insurgents who asserted that they were led by one Sheikh Abdulazeez who claimed to be the second-in-command to Sheikh Abubakar Shekau who is believed to be the acclaimed group leader of the Jama'atu-Ahlis-Sunnah lid Da'awati wal Jihad (Boko Haram). This opening for dialogue was facilitated by the corroboration of the Borno elders, the Governor of Borno State and some members of our own Committee, as well as by the fact that some members of the aggrieved group were willing to come forward seeking for dialogue. The dialogue took place in Maiduguri on the 24th February 2013 in a safe space provided for this event by the state Government.

FINDINGS

1. The group assured us that many of their members have realised their mistakes and want to surrender their arms. Their greatest fear is betrayal of trust.
2. There is evident mismanagement of the dialogue process as evidenced by past efforts towards reconciliation so that members who came forward to talk were instead captured or killed, resulting in distrust in the sincerity of the government in supporting dialogue as a process to solve the problem.
3. The Government of Borno State has on several occasions established contacts with some of the top commanders of the group.
4. Many of the young members of the group are seriously engrossed in drug abuse and are thus captives in the hands of their manipulators.
5. According to the group, the cause of increased anger and grievance among them, is the fact that there are many citizens in detention without trial, having been arrested and detained by security agencies as 'suspects' including suspected friends/family members of the insurgency.
6. One particular woman, of credible standing in the Borno community, is trusted as a mother figure and has committed herself to acting as liaison person between the group and the Committee members.
7. "Insurgency" has become a franchise for political violence, economic competition and criminal activities, which have also expanded its scope and effect throughout the entire region. The cover Boko Haram has become the disguise of opportunist criminals in deepening the insecurity and divisions along religious divides.
8. There is a ripple effect of the insurgency into many other states of the country.
9. There is lack of synergy and cooperation between the security agencies themselves and between the security agencies and the

- v. The NSGF should in addition demand the collaboration of the Federal Government in support for and in the implementation of the Plan for the Development of the North as is proposed in this Report (see Appendix 1).

Recommendation 5:

There is a particular woman, of credible standing in the Borno community, who is trusted as a mother figure and who has committed herself to acting as liaison person between the group and the NSGF Committee members. The Committee recommends that this link be availed of, protected and strengthened as the dialogue process begins.

Recommendation 6:

The NSGF should demand for the immediate release of innocent persons (individuals and institution representatives) from detention centres across the country, as well as where appropriate, to expedite the completion of investigations or prosecutions with respect to those that the security agencies have evidence of involvement, in accordance with the tenets of the rule of law.

Recommendation 7:

The NSGF should ensure the improved policing of our borders.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. The NSGF should liaise with the Federal Government to build advanced border fencing, equipped with appropriate electronic alarm and coordinated image monitoring devices to cover the whole of the northern Nigerian border.
- ii. For the immediate, a special border patrol outfit (with similar role as coast guards) may be formed; a combined operation of military, immigration and customs may be trained to start operations immediately to curtail the influx of dangerous weapons and foreign insurgency elements into the country, particularly, the northern states.

- iii. The national identity card program should be completed nationwide and should be rigorously enforced to ensure easy identification of nationals and aliens. Aliens that are found to be in Nigeria's territory without proper documentation should be deported in accordance with the provisions of the Immigration Act and in compliance with Nigeria's Constitution.

Recommendation 8:

The NSGF should call on the Federal Government to contribute more significantly to the maintenance, the enhancing of capacity and training of, as well as the equipping of the security agencies in the north. Thus, the Northern State Governors can ensure that state government funds, which are meant for infrastructural and social and human capital development in the states, are used solely for that purpose.

Recommendation 9:

The Northern Governors should ensure greater synergy between the security agencies and the local population.

Implementation Strategy:

Community based intelligence systems such as stakeholder forums and interaction with the traditional rulers should be commenced by the security agencies in communities to empower the local communities in information sharing and necessary actions.

TOR iii: Liaise with the Federal Government and deliberate on the best approach to resolving the security challenges:

The Committee met and held discussions with the National Security Adviser and the Director General of State Security Service, the Speaker House of Representatives and some other members of the House. Some Committee members individually had informal discussions with many highly placed Northern Nigerians in position of authority and influence and other stakeholders. Among the many issues discussed pertaining to challenges of reconciliation, healing and security in the northern states, the following insights were notable:

FINDINGS

1. The Federal Government is committed to finding a durable solution to the insurgency situation as well as to the situation of insecurity and violent conflict too often experienced in the northern states.
2. The Federal Government is looking at the issue of acquiring more advanced technological surveillance equipment and infrastructure to respond more adequately to the issues of insurgency, including the excessive congestion at traffic check points.
3. According to the Federal Government, and contrary to the perception of the majority of citizens in the country and particularly in the states visited by the Committee, the modus operandi of the security forces is justified by the current insecurity. In responding to the situation, the security forces are doing what is required of them, too many of them having already lost their lives in the course of duty just as indeed too many civilians have also done.
4. The scope of cultism in our Institutions of Learning is a fertile ground for the escalation of violence and the recruitment of potential insurgents, and is a worrisome security challenge.
5. The absence of co-operation between members of the society and the security agencies has been noted by the security agencies, particularly in Borno and Yobe States, and this helps to increase the security challenges in the region.

RECOMMENDATIONS & IMPLEMENTATION

- i. There is an urgent need to pressure the Federal Government to review its counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy, which is generating general discontent in the flash point States, leading to failure of the public to co-operate with security forces. It should begin a phased withdrawal of the military personnel from the current internal security operations in all parts of the North with a corresponding strengthening of the police force (number, quality, strategy, equipment and logistics).

- ii. The NSGF should encourage and support a comprehensive security management system with community content.
- iii. The Committee has evidence of persistent demands for the prosecution of suspects or release of innocent persons arrested and detained by security agencies in the wake of insurgency in flash point states of Kano, Borno, Yobe, Bauchi and other states in the North. Hence, the NSGF should demand for the immediate release of innocent persons (individuals and institution representatives) from detention centres across the country, as well as where appropriate, to expedite the completion of investigations or prosecutions of those against whom there is evidence in accordance with the tenets of the rule of law.

TOR iv: Workout modalities for reconciling warring parties/communities in the North:

FINDINGS

1. The delay in recognising that the security challenges of the northern region are in fact national matters, and such delay in responding promptly and appropriately, have intensified the insurgency and insecurity issues thereby making reconciliation even more challenging.
2. There is an increasing loss of trust and confidence in government's response to tensions and the sundry incidents of breakdown of law and order primarily due to citizen fatigue from the culture of committee formations and subsequent non-implementation of the findings of such Committees.
3. There is a growing culture of impunity evident in the weak enforcement and compliance with the rule of law at all levels of governance and with the non-prosecution of indicted persons and institutions, which undermines the moral credibility of government and even of institutions of faith and culture to foster reconciliation.
4. People hold deep-seated grievances resulting from concrete experiences of violence and persecution based on

religious/ethnic identity both within the ranks of citizens and in social and governance structures. These experiences strengthen religious and ethnic mistrust and polarization on the basis of faith and ethnicity.

RECOMMENDATIONS & IMPLEMENTATION

Recommendation 1:

To chart the course of peace and stability in the northern states of Nigeria in particular, the Committee acknowledges the initiative of the Federal Government of Nigeria in its present efforts towards dialogue. The NSGF should work with the Federal Government to grant a sovereign act of general pardon to the Boko Haram insurgent group for their past offenses against the country conditional upon the group's return to obedience and the renunciation of violence within a period to be prescribed.

