

**Mainstreaming Tiv Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches (TIPA):
Identifying the Enhancing Processes, Steps, And Actors**

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ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory case study of the Tiv of Benue State, Nigeria, and it is primarily focused on identifying the processes, steps, and actors that can facilitate the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches, as a viable option to the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm, for addressing the people's conflict experiences.

I developed and used the Critical Indigenous Qualitative Methodology (CIQPM) to explore this fundamental concern. CIQPM is rooted in the Indigenous research tradition. It is essentially critical, decolonial, and Indigenous. Thus, it challenges every conflict experience perturbing indigenous communities and calls for the revitalization, return and re-insertion of indigenous peacemaking practices and social values to address the experiences. I therefore used the following CIQPM methods to collect and analyse data: inquiry conversations, storytelling, yarning, and narratives to collect, analyze and interpret data. I also decolonized and used the Western methods of one-to-one interviews, semi-structured questions and the Creswellian analysis steps, by focusing them toward the re-institutionalization of Tiv indigenous worldviews and peacemaking opportunities.

The discoveries made by this study are useful for advancing the ongoing struggle by the Tiv to institutionalize their "Tiv ways" to address their conflict challenges. Also, the study has added interesting insights to existing knowledge and useful knowledge for pedagogy and practice to the field of Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS). The findings are equally beneficial to policymakers and peace-builders who are and will get involved in peace ventures in Tiv land and Africa as a whole. The grounded theory from the study is relevant to the current debate on the legitimacy and viability of African Indigenous peacemaking approaches and the imperative to move from here to the next level, that is, ferreting out ways of mainstreaming the approaches.

Finally, as the study that pioneer's the debate on identifying the factors to mainstream indigenous peacemaking processes, I hope that other scholars will make this topic, program, concern and agenda very central in their study on how to attain sustainable peace in Africa.

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DEDICATION

To *Ushahemba* (God), family, and friends, *M sugh ne cii*.

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Introduction: Framing the Research Study

This is an exploratory case study of the Tiv of Benue State, Nigeria. It is fundamentally motivated by two significant factors. First, the arguments by the existing theoretical sources which indicate the imperative to move from the current stagnated debate on the legitimacy, viability, and suitability of the indigenous wisdom and peacemaking approaches to ferreting out ways of institutionalizing them to advance peace in the communities in particular and the world in general. Second, the Tiv community, like other African communities are demanding the restoration of their Indigenous wisdom and peacemaking approaches. The question of identifying the factors that will advance the process thus becomes imminent. To explore the enhancing factors, this study consulted with the Tiv community, and the Tiv research participants shared significant ideas on the community's conflict experiences, indigenous peacemaking opportunities, and thoughts on how to mainstream the approaches, thus address their conflicts experiences.

Thus, this is an exploratory case study of the Tiv of Benue State, Nigeria. Its primary goal is to identify the factors that can be used to mainstream Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches. While investigating for these facilitating factors, the study addresses its secondary goal, namely an exposé of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking systems and the community's feelings and struggles to have the approaches mainstreamed, to address their conflict experiences and other challenges that are troubling them. For this reason, the study explores the community's perspective through the eyes of key informants and very clearly lays out the factors that the participants identified for mainstreaming the approaches, or the "Tiv ways" as they called them. The study's underlying argument is that the Tiv's Indigenous peacemaking approaches are legitimate and can be mainstreamed to advance peace in the community and attain the community's search for an authentic agency in peace-building. Also, because of its Afro-sopic implications, the insights

from the study can be used to advance the African Union's official declaration and agenda for the institutionalization of African Indigenous solutions for Africa's problems.

The Tiv and other African communities are bedeviled with multifarious and persistent conflicts. Scholars have identified various structural and attitudinal conflicts that are wreaking African communities, which can be categorized into (1) colonial disruption and subjugation (Run, 2013), (2) tyrannical schemes to disrupt and exploit Africa and its communities (Baeni, 2017) and (3) Africans' self-destructive attitudes or "me against my brother wars" (Scott, 2000). The Tiv research participants in this study and Tiv scholars like Shija (2018) have indicated how the Tiv are deeply challenged by conflicts in their unique way. They also represent the ongoing call and efforts by the Tiv community to reclaim its Indigenous cultural values and peacemaking powers, thus confront the persistent precarious situations that are confronting it.

The interest of this study is also significantly motivated by the critical assessment of the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm in Africa. It has been the general expectation that the liberal peacebuilding model would address these persistent conflict scenarios threatening the Tiv and other African communities. However, the paradigm has been adjudged to be flawed, unsuitable, and failed in Africa, as well as proven to be complicit in the emergence of some of the continent's conflict challenges (See Issifu and Asante, 2016; Mac Ginty, 2006). Issifu and Asante (2016) reject the liberal peace paradigm on the evidence that "the review of secondary data, including journals, articles, books, etc. revealed that the Euro-U.S. Centric Colonial White Dominate Approach (EUCCWDA) to peacebuilding has not achieved its purpose" but has compounded the conflict experiences of African communities (p. 9). Mac Ginty (2006) also regrets that the dominant paradigm "lacks local ownership", destroys and retards Indigenous identities and opportunities, thus offers "elusive peace dividend" to non-Western conflict communities like those in Africa (p. 132).

The responses to these critical reviews have also inspired the focus and argument of this study. In reaction to those questions about the dominant paradigm, an increasing number of scholars are representing the demand for the reclamation and re-integration of their Indigenous peacemaking systems to address the plethora of conflicts adversely affecting indigenous communities or societies. For example, Wasonga (2009) represents the statement of preference for *Mato Oput* over the liberal peace paradigm by the Acholi community of Uganda. King (2011) recognizes the importance of the institutionalization of the Gacaca peacemaking system, which has been working better than the liberal paradigm, in addressing the Rwandan genocide. Both Zartman (2008) and Malan (1997) represent the array of African Indigenous conflict “cures” that local African communities are using and are demanding to be institutionalized in their respective localities.

In reinforcement of the reactions, emerging works have identified the need to recourse to African Indigenous approaches as replacement strategies. For example, Ani (2017, p. 15) argues with vehemence the necessity to re-empower the Indigenous opportunities whose legitimacy, viability, and suitability to the continent and its communities are proven matters. The case for the mainstreaming of African Indigenous conflict “cures” is also manifest in the mounting discourse on emancipatory renaissance, a resurgence for the return of traditional peacemaking models in Africa. The waxing emancipatory consciousness recognizes the relevance of the Indigenous wisdom and the imperative to “return to the past” or the “re-appropriation and reaffirmation of indigenous forms” of peacemaking (Mungwini, 2014, p. 1). This imperative is further demonstrated by the emerging arguments from the Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) discipline. This field has illustrated the value of Indigenous wisdom and insisted on its inclusion in all peace programs in those communities (Byrne & Senehi, 2009, p. 526; Byrne et al., 2019, p. 493).

The African Union's (AU) declaration is an official political statement that makes the mission to mainstream African peacemaking systems a matter of urgency. The AU has publicly declared its interest in the eliciting of "African solutions, for Africa's problems" (Ani, 2019, p. 145). Inspired by this background, therefore, this study focuses on the Tiv community to understand their perceptions of the Tiv peacemaking practices and traditions and their views about the strategies that can help in mainstreaming them. By wider implications, the study is interested in how the insights can be interpreted in response to the call for African solutions for the continent's dire straits.

Research Problem

The adverse impacts of colonial violence, self-destructive activities, and tyrannical schemes against the Tiv and other African communities, the complicity and failure of the dominant liberal peacebuilding system to address the conflicts, and the mounting demand to recourse to and mainstream the Indigenous wisdom are cogent, self-evident and inarguable. However, the vacuum which research and policy need to fill concerning the demand to mainstream the Indigenous principles is the identification of the factors that will facilitate the mainstreaming process. Existing literature and conversations have not investigated or elaborated on the elements that will help in this regard. This study thus asks this fundamental question: what does the Tiv community identify as factors that will enhance the mainstreaming of the approaches or "Tiv ways" of making peace?

This research problem is obviously about a community that is violated by colonialism, neocolonial tyrannies, and the self-destructive attitudes of its members. It is also about the community which is searching for the creative ideas that will advance its struggle and address the conflicts, liberate itself from colonial subjugation and empower its cultural assumptions, thus acquire for itself the deserving agency. For these reasons, the investigative methodology for this

problem should be essentially qualitative and critical in nature and Indigenous, decolonial, and peacemaking in emphases.

Research Methodology

Instead of using a Simple Qualitative Methodology (SQM), a Critical Indigenous Qualitative Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM) was devised and used to investigate the research problem. CIQPM is an Indigenous qualitative approach whose lenses are essentially critical against the oppressive status quo and whose perspectives are the advancement of the peacemaking concerns and opportunities of the Indigenous community, in this case, the Tiv in particular, and the African communities in general. CIQPM whose key goals are liberation and empowerment of the oppressed is contrasted with SQM whose core goal is to serve the oppressive status quo. Due to its emancipatory nature, CIQPM was devised and used for data collection, analysis, and interpretation by this study.

SQM is rooted in Western epistemological and political traditions. It uses surveys, structured interviews, and focus groups to produce knowledge that is qualified as “positivist”. In other words, it is an approach that “consistently” produces the knowledge that is more inclined towards yielding results and providing the information that will serve the needs of the Western status quo that developed it, even when the Indigenous communities are oppressed (Kovach, 2015, p. 47). SQM thus operates with the positivist mantra of “knowledge for progress” and the imperial belief that only its truths are legitimate and universally “applicable to all people and cultures”, regardless of the equally valuable identities, systems and moral ideals of the people (Kovach, 2015, p. 47). Chilisa and Kawulich (2012) also observe that the SQM, which the West evolved for its aspirations, has through history produced the knowledge that “perpetuates the domination of other social classes and the marginalization of knowledge produced in other

cultures” (p.12). SQM is therefore a replaceable research system in the study of the worldviews and concerns of Indigenous communities.

In contrast, CIQPM is rooted in Indigenous traditions, epistemologies, and cosmologies because it uses the Indigenous ways of knowing and producing knowledge. Indigenous methods of collecting data include one-to-one or group conversations, yarning encounters, narratives, and storytelling (Kovach, 2015, p.55). CIQPM also uses ethnophilosophies like proverbs, beliefs, customs, festivals, values, practices, songs, and myths to enrich its data collection (Emagalit, 2001). CIQPM is significantly informed by the Indigenous epistemological foundations of inclusivity and collectivity, respect and responsibility, and humanity and rationality which influence its data analysis and interpretation. The functional goal of CIQPM is restorative justice or reintegration peacemaking. This means the transformation of the conflict situation and the re-humanization of the conflict community. Essentially, therefore, the knowledge that CIQPM produces is meant to serve the emancipatory interest of the participating Indigenous community by advancing its identity, values, and norms as well as demands for justice.

The data collection instruments of SQM include inquiry conversations (formal verbal chats which consist of talking and asking questions), yarning (random conversations about an idea or object), storytelling (giving imaginary or real account about something or question), and narratives (giving a historical account of an event) (See (Kovach, 2010; Lavallee, 2009). It is also argued that Indigenous methods like CIQPM can inject Indigenous perspectives and goals into SQM instruments like semi-structured questions and one-to-one interviews for data collection and analysis (Wilson, 2008, p. 38). In this vein, therefore, I consulted with the Tiv community by using semi-structured questions to converse on their Indigenous concerns that relate to the research problem. I did not ask questions in the sequence they appeared to get that knowledge that would serve the status quo as is typical of SQM studies (Kovach, 2015, p. 54). Rather, I

interacted with them using the conversation and yarning sessions as well as the storytelling and historical narrative methods to develop the knowledge that will address their conflict concerns and advance their demand to mainstream Tiv peacemaking practices. The interactive sessions were conducted on a one-to-one encounter with each of the participants. The analysis and interpretation of the data were done in the light of the Tiv Indigenous worldview of *tar soron*, (“fixing the broken community and sustaining its cause”) and in respect of the aspirations and efforts to mainstream “Tiv ways”.

Denzin and Lincoln (2014) explain that an authentic critical Indigenous research methodology is that which is compelled by reason to critique the violent status quo, fight to change it, and mobilize resources for the advancement of the identity and emancipatory agenda of the oppressed community. This is exactly why this study did not adopt SQM but instead created and used CIQPM with the view of helping the Tiv to recover, revitalize, and re-entrench their Indigenous worldviews and peacemaking opportunities.

Positionality

My positionality in this study is that of a researcher who is related to the community and its experiences and struggles, as well as the knowledge that emerges from the community. I am a member of the Tiv community, and the indigenous research tradition requires the researcher to respect the community’s worldview of relationality and reciprocity throughout the research that undoubtedly, includes my subjective feelings and biases that I controlled to maintain my objectivity throughout the study. I triangulated the data and the findings testing them with four triangulating steps: (1) comparing them with existing theories and sources; (2) phoning the participants to verify the ideas in the transcribed data were theirs and were correct; (3) using clear data collection methods; and (4) consulting with my fieldwork assistants for clarification about

some of the behaviours that I observed. The triangulation process also validated the grounded theory that emerged from the data, namely: *igbenda i hiden a aeren ase a Tiv* (“the strategies of restoring Tiv ways/practices”). This grounded theory resonates with the five theory testing steps developed by Glasser and Strauss, as explicated with more details in the concluding chapter of the study.

Research Scope and Rationale

The Tiv of Benue state, Nigeria, and their peacemaking wisdom constitute the primary scope and focus of this study. This is because the Tiv are demanding, for they are also obviously struggling to mainstream their Indigenous ideals and peacemaking practices. As critical research, therefore, the study wants to be part of this project. The participants and Tiv scholars (e.g. Aluaigba, 2011; Dura, 2016; Makar, 1975; Shija, 2018; Torkula, 2004; Tyodoo, 2016) respectively indicate one clear point. They indicate that to confront the persisting conflict experiences troubling their land, Tiv original peacemaking wisdom must be recovered and installed as the mainstream processes and institutions. As to whether this is not achievable, the community is adamant about its aspirations and demand. Thus, they are frantically mobilizing their resources for this goal or agenda. For example, the Tiv *Ijir Tamen*, that is, the Tiv Traditional Council which comprises traditional heads, cultural association leaders, and some illustrious sons and daughters of Tiv land recently reiterated the community' outcry against the persistent conflicts. The Traditional Council also reaffirmed its resolve to ensure the safety of the people, and to revitalize Tiv traditional strategies to tackle the varied Tiv conflict disturbances (Editorial, 2018). This is the scope and rationale that informed the study to focus on the Tiv of Benue state, Nigeria.

The study has also rightly conceived Africa as its secondary scope and focus for some cogent reasons. First, because the participants stated that the struggle by the Tiv to recover and

mainstream their Indigenous approaches is by implication a call on other African communities to also make a similar demand and replicate the same efforts. Despite being asked about the Tiv context, some of the participants decry the colonization of Africa and the colonial legacies that are adversely impacting the original identity and destiny of African communities.

Second, because African communities have similar conflict experiences, Indigenous peacemaking ideals are bound by the moral task to decolonize themselves and entrench their Indigenous processes (Ani, 2017). In other words, the conflict challenges the social struggles and the peacemaking wisdom of one African community is significantly symmetrical with the experiences of the other ones (Chingono, 2016). That is, the experience of colonial violence and its extant legacies (Achankeng, 2013) and the centrality of “humanism” (Senghor, 2009, p. 168) as the African Indigenous peacemaking principle are common to African communities. Furthermore, “in all African societies, the resolution of conflicts or disputes” using their respective traditional methods commonly imbued by the humanistic ideology “is preferred, (and) the Tiv traditional society is not an exception to this norm” (Aluaigba, 2011, p. 78).

Third, AU’s various declarations for the institutionalization of Indigenous solutions warrant the study to have Afro-scopic intonations and implications. For example, the declarations for “silencing the guns” to end all wars in Africa and every African community by 2020 (African Union, 2016, p. 1), “Agenda 2063” to build a united, peaceful and progressive African family (African Union Commission, 2015, p.1) and the development of “African solutions in African states” for Africa’s peace (Ani, 2019, p. 137). It is obvious for scholars and policymakers to research with a savvy manner that will foster the establishment of these local and Indigenous peace initiatives which are tantamount to guiding the continent towards “owning the future [and] realising a conflict-free Africa” (ACCORD, 2016, p. 6). The study of the Tiv and its findings are significant for Africa in respect to these declarations.

Fourth, previous regional peace-building works that were carried out to advance the security, stability, and peace of those contexts motivated this study to also adopt an African regional purview. For instance, Nathan's (2010a) peace-building research and intervention projects on the Association of South Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); Pinfari's (2009) regional work on the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council (ALGC), Møller's (2008) research on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and Hertz's (2008) focus on the Organization of American States (OAS) have been commended for advancing peace education and peace-building interventions in their respective regions (Nathan, 2010b). Like these exemplary works, this study is also offering its findings and arguments to boost the peacemaking declarations, policies and programs, or interventions that are initiated for the African region.

Fifth, the United Nations Security Council's (UNSC) directive for all global regional bodies to implement the Right to Protect (R2P) policy also influenced the Afro-sopic nature of this study. The R2P policy was first an idea developed by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). In 2001, the UNSC bought the idea and sold it as an obligatory policy to the global regional bodies that eventually endorsed it. In this light, Africa and other regional bodies went on to mandate researchers and epistemic communities to produce regional knowledge to advance the R2P policy for peace and stability in their respective areas (Hofmann & Jutersonke, 2012). This study of the Tiv community meaningfully shares in this global vision and also offers itself for use for the African region.

Sixth, the Afro-sopic choice is a strategy for the study to ably add its mainstreaming sound to the existing sonorous voice for the emancipation and agency of Africa. The voice is sonorously captured by five prominent categories of African change actors. The first category

refers to the early “African Nationalists” such as Kwame Nkrumah, Kenneth Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, and Senghor-Cheikh Anta Diop. The second category denotes “African scholars” such as Claude Ake, Ali A. Mazrui, Valentine Mudimbe, Achille Mbembe, Toyin Falola, and Mahmood Mamdani among others. The third group is, the voices of “Africanists” such as Terence Ranger, and Crawford Young, and the fourth grouping is that of the “concerned African scholars and activists” like Wangari Maathai, Mueni wa Muiu, Pita Ogaba Agbese, George Klay Kieh, Jr, George B. N. Ayittey, and Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. ix). This study identifies the fifth category and calls it the voices of “African fortifiers” such as Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo’o, Toyin Falola, Achille Mbembe, Gloria Emeagwali, Valentin Mudimbe, Paul Tiyambe, Mueni wa Muiu, Sefa Dei, and Jannie Malan. These categories of Africa’s intelligentsia and actors represent the renaissance and struggle for Africa’s power and agency and invite future researchers to tread the same path. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) describes these categorical voices and related research efforts as catalytic processes “for a new paradigm for the African state predicated on what Mueni wa Muiu and Guy Martin termed ‘*Fundi wa Afrika theory*’” (p. xii). *Fundi Wa Afrika* simply means that “Africans alone can reconstitute their states based on their own [Indigenous] needs and values” (Muiu, 2005, p. 13). This study is arguing that when African communities unite and rise as a unit, they can reconstitute and institutionalize their ways of peacemaking and development in their localities and on the continent.

These premises do not only justify the Afro-sopic focus of this study. The premises and arguments outlined in the study compel the reader to also appraise and participate in the search to devise and entrench Afro-sopic solutions for the continent and its communities. As demonstrated, local experiences, policy statements, and international positions have given the required backing for this appraisal and action.

Significance of the Study

In brief, this study has contributed PACS, policymakers, African scholars, Africans in the diaspora, and me by developing new knowledge about Indigenous peacemaking resources. The new information will inform and guide the conversations on how to intervene in the conflicts concerns of the Tiv as well as African and global Indigenous communities. This fundamental question that is being asked is gaining more prominence; “where do we go from here” in terms of PACS theory and practice? (Senehi & Byrne, 2011, p. 397). In their response, Byrne and Senehi (2009) state the necessity of including Indigenous peacemaking wisdom and practices in every PACS research and teaching program. According to them; the field “needs to take local indigenous cultures and knowledge into account, being open toward local indigenous ways of doing things” (p. 526). This study addresses this recommendation by contributively emerging with significant theoretical insights that PACS can use in its explorative conversations and intervention programs, especially for Indigenous contexts.

With its Afro-sopic implications, this study has contributed to policymaking by coming out with relevant knowledge, which policymakers can use to design the policies that will advance the declarations made by the AU and the UN for Africa’s peace. Policymakers can consider the enabling factors, which this study has identified and used them to craft policies that will assist in entrenching Indigenous mechanisms of peacemaking in Tiv land and Africa at large.

Carvalho, de Coning, and Connolly (2014) strongly challenge international peace-building actors to desist from imposing external peace-building apparatuses on African states and communities, but maximally support the mainstreaming of African Indigenous peacemaking possibilities to address the people’s conflict throes and woes. In this respect, this study has contributed to providing international peace actors such as states, International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and regional communities with useful information about how they can most appropriately intervene to support local peacemaking and peacebuilding

activities in Africa without further harming the Indigenous cultures of peace but supporting their development and efficacy.

Chapter Outlines

By way of an outline, the first chapter which comes after this introductory section represents the contextual description of the Tiv community. The first chapter depicts the Indigenous identity, social organization, conflict experiences, and peacemaking resources of the Tiv in the pre-colonial and post-colonial eras. Citing some of the existing literature, the chapter illustrates how the Tiv are lamenting over the loss of these resources as well as their nostalgia and demand for them to be recovered and revitalized.

The second chapter outlines the theoretical and literature reviews that provided useful insights into the study. Most fundamentally, the chapter explicates how existing literary sources and theoretical works have demonstrated the imperative to mainstream Indigenous peacemaking approaches. The key thematic sections include the holistic theory of Africa's conflicts; the dominant neoliberal peacebuilding paradigm in Africa; other peace-building alternatives; African Indigenous peacemaking approaches; Tiv peacemaking philosophy - *TarSoron*; the mainstreaming theory and the conclusion.

The third chapter describes the Critical Indigenous Qualitative Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM) the study developed and used. The chapter also explains the research problem, the research participants, data collection tools, the researcher's positionality and objectivity, and the research ethics. The concluding remark is a recap of the chapter. The key concern of this chapter is to demonstrate that CIQPM influenced the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data to depict the factors that can facilitate the mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking ways.

The fourth empirical chapter highlights the participants' descriptions of the persistent conflicts that are ravaging the Tiv community in various ways. Four major categories are

identified, namely historical conflicts, regular conflicts, occasional conflicts, and moral conflicts.

The fifth empirical chapter elaborates on the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking philosophy and peacemaking approaches. Their peacemaking ideology is *tar soron* (mending the troubled community and advancing its cause) and the peacemaking approaches include fighting, warring, *ayande* grass (olive branch), *ikyur* (peace covenant), intermarriage, peacemaking ethnophilosophies like stories, proverbs, and settlement patterns, and the most commonly used approach, *mtem u soron ayoosu* (peacemaking gathering). The nature of each approach is explained as well as the processes, procedures, and actors that are involved in facilitating *mtem u soron ayoosu*. This chapter asserts that the Tiv have retained a deep knowledge of their original ways of making peace, despite disruptions by colonial forces.

The sixth empirical chapter represents the optimism the Tiv have for their Indigenous peacemaking philosophy, *tar soron* and their peacemaking approaches, especially the *mtem u soron ayoosu*. This chapter realizes also that despite strongly appraising their peacemaking philosophy and approaches, the Tiv have some fears and hopes concerning the future of the valued traditions.

The seventh empirical chapter highlights the numerous and interrelated processes, steps, and actors that the Tiv participants identified as the factors that will enhance the mainstreaming of the peacemaking ideology; *tar soron* ideology, and the peacemaking approaches especially the *mtem u soron ayoosu*.

Chapter eight is the general discussion and conclusion chapter. It outlines the overall key realizations of the study. The chapter represents the limitations of the study and invites future research endeavors to explore them. The chapter ends with a general conclusion of the study. The general conclusion asserts that those who have embarked on the journey to mainstream must remain ever convinced and undeterred, knowing full well that reactionary forces or disabling

factors will stand in the way of this emancipation and empowerment. of the Tiv and African communities.

Conclusion

The increasing discourses for the re-empowerment of African Indigenous peacemaking approaches to address conflicts on the continent are legitimate. The mainstreaming of these approaches is imperative and emerging research works are required to support the process by identifying the elements that will ensure its success.

The explication of the various processes, steps, and actors by this study must be appreciated for the struggle, which is a commonplace event in African communities, the Tiv being just a case study. Giving the African reality that the conflict experience of one community is the shared experience of all, and the valid declarations by the African Union (AU) for the Indigenization of peacemaking in Africa, this study adopts an Afro-sopic approach. It develops some significant arguments and recommendations about how Indigenous peacemaking approaches can be mainstreamed. Hence, insights from the study of the Tiv must be harnessed and exploited by researchers who are bound by the AU's declaration to evolve solutions for the conflict experiences of the African communities.

It is worth stating that, this study is generally influenced by the critical thinking framework as well as the theories of decolonization and indigenization, given African communities. Thus, on the one hand, the study is strongly opposed to the persisting colonial violence and other conflict experiences that are destroying the lives, values, and agency of the Tiv and African communities. The study is thus supportive of the communities' demand for the revitalization and re-assertion of their legitimate and viable Indigenous forms to recover their identity, reinstall their agency, and address their challenges.

Because the Tiv community is the case study for the key concern of this study, the next chapter expounds on the contextual picture of the Tiv. It addresses some key questions such as; Who is the Tiv of Benue state? What is their cosmological view? What are their peacemaking resources? What are their lamentations and nostalgia regarding their peacemaking resources?

Chapter 1: The Tiv of Benue State, Nigeria

1.1 Introduction

This context Chapter depicts the identity and geographical location of the Tiv people. It also outlines some of the peacemaking resources of the people. This contextual exploration makes it easier to interpret and understand the data chapters, which address various but interconnected themes such as the major Tiv conflict categories, their paramount peacemaking resources, the lamentation for the lost, and the nostalgia for the restoration of the resources.

1.2 Tiv People: Identity, Origin, Migration and Present Abode

The Tiv people are the ancestral sons and daughters of *Anyamazenga* who fathered *Takuruku*. With his wife *Aliwe*, *Takuruku* begot Tiv who later bore two sons, *Ichongu* and *Ipusu*. These two sons procreated and multiplied to transform the Tiv into a race (Torkula, 2004). The Tiv people have a shared linguistic trait, that is, they commonly speak one language, *Zwa Tiv* (Yuhe, 1978). Their Tiv identity in terms of people and language is not given, but one that they derived from their genealogy, and preserved in their oral history (Kyoon-Achan, 2013).

The Tiv people are strongly linked to the Bantu ethnic community that occupied the Shaba area in present-day the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the Central African region (Torkula, 2006). This affinity is manifest in their shared ethnological features such as cultural values, physical traits, arts, behavioural etiquette, worship forms, and communicative vocabularies and word list (Akiga, 1965; Torkula, 2004). Numerous oral and written historical and anthropological studies have attested to their Bantu stock (Torkula, 2004, p. 2).

Due to the Tiv's population explosion, the various ethnic components of the Bantu speaking people migrated out of the Shaba region in different directions. The Tiv went towards the North West geolocation (Torkula, 2004). During their migration, the Tiv crossed the river

Congo on the back of a mythological green snake, the *Ikyalem* (friend) that transformed into a bridge. To this day the Tiv accord *Ikyalem* significant spiritual and mythological respect (Torkula, 2004).

As they migrated, the Tiv pushed further towards the South of the Republic of Cameroun and sojourned in the mountainous region known as *Swem* (Aluaigba, 2011). Despite the controversies about *Swem* as a mythological and non-existing reality, historians such as Gbor (1978) and Akiga (1965) demonstrate that *Swem* is a real hilly land located in the Bamenda province of Cameroun. Since *Swem* is a reality more than mythology, Torkula (2004b) posits that the controversy about the *Swem* does not matter, what count are its reality and welfare functions. The hostility of the surrounding Bush tribes and the unwanted likelihood of intermarrying with them influenced the Tiv people to leave *Swem*, wander northwards, and sojourn again at Nwange, still in Cameroun. It was from here that they pushed out further and arrived at their present abode, the Benue Valley, from 1500 - 1800 AD. In the Benue Valley, they first settled at the place known to this day as Ikyurav-ya, which is both a Tiv clan and their traditional center, which is ten miles away from Nwange (Dzurgba, 2007).

It was from Ikyurav-Ya that the Tiv spread out and settled in the many areas of the Benue Valley. Many of these settlement areas transformed into what we now have as Local Government Councils (LGCs) of Benue State. They are also found in some LGCs of other Nigerian states. Torkula (2004b) notes that the occupation of the Benue Valley by the Tiv people from 1500 AD onward was laden with a series of wars, conquests, displacements, and coalitions. While moving further into the Northern direction of the Benue Valley, they overcame the Jihadists and later valiantly resisted the British colonialists. Even though their valiant resistance was dissipated and their conquest prowess ended when the British used heavy weaponry in 1914 to crush them, the Tiv have remained the dominant ethnic community of the Benue Valley (Torkula, 2006).

Ihuah (2003) reports that in addition to being the autochthons of the following LGCs of Benue state, namely; Buruku, Gboko, Guma, Gwer-West, Gwer East, Katsina-Ala, Konshisha, Kwande, Logo, Makurdi, Tarka, Ukum, Ushongu, and Vandeikya, they are also significantly found in Bali, Donga, Gashaka, Gassol, Ibi, Takum, Usa and Wukari (in Taraba state); Awe, Doma, Lafia, and Obi (in Nasarawa state); Quan-Pan and Shendam (in Plateau state); Obudu, Ogoja and Yalla (in Cross River state); Suleja (in Niger state) and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, and in Southern Cameroon.

This study focused on the Tiv people living in the 14 LGCs of Benue state which is located at “approximately 80.05” N – 90.45” N and 60.30” E to 80.15” E (Ujoh, 2014, p. 69), an area of over 30,000 sq. k/m laying on the sides of the River Benue. The fertile nature of this region explains why the Tiv communities often engage each other and the surrounding ethnic groups in bloody land skirmishes. The rich topography is also attractive to the nomadic Fulani ethnic group who visits the valley perennially for grazing but eventually get engaged in dangerous land conflicts with the Tiv communities. Unfortunately, the skirmishes have since the last two decades assumed the dimension of marauding genocide by the Fulani who are continually attacking, killing, maiming, and displacing the Tiv people and consequently confiscating and occupying their lands (Adamu & Ben, 2017; Aluaigba, 2011).

1.3 Tiv Supernatural Forces and Implications for Peacemaking

In general, Tiv cosmology is completely religious, it is “dominated by cosmic forces or the supernatural” which determines “every aspect of life” of the people (Torkula, 2006, p.9). A renowned scholar of the African traditional religion, John Mbiti rightly asserted that “Africans are notoriously religious” (Mbiti, 1969, p.1), and the Tiv are another perfect example of this assertion. Agber, et al. (2015, p. 215) also indicated that Tiv cosmological and historical

interpretations about supernatural forces, spiritual beliefs, social values, and cultural practices cannot be extricated from their Indigenous religious traditions, even in this era of Christianity.

Among the Tiv, a healthy Tiv community is that which is characterized by the right behavior that produces and safeguards lives, property, community, and the destiny of the people, essentially, this envisioned community is significantly influenced by the activities of the supernatural forces and the people's relationship with them. The human behavior that independently or in association with some of the supernatural forces disrupts or distorts the prevalence of peace in the community is declared aberrational, abhorrent, and condemnable. Tiv supernatural forces and human behavior have huge implications for peacemaking and every member of the community is kept in check.