Implementation Strategy:

- I. The NSGF should work with the Federal Government to appoint a special Committee to do the following:
 - a. Extract a ceasefire agreement with a distinct purpose of suspending aggressive actions, within an agreed timeframe in order to build positive momentum for dialogue with the insurgent group;
 - b. Facilitate a pre-negotiation agreement, delineating procedural issues such as schedules, agendas, participants and location, as well as the roles of the negotiating team and the procedure for the drafting of a comprehensive peace agreement;
 - c. Build effective confidence for dialogue and also facilitate the setting up of the zero hour for the ceasefire understanding to enter into effect.
- ii. The Committee should among others:
 - a. Seek the commitment of the Insurgent group to refrain from acts such as mobilization, recruitment or initiatives that are

- likely to jeopardize the peace process including offensive militia actions, movements, deployment of forces, and engaging in hostile propaganda campaigns as a reaffirmation of commitment to create and maintain a favourable atmosphere.
- b. Seek commitment from the government not to embark on any offensive against the insurgent group and a guarantee for the creation of an appropriate security condition for the unimpeded flow of humanitarian assistance and goods, guarantee security in the camps hosting Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and the creation of conducive, non-intimidating environment for the voluntary return to their areas of abode.
 - c. Ensure that the civilian population is not subjected to violence, intimidation, threats, forced displacement and gender-based violence.
 - d. Design a process that allows all political forces, communities and civil society organizations to play an effective role in achieving a comprehensive peace.
- iii. The NSGF should liaise with the Federal Government to appoint a negotiating team, consisting of credible persons representing critical stakeholders and empowered to dialogue with the insurgent group.
 - iv. The NSGF should liaise with the Federal Government to release persons associated with the insurgency, after careful documentation, and UNICEF, UNHCR, and the ICRC/RC should be called upon to assist in the identification, removal, de-radicalization, family unification and reintegration of children associated with the insurgency.
 - v. The NSGF should liaise with the Federal Government to take steps to facilitate the registration of all persons who are determined to be unlawfully detained in relation to the insurgency, for the purposes of their unconditional release and of compensating them for unlawful detention.

- vi. The NSGF should liaise with the Federal Government to put in place proper mechanisms for the demobilization, de-radicalization, rehabilitation and social reintegration of former combatants returning to civilian life. These mechanisms include:
 - a. Appoint a specialized Committee to undertake the process of demobilization and disarmament.
 - b. Appoint a high powered and specialized Committee on de-radicalization, consisting of renowned religious leaders, to impact on the consciousness of the demobilised and disarmed members of the erstwhile insurgent group.
 - c. Appoint a credible Committee on reintegration representing critical stakeholders from the relevant conflict zones to embark on the process of reintegrating the former members of the insurgent group.
- vii. The NSGF should liaise with the Federal Government to establish a Rehabilitation Trust Fund, with contributions from all levels of government, the private sector, donor agencies and individuals.
- viii. The Governments of the affected States should establish a Compensation and Restitution Commission to identify the victims of the insurgency and counter insurgency operations and deal with claims for compensation.
- ix. The Northern States Governors' Forum should demand of the Federal Government to assume its responsibility to ameliorate the condition of victims of collateral damage arising from the counter-insurgency operations in line with international best practice.
- x. State Governments should embark on symbolic reparation and extend psychological and social support to victims, including erecting headstones, building memorials, renaming public facilities, and establishing days of remembrance.

Recommendation 2:

Promote equal justice for all citizens of the North without discrimination. There is an urgent need to carefully implement all

recommendations of the various Committees, Commissions and Panels set up by the Federal Government and Governments of the affected States to investigate many crises and civil disturbances.

Recommendation 3:

- i. Traditional rulers should remain insulated from partisan politics, in order to maintain their moral standing to play a mediatory role during disputes, and to safeguard the integrity of their offices and their independence.
- ii. Traditional Rulers should be accorded specific responsibilities with commensurate delegated authority for security management, among other things, in their domains.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. In order to strengthen the capacity and ensure effectiveness of the lower rungs of the traditional institution in maintaining security, a more defined and attractive remuneration package should be designed and implemented immediately.

Recommendation 4:

Promote religious harmony in all the states in the North.

Implementation Strategy:

- I. The Northern Governors should support religious organizations to develop a Code of Ethics to self-regulate their behaviour and hold the relevant leaderships responsible for breaches.
- ii. The various Religious Preaching Laws of most of the Northern States of Nigeria should be reviewed and updated by the religious leaders to meet the current security challenges facing the region and introduce measures to ensure those who deviate are held accountable.
- iii. Promote a sense of belonging for all Northerners by ensuring Christians in predominantly Muslim states, and Muslims in predominantly Christian States, more equitable and productive

- participation in areas of power and positions of significance in the State bureaucracy.
- iv. Abolish all discriminatory state policies towards religious groups, particularly in the areas of access to lands for places of worship, or access to media spaces for religious broadcasts.
 - v. Support the expansion of the structure and scope of NIREC and similar interfaith agencies within Nigeria to all levels of government in the northern States. Religious leaders, through NIREC or other interfaith bodies, should be encouraged to give public witness to unity of purpose and mutual respect.
 - vi. The teaching of Islamic and Christian religious education must become an enforceable part of the curriculum of all schools irrespective of how many children there are of each faith.
 - vii. Northern Governors must protect the rights of all citizens to the freedom of religion and ensure that the constitutional rights of those who convert to one religion or the other are protected.
 - viii. The State Governors should find concrete ways of reaching out to places of worship, which have suffered destruction over the years. Frank and honest dialogue should be held and adequate compensation given to help communities in the rebuilding of their infrastructure.
 - ix. The media and other means should be used to sensitize religious adherents so that they do not associate their fellow country men or women with offensive actions carried out, in Nigeria or abroad, by people assumed to be speaking for or promoting the interest of the other religious body.

Recommendation 5:

The laws governing the use of derogatory and offensive language which has the effect of denigrating human dignity and freedoms of any person should be enforced in all northern states and appropriate sanctions should be applied to hold persons and institutions accountable.

Recommendation 6:

The NSGF should promote the culture of exchange of visits among traditional rulers, Governors, media executives, and business community leaders, and of students exchange programmes within the North.

Recommendation 7:

The NSGF should use the media effectively to create awareness about the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Sections 10, 14, 15, 17 and Fundamental Rights under Chapter Four of the 1999 Constitution, and to promote the culture of civilized dialogue and of tolerance of persons with different beliefs, self-restraint, equality of constituent groups, respect for the rule of law and an impartial government.

Recommendation 8:

- i. The NSGF should invoke the corporate social responsibilities of the private sector where available to support the economic empowerment of the people and the development of the region.
- ii. The NSGF should encourage the professionalization of the NNDC or the Association of Northern States' Chambers of Commerce or any other appropriate institution, so that these play key roles in the implementation of development programmes and the creation of opportunities in the North.
- iii. The NSGF should make concerted utilisation of all available economic incentive schemes from the Federal Government and from international and local development agencies (SMEDAN, NAPEP, MDG Office, NDE etc.) and finance institutions (CBN, BOI, BOA etc.).

Implementation Strategy:

The NSGF should ensure the implementation of the Plan for the Development of the North proposed below under TOR vii (see also Appendix 1).

Recommendation 9:

In recognition of the relevance of culture and history in nation building, the NSGF should take steps to enhance understanding of our history and appreciation of the diverse cultures of our northern state communities and in Nigeria as a whole..

Implementation Strategy:

The NSGF should ensure that cultural and agricultural shows are developed/reintroduced. Cultural events (display of artefacts, dances, drama, durbar etc), and intellectual activities (lectures and conferences on culture and history) should be organised. Such events can be rotated among the states and can be developed as a tourist attraction with significant economic benefits.

Recommendation 10:

Governors in their respective states should ensure that there are rigorous campaigns for forgiveness to help the people realize that forgiveness is the only path to healing and to creating a more peaceful, harmonious and productive future.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. All Governors should make a special address to the people in their respective states to urge them to forgive all those who have offended them and to begin anew.
- ii. Ministries of information to frequently broadcast jingles and pleas from prominent leaders in the state about forgiveness and peace.
- iii. Governments in each State should use the Radio and Television to broadcast messages around forgiveness and peace and other messages about unity, growth and development.
- iv. NSGF should set aside a day to symbolize forgiveness. It shall be called NORTHERN STATES FORGIVENESS DAY to be honoured by all the people in the States of the North.

TOR v: Organize meetings and have interactive sessions with stakeholders across the States:

Forms of engagement range from direct and indirect engagements to face-to-face dialogue to facilitate negotiations of positions to set up the parameters for sustainable peace. Against the backdrop of this principle, the NSGF Committee on reconciliation, healing and security in fulfilment of its mandate, especially TORs (ii) and (v), identified and organized meetings with a wide cross section of stakeholders in seven out of the nineteen (19) Northern States with particular reference to flash point States of Borno, Yobe, Plateau, Bauchi, Kaduna, Kano, and lastly Nasarawa and the Federal Capital Territory.

The findings and recommendations presented in this Report already reflect what was gathered from these visits and interactions. However, some general observations pertaining to all States and some specific observations pertaining to particular States are made below:

GENERAL FINDINGS

- i. The situation of insecurity is a burden on the resources of the State Governments, resources that should be used for social and human capital services and infrastructure development.
- ii. The activities of the insurgents as well as the security measures put in place as a response to these activities have strangulated economic activities, social freedom especially in flash point states.
- iii. Strong feelings of abandonment and lack of empathy and sympathy, from even other northerners on their plight, were expressed by the leaders and people of the North-East, especially Borno State.
- iv. The respect and authority inherent in the role and position of Traditional Rulers needs to be accorded to them as tradition demands and some authority need to be delegated to them, especially in terms of community security management.

SPECIFIC FINDINGS

Borno State

Borno State is the epicentre of the insurgency. The Committee paid two visits to the State. During the first, on the 5th December 2012, it held three interactive sessions, with the Governor, the Shehu of Borno and the Borno Elders Forum respectively. It was deemed fit to conduct a second visit to the State and this was realized on the 21st February 2013. During this second visit, the Committee met with the Governor, the Shehu of Borno, the Borno Elders Forum, and a link person and members of the identified group of insurgents who claim to be led by one Sheikh Abdulazeez who also claimed to be the second-in-command to Sheikh Abubakar Shekau who is the acclaimed group leader of the Jama'atu-Ahlis Sunnah lid Da'awati wal Jihad (Boko Haram).

- i. The findings of these visits and the subsequent recommendations we make are already documented above under TOR ii.
- ii. There is commitment of some of the leaders of the group we met to peace and dialogue.
- iii. The willingness and commitment of the members of the insurgents to lay down their arms was loudly expressed, on condition of trust.
- iv. The Governor has met on various occasions with the leaders of the insurgent groups, who have shown willingness to lay down their arms and be part of the community, but the weak support of the Federal Government for the initiative of dialogue and amnesty stagnated this process.
- v. The Borno Elders Forum as a platform has consistently played a significant role in seeking solutions to the present problems, including reaching out through their members to some of the members of the insurgent groups.
- vi. The Committee found a lack of recognition and respect for the Borno Elders Forum shown particularly by the hierarchy of the security structures, and this greatly weakens their capacity to play

their role effectively and results in the loss of the opportunity to combine forces for more strategic and positive peace building. The maltreatment of former Governor, Alhaji Muhammadu Goni, is a case in point.

- vii. In Borno State the incidents of attack have mainly targeted government institutions, traditional rulers and persons and politicians close to government, pointing to grievances perceived against political and traditional institutions.
- viii. There is consistent outcry from the stakeholders about the highhandedness and extra judicial killings and destruction of properties by the JTF.
- ix. There is evidence of despondency, helplessness and hopelessness among the youths in particular leading to drug abuse, violence, stealing and other vices.

Yobe State

Yobe State is greatly affected by the insurgency, and was in fact the birthplace of the original so-called new Taliban, which is at the root of today's Jama'atu-AhliSunnah lid Da'awati wal Jihad (Boko Haram). The Committee paid two visits to Yobe State. During the first, on the 5th December, 2012, it held an interactive session with the Deputy Governor and members of the State's Executive Council. This was followed by an interactive session with some stakeholders. It was deemed fit to conduct a second visit to Yobe State and this was realized on the 23rd February 2013. During this second visit, the Committee met with the Secretary to the State Government followed by a stakeholders meeting where the JTF Commander and the Director of the State Security Services were in attendance.

- I. The relationship between the Government and the security forces in Yobe State is markedly robust and positive, as compared to other states.
- ii. In Yobe State the incidents of attack seem more geared towards incitement to instigate and aggravate religious harmony among the populace.

Plateau State

Plateau state is home to a protracted conflict contextualised within the challenges of the management of diversity and tolerance in co-existence. The Committee paid two visits to Plateau state. The first took place on the 14th and 15th December, 2012. The Committee held an interactive session with the Governor and members of the Executive Council; an interactive session with the Gbong Gwom Jos and his Traditional Council; an interactive stakeholders meeting with twenty-seven categories of stakeholders in attendance (see list of stakeholders in appendix). The Committee returned for a second visit, and had closed door dialogue with the Gbong Gwom Jos and his traditional Council, and another closed door session with representatives of the Hausa, the Fulani, the Yoruba and a few others.

- i. Despite clear observable conflict fatigue among all circles, government and citizens, the unwillingness of all parties to consider shifts in ground has proved to be a serious impediment to progress along the path of conflict resolution and transformation.
- ii. However, following the second visit of the Committee, the Hausa-Fulani have expressed a willingness to shift grounds and have even presented a new position to the Committee. There is a need for this position to be conveyed to the traditional institution to facilitate a logical conclusion to the leadership issues of the Hausa-Fulani in Jos.
- iii. The relationship between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers continues as a festering sore in Plateau State that must be attended to. This Report already includes relevant recommendations with reference to grazing routes and to the modernisation of pastoralist and agricultural methods.

Bauchi State

The Committee visited Bauchi on 13th December 2012 and met first with the Deputy Governor who represented the Governor, and the Executive Council members. This was followed by a visit to the Palace of the Emir

of Bauchi where it met with him together with five other Emirs from the Emirate Councils in the State. Then the Committee held an interactive stakeholders meeting in the Government House at which many groups from the state were represented (see list in Appendix).

The conflict in Bauchi state can be contextualised around three major axis: firstly, the issues of chieftaincy between the Bauchi Emirate and the Sayawa people; secondly, the ripple effect of the Boko Haram occasioned by the incarceration of those Boko Haram suspects captured at different locations, in the Bauchi Central Prison; thirdly, the curtailment of the deployment of JTF in the capital and within some of the major townships of the State.

- i. The process of the appointment by the Bauchi Emirate Council of the Chieftom for the Sayawa people has been stagnated by a court case instituted by the Sayawa, and it is yet to be determined.
- ii. The response of the security agencies to the incidence of the prison break, which was to allegedly release the suspects incarcerated there, scaled up retaliatory attacks by the insurgents on the State.
- iii. Despite the above, the deployment of JTF structures in the State was curtailed through the establishment of effective structures for citizen security maintenance and this reduced the potential for heightening of acrimonies.

Kaduna State

The Committee visited Kaduna on 15th January 2013. A meeting was held with the Governor and members of the Executive Council in the Government house. This was followed by a meeting with traditional and religious rulers from across the Northern States, chaired by His Eminence the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji (Dr.) Muhaamad Sa'ad Abubakar III and the Catholic Archbishop of Abuja, His Eminence John Cardinal Onaiyekan. This was also followed by a stakeholders meeting at which all the Chieftoms and Emirates in Kaduna State as well as many other ethnic, faith and civil society groups were represented. (See list of participants in Appendix.)

- i. The emergence and activities of many interfaith and peace building groups in Kaduna state in response to the lingering crisis in the State, and the fact that, over the years, chieftaincies and other subject matters of tensions have been addressed with strong political will of the leadership of the State, have resulted in considerable progress being made.
- ii. However, findings indicate that there are unresolved issues and tensions, which have been escalated by the emergence of the insurgency challenges, which also have the coloration of religion. This is evidenced by the targeting mainly of churches, and mosques, which has resulted in the awakening of grievances with the potential of losing the gains already made.
- iii. The Governor of Kaduna expressed his commitment to building on the foundations laid by his predecessors in working towards coexistence, peace and security.
- iv. There is clear commitment of the leaderships of faith and culture to ensure the sustenance of the gains made as well as to exploit new avenues towards increased harmony and peace.

Kano State

The Committee visited Kano on the 13th and 14th December 2013. The Committee first visited the Palace of the Emir and met with him and members of the Emirate Council. The Committee then met with the Governor and members of the Executive Council in Government House. A stakeholders meeting was held in Government House and a second such meeting was held in Bayero University Kano (BUK).

- i. Kano has over the years been a fulcrum of negative response to tensions around Nigeria and beyond. Some of the characteristics which are at the root of this peculiarity of Kano are the fight for space between inter and intra religious groupings, propelled by a poor social fabric, a general lack of adequate knowledge and exposure to issues among the population, and a willingness to use religion and ethnicity as offensive tools.

- ii. In such a context the insurgency would have found fertile ground for escalation. However, the character of the current insurgency differs significantly from the norm. Rather than being a reaction from the people to external events, it is instead an attack on the people, striking prominent people in Kano society ranging from Islamic leaders, law enforcement agencies and their structures, to traditional leaders, politicians of all levels, mosques, churches, academic institutions and people in other prominent social circles.
- iii. There is consistent outcry from the stakeholders about the highhandedness and extra judicial killings and destruction of properties by the JTF.