Supernatural Forces - The Tiv believe in four fundamental supernatural forces: (1) *Aondo*, *deities*, and *ancestors*, (2) *Tsav* (mystical power), (3) *Akombo* (deity) and (4) *Adzov* (spirits), Basically, these cosmic forces influence and regulate the people's behavioral patterns and quality of leadership. The community members who gain access to or the possession of these forces like the *Tor-Mbatsav* (leader of witchcraft), *Tor-Akombo* (chief possessor of the cosmic forces), and *Tor-Jov* (leader of the spirit cult) can manipulate them for good or evil (Torkula, 2006). Their behavior and use of these forces is condemned or commended based on the evil or good association with particularly the forces of *tsav*, *akombo*, and *adzov*,

Aondo, Deities, and Ancestors- The paramount force in Tiv cosmology is *Aondo* (the Supreme Being). The Tiv believe that *Aondo* is the Creator of the universe and the Controller of all animate and inanimate, tangible and intangible, high and low, and natural and supernatural realities that exist. *Aondo* created the universe and man to function in harmony and serenity, however, man is "to maintain this equilibrium" (Torkula, 2006, p. 8). When man disrupts the equilibrium, he and the community suffer calamities and tribulations. In terms of immanence,

Aondo was so close to humanity, until the woman who was pounding yam hit Him with her pestle. He decided to soar to the higher skies to avoid similar risks (Torkula, 2006). Nevertheless, *Aondo* still interacts with *umace* (“humanity”).

Tiv deities for example *Swem* (“conscience deity”), *Mku* (“good luck deity”), *Twel* (“malaise deity”) and *Fe* (“marksmanship deity”) and Tiv ancestors namely; *Takuruku*, *Tiv*, *Ichongo*, *Ipusu* are the mediums that *Aondo* uses to administer order and justice to the world and the community (Torkula, 2006). The living community occupies the low-down (material world), but *Aondo*, the deities, and ancestors live in the spiritual realm. Thus, everyone is born and nurtured to be well behaved and live a commendable life for this supreme goal – “to reach this spiritual habitat” (Torkula, 2006, p.8). This implies that living in peace and promoting the welfare of the community is very fundamental to every Tiv person.

The *Tsav* potency is the sacred power or craft that can occasion the attainment of the objective of the possessor or owner who manipulates it. When the entire community is the beneficiary, *tsav* is termed benevolent, “but if the goal is harmful to the community, it is considered as malevolent” (Torkula, 2006, p.7). Originally, *tsav* is a neutral potency that is capable of producing good and evil and is usually associated with elders and leaders. It enhances them with the powers to lead the people in the right direction of peace. However, it becomes malevolent when the owner or possessor uses it with recklessness and envy. For this reason, *tsav* has been given a sinister connotation whenever it is mentioned (Edwards, 1983). It is not seen as a resource for peacemaking only, but also as a tool for perpetrating violence, which can nevertheless be corrected. *Tsav* is therefore an ambivalent material for peace and violence like the AK47 is to the modern society; the bane and recipe for peace.

In Tiv cosmology, *Adzov* are supernatural beings or fairies that also have serious implications for conflict and peace. In other words, even though the *Adzov* are invisible by nature,

they make themselves visible to those who have esoteric or extraordinary psychic powers, and to whom they choose to manifest through incorporeal apparitions, material interactions and social activities like farming, hunting, and marriages. It is difficult and complex to explain how *Adzov* are both physical and spiritual. Nevertheless, one can see them as unique as kind of cosmic potencies, which also perform social functions as agents of peace and prosperity. *Adzov* may be described as superior to *Tsav* and *Akombo* because of their visibility and invisibility and interaction with man through social events (Wegh, 1998). Concerning peace, *Adzov* hate evil, violence, malevolence and counteract adverse and nefarious *tsav*. This Tiv cosmological element is also found among the Idoma ethnic community who refer to it as *Anjenu* and the Hausa community calls it *Aljenu*. Besides, it has not been destroyed by colonialism and the legacies of Western science and religion but it has remained a value for peacemaking and social purification among the Tiv (Torkula, 2006, p. 17).

Akombo refers to a divinity or deity. In Tiv culture, “a divinity and deity are interchangeable – the two supernatural entities are the same” (Torkula, 2006, p.12). *Akombo* is a cosmic power that checks crimes and brings wealth, fortune, peace, and welfare to the community. Over twenty Tiv divinities or deities can be enumerated, and they include *Igbe*, the deity that strikes the victim with diarrhea upon invocation and heals the victim upon propitiation that is symbolized by a piece of broken pot and a creeping plant called *Ager*. As the god of pulmonary disorder, *Swende* visits the victim with a miscarriage or the death of the child of the man or woman who kills a dog or man or touches its carcass. Killing and eating dogs and humans are taboo in Tiv culture and incur the wrath of *Swende*. The deity of good luck and wealth to the community is *Imborvyungu*. The highest divinity in the Tiv religious worldview is *Biamegh*, the god of prosperity, health, fame, and protection, and its initiates must subscribe to the *Pôôr* deity who machinates good hunting. Other hunting divinities are *Fe* and *Ikyegh-Gbenda*, who respectively

enhance marksmanship and place spells on the prey to surrender to the initiate. Despite scholarly debates about its deistic status, *Swem* is seriously consulted to demonstrate a clear conscience, to punish the deceitful, sift blamelessness from the guilt, enforce compliance with community norms, and to take oaths. *Mku* is the divinity that removes ill-luck and impediments inspired by the destructive *Tsav*. The *Wayo* deity is invoked upon for protection from theft and encroachment and to punish transgressors with swollen bodies or tumors, and for the same impacts, the *Kwambe* deity is invoked upon. The Tiv treat impotency in men and women by invoking the *Dôôr* deity, and in women the *Igbianjôr* deity. The *Twel* deity wields a general body malaise on the victim, while the *Agashi* deity maligns the victim's nostrils. The *Ashwe* deity treats coughs and other ailments and can also be entreated to sour relationships and cause disharmony. The *Yese Uya* is the spiritual potency that causes and treats stomach aches and the *Il-Shima* deity turns the victim's heart away from other people, to favor the initiate and user. The *Akpiti* deity is invoked upon to paralyse or cripple the legs, waist and limbs of the victim.

It is worth stating that the mastery of and initiation into the *tsav*, *adzov* and *akombo* cults or cosmic potencies are open to men and women, and in some cases, only one gender can access the deity. Fundamentally, these divinities exist in the Tiv worldview for the common purpose of advancing prosperity, welfare, safety, and peace to the individual and the community. In Chapter 5, the research participants indicate that where these supernatural potencies are regrettably manipulated for evil or malevolence, the Tiv elders and the peacemaking gatherings are convened to devise adequate interventions that will curb its future recurrence, stop its perpetuation and address the harms that it has caused. In summary, *Aondo*, *Tsav*, and *Akombo* are supernatural elements in the Tiv cosmology. They are also conceived as peacemaking resources. They regulate human behavior and activities from destroying the serenity and order of creation (Makar, 1975), and they facilitate the stability, harmony, and well-being of the community.

1.4 Tiv Social Systems as Resources of Peacemaking

In Tiv cosmology, social elements such as land, settlement patterns, human persons, social institutions, and leadership systems are conceived of as instruments of maintaining peace and social order. Tiv supernatural resources regulate human behavior and activities to maintain serenity and prosperity, and social resources accelerate the entire process.

Land - To the Tiv people, the land is a social and spiritual element. It is a spiritual resource from *Aondo*; it is God-given and thus sacred. Iorapuu (2012) captures both the spiritual and social implications of land by asserting that for the Tiv, “land is not just a piece of ground, it is the land of their ancestors and is therefore sacred. The land is owned by the community and should not be sold”; thus the Tiv guard against any form of encroachment that defiles it, and when it unfortunately occurs, the Tiv purify the land using “mystical forces [of] akombo” (p. 59). The Tiv man is not expected to personalize the ownership of land, this act will afflict the community with calamities and tribulations, and disturb “the tranquility and soul of creation” (Torkula, 2006, p. 4). Another social value of land is that it is meant to aid the production of food and provide space for the celebration of life and prosperity. Like the Indigenous Australians who frown at the disrespectful sale of this sacred gift (Genger, 2018), the Tiv people are also fretting and frowning at the loss of Tiv land today to capitalist practices. The non-saleability as well as the communal ownership and use of land to enhance and celebrate life are moral absolutes to the Tiv community. In the Tiv worldview, the land is a resource meant to enhance the availability of peaceful conditions such as food production, the celebration of life, respect, cooperation, and settlement.

Settlement Patterns - Tiv settlement patterns are equally geared toward securing social and moral order. Typical Tiv settlement patterns have key connotations for peacemaking. For instance, the settlement patterns consist of compounds, which in turn are made of round huts. These huts are built beside each other to form a circular format that leaves a large circular

playground or compound in the middle. Most round huts are for sleeping and one or two are for storing food and preparing meals.

The arrangement of these huts in a circular format is relevant for peacemaking in many different ways. The circular format signifies the peace values of relationality, unity, equity, and equality (University of Missouri, 2007), and this symbolic structure and associated values are inculcated into every member of the community. These peacemaking values are akin to the Canadian Indigenous communities' cosmology of a circle that is a symbol of equity and the demonstration of the equality of the members who are living together as egalitarians (Hawkins, 2008).

The peacemaking implications of the open space in the middle of the huts are that they serve as a recreational and educational opportunity to every category of the community. Space is originally intended to be a playing ground for the children to meet and recreate. It is also space for young people to gather together in the moonlight to be educated with stories, folktales, riddles, and jokes that pertain to the world, their ancestors, the community, and their personal development. The adults also use it for various social celebrations and events.

The round compound usually accommodates the rest hut or hut of justice (“the *Ate*”). This is the hut where many peace activities take place. Foremost, the *Ate* is a place of succor and peacemaking. Anyone who runs into the *Ate*, a stranger, or a community member is hurt. The compound head (“the *orya*”) uses it to rest and to access and assess the hostile or friendly relationships between the members. Compound and family heads meet in the *Ate* for *tar soron* (“fixing of the community”) through gatherings like *Ijir* (“conflict resolution”) and *imongo* (“informal and formal conversations”). Decades ago Bohannan (1957) described *Ijir* as a folkmoot, that is, a meeting to manage a dispute that ended without a final decision. On the contrary, the *Ijir* assembly always interactively arrived at constructive decisions, which the

conflict parties and all others are strongly bound to uphold for the welfare and harmony of the community. If the compound is large enough, the occasional entertainment theater of *Kwagh Hir* was performed there. This event is meant to cleanse the community of conflicts and the spirits that haunt them.

The Tiv housing and compound systems are indeed significant instruments for peacemaking. They essentially emphasize and symbolize community, connection, relationship, and equality. They also provide opportunities to teach and learn about peace and to cleanse the community of haunting evils and violence.

The human person - is another creative peacemaking resource that is embedded in the Tiv worldview. The Tiv see the human person not as an individualistic entity, but as a connected unit of the community. This means that the human person is understood to be more than a biological, anatomical, physiological, and psychological entity, but as a combination of all that form the *Or* which means the living male or female child, youth, adult or the elderly. *Or* has *iyol* (“body”), *uma* (“life”), *shima* (“heart”), and *jijingi* (“spirit”). The body of the individual members of the Tiv community is vivified by the spirit, while the heart provides it with the psychic-power to discern between evil and good, and the vital force and performance energy to help the individual with the moral responsibility to abhor and avoid evil and to appreciate good and act in its direction (Agbo, 2016; Tarbo, 1980). In other words, the human person in the Tiv worldview is essentially good, However, influential social factors can sway it towards evil. *Or* is therefore by nature a moral and social being whose farming, entertainment, family, spiritual, personal, and communal activities are expected to advance prosperity and peace or nourish the community and its members. It also implies that it is the *Or* who was morally and socially responsible and not the evil one who will join the ancestrally host at death. Tiv cosmology and epistemology of the human

person as a morally responsible being has remained an essential content of peace education among the people.

Kinship – This is another peacemaking value of the Tiv community. Tiv kinship exists on two overarching bases. Kinship based on birth connotes one’s community membership on the grounds of marriage, family, and community relationships. Kinship by descent results from shared Tiv peoplehood and clannage. Tiv’s value of kinship is highly respected. It is considered as sacred and supreme over all political associations the members may be affiliated with. Every level of kinship comes with and encourages social responsibility towards the members and the community (Torkula, 2004, p. 12).

As a peacemaking opportunity, kinship by birth and descent offers various services to the Tiv. It emphasizes unbreakable family ties, community relationship, and national unity, especially by inculcating into the members the *esprit de corps* slogan for survival and unity, namely, *Ayatutu ka u no, ka se*. It also enshrines in the members the values of co-existence, collaboration, and mutual protection and support. Tiv kinships have many various customary regulations that they developed to discourage and control sexual improprieties, domestic violence, and family vendettas, and customs that enhance the proper upbringing of children and the development of adults. In another fascinating way, Tiv kinships provide succor, guardianship, and mediation to members who are threatened by bad *tsav*, various forms of violence, and persistent ailments. Overall, these levels of affinity are invoked to unite the Tiv against their common enemies, even if this is done violently or non-violently. The Tiv lineage system does offer its people the “common rule or scale on which varying activities are zoned [and] moral values may be measured” (University of Missouri, 2015, no. 6.11).

Social Institutions – Tiv social institutions offer many opportunities for peacemaking. The social institutions represent the two overriding kinships the Tiv have namely, kinship by birth and

kinship by descent. Torkula (2004, p. 40) reveals that Tiv social institutions are meant to facilitate political order, economic progress, and cultural development for the people.

The nuclear family is the first social unit of the Tiv. It comprises of the wife and the husband, and their children. It is called *Ya* “(home)”. The families with the same grandparents aggregate to form the nuclear family or compound also known as *Ya* (“compound/nuclear family”). Compounds that share the same patrilineal kinship are collectively referred to as the *Ityo* (“clan”) and the *Ityo* groups make up the *Tar* (“Super-clans”). The apex social institution of the Tiv that is the accretion of the clans is known as the *Tar Tiv*, that is, “the Tiv nation” (Torkula, 2004b, p. 39). Once again, the institutionalization of the *Tor Tiv* traditional leadership stool by the colonial administrators and the creation of additional traditional offices by the postcolonial state in Benue State has not obliterated the pre-colonial social institution. However, the postcolonial state is continually distorting, subjugating, and disrupting the Tiv with its hegemonic apparatuses and protocol. Despite these disruptive and destructive impacts, Tiv social institutions have maintained their egalitarian consciousness and characteristics such as one peoplehood, unrelenting fraternity, shared social responsibility, and communal harmony and security.

Another aspect of Tiv social institution is the age group. Men and women belong to groups that were proper for their ages. “Usually, the age-group system among the Tiv comprised of persons within the same age bracket in the society who pursued common interests or goals that brought mutual benefits to them or boost their image and respect in the society” (Torkula, 2004b, p. 24). The traditional institution of age-group is not peculiar to the Tiv, the pre-colonial element is also extant in many African communities serving various public duties like vigilante watch, crime control and the execution of community projects (Igbo & Ugwuoke, 2013, p. 163).

The peacemaking implications of Tiv social institutions are variegated. For example, social institutions are essentially meant to bring order and to facilitate moral discipline and crime

control in the community. Writing about the Tiv, Nyityo (2010, p. 29) asserts that by the principle of egalitarianism, “no segment was allowed to dominate the others unduly”. This is because as an egalitarian society, the Tiv did not create social classes. Instead, the Tiv established universal institutions of belonging where shared kinship and age sets offered everyone the sense of belonging and membership in the society. These bases of belonging discouraged exclusion and subjugation of the other, as well as providing protection and liberation if needed. Tiv social institutions also assisted in arbitrating peace and justice. In this light, Nyityo (2003, p. 29) explains that:

It was the duty of the elders to come together to share the basic productive resources of the community equitably. Land user rights, for instance, were equitably distributed and access to land was usually based on need rather than on a desire to accumulate on a massive scale, the available land resources. This is not to suggest that the basic human instinct of competition was lacking among the Tiv, but that they were checked by traditional sanctions. Thus, the communally oriented lifestyle of the Tiv, a moderated competitive spirit, and a disinclination toward leading an individualistic lifestyle all conspired to work against the emergence of political centralization in Tiv land.

Another peacemaking implication of Tiv social systems is that they effectively influence constructive followership. With every member of the society given and having a sense of belonging and participation, it becomes easy for them to show cooperative followership. Nyityo (2010) also explains that cooperative followership was a notable feature of the Tiv people in pre-colonial times, with its residues largely experienced by people today. While the gerontocratic leaders and social groups provided promoted customs of peace and common welfare, they were expected to match this up with their lifestyle that earned them the required respect and obedience. Generally, there can be no successful peacemaking unless the members and facilitators of the process exhibit the aura of respect, trust, and acceptability.

The Tiv social context is an opportunity for peacemaking and it is related to the widely acceptable African social philosophy of Ubuntu. While elaborating on Ubuntu, Murithi (2006)

asserts that across African geographical and cultural landscapes, this social philosophy can be found, and it is well encapsulated in the social practices and processes of the people. Ubuntu is a common phenomenon among African communities and can be harnessed for successful peacebuilding in Africa.

Tiv Leadership System – The fundamental functions of leadership in Tiv social institutions include guarding the community against harm, keeping custody of the community’s heritage, promoting and protecting the identity and harmony of the community, maintaining peace and order in the community and ensuring the prosperity of the members. In general, Tiv leaders are expected to be human collaborators with the supernatural forces to regulate the behavior of society and affect good governance (Torkula, 2006, p.9).

The egalitarian nature of the Tiv society is characterized by many segmented kinships that have caused the Tiv to have different leadership systems. The pre-colonial leadership systems include the *Orya u ken iyol* (“nuclear family head”); *Orya u ken Ate* (“compound/extended family head”); and the *Or-tar* (“kindred head). For administrative purposes, the colonial officers began to impose new leadership offices on the Tiv with the creation of the *Tor Tiv* stool in 1947. The *Tor Tiv* (“The Tiv Paramount Chief”) is the monarch of Tiv land. Unfortunately, this disruptive trend has been sustained and firmly entrenched by the post-colonial state administrators who have made it a norm, even though some protests are being raised against it. Consequently, the Tiv land has existing leadership offices like the *Ityo-or* (“district head); *Ter* (“clan head”); and *Tor* (“mega clan head) (Torkula, 200b, p. 45). To confront any threat or escalation of conflict, the leader of the affected jurisdiction as it is customary, will organize the convention of the *Mtem u jiri* (“assembly”). When the matter concerns the entire Tiv nation, the *Tor Tiv* and his cohort of elders will convene the *Ijir-Tamen* (“the Great Assembly of the Tiv”). Tiv leaders are looked upon by

their members as the benefactors of the people and fathers “to whom they can always run to for resolution of their problems” (Torkula, 2004b, p. 45).

1.5 The Tiv Woman as a Peacemaker

“The origin of the Tiv woman cannot be determined separately from the origin of the Tiv ethnicity itself” (Torkula, 2009, p. 7). Her origin is deeply woven within the narratives of the beginning and migration as well as Tiv’s worldview, social values, and political development. The Tiv woman is proud of her Tiv-ness in terms of identity and womanhood despite the challenging experiences she has about Tiv religious beliefs and practices, cultural taboos and opportunities, family and social systems as well as agricultural and commercial traditions that also impact the other members of the community (Torkula, 2009). Similar to the experiences of the other community members, the Tiv woman’s personal and social activities are equally influenced by the knowledge, respect, and fear of *Aondo*, *tsav*, and *akombo* as well as social norms and taboos (Torkula, 2009). The Tiv woman does not compete with men to be admitted into the same deities as *Biameh* (“fortune”); she is admitted into it and others like the *wayo* (“swelling”), *door* (“impotence”) and *ingbianjov* (“infertility”) that are reserved and open to her (Torkula, 2006, p. 122). Tiv women who joined and partook in these cults and supernatural activities enhanced their magico-religious status in Tiv society (Torkula, 2009, p.14). The Tiv woman’s social and peacemaking status understood in this light is akin to how Queens Nzinga of Ndongo (Angola), Yaa Asantewaa (Ghana), Ranaivalona III (Madagascar), and Aqualtune Ezgondidu Mahamud da Silva Santos (Congo) rose to be great warriors, peacemakers, commanding leaders and memorable resisters of colonialism in the 1800s (Johnson, 2018).

The Tiv worldview appreciates the shared humanity between the Tiv woman and man. The Tiv woman enjoys a significant amount of respect and influence in the community. For example, even though she is married to her husband, she is respected as the community’s wife

and she can influence some things in her home and marriage communities. She is also protected from domestic, sexual, and physical violence with the promulgation of powerful taboos and customs. Take the case of the snail that is tied on the neck of young girls, this is meant to compel the men to respect her dignity and virginity and avoid premarital sex with her. The *idugh* (“removal”) deity is invoked by the Tiv to keep the Tiv woman free from adultery. The male who violates a young woman’s virginity risks impotence and in the case of adultery is made to undergo the cleansing ceremony known as *wua-tia* (“propitiation with a cow”) to the seduced husband. Or, he will give the woman’s husband a *ikyegh* (“fowl”) that is killed through witchcraft whenever the husband chooses to do so. When the husband or community mistreats the wife, the risk is that the patrilineal family as a peacemaking measure evacuates her with her children to her father’s compound. Unless the in-laws perform the required reconciliatory rites, she will not be allowed to return to her husband. The husband’s age group members often jeer at him for being violent and unable to keep his wife. He also risks ostracization from the age group. Tiv pre-colonial society offered the woman the protection she deserved and the chance to express herself, in fact, it “left nothing to chance and was always on guard to avoid any behavior that might offend the gods or the deities” (Torkula, 2009, p. 23).

The Tiv woman’s peacemaking roles were evident in Tiv society in various ways, in both pre-colonial and post-colonial times. She is an active individual and a peacemaking collaborator in the political and social life of Tiv society. According to Ihuah (2010), the “*Kwase* Tiv (“Tiv woman) wielded reasonable political authority, economic power and social influence in the pre-colonial period than at any time in Nigeria” (p. 10). It is not only the Tiv woman that was an active Indigenous peacemaker in African pre-colonial and post-colonial history. Falola and Nana (2012, p. 155) demonstrate how, “[African] women in one form or the other, participated in the political administrations of their societies”. In some cases, African women emerged as the

forerunners of peace and development in their communities. A renowned African female sociologist, Oyewumi (1997) regrets the loss of this noble peacemaking tradition of African women and how the peacemaking narratives are distorted or ignored by the dominant, biased, and polemic colonial anthropological writings. The polemic Western writings succeeded in disempowering, domesticating, and subjecting African women to their men, a situation that did not exist in pre-colonial Africa. Against this development, Oyewumi (1997) challenges African scholars to be nativists who must write about the recovery and true representation of the African woman in their respective societies.

The Tiv woman is also a peacemaker with specific functions and activities performed in the family, the first unit of Tiv society. She is seen actively sustaining the family and its lineage. She happily bears children and raises them in moral and peaceful ways. She teaches the girl child domestic and farming skills and the value of keeping her sexual sanctity or virginity (Torkula, 2009, p. 21). The Tiv woman proudly prepares meals and feeds her immediate and extended family members and strangers and feels that “it is almost an abomination for a man (husband) to cook” and perform this role (Torkula, 2009, p.27). Peacemaking through food production or food security is another prominent role the Tiv woman plays with her husband. Both the husband and wife recognize each other as an important participant in the farming venture of the family. In the Tiv worldview, there is a division of labor in matters of food production, but both the wife and the husband do the same work and collaboratively make “intra-household decisions”(Ivande, Igbokwe, & Olaolu, 2015, p. 121).

Both the husband and wife through collaborative intra-household decisions decided on when to cultivate, what crops to cultivate, where to cultivate, and what crops to sell. However, in most cases, it is the woman who decides the method that will be used for processing the farm work, how to process the farm produce and when to sell the commercial portions of the harvest.

Apart from the sale of the commercial portion of the harvest, the Tiv woman also sells her crafts like pottery, calabashes, gourds, and beer, and with the impact of modernity, she trades in woven Tiv clothes like *anger*, *gbagir*, and *chado* to support the family's needs, which Burton (1990) claims the lack of satisfying those needs can create and escalate conflicts.

In the areas of advancing public health, the Tiv woman is also a very active actor. As a peacemaker, she engages in medicinal practices and health care activities to provide healing to the members of the community. In this vein, Ihugh (2014) reveals that “in the pre-colonial era, women were medical practitioners in Tiv land”, they were knowledgeable in medicine and prominent in advancing the mental and physical peace of their people. They did so by providing the people with health care in the areas of surgery, charms preparation, childbirth, gynecological attention, fertility treatment, prescription of herbs, recuperation therapy, and pediatric medicines. They were equally good performers of cleansing rituals in the community (p. 260).

The Tiv woman is a theatre peacemaker and an active performer of the Tiv traditional *kwagghir* art. The *kwagghir* art is a Tiv aesthetic and performance theatre. It is a vehicle for entertainment and relaxation, the inculcation of cultural values, and the assertion of Tiv identity. As a theatre of peacebuilding, *kwagghir* fosters cooperation, influences healthy competition, harnesses and mobilizes the creative energies of the people, and enhances good social behavior and public opinion in the Tiv nation (Tsaaior, 2016). *Kwagghir* is also functionally used as a cleansing event to purify the land of all evil, conflict, and wizardry (Harper, 1997, p. 372). As a core performer in the *kwagghir* theatre, the Tiv woman uses it to advance the peace of her community. She also joins the group members to use the theatre to serve as “the first instructors to their children in informal settings”, inculcating the children with Tiv peacemaking wisdom and the obligation of being socially responsible (Tsaaior, 2016, p. 7). The Tiv woman uses humor to facilitate conflict resolution. Humor is also important within the Tiv worldview. For example,

Kyoon-achan (2013) cites a case where Tiv women successfully used humor and teased conflict parties and influenced them to make peace. The women “changed the conflict dynamic by creating a relaxed atmosphere for discussion and bringing up sensitive issues that the couple faced” (p. 187).

The overall picture of the Tiv woman is that she is a great resource and peacemaking actor remembering and teaching the pre-colonial and postcolonial histories of her society. Even though colonial distortions have twisted her status and social presence in the creation of Tiv social processes and have relegated her to the background, subjugating her to male dominance, the Tiv woman has remained an impactful peacemaker, and a great influencer in the running of Tiv society and Nigeria (Ihugh, 2018, p. 25). Furthermore, the status of the Tiv woman as an Indigenous peacemaker that advances the humanity and welfare of the community, is contrary to her counterparts in Western liberal peace-building who above all seek to build, promote, and protect the integrity of the state by enforcing its hegemonic apparatuses on the people, using agents like the police, the military, incarceration, courts, and a capitalist economy. In other words, the Tiv woman as an Indigenous peacemaker is a welfarist, and not a statist like liberal peace-builders.

It is often argued that colonialism brought liberation to the Tiv woman taking her away from “cultural inhibitions to face the opportunities offered by modernity” and releasing her to participate in the echelon of modern life and its liberal systems (Torkula, 2009, p. 63). However, the foregoing has illustrated that the colonial culture is the key factor that has inhibited the Tiv woman by relegating and subjugating her to her male counterpart. The Tiv woman was more expressive as a peacemaker in pre-colonial times than in the latter era.

Writing about African women, Falola and Amponsah (2012) demonstrated how they actively participated in the development of their communities by performing various formal and

informal activities. They did so through “farming, trading, child-rearing, social entertainment, artistic production and distribution, religion, cultural transmission” as well as through political leadership and the establishment of community events such as festivals, cultural norms, and values of their societies. African women defined and determined the private and public life of their communities (p. 5). Furthermore, Isike and Uzodike (2011) pictured the active political and peacemaking contributions of the African woman as follows:

Women have always been at the centre of peace processes across different pre-colonial African societies. Their peace agency in these societies can be located in their cultural and socio-political roles as well as their contributions to the overall well-being of these societies. It is noteworthy that women’s peace-building roles then were reinforced by perceptions, which stereotyped women as natural peacemakers, and as being more pacific than men. However, women in neo-colonial African states appear to have lost this myth/sacredness that surrounded their being and social existence in pre-colonial Africa. This is because apart from being marginalised socially, economically, and politically, they have increasingly become victims of male violence (1).

Also, Oyewumi (1997, p. 27) also acknowledges the active political contributions of African women in pre-colonial times. She argues that this was made possible because of Africa’s non-genderized societies and its Indigenous philosophy of “common humanity”; these two factors do not create an antithesis between the man and the woman, but encourage, recognize and celebrate their shared humanity and respective social responsibilities (p. 33).

Falola and Amponsah (2012) and Oyewumi (1997) blame the distorted imaging of African women and the suppression of their heroic history on colonial narratives. Falola and Amponsah (2012) observe that European writers and travelers selectively “interacted with the ruling classes and scarcely looked at [African] women” from the African worldview but theirs. These colonial narratives stereotypically depicted African women as princesses, queen mothers, concubines and slaves who are subordinate to their male counterparts (Falola & Amponsah, 2012, p.1). Imperial biases and stereotyping ensured that these foreign notions have continued to depict African women “as victims of Africa’s social and cultural institutions and a group with no voice or

agency” (p.2). Indeed, it is worrisome to see these polemic and imperial narratives continue to distort and replace African Indigenous worldviews with foreign notions and exert overbearing influences on the views, writings, and arguments of African scholars. Oyewumi (1997) blames imperial narratives for misrepresenting Africa and the African woman, she also frowns upon African scholars for being ashamed of their cultures as they mimic the former colonizer’s chauvinism. In this way, they fail to proudly represent Africa and its true Indigenous practices and social philosophies. She implies that African scholars are ignorant and embarrassed to discuss their cultures as they were in pre-colonial societies. The cost of the shame is that they have failed to explore and advance the beauty and rich values of Africa’s pre-colonial history. By patronizing and aligning to Western imperial narratives, they have furthered the chauvinism that was established against African identity, values, and practices.

Against this dismal destruction and misrepresentation of Africa and African women, Oyewumi (1997) challenges African scholars to no longer write as “antinativists” that use their arguments to twist Africa’s “difference” or different history; make Africa share “sameness with the West”; create “African versions of Western things”; and to please the dominant colonial narratives, imperial donors and the Western academy (p. 19). Rather, they should write as “nativists” who proudly identify with their worldview no matter how different and not the same it is with the West to represent the true side of Africa whose *sui generis* identity, values, and practices have equal agency and are imitable (p.18).

This study is nativist in perspective and argument. It has presented the Tiv society by celebrating and upholding the people’s Indigenous peacemaking values and practices without worrying about their sameness or differences with the Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm. It is the people’s peacemaking wisdom and not the liberal practices that will intrinsically address their conflict experiences. Insisting on the dominance of the liberal peacebuilding paradigm

unfortunately implies insistence on colonial relegation, destruction and rejection of their identity and invaluable peacemaking resources and traditions.

1.6 Tiv Conflict Experiences

Tiv conflict experiences are characterized by spiritual and physical encounters. In the Tiv worldview, spiritual conflicts are those related to supernatural forces like *Aôndo* (“God”), *akombo* (“rituals/deities”), *tsav* (“witchcraft”), and *azôv* and *ujjingi* (“spirits”). Physical conflicts on the other hand refer to the direct and indirect human attacks made on Tiv and non-Tiv targets (University of Missouri, 2007).

The Tiv allege that some members of the community use and manipulate supernatural forces to harm or assault others. They do not use *Aondo* (“God the Creator”) but the other spiritual potencies to attack, kill, jinx, deform and cast the spells of misfortune on their targeted victims (Torkula, 2004). The conflicts that the Tiv associate with *Aondo* are natural or eco-systemic disasters like floods, drought, hurricanes, and the peaceful death of the aged member. The Tiv interpret these conflicts as manifestations of *Aondo*’s anger for their misbehavior. To address the conflicts from bad manipulations of the spiritual forces and natural situations from *Aondo*, the Tiv perform an *akombo* (“deity”) ritual to neutralize the spell and to cleanse the land and to appease *Aondo* (Aboh, 2005, p. 87).

In the Tiv worldview, physical conflicts are those relating to *umache* (“humans”), and *tar* (“land, district, locality”) (Agber et al., 2015). The Tiv remember and pass on to later generations the stories of the migration wars they fought against their enemies as they moved from the disintegrated Bantu civilization to their present abode in the Benue Valley. On arrival in this region, they fought against some of the surrounding ethnic communities. They have also had dangerous clashes within the Tiv nation between communities and families. These physical conflicts were motivated by perceived and actual threats and competition for resources like land

and fishing ponds. Aluaigba (2011) reports that even in the post-colonial era, the Tiv have had serious conflicts within the Tiv nation and their neighbors over land and political matters.

Now, the Tiv are barbarically marauded by Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen (Adamu & Ben, 2017). This conflict experience has gained international attention and reaction and has been objectively represented as an outcome of past grievances. The government in power is accused of deliberately politicizing it for the benefit of the Muslim groups. This is because the government has disfranchised the Tiv people and refused to arrest and publicly arraign the marauders despite the genocide killing of the Tiv, dislodging them, and occupying their ancestral lands as well as uttering more public threats against the Tiv and the state (Adamu & Ben, 2017).

In the Tiv worldview, *Aondo* created the world and made it serene and orderly. *Umace* (“humanity”) is to enjoy this creational justice and collaborate with God to sustain this gift. It is thus aberrational for the members of the community to abuse the creational order and the social life they belong to. It is a taboo and an ostracisable abomination to disrupt the social order. The Tiv participants informed me during my fieldwork that those who perpetrate conflicts not only disrupt the community, but they also lose their humanity. Usually, the Tiv do not leave or ostracize conflict perpetrators. The community embarks on various Indigenous strategies to re-humanize and restore them into the community (Kyoon-achan, 2013, p.198),

1.7 Tiv Nostalgia and Demand for Indigenous Peace Values and Ethnophilosophies

The Tiv have many other ethnophilosophies of peace aside the peacemaking resources that have been outlined in this Chapter. Ethnophilosophies like *num* (“fight”), *ityav* (“war”), *ijirteman* (“judgement gathering”), *ikyur* (“peace covenant”), *kua a ior* (“rectificatory evacuation of daughter and children to the wife’s patrilineage”), *igba* (“matrilineal kinship”), *swem* swearing (“truth oath-taking”), *akombo* (“invocation of the deity of peace and wealth”), and *tsav* (“magical religious manipulation for peace and fortune”) are used at various times to address challenging

situations in Tiv land. Other ethnophilosophies also include Tiv dances (“*amar*”), festivities (“*iniongo*”), theater festival (“*kwagh-hir*”), posthumous inquest (“*ku oron*”), contributive farming (“*ihumbe*”), invitational farming (“*tom u lohon*”), taking succour in one’s matrilineage (“*yem igba*”), and condolence/funeral visit (“*i shughn/ku zan*”) (Aboh, 2005; Hagher, 2013; Ivande et al., 2015).

The Tiv teach and pass on these peacemaking opportunities to the community and family members. They teach them as matters of obligation, to make the members socially responsible to each other. Children are taught and nurtured with the elements from childhood and guided to internalize them as they grow up (Torkula, 2004, p. 32).

In traditional times, because they were in an egalitarian society, the Tiv had no police system for policing the people and enforcing peace. Elders, age groups, family heads, compound heads, and parents performed their duties of educating for peace and enforcing peacemaking decisions. The Tiv control peacemaking principles include taboos, deities, norms, myths, as well as age and sex groups who would ostracize, tease, and caution their members who falter in their expected behavior. These principles also contributed to peacemaking in the life of the community (Kyoon-Achan, 2013; Torkula, 2006).

Unfortunately, the Tiv are grieving over the destruction and loss of their rich peacemaking heritages to colonialism. The loss of these cultural values has adversely affected their collectivity, identity, power, social process and social order. Torkula (2004) rues the day that due to colonial intrusion, the deeply seated pillars supporting Tiv kinship systems that promoted unity and patriotism became dislocated. Parochialism and clannishness that reminded the Tiv of their shared descent and sense of community have been made irrelevant and were not replaced with an adequate system emphasising the same values. According to Torkula (2004), “the aristocracy and bourgeoisie which European contact introduced did not flourish, the rich and poor divide emerged

in Tiv society and indeed in the country as a whole” (p. 98). While reporting on the Tiv’s regret for the loss of their rich cultural practices and their nostalgia for their restoration, Agber et al. (2015, p. 215) explain that European Missionaries failed to understand the important virtues of the Tiv’s traditional religion and technology. They also went on to condemn the Tiv’s Indigenous values and proficiencies and to replace them with the use of Western technology and tools. According to Agber et al. (2015), the Tiv have not let go of these lost values rather they have expressed nostalgia and are committed to recovering and restoring them. For this reason, the Tiv’s traditional religion, cultural values, moral teachings, peacemaking wisdom, and education and technology is an attempt to satisfy their nostalgia and desire to have them revitalized within the community (Agber et al. (2015). In an articulate appreciation of Tiv material and ideological cultural resources, Shija (2018) re-echoes the community’s hurt because of the colonial distortion of their survival “devices” and the community’s expressed nostalgia for harnessing their Indigenous peace and development tools (p. 6).

It is worth stating that other African communities are also adversely impacted by neocolonialism in this way. As a result, they are also reminiscing and demanding their communities return to these traditional instruments of peace and social order (Issifu & Asante, 2016). This common demand by African communities for the re-insertion of their Indigenous peacemaking practices and worldviews are long overdue and to be expected, their absences is most unfortunate. The appropriate response to counter neo-colonial violence is much more than its condemnation, it is to “overthrow” it with Indigenization.

1.8 Conclusions

This Chapter explored the Tiv community with regards to their ancestral identity, conflict experiences, and peacemaking worldview. It also explored the community’s demand for the re-

entrenchment of Tiv cultural “devices” of survival and peace. There is no doubt that the Tiv have rich worldview and social opportunities, which must be harnessed for local peacemaking. It is clear why this study embarked on exploring in detail what constitutes Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches, and above all else the elements that will assist in mainstreaming them. As already stated, the identification of these abetting factors will be helpful to the Tiv community as well as to African communities on the African continent who have also expressed the same vision and mission. There is no end to reiterating the fact that the African Union’s (AU) call for the entrenchment of African solutions to solve Africa’s problems, and African communities struggles in this light are about “bringing local [initiatives] back” (Malik, 2014) and “revitalizing” their (African) Indigenous ways of knowing and keeping harmony and peace within their communities (Kaya, 2014).

Chapter 2: The Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines six theoretical and literature review streams. They help defend the motivation of this study, which is imperative to identify the factors that will enhance the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking systems and the implications of this struggle for the African continent. The six review trajectories include: (1) a brief description of conflict (2) the holistic theory of Africa's conflicts, (3) the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm, (4) African Indigenous peacemaking approaches, (5) Tiv peacemaking philosophy and (6) the mechanisms for mainstreaming Indigenous systems.

2.2 A Brief Description of Conflict

There is no universal definition of conflict because of the difference factor that drives conflicts. The difference factor refers to the influences of location, time, as well as language, semantics, perceptions, and interpretations that are associated with conflicts. These difference influences form the defining features of conflict and determine its trend. It is in these dimensional ways that the difference factor makes conflict to defy one standard definition and a common descriptive nomenclature.

Thus, conflict has been variously defined as: (1) the opposing and antagonistic interaction between people because of competing interests, identities, and scarce resources (Bercovitch, 1983); (2) the gradual or abrupt eruption of tension and violence between parties in a social encounter (Lederach, 1995); and (3) the violent and destructive engagement by parties due to scarce resources, political domination, economic exploitation, and cultural imperialism (Alao, 2007).

The difference factor has also informed the many typologies of conflict that we have. For example, there are intrapersonal conflicts (within the person), interpersonal conflicts (between persons), intragroup conflicts (between the same group members), and intergroup conflicts (between groups) (Folarin, 2012). There are also intranational conflicts (upheavals within the nation), transnational conflicts (spillovers into other countries), and international conflicts (between different nation states) (Folarin, 2012). Asymmetric conflicts are national or transnational-armed combats between a group and the state, while globalized conflicts refer to coalitions organized against an international conflict party, for example, terrorism and guerrilla warfare, and institutional conflicts occur within and between institutions (Folarin, 2012; Schellenberg, 1996). Allwood (1992) observes that seminar conflict which means a disagreement between conference members and organizers over an alethic, deontic, or epistemic position are becoming commonplace. For example, large groups and cooperatives have sponsored the disruption of seminar conferences that threaten their interests (Entz, 2015).

In general, Schellenberg (1996) and Sandole et al. (2008) have tried to wrap all conflict phenomena into one typology, which they describe as social conflict. Conflicts are social experiences that are characterized by the “opposition between individuals and groups based on competing interests, different identities, and different attitudes” (Schellenberg, 1996, p. 8) and different fears, needs, hopes, resources, power, positions, identities, control, culture, ideas, interests, and perceptions (Rothman & Olson, 2001). Social conflicts are often tagged with peculiar names or descriptions to the factors that influence them, for example, cold war, religious crisis, nuclear war, resource and food war, colonial violence, and others are named based on their geographical features and limits, hence we hear about European wars, American civil war, Middle East crisis, and African conflicts (Byrne & Senehi, 2012).

Three great arguments from Galtung (1967, 2009) are important at this point. The first is that there is contextual difference in the understanding and description of conflict, peace, and remedial strategies. Second, constructive contextual worldviews can be respected and encouraged. Third, in any case, all conflict typologies and their causative factors can be divided into direct and indirect forms. Direct conflicts are the physical and attitudinal acts of violence that involve the use of force or military weapons to destroy human lives and property and to disrupt the social system. Indirect conflicts are structural and non-combative, and they entail the consolidated systems and structures that influence people, ideologies, systems, and processes to become abusive, destructive, repressive, and exploitative of other's rights and property. Africa, no doubt, is confronted with different typologies of conflict, which are persistent, occasional, direct, and indirect.

2.3 Holistic Theory of Conflict and Africa's Conflicts

The "holistic theory of conflict in Africa" (Chingono, 2016, p. 213) is emerging as the new way that scholars are using to represent Africa's conflicts. The "holistic" conflict theory is contrasted with the "mono-causal" conflict theory. The holistic theory regrets that Africa's conflicts are largely misrepresented with the mono-causal perspective, which sees them as single and separate units as if one conflict unit does not relate to the other. In other words, to depict Africa's conflicts mono-causally as inter-ethnic clashes, resource conflicts, secessionist struggles, terrorism, leadership wars, boundary skirmishes, and political upheavals is to misrepresent them or fail to capture their complete dynamics (Aremu, 2010; Bakken & Rustad 2018). The flaws of mono-causal representation are blamed on the overbearing impacts of the dominant Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm, which is said to influence the analysts it sponsors to investigate and describe Africa's conflicts with its parameters and epistemological paradigm (Chingono, 2012).

We are using the Western lens, ideology, arguments, and concepts to represent Africa's conflicts in the manner that serves the interests of the West (Chingono, 2016; Malejaq, 2008). In reiteration, Mac Ginty (2010) and Dei (2014) argue that the Western academy and neoliberal peace-building system coerce peace researchers, analysts and actors to promote the "ideological interests of the global north" (Mac Ginty, 2010, p. 393) in their explorations and representations of conflicts within non-Western societies.

Another critical problem identified with the mono-causal approach is that it depicts Africa's conflicts for the primary goal of promoting peace structures that are not Indigenous but alien and colonial to African conflict communities (Zambakari, 2017).

In other words, for self-serving interests, the liberal peace-building paradigm manipulates analysts with its research and intervention funds to focus their reports toward the establishment, entrenchment, and promotion of its programs namely, "state institutions that adhere to the key tenets of the 'liberal peace': democracy, the rule of law and human rights, and which provide the conditions for capitalist market economies to flourish" (Wallis, 2018, p. 83). Considering that liberal peace-building emphasises administrative and bureaucratic systems, or it is most concerned with movement from addressing "issues" to building "systems" (Lederach, 1997, p. 55). Mac Ginty (2012, p. 302) faults it for being primarily focused on "the technocratization of peace-building" rather than investment in the peace formation of the conflict community. These positions are accurate about liberal peace-building in Africa, hence the myriad of arguments that are challenging it on all fronts about its suitability and viability in addressing Africa's conflicts.

A holistic approach on the other hand, recognises that in Africa every conflict experience and its underlying dynamics, causative factors, and proximate characteristics are inseparable and interrelated. For this reason, every framing and depiction of Africa's conflicts

must highlight them in a collective sense, where the multiple elements of the conflicts are connected, as is truly the case. In this light, Chingono (2016, p. 214) demonstrates that the causes of Africa's conflicts pertain to "political governance, social structures and processes, individual personalities, ethnicity, religion, ideology, economic motives (both greedy and grievances), the colonial legacy, the international capitalist system, and global power politics." They cannot be treated as unrelated individual elements because they are interrelated. This implies that any categorical analysis of Africa's conflicts needs to be nuanced in the exact representation of the true reality of Africa's conflict's throes and woes.

Furthermore, holistic theory of Africa's conflicts places peacemaking for human transformation above the structuralization or technocratization of peace-building. In other words, these holistic theorists have demonstrated that in all Indigenous worldview (Tuso, 2011), especially of Africans (Murithi, 2006), unless there is peace on the inside it can also become manifest on the outside and in their established social structures (Issifu and Asante, 2016). That is, peace has to be formed and owned, not imposed, and coerced with the use of structural hegemonic institutions (Mac Ginty, 2012). For example, the creation of structural hegemonic institutions of peace-building in South Sudan, Central African Republic, Cameroun, the Republic of Congo, Nigeria, and Libya has not produced the required peace in those regions. This makes it important to adopt the Indigenous approaches which have proven to be capable of eliciting internal peace thus creating external peace like *gacaca* in Rwanda. Putting technocratic peace before human peace may work in Western contexts, but there is no hope for it working well in Indigenous contexts (Mac Ginty, 2013) or in Africa where the psychological formation for peace, the appeal to humanity and restorative justice are the core emphases in peacemaking in contrast to the conflictive postcolonial political structures, and neoliberal democratic institutions, which are the key reasons for Africa's conflict dilemmas

(Issifu & Asante, 2016). Neoliberal peace-building systems or hegemonic apparatuses such as democratic institutions, security reforms, capitalist economy, and human rights are increasingly identified as the causes of Africa's persistent conflict woes (Juma, Ogwora, & Amutabi, 2018).

The holistic theory has captured and placed Africa's conflicts into three major categories, which are interrelated. In his holistic theoretical approach, Achankeng (2013, p. 11) states that the representations of Africa's conflicts must contain the colonial experience because by "engaging the colonial factor" the spectrums of the other conflicts will be inevitably explored. The three major holistic conflict representations are: Africa's colonial conflicts, self-destructive conflicts, and the tyranny of participation.

2.3.1 Africa's Colonial Conflicts

According to holistic theory, Africa's conflicts do not always stem primarily from the sources that are claimed such as poor governance, poverty, greed, the scramble for resources, corruption, ethnocentrism, and the failure of governmental institutions, rather the colonial factor is critical because it is "the root of many conflicts in Africa" and by engaging it, the other conflicts will also be addressed (Achankeng, 2013, p. 11). This theory is referring to the 7th century Arabo-Islamic and the 16th century Euro-Christian colonial conquests and incursions which are accused of informing Africa's disruptive and conflictive experiences (Akinsanya, 2010; Igboin, 2011). According to Soyinka (1991), these competing colonial cultures and legacies are constantly extolling, exaggerating, and consolidating their values and identities in Africa to the detriment of the peaceful co-existence of African communities and the survival of African Indigenous identity and resources.

Arabo-Islamic Colonial Conflicts - The Arab-Muslims' invasion of the Northern Saharan region of Africa consolidated after their conquest of Egypt in 642 AD. By 705 AD, they

conquered the Berber (Amazigh) territories in present-day Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania, and subjected the people to the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. By the 11th century, most ethnic communities in the Northern Saharan region were Islamized and Arabized (Abun-Nasr, 2005). Between 1250 AD and 1500 AD, the conquered regions saw the consolidation of Arabo-Islamic culture, manifest in the establishment of centres of learning, and resident colleges such as the Maliki School of Law. The Arabo-culture also introduced “exquisite” and “sumptuous” mosques, madrasahs, and architecturally beautiful buildings, and it also established Islamic conflict resolution processes, which obviously denigrated the local tribal ones (Abun-Nasr, 2005).

In terms of conflictive legacies, the Arabo-Islamic colonial wars of conquests decimated African Indigenous populations and institutionalized Arab culture in the region. This development is still supplanting Afro-Indigenous people, their beliefs, and practices with the enforcement of Arabization and Islamization (Abun-Nasr, 2005). To this day, championed by the United Arab Movement’s (UAM), there is a massive seizure of lands in Sudan and Morocco for Arab custodians (or the global Arab world). The Berber communities, whose Indigenous identity is the *Imazighen* or *Amazigh* people are still inferiorized, marginalized, and repressed from regaining and reasserting their Indigeneity by the imperial Arabization process (Hayoun, 2012; Nasr, 2014; Winegar & Pieprzak, 2009). The Arabization and Islamization programs have not only created discrimination based on Islamic sect memberships, but they have also continually influenced ethnoreligious violent encounters across the African region. According to Abun-Nasr (2005), sect-discrimination began in the 8th century when the different militaristic and dynastic sects (Khārijite, Fihrids, Warfajūma, and Ibādiyyah) fought each other. During this century also, the Arab Muslims derogatorily called the Berber Muslim converts and Jihadists as the *mawālī* (clients), meaning, not original Muslims (Abun-Nasr, 2005). These remarkable incidents will no

doubt survive in the Berbers' memory, and malevolently inspire a response or reactions as the Berbers continue to fight for the reclamation of their pre-invasion identity.

Mazrui (2009) responds to this conflictive cultural divide by articulating the need for a shared African identity for the co-domiciled Arabized and the Indigenous non-Arabized Africans. He describes the former as African brothers by blood (i.e. by geographical and ancestral location) and the latter by soil (i.e. by racial, genealogical, and nationalist bases). Unfortunately, this conceptualization has failed to address the conflictive divide between the groups. To this day, these communities are being devastated by religious conflicts, combustive political relations and destructive mutual suspicions. For example, the 2015 World Bank's Middle East and North Africa (MENA) monitor wonders why despite heavy investment in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and improvement in living standards, overt direct destructive conflicts are still plaguing the co-domiciled regions (World Bank, 2015).

The conflict experiences in North Africa are mostly blamed on the lack of democratic institutions and economic advancement (ACLED, 2014, 2017), and arguably it is suggested that the improvement of these social elements will improve security in the region (ACLED, 2014, 2017; World Bank, 2015). On the contrary, Diallo, (1993) blames the proximate conflicts in the region on the Arab-Muslim colonial impacts as follows:

Afro-Arab relations in [North Africa], Sudan and Mauritania have mainly been characterized by brutal wars, slavery, forced Islamization and Arabization, the systematic destruction of Indigenous cultures, values and civilizations coupled with insatiable territorial expansion on the part of the immigrant [Arab-Muslims] (p. 22).

In the same vein, the 2018 World Bank report titled "Economic Transformation" indicates that despite the economic recovery in North Africa there are still challenges of forcible displacement of people fuelled by political tensions between co-domicile Arabized and non-Arabized communities. In other words, the conflicts are mostly influenced by the divisive colonial legacies in the region.

Arabo-Islamic colonial quest to proselytize and create new converts and to expand their imperial power has created deep social fissures and political fractures that are haunting numerous African communities to this day. For example, even though the Tiv repelled the invading Othman Dan Fodio Jihadists in the 19th century, they are still suffering the brunt of this historical event today (Nwabara, 2008; Nyityo, 2003), arguably evident in the ongoing Fulani herdsmen's marauding attacks and occupation of Tiv lands (Adamu & Ben, 2017).

It is worth stating therefore that to efficiently build peace in Africa, it is no longer helpful shying away from critically explicating the Arabo-Islamic colonial influences and acknowledging their reality and conflictive impacts on the continent. Arabo-Islamic colonialism is considerably the 3rd phase of Africa's re-invention following those by the Mediterranean and Semitic worlds respectively which Mazrui (2005) clearly explains because it has disrupted the Indigenous identities and languages of many African communities (Akinsanya, 2010; Zeleza, 2006). Thus, Azumah (2014) advises that the same critical discourse efforts made by scholarly research, literary novels and emotive films exploring Euro-Christian colonialism should be employed to explicate the continued reality and conflictive impacts of Arabo-Islamic colonialism in Africa to be able to address the numerous conflicts that are associated with it

Achankeng (2013) criticizes the dominant liberal peace-building system for failing to address the conflicts associated with the Arabo-Islamic colonial conflict in Africa. Those conflicts affect the Indigeneity of the "Berbers [who have been increasingly] fighting against the ruling Arab class" (p. 20). He also cautions against casting a blind eye to the phenomenon by African and international communities and calls for "engaging the colonial factor" in Africa. To engage the colonial factors, Thiong'o (2004) advocates for the adoption of African Indigenous peacemaking approaches because of their suitability for communal harmony and integration.

More directly, Moyo and Mine (2016) challenge African communities to use their Indigenous peacemaking forms to confront their conflict quandary.

Euro-Christian Colonial Conflicts – Unlike the Arabo-Islamic colonialism that is largely ignored, the Euro-Christian colonial invasion of Africa has received most condemnatory scholarly punditry. Europeans' encounters with Africa predate the famous 12th century Portuguese conquest wars against the Moorish Jihadists, beyond the Mediterranean regions and the 1884 Berlin Conference, which boosted the European empires' swoop on Africa in a scramble for new colonies (Bertz, 2007).

Generally, the primary goals of earlier Euro-Christian encounters and later colonial invasion of Africa was to access, exploit, and control the continent's human and natural resources (Rodney, 1973). The exploitative colonial scheme has enriched the colonizers and rendered "Africa economically weak and looser in its interaction with the global economy" (Bayeh, 2015, p. 89). Africa has been bequeathed with devastating social, moral, political, psychological, cultural, and economic legacies (Achankeng, 2013).

Similar to Arabo-Islamic colonialism, the Euro-Christian colonial invasion also killed millions of Africans in colonial and anti-colonial wars. It equally destroyed their Indigenous identity, sociogenic and psychogenic values, practices and epistemology (Run, 2013), as well as religious beliefs (Agber et al., 2015), equal gender relations (Oyewumi, 2014), and their Indigenous social mores like respect for elders, truth-telling, communal responsibility, and collaborative development (Igboin, 2011; Okoro, 2010). It also successfully disrupted and pilfered Africa's pre-colonial civilizations that are now in the process of being repatriated (Opoku, 2018; Sarr & Savoy, 2018). Furthermore, the Euro-Christian colonial wave succeeded in pitching Africans against each other by instituting adversarial and propagandist political systems and ideologies, which are largely the underlying causes of Africa's perennial and daily

conflicts today (Juma et al., 2018; Owusu, 1992). It instituted a capitalist economy and materialism over the African cooperative economy, shared humanity and harmonious community (Igboin, 2011). More adversely, it divided Africans by partitioning and forcing them into impossible and artificial entities called nation states (Ikome, 2012), akin to what Anderson (1983, p. 167) describes as “imagined communities” that are consistently ripped apart by internal strife and struggles. The overarching damage of Euro-Christian colonialism is that it misled Africans into seeing themselves as “uncivilized”, and ashamed and hateful of their identity, values, and traditions (Run, 2013; Ikuenobe, 2015).

Tiv scholars like Agber, et al. (2015), Ahokegh (2014) and Shija (2018) also condemn Euro-Christian colonial violence against the Tiv community under the same circumstances outlined above. They passionately call on the community to remobilize its Indigenous values and wisdom to address the adverse experience.

2.3.2 Africa’s Self-Destructive Conflicts

Africa and its communities are also bedeviled by self-destructive conflicts. Despite the lack of sufficient scholarship on this form of conflict, Dukule (2001) richly explicates and discusses this research area. He asserts that of all the conflict malaises infesting Africa and disrupting its peace and growth today, “none is greater than the man-made disasters” (Dukule, 2001, p. 1). In other words, “the greatest harms done to Africa and its people were [and are] African made” (p. 1). Unfortunately, Africa’s self-destructive conflicts or “the palm of stupidity” going around the continent are found in every African community, despite the relative peace that a few communities are enjoying.

Africa’s self-destructive conflicts largely emanate from the “home fronts in each country” and they bring “untold sufferings on the African people” (Dukule, 2001, p. 3). The crux of Dukule’s argument is that Africans are annihilating themselves when they engage each

other in destructive conflicts such as direct wars, violent acts, oppressive systems and regimes, and other criminal activities. Dukule insists that Africans must be immediately mobilized against self-annihilating conflicts.

Self-destructive conflicts are largely influenced by endogenous motivations. Anyanwu and Njoku (2010) describe the endogenous factors that are influencing Africa's self-destructive conflicts as "natural conditions" and they include greed, selfishness, ineptitude, apathy, as well as fear, anxiety, and aggressive resistance or reaction. Anyanwu and Njoku (2010) regret that Africans have allowed these conditions to push them into conflicts that have created havoc without providing benefits for the people. They also observe that due to self-destructive conflicts, Africa has lost its essence. Furthermore, they call on Africans and their leaders to rise and redeem their future, restore their dignity and recapture their destiny.

The "palm of stupidity" found in the "home fronts" of African countries include poor governance or leadership, inter-ethnic skirmishes, resource wars, violent political power tussles, and religious bigotry (Aremu, 2010). Other components of the "palm of stupidity" include murderous activities of terrorists and militia groups and repressive and obliterative military blitzes on communities and people. Scott (2000) describes the despicability of self-destructive conflicts as brother killing brother, while Gyekwe (2013) captures it as gross acts that have stripped the destructive Africans of their dignity, humanity, and personhood.

Against this "palm of stupidity," Zeleza (2008) aptly states that, "the magnitude and impact of these conflicts are often lost between hysteria and apathy [and this is very dangerous] for a continent [that is] mired in and supposedly dying from an endless spiral of self-destruction" (p. 1). Reiterating the voice of Dukule (2001), Zeleza also calls on Africans to allow their wisdom and practices to mobilize them to collectively combat their self-made disasters.

2.3.3 Africa's Tyranny of Participation

The tyranny of participation is the local community's involvement in the foreign schemes that the external influencers have organized for their benefit but to the destruction and exploitation of the targeted and participating community (the comprador class). The tyranny of participation is another holistic representation of Africa's persistent conflict experience. Cooke and Kothari (2001), who developed the concept, explain that the tyranny of participation is the conscious or unconscious collaboration by local participants in schemes and acts organized by external actors to benefit the outside while causing great havoc to the local collaborator. Western political and economic actors with exploitative schemes often target developing world states and community members, especially in Africa. Africans' participation in organized tyrannies has significantly ripped off, disrupted and destabilized Africa's economic, political, and cultural powers for the benefit of the foreign powers. The tyranny of participation is, therefore, another aspect of self-destructive conflict, which is informed by exogenous factors and conditions for the disadvantage of African communities.

Instances of the tyranny of participation in Africa abound. For example, the endless deadly conflicts in the Central African Republic (CAR) are largely blamed on the local communities' participation in the tyrannical schemes influenced by foreign actors such as China, France and Russia and with the support of other African countries like Chad, South Africa, Cameroun, DRC and South Darfur (Agger, 2014). These foreign actors have continued to engage some members of CAR to orchestrate tyrannical schemes relating to the illegal exploitation of timber, gold, uranium, diamonds, and oil exploitation (BBC, 2014; Caulderwood, 2015). Another example is the continued killings of ordinary citizens in Cameroun by the government's national military. Ambazonians' opposition and protest resist the national government's tyrannical act as well as France's tyrannical schemes in Cameroon as French actions are enriching France while

decimating and impoverishing the people (Editor, 2018). The long silence of the African Union indicts African leaders with the tyranny of participation because of its silent complicity in the violence in Cameroon (Agbor, 2018). Corruption is another example of the tyranny of participation by Africans. This is because as noted by Lumumba (2011), corruption “is an import, nurtured, developed and entrenched in the continent of Africa” by European colonizers since the colonial era, and it has become “the bane of Africa” (p. 24).

Perkins (2004), a former economic hitman, confesses that the Global North is attracted to the large availability of vast rich resources in the region so that foreign actors are exploiting and manipulating African leaders with mouth-watering offers and gratifications as ways of accessing the natural wealth with farcical deals (Perkins, 2004). International actors also play host to African money launderers by providing safe vaults for stolen cash (Pope, 2000) and with their African connivers, they frustrate the legal, policy and institutional processes that trail after them (Mac Ginty & Williams, 2009). The tyranny of resource exploitation is increasing, and "no questions are asked: [about] the illegal arms pipeline in Africa" which Africans are using to destroy themselves (McCullum, 2016, p. 27). Is the dominant liberal peacebuilding system asking the required appropriate and creative questions that will challenge these holistic categories of Africa's conflicts? Why are these three fundamental categories of African conflict experiences persistent? What is the liberal peacebuilding paradigm?

2.4 Liberal Peacebuilding Paradigm

In *Toward Sustainable Security In Africa: Theoretical Debates For The Institutionalization of African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches*, Genger (2020) initiates the critical theoretical debate about the liberal peacebuilding paradigm concerning Africa. This section is a furtherance of the same arguments, using additional literature reviews and empirical illustrations and a renewed outline.

Generally, the liberal peacebuilding paradigm is adjudged to be counter-productive and on the whole unable to achieve or offer the required peace to conflict communities, especially to the communities in Africa (Mac Ginty, 2006; Tom, 2017). Consequently, Wallis (2018, p. 83) asks, “is there still a place for liberal peacebuilding?”

This section highlights the critical scholarly discourses that confront the dominant liberal peacebuilding interventions in Africa. The constitutive subsections, therefore, discuss its origin and non-suitability for Africa, its non-viability in addressing Africa’s conflicts, its complicity in Africa’s conflict experiences, as well as a brief assessment of other peacebuilding alternatives immersed in the African context.

2.4.1 Liberal Peacebuilding: Its Origin and Non-Suitability for Africa

The history, nature and focus of the dominant international liberal peacebuilding apparatus are essentially European because they are occasioned by the continent’s historical conflict experiences and its primary goal of addressing them (Richmond, 2006) as is evident in the 1648 Westphalia Treaty (History, 2017). In the post-cold War era, American enforced its peace policies on the apparatus, and since then it can be known and widely described as the “Western-oriented” and Euro-American peacemaking program developed for “like-minded liberal states [to] coexist” to build on their peculiar worldviews of democracy, human rights, militarism, constitutional laws, and capitalist economy in a state system modeled on Western models (Richmond, 2006, p. 298).