Nasarawa State

The Committee visited Lafia, the capital of Nasarawa State, on 19th February 2013. The main purpose of the visit was to commiserate with the Governor and the people of the State on the outbreak of hostility and to appeal to them to resolve the situation before further escalation. The Committee met with the Governor together with the major stakeholders including traditional leaders and the parties in conflict, namely the Eggons, the Alagos, the Gwaandaras and the Fulani, which were all represented by credible leaders. The discussion provided an opportunity for the parties involved to review their issues and to seek a solution. The Governor was advised to ensure greater political balancing and economic equity in the State, to carry people of all religions and ethnicities along.

- i. The crisis, largely an inter-ethnic one, on issues of farmland and access to economic and political resources, has been a long-standing one.
- ii. The spontaneity of response by this Committee to visit Nasarawa State was largely informed by its mandate to 'Workout modalities for reconciling warring parties/communities in the North' (TOR iv) and the need to curtail this conflict before it escalated in line with the current insecurity challenges in the region.

TOR vi: Engage experts from relevant organizations for further discussions and strategic input:

FINDINGS

Further to its mandate, the Committee engaged the following International Experts:

1. The Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP).

The NSRP (DFID supported) works in areas of conflict, youth unemployment with a high emphasis on women and youth involvement in peace processes, and a focus on research and media. The group pledged to provide support to the Committee in the areas of reconciliation and in the two most important aspects of the conflict resolution: unemployment/resource control and indigene/settler skirmishes.

2. Educational Sector Support of Nigeria (ESSPIN)

Research conducted by ESSPIN focused on 3 major areas, basically on the capacities of Teachers, Head Teachers and the learning process and they offered their support in enhancing capacity in their field of expertise.

3. The World Bank

The Bank elected to work in collaboration with other development partners in evolving effective synergy, building consensus to avoid duplication of responsibilities amongst parties, in structuring enhanced and sustained development programs for the region.

4. International Development Partners, led by the World Bank. These partners include DFID, EU, USAID, AFD, AFDB, IMF, UNDP, UN, Canada, JICA, Japan, World Bank and GIZ.

An assessment of the situation in the North was shared with all the partners and it was agreed that there was a need to work on two fronts: quick win empowerment efforts for the majority of the population in the region, whilst also developing a more comprehensive framework covering a wider range of challenges,

with precise indicators and milestones as well as a monitoring and evaluation framework to ensure accountability.

RECOMMENDATIONS & IMPLEMENTATION

- i. On education, the Northern State Governments are advised to collaborate with the Federal Government to focus on the larger issues such as the review of the curriculum for teacher education, school reforms, school based management and development, family and community participation in school activities and linking training workshops to schools.
- ii. Northern State Governments should devise a mechanism that provides effective teacher training with external support, advisory services and post workshop mentoring; Funds provided through SUBEB should be utilized to achieve stated objectives. Similarly, the Head Teacher and the Community must be engaged to participate fully in the entire process to ensure reasonable degree of responsibility, sustainability and accountability.
- iii. There is need to translate policies into action, with each of the policies formulated being backed by the desired funding. As such, there is the need for an integrated approach that will involve all identified factors that will bring about the desired change.
- iv. Beyond the determination of the Committee's tenure, the designated Sub Committee team need to continue working with the World Bank and other Development Partners, to finalise both strategic documents; namely; the short term intervention Concept Note and the comprehensive, Long Term Road Map for the Northern States, with a view to ensuring the strict and uninterrupted implementation of their contents.

Implementation Strategy:

1. The **Concept Note**, (see Appendix 1 attached to this Report), aimed at targeting youth restiveness in the Northern States and essentially developed as an immediate intervention strategy to curb youth restiveness, unemployment and underemployment,

should be introduced to the various relevant stakeholders such as the Northern Governors Forum (as the primary convener), the individual State Governments, the NSA's office, NAPEP, etc, for the purposes of urgent engagement and implementation.

2. A special purpose, private sector-driven vehicle be created and funded to implement the content of the **Road Map** (see Appendix 1 attached to this Report), capturing educational, health and empowerment strategies, to be implemented on a sustained basis, across the Northern States. Such a vehicle is an imperative to ensure continuity over a period of 10-15 years in spite of the changes in Government personnel and policies.

TOR vii: Recommend mechanisms for peace building and entrenchment of enduring democratic values at the Ward, Local Government and State levels:

FINDINGS

- i. There is an alarmingly low rating in the context of development indices of most of the states in the region (Health, Education, Poverty, Youth development and Women empowerment).
- ii. Violence and monetization of all political processes have been identified as restricting the political space and excluding many potential political actors, resulting in a serious disconnect between the political class and the electorate.
- iii. The use of youths as political thugs is widespread with dangerous consequences of militarising them and exposing them to living dangerously through extensive drug abuse. This has huge negative implications on human resource availability for social and economic development of the Northern States.
- iv. There is limited participation of the local government and communities in the provision of appropriate facilities and the identification as well as implementation of social services.
- v. There is near absence of sound programmes to provide safety nets for the poor and the vulnerable.

RECOMMENDATIONS & IMPLEMENTATION

Recommendation 1:

Governments in the Northern States should strengthen democratic practice and institutions, provide socio-economic and human rights, the rule of law, delivery of public services, citizen engagement and ensure government accountability.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. Increase synergy & coordination amongst the various States, as well as within and between the LGA's of all the Northern State Governments to facilitate effective, timely, accountable and transparent execution of programmes in the communities, from design to delivery;
- ii. Government needs to promote prudence and public accountability in order to channel more resources for human security development and public service delivery.
- iii. The NSGF should strengthen existing initiatives for citizen engagement to promote rapport and more constructive planning and execution between the government and the governed.
- iv. Government should impress on INEC and SIEC to regulate the monetization of all political processes.
- v. Government should outlaw the use of political thugs at all levels and enforce the law appropriately, holding the sponsors of such thugs responsible as co-partners for all the misdeeds of the thugs.
- vi. Both short-term employment provision and longer-term strategies for expanding economic opportunity and social empowerment should be pursued to reduce the vulnerability of populations to radical messages.
- vii. The Northern State governments are advised to make demonstrable moves towards more accountable and democratic governance and more consultation with affected communities as a means to effectively defuse the drivers of discontent.

- viii. Political leaders must show greater openness and accountability. NSGF should wage war on corruption in the Northern States as it has become a very serious impediment to the realization of the goals of peace, security and development.
- ix. All political parties should observe internal democracy in their selection process as provided for in their laws.

TOR viii: Design mechanisms to address youth restiveness and unemployment in the region:

FINDINGS

- i. There is wide-ranging unemployment in the region, which results in a dissatisfied, impoverished population as well as an army of unskilled, vulnerable, restive youth all over the region who have become cannon fodder for insurgency and all other political tensions.
- ii. There is an underlying resentment and apprehension for development initiatives among the general populace, whether these initiatives are from national, international or even private parties. This is largely because the content and packaging of some of the development programmes have not included a sensitization of the citizens or their inclusion in designing the developmental programmes.
- iii. The packaging and the non/mal-execution of many developmental programmes have resulted in a disenfranchisement of citizens.
- iv. There are grave concerns around the acknowledged human capital development index of the entire Northern region arising from, among others, the high incidence of maternal and child morbidity and mortality, low rate of education for the girl child and the poor arrangements for continuing education for school dropouts and divorcees. Unskilled, uneducated and immature girls are married off (and divorced) at a young age, further depreciating the human resource indices of the region.

RECOMMENDATIONS & IMPLEMENTATION

Recommendation 1:

The Northern Governors, in collaboration with the Federal Government should intensify efforts at reducing poverty, ensuring sustainable development, improving human development indicators, and making significant progress toward achieving the MDGs by 2015 and beyond.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. The NSGF should ensure the implementation of the Plan for the Development of the North proposed in this document (see Appendix 1). Most of the suggestions made below are already incorporated into that Plan.
- ii. As part of the Plan for the Development of the North various funds must be set up by the NSGF, in collaboration with other local and international agencies, such as a special Northern Youth and Women Empowerment Fund for the Northern states.
- iii. The NSGF should provide a comprehensive poverty reduction, social protection strategy and wealth creation program for the region.
- iv. The Federal and State Governments should collaborate with the private sector and in productive and transparent partnership with the local communities, to establish large farm-settlements and develop agricultural and agro-allied industrial development programmes to address economic development, youth unemployment and social security.
- v. The Northern State Governors should pay attention to exploring and exploiting the natural resources of the region for more rapid economic development of the North, especially solid minerals. They should also create an enabling environment to encourage private initiatives in this respect.
- vi. Governments are to create conducive atmosphere for the growth of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs).



- vii. Within a year, Northern State Governors are encouraged to sponsor at least one thousand youths from each of the nineteen northern states, for the Leadership and Development training to enable them begin the process of self-redemption, confidence building and constructive engagement.
- viii. In particular, the Borno State Government should take advantage of the six (6) abandoned Vocational Schools located at Maiduguri, Biu, Monguno, Lassa, Gwoza, and Bama to train members of the insurgent group and others who would be ready to renounce violence and embrace peace.
- ix. The Northern State Governors should avail of specific Youth Groups such as Student Unions, and youth faith groups like the Muslim Students' Society and the Fellowship of Christian Students, to consult with the youth on development programmes in the Northern states and to include them in its youth empowerment programmes.
- x. The Federal, State and local Governments should examine and properly reform the triple social institutions of the 'Almajiri', the Girl-child Basic Education and Nomadic Education, as appropriate and make education accessible to these target beneficiaries. Introduction of youth skill-acquisition programmes and empowerment in schools should also be promoted. Government should also expand the sphere of formal education to include all classes of people.
- xi. Government should ensure that the Almajiri system is reformed such that the children and teachers are integrated into the formal school system and regulated by appropriate laws. Accordingly, Government should set up a body to reform the Almajiri system nationwide.
- xii. Facilitate mass participation in amateur sports from the grassroots level with a view to discovering sports talents in the various states of the North. Sports should form an integral part of the curriculum in Primary and Secondary Schools, and inter-state sports among secondary schools in the northern states should be reintroduced.

Recommendation 2:

The NSGF should take the necessary steps to address the high incidence of maternal and child mortality, low rate of education for the girl child and the poor arrangements for continuing education for school dropouts and divorcees.

Implementation Strategy:

- i. A framework and structured mechanism for compliance with, and the enforcement of the existing laws and policies on education (Universal Basic Education) and healthcare (Maternal, New born and Child Health), needs to be designed, implemented and strictly monitored to ensure that:
 - a) parents and guardians commit unequivocally to their daughters completing, as a minimum, secondary school education (without any hidden/user costs);
 - b) women and girls are ensured access to free, qualitative and compulsory healthcare, especially where pregnant.
- ii. Such a policy document should include a clear reward system with tangible incentives for those parents and guardians who comply, as well as penalties and sanctions for those who contravene.
- iii. The protection of children is an imperative given the situation of orphans, children from broken marriages, and those abused or abandoned due to justifications ranging from poverty to income generation. Such protection includes some of the human capital initiatives proposed by this Report while others include legislation for child protection, protective custody and regulation of divorce and marriage practices. It also includes raising awareness about and enforcing existing legislation which corresponds to these issues.

Recommendation 3:

The registration of marriages and the reckless abuse of divorce need to be regulated by law so as to protect and preserve family values and the sanctity of marriage.

Conclusion

- a. Throughout the time of its assignment, the Committee has observed that people have commended the NSGF for the formation of this Committee and have appreciated it, especially the calibre of people of its leadership and membership. It is, therefore of immense importance, and indeed a moral obligation, for the NSGF to ensure that the recommendations of this Report are judiciously implemented.
 - b. The Committee recommends that an Implementation body be established to coordinate the implementation of the recommendations made in this Report.
 - c. The increasing disunity of Northern Nigeria has resulted in opportunities to accentuate our diversities to the detriment of the entire region.
 - d. However, general awareness of the insecurity and underdevelopment in the region is evident as is a clear willingness of citizens and of institutions to work towards forgiveness, reconciliation, security and lasting peace and unity in the region.
 - e. The gains around peace building and reconciliation made through the interventions of the Committee need to be sustained and built upon by the NSGF. Specific parties and institutions also need to ensure the commitments and emerging shifts are conclusively realised for lasting peace.
- In order to ensure the sharing of the vision of setting up this Committee and to secure the support in the implementation of its recommendations, the NSGF should convene a high-powered dialogue. Among those to be invited are key actors, past and present, in the Judiciary, Executive and organized private sector.
- f. The Chairman and members deeply appreciate the level of confidence reposed in them by the Northern Governors' Forum to participate in this important assignment.

Memoranda, References and Appendices

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Water and Sewage Camp Muslim Community, Life Camp Abuja	Mechanisms for Reconciliation and Peace Building in Nigeria and the North in Particular
Adamawa State of Nigeria	Adamawa State Collective Responsibility Law
Arewa Consultative Forum	Memorandum Road-Map for Peace, Unity & Development of Northern Nigeria
Alhaji Alhassan Shu'aibu	Memorandum by Alhassan
Arewa Nationalist Movement	Memorandum on Reconciliation, Healing and Security
The Atyab Community Development Association	Memorandum On Issues that Cause Instability And Restiveness In Kaduna State
CAN, Northern States Headquarters, Kaduna	Memorandum by CAN
CAN, Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro L.G.A's of Bauchi State	Memorandum by CAN Tafawa Balewa
Dan Arewa Mai Kishin Arewa Da Nigeria	Memorandum by Dan Arewa
Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA)	Memorandum by ECWA
Fantswam (Kafanchan) Development Association	Sources of Instability in Kafanchan, Jama'a Local Government Area of Kaduna State
Federated Kurama Association	Memorandum by FKA

14.	Gurara Patriots Foundation	Memorandum by GPF
15.	Mrs. Hannatu Ibrahim Mfr (Dr.)	Causes Of Violence
16.	Ham Community Development Association, Kaduna	Sources of Instability and Restiveness in Kaduna State
17.	Jama'atu Izalatil Bid'ah Wa'iqamatis-Sunnah (Jibwis) Gombe State	Memorandum by Jibwis
18.	Jama'atu Nasril Islam, Gombe State	Memorandum by JNI
19.	Joint Chapel Committee (Abu Zaria, Kongo Campus, Zaria)	Memorandum by Joint Chapel
20.	Rasulul A'azam Foundation (Raaf)	Memorandum for Peace and Tranquillity in Northern Nigeria
21.	Southern Kaduna in the Diaspora (Sokad)	Memorandum to the Kaduna State Peace and Reconciliation Committee
22.	Interfaith Forum of Muslim & Christian Women's Association Kaduna	Memorandum by Women's Interfaith Council
23.	Yelwa Shandam Muslim Forum	Indigene/Settler Dichotomy: The Plateau State Experience
24.	The Sayawa (Zaar) Council of Elders And Traditional Rulers (Bauchi)	Religious Intolerance by the Bauchi Emirate Council is the Bane of Siyawa (Zaar) Conflict
25.	Jama'atu Nasril Islam, Plateau State	Memorandum JNI, Plateau
26.	Muslim Lawyers' Association of Nigeria [Mulan]	Memorandum Mulan
27.	Kagoro Development Association (Kaduna)	Memorandum on Bloody Attacks on Kagoro Communities in Kaduna by Fulani Gunmen Following the Presidential Election Crisis of 2011
28.	Tabital Pulaaku International (Pastoralists Association, Ngos)	Memorandum on Issues, Problems and Challenges Facing Fulani Pastoralists in Northern Nigeria and Strategies for Achieving Reconciliation, Healing & Security

9.	Gbagyi Development Union, Kaduna	Memorandum on Justice, Equity and Mutual Respect: The Only Foundation for Peace in Northern Nigeria
0.	Ibrahim Tanko	Lasting Peace in Northern Nigeria
1.	Abdulumuni Abubakar (Tudun Wada, Gombe)	Memorandum on Measures to be taken in Resolving the Insecurity Problems in the Northern States in Nigeria
2.	Zome Nathaniel	Memorandum on More on The Challenges of Governance in Nigeria
3.	Southern Kaduna Indigenes Progressive Forum	Memorandum on Perennial Crises in the Northern States, With Special Reference to Kaduna State
4.	Ladam Connections Nig. Ltd	Memorandum on Proposed Strategic Plan on National Control and Management of "Boko Haram" Phenomena
5.	Hausa Christian Development Association Of Nigeria	Memorandum on Security, Peace and Healing for the Promotion of Peaceful Co-Existence in the Northern Region of Nigeria
5.	Yelwa Progressive Association	Memorandum on Southern Plateau Crises: The Root Causes and Solutions
7.	The Southern Kaduna Peoples' Union (Sokapu)	Memorandum on the Causes and Solutions to Crises in Kaduna State
8.	Adara Development Association	Memorandum on the Causes of Conflicts in Kaduna State and How to Resolve them
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1.	Yahaya Emmanuel Banang	Memorandum on The Need for Peace in the North
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3.	Vom Muslim Community	Memorandum: Letter of Complaint

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57.	Hausa Community	Memorandum presented to the Northern States Committee on Reconciliation Healing and Security
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Appendix 1:

Concept Note and Plan for the Development of the North

Introduction

The Committee, particularly through its Sub-Committee on Human Capital and Social Development (HCD), liaised with some International Development Partners on matters pertinent to the work of the Committee as it relates to growth and human capital development. This was, in effect, to address the underlying factors that relate to the very poor indices of health and education, the apparent youth restiveness, as well as the abject poverty that pervades the entire region. The aim was to brainstorm, discuss and strategize on possible areas of collaboration, with a view to drawing up a Plan for the Development of the North to confront the identified challenges.