As it evolved, the liberal peacebuilding paradigm apparently ignored Africa, and where it took notice, it acted upon the continent with the chauvinism that to this day is exploiting the continent and destroying the people’s cultural identity and Indigenous peacemaking possibilities, subverting them into a collective protégé that should be civilized with European values and political and economic institutions (see Issifu & Asante, 2016; Zambakari, 2017).

Due to its Western background and its imposition on non-Western worlds, the liberal peacebuilding paradigm is rightly described as “international peacebuilding” (Sabaratnam, 2011, p. 2), “Western peace,” “democratic peace,” and “internationally supported peace” (Mac Ginty, 2006, p. 36). About Africa, the liberal peacebuilding system is characteristically defined as alien, unsuitable, adverse and unviable for Africa’s conflicts because as it evolved, it did not contemplate Africa to be an equal community, rather it was treated as a resource object to be exploited to meet Europe’s economic needs and political security (Zezeza, 2008) as well as developmental plans (Bayeh, 2015). It clearly implies that liberal peacebuilding is the expansion of Western colonialism and American imperialism (Chandler, 2004). Liberal peacebuilders failed and refused to respect Africa’s identity, Indigenous peculiarity, cultural practices, as well as Africans’ feelings and voices. Africa has continued to be on the receiving end of the encounters with liberal peacebuilding actors insisting on the “external engineering” of the continent and the solutions of its problems (Chandler, 2011, p. 174).

The liberal peace system is alien to Africa, it is “more than a chimera, a superficial implant, transplanted into a soil — dependent upon foreign resources, and subject to uncertainty about the longevity of external commitment [thus] masking deeper cultural, social, and economic realities of violence” (Heathershaw, n.d. p. 138). Unfortunately, liberal peace actors and institutions have not yet appreciated how alien the system is to Africa as they are continually exhibiting an unflinching posture to impose foreign elements into Africa overtly using the subtleties of “coercive diplomacy” (Jentleson, 2006; Schettino, 2009) and “visa coercion” (Stringer, 2004). These are characteristically policy threats, financial sanctions, and monetary incentives that compel African nations to comply with programs that serve Western interests (Jentleson, 2006) even at the expense of Africa’s cultural and political powers (Richmond & Mitchell, 2011; Thiong’o, 2004). For example, the European Union (EU) recently declared its

hegemonic and paternalistic control of the peacemaking process in Africa with the dictatorial aura of “strengthening European civilian crisis management mechanisms and mediating recurrent conflicts” asserting that only the EU “can help manage the sources of disorder in west Africa, the Sahel, and the Horn of Africa” (Gowan, 2017, p. 2).

2.4.2 The Liberal Peacebuilding Paradigm: Inability to Address Africa’s Conflicts

Critical PACS theories have also assessed the liberal peacebuilding paradigm as having failed in terms of being unable to deliver real peace in societies attempting to transition out of violence. In a general critique, Mac Ginty (2006, 2010) refers to the recurrence of conflicts in Israel and Palestine, Sri-Lanka, Northern Ireland, East Timor, and Africa as proof of the failure of the liberal peacebuilding paradigm. By implication, what liberal peacebuilding does (especially in Africa) is to create the atmosphere of liminal peace or “no war and no peace” (Mac Ginty, 2006, p. 3), which Galtung (2010, p. 164) describes as “negative peace.” In reaction, Dunn (2004) cites Galtung (1956) who long ago posited that the development of an alternative peacebuilding paradigm is a cogent idea (Dunn, 2004).

Besides, enlightened African leaders and scholars are continually re-echoing the failure of liberal peacebuilding, and consistently advocating for African Indigenous solutions as the alternative paradigm. Recently, while serving as the leader of the African Union (AU), President Paul Kagame of Rwanda made some very strong declarations that Africa should stop begging and consuming strategies from the West (Kagire, 2018) because Africa’s solutions are within (Mwai, 2018b). His successor, President Abdel Fatah al-Sisi of Egypt reiterated the AU’s stance on empowering and using African local and Indigenous resources to address its problems (Tawil, 2019). The African scholar and campaigner of Africanity, Patrice Lumumba murdered in 1961 by Mobutu as instigated by the Belgium secret service agency and the CIA pointed out the non-

viability of Western forms in Africa and insisted on their replacement with Africanity or the restoration of African systems (Samrack, 2018).

Defenders of the liberal peace insist that it is a credible system because it has advanced peace across the globe by democratising and reconstructing conflict societies (Barnett, 2007), entrenching neo-liberal economic orientation (Paris, 2011) and promoting human rights (Zimmerman, 2013). Its notable flaws are outcomes of the inefficiency of its actors, which can be corrected with time. Under these premises therefore the liberal peacebuilding paradigm has no better alternative (Paris, 2011).

Interestingly, some critical scholars have stated that liberal peacebuilding in its present or reformed shape is essentially decentralizing and harmful to the ontological powers and values of Indigenous communities such as those in Africa. Walker (2004) calls for the prevention and non-furtherance of the harms, and Chandler (2015) appraises the fact non-Western societies have begun to resist the violence.

Furthermore, the liberal peace is basically unable and has failed in addressing Africa's conflicts. Mac Ginty (2006), a prominent critic of the liberal peacebuilding paradigm, asserts the system cannot address "complex issues" of mistrust, ill perception, selfishness, and established structures of violence in non-Western societies, like Africa. He explains that the apparatus plays a double standard and compromises justice to promote Western interests by shielding its internal and external conflict collaborators from being convicted. The architecture is also intrinsically vulnerable to peace spoilers who exploit its internal loopholes to fight for their selfish goals "at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives" (Mac Ginty, 2006, p. 114) by intimidating opponents and maneuvering constitutional provisions.

Lederach (1995, 1997), another significant critic of the liberal peacebuilding paradigm, describes its non-suitability in non-North American cultural contexts such as Africa on the ground

of disparity of worldview. Critics like Galtung (2009) and Said (2014) state, as an Occidental intervention, the package cannot work in Oriental societies like the global East and Africa who have different understandings of conflict and possess their own unique ways of processing peace.

In another explanation, Sabaratnam (2011) rejects the fact that liberal peacebuilding is “externally engineered” by the West and shipped into the continent because, despite its failure, it is subtly and diplomatically forced on Africa. The apparatus is too technical, formulaic, and meteoric in its understanding of conflicts and peace, contrary to the Indigenous understanding of peace and conflict with regards to community, harmony, relationality, and serenity (Lederach, 1997; Mac Ginty, 2013).

While encouraging respect for the uniqueness of the Occidental and the Oriental, Galtung (2009) contends that there should be mutual support and collaboration between them. Lederach (1995) argues that the suitable and viable peace intervention in non-Western societies is that which addresses their “complex issues,” the violent and oppressive structures, the conflictual ideas, perceptions, relationships, processes, fears, interests, feelings, and the communicative elements of their conflicts (Lederach, 1995). In this light, Galtung (2010) states that if the intervention efficiently addresses the underlying currents or dynamics of the conflict, it is considered viable for that society. Any mechanism that falls short of seeking social justice will only produce “negative peace” and not “positive peace” (p. 164).

2.4.3 The Liberal Peace Paradigm: Its Complicity in Africa’s Conflict Contexts

Another argument made against liberal peace intervention, thereby necessitating the mainstreaming of African Indigenous peacemaking approaches is its intrinsic possibilities to create new conflicts and aggravate old ones in Africa. Walker (2004) boldly accuses the liberal peace architecture of the ontological violation of non-European nations; with its ideological principles and imperial intentions, it has denigrated and destroyed Indigenous contexts by

imposing its own elements on them. Mac Ginty and Williams (2009) and Mac Ginty (2006) illustrate how the liberal peace paradigm and its principles and actors are influential in the emergence of conflicts in Global South nations, especially those in Africa. The liberal peace paradigm promotes the perpetuation of predatory capitalist activities and imperial control of the political economies of global South nations, which usually impoverishes those societies while enriching the predatory nations (Thiessen, 2011). In the same vein, Dengaguek (2014) and Tziarras (2012) argue that actors of the liberal peace paradigm are “participants and initiators” in Africa’s wars (Tziarras, 2012, p. 6), acting as the “invisible hand” (Dengaguek, 2014, p. 1).

In line with Walker’s (2004) assertion, Run (2013) indicates that liberal peace is promoting the dependency syndrome in Africa, by making Africans trust Western wisdom and practices and losing confidence in themselves and their Indigenous ingenuities.

Mac Ginty (2010) points out that with its defining elements it creates a self-imposing posture as the “big tent,” “the only ideal in town” and the only “acceptable version of peace, and that other versions do not constitute ‘peace’” (p. 399), the liberal peace system renders the Indigenous values of Africans untenable and “difficult to gain acceptance” (p. 47). The liberal peace claims to build peace in non-democratic societies, but ironically brings about “democracy at gunpoint” and instigates violent revolution in those communities, forcing them to adopt its liberal principles, laws, rights, capitalist economy, and military industry (Mac Ginty, 2013). It also violently uses incentivization in the form of monetary aid, military support, development programs and educational partnerships, which are actually “false altruism” (Bishop, 2005, p. 84), “negative generosity” (Freire, 2000, p. 44) and “dead aid,” (Moyo, 2010) to impose itself on African conflict communities. Any refusal to adopt these imposed values usually attracts conflictual foreign interferences and recalcitrant countries are tagged as “rogue countries” (Mac Ginty 2010; Zeleza,

2008). This often wells up into massive political tensions that later explode in political turmoil, as evident in the cases of Somalia, North Sudan, and Libya.

To come out of this quagmire, Mazrui suggests that Africa must institutionalize and mainstream cultural powers or Indigenous values, and by so doing, move away from the violence invented by the foreign cultural forces that it encounters (Mazrui, 2005). The Tiv, for example, are working to reform and institutionalize Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches to re-invent their identity and society.

2.5 Other Peacebuilding Alternatives: Brief Assessment

As a remedial reaction to addressing the unsuitability, non-viability, and complicity of liberal peacebuilding concerning conflicts in Indigenous communities such as Africa, some scholars have advocated for the use of a hybrid form of peacebuilding, where international and local resources are made to interface together to facilitate sustainable peacebuilding (Mac Ginty, 2010, 2011; Richmond & Mitchell, 2012). For example, Richmond and Mitchell (2011) explore in detail the interactions that take place in hybrid peacebuilding. They however reject this mixed model in the Global South because the liberal peace system is more firmly entrenched in those regions and it continues to subjugate the local people's Indigenous peace wisdom and practices. The power asymmetry in terms of the imperial resources, knowledge and structures of the Global North can perpetuate the same critical and violent conditions against the Indigenous resources. In other words, even though the hybridity of foreign and local peace processes is commonplace in Africa, for example, it continues to be very injurious to African Indigenous processes, thus denying their agency, autonomy, and power to fully function. So long as the liberal peace remains institutionalized within Africa and its communities like the Tiv, neocolonial violence and Indigenous resistance will persist.

Another suggested alternative is Mac Ginty and Richmond's (2013) "local turn in peacebuilding". These scholars posit that using the domestic resources of the conflict community, and in this case, African conflict resolution values should localize future peacebuilding systems. Closely associated with the local turn in peacebuilding is "adaptive peacebuilding," the process where "inter-national peacebuilders, together with the communities and people affected by the conflict, actively engage in structured processes to prevent conflict and sustain peace" (de Coning, 2018, p.304). However, some critical questions can be asked against the local turn in peacebuilding and the adaptive peacebuilding. For example, whose worldview constitutes the local conflict context, and the international agents that are engaging with it, the local? Also, who is determining the adaptive processes of the engagement; is it the local or the international peacebuilders? How can the resources of the local determine the peacemaking engagement? It is already argued that, unless the original worldview of the conflict community leads the engagement, the situation is basically the replication of imperial violence. Walker (2004) and other likeminded scholars vehemently call for the discontinuation of the dominant colonial or Western peacebuilding in local Indigenous communities which impacts them with "ontological violence" by decolonizing peacebuilding and institutionalizing Indigenous peacemaking approaches.

The discourses and the struggles for the decolonization and indigenization of peacemaking systems in Africa are eminent in many scholarly works, for example: Malan (1997), Murithi (2006), Zartman (2008), and Emeagwali & Dei (2013). African communities, too many to mention have successfully used their Indigenous conflict transformation tactics to promote and build peace in their localities and countries, and they are also working for the re-empowerment of those Indigenous tactics (Issifu & Asante, 2016, p. 10). What does African Indigenous peacemaking wisdom entail, especially to the Tiv of Nigeria?

2.6 African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches

There is need for an introductory background to understand what is meant by African Indigenous peacemaking approaches to the Tiv of Nigeria. There is no universal definition of Africa because of scholars' varying positions regarding the etymology of the concept (Africa), the demographic mix (North and South Sahara Africans), and scholars' (for example, Akinsanya, 2010; Mazrui, 2005, 2009; Soyinka, 2012) critical interpretations of the two epochal colonial invasions: the Arab-Islamic and Euro-Christians.

Even though, the word Africa is shady (Crawford, 2017), this study goes with the less critical understanding that Africa is that wide geo-cultural land expanse and the Indigenous demographic mix of people which are both found South of the Mediterranean. Zeleza's (2010) definition makes it clearer:

My "Africa" is the "Africa" of the African Union, which recognizes the entire continent, from Egypt to South Africa, and all peoples on this vast landmass from the Algerians to the Zimbabweans as "Africans," and which has recognized the "diaspora" as Africa's sixth region. The "Africa" of the Pan-Africanist founders of the OAU, the predecessor of the AU, is no less handy than, indeed preferable to, the racist epistemic cartography of "Africa" invented by European imperialism that divided Africa into two, North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa (p. 67).

Blood, soil, and ancestry may have influenced the various biological and cultural identities of Africans (Mazrui, 2009) but there is a shared cultural consciousness, identity and values that still exist among the African people (Senghor, 2009). This shared value developed along the Nile Valley in pre-colonial times "between the vulture of Upper Egypt and the cobra of Lower Egypt; and it continually "symbolizes equilibrium". It is pictorially represented in "black, white and red — the basic colors of traditional painting throughout all Africa" (Senghor, 2009, p. 168).

Furthermore, Senghor (2009) conceptualizes the geographical region and the consciousness of one peoplehood as "Africity". He also uses the concept to debate and advocate for the propagation of the common identity, the "conciliating accord". This is the original African

philosophy of humanism, which the people developed in precolonial time as they struggled to exit, develop their survival skills and social forms and express their agency. According to Senghor (2009): “if we hope to build a united Africa, we must do it solidly and for that we must found it on points of cultural convergence, not on our political differences”, that is, on the precolonial and indigenous principle of African humanism (p. 168).

“African” therefore means the personhood, peoplehood, community, identity, knowledge, values, beliefs, practices and systems that are originally rooted in the geographical landmass lying south of the Mediterranean. This same meaning is connoted in the thriving discourses on the recovery and re-invention of Africa, African Indigeneity, African philosophy, African religion, African Indigenous peacemaking, and African diaspora (Zezeza, 2006, 2010). This is also the background in which the Tiv’s struggles to re-ignite their identity and Indigenous values and practices of peacemaking are situated as well as understood and appreciated.

From the foregoing, African Indigenous peacemaking approaches refer to the original conflict resolution practices of the communities of this region, which are essentially informed by their Indigenous philosophy of “humanism” or shared humanity. The practices may vary due to factors of space and time, but this core philosophy cuts across them all. Thus, when Murithi (2006), Malan, (1997), Issifu and Asante (2016) and Zartman (2008) indicate that the peacemaking systems of the Tiv, Acholi, Fulbe, and Akan, in fact, all African communities are the same in terms of core values, principles and goals despite the disparity of process. They are making their argument from this legitimate ground.

2.6.1 Key Elements of African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches

In his work, Tusso (2011) lists the general fundamental elements of Indigenous peacemaking methods. He demonstratively argues that these elements are commonly found

among the Indigenous communities, especially those in “North America, Africa, the Middle East, and the South Pacific” (p. 259).

This study represents the elements in the light of the African context under the following categories. (1) *Methodology* – African Indigenous peacemaking are methodologically dialogic and interactive, they are not adversarial, seeking to condemn but restoratively dialogic, seeking to mend and reinstate. (2) *Participation and Facilitation* – African Indigenous peacemaking approaches procedures consist of the conflict parties, their family relations and witnesses as well as the elders and members of the community who are active participants in the peacemaking circular set. Their active participation, under the impartial facilitation of the eldest in the circle usually produces impartial justice. (3) *Epistemological Forms* – are used for facilitating dialogue, determining the truth and arriving at the fundamental goal, which is restorative justice. The process includes stories, riddles, myths, moral and spiritual values, folk-tales, parables, lessons from nature and metaphors. In other words, these Indigenous principles are employed to achieve restorative justice. (4) *Control Principles* – such as spiritual beliefs, oath-taking and swearing, divine and ancestral curses and blessings, ostracizing and exiling, as well as the invocation of the oracle are entreated to determine truth, ensure discipline and dispel conflictive behavior. (5) *Ideological Principles* – are always put in place to easily facilitate peacemaking or address conflicts. Some include collective participation by the community, mandatory restoration of peace, the obedience of rules, compulsory reintegration of the conflict parties into the community, the achievement of healing and unity, and the preservation of egalitarianism in the community. (6) *The Fundamental Goals* – AIPAs comprise of truth-telling; restoration of broken feelings and relationship; preservation of communal harmony; promotion of communal welfare; and holistic healing of the conflict party and community. (7) There are also *Pre-conditions* - for successful Indigenous peacemaking that include narrative, remorse, apology, forgiveness, acceptance of

affordable compensation, and reconciliation. (8) *Rituals* – include handshakes, shared meals or shared participation in festivals that assist in sealing the peacemaking process or reconciliation. (9) *Cost Implications* - African Indigenous peacemaking is cost-effective; it is not paid for and has no time boundary. The process can be held as many times as needed to arrive at the fundamental goals of peace (Shirch, 2005; Tusso, 2011).

2.6.2 Facilitating African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches (AIPA)

Murithi (2006) describes the common interactive way that AIPAs are usually facilitated that is embedded within the South African *Ubuntu* approach. The facilitation process goes through the following chronological steps:

First – usually, the aggrieved party or in some cases both the aggressor and the aggrieved parties report their dispute to the community leader. The leader summons a community meeting where the conflict parties are invited to air their views, beginning with the complainant, and then the defendant. During the narration, they are interrupted with questions to clarify or to verify their narratives.

Second – After listening to the narratives, the elders and the community members present make comments, which usually provide an idea about who is guilty. The guilty party who is eventually identified in the interactive interventions is invited to express genuine remorse or penitence to the community.

Third – Upon expressing remorse, the perpetrator is encouraged to request forgiveness.

Fourth – The aggressor is tasked with making a compensatory payment or reparation for the acknowledged wrongdoing. Amnesty is not granted with impunity.

Fifth - The facilitator consolidates the process by committing the parties to reconcile. The reconciliation step usually incorporates the family members of the disputing parties, and then the community.

Sixth - This peacemaking process is finalized with a ritual, such as an embrace, a meal or the drinking of some healing concoction (Murithi, 2006). These elements clearly indicate the restorative worldview of African Indigenous communities, contrary to the adversarial focus portrayed as a core element of those traditions within the dominant Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm.

Umar and Garba (2009) indicate that similar processes and steps are used to address local conflicts in Nigeria among the Fulbe. Pate and Garba (2009) describe the Fulbe procedures in the following ways. The conflict party is expected during the *Pulaaku* process to demonstrate understanding, patience, perseverance and accommodation with the aggressor. Perhaps the aggression was unintended, and mutual understanding and resolution will be arrived at with the *Pulaaku*. “No matter the level of provocation, one is encouraged to abide by *Pulaaku*” (Pate & Garba, 2009, p. 2). Next, the authority of the elders, *Ndottien* and group leaders, *Ardibe* is invoked to intervene and mediate the dispute without fear. Notably the age group, *Walderu* who by his or her own personal initiative or upon invitation wade into the dispute with peer pressure to resolve the conflict. *Soro*, the beating game is organized for participants who are expected to exhibit bravery when they are severely whipped. Unlike conventional combat sports like boxing and wrestling which have no peacemaking purposes but fame and wealth, *soro* serves as a disciplinary game whose primary purpose is to settle discord in this violent yet friendly manner. *Hunayeere* or oath taking engages the disputants to swear in the name of the Supreme Being (God or Allah) demonstrating the validity of their position. The Fulbe believe that the disputant who swears falsely will be visited by something terrible. In persistent and seemingly non-resolvable conflicts, the Fulbe encourage *Eggudu* that is, shifting their house to another location or avoiding further encounters. Another Indigenous peacemaking strategy is *Kommbol*. This entails excommunicating or banishing the individual or community offender from dealing with the rest

of the community. The sanctioned offender is denied economic or social linkages with other Fulbe groups. Another step is the *Sulhotiral*, that is, mediation. The overall head or leader of the federating family units, usually the Emir usually adjudicates and “issues strong warnings to the elders and clan heads to avoid recurrence and facilitates this step” (Pate & Daudu, 2009, p. 7). *Raiding* or *Feuding* is the last resort the Fulbe use to resolve interpersonal or intergroup conflict that involves the loss of human lives and cattle. Feuding is the collective family act of revenge or vendetta. The most common violent means of resolving conflict by the Fulbe is raiding, and the Fulbe embark on raiding expeditions to hostile communities (Pate & Garba, 2009). Raids are usually pre-planned and preceded by sanctions. Once sanctions are imposed and kola-nuts are distributed, raids become inevitable especially when leaders fail to resolve the conflict immediately or in a short period (Pate & Garba, 2009).

2.6.3 Preference and Use of African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches

Numerous scholarly works and reports have outlined instances to depict that African Indigenous approaches have been used to address major conflicts in Africa. They also report that those conflict communities preferred to use them compared to Western or liberal strategies. For instance, Zartman’s edited volume (2008) presents cases across the African continent where Indigenous approaches are preferred and used. Mutisi (2009) also acknowledges that despite some limitations, *Gacaca* significantly addressed the aftermath of the Rwandan genocidal conflict by providing the needed reconciliation, restoration and healing the “Eurocentric and other western models” could not offer. In reinforcement, Wasonga (2009) and (Odama, n.d.) demonstrate how top, middle and grassroots Ugandans preferred *Mato Oput* that was successfully used over the authority of the ICC in addressing their different conflict experiences, including Joseph Kony’s Lord Resistance Army’s guerrilla warfare. Indigenous taboos and myths have also successfully

addressed eco-conflicts in Africa especially the deforestation crisis in Kenya better than Western prohibitive laws (Kilonzo, Kurgat, & Omare, 2009). Thus, African Indigenous peacemaking approaches are suitable for Africans to use in local conflicts rather than the Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm.

2.6.4 African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches: Criticisms and Responses

Critics argue that Indigenous peacemaking processes lack pure Indigeneity in terms of people, processes, and systems because of the disruptive impacts of colonialism and globalization (Boege, 2011). Also, because of the differences and multiplicity of persons, contexts and ideas, there is no homogenous indigeneity. In other words, there can be no homogenous African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches because of differences in time and space. Indigenous peacemaking mechanisms are criticized for being unable to terminate violence in the long term, as well as for lacking Universalist applicability thus contradicting the universal human rights declaration (Engle-Merry, 2006, p. 74). Critics are only concerned with community harmony and not justice because Indigenous peacemaking processes are open to abuse by the gerontocratic class and manipulating politicians, (Boege, 2011; Nader, 2001;1997; Paffenholz, 2015).

Against the criticism that Indigeneity and homogeneity are lost to external or colonial cultures it can be asserted metaphorically that the dark spotted cat may get heavily drenched by the rain, but the rain cannot wash off the dark spots. In other words, even though Indigenous peacebuilding approaches “are ignored and marginalized” by the “Western liberal democratic and technocratic peace methodology” (Mac Ginty, 2006, p. 175), they are not and cannot be extinct because their intrinsic and extrinsic elements are still alive in Africans. The “core” assumptions of African Indigeneity and homogeneity are extant and thriving, even though the

physical or “peripheral” expressions of the core elements are impacted by colonialism and globalization (Vhurumuku & Mokeleche, 2007).

African Indigenous approaches have limitations, however, their critics need to isolate their etic attitude and look at them, *sui generis*. European and North American critics that have Eurocentric assumptions and a lack of an emic lens, usually misrepresent African wisdom and practices as unpolished and their societies as stateless, acephalous, gerontocratic, undeveloped, sub-standard, and not modern. This is because Indigenous peacebuilding forms are contradictory to the dominant Eurocentric or Western liberal peace paradigm characterized by state hegemony and monopoly, individual rights, penal justice, and the democratic peace (Tom, 2017). So long as the etic influence determines the assessment of the African Indigenous context, the result will be a disillusioned contradiction and a continued chauvinism against Africa. Consequently, AIPA and peacemaking forms that are suitable to the African context and representative of African communities should be appreciated *sui generis*.

Apologists such as Ani (2018), Amisi (2008), Chandler (2011), Emeagwali and Dei (2013), Dei (2002), Malan (1997), Murithi (2006), Issifu and Asante (2016) Mac Ginty (2006, 2010) and Morris (2002) have reacted against the criticisms made about African peacemaking approaches. Issifu and Asante (2016) and Murithi (2006) reiterate the argument that African Indigenous strategies are fit and viable for Africa’s conflicts. Malan (1997) posits that for the reasons of fit and efficacy, they should be mainstreamed for greater efficiency. Morris (2002) argues that Indigenous solutions need to be given a fair playing ground, continued research and supportive policies for Indigenous solutions to develop their full potential. (Ferim & Kaya (2018) insists that despite being flawed, Indigenous approaches are the best options to maximally impact disputes in Africa. Generally, Indigenous peacemaking approaches are works in progress and should no longer be consciously or unconsciously disrupted; rather their efficacy should be

facilitated so that they can become practical mainstream strategies of peacebuilding (Morris, 2002).

2.7 The Tiv Peacemaking Philosophy - *Tar Soron*

The Tiv ideology or humanism of peacemaking is called *tar soron*. It is the energy and wisdom that underlies Tiv's social organization and community life. It also sustains its harmony. The disruption or absence of *tar soron* connotes vulnerability for chaos and destruction in the land. It typifies significant threat to the life and the collective existence of the community.

Tar soron means repairing the community or restoring the serenity and order of the community. This is the fundamental reason for which the Tiv community garners all of its cultural elements and employs them into use, namely, to fix the community disordered by conflict and restore the healthy relationship and welfare that are disrupted by the conflict. The research participants indicate that the Tiv use *tar soron* Indigenous ideology as the core content of their programs of raising children and educating the community members. Chia (1991) accentuates by stating that as the first priority, the Tiv impart the *tar soron* ideology and values, such as; shared humanity, mutual respect, community peace and welfare and individual wellbeing to all members through the family, peer-group and community institutions.

Essentially, *tar soron* demands the "collective" doing of things by all the community members. That is, every member is involved in *tar soron* and is called to "ensure a collective peaceful state of being" (Chia, 1991, p. 1). With *tar soron* teachings, every member of the community knows their peacemaking roles. With this system and its emphasis for collective responsibility, it is right to agree with Jibo (2009) that the disruption or loss of *tar soron* means a wide fissure is created for calamity to visit the Tiv people. It is therefore not surprising to read about the Tiv lamenting the destruction of this system that promotes stability, cohesion, and safety by the adverse incursion of euro-Christian colonialism into Tiv land.

2.8 Mainstreaming Indigenous Peacemaking Systems

Mainstreaming as a theoretical concept is basically derived from and rooted in the theories of decolonization and Indigenization. It is the combination, relationship and goals of these two interrelated theories that give birth to the theoretical discourses on the mainstreaming process, as demonstrated also by Genger (2020) in *Re-empowering African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches: Identifying the Enabling Possibilities from Decolonization and Indigenization Discourses*.

In the light of Indigenous people's struggles, Maaka & Flera (2009) describe mainstreaming as the means of incorporating Indigenous elements and practices into the construction, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation systems as well as the social policies, processes, and institutions of the state. In other words, mainstreaming in this sense means to migrate Indigenous systems from the margins to the centre. Mainstreaming does not shy from calling for the decentering or replacement of the imperial dominant paradigm. Without mainstreaming, Maaka and Flera (2009) fear there will be no force to challenge, resist, decenter, replace colonial institutions and transform colonial harm as well as rescue Indigenous peoples from their various woes and throes.

More significantly, Maaka and Fler (2009) see the importance of engaging with decolonization and Indigenization theories to develop very strong and useful arguments and strategies and use them to advance the mainstreaming process.

2.8.1 Decolonization Theory

According to Betts (1998) and Klose (1991), decolonization entered the general lexicon and became an academic concept in 1932. The German economist, Moritz Julius Bonn, developed the concept in his entry on *Imperialism* in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. Bonn

explicitly describes decolonization as the process “of countercolonization” (cited by Klose, 1991, p.1). Decolonization implies, therefore, the rise of autochthonous communities, their rejection of European imperial dictation of their daily personal and community lives, and their stance to fight for autonomy and self-expression using their autochthonous power and wisdom (Klose, 1991) or what Smith (1999) describes as their Indigenous values. Betts (1998) explains that decolonization denotes a clutch of activities and events, which facilitate its actualization. Among the Indigenous Peoples who are under settler governments, decolonization means the intensified and diversified struggle to end the imperial power differential and domination to attain emancipation, self-actualization and the assertion of Indigenous identity (Smith, 1999). Decolonization is thus the art of raising the people’s consciousness against subjugation by the imperial power and mobilizing them for emancipation, self-actualization and self-expression.

Furthermore, Smith (1999) explains that decolonization does not in a strict sense mean the condemnation of Western or liberal forms, but the non-imposition of Western wisdom on Indigenous communities through any means and non-destruction of Indigeneity by Western imperial agenda. Western Enlightenment promoted the chauvinism that European or Western identity was superior or, and the belief that its values must be imposed on non-Western nations (Kovach, 2015). Against this harm, decolonization is conceived as the fight to counter this fallacy and to re-institutionalize the epistemology of Indigeneity.

Fifteen years after the end of the settler governments in Africa, the continent was yet to decolonize itself from Euro-Christian colonialism (Zartman, 1976). Zartman blamed this failure on the persistent European imperial interferences in Africa, which have made Africa dependent on the Global North. He observed that constraints from international gimmicks and subtle schemes are coercing, cajoling and co-opting African leaders into modelling the future of the continent according to Western forms and habits other than their Indigenous wisdom (Zartman,

1976). Thirty-four years later, Zartman (2000) re-emerged with the compelling argument for Africa to decolonize its social processes and peacemaking values by mainstreaming African traditional cures and techniques for modern conflicts.

2.8.2 Indigenization Theory

Although it is related to decolonization, Indigenization has also enjoyed its own thread of theoretical development and discourse. Indigenization is derived from the French word *indigene* and the Latin word *indigena* and they were used by Europeans to describe the people that were there prior to their arrival to those lands, especially in Australia, North America and Africa (Cadena & Starn, 2007). The word was first used in English in 1598 when Europeans reported about their encounter with America and to distinguish between American “indigenes” that is “people bred upon that very soil” and those that Spaniards and Portuguese brought from Africa as slaves (Cadena & Starn, 2007, p. 2). With the wider spread of Euro-Christian colonialism, original inhabitants of Africa also came to be distinctively described as indigenes of the encountered lands who were constructed as having an inferior status and culture compared to the Europeans (Cadena & Starn, 2007).