Collaboration between Development Partners and the NSGF Committee on Reconciliation, Healing and Security to Design an Integrated Framework for Northern Nigeria:

Following extensive discussions, it was agreed that the International Development Partners would support the Committee in drawing up an intervention program to grow the economies of the Northern states, by creating wealth and developing and building the capacities of its teeming mass of unskilled and uneducated human capital. Bearing in mind the potential available in the region, the intervention program would focus the Development Partners in a strategic, integrated and comprehensive manner for the purpose, with emphasis on the following key elements:

- i. Youth and women empowerment;
- ii. Education;
- iii. Health;
- iv. Agriculture, livestock, agro-allied industries with a focus on enhancing the river basins and dams for food security;
- v. Platforms for engagement, advocacy and the sharing of ideas and knowledge on how to build and sustain capacity and outcomes, generally;

- vi. Good governance and best practices in the political, economic and social spheres; including monitoring and evaluation frameworks to ensure transparency in the implementation of projects;
- vii. Any other area that would address enhancing conditions and the circumstances of poverty in the region.

Concept Note towards a Plan for the Development of the North

In view of the urgency of the situation and time constraints, as the tenure of the Committee was approaching determination on the 25th April 2013, the Committee, supported by the International Development Partners, prepared this initial Concept Note that captures and highlights the elements of a feasible development framework, as an immediate tool of intervention.

In striving for the ultimate objective of reducing poverty in the region by enhancing the capacity of the human capital of the region, the Sub-Committee on HCD and the Development Partners shall develop a comprehensive and concise document (Plan for the Development of the North) that would provide medium and long-term solutions (in a phased and structured manner), including a framework for monitoring and evaluation to ensure the prudent allocation of funds at implementation stages.

This Plan for the Development of the North is still in the process of being processed. However, this introduction to it forms part of the Committee's Report to the Northern Governors for consideration, as a prelude to future comprehensive engagement on the issues.

This Plan for the Development of the North would also ultimately be shared with other critical stakeholders, interested groups and individuals in the private sector, for the purposes of raising resources and ensuring their commitment and ownership, in the bid to redress the various identified concerns in the Northern region.

Concept Note

This outlines an urgent short-term intervention strategy (to be implemented immediately and within a period of a maximum of 2 years) for the engagement of the youth on simple and feasible, skill acquisition and vocational training, at the end of which would require the commitment of northern States Governments to ensure a conducive atmosphere and opportunities for ensuring the sustainability

of their efforts. Conceived as a short-term intervention strategy, this document is intended to be shared with stakeholders, including our primary conveners, who remain in the prime position to invest in workable strategies to remove the teeming youth off the streets and away from violence, and who would therefore implement the content in an effective and swift manner. Other stakeholders in consideration may involve the NSA's office, NAPEP and the various Governors on an individual basis.

A Plan for the Development of the North

1. Bearing in mind the fact that what is contemplated is a targeted, sustained and comprehensive strategy for addressing the sundry complexities that account for the poor development indices in the region as a whole, a Road Map, complete with specific indicators, milestones for implementation and a monitoring and evaluation framework for accountability and result-oriented outcomes, is required for the Northern Region. While it is true that it is the mandate of the State Governments to address these challenges, it is precisely because such efforts have proved largely inadequate in the face of the abounding problems, that drastic, precise and urgent additional measures have become an imperative. The abysmally low indices in so many spheres make mandatory a wholesome and consolidated approach for confronting the issues.
2. To achieve any measure of success in the task of significantly raising the education, health empowerment and poverty indices, a sustained, uninterrupted and professional approach is recommended. Furthermore, the similarities and commonalities in many of the communities in the North would necessitate a comprehensive outlook, as otherwise there is no assurance that one State would adopt measures that have been successfully implemented in another jurisdiction, merely for political reasons. The customary constant changes in policy and personnel in individual State Governments will defeat or disrupt the necessarily long term planning. Furthermore, the corruption, fragmentation and political patronage (that is endemic in government currently) cannot be overcome easily, and will require a supreme, long-term effort. The urgency of needs requires that action be set in motion, even in the face of these entrenched attitudes and patterns of behaviour.

3. In the circumstances, optimal performance and output will require the creation of an effective Regional Development Agency (RDA), whose mandate would be to address the more critical, fundamental challenges in a more focused, targeted and strategic manner may. Such a Body, with a lean team of professionals implementing the Plan prudently and diligently (devoid of the bureaucracy of our civil service, as we know it now), should be able to make appreciable progress in raising the poor indices in respect of empowerment, education, health and poverty, which frequencies are intractably intertwined. There is an abundance of experts in the sundry spheres of need who could be mobilized to address the challenges in a comprehensive and coordinated fashion. An RDA, comprised of employees that are young, qualified persons, enthused with passion, ideas, energy and commitment, has the best chance of ensuring significant improvement and recovery in many of these spheres of governance.
4. The private sector in the north, and indeed all over Nigeria and beyond, needs to be mobilized to assume a leadership role in the society. It is to everyone's benefit that there is stability, security and skilled labour to further business interests in the northern region. Business leaders need to be reminded that their active participation is necessary for community building, and encouraged to assume the role of change agents and social entrepreneurs. The complexities and tenacity of the challenges require specific competencies in analysis, their experiences, various backgrounds and expertise, thereby guaranteeing private sector ownership and its responsibility for strategy and implementation. The economic realities need to be mapped and analyzed carefully in order to formulate pragmatic solutions especially to the unemployed and underemployed, which incidence has led to social friction in the community and rendered the north entirely unattractive for business.
5. The private sector is known for its solution-seeking approach, so its support and collaboration in massive fund raising, networking and establishing linkages, staying the course, management skills, culminating in effective outcomes, must be secured throughout the period of implementation. Institutional memory and specialization, as well as sharing and monitoring are key. Caution should be exercised, however, to ensure that those saddled with the task of implementation are not those whose responsibility it is to monitor and supervise.

6. The buy-in of the Northern Governors Forum for this RDA is key to its success, especially because most of the effort would be targeted at public institutions (schools, hospitals, LGAs etc.) where the developmental needs of the majority of the citizens could be captured. Indeed, if the State Governors can be encouraged to contribute monthly subventions (in the form of a % of their budget every year) such an RDA could be guaranteed sustainability over the determined period. The Agency would need to partner with the various States, Local Governments, private investors and development partners, while the extent of financial commitment of each of them would depend on the commercial viability of the individual projects.
7. It is, however, imperative that such an initiative be private sector driven, so it can remain focused on the objectives, as well as insulated from politics. Funds, other resources and the wherewithal must, however, be sourced massively and independently from Government for sustainability, although the actual implementation must be conducted on as lean a budget as is possible, cutting out waste, duplication of efforts and needless expenditure. A clear long term financing, self-sustaining arrangement would need to be devised, with defined benefits for investors. Consequently, a public private partnership would appear ideal as the Special Purpose Vehicle to drive such a Road Map.
8. Given our antecedents in the public service, the element of trust is vital to the success of such an initiative. Unless credible, professional, competent, tried and tested persons with impeccable integrity are brought in to lead the process, the buy-in of all the other critical stakeholders would not be assured. Persons with integrity, expertise, passion and competence abound in all the States, many of who just need to be given the opportunity to become change agents. Considered thought must be given to these honest and capable individuals, who would comprise the Board or Trustees of such an RDA.
9. It is recommended that such an initiative be time-bound, for a period of 10-15 years of uninterrupted support and hard work. From time to time or at fixed intervals, the Road Map must be reviewed and revised, to ensure it remains effective, productive and relevant to the identified needs. Such a Plan would need to be accompanied with a strong monitoring and evaluation framework, to ensure accountability in the selection, performance and supervision processes, commencing from that of

recruiting personnel, to selecting feasible projects, awarding contracts, confronting entrenched behavior, myths and attitudes (deriving from cultural beliefs and misrepresentations of faith, which continue to constitute formidable barriers to integration and economic growth) and ensuring disbursements (as and when due), all towards ensuring a general efficiency in the process. The impact of methods adopted needs to be measured and tested consistently, and revised where necessary. A strong team of experts in the field, working together comparing, adapting and harmonizing across the various jurisdictions and communities, and ultimately adjusting where methods appear not be working so well in a particular terrain, is bound to be the most suited strategy for achieving a drastic and effective reduction in the poor indices that are evident across the northern region.