Indigenization started becoming a movement, struggle and identity in the social sciences in the 1950s when postcolonial discourses on former colonies in Africa and other contexts started to increase momentum (Young & Xiong, 2008). Fundamentally, Indigenization connotes the return from mimicking alien forms that Indigenous people perceive to be fraudulent and unsuitable to their identity, culture and way of life (Yunong & Xiong, 2008). Indigenization has continued to enjoy a flourishing academic discourse around various themes on liberation and self-expression.

For example, Smith (1999, p. 127) conceives of Indigenization as an ancillary step for actualizing decolonization and it is one of the "25 different projects currently being pursued by

Indigenous communities" for that purpose. Indigenization is a process of resistance against the dominant and oppressive colonial alien system and the mobilization of Indigenous people to decolonize and become self-reliant (Nettheim, 1995). Indigeneity and Indigenization are also related. According to Beckett (2015) indigeneity means belonging to a place as the original inhabitants before encounters with foreign communities and tenaciously adhering to the original traditions despite the abrasive and unsolicited imperial encounters. Indigenization represents the frantic efforts to recover and re-entrench those traditions as mainstream practices.

After the end of the settler colonial governments in Africa, Adedeji (1983) insisted that the emerging postcolonial societies transformed into Indigenized status. He encouraged them to do so by recovering and reintegrating their original ways of life into the mainstream as well as claiming the ownership and control of the social enterprises. Years later, with specific reference to African Indigenous peacebuilding approaches, Murithi (2005) and Doe (2009) demonstrated how peace interventions in Africa can be Indigenized and the many advantages that are associated with the action. Doe (2009) defined Indigenization as the process of introspecting upon African precolonial beliefs, practices, and institutions concerning social organization and conflict resolution, and increasing the efforts to restore them during post-conflict state reconstruction.

In summary, decolonization and Indigenization demand “reversing the process of colonization, generally by raising the consciousness or awareness of the oppressive state” and enabling them to entrench their Indigenous possibilities (Aquash, 2014, p. 130), In the case of this study, it is obvious that African scholars and practitioners have the task of mainstreaming the African Indigenous wisdom by upholding and promoting decolonization and Indigenization. These duties are the onus of Africans more than any other person. With deep passion for these tasks, Dei (2013, p. 29) believes and asserts that “the days of Non-Indigenous peoples becoming

'experts' on Indigenous peoples are long over”, African and global Indigenous scholars must take up the mantle of telling about themselves and entrenching their thought forms and practices.

2.8.3 Processes, Steps and Actors

To mainstream or centralize African Indigenous peacemaking possibilities requires designing, integrating, and sustaining some enabling processes (Doe 2009) as well as working with some relevant steps or guidelines (Maaka & Flera, 2009). Peace and conflict studies scholars also agree that some supportive processes, steps and actors are required for the successful mainstreaming of peacemaking schemes (see Lessure, 2010; Little & Appleby, 2004; Hellmüller, 2014; Lederach 1995).

Processes – generally represent the sequence of steps, series of actions, combination of tasks, number of functions, and some interrelated activities or repeatable methods that are performed over and over with the use of some inputs from the actors to bring about the intended result. Processes are useful for executing and managing projects, and achieving organisational objectives (Lessure, 2010; Reber, Allen, & Reber, 2009). In other words, a combination of repeatable steps is used with the aim of achieving a desired goal. A process is essential for the establishment and management of a system or strategy (Lodato, 2006). A process also uses tangible inputs such as institutions, equipment, people as well as intangible input like ideas, information, knowledge, commitment and ideology (ISO, 2015).

In the light of Africa’s struggle to decolonize and Indigenize, Fanon (1967) conceives process as the institutionalized struggle that uses various tools or instruments to achieve the envisioned goals of freedom, re-humanization and self-definition from imperial domination. Regarding Indigenous peacemaking in African communities, processes refer to the range of steps, actions and activities that are used for alleviating or eliminating the sources of conflict (Pate &

Daudu, 2009). In African purview, processes are those relentless efforts that Africans make while using various aids to assert their identity, values and practices.

The PACS discipline conceptualizes processes as the efforts that are made to assess and address conflicts. For example, on the topic of religion and peacebuilding, Little and Appleby (2004) use process in the sense of the efforts that religious leaders make to build peace or achieve “genuine reconciliation” and “seek mutual grounds” between conflict parties (p. 15). Also, processes are used to address the strategic demands, bordering on “deepest identity needs of a group, the group’s sense of threat to its future [and] its fear of annihilation” (Senehi, 2000, p. 114). In the same light, Senehi (2000) identifies storytelling as a process that can construct identity, knowledge, cultural memory and emotion in addressing conflicts, also as a repeated activity of “resistance and change” from an oppressive status quo and for the vivification and entrenchment of the local (or Indigenous) agency of a culture (p. 104).

With respect to this study,, processes are described as the repeatable steps or activities that use tangible and intangible materials to facilitate the mainstreaming of Indigenous concerns, in this case peacemaking approaches.

Steps – are those objective and concrete actions that can be used to advance a process. African scholars on the reclamation and institutionalization of African Indigenous knowledge picture steps as those practical and clearly itemized actions that need to be taken to achieve these goals, for example: the creation of advisory and consultation committees (Adedeji, 1983), “curriculum reconstruction” (Owuor, 2007, p.26) and developing “symbiotic partnership” in peacebuilding” (Murithi, 2006b, p. 1).

In *Steps for Peace*, Brinkmann (2006, p. 6) describes steps as the “action-plan for peacebuilding and conflict transformation” and those practical actions that bring an idea into a concrete reality. She further indicates that steps in peacebuilding are metaphorized as the “to-do

list;" lists of methods that make a process become a practical reality. In the same vein, Little and Appleby (2004) note that steps in the field of religion and peacebuilding refer to the operational means and actions that can advance the initiatives or processes to curb and control conflicts such as listening, learning, respect, and understanding. Political, religious and non-governmental leaders can use these and other steps for peacebuilding processes and strategies (Little & Appleby, 2004). Storytelling is not only a process, it is also a relevant step, a concrete action and a practical plan for the construction of identity, knowledge and memory in peacebuilding (Senehi, 2000, 2002). Illustratively, Senehi identifies workshops and dialogue activities as examples of action-plans or steps that can enhance peacebuilding processes through storytelling.

This study, therefore, conceptualizes and uses steps as those direct, practical and concrete actions that can be adopted and performed to foster the designated processes of mainstreaming African Indigenous peacemaking approaches to address conflicts in Africa. While processes are on a continuum for achieving and sustaining the mainstreaming of African approaches, steps are those specific tasks or procedures, which are taken to enhance the identified processes. For example, promoting *Ubuntu* as an African peacemaking ideology can be done using various processes and enabling steps in the manner government legislative support public discourse and media coverage. To be effective and successful both processes and steps inevitably need actors that will facilitate them.

Actors - in peacebuilding are defined as the long or short-term players of the conflict community who are linked to it by membership or invitation. Actors can be human beings, institutions or organizations (Little & Appleby, 2004).

In terms of types, peacebuilding actors are divided into two major groups: local (insider) and international (outsider) with the former personally and directly connected to the conflict community and the latter connecting by association (Hellmüller, 2014). The intervention

activities of the former are more cost-effective and can complete projects without long bureaucratic processes. The latter is however very expensive and webbed in complex procedures in terms of cost and protocol. However, because these two types are united by their common interest to address the conflict, the outsider is sometimes ascribed the title of insider actors (Hellmüller, 2014). This ascription is welcome especially when the outsider actors work for the evolution and use of the Indigenous strategy of the local conflict community. The “insider-partial” actors and their allies, the “outsider-impartial” actors are key in peacebuilding strategies, as they support, advocate and use the Indigenous peacemaking opportunities of the conflict community (Lederach, 1995).

Concerning levels, Lederach (1997) has grouped peacebuilding actors into three fundamental standards based on the principles of power and influence that they each possess and exercise. *Level 1* refers to Top Leadership made of political or military leaders with high visibility. *Level 2* refers to Middle Leadership that consists of respected sectors of the community, and *Level 3* refers to Grassroots Leadership made up of the local community heads. In Indigenous contexts, actors involved in peacemaking apparatuses are not designated with power; but are identified based on the roles they each play in an egalitarian and non-stratified society (Asimeng-Boahene, 2017). It is worth stating clearly that in African Indigenous context, peacemaking actors are out hierarchized, they are seen and related to in “decentralized or consensus-based systems” (Asimeng-Boahene, 2017, p. 8). To subject them to higher and lower levels of power is to distort their roles and make them vulnerable to conflictive power differentials.

The key functions of peacebuilding actors include facilitating peace processes, playing a range of activities to transform relationships and safeguarding peace institutions (Little & Appleby, 2004). By facilitating processes and steps, peace actors become heralds, observers, supporters, and advocates (Little & Appleby, 2004). Generally, peacebuilding actors contribute

through their interpretation of the prevailing and evolving events, deliberated issues, emerging possibilities, and designated projects for the sole aim of addressing the conflict experiences (Little & Appleby, 2004).

2.8.4 Mainstreaming Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches: Benefits and Challenges

The mainstreaming of an alternative process is usually associated with benefits, impacts, and challenges (Picciotto, 2002). In terms of promising experiences, the mainstreaming of a new strategy usually excites the public hue, receives public approval, and enjoys community support, and brings about emancipatory changes. It breaks the longstanding traditions and systems and inevitably disrupts alliances, cleanses loyalties, and questions bonds, and confronts a skewed system. The associated risks and threats may include rejection, frustration, confusion, and fears.

Picciotto (2002) explains further that all challenges and impacts associated with the mainstreaming processes can be harnessed and overcome with the flourishing enthusiasm that is associated with it. About mainstreaming African Indigenous peacemaking approaches, Malan (1997) states that it usually starts with a will and political optimism. However, these energies begin to wane when the mainstreaming actors encounter certain risks and challenges. Some of the risks and challenges that dissipate the energies are the fear that the mainstreaming venture and its eventual outcomes might be disadvantageous to actors' status or the dominant ideology, system, party and the government they represent. According to Malan (1997), "in such cases, therefore, there may be enough will, but too little *political* will to put a wise plan into practice" (p. 99).

In response to risks, impacts and challenges associated with the mainstreaming project, Malan (1997) calls on the actors, in this case Africans and their allies that expressed their initial commitment to the struggle to remain "undeterred by the overwhelmingness and riskiness of the task" (p. 8). In the same vein, Lederach and Jenner (2002) encourage all the actors to remain bold

and stick to their decision and disposition to pursue this cause. Furthermore, mainstreaming actors should learn to appreciate the demands of the local conflict community to mainstream, the invitation extended to them to assist and their self-informed choice to support remain propelled by the overriding ethics of emancipation and empowerment, rather than money (Lederach & Jenner, 2002).

2.9 Conclusion

The literature discussed in this chapter outlines the array of conflicts that are beleaguering Africa and its communities. First, it is clear that Africa's conflict predicament is fostered by both inside and outside forces. Second, the participation of Africans in these conflicts represents the ignominy or the "palm of stupidity" of self-annihilation and the insanity of "me against my brother" (Scott, 2000). Lateral violence runs counter to Africa's priceless social philosophy of *Ubuntu* which upholds and teaches community welfare, co-responsibility, constructive personhood, shared humanity and harmony (Akinola & Uzodike, 2018). Africans who are involved in self-destructive activities become devoid of an active conscience so that they lose their personhood. Interestingly, the *Ubuntu* philosophy teaches that the lost personhood should be restored, and it is the responsibility of the conflict parties, the victims and the entire community to do so.

The chapter also outlines the scholarly criticism made against the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm and its inherent flaws. The chapter also faults the paradigm for its complicity in Africa's conflict experiences. Consequently, an alternative strategy that is suitable and viable for addressing Africa's conflicts is advocated for. Primarily, the alternative is not local or hybrid peace, but African Indigenous peacemaking approaches. This is the alternative that Africans are more inclined to, the alternative they tenaciously hold onto, the strategy that is open to general participation, the approach that is suitable to their context and one that builds peace

from inside to significantly impact the outside. The emerging paradigm that is gaining support from the Tiv people needs to be re-empowered, reimagined and mainstreamed.

The chapter is also able to expound the theoretical descriptions of mainstreaming. It conceptualizes it as the entrenchment of African Indigenous peacemaking approaches into the daily processes and policies of the African states and communities. A successful mainstreaming project is enabled by the interrelating factors of relevant processes, steps and actors. In the succeeding chapter, the research methodology that was used to obtain data and identify from it the factors that will enable the mainstreaming of T

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

2.10 Introduction

This methodology chapter describes the (1) Critical Indigenous Qualitative Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM) that this study developed and used to explore its central problem. The chapter thus presents (2) the research problem, (3) the research participants, (4) the positionality and objectivity of the researcher, (5) data collection and analysis steps, (6) the rationale for the choice of CIQPM, (7) the participants' ethical concerns, and (8) a concluding remark.

2.11 Critical Indigenous Qualitative Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM)

This study developed and used Critical Indigenous Qualitative Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM). The sequencing paragraphs define CIQPM; explain why CIQPM was developed; how it is contrasted with Simple Qualitative Methodology (SQM), how it was used to elaborate the research problem as well as to collect and interpret the data thereby explore the peacemaking traditions of the Tiv community and how they can be institutionalized.

First, CIQPM is an approach that is different from SQM. The simple qualitative methodology is an approach that “has a lengthy history in the beginning of the Enlightenment era” (Kovach, 2015, p. 47). It is “a mainstream colonial/Western science research” framework (Dei, 2013, p. 12). In line with this background, the simple qualitative methodology focuses on exploring the “central phenomenon” (Creswell, 2012, p. 16) to produce the knowledge that will serve Western political, economic and scientific contexts that occasioned it into being (Kovach, 2015, p. 47). That is to say, it consistently generates the knowledge that gives privilege and reinforces the Western status quo. More worrisome is the fact that even though “the knowledge produced perpetuates the domination of other social classes” and “other cultures” (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012, p. 12), simple qualitative method has continued to thrive and determine the

processes of research in the academic domains (Kovach, 2015, p. 47; Thiessen & Byrne, 2017). Evidently, SQM has attained the dominant status that Western oriented universities and corporations have become more familiar with it to the point that they are still unfamiliar and skeptical about the legitimacy and ability of alternative methodologies, like Indigenous methodology (Kovach, 2015, p. 48).

In contrast to SQM that is rooted in the colonial/Western tradition, CIQPM is engrained in the Indigenous worldview. CIQPM belongs to the critical Indigenous research form of inquiry and it uses non-numerical or qualitative information to assess the attitudes, opinions and behavior that are associated with its research topic; the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches. CIPQM is a combination of critical and qualitative trajectories and Indigenous and peacemaking perspectives. Critical Indigenous research scholars, for example, Denzin and Lincoln (2014) and Wilson (2008) assert that every Indigenous research methodology must be critical with its qualitative assessment of the phenomenon, and functionally concern itself with the production of the knowledge that will advance the identity and demands of the marginalized Indigenous community, for example, the Tiv.

With its critical, “anti-oppressive” and Indigenous nature, CIQPM has the liberty to adopt any perspectival emphasis that will bolster its focus and goal. In this light, Griffith (2009) explains that it is proper for every critical research methodology to assume as many perspectives as it can to enable it to communicate, pursue and realize the social change that it envisions, or as Carspecken (2012) put it, the “paradigmatic shift” it has endorsed for the emancipation of the “human subject” (p. 2). With this giving to adopt the perspectives of its choice, therefore, CIQPM is used in this study to advocate for the two key perspectives that are being demanded by the Tiv community; the appraisal of Tiv peacemaking worldviews and the need to make concerted efforts to mainstream them. In other words, the qualitative statements (data) that CIQPM collected were

used to critically assess the Tiv conflict experiences, to highlight their feelings against the dominant Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm in Tiv land, and to advocate for the institutionalization of Tiv identity and Indigenous peacemaking alternatives.

It is also worth stating that as an Indigenous methodology, CIQPM is guided by the four core elements of the Indigenous worldview, which are: ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological ideologies. Wilson (2008) explains that every Indigenous methodology must reflect these elements in its data analysis and interpretation. Wilson (2008) noted that the ontological ideology represents the daily experience or reality of the research community which the researcher has chosen to investigate. The epistemological element stands for the community's interpretive ideas and the knowledge the community can develop and share about its lived experience with the researcher. The axiological component refers to the demand that the community is making or the goal it wants to achieve in response to the prevailing experience and the community's call to the researcher to be equally committed to achieving the set goal or demand. This means, the axiological element bans the researcher from being isolated from the context and the struggle, it rather compels the researcher to be practically accountable by advancing the community's struggle for emancipation and agency. The methodological element denotes that the appropriate strategies and steps of inquiry should be chosen and followed so that the researcher can be relational, accountable and reciprocal as required. In this light, I used CIQPM to explore the Tiv people's *ontological* realities which are on the one hand, the haunting conflict experiences of colonial violence, self-destructive activities and the perpetuation of foreign heritages that are harmful to their identity, cultural values and original peacemaking activities, and on the other, their Indigenous opportunities of addressing the conflicts. The CIQPM also enabled me to appreciate Tiv's *epistemological* ideas and information about their peacemaking possibilities which include peacemaking gathering, inter-marriage, exchange of

peace grass and peace war/fight, and Tiv ethnophilosophies of peace such as kinship, communality, cultural control principles and social responsibility. CIQPM led me to understand that the *axiological* need of the Tiv is the institutionalization or re-empowerment of their traditional peacemaking practices to address restore and reform their identity and community and address the conflict experiences. In the light of researcher's accountability, the research respondents expressed the hope that my studies will advance their cause. Infact, one of the traditional leaders that I interviewed co-opted me into the committee for the reforms and revitalization of Tiv culture and traditions and invited me to join them at the next meeting. The strong positions and recommendations made in this study for the mainstreaming of "Tiv ways" of making peace exemplify my gesture of *accountability* to the community.

Relationality is another value that is key in critical Indigenous research, thus deserves some elaborative attention in this sub-section of the chapter. Relationality is an essential feature of Indigenous communities. The "relational way of being (is) at the heart of what it means to be Indigenous" (Wilson, 2008, p. 80). Relationality connotes the people's connection to one another and to nature, and it necessitates them to harm no one and no thing (Wilson, 2008, p. 86). As I used CIQPM, I increasingly understood that in Tiv's social wisdom, relationality promotes connection between the community members by hammering on the importance of ancestral, marriage and family kinships, and respect to nature which *Aondo* ("Supreme Being") gave them as a sacred gift. Relationality also awakens in the people the moral obligation to maintain harmony and respect for every member as well as the social norms and traditional institutions of the community. According to the participants, the conflicts in Tiv land are largely due to the loss and distortion of the value of relationality, which is a key principle of unity and peace to the community. They assert that the need to restore relationality within the community is not bargainable, it is imperative for the community's welfare.

What then is CIQPM? Definitively, it is a critical Indigenous study methodology that works with non-numerical or qualitative data and is driven by three core perspectives. First, the critical perspective assesses and condemns the conflict experiences of the Tiv community and the questionable relationship of the dominant liberal peacebuilding to their emergence and persistence. Second, the Indigenous perspective, which appraises Tiv original values and peacemaking processes as legitimate, useful, suitable and viable. Third, the peacemaking perspective which demonstrates the imperative to mainstream Tiv Indigenous peacemaking wisdom and elaborates the factors that can be used to realize this imperative. In other words, CIQPM is critically opposed to the emergence and persistence of Tiv conflict predicaments and how the dominant Western liberal peacemaking system has not only failed to address them but compounded the problems, thereby necessitating the identification of the factors that will assist in the recovery and mainstreaming of Indigenous approaches as demanded by the Tiv and by other African groups across for their respective communities and the continent.

2.12 Rationale for Using CIQPM

The Critical Indigenous Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM) and not the Simple Qualitative Methodology (SQM) was devised and used for this study for various reasons which are related to the contextual identity of the Tiv as an Indigenous community and the flourishing scholarly position that critical Indigenous methodologies are proper, thus be used for Indigenous communities.

In contrast, SQM is tinged with Western imperial connotations because of its epistemological mantra of “knowledge for progress” and “profit” and its controversial belief that the knowledge applies to all contexts (Kovach, 2015, p. 47). On the contrary CIQPM as an Indigenous worldview and methodology is focused on appraising the Indigenous identity and values of the people, and their liberation and the empowerment from Western imperialism

(Denzin, Smith, & Lincoln, 2014, p. 5). Given that the Tiv community is Indigenous and is struggling to address its conflict experiences, evidently compounded by colonial violence, it is not SQM but CIQPM that will support the Tiv and advance their emancipatory struggles.

Paradigmatically, CIQPM rather than SQM is more congruent with the Tiv context. Paradigm in research methodology refers to the worldview, beliefs and principles of the research context and how they inform the research venture (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 105). In other words, the focus and goals of a research methodology are significantly informed by the paradigmatic elements of the research community, which is its target. Emergent from the Western Enlightenment, which was adorned with a universalist aura and manifested in the Western colonial adventures, SQM is essentially positivist in its production of knowledge. That is, it produces the knowledge that is above all profitable to colonial hegemonic institutions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 113). The knowledge that SQM produces is intended to serve the colonial state and its hegemonic forces, even if it dominates and harms other classes and cultures (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012, p. 12). The Tiv Indigenous context is not only the haunted by colonialism, but it is also continually harmed by SQM, an alien research paradigm with “which knowledge about Indigenous peoples was [and is] collected, classified and then represented in various ways” that are not proper about the people (Smith, 1999, p. 1). As the Tiv community is struggling to decolonize its identity and the dominant peace programs in the land, it is evident that it will rather appropriately rely on CIQPM than SQM. This is because paradigmatically, CIQPM is Indigenous and it is primarily focused on the production of the knowledge that will advance their emancipatory struggles, as well as their identity and peacemaking values and practices.

Axiologically, SQM is accountable to the (colonial) state (Smith, 1999). This is because, it produces knowledge for the state to use and make policies that will serve the political interest and integrity of the state above those of the communities, hence the compulsion of the community

by the police and the courts to comply to them. The impacts of SQM produced knowledge and the activities of the colonial state have not been favourable to Indigenous communities. These elements have rather overwhelmed the communities by subverting, destroying, distorting and dislodging their Indigenous identity, values, wisdom, cultural practices and social organizations and entrenching alien epistemological forms and political structures. It is from this context one understands how the Western forms of peacebuilding are systematically enforced or imposed on the communities and observed as they cause “ontological violence” on their existence and legitimate original practices (Walker, 2004, p. 527).

Western peacebuilding is disputative, exclusivist, punitive, isolationist, dehumanizing, traumatizing and incarcerating in nature and emphases, thus in contrast to the Indigenous approaches which emphasise restorative, communal, collective, dialogic, and reconciliatory peace as well as the re-humanization of the conflict parties and the community (Woolford & Nelund, 2019, p. 58). Existing scholarship (see Agber et al., 2015; Shija, 2018) indicates that the Tiv are wary of the imposition of the Western, alienating and oppressive forms peacebuilding on them, thus they are yearning for the revival of their peacemaking forms which they so much relish. Since the axiological concern of the dominant SQM methodology is essentially to serve the post-colonial state and perpetuate the status quo with the knowledge it produces, it is not fitting for the Tiv who are fighting to end their imperial plight and advance the struggles to recover their local ways. Rather, it is CIQPM that is the suitable approach because it shares in their worries and hopes.

Another rationale for using CIQPM in this study is the cogent argument that is put forward in a significant amount of scholarly works. Global and African Indigenous scholars have clearly posited that Indigenous methodologies should be used for research in Indigenous communities. For example, perplexed by their failures to achieve their envisioned goal of emancipation,

Indigenous and “anti-oppressive” researchers have begun to wonder about the lack of success asking “how is it that our very efforts to liberate perpetuate the relations of dominance” (Lather, 1991, p. 16). In response, Potts and Brown (2015, p. 17) state that, “this is not any easy task!”. This is very cogent, especially in the environment where Western imperial research methodologies are the negotiated paradigms. This notwithstanding, Potts and Brown (2015) advise that to be an anti-oppressive or critical Indigenous researcher, one must choose to be firm with the choice of the critical methodology even when the choice “challenges the dominant ideas about research processes as well as research outcomes” (p.19). Indeed, the choice of using CIQPM to explore Tiv Indigenous peacemaking systems and how to mainstream them is a counter-cultural strategy and it intends to reinforce the discourse for a new research paradigm in the academy that is dominated by Western models. As an Indigenous researcher, I desire to always use indigenous research methods, and as a result, I developed and worked with the CIQPM research methodology. I recognize that I am influenced by my Western university training in the use of western research methods and that I also resisted using these protocols and epistemologies in this research. It is important at this juncture to ask about the status of CIQPM as it pertains to SQM. Is it replacing, supplementing, improving, complimenting, or revising SQM, which is the dominant conventional methodology? Indigenous scholars are responding to this important question. Unfortunately, some have emerged with answers that suggest the perpetuation of the dominant paradigm they are challenging, thereby demonstrating that the question asked by Lather (1991, p. 16) is truly empirical. For example, Mkabela (2005, p. 188) starts off by regretting the unfortunate misrepresentation of African Indigenous communities and the destruction of their self-confidence by Eurocentric scholarships and agenda. She calls for the development of an “Afrocentric” or Afro-Indigenous research approach, which she claims should repair and redeem this unfortunate development. However, she failed to give independence to the Indigenous and

anti-oppressive “Afro-centric” methodology she is preferring. Rather she subjugated it by clearly stating that it should serve “as a complement to qualitative research methods”. On the contrary, Dei’s (2013) suggestion represents the rejection of what can be called the Mkabela’s zeugmatic appeal for a complementary status for Afro-Indigenous research methodology. Lawson (2000, p. 29) describes zeugma as rhetorical devices and concepts that are used to “delegitimize” and neutralize the identity and struggles of indigenous communities. Dei states, “unapologetically that the days of Non-Indigenous peoples becoming 'experts' on Indigenous peoples [by using non-Indigenous methodologies] are long over” because the mainstream colonial/Western forms of research are different from Indigenous research (p. 29). He notes that what is important now is for the “epistemic insularity” of the Western forms of investigation to “be replaced with epistemic openness”. He explains that this “openness” is not only true of Indigenous research but “must” be used to “subvert the ethnocentrism of Western science’s research” which has been constantly employed to “interrogate Indigenous communities and the Indigenous human condition” (p. 31). Like Dei (2013), I am also boldly stating that I used CIQPM in this study as a replacement for SQM to curtail the overbearing influences of the ethnocentric ideas of the Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm about the identity and visions of African communities, like the Tiv, and to support the formalization of their Indigenous identity, knowledge and peacemaking forms. The conviction to use CIQPM also stems from reading the argument put forward by Keikelame and Swartz (2019). They posit that the appropriate approach for producing true knowledge about the Indigenous peacemaking possibilities of African communities is that which sets out to decolonize the mainstream methodologies and showcase an African one, a recommendation that is actualized in the creation and use of CIQPM for this study.

Finally, the choice of CIQPM helped me to propose from this Tiv case study many tactics of how Indigenous peacemaking approaches can be mainstreamed to address Africa’s conflicts,

thereby contributing to the point declared by the African Union over two decades ago for “African solutions for Africa’s problems”.

Another rationale for using CIQPM was to emerge with a grounded theory that fits and represents the Tiv indigenous community members interviewed in this study. This rationale is in resonance with the position of Glaser and Strauss (1967), the architects of grounded theory. They describe the grounded theory as a system of ideas that are conceptualized or developed from the data that is collected and assert that its primary purpose is to serve the investigated group or subgroup. They explain further that a perfect grounded theory must “fit” the community or the situation that has been researched and “work” for its goals when it is used. In other words, it must be readily applicable and be very meaningful to that community. Denzin (2007, p. 4) appears to indicate that grounded theory cannot emerge from and work with indigenous research without modification. However, an increasing number of Indigenous researchers have proved him wrong as new grounded theories emerged from their qualitative field research as a complete fit as well as a method of analysis to serve the investigated communities (Elers, 2016, p 7). Consequently, I employed CIQPM to discover a new grounded theory that suits the Tiv community, fits their worldview, works to bring meaning to their struggles, that is, the grounded theory of “*u hiden sha igbenda yase i Tiv* (“returning to our Tiv ways”), which is detailed in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

Other questions that are equally explained in this methodology chapter include the research problem, research participants, research questions, researcher’s positionality and objectivity, data analysis and interpretations and the researcher’s and the participants’ ethical concerns.

2.13 **Research Problem**

A research problem, also known as the “research purpose”, represents “the major intent or objective for a study and narrowing it into specific research questions or hypotheses” (Creswell, 2012, p. 9). There is lack of sufficient explorative literature that explores the nature of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking systems, and most importantly how they can be mainstreamed to meet the yearning of the community. There is also a vehement call by the African Union (AU) as well as African communities and researchers for the institutionalization of African solutions to address Africa’s conflicts. Ani, 2019 (p. 136) acknowledges that this call has always been there in African history, what remains the challenge is how to realize it in our time. The mainstreaming of Indigenous peacemaking mechanisms in Africa has thus become an imperative, and the identification of the factors that will enhance its realization remains an urgent challenge that researchers must endeavor to explore and address.

Emerging from this compelling context therefore, this study problematizes its investigation and purpose in this way. It is an attempt at exploring the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking practices and identifying the processes, steps and actors that will help in institutionalizing them as being demanded by the community and elaborating the many implications of the study for Africa. In other words, what are Tiv ways of making peace, the factors that can be used to mainstream them and how insights from this study can enhance the mainstreaming of Indigenous peacemaking in Africa in response to the AU’s declaration?

2.14 **Research Participants**

Guided by CIQPM, this study consulted a total of thirty (30) Tiv participants. They were selected through purposeful sampling from ten towns in Benue State. In general, purposeful sampling refers to the intentional selection of individuals and sites in a qualitative research study

because they are “information rich” and can assist in understanding the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2012, p. 206). In line with the Indigenous tradition to advance the concerns of the Indigenous community, I selected the participants who possess and could provide useful information for the advancement of the identity, values, practices, emancipation and empowerment of the Tiv community. That is, participants who are connected by the “collective experience” of the community, share the same epistemological elements and are willing to give me access to the information. Elders, as well as the leaders of cultural unions, women groups, youth associations and other members of the Indigenous community who are custodians, knowers and users of Indigenous wisdom can be consulted for research (Wilson, 2008, p. 112). In this vein, my selected Tiv participants included those who are significantly involved in the ongoing collective efforts and programs that have been launched to revive, reform and mainstream Tiv traditions and practices (Editorial, 2018).

The Tiv participants are grouped under five categories: (i) traditional leaders, (ii) cultural association leaders, (iii) youth group leaders (iv) elderly women, and (v) elderly men. In Tiv culture, all these categories play important roles and functions as heads or leaders and influence the day-to-day life and activities of the Tiv society (Torkula, 2006).

In break down, eighteen traditional leaders were interviewed in this study under the following categories: two *A-Tor* (“First Class Chiefs”) who are heads of amalgamated Tiv clans; eight *U-Ter* (“Second Class Chiefs”), heads of Tiv clans; six *Muer-Ter* (“Third Class Chiefs”), heads of the clustered Tiv districts; three *U-Tyoor* (“Fourth Class Chief”), district heads and one *Tor-Kpande* (“the Compound Welfare Head”). The other participants interviewed included one cultural association leader of *Mdzough U Tiv* (Tiv Cultural Association); two male leaders of different Tiv youth group; one female youth chieftain or Tiv traditional title holder; two elderly women; two middle-aged women; two elderly men; and one middle-aged man. The participants

were consulted or interviewed in the various towns they reside in, namely Makurdi, Naka, Awajir, Tse-Agberagba, Vandeikya, Gboko, Wannune, Buruku, Katsina Ala, and Logo in Benue State, Nigeria.

2.14.1 Research Participants – Demographic Table

Categories	Number Interviewed	Sex
Traditional leaders		M
<i>A-Tor</i> (First Class Chiefs)	2	M
<i>U-Ter</i> (Second Class Chiefs),	7	M
<i>Muer-Ter</i> (Third Class Chiefs),	6	M
<i>Tyo-or</i> (Fourth Class Chief)	3	M
<i>Tor-Kpande</i> (the Compound Welfare Head	1	M
Cultural group leaders		
President <i>Mdzough U Tiv</i> (Tiv Cultural Association);	1	M
Presidents of different <i>Mdzough U a Gum a Ior a Tiv</i> (Tiv Youth Associations)	2	M
Traditional Title Holder		
<i>Kwase Tiv</i> (The Tiv Woman)	1	F
Middle-Aged		
Middle-Aged Women	2	F
Middle-Aged Men	1	M
Elders		
Elderly Women	2	F
Elderly Men	2	M
Total Number of Females	5	
Total Number of Males	25	
Total Number of Participants	30	

In terms of diversity, these participants represent various sectors of the Tiv society in terms of age, gender and walks of life. For example, some of the traditional leaders are retired civil servants, and some own private enterprises. The traditional leaders and elderly men and women are all over fifty years of age. The youth participants are over thirty years old. Apart from the two elderly women and two elderly men, all other participants acquired a significant level of

Western education. Despite their encounters with other cultural experiences, the participants have significant knowledge and strong tenacity of Tiv Indigenous values and peacemaking practices.

Participants' Consent - Generally, the participants' consent to take part in the research was sought and granted the day before each interview, and in some cases, on the day of their individual interviews. The interviews and conversations took place shortly after the participants signed the consent forms that indicated their willingness to participate in the study, to withdraw from the study at any time before its final publication and withhold any information they did not want to share or answer the questions in the way they felt most comfortable.

Participants' Identity, Anonymity and Pseudonyms - There is a disparity in terms of the ethical requirements by the University of Manitoba Ethics Board compared to those of Indigenous scholars. For the former, the identity of the participants should be anonymous and represented with coded characters or pseudonyms to safeguard foreseeable and unforeseeable risks and dangers. A critical Indigenous research methodology recommends that the personal or real identities of Indigenous participants can be noted on the premise that they are speaking or fighting for justice for their communities in terms of self-locating (see Dawson et al., 2017) and community service in the research project (see Strega & Brown, 2015).

Commenting on this disparity, Schroeder (2014, p. 7) observes that “the Western norm of anonymity for research subjects is often in direct opposition to the Indigenous ethics of relationality” which allows the Indigenous participants to identify with their spoken words. This way of life of the people “creates a sense of belonging, place and home, however, doesn't serve or support their anonymity” suggested by Western research canon (Strega & Brown 2015, p. 30).

However, compelled by the coercive position of the university's Ethics Board, this study represents the research participants without revealing their identities in terms of their communities, the interview locations, their professional careers, and real names. The study

nevertheless maintains its Indigenous character and identifies the participants by using anonymous determiners such as: “a”, “another” and “one of” in association with the general leadership titles, gender and age-grade that is proper to each respondent. For example, “a participating *Ter*”, “a participating youth leader,” “one of the participating *Muer Ter*”, “another participating *Tor*”, “a participating elderly woman”, “another participating elderly woman”, and “one of the participating elderly men”. In this way, their Indigenous identities and titles are respectfully noted, and their real identities concealed.

Data Collection: Interview Locations, and Time in the Field - I consulted and interviewed the participants in their respective residential locations that included Makurdi, Naka, Awajir, Tse-Agberagba, Vandeikya, Gboko, Wannune, Buruku, Katsina Ala, and Logo in Benue State, Nigeria. The consultations and interviews to collect the data was seven months, and the research period was spread into two years from July 1st, 2018 to January 28th, 2019. The average duration for each interview and consultation lasted approximately 1.5 hours. Each participant was excited to express her or his views and was allowed the freedom of time to tell their story, narrate their experience, yarn on an issue, or respond to a question as they so wished.

2.15 Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation

Data Collection - I used the following methods within the CIPQM approach to collect, analyse and interpret the data. I held a one-to-one session with each of the study participants. In these sessions, I engaged the participants in the following ways. (1) *Inquiry conversations*, that is, I started each session by disclosing the purpose of my visit which is to feed my interest and quest with new ideas and to confirm the old ideas about my research topic. Interestingly, each participant happily accepted my interest and went on to share their ideas by responding to my questions and remarks. (2) *Storytelling*, that is, I asked the participant to share a story that addressed each of my questions, for example, about Tiv migration, war and peacemaking

adventures and rituals. (3) *Yarning*, that is, I started the encounter with a random conversation about some of the things that I saw around the compound or heard about the community and the emerging conversation led us into the real business of the day that was guided by the open-ended questions that I posed to each person. (4) *Narratives*, that is, I requested each of the interviewees to share their knowledge with me with regards to specific historical narratives about Tiv events, values and practices especially, the Swem potency for oath taking and truth telling. (5) *Interviews*, in which I shared semi-structured questions with each of the respondents in an interview style. In other words, I used a mixture of these methods, and in some interviews, all of them, and in others, a few of them.

Indigenous scholars for example, Denzin and Lincoln (2014, p. 3) demonstrate that conversational meeting is a common technique in a “critical Indigenous qualitative research” tradition for collecting data. Indigenous community’s value it as an interactive method of relationship and communication, which they use, for sharing their views, experiences, and stories about self-representation and the impartation of knowledge to others (Kovach, 2010; Lavallee, 2009).

Data Analysis and Interpretation – Here, I used the six SQM traditional steps that Creswell (2012, p. 237) clearly outlines. However, I used them within an Indigenous emphasis on the local cultural context as encouraged by Wilson (2008) who states that, “Indigenous scholars may attempt to “decolonise” methodologies and turn them into something that can be useful in Indigenous research” (p. 9). The six steps include: (1) the collation of all field-notes and transcriptions of recorded interviews; (2) the comprehension of the scripted data and identification of the recurrent ideas; (3) the collation of the frequently occurring ideas into themes that tell the story or explain the phenomenon; (4) the interpretation of the frequently occurring themes into larger meaning as the research findings that are related to the literature and the

research question; (5) the reporting of the research findings; and (6) the validation of the findings with existing scholarly work and official documents.

By way of interpolating Creswell's steps, I started by transcribing the recorded data and compiling my field notes into one document. After this step, I identified the recurrent ideas from the data and categorized them into major recurrent themes and these formed my qualitative chapters namely, Tiv conflict experiences, Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches, Tiv feelings, fears and hopes for their Indigenous approaches and values, and the factors needed for mainstreaming Tiv peacemaking strategies. Every thematic chapter is provided a section that explicates the key findings and the concluding section recaps each chapter's discussion. The finding sections of the data analysis chapters provide a clear thread of arguments that represent that researcher's thoughts and interpretation of the data. They connote the researcher's decolonization of the data. The general concluding chapter consists of the study's overall discoveries and their relationship with the existing scholarship and official documents.

As an essential dimension of CIQPM and with encouragement by Wilson (2008), a critical Indigenous analytic tone was used to interpret the key informant's ideas placing them into concrete explanations and projecting the Tiv Indigenous and peacemaking culture as legitimate, suitable, viable, and mainstreamable.

Research Questions - Eight semi-structured questions were used to explore the research problem (see Appendix 1). The primary question was (1) What are the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches, and how can they be mainstreamed to prevent and address conflicts in Tiv land? The secondary questions include: (2) What are the conflicts that the Tiv are experiencing or struggling with? (3) How can Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches be described, and how are they used to prevent and address their conflict experiences? (4) What are your feelings as well as other members of the Tiv community about Tiv Indigenous peacemaking

approaches and their use in addressing conflicts? (5) What could be the future of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches in Tiv land? (6) What are the ways to mainstream Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches? (7) Apart from preventing and addressing the Tiv's experiences of conflicts, what other benefits or concerns can be associated with the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches? (8) What are your best hopes and wishes, as well as worst fears and worries for the future of the Tiv's Indigenous peacemaking approaches?

2.16 **Ethical Concerns**

It is worth stating clearly that the study engaged with the research participants and accessed the ten different research sites with a constructive ethical outlook and approach as prescribed by the University of Manitoba Ethics Board and as it is demanded by the growing body of scholarship on Indigenous research ethics (see Chilisa, 2012; Ermine, Sinclair, & Jeffery, 2004; Kruger, 2018; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). Both ethical traditions state clearly that every research project must characteristically respect these three fundamental principles. First, it must be beneficial and not harmful to the researcher and the community. Second, there must be social justice built into the research performance and the distribution of benefits and burdens. Third, the study must fully respect and be non-exploitative of the research participants and their community (Kruger, 2018). Other benchmarks for the participants include informed consent, risk assessment, respecting identity privacy, freedom to withhold information and withdrawal of self at any stage from the research (Kruger, 2018). The critical and Indigenous traditions prescribe that research participants and sites should not be objectified as curiosities, artifacts or guinea pigs for academic and personal interests; their consent to report on their identity must be respected since this resonates with their Indigenous worldview (Denzin et al., 2008; Kovach, 2010). Even though the participants consented to reporting their identity, I aligned with the University of Manitoba's

ethical recommendation to use pseudonyms to keep them protected from seeable and unforeseeable dangers.

2.17 Positionality, Subjectivity, Objectivity and Triangulation

The Western positivist research perspective requires the researcher to adopt a positionality that is characterized by neutrality and independence (Lavallee, 2009, p. 23). The researcher is expected to assume the status of difference and separation from the research community and the research experience. It is the neutral status that supposedly guarantees the emerging information to be objective. In contrast, the indigenous research tradition does not require the researcher to be disconnected or aloof on the contrary the person is totally relating to the community, and its experiences and aspirations (Wilson, 2008). The Indigenous research tradition clearly defines the researcher's position as being responsible, accountable, and having a respectful relationship with the community and its struggles. This implies that the researcher's positionality is "a part of his or her research and is inseparable from the subject of that research" (Wilson, 2008, p. 77). It is in this way that the knowledge that is produced is considered to be legitimate and objective. As an indigenous researcher, my positionality in this study is an inseparable fraternity with the Tiv community and Africa in general because I am a child of both communities. In this way, I sympathize with the Tiv and African communities in the light of their worldviews and conflict experiences and the shared struggle to revitalize their original cultural values and peacemaking practices. While exercising my positionality, I encountered significant influence from the university and the Western academy in which I trained. These institutions require the researcher to remain disconnected from the research context to produce "objective" knowledge. However, CIQPM is an indigenous methodology that informed me to position myself in association with the Tiv community, and its search for empowerment and emancipation.

I was also aware of my subjective feelings, biases, prejudices and perceptions, and that they could exert some influences over the study especially with regards to the choice of methodology, data collection procedures, and interpretation of the data. While Western oriented methodologies encourage the denial of the researcher's subjective emotions and influences in the actual field research, indigenous methodologies appreciate the functional roles that the researcher plays in constructing the study so that it represents, and it is beneficial to the research community (Denzin & Lincoln, 2014). In other words, the subjective factors are recognized for their relationship with the processes of advancing the cause of the indigenous community.

Objectivity in non-indigenous research is dependent on how neutral the research has been in that the researcher does not have a relationship with the context, the research participants, and the emerging truth. Consequently, the researcher is dissociated with the research context and the emerging truth such that the "objective truth" is not the outcome of a biased interpretation of the data (Ermine et al., 2004, p. 24). Even though some researchers argue that "no research is free from bias [and neutrality]; from the inception of the topic to the interpretation of the results," others insist that in a positivist research paradigm, "the researcher and the research can be objective and neutral" (Lavallee, 2009, p. 23). However, the indigenous research tradition does not claim neutrality and researcher separation from the community s/he works in. Therefore, the "objective truth" of an indigenous study contains that which represents and supports the indigenous community and its experience, worldview, and struggles with the researcher acting as an important part of the community's experience.

Even though relationality is the factor that defines positionality, subjectivity and objectivity in an indigenous driven research study, how are the feelings, views, and positions of the participants compared to the researcher represented in the study? How does the researcher prove that the emerging knowledge is the product of the researcher's subjective influences rather

than the ideas arising from the data? In other words, given my active position or relationship with the Tiv community and my subjective flair for their identity, worldviews, and struggles, how do I explain that the findings and positions explicated in this study are not my ideas, but those of the participants exemplified in their stories, and analysed by me in their data? Simonds & Christopher (2013) decry the obvious lack of published indigenous research tools for ascertaining objectivity in indigenous research. The only significant contribution made in this direction is by Smith who explains that to verify the findings of an indigenous study, the researcher must refer to the research participants and community to ascertain that their ideas are correctly captured and represented “in respect of [their] interests and needs” (Smith, 1999, p. 15). To reinforce Smith’s position and apply some indigenous efforts in verifying the objectivity of research findings Simonds & Christopher (2013, p. 2185) recommend that the researcher decolonizes and adapts Western tools to the indigenous research method by manipulating them in the way that they represent the indigenous community’s concerns, epistemologies, and worldviews. Kovach (2015) has challenged indigenous scholars to embark on research to fill this existing vacuum in indigenous research. This section of the study can be appreciated in this light.

In Western methods, the objectivity of a study is tested through triangulation, with one of its steps being the same as the indigenous step of referencing explained above by Smith (1999). In the field of navigation where it originates, triangulation is the act of looking at two known points to determine a location (Heale & Forbes, 2013, p. 98). In qualitative research, it is the use of multiple data sources for the objective of understanding the phenomenon under study. It is used to control the positionality and subjectivity of the researcher and to confer with various sources to determine the convergence and divergence of the findings (Carter et al., 2014, p. 545). Triangulation does these functions in four scientific ways, which I decolonized and adapted to

my study by way of appreciating and promoting the identity, values, and concerns of the Tiv community.

(1) The *method triangulation* states that objectivity is derived from the proper use of data collection methods. I fulfilled this condition by using the CIQPM data collection method of storytelling, yarning, inquiry interviews, narratives, and field notes to study the Tiv community's peacemaking wisdom and their struggle to mainstream it. (2) *Theoretical triangulation* requires that various existing theories and literature be used to scrutinize and interpret data. I did this by testing the primary data and my subjective elements with existing sources, for example, the interrelatedness of Tiv conflict experiences, the Tiv's demand for the revitalization of indigenous wisdom, and the processes, steps and actors that will enhance the struggle. (3) With *data triangulation* which is the same as Smith's conferring with the community, I cross-checked with the participants by phoning them to verify that the ideas and views I represent in the study are consistent and accurate with what they shared with me, and how they want me to represent them in the thesis. (4) *Investigator triangulation* stipulates that two or multiple investigators of a study compared their different notes to ascertain their validity and comprehend their findings. As the sole or primary investigator of this study, I did confer my notes with the viewpoints of both research guides who assisted me in meeting the participants during the field work. Their secondary responses clarified some grey areas and controlled my excitement and biases especially with regards to colonial violence, the Tiv ideology of *tar soron* ("community restoration"), the *mtem u soron ayoosu* system ("peacemaking gathering"), and the Tiv combat peacemaking strategies of warring and fighting.

I was able to use the triangulation method to subvert my positionality and subjective assumptions to validate the findings of the study as the products of the research participants and the data they provided me. In the process, I made the following discoveries: (1) in many cases,

the primary data, secondary sources and my biases resonated, confirmed, and complemented each other, for example, with regards to the reality of colonial violence, the shame of self-destructive conflicts, and the unacceptability of participation in foreign tyrannies to harm indigenous contexts; (2) in some cases, the data differed or diverged with my biases especially with regards to Christianity and the loss of cultural custodians as impediments to the mainstreaming process, good *tsav* ("witchcraft") as an acceptable spiritual practice, bad *tsav* as an abhorrent conflict experience, and the Nigerian Western state system and democratic tradition as propagandist, deceitful, and alien traditions to the Tiv community; (3) in many other cases, my biases were informed with new ideas such as the *mtem u soron ayoosu* as the Tiv paramount peacemaking method, the return to "Tiv ways" as the grounded theory, and the formation of the Committee to mainstream as the Tiv community's form activism to push forward their demand to re-empower Tiv indigenous wisdom by institutionalizing them.. These convergent, divergent, and informative relationships between my biases, the data, and existing sources depict the validity of the study and its findings as coming from the data and the participants, despite my positional and subjective influences.

In general, I wish to state that my positionality and objectivity in this study fits very well with the parameters of the critical Indigenous tradition, namely: (1) the firm choice and the use of an inquiry approach that is "anti-oppressive" and relational with the Indigenous context (Potts and Brown, 2015, p. 19); (2) the collection and interpretation of data in respect of Indigenous worldviews (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2006, p. 22); (3) the decolonization and conversion of the imperial methodologies to suit the Indigenous research approach (Wilson, 2008, p. 39); and (4) the advancement of the concerns of the Indigenous community (Kovach, 2015, p. 50), in this case, the Tiv. With the four triangulation processes, my subjective excesses were controlled, so that the collected data spoke for itself.

2.18 Conclusion

A Critical Indigenous Qualitative Peacemaking Methodology (CIQPM) was used to collect the data. It is essentially critical qualitative data collection and analysis strategy rooted in the anti-oppressive and emancipatory Indigenous tradition and replaces the dominant colonial simple qualitative methodology for this study. CIQPM is critical in approach, thereby challenging the status quo to create a paradigm shift, a movement away from the dominant controversial liberal peacebuilding paradigm to the movement toward the mainstreaming of Tiv as well as African Indigenous peacemaking strategies. As tenacious custodians, knowers and users of their Indigenous identity and peacemaking practices, the views of the Tiv participants were purposely sampled and from their ideas, the factors that will assist in centralizing Tiv practices are identified and explicated.

I used some data collection methods that are also traditional to SQM, for example, one-to-one encounters and the use of semi-structured interviews, historical narratives and the six Creswellian processes of data analysis and interpretation. However, it is worth restating that I utilized them in a decolonial and indigenous fashion, that is I manipulated them for the promotion of Indigenous perspectives and goals for the Tiv and African communities as recommended above by Wilson (2008). CIQPM has served the purpose of this study as a replacement approach to the dominant colonial/Western SQM. CIQPM needs more attention to improve the model, a task that future (African) Indigenous research endeavours must not avoid.

The next chapter explores the Tiv's conflict experiences as well as their Indigenous peacemaking possibilities and the feelings of fear and hope the Tiv have about them. The chapter reveals the tenacity and preference the Tiv have for their original values and peace approaches.

Chapter 4: Tiv Conflict Experiences

3.1 Introduction

Before his death as the *Or ya u ken Ate* (“compound chief/head”), people always went to our family *Ate* (“hut of succour”) in Ikpayongo town, to speak and consult with my father, Mr. Amoor Joseph Genger, on matters that troubled them. My father always traveled from the town to meet and confer with the other family heads over some of the matters that individuals, families, and groups brought before him. Out of curiosity, I decided to ask him what the people said when they came to see him. He told me that some came with troubling conflicts such as family quarrels, land disputes, marital problems, spiritual or witchcraft attacks, and some asked about the projects that would improve the lives of the people. I recall, one of my cousin’s brothers, after consulting with my father, bought five motorbikes and donated them to three elderly men and two women in the village to ease their movements, given their feebleness due to age and ailments.

Despite my knowledge of the services my father rendered to the community, I often complained why he always had to travel to the village, considering that his wife, our mother and his children were in the town and he would be alone in our family house in the village. He would laugh and say that he always felt at home when he was with my uncles, step-mothers, and other contemporaries when he visited the village. Interestingly, he also said that by sitting down with his contemporaries and listening to their counsel, they used the Tiv wisdom to address the various problems that were brought before him. I recall when I was in the US and I complained about his going to the village, he calmly said to me in the interrogative; *kpa u fa er m lu orya ga? Ior av mba a ayoosu and mba mzaaiyol mba me nenge shamin yo*. That is, “don’t you know that I am the compound head? My people have conflicts and problems I have to address. In other words, my father was telling me that as the leader of the village, he had to be close to the community and

other heads to better and collectively address the multifaceted issues which are confronting his people and are brought to him.

In resonance with my father's response about addressing multifarious conflicts, the interviewed research participants also revealed in the yarning process that every kind of problem is brought to them to address. For example, a *Muer Ter* participant intriguingly said to me, *hanma tu u ayoosu a u hen sha min cii*. That is, "every type of conflict that I think of" is brought to him to address as the chief of the community." He elaborated it in this way:

The conflicts that are brought before me. Think of any conflict in our Tiv land. A man may have conflict with his wife; such that the woman runs away. I try to attend to it accordingly so that peace will come to be. When the young men of the motorcycle association fight, they bring the conflict to me to help. If a land generates conflict, I mediate the dispute. I would tell you that issues of witchcraft too are brought to me and us community heads and leaders. This young man sitting here with me came to report the issues of witchcraft. Think of anything that is a problem between this person and that person and between this people and that people. These are the things that are brought before us. Also, if they want to embark on a project, they bring the matter to me and us the traditional leaders so that our view will be counted regarding it. They want us to offer our voice on matters of private and government projects.

Generally, the participants elaborated on the various conflicts experiences confronting the Tiv community and demonstrated how the past and present conflicts are interrelated and adversely affecting the people. In the light of the African holistic conflict theory which rejects the mono-causal representation of African communities' conflict woes as separate and unrelated units, but that they be captured in their reality as connected experiences for the right understanding and management (Chingono, 2016), I decided to outline the elaborated Tiv conflicts scenarios into the following five categories. (1) Historical conflicts: violent migration, settlement and colonial encounters. (2) Occasional conflicts and matters namely: spiritual warfare. (3) Industrial disputes and consultation for development. (4) Regular conflicts include political violence, land skirmishes, family conflicts, interpersonal and inter-group disputes and

(5) moral conflicts seen in the loss of respect, social responsibility, harmony and adoption of values inimical to the Tiv community, that is the degeneration of Tiv cultural values.

3.1.1 Tiv Historical Conflict Experiences

Historical conflicts are connected to contemporary issues that have a disturbing relationship with the past, the present, and the future. These conflicts are constantly manifest in people's daily struggles and are "reflected in [their] initiatives today" (Marples, 2016, p. 424). In Africa, historical conflicts refer to pre-colonial wars and colonial conquests that African communities experienced and the bedevilling impacts of these experiences on the people (Besley & Reynal-Querol, 2014). African communities' pre-invasion conflicts were mostly fraternal disputes and rarely conquest wars, even though some anthropologists describe them as conquest in nature, they were not comparable to the European wars (Fry & Kemp, 2004). This is because the pre-invasion attacks lacked any complication considering that the conquered communities disintegrated and migrated out of the territories without repulsion, and through open borders (Fry & Kemp, 2004; Herbst, 2000). Despite their distinctiveness, Africa's pre-colonial like the colonial conflicts have created tensions that are reverberating to this day and shaping the contemporary politics and social relationships within and between African communities, such as the Tiv people. A participating *Ter* provided an exciting answer that adequately captures this point. He answered that *ayoosu a lu zan se iyol hen tar wase ne, a hir hegen ga, a hir ken a kar man ashien a ken jime cha je*. That is, "the conflicts that are plaguing our land today do not start at this time, they come from past historical events and times." In elaboration, he said the following:

We have had conflicts with foreigners we encountered in the past as we migrated to where we are settled today. These conflicts were resolved through clean fighting which we won and moved on or which we won and shifted those foreign groups beyond the hills. But when the white man came, he introduced his programs that have changed our ways and twisted us with their demands and penalties, such as the police and the courts.

In general, the research participants provided information about two historical conflicts confronting the Tiv community, namely migration and settlement conflicts, and colonial violence.

Migration and Settlement Conflicts - the participants acknowledged that the Tiv encountered strong hostilities from many ethnic communities whom they defeated while they migrated to their present home, the Benue Valley. The respondents also reported that the Tiv overcame hostile communities upon arrival in their present abode. They chased the communities away to lands beyond the local hills and forests through fierce fighting, and eventually they set up local Tiv settlements. One of the *Ter* participants recalled this experience with this narrative:

The Tiv overcame some communities far across the River Benue, and they went on to help some neighbouring ethnic communities to repel a marauding Jihadist army. We used to summon hundreds of our youth by beating the wooden gong and they used Tiv traditional weapons of poisoned arrows and bees.

Torkula (2006, p, 2) also acknowledges that the Tiv movement to the Benue valley “was laden with series of wars, conquests, displacements” of other settler ethnic groups who had also descended and occupied the Benue plains in 1500 AD, and to defeat the marauding Hausa and Beriberi Islamic groups in Awe, Tunga Kasa, Abuni and Lafia (Dura, 2016). Some participants alluded to the migration, settlement and mercenary escapades as key factors behind some of the historical conflicts confronting the Tiv of Nigeria today. For example, the political marginalization of the Tiv by Hausa/Fulani Muslim political actors, and the weak and controversial reactions by the government to the ongoing barbaric attacks and the occupation of Tiv lands by the Muslim Fulani herdsmen. A *Ter* participant indicated in his story that:

The marauding Fulani herdsmen have not shown any interest in resolving these conflicts even though I personally attended formal meetings and sent representatives to several meetings to see that this herder-farmer conflict is resolved. Fulani herdsmen have a historical experience with our people since the time of our arrival and early settlement in this land. They always attack us for what they want, but we have always remained resistant, and unclear about their desired goals or intentions. Our encounters with the Fulani stock are historical experiences that are of concern to us.

He made this conclusive observation:

Indeed our historical encounters have reverberating conflict impacts on us. *Ayoosu ase a ngise ne a va se a ihom vea ato atiev a kase se kpaang ne*, that is “our past conflicts have brought enmity with these non-Tiv neighbours that have surrounded us all around”.

His conclusion confirms what Ayangaor (2011) said about Tiv’s relationship with their Southern and Aluaigba's (2011) with their Middle-Belt neighbours. The two Tiv researchers indicate that the Tiv are constantly clashing with their neighbors because of unsettled migration and settlement scores and emerging political and land matters.

Colonial Conflicts - The participants identified colonialism as another historical conflict that bothers the Tiv to this day. They listed three historical colonial violent periods with continuing adverse effects on the Tiv community, namely, the early 18th Century AD Fulani-Islamic colonial jihads and the late 18th Century AD Euro-Christian colonial invasion.

The Hausa/Fulani Islamic jihad, an extension of the Arabo-Islamic colonial invasion of Africa, spread from the Sokoto Caliphate and targeted the Tiv and other pagan communities in the Benue Valley. However, the Jihadists were successfully repelled by the Tiv in the 1800s (Dura, 2016).

A *Tor* participant reported in his passionate story how:

Even though the Islamic raids did not capture our land, the times that follow have been unfortunate for us. These times have been characterized to this day with the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and various scheming and the (present Muslim leadership) of the government doesn’t want to investigate the root cause of the current attacks on us by the Fulani.

One of the *Tyo-or* participants made the following remark on the issue in his story:

As a fact, the leadership is in the know but doesn’t want to accept the truth. Our leaders must look deep or investigate and know the truth. Our problem is not cattle and crops alone, it is historical with respect to our past violent encounters.

The persisting raids are widely condemned as disguised religious attacks. For example, after analysing the facts surrounding the conflict, Adamu and Ben (2017) recall the “Islamic

expansion in the past” and describe the current conflict as “Benue State under the shadow of “herdsmen terrorism” who unleash occupational terror on Tiv Christian communities.

In agreement, a *Tyo-or* participant recalled that the Tiv repelled Othman Jihadists in the early 19th century, and since then, there has been a hidden hostility between both groups. It sometimes manifests itself in indirect statements and political suppression. His rich informative narrative reported it in the following manner:

I think the ongoing attacks and occupation of Tiv land by Muslim Fulani herdsmen is an offshoot of the unsuccessful 19th century historical Jihadist repulsion. Despite the tireless efforts being made by various Tiv communities to address the herdsmen attacks, the quiet day of peace is still far from sight. Herdsmen want to take over our land. For this reason, despite my participation in peace meetings in person and by sending my representatives, this conflict has proven difficult, that is the one involving us, and the Fulani herdsmen. What kind of conflict is this that defies all meetings to address, if not for hidden agenda or subtle motives to dislodge and occupy our land for religious reasons?

In general, the participants acknowledged the reality that the Arabo-Islamic historical conflict of the past still haunts them in the present. They also regretted the negative impacts it has caused them and Nigeria in general, in terms of unity, peace and development.

In another conversation, the participants identified the Euro-Christian colonial conquest by the British colonialists in the late 19th century as another historical conflict with devastating impacts on the Tiv people. Some background is interesting and is necessary to understand the argument. The Tiv’s first encounter with the British lasted from 1885 to 1886, when the Tiv attacked and looted two trading stations of the British Niger Company. The second encounter occurred in January 1900, when well-armed British soldiers accompanied British surveyors and engineers into Tiv land to construct rail and telegraph lines. The Tiv viewed them as threatening strangers and intruders, and they successfully attacked the crew and the soldiers, and repelled them from completing their assignment. Provoked by the first defeat, the British governor of the Northern Protectorate, Lord Lugard immediately sent a counter-offensive sophisticated military

command and armoured group that decimated the Tiv population and leveled Tiv villages, between February and March 1900. Subsequent military invasions from 1901 were not informed by any other reason than British revenge and determination to reduce Tiv land, and 'Northern Nigeria' in general to obedience, so the British military forces used an expedition into Tiv land to ruthlessly burn Tiv villages, cattle, and food crops (Ikime, 1973).

The 1900 and 1901 invasions were preludes to continued British colonial penetration into Tiv territory. Between 1906-1908, Tiv land was significantly subjected to British colonial administrative centers. Under this development, the Tiv were first subjected to the Muri Provincial office center, and on April 1, 1907, the Katsina-Ala administrative division was created in Tiv land (Dorward, 1969). What continued from this date onward was the concerted efforts of the British colonial government to peacefully penetrate the society with what the research participants described as *uma u or Batur* ("Whiteman's life") and entrench colonial systems and values that have continued to disrupt Tiv society and distort the Tiv's pre-colonial Indigenous identity and unity.

British colonial invasion has never been acceptable to the Tiv. For example in rebuff, a *Ter* respondent was unequivocal in his story of outcry and blame against this historical violence on the Tiv. With strong feelings he said this in his story of regret:

The British colonialism with its alien political system and ideology has significantly disrupted the Tiv Indigenous political institutions, which safeguarded and facilitated cohesion, harmony, collectivism, egalitarianism, gerontocracy, collective security, and co-responsibility in Tiv community. I cannot fear or fail to say this. With my educational background and leadership duty, I should educate and liberate my people. Thus saying this clearly is not regrettable.

One of the elderly women participants also blamed colonialism and its existing political system for establishing structures that rupture to the Tiv people on all fronts. In her story she lamented the development of the Tiv language, noting the following:

Uma man party u or Batur va se a mzeiyol ken hanma gbenda cii – “the politics that the Whiteman has brought is giving us troubles in every way.” The imposition of a centralized political system has destroyed the pre-colonial culture of unity and cooperation among the Tiv replacing it with an entrenched political rivalry, and discrimination.