10. Finally, we must not lose sight of the fact that the developmental needs and designated steps taken to improve the circumstances of the northern region are in the overall interests of Nigeria, as an indivisible entity. Care must be taken, in efforts to restore the entire region to productivity, not to 'close' the North to the rest of Nigeria. All competent Nigerians (and even international partners) who have value to offer, should be given the opportunity to participate and encouraged to contribute meaningfully in the development of the region, by an impartial and open selection process.
11. Indeed, the Federal Government of Nigeria, having a clear stake in ensuring the viability of the region, needs to be approached for its commitment, with a view to contributing its goodwill and substantial resources to sustain the implementation efforts. The creation of a sinking fund (and the raising of venture capital) may also be appropriate, for this purpose.
12. While the leaders of this project should remain of northern descent (primarily to ensure that the element of trust and confidence is retained), it must be borne in mind that the strident efforts to enhance the human capital capacities and stimulate growth would require all competent hands (wherever they may be available) to contribute meaningfully to the implementation efforts outlined in the Road Map. The region is an integral part of the whole of Nigeria and if the North is lagging so far behind, this singular factor directly impacts adversely on Nigeria and its progress, as a country. If the Nation must invest in re-inventing the North, the North too must embrace the rest of the country.

Appendix 2:

List of Stakeholders at State Interactive Sessions

Plateau State

SN Organization/Community

- 1 Hausa Community
- 2 Berom Community
- 3 Afizere Community
- 4 Anaguta Community
- 5 Miyetti Allah
- 6 Yoruba Community
- 7 Igbo Community
- 8 Plateau Indigenous Association (PIDAN)
- 9 Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)
- 10 Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)
- 11 Traditional Rulers
- 12 Women's Group
- 13 Civil Society/NGOs (Plateau Peace Network)
- 14 Special Task Force (STF) - Commander
- 15 ALGON Plateau State - Chairman
- 16 League of Veteran Journalists of Nigeria
- 17 Nigeria Police Plateau Command - Representative of the Commissioner
- 18 CNPP
- 19 Elders Forum
- 20 South-South Community
- 21 Isegwe Community

Bauchi State

SN	Name	Community/Representation
1	Imam Ibrahim M Idris	Jahun Q
2	Evang. Ibrahim Aliyu	CAN North-East Zone
3	Rev. Isaac Istifanus	State CAN Bauchi

4	Mohd Bala Ahmad	Chief Imam Bauchi Central Mosque
5	Sheikh Dahiru Usman Bauchi	Leader of Tijjaniyya (CFR)
6	Ibrahim Musa	Jahun S 13 Bauchi
7	Amb. B Umar	Misau Emirate Council
8	Muhd Iele Muhtar	Katagum E C Azare
9	Sen. Salisu Matori	5 Bank Road GRA Bauchi
10	Engr. Ibrahim Musa Ningi	4 Airport Road GRA Bauchi
11	Ibrahim Mohd Bununu	Bununu T/Balewa LGA
12	Simon Y Zalami	ERC Bauchi Boi
13	Barr. Umar Yusuf G	Maiduguri Bypass Bauchi
14	Muhd Umar B	F/Mada Bauchi
15	Jibrin A Tafida	5B Makama Jahun Bauchi
16	Yahaya Shuhu Zou	5th Mambe Jahun Bauchi
17	Yunusa Ado	Makama New Ext. Fed Low BH
18	Sheikh Dan Azumi Musa	Tafawa Balewa Town Bauchi State
19	Shuaibu S Umar	Ung. Dawaki Bauchi
20	Sa'adu Dan Umma	Bununu T/Balewa LGA
21	Magajin Rafins	.A Rufai Yamai Tambari Sstabe* No16/G4/
22	Com Abdullahi Ibrahim	Nasarawa Jahun (Northern Youth Consultative Forum)
23	Adamu A Musa	Ginzum Bogoro LGA
24	Abdulmumin Muhammad	S T **** ****
25	Usman A Jamo	Boto T/Balewa
26	Muhd M Adam	Danjuma Goje Street Bauchi
27	Rev Sabo D Mwari	ASPC Church Y/Doka Rd
28	Elder Nasu Kalap	Y/Kagadoma
29	Baba Tsammau	Rafiu Zawfi Bauchi
30	Emmanuel Peter	Tafawa Balewa Bauchi
31	Thanus A Maigida	Tafawa Balewa Bauchi
32	Luther Ibrahim	Yelwa-Sakani/COCIN (Tapshin) Yelwa Bauchi
33	Nde Paul Galadima	Rofin Zurfi Bauchi (Tapshin)
34	Hon. John A. Billah	Tapshin
35	Engr T S Kefkukah	Yelwas Tudu (Tapshin)
36	Patrick Bogoro	Rafiu Zurfi Quarters Bauchi
37	Moris Z Sidi	Gwallameji Bauchi
38	Yakubu Gangsenem	Nasarawa Jahun
39	Ayuba Kyauta	Boi Bogoro GRA
40	Godwin Gomo	Ngas Guru Village

41	Shehu Dahiru	Fadama Mada, Bauchi Metropolis
42	Abdullahi Babaji	SSG's Office
43	Y M Karamba	SSG's Office
44	Amina Bak	Bauchi State Women Development Asso.
45	Mrs Paulina B	Bauchi State Women Development Asso.
46	Alex Mudue	Ngas Community
47	Declan J Gongok	Ngas Community
48	Patrick Aliyu	Ngas Community
49	Danjuma K Mwabok	Ngas Community
50	Hon. Larson J K Suwa	Tapshin Community Bauchi
51	Chadi Muhammad	Press Centre Govt. House Bauchi
52	Aliyu A Abdullahi	SSG's Office
53	Babyo A Liman	Governor's Office Bauchi
54	Col Y M Bukar, mni	HQ 33 Artillery Brigade
55	Simon Taimako	Bogoro LGA

Kano State

NAME/ORGANIZATION

1. Chief of Igbo, Kano
2. Chief of Yoruba, Kano
3. Jama'atu Nasril Islam, Kano State
4. Christian Association of Nigeria, Kano State
5. Hudaibiyah Foundation
6. Kano Civil Society Forum
7. Safinatul Khairi Community Development Association
8. Muslim Lawyers Association of Nigeria Kano Branch
9. Ambassador B.M. Sani MNI
10. Coalition of Concerned Citizens of Kano

Borno State (Elders Forum)

1. Alhaji Dr. Shettima Ali Monguno, CFR – Chairman
2. Amb. Usman Gaji Galtimari, CON – Deputy Chairman
3. Brg. Gen. Abba Kyari
4. Amb. Hamza Abubakar
5. Alhaji Ashiek Jarma
6. Amb. Ahmed Algazali, CFR

7. Alhaji Kyari Sandabe, OFR
8. Alhaji Shettima Ali Kliudagi
9. Amb. Ahmed Yusuf Fari, OON
10. Imam BabaGoni Asil
11. DIG. Abdullahi Shettima, OON, mni
12. Imam Idaini of Borno
13. AIG. Zanna Lamin Mamadi, OON, mni
14. Alh. Gambo Gubio, OON, mni
15. AIG. Mouktar Alkali, OON, mni
16. Dr. Bulama Mali Gubio, mni – Spokesperson
17. Alhaji Kaumi Damboa
18. Alhaji Ibrahim El-Zubairu – Secretary
19. Malam Ibrahim Mustapha – Asst' Secretary
20. Alhaji Rahma Monguno - Observer

Yobe State

1. Comrade Lawan N Ibrahim – State Chairman NLC
2. Ahmed Ibrahim Beche – State Chairman NUJ
3. A. Mele – Elder DTR
4. Rev. Garba Idi – State Chairman CAN
5. Alhaji Abubakar Bagobiri- CSC Damaturu
6. Ustaz Hudu Mohammed Yusuf – Yobe Islamic Center
7. Mohammed Shettima Ibrahim – Chief Imam Central Mosque Damaturu
8. Khalifa Hassan Yusuf – Galadiman Damaturu
9. Elder Peter Oguche – CAN
10. Goni Ngoma Garbah – Secretary General – Harmonized Traders Association
11. Ladan Ahmad ASP. – O/C SIB