As a sign of general pain and plight, a participating *Ter* with a good background in Western education also succinctly decried against the colonial violence in his story:

Western colonialism has introduced in Tiv land many political problems such as alienation, partiality, deceitfulness, disrespect, manipulation, corruption, hatred, disunity, and persistent electoral divisions and violence. All these have destroyed many aspects of the Tiv traditional society that used to hold the people together.

These points are also reflected by Ahokegh (2014) and (Oravee, 2015), who contended that shortly after Nigeria’s independence in 1960, the Tiv experienced their first political conflicts, the *Nande* – “house-burning” (1960), and *Atem-ityo* – “head-breaking” (1964). These political conflicts resulted in the heavy loss of the Tiv’s property. Many of the study participants expressed fear that the prevailing political and electoral atmosphere in Tiv land is transforming into *Nande* and *Atem-ityo* political conflicts that are escalating divisive relationships and growing animosity between Tiv communities. The Euro-Christian colonial violence is also manifest in a strong penchant that Tiv politicians are continually expressing a desire for the entrenchment of colonial processes and institutions or as the participants repeatedly put it; *igbenda i or Batur sha tar Tiv*; meaning “the Whiteman’s ways on the Tiv nation.”

Other participants also observed with sadness that Euro-Christian colonialism has bequeathed infective systems that devalue Tiv cultural and religious identity and values and rendered every Tiv generation vulnerable to cultural suicide. On this note, a *Tor* participant elaborated on a few of these elements as he narrated his story to me:

Dzwa Tiv wase kpa ngu kpen (“our Tiv language is going into extinct”) and Tiv traditional beliefs, which informed Tiv social organization and control principles are being abandoned everyday by the Tiv who have joined the Whiteman’s Christian circles. In these ways, the Tiv is heading to its own self-destruction.

This point is an illustration of what Cooke and Kothari (2001) condemn as participation in a tyranny introduced by the intruder to benefit the intruder while destroying the colonized who participate and sustain the imperial system. In this vein, one of the youth informants expressed his contrastable fear and frustration in his story when he said:

Unfortunately, our post-colonial leaders are busy entrenching the harmful colonial institutions to the detriment of their Tiv Indigenous identity and cultural power. The Tiv will lose their identity, but it is of little worry if it is replaced with that of Christ.

This self-contradictory position by the youth leader is best captured as the pathology of colonialism (Editor, 2015; Hogan, 2000; Konyari, 2013; Kortright, 2003). That is the condition of deep internalization of colonialization and it makes the local people unable to see or refuse to acknowledge the harms of colonialism on them, or console themselves with its essentially harmful impacts which they mistakenly call colonial benefits (Hogan, 2000; Konyari, 2013).

With regards to the harms caused by colonial historical violence, one of the *Ter*, a retired private practitioner said this about the issue:

The Tiv humanized each other, but the prevailing colonial structures have marketized and monetized Tiv land such that truth is sacrificed on the altar of money and political power. This precarious situation must be addressed by reviving and empowering Tiv Indigenous wisdom.

Tiv complaints against the historical violence of Arabo-Islamic and Euro-Christian colonialism are very interesting. The outcry also indicates that the imposition of the imperial culture on them is an act of violence that has deep adverse implications on the history and daily life of the community.

3.1.2 Occasional Conflicts and Development Project

The participants also indicated that the Tiv nation is struggling with occasional conflicts and the challenge of making the proper decisions for community development projects. This

relates to the Tiv saying that *mzeiyol man mzehemem ka ve nongun u lun nongo keng*. That is, “trouble and progress are often bedmates.”

The participants tagged these impactful issues as occasional because as they explained, they do not occur regularly, and not always brought to traditional leaders to address or to provide advice on. When the issues are not brought to traditional leaders, the conflict parties address them by themselves or rely on the facilitation of a trustworthy mediator. The participants listed the following as occasional issues or conflicts that are commonplace in Tiv land: spiritual conflicts, industrial disputes, and decisions for developmental projects.

Spiritual Conflicts - The participants revealed that Tiv land is confronted with spiritual conflicts that pertain to *tsav*, *akombo* and *ikyav*. In Tiv worldview, these three supernatural forces are originally meant to interact with each other for the protection and prosperity of the community and its members. Unfortunately, some of those who can spiritually manipulate these metaphysical forces often do so abusively, thereby harming the community and its members, and creating spiritual and physical problems.

An elderly man explained the variations to me during our conversation. This is what he said:

There are two types of *mbatsav* (those with the supernatural powers to manipulate the *tsav* craft). *Mbatsav mba ashe ahar* (those who have the spiritual eyes that see and identify *tsav* and other *mbatsav*), and *mba tsav mba ashe ayiin* (“those with four eyes”) and they are both able to identify *tsav* and other *mbatsav* and go out to haunt or bewitch their victims. Even nocturnal sniffing around for married (women) partners and uttering bad, destructive and threatening words against a person are examples of malevolent *tsav*.

Another *Ter* participant revealed the following in his compelling story:

The actual *tsav* that *Aondo* (God) gave us the Tiv, is for doing useful things, for example, flying in the night to places for events. This *tsav* should be applauded because it is meant to be a benevolent handwork and technology to serve our community. The car we buy, and drive is a product of *tsavmbuor Batur* (“the craft of the Whiteman”). Like the *or Batur* (“the Whiteman”), we also have our benevolent craft and many other ones which we can allow to flourish.

Generally, the participants talked about the conflictive aspects of *tsav*. They indicated that people who use it to exert revenge or vent jealousy with *tsav*, are merely abusing it. They are manipulating *tsav* to wreak havoc, denying the community and its members of life, progress, wealth and health and creating fear and anxiety in people. A *Muer Ter* narrated that this type of *tsav* is occasionally brought to him to address. He made this confession in his narrative:

I am not *or mbatsav* (“manipulator of the *tsav* craft”) yet with my natural wisdom and logic as well as the participation and contributions of the various family heads in my chiefdom, we have been able to address *tsav* conflicts that are brought before me for adjudication.

In other words, a traditional Tiv leader must be an *Or mbastav* (the manipulator of *tsav*) to address *tsav* conflicts, but with the use of community wisdom and the support of the members of the peacemaking gathering, they can successfully address *tsav* conflicts.

Another conflictive component of *tsav* is the usage of human life to acquire, service and purify it. However, a *Ter* participant threw more light on this aspect in his explanatory story:

Human sacrifice or the use of human blood is not often the case, it is the dead person that is used for any of the purposes. Many people have been made to believe that it is the blood of the living that is spilled to service or acquire *tsav*. For some reasons, the story about *tsav* and human life or blood have become complex and people are quick at fearing and dispelling *tsav*, without first knowing fully what it entails. Christianity painted *tsav* fully black, and our people no longer think about the other side of it.

This statement confirms the general argument that the misrepresentations and misunderstanding of this Tiv Indigenous worldview are largely informed by the arrival of colonialism and its chauvinistic depiction and interpretation of African traditional forms and practices.

Tiv scholars and the research participants have identified *tsav*-fight as the conflict experience where the contesting parties engage against each other over who should own and keep the *tsav* agency. *Tsav* agency is the element in the device that the owner or custodian uses to

influence the fortune for themselves or others. The two benevolent elements or *tsav* agencies are *akombo* and *imborivungu*. A middle-aged woman highlighted this question in her response:

Many conflicts that occur in families are between Tiv communities in the name of calabash, reared animal, an object, land skirmishes, fishing pond and unpaid debt are *tsav* conflicts over who owns or keeps the *tsav* agency: *akombo* or *imborivungu*. Many people have been killed, plenty property destroyed, a good number of families sent back to their matrilineal homes for succour, and mutual suspicion is experienced in many communities because of bad or malevolent *tsav*.

There is no doubting that bad *tsav* is real and as a lingering conflict factor and experience in Tiv land, it is disrupting families and communities. In reiteration, a *Tor* respondent stated with regret that:

Bad *tsav* is real, it is also a common experience of our people and is connotated in the death, suffering, pains and misfortune of many people living in Tiv land. Often, due to the tussle for who should keep or own *akombo* or *imborivungu*, mercenaries are sometimes hired and paid by contenders to kill or harm their rivals.

Explaining more about *tsav*, *akombo* and *ikyav*, Torkula (2006) writes that *akombo* is a divinity or cosmic force that ensures that peace, good health, prosperity, soil, and human fertility flow in the land. *Ikyav*, on the other hand, are deistic tools or emblems that can be infused with spiritual or *tsav* powers to serve good or bad purposes depending on the intention of the *órbatsav*, the one who has the *tsav* power to manipulate the *ikyav*. There are many *ikyav* in the Tiv worldview that includes the witchcraft knife (“*iho-mbatugh*”) for the spiritual butchering of dead bodies; witchcraft snake (“*iyo-mbatugh*”) for enforcing decisions and taboos to provide community order and welfare by releasing the nocturnal snake to bite contraveners; the human bag (“*ikpa-or*”) made with the unscathed skin of a dead young girl to create prosperity for the owner or custodian who may be an individual or the community; the human slaughter slab (“*kpande-ór*”) for the spiritual butchering of a dead human body by the initiates; the witchcraft aeroplane (“*girgi-mbatugh*”) for flying a person to any destination of choice; bad luck deity (“*atsuku*”) for protection from ill-luck; pant (“*bende*”) for protection from bewitchment and

accidents, and the night horse (“*nyinya-mbatugh*”) that is used for spiritual night journeys or for sport (Torkula, 2006). The *ikyav* that deserves a very special mention is the good luck article (“*imborivungu*”). Other participants explained that *imborivungu* is a supernatural article fabricated out of the femur of an ancestor and it is infused with spiritual power to bring benevolence and to offer protection to the owner. There are two types of *imborivungu*. The *tyo imborivungu* is communally owned by the large family, lineage or clan, which usually decides in whose custody it will reside on a rotational basis. The *i ór nan tswen imborivungu* is the personal one that is purchased by the individual. It is composed of the bones of a non-consanguineous ancestor and is meant to bring fortune to the legitimate owner, a person or the family.

Disheartened by malevolent *tsav* or the bad use of *tsav*, a *Tyo-or* respondent described his intervention step. He reported that:

It is unfortunate that *u ter asev ve nongo u soron ayoosu a tsav mbu ifer kpa a kaa ne shi heregh*. (“our ancestors tried to address the evils of bad *tsav*, but they still linger in our days”). It should not be surprising to hear me say that *Tsav* conflicts are occasionally brought to me to resolve and I try my best to do so.

Understood as *tsav*, *akombo*, *ikyav*, or *imborivungu* conflicts or what the middle-aged woman participant described as “fight over the ownership and custody of the spiritual emblem,” one thing is clear, the Tiv are plagued by this spiritual warfare and are trusting that their *tar soron* and peacemaking approaches will be able to address this form of occasional conflicts. The reported views depict one grave need: research needs to explore deeper into this trajectory of *tsav*.

Industrial or Labor Disputes - Another occasional conflict that the participants identified is industrial or labor disputes. It is interesting to note that state-related Tiv traditional institutions also resolve disputes. This means Tiv traditional wisdom and institutions can address any form of dispute or challenge in Tiv land. In this vein, a *Ter* participant revealed the defining dynamics of this type of conflict. He elaborated that:

Labor crises often occur between the leadership and staff of the Local Government Council (LGC) in his chiefdom, mostly over deplorable working conditions, such as unpaid wages. It is usually the Council leadership or the staff that bring the matter to the chief. I have on several occasions waded into the fray to address the local government-labor conflicts. I feel fulfilled doing this for them because as the traditional father of the LGC, I help to address disagreements between the staff of the local government and its leadership in my chiefdom.

From this story, it can be argued that if traditional institutions were empowered with research and recognition, they would serve more effectively in post-colonial states contrary to existing scepticism and fears that they can address multifarious issues. This is connoted in these words of the *Ter* participant:

Other crises such as the local government staff may be in dispute with the chairman over welfare packages, salary or other entitlements. When the industrial relationship scatters in this way, and they cannot mend things on their own, they bring it to me, and with other family heads we try to resolve the matter. Sometimes elected government officers like the Councillors may rise in a dispute against the Local Government Chairman and when the matter gets to me, I will still investigate it, and truthfully give blame where it deserves and suggestions that will address the tension. At this point they will leave with more understanding and collaboration.

It is not unusual for traditional leaders and institutions in Africa to intervene in labour conflicts, despite the fact that African elites and political leaders manipulate and denigrate them to promote their political interests and to solidify the postcolonial power structures (Blench, Longtau, Hassan, & Walsh, 2006).

Consultation for Developmental Projects - The third issue that occurs occasionally which the participants identified is a rather commendable prospect to ensure the local community's wealth and peace. A *Muer Ter* respondent spoke about the members of his community and external partners who consulted him on numerous occasions to bless their initiatives and advise them on where to situate developmental projects for his community. He had this to say:

Again, if our people or visitors want to embark on projects in the community, they come to us the traditional leaders with the idea. They ask for our views and moral support. As for me, I in turn advise them on how best it can be done to serve the

community. Generally, we tell them that let it be done like this, and like that, and it will be good.

A middle-aged woman recognizes the importance of Tiv traditional leaders, whom she acknowledges are community heads who facilitate the welfare of the people. She noted it in her narrative in this way:

Our traditional leaders are our heads. They look after our community. They are the custodians of the community's future and harmony. Whatever happens in our communities ought to be known to them. If they address our conflicts, they can also celebrate our peace. That is why the chief entertains and hosts his people, because they are like his children. In Tiv culture, a child brings a fortune home and shows to the parents as a sign of respect and appreciation. The father usually blesses the child for more fortune. Our children who enjoy progress in their endeavors and want to help the community always inform our community heads for advice and blessings.

Generally, it is not uncommon to find that Tiv illustrious daughters and sons and visitors go to confer, consult or receive the blessings of traditional leaders over the choice and site of the developmental projects they want to establish in the community. The submission to the traditional ruler demonstrates the respect Tiv have for their Indigenous wisdom, practices and institutions and invitation for the community to participate in the project's success.

3.1.3 Regular Conflicts

The participating leaders pointed out that Western politics, land skirmishes, family disputes and inter-group violence are regularly occurring conflicts in Tiv land that are brought to them for settlement. The participants expressed significant emotional pain as they talked about this category of conflicts.

Political Conflicts - Most of the participants interviewed for this study bemoaned the impacts of Western politics, saying it is conflictual in nature, and the cause of many deadly conflicts in Tiv land. The participants repeatedly stated that this “*party u or Batur*” (“this Whiteman’s politics and political system”) is responsible for the conflict that has destabilized

and destroyed Tiv Indigenous society by imposing alien systems and values on the Tiv. For example, a *Ter* consultant who narrated his story also blamed the *party u ór Batur* for introducing into Tiv land a political process whose adversarial nature has rendered the Tiv susceptible to antagonism or adverse rivalry against one another, a culture that is contrary to their traditional life of cooperation and support:

Our (Tiv) land was peaceful, and it was empowered by truth telling, cooperation and respect for everybody. These values kept us, and our segmented lineages and collective peoplehood safe and cohesive. However, the arrival of this *party u ór Batur* has largely destroyed our land and values and made everybody (he implies; elders, small children, youth, women and men) open to monetization, rivalry, adversary, competition and oppositional leadership as well as deceit and manipulation. Our community essentially upholds collaboration, communalism, truth telling, and respect. Yet by practicing this foreign politics, our (Tiv) land is today overtaken with political conflicts and violence, leading to a massive loss of lives and destruction of properties and the breakdown of affection, relationship, and unity. Our people see the truth but fail to say it. Rather they say things the other way around, and this has often led to fighting and chaos.

The young woman participant and traditional Tiv title-holder complained against the postcolonial political order especially in Tiv land. She reported on how:

Political animosity has caused deaths, backwardness and the failure of progress in our Tiv land. It has eroded our Tiv unity, which our forefathers taught us. It has also established the culture of 'it must be me and me alone.' This Whiteman's system has occasioned retrogression and underdevelopment among us the Tiv.

Also, a youth leader participant revealed during that yarning that:

Violent political disagreements are regularly taken to Tiv traditional leaders to address and to reconcile the warring parties as father figures of their respective communities. Self-destructive political conflicts are more common during general elections. The way this foreign political system is set-up and plays itself out will sooner or later destroy the Tiv land. The remedy to this situation will not be easy to come by, but all hope for the correction and the recovery of our healthy society is not lost.

I think this youth participant is in despair about the remedy because of the continued entrenchment of the colonial institutions by Indigenous Nigerian, and Tiv leaders to maintain their power and positions. His frustration also coincides with that of van Wyk (2007) who said

that the existing African states and political institutions, which are legacies of colonialism were established to enhance the Global North's exploitation and control of African communities, and after independence African leaders are perpetuating these legacies to the disadvantage of their own people. Bayeh (2015) and Muiu and Martin (2009) posit that colonial institutions have proven to be unsuitable, conflictual, and violent, creating chaotic political relationships and explosive situations in African communities, and Africans must look inward for remedies to address them. Aluaigba (2011) and Jibo (1993) assert that colonialism has introduced a divisive political culture that has deeply harmed Tiv cultural life creating feelings of animosity and electoral carnage that survive into another round of elections. The Tiv participants explained that this situation must be arrested with concerted Indigenous peacemaking efforts.

Land Skirmishes - Another frequently occurring violent conflict is over land. A *Ter* participant articulated that the whole community owns Tiv land:

In Tiv culture, land is not bought or sold, rather it is owned by all the people as an ancestral inheritance for every family. It is the sale of land that accelerates and escalates land conflicts in contemporary Tiv society. a land dispute usually starts between two people, and if it is not curtailed, it will grow, spread and become a major intergroup and intercommunal clash with the possibility for its perennial occurrence.

Another *Ter* participant who said he was handling a land dispute that had complex dimensions reiterated the point more clearly in this statement:

Land conflicts are most frequent in rural areas. Due to the breakdown of Tiv society and its traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, some people choose to take law into their hands to amass land for themselves through forceful seizure. In urban settings where conventional law enforcement is strong, individuals would not be able to behave this way.

The report by one of the elderly women participants introduced an interesting aspect of the conflict, especially concerning women. During the yarning session, she pointed out that:

Women instigate or fuel land conflicts in Tiv land. Upon giving birth to a male child or children, the women pester the husband to secure sufficient ancestral land

for the children. They also embroil their children in a scramble for land as they grow older and they acquire influence in the society.

To buttress the role of women in land conflict and the violent struggle to own the spiritual assets, another elderly woman participant made this assertion:

Women stir up the scramble for land and the fight for *ikyav* (the metaphysical agency for prosperity and safety) because of the anxiety that they have for their children's future. Women are the ones who awaken the secretly and quietly lying issues of land and *ikyav* digging out where it is, in whose custody it is, and who the owner is. With these scoping questions, they push their husbands and later their children into land tussles.

It was interesting to hear two middle-aged women participants provide the same explanations about the regularly occurring land conflict. One of these women made it categorically clear that:

It is us, the women that most times stimulate land and night (spiritual) conflicts; by insisting that if our husbands will not secure the elements: land and good luck agencies for themselves, they should do so for their children, or the children should do so for themselves.

The other middle-aged woman explained this point further when she said:

Many of the conflicts we see about land are actually about the ownership of *ikyav*. It is either that the female child took it to her marital home, and the husband's community is confiscating it or is denying knowledge of it to the anger of her paternal family that usually rises up in a violent effort to recover the *ikyav*." In other words, land conflicts are regular, but in many cases, they are proxy conflicts for claims over ownership and custody of *ikyav* such as *imborivungu* ("the prosperity agency or emblem").

Since the arrival of colonialism with its capitalist doctrine of land ownership in Indigenous communities, land transformed from being the common property of all the community to becoming a precious piece of inheritance for the sole owner (Genger, 2018). In this light, one can understand the woman or mother's sense of insecurity in terms of her family's struggle for and possession of the land.

Family Conflicts - The participants described family conflicts as reoccurring incidences that becloud the Tiv society. They assert that family conflicts usually center on infidelity, paternity questions, dowry controversies, and the control of land and *ikyav*.

A middle-aged woman participant narrated the following in her story:

Extramarital sexual relationships are the most common factors in family conflicts. Spurred on by jealousy, the partner of the unfaithful party usually reacts violently leading to internal family squabbles, marriage break ups and a family vendetta between their paternal families, know that the Tiv man does not joke with his wife, so don't mess around her.

Another middle-aged woman respondent added that family conflicts are also occasioned by contested paternity, a situation where the father usually questions the true paternity of the child. In many cases, proof of this suspicion leads to divorce. Divorce is the most difficult issue for the Tiv that emerges from marital conflict.

Another trajectory of family conflict that the participants identified is jealousy, which often transforms into overt animosity. One of the elderly women revealed how:

The failure of a capable family member to help or support another family member in a difficult predicament usually stirs up jealousy, anger and animosity in that person. In reaction, this person and other family members would recourse to using a bad *tsav* to harm the apathetic family member who is often suspected of having used the *tsav* badly to impoverish the other and to enrich himself.

I will like to observe that these conflictual reactions are in direct contrast to the culture of magnanimity and support for others especially the needy that the Tiv were accustomed to. As the participants pointed out, the failure to help each other today has become a menacing development and a crisis of great concern to the Tiv community.

Family conflicts also occur over the struggle for land inheritance, *akombo* or *ikyav*. As one of the women participant's reported above, "very often what we see as physical fraternal and family squabbles are usually because of the possession of *ikyav mbi u tugh* ("things of the night" i.e. *ikyav*)." She further related that:

Family conflicts are also the products of the husband's failure to pay a dowry to the family of the bride. In the wake of his failure to do so, the wife and her children are usually evacuated to her patrilineal home, until the traditional dowry is paid, and the husband fulfills his associated obligations.

Interestingly, the cultural leader respondent avowed in his response that family conflicts can create social and moral challenges within the community such as crime, violence, and other improper behavior. He buttressed his answer by saying:

When families experience conflicts, the members don't cooperate. They also fail on their respective duties. Very often, the children are ignored or given less parental watch and support. Other times, the couples are left vulnerable to other inappropriate experiences such as sexual recklessness and stealing. I do my best to ensure there are no family conflicts among my people as a way of precluding associated criminal challenges that are associated with them.

In other words, the Tiv do not only experience regularly occurring family conflicts, but they also dread the consequences of increased criminality and broken values that come with them.

Inter-Personal and Inter-Group Conflicts - The study participants reported that interpersonal conflicts occur regularly between single individuals, and between groups such as political groups, commercial associations, and segmented Tiv communities. Consequently, one of the youth participants assertively recounted:

Interpersonal conflicts arise over simple issues such as misunderstanding and the non-payment of debts. These regularly occurring conflicts sometimes lead to loss of lives and property, especially when they occur between political groups. They do not defy the interventions of our traditional leaders, but when the interventions are delayed or not sufficient, the impacts of the conflicts will assume complex dimensions.

Furthermore, a *Muer Ter* participant reported the following about himself:

I think of anything that is a problem between this person and that person, and this group versus that group, these kinds of conflicts occur regularly, and they are brought to me. Members of business groups such as the Motorcycle Riders' Association usually bring their conflicts to me to mediate.

Another *Muer Ter* respondent retorted with his own experience when he said of himself:

I recently mediated a conflict between two communities in his traditional jurisdiction. Both communities were rivals and they contended each other over

who should own, and fish in the stream adjoining their boundary. The conflict was predicated on a claim and a counter claim of who was the first group to settle around the area beside the stream.

The *Muer Ter* respondent added that this unfortunate situation became violent, but he was able to address it without involving the police. He revealed that he usually asks the police to allow him to settle such conflicts and he only takes them to the police if they surpass his ability in collaboration with the council of elders to resolve them. Interestingly, the council of elders is usually able to arbitrate these types of conflicts.

One of the elderly women informants identified adversarial politics, land claims, and the struggle for who should possess the *ikyav* as other causes for intercommunal conflicts:

Conflicts between individual persons and separate groups in Tiv land are more common today than many years ago when the Tiv first settled in this land. Nowadays, these conflicts are largely caused by the new political activities introduced to our land, the sale of land, and pursuit for personal wealth through the acquisition and possession of Tiv spiritual emblems of wealth such as *ikyav* and *tsav*.

In their separate studies, Aluaigba (2011) and Oravee (2015) also acknowledge the regular occurrences of inter-personal and inter-group conflicts among the Tiv, and how they are mostly informed by the factors of land, politics, spiritual emblems of wealth and prosperity and the abuse of *tsav*.

3.1.4 Moral Conflicts

Moral disorder is another type of holistic conflict category that is creating perturbing conflicts in Tiv land. The moral conflicts they refer to are the perpetrated and unperformed acts that are unacceptable to the Tiv's ethical worldview. For example, one of the *Ter* participants described these moral conflicts as the absence of the basic values that enhance security and order in Tiv society. He explained it as follows:

Truth and respect were non-negotiable values that kept the cohesion, welfare and security of the Tiv nation together in pre-colonial times. The Tiv society

emphasized integrity of heart, and respect for each other and Tiv traditional institutions. Given the egalitarian, communal and cooperative nature of Tiv society, these values have helped to sustain these fundamental features of the society as well as the safety of its members over time.

Moral conflicts in Tiv land also depict the prevailing attitude of discrimination in families and kindred clans. Consequently, one of the respondents, an elderly man decried it in these words:

I am not able to comprehend the loss of these social and moral values of empathy, inclusion and love that the Tiv society was known and respected for. *Yange Tiv lu a mhoonum man ishoon sha angbian, kpa mfa er akaa ne a va beer ga* – “Tiv people used to empathize and love each other, but I do not know how these have vanished.

Similarly, the young Tiv woman respondent regretted the lack of moral decorum among Tiv children and youths. Concerning this issue, she relayed that:

Young people’s regard for the social norms, elders, taboos, and traditional institutions that gave order and meaning to our society are being jettisoned and replaced with youth arrogance and disrespect. Most disturbing is the fact that there is a growing dissatisfaction against Tiv institutions by the youths; irrespective of their gender. Tiv institutions have lost their power and moral influences over the people because of this decay. Though the love for Tiv ways by most youths provides some light of hope for change, this deplorable situation of disdain for Tiv ways by the significant few is very disturbing.

Another middle-aged woman participant recounted how young girls and boys now dress indecently and indulge freely in pre-marital sexual activities. In her response she lamented thus:

In my youth respect for the *ikyoor* (‘snail’) deity controlled sexual behavior and discouraged promiscuity, but this discipline is now lost to today’s young people. Another moral conflict in our land is idleness or the failure of youths to engage in profitable investments. It is saddening for me to see young idle people hanging around the nooks and crannies of towns and cities and begging for food and charity from politicians. I also regret seeing young Tiv girls who cannot prepare traditional cuisines and young men who cannot labor on the farms, even as they have no good alternative jobs other than idling, prostituting themselves and begging. Another moral crisis we have is the failure of parents to nurture their children in the right way and pass on Tiv Indigenous lessons and teachings to them.

It is intriguing to see that all the participants blamed the moral bankruptcy in Tiv land largely on colonial incursion and the perpetuation of Westernization by the Global North and its surrogate, the Nigerian state. One of the youth leaders pointed out clearly that globalization is

worsening the breakdown of Tiv society in general and its moral discipline by continuously imposing foreign values on the Tiv Indigenous society. A *Tyo-or* participant corroborated this viewpoint noting that:

There has been too much flux of people into Tiv land since the independence of Nigeria. These people do not know nor live by Tiv moral values. Tiv children know more about China and Europe and their values and ways of life than they know about Tiv moral values. This to a large extent conflicts with our Tiv worldview and lifestyle.

A youth participant mentioned how the Tiv have borrowed too much from other cultures, and this is effacing their Tiv identity and moral principles. He elaborated s this by saying:

Our people have borrowed too much from outside. How can we remain Tiv when we have taken too much from others and let go so much about us? We cannot be Tiv if we lose our cultural elements and identity. We have borrowed enough, let us now return to our own to revive, re-entrench and promote them.

Writing on the current state of identity formation and self confidence among Africans, Run (2013) recognized the incursive impacts of colonialism that have made Africans lose their self-confidence and suffer from the syndrome of total reliance and dependency on the West and its values. Identified as a conflict form, the Tiv have indicated that should not be allowed to continue but reversed.

3.2 Key Findings

Eight key findings have emerged from this chapter on the conflict experiences confronting the Tiv community: (1) a holistic description of Tiv conflicts as related experiences, (2) Tiv community's repugnance of self-destructive conflicts, (3) Tiv condemnation of family violence, (4) bad *tsav* as a conflict phenomenon among the Tiv (5) the insinuation that bad use of witchcraft is also an African conflict quandary (6) the unfortunate losses from Tiv conflict experiences (7) key perpetrators of Tiv conflict experiences (8) the prominent reasons for the occurrences of the conflicts.

My first finding is a holistic description of Tiv conflict experiences, that is, the respondents' description of Tiv conflicts as related experiences. This means that the participants captured the various conflict experiences of the Tiv as a conglomeration of related phenomena, not as isolated events. In this light, I see the holistic presentation of the conflicts as a relationship between their past troubling encounters and their present-day violent situations. It is clearly illustrated in the data that the Tiv's past encounters with Arabo-Islamic jihadists and Euro-Christian colonialists are significantly related to their present state of insecurity and lack of safety. On the one hand, the unsuccessful jihadists' attacks against the Tiv in the early 19th century bequeathed an atmosphere of animosity, fear, and suspicion between the Muslim group and the Tiv community. Furthermore, the Tiv are suffering the brunt of this past encounter as deciphered in their political domination and economic persecution, which they assert are coming from the Muslim political class because of the combative past. In fact, in clear terms the Tiv community is blaming the ongoing marauding attacks, brutal killings and the occupation of their land by the Muslim Fulani herdsmen as a revival of that unsuccessful jihadist raid. It is the old jihad wrapped in a different garb and narrative.

The statements and steps taken by the present Muslim-Fulani-led Federal Government about the attacks did not clear the suspicion. The government's approaches rather reaffirmed the suspicion about the grand ploy because the statements were replete with questionable emphases and assertions and the steps abounded with compromise and material support for the invaders. These unfortunate approaches made it easy for critical analyses to indict the current Fulani led federal government of complicity in the suspected grand plan executed through the overt brutal attacks and occupation of Tiv land.

The 19th century Euro-Christian colonial invasion has relationship with the present or ongoing conflict challenges in Tiv land in various ways. Though it began in the past, Euro-

Christian colonialism has continued to harm the Tiv community in various ways, by marginalizing and damaging the collective and individual identity as well as the social systems and traditional institutions of the Tiv. It has forced on the Tiv community the Western idea and system of the nation state and democratic process, which the participants decry against and capture as essentially propagandist, divisive, competitive and deceitful, as well as politically violent and culturally chauvinistic in nature and focus. Euro-Christian colonialism has replaced Tiv's values of respect for people, recourse to Tiv traditional institutions, practice of communal life, attitude of truth telling, the art of mutual support and pride in Tiv customs with the Western values such as fear of the state and its hegemonic institutions, individualistic life style, triumphalist educational system, adversarial justice, competitive relationship, and exploitative economic system. These colonial values are conspicuously incongruous and alien to the Tiv but also affecting their traditional worldview in a gross manner.