Kaduna State

S/N	Name	Community/Representation
1.	Nuhu B.Bure, Tanko Tete,	Chief of Kaninkon
2.	P.Z. Wayom, Kpop Gwong,	Sarkin Kogoma
3.	Dr.Saad Usman,	Sarkin Jere
4.	HRH Dr. Gwambo Makama,	Sarkin Numana
5.	HRH.DR.Damina I. Sabo, (DVM)	B'Kurmi of Kurama
6.	HRH.Ja'afaru Abubakar,	S.Kagaji

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| 7. | HLM Mallam Sako Gajere, | Nyankpa Chiefdom |
| 8. | HRH Tobias N.Wada, | Agullam Takadi |
| 9. | HRH Mal.Iliya Ajiya A, | Chief of Godogo |
| 10. | HRH Alhaji Alhassan Addasu, | Sarkin Kajuru |
| 11. | HRH Yohanasu S. Kukah, | Agwom Akula |
| 12. | HRH Danjuma S.Barde, | Sagbagyi Gbayyi Chiefdom |
| 13. | HRH Adamu Alkali, | Chief of Augham |
| 14. | HRH M.Musa Didgam, | Agoron Falkuru |
| 15. | HRH Alh. Yahaya Mamuda, | Sarkin Ayu |
| 16. | HRH Alh.Yahaya Mohammed, | Res.Tsam(Chairman) |
| 17. | HRH W/Arewa Bajju, | W/Bajju |
| 18. | HRH I M Gayu, | Taliban Bajju |
| 19. | HRH Iliya Bako Byang, | DH.Dura Taba Chiefdom |
| 20. | Brig.Gen. Abubakar G. Mohd rtd, | Sarkin jere |
| 21. | Dr.Danladi G Maude, | Kpop Hamu |
| 22. | Alh.Musa Mohd Sam Ibrahim, | Sarkin Saminawa |
| 23. | HRH Sakin Maduda rep.
Mal Danladi Nache, | Magajin Gari Mexa Maucholi |
| 24. | C.N Harna, | C/Man Z/Katy |
| 25. | Alh.I.B.Mahmud, | JNI Kaduna |
| 26. | Rev. Jamare U. Abashiua, | Chairman ECWA Kaduna South |
| 27. | Rev. Eliaha Kwando, | Asst. District Secretary ECWA Kaduna South |
| 28. | David P. Datiyong, | Waziri Kagoro |
| 29. | Dr. Victor Gugong, | Sarkin Shanu Kagoro |
| 30. | Usman Jibrin, | Ja'afar Adam Mosque |
| 31. | Rev. Felix Musa Billy, | Ag. Permanent Secretary Christian |
| 32. | Abdullahi Bawa, | Fakachin Jama Emirate |
| 33. | Rev. Fakka B. Daudu, | Ass Superintendent A.G.C. Kaduna |
| 34. | Bonet Emmanuel, | Chairman, Concerned Civil Society, Kaduna |
| 35. | Bako Abdul Usman, | Ass. Secretary, Concerned Civil Society |
| 36. | Abubakar G. Wambai, | Director, Al-Amin Foundation |
| 37. | Rev. Musa Balago, | Ugwa Romi |
| 38. | Rev. Fr. Joseph Salihu, | Good Shepherd Major Seminary, Kaduna |
| 39. | HRH Bello B. Shamabi, | Jaba Chiefdom |
| 40. | Dr. S. N. Sani, | Walen Jaba |
| 41. | Elder Dutse Sarki, | Wakuli Seriki ROMI |
| 42. | Senior Apostle Adeyemi J.A, | Sec. OAIC K/State |
| 43. | Muh'd Lawal Maidoki Sokoto, | National President Da'awa coordinator |

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| | | council of Nigeria NHQTS |
| 44. | Prof. Sambo W. Junaidu, | Chairman Sultanate Council |
| 45. | John .B. Ladan, | Secretary Karama |
| 46. | David .G. Bijimi, | Iyan Koro |
| 47. | Abdulkadir Kalani Muhammed, | Vice President Zazzau Development
Association Zaria |
| 48. | Kachallan Ajibazam, | Ajibazam of Borno |
| 49. | A.M Kazaure Majidadi, | Kazaure Emirate council |
| 50. | Dr. Saad Usman, | Sarkin |
| 51. | HHDR Gambo Makama, | Sarkin Numana |
| 52. | Bishop A.O Kolawole, | Head of Church of Lord |
| 53. | Rev. Andrew Dawuda, | CAN secretary Gabi |
| 54. | Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Kujiyat, | Former CAN Chairman |
| 55. | Rev. Canon Joshua Mallam, | Former CAN Secretary |
| 56. | Alh. Ahmad Yaro | Cola Cola CPC KD,
Kaduna State Chairman CPC |
| 57. | Bishop O.A. Ola, | Head of Methodist Church |
| 58. | Hassan Nuhu Imam | |
| 59. | Alh Sa'adu Suleman, | C.Sec Kagarico |
| 60. | Rev. Samuel Mburji, | CAN Secretary, Kajuru L.G.A |
| 61. | Rev. Dr. Sunday Ibrahim, | CAN Secretary, Kaduna State |
| 62. | Ven. John Bulankwot, | CAN Chairman, Zango Kataf L.G |
| 63. | Rev Jonathan Nkom | , CAN Secretary, Zango Kataf L.G |
| 64. | Sheikh Zafaif Sujo, | JNI Kaduna state |
| 65. | Hajiya Amina Kazaure, | Women's Interfaith Council |
| 66. | Mrs Comfort Fearon, | Women's Interfaith Council |
| 67. | Mr Bitrus Baba, | President Gbagyi Development Union Kad. |
| 68. | Dr. Lydia Umar, | GAT |
| 69. | Rev. Ibrahim Sanusi, | Sec. CAN Soba L.G |
| 70. | Rev. Ezekiel S. Madaki, | CAN Chairman Zoba L.G |
| 71. | Adamu Aliyu, | P A |
| 72. | Chief Imam, | J.N.I Agom Adara |
| 73. | Rev. Simon S. Jimoh, | CAN C/man Kubau L.G.C |
| 74. | Yahaya Kamuyai, | Takad Chiefdom King,Maka |
| 75. | Dr. M.B Ibrahim, | Rector Kaduna Polytechnic |

Meeting of Religious leaders and Traditional rulers from the Northern States, held in Kaduna, 14th January 2013

S/N	Name	Community/Representation
1.	His Eminence, Alhaji (Dr.) Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III	Sultan of Sokoto
2.	His Eminence, John Cardinal Onaiyekan	Catholic Archbishop of Abuja
3.	HRH. Alh. Abubakar Garbai	Shehu of Borno
4.	HRH. Dr Rilwan S.Adamu	Emir of Bauchi
5.	HRH. Alh. Yahaya Abubakar	Etsu Nupe, Vida
6.	HRH. Usmanu Shehu Abubakar	Emir of Gombe
7.	HRH. Adamu Abubakar Maje	Emir of Hadejia
8.	HRH. Najib Hussain Adamu	Emir of Kazaure
9.	HRH. Alh. A. Attahiru Mohammed Ahmad	Emir of Zamfara
10.	HRH. Alh. Muhammadu Abali, Idrissa,	Emir of Fika
11.	Zubair Jibril Maigwari 2	Emir of Birnin Gwari
12.	HRH. Alh Kyari Umar El-Kanemi	Shehu of Bama
13.	HRM Alh. (Dr.) Adamu B Yunusa (MFR)	Ona of Abaji/FCT Chairman Council of chiefs Abaji
14.	HRH. Alh. Ibrahim Chatta Umar	Etsu Patigi Kwara State
15.	Muhammadu Isa Muhammad	Emir of Jama'a
16.	Prof. Yusuf Turaki	ECWA
17.	Most Rev George J. Dodo	Catholic Bishop of Zaria, CAN Chairman Kaduna State
18.	Most Rev. John Namaza Niyiring	Catholic Bishop of Kano
19.	Most Rev. Matthew Manoso Ndagoso	Catholic Archbishop of Kaduna
20.	Most Rev. Matthew Hassan Kukah	Catholic Bishop of Sokoto



The Governor of Niger State and the Chairman Northern States Governors' Forum, Dr. Mu'azu Babangida Aliyu (right) receiving the Report from the Chairman Northern States Governors' Forum Committee on Reconciliation, Healing and Security, Ambassador (Dr) Zakari Ibrahim, CON at the Niger State Governors Lodge, Asokoro - Abuja, 25-04-2013