Many lessons are derivable from this finding. First, the residual outcomes of the past violent encounters are not only significantly fuelling many of the contemporary conflicts in Tiv land. They are also obstructing the development of Indigenous tactics to efficiently deal with conflict scenarios. Second, the holistic depiction of persistent conflict troubles by the Tiv demonstrates that they are richly endowed with the epistemological powers to identify and narrate their conflict ordeals and other social problems using their worldviews and concepts. The Tiv must therefore grow in confidence that they can use their worldview to express themselves and address their problems. This means the Tiv can defy the syndromic reliance on Western actors to speak about the Tiv and conceptualize their conflict experiences using contradictory Western epistemological forms. For example, it is remarkable to see the Tiv use their vernacular concepts such as *ikyav mbi tugh* (“nocturnal tools”), *tsav* (“spiritual craft”), *ayoosu* (“violent or non-violent dispute and disagreement”), *mza-iyol* (“problem and trouble”), and *Or-batur* (“Whiteman”) to

describe and conceptualize their conflict predicament. By using Indigenous concepts to capture their conflict worries, the Tiv have put on the spot the foreign and local forces that are involved in the emergence and perpetuation of conflicts in Tiv land.

The third lesson is that with the use of the holistic approach to identify and describe their conflicts as related phenomena, the Tiv are able to picture themselves as the survivors and victims of their conflicts. This is because they depicted themselves as people who still have their Indigenous powers and wisdom as well as the ability to tell their story and fight back against the adverse odds, and not as victims who have lost all of these to the gross conflict experiences. The picturesque presentation of themselves as conflict survivors who have the capacity to act for themselves can be used to stave off suspecting peacemakers. That is, donor or practice allies whose interventions will not promote the demand of the Tiv to mainstream their approaches but create damaging impacts on their cultural assumptions through the imposition of unsuitable alien forms on the people. With respect to the laudable argument made for the recognition and use of local agency and peacemaking strategies to address conflicts, this survivor image will act as a catalytic factor for the Tiv.

The second interesting finding from this chapter is the Tiv community's repugnance against self-destructive conflicts, in other words the community has outright regret against the Tiv actors perpetrating violent behavior on themselves and their fellow community members. The respondents describe self-destructive conflicts as the perpetration of activities that hurt and destroy the Tiv as a community, its members and its traditional institutions, either because of personal factors like the violent search for resources and violent struggle for power or the abuse of both, or because of participation in foreign processes that are tyrannical to the identity, values and security of the Tiv. The data analysis illustrates that there are various ways of understanding self-destruction in Tiv land.

First, it is understood as ignoble personal acts that bring about death, misery and despair upon the perpetrators and their kith and kin or the Tiv land in general. Examples of personal acts of self-destruction include selfishness, withdrawal or refusal to help and support another person, the rise in domestic assaults, disregard for Tiv institutions, and disrespect for fellow elderly or young Tiv.

Second, self-destructive conflict is understood as those despicable individuals and collective acts that harm the community and its members such as political thuggery and electoral violence, lethal land skirmishes, and gory inter-group disputes which are perpetrated in a group.

Third, self-destructive conflict is also explained by the perspective of deliberate poor political leadership, which connotes the failure or refusal to provide the Tiv community with essential public services, the refusal to pay workers their legitimate entitlements, the siphoning off of public funds to personal coffers, the promotion of political violence for electoral victory, and the breeding and nurturing of animosity and division among the people for self-perpetuation in power. The fourth aspect of self-destructive conflicts is participation in “Whiteman’s politics” and its attendant adverse impacts on the Tiv society. This implication is deeply loaded because even though it has questions about participation in the current political processes in the land, it does not suggest treason, irredentism and separatism, but the revival and restoration of Tiv Indigenous identity and practices. The Tiv are not happy with the Whiteman’s political culture and the reinforcement or further entrenchment of its alien institutions to the detriment of their Indigenous processes. The data reports that this political culture is a legacy of colonial violence and it is harmful to the Tiv community.

Therefore, by participating in its various ramifications, the Tiv are perpetrating self-destruction against themselves and their original traditions. Generally, this is a valid argument because colonialism is essentially a structure of violence and an unacceptable system that harms

the legitimate identity and powers of the colonized community; thus the perpetuation of colonialism and its legacies is a clear case of participation in an organized tyranny or an act of self-destruction. This argument by the Tiv community does not call for spasmodic reactions against it, but critical reflections that will look at its implications, especially by African regional and national political actors. The argument raises the inevitable question of whether the colonized African communities should give up their Indigenous identities and elements and fully adopt the colonial forms or they should reinforce the decolonization struggle to recover and reassert their Indigeneity thus strengthening their agency? In general, self-destructive conflicts subject the Tiv people to the shame of hunger, despair, and mental ill-health and Tiv participation in colonial institutions perpetuates the destruction of their traditional heritages which they are nostalgic of and want to protect and centralize. The question of keeping their original identity or losing it to colonial forms is also put before the African political leaders who are serving the colonial political legacies to critically ponder. Self-destructive conflicts informed by natural conditions or participation in externally influenced tyrannies is an ignoble act and the “palm of stupidity”, it clearly typifies that the Tiv are shooting themselves in the foot.

The third finding of this chapter is the condemnation of family violence. The Tiv community cherishes the family as an institution where life emerges and is nurtured. The future of the community also depends on the well-being of the family, which gives birth to posterity thereby guaranteeing the continued existence of the community. Family violence in Tiv land is abhorrent and disgraceful and a hindrance to the hopes and survival of the community. For these reasons, the participants identified it as a perturbing experience to the people. By abhorring family conflict, the Tiv community encourages the spouses to be respectful and faithful to each other, and the community members to keep away from activities that will destabilize the family. Family conflict can disrupt the harmony of the community, especially between in-laws and family heads.

Family conflicts can hinder the performance of the expected duties of caring for the children and the parents and for one another. The bad use of *tsav* or the squabbles over the ownership of *tsav* can also cause family conflicts. To the Tiv, peaceful family or home means posterity, prosperity and welfare to the members and the community. The threat to the family or the experience of family conflict is worrisome, and the experience must not be left unattended. It is therefore not surprising to see the participants clearly identify this concern as an occurring situation that the Tiv seriously frown at. The Tiv's respondents did not discuss the intricate issues of family violence such as rape, sexual assault, and domestic abuse.

This fourth fascinating finding is the knowledge that bad *tsav* is a conflict phenomenon among the Tiv. Bad *tsav* is the abuse of Tiv magico-spiritual powers to cause death, disability, poverty, ill-luck and other forms of misfortune on the members of the family or the community. Among the Tiv, bad *tsav* can be a long and complex spiritual warfare experience. It usually manifests as proxy conflicts such as violent disputes over land, fish pond, domestic animal or a culinary item. In other words, because of the struggle over the ownership and possession of the *tsav* magical instruments of wealth and fortune or because the owner has negatively used the instruments (i.e. the abuse of *tsav*), proxy conflicts may emerge under those appearances and names. Proxy conflicts have always resulted in massive loss of lives and property and family vendettas and social misery. *Tsav* warfare is therefore another good example of self-destructive conflict, which does not harm other people but the Tiv community.

This fifth finding is the demonstrated insinuation from the Tiv experience of bad witchcraft that this social reality is also shared quandary by other African communities; in respect to their electoral and political processes and leadership, commercial activities and social relationships. Critical thinkers are thus challenged to investigate the impacts or not of bad *tsav* or abuse of witchcraft in the continent. I am not afraid to assume that considering the proximity and

commonality of worldviews among Africans, other African communities will likely have a similar experience as the Tiv, where the potentials of magico-spiritual powers are negatively used or used destructively. Ashforth (2015, p. 4) attests that there are evidence all over Africa, which indicate that witchcraft is a still a problematic reality that does not seem to lose plausibility despite people being told that witches do not exist.

Obviously, the existing literature on African conflicts has given a considerable discussion on the abuse of magical-spiritual powers as a conflict experience in African communities. One can understand that this omission is likely because of Africa's significant reliance on what Western science and theoretical frameworks have to offer and since this worrisome experience is not prominent in Western science it is also less prominent in African literatures on the typologies of African conflicts. In a nutshell, Western science and technology do not acknowledge that witchcraft is real and can therefore be a conflict situation to explore. However, the Tiv have indicated that despite familiarity with Western science, witchcraft is a real encounter among them, and its negative use and impacts are essential experiences in their conflict narratives. Again, the Tiv community is implying that Western science may deny the reality of witchcraft or the spiritual phenomenon within its Euro-centric epistemological forms, but not when it pertains to the Tiv or African communities where it is an essential aspect of their worldviews that shapes their daily experiences like the search for welfare, prosperity and political power.

There is no gainsaying the obvious that it is necessary to study witchcraft as a conflict form in Tiv land, and PACS must henceforth consider the role of the occult in its theoretical overview of conflict, and in its development of intervention strategies especially in Indigenous contexts, like the Tiv.

The sixth finding represents the unfortunate losses from the Tiv conflict experiences. The overall costs consist of the loss of Tiv identity, that is, their collective consciousness as a people

of one ancestry; Tiv cultural values and practices like ancestral land ownership; relationality and community harmony; mutual respect and regard for traditional institutions; social responsibility to the community and support for one another; and responsible parenthood and child upbringing. The list also consists of the collapse of social order, cohesion and sacredness in the community.

The forces that caused the conflicts also inform the losses. The standout forces include the overbearing influences of the Western hegemonic institutions which came in through colonial invasion, the neocolonial influences which are enabled by the established and entrenched structures of colonialism, the Tiv members' participation in self-annihilating conflicts and tyrannies which are organized by external forces for example, connivance with the Fulani raiders to maraud Tiv settlements and collaboration with Western actors and institutions to further the entrenchment of colonial systems which hamper Tiv cultural forms and social processes. So long as the colonial and self-destructive elements are left unaddressed, the Tiv community will continue to suffer the loss of its Indigenous representations and peoplehood.

The losses also have excreted some dungs of difficulties for the Tiv community. For example, the decrease in practice and control of their agrarian occupations such as farming, fishing, and creative arts; the crass marketization and monetization of land, labor and trade contrary to the Indigenous rule that these be based on affinity and affectivity and the diminishing spirit of fraternity and rise of isolated lifestyle or individualism. The data illustrated that Tiv family and community members now rarely visit each other to share fraternity because of animosity and memories of violence they are nurturing against each other due to participation in the Western political and electoral processes.

The death of persons and the vanishing of values, practices, property and identity generally typify these losses. They are essentially heinous thus regrettable just as the conflicts that caused them. The fear, anger, frustration, and sorrow that the Tiv are expressing because of

the conflicts and the resultant losses are justifiable given the conflict and the consequent losses that threaten the ancestral identity, communal fraternity, social organization, self-investment, cultural values, and Indigenous peacemaking processes of the Tiv.

The seventh finding is the identification of the key perpetrators behind the Tiv conflict challenges and the roles that is played by each of them. The primary group that is pointed out is the Tiv community itself. The participants indicate that some members of the Tiv community are directly and indirectly involved in the emergence of these destructive conflicts consuming the land. As direct actors they are carrying out physical assaults on their own people like bloody and deadly electoral violence, political thuggery, communal and intergroup clashes, land skirmishes, as well as the practice of bad *tsav*. As direct actors they are exacerbating the traumatic conditions of the community members with poor political leadership and governance manifest in non-provision of social services and functional institutions and non-payment of workers' wages thereby forcing them to the ruinous cultures of unemployment and poverty. The reported cases of industrial unrest over unmet workers' entitlements illustrate this act of direct conflict. Indirectly, the Tiv community members are serving as the political officials, civil servants, judges, lawyers, teachers, administrators, bankers and security agents of the postcolonial state, the services, which the respondents clearly describe of destructive to Tiv Indigenous traditions and peacemaking processes. In this way, these Tiv government functionaries are perpetuating the very institutions they know is harmful to their collective indigeneity.

The second set of the conflict perpetrators are the two invasive communities: the Arabo-Islamic colonial jihadists and the Euro-Christian colonial conquerors. The Fulani herdsmen are designated as prominent actors because they carried out the jihadist attacks in the early 19th century and have allegedly revived the same attack a hundred years later. The British colonial conquerors and administrators invaded and successfully entrenched postcolonial institutions and

established structures that will perpetuate the system on the community. The established systems also cleverly incorporated Tiv members and made them collaborators and sustainers.

The eighth finding is the list of the reasons why the conflicts emerged and are persisting. In relation to the Arabo-Islamic and Euro-Christian colonial invasions, these communities were pushed respectively by their desire and quest for religious propagation and resource exploitation. Since the 19th century jihadist attacks were unsuccessful the group has resumed the attacks on Tiv land for the same reason of Islamic imperialism. In the case of the invasion by the Euro-Christian capitalists, the successful subjection of Tiv land under the British Niger Company, and now under neocolonial control is a gleeful achievement. Due to the resumed attacks and systemic subjection, the Tiv will have to work really hard to have the taste of the kind of peace they want, namely; security in the land and restoration and mainstreaming of their Indigenous models.

The Tiv members who perpetrate self-destructive conflicts, their motives can be conceptualized as the desire to meet their “natural conditions” which are greed for, fear of and anxiety over scarce opportunities like land, the search for fortune, and the lust to participate in the postcolonial power system. Another dynamic influencing Tiv’s psychology is the internalization of colonialism. Colonialism is essentially a violent system and the illusion about its outcomes as providing good benefits for people in spite of the fact that it essentially provides negative altruism or benefits that harm the Tiv and other Indigenous communities. This dynamic is the factor that is propelling those Tiv members to participate in postcolonial processes, and not question the processes with active decolonization attitudes and strategies.

3.3 Conclusion

The Tiv respondents captured the structural and attitudinal conflicts that are plaguing their land. They have shown that the conflicts have to be appraised as interrelated experiences in terms of their causative factors, adverse impacts as well as the times that they occurred. In other words,

these gloomy experiences cannot be isolated from each other because they are mutually connected, and adversely impact the people by fueling contemporary conflicts.

Suffice that I articulate more on the Tiv participants' identification of colonialism as a violent encounter in their history and a factor that is still influencing conflicts in their community. Their position may be termed simplistic, but in essence it is not for these two factors. First, in African indigenous worldview, the relationality of things and people is key in understanding experience and making-meaning. The Tiv's association of their political crises, self-destructive clashes, industrial conflicts and moral decadence with colonialism is not simplistic, it is an empirical demonstration of the relationality of things as their worldview. Second, their position about colonialism is useful for reinforcing the arguments by African scholars about the relationality of existence and experience as a core African indigenous worldview that must appreciate for addressing the people's conflicts. For example, Achankeng (2013) explains that colonialism is a shared experience of the African communities which has not only continued to influence other various conflicts in the communities but must be included in every analytic work that seeks to fully comprehend the contours of Africa's conflicts. With vehemence, Chingono (2016) states that the holistic approach should become the norm for studying, theorizing and combating Africa's conflicts, and no longer the dominant mono-causal tradition. The dominant approach looks at the conflicts as separate encounters and has thus been unable, non-viable, and stale to address, unlike the holistic strategy which will effectively intervene because it considers them as collective and related grave challenges. Therefore, these two examples have validated the awareness that colonialism is a form of violence and another factor behind Africa's conflict maze. This position cannot be waived as mere simplicity but must be appraised as cogent and thought-provoking.

With the above being said, it is equally important to note that conflicts in Tiv and African communities are inspired by internal factors, but very much also by offensive foreign forces whose conflict schemes and intentions are aggravated by some members of the local community who exhibit various tyrannical behaviors. Unfortunately, the dominant Western neoliberal peacebuilding system operating in Tiv land is unable to curtail and transform the emergence and persistence of conflicts in Tiv land, aside from the fact that it is also complicit in their emergence and perpetuation.

A few pertinent questions, therefore, come to the fore. How can the Tiv address their conflict experiences? What are the Tiv pre-colonial or Indigenous peacemaking approaches that they can use? Are the Indigenous mechanisms extant? What are their constituent elements? How are the Indigenous peacemaking approaches processed? Who are the key actors or practitioners that use these approaches? The next chapter explores these and other questions about Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches.

Chapter 5: Tiv Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches

4.1 Introduction

One thing that caught my attention during the interviews was how each participant repeatedly stated *semba a igbenda yase i soron man shi been ayoosu*, meaning that, “we have our ways of addressing and resolving our conflicts.” Two strong implications can be drawn from this outright statement. First, the respondents are obviously asserting that as a people, the Tiv have agency in terms of their knowledge and ability to address their conflict experiences, and their Indigenous peacemaking approaches are essentially capable as well as being impactful in this regard. The Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches and the procedures and processes that are used to facilitate them represent their Tiv identity and ways, which they do not want to lose. They no longer wish to see them marginalized, but rather would want to see them centralized, the *mtem u soron ayoosu* approach.

This chapter explores the Tiv peacemaking system whose essence and characteristics are informed by the Tiv peacemaking ideology known as *Tar Soron*. In other words, the Tiv peacemaking system has various approaches, processes, and procedures that are determined by the key principles of the *tar soron* ideology. This chapter explores (1) the *Tar Soron* peacemaking ideology, (2) peacemaking strategies, (3) peace contracts, (4) *mtem u soron ayoosu* and (5) a list of peacemaking ethnophilosophies the Tiv use to address conflicts.

4.2 The Tiv *Tar soron* Peacemaking Ideology

Each participant stated that the fundamental goal of using Tiv peacemaking approaches is for *tar soron*. In other words, every peacemaking approach in Tiv land is a representation of *tar soron*. For example, one of the elderly male participants made this revelation in the yarning session about *tar soron*:

Tar soron ka u nengen er se er tar wase hide doo, man shi ngu a bem (i.e. “the way of ensuring that our land has returned to its goodness and it has peace). When there is conflict, the land goes bad, and the people will lack inner peace and the outside of our community will be unsafe. As elders, we are holders and teachers of restoration of order and happiness. We must be there for our children and our brothers and sisters by fixing the disorder and assuring them of security. This is the primary duty of us who are elders in families and in the community.

The words of this respondent clearly indicate that *tar soron* connotes employing every effort toward the use of all available resources to restore the goodness and peace that hitherto existed in Tiv land or in the community.

Existing literatures on *Tar soron* (see Chia 1991 and Torkula, 2006) also indicate that the overarching Tiv peacemaking ideology is derived from their cosmological worldview, which teaches that *Aondo gba tar* (God created the world) and blessed it with serenity and order. *Tar* (creation) is to be enjoyed, and must be sustained through shared humanity, responsible personhood, and good use of the metaphysical powers (*tsav, akombo, adzov and ikyav*) that the Tiv have (Torkula, 2006). *Tar soron* is also the energy and wisdom that underlies Tiv social organization, community life, and peacemaking activities. It unites the Tiv society and sustains its harmony. It empowers the Tiv people to use their Indigenous wisdom and values as well as conflict resolution to address their challenging conflicts. Similar to the Ubuntu philosophy, the constituent elements of *tar soron* also include personhood, humanity, community, peace, progress, respect, harmony, serenity, order, social projects, healthy relationships, togetherness, communal and individual welfare (Chia, 1991; Gyekwe, 2013). Usually, the *tar soron* paradigm and its essential elements are transmitted via family training, moral discipline, community mores, parental upbringing and social groups conflict resolution principles. *Tar soron* is a collective responsibility as well as an individual duty, that is, every member and the community as a whole are key actors in the *tar soron paradigm* (Chia, 1991).

Just as Jibo (2009) asserted, one of the *Tor* participants made this observation about the *tar soron* peace ideology:

Because of its power and service to enhance peace, order, welfare and progress in our (Tiv) society, the absence, disruption or loss of *tar soron* means a wide fissure is created for calamity to visit us the Tiv. The failure to practice *tar soron* illustrates our vulnerability for chaos and destruction to befall us in our land. This is why I am not happy that colonialism and its strategic principles have disrupted our philosophy and practice of *tar soron* and caused our land to experience so much many moral and physical conflicts.

These pedagogies about *tar soron* remind me of this Tiv saying, *hanma kwagh u a vihi cii kpa ka i sor*, that is, “whatever that has gone wrong can and should be fixed.” The Tiv are not daunted by their conflicts, they are determined to use their peacemaking ethnophilosophies and address them.

In the light of *tar soron*, the participants outlined four key peacemaking approaches that are Indigenous to the Tiv people. These four approaches are elaborated under three categories: (1) violent strategies (“warring and fighting”) represent physical combat approaches, peace contracts (“covenant relationships and intermarriage”), and the restorative approach (“peacemaking gathering”) represents the non-violent approaches.

4.3 **Violent Strategies: Warring and Fighting**

The participants described these combat strategies not in the sense that the Tiv are belligerent and ready to start a violent engagement, but as defensive schemes when they are threatened. A *Ter* participant noted the following in his narrative:

The Tiv are peace-loving people, they do not like to instigate violence because they are not belligerent. However, they can go to war or undertake a form of fighting to secure peace for themselves. When other communities come at them with offensive threat, they resist with fierce fight or war to safeguard their existence and safety.

Warring - In the case of war or warring for peace, a *Tor* respondent recalled how the Tiv fought wars and skirmished in the past. He proclaimed the following in his story:

The Tiv fought migration and settlement wars. Groups that provoked us during our movements were defeated. The groups that attacked us when we began to settle in our present abode were violently repelled. We used to sing the war song, “*mnyam*

chiem er uke mile ooo uke mile, ishima yam ngi awambe, ooon ngi awambe (i.e. I dream that the Tiv enemy has drowned, my heart is bloody, yes, it is bloody).

One of the *Muer Ter* responded by describing the present resistance efforts of the Tiv against the marauding Fulani herdsmen as a good example of the wars that Tiv ancestors fought to secure the future of their posterity. He explained it as follows:

Earlier in our Tiv history, these people (i.e. the invading Fulani herdsmen) came with their warring horses, but we were able to repel them with our poisonous arrows and bees, and war prowess. We chased them away and helped some of our neighbouring communities to push them further away from our lands. What is happening now, the attacks they have brought upon us seem to me that they have returned for revenge or to accomplish their scheme that we truncated way back.

The literature equally reports this warring experience of the Tiv, and how the Nigerian government later exploited their military prowess by recruiting them *en masse* into the military during the 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war (See Aluaigba, 2011; Uchendu, 2007).

Another way the Tiv saw war as a peacemaking tool was by taking and using slave-captives. A *Ter* participant articulated that prisoners were used to seal peace with their enemies. He explicated that:

Tiv communities took captives from the wars they fought and used them as slaves to foster peace between the Tiv and the foreign aggressors. Those captured in these wars were basically used as scarecrows to stave off potential enemies and prevent the Tiv from future threats and attacks. War captives were also used as baits to achieve peace, and as seals of peace covenants with their defeated communities.

It is worth restating how the participants clearly conceptualized and explained the strategy of war. The Tiv use war as the last resort in the search for peace. They used it for self-defense from the surrounding communities who posed bellicose and cultural threats to them when they were migrating to their present territory (Dzurgba, 2007). They fought resistance wars to keep the invading Sokoto Caliphate Jihadists in the 19th century and the British colonizers in the 20th century off of their lands (Dura, 2016; Ikime, 1973). The so-called conquest or expansionist wars they fought were proxy wars in support of and on behalf of the surrounding ethnic community,

the Alago of Keana who invited the Tiv military power to help them scare off the Jihadists who regularly marauded the Keana kingdom (Aboki, 2004; Dura, 2016; Genger, 2015; History/Documentation Committee, 2004). Clearly the taking of war hostages as slaves was a measure to prevent future threats and ratify peace covenants. The Indigenous Tiv worldview on war has a corresponding goal with the Western theory of just war (*jus ad bellum*) as both reject war for the sake of warring but see it necessary in the quest for peace.

Fighting - Fighting is another strategy the Tiv use to make peace. By fighting, the respondents mean physical struggle, which does not involve the use of arms but mostly practical blows. Usually, the Tiv will fight against the non-Tiv party, but not with a fellow Tiv person. A *Tor* participant elaborated that fighting is ambivalent to the Tiv because it is violent and a means of peacemaking. Without flinching from his position, he stated:

Before the creation of Benue State, the homestead of the Tiv people in 1976, the Tiv loved each other and would rarely fight against each other because it was not allowed. However, when a conflict arose between a Tiv and a non-Tiv, and the Tiv party cried out “ayoo!”, the surrounding Tiv would form a crowd in support of that person, and they would ask the Tiv party what provoked the scuffle. In the Tiv worldview, fighting is ambivalent because it is violent and a means of resolving conflict. In other words, fighting against a fellow Tiv is abominable, but against a foreign aggressor, it is tolerable as the last available option. Peace achieved by fighting is expected to make the vanquished no longer provocative.

The research participants generally expressed their sadness that the unity, love and crowd security the Tiv had for themselves have significantly waned. They are dismayed to see Tiv fighting against each other as individuals and communities, particularly at times when it happens over avoidable reasons. They considered it worse when violence was used to consolidate the Whiteman’s political system that has repressed and marginalized Tiv cultural values. One *Ter* regretted in his narrative that the Tiv are competing over alien political authorities, but destructively. In his response, he elaborated that:

Influenced by the Whiteman’s political legacies, Tiv partisan politicians are increasingly widening the divisions among the Tiv by creating electoral wards and

enforcing politically motivated traditional leaders on them. This is a bad practice which is not only disuniting us, the Tiv, but it is opening us up to internal fighting over matters of politics and elections and weakening us against external aggression. As we can see some of our Tiv political leaders are mute and compromised on the marauding assaults on us by the Fulani herdsmen.

The clear implication here is that the Tiv worldview recognizes fighting as a strategy for security and peacekeeping, however, it is a great abomination for the Tiv to betray themselves and to fight each other.

4.4 Peace Contracts

Making peace accords is a traditional peacemaking strategy among the Tiv. These accords are done mostly in two forms: *ikyur-yan* (“peace covenants”), *ayande* grass for peace (“olive branch”) and intermarriage. These peace accords empowered the Tiv and their conflict partners to manage their disputes, have a considerable period of peace, and enjoy meaningful support from one another.

Regarding the *ikyur-yan* accord, a youth participant recalled the following in his story:

One of the key things, which the Tiv used to resolve conflicts was *ikyur* (covenant) or *ikyur-yan* (covenant ratification). The Tiv practiced the establishment of covenants between their clans and other nations to prevent conflict and to build peace. The covenants between two or more Tiv groups were intended to tighten their brotherhood and strengthen their value of social collaboration. The covenant prohibited the parties from initiating or participating in any violent conflict against each other or in renegeing on an agreed social collaboration such as invitational farming (*ihyumbe*). Those parties that defaulted their covenant duties were to be bothered by the death spell or the curse of ill-luck.

The youth informant further regrets that the *ikyur-yan* peacemaking approach is not as popular today. He recognized that covenants were important in keeping the peace between the Tiv and their neighbors. He explained this in depth saying that:

The *ikyur-yan* peacemaking approach between the Tiv Kunav clan in the Benue valley and the linguistically related Utange clan in Obudu (Cross River State) is a living example of a successful peacemaking covenant. Usually, a covenant comes with intricate terms that outline what both parties can and cannot do. For example, the covenant between the Kunav and Utange disallows conflicts and animosity as

well as sexual encounters between married and single members of both groups. *Generally, ikyur-yan* can be renewed at certain periods as a way of sustaining it, passing on its memory, and educating later generations through the oral tradition on the importance of this preventive peacemaking measure in the community.

Other research participants did not speak much about the *ikyur-yan*, perhaps because it is no longer a common practice or popular. However, a significant amount of literature has also illustrated the efficacy of *ikyur-yan* as a Tiv Indigenous approach that facilitates conflict prevention (see Ayangaor, 2011; Bohannan, 2017; Chia, 2013; Dura, 2016). Similar to the youth participant's perception, Gundu (2005) also bemoans the loss or neglect of this Indigenous peacemaking approach at this crucial time when the Tiv are confronting regular deadly conflicts with their surrounding neighbours, and marauding Fulani herdsmen.

The *ayande* or olive branch is another Tiv strategy for peacemaking. Like the *ikyur-yan*, the *ayande* grass approach is also used for sealing peace agreements with non-Tiv parties. Two youth participants recalled that the Tiv used the *ayande* grass to end wars and make peace with the outsiders with whom the Tiv fought. In his story, one of the youth leaders asserted that:

Given the need to end the war because of their desire for peace and due to the language barrier between them, the Tiv people approached the enemy while elevating the *ayande* to signal that their arrival this time was not for war, but it was for peace. In the same manner the enemy would hold the *ayande* or an alternative material for the same reason. This gesture enabled both sides to lay down their arms, and at a later day to sit and dialogue with each other for peace.

In general, the participants noted that the dialogic process of the *ayande grass* strategy always ended with a peace covenant, and it was sealed with the ritual of sharing a meal from a slaughtered animal. This practice was very common during Tiv's early settlement periods in their present homeland when they regularly fought with the Udam Yeke ethnic group of present-day Cross River State (Ayangaor, 2011).

Inter-Marriage is another form of peace contract the Tiv entered to foster stability between themselves and their conflict partners. In this regard, one of the youth leaders described

intermarriage between the Tiv and their closest neighbors as an important conflict prevention tool and peacemaking tool in pre-colonial times. He also noted that the residue of this practice is found in a few Tiv communities today. The youth participant explained how the inter-ethnic marriage strategy fostered family, social and peaceful relationships between the Tiv communities and their neighbors. He said the following on the issue:

Our parents also entered into marriages with *ato-a-tiev* (non-Tiv communities) in order to foster peaceful relationship, consolidate peace resolutions, and promote agricultural ties between them. This strategy served us well, with those neighbors whom we encountered while we migrated and settled in this land.

This narrative is also evident in the work of Ayangaor (2011) who also observes that the practice took place mostly between the Tiv and their southern neighbors especially the Udam and the Idoma ethnic communities, however, the Tiv were more inclined to give their daughters in marriage than take wives from the neighbours. Essentially, this practice was intended to entrench peaceful relationships and ensure sustainable trade activities between the two communities. Indeed, it did quell previous hostilities and promote greater understanding and trust so that members of both families visited, stayed, and invested in each other's community. This peacemaking approach kept the Tiv's immediate neighbors, the Idoma and Udam from regular bloody encounters, and it remains important today, in the wake of the power rivalry between the Udam and the Idoma, who share the same political State (Benue) and accuse each other of marginalization, discrimination, and exclusion (see Aluaigba, 2011).

4.5 Mtem U Soron Ayoosu (MUSA): Procedure and Process

The participants interchangeably described the dominant Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approach with concepts such as *ayoosu a soron* ("addressing conflict"), *mtem u soronayoosu* ("the sitting to address conflict"), *i jir teman* ("the gathering to judge"), *mtem u van a bem* ("the sitting to make/bring peace"), and *mtem sha ci u ayoosu* ("the sitting because of conflict"). These

concepts are dialectical ways of indicating that Indigenous peacemaking practices are called at the insistence of the Tiv traditional leader, and the stakeholders of the community. All the stakeholders listed below in the sub-section on procedure, would sit together to resolve an ensuing conflict (*soron ayoosu*) or bring peace (*va a bem*) between parties in the community. Each of these concepts, and especially *mtem u soron ayoosu*, is encompassed in the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking ideology of *tar soron*. The research participants also described the procedural and process components of *mtem u soron ayoosu*. The collation of their separate views clearly explicated these two components and indicated that the credibility *mtem u soron ayoosu* is largely dependent on how stringently the procedure and process are followed. For example, in his response, a *Muer Ter* noted the following in his story:

U mtem wase a za a doo, shi a lu a iwasen yo, igbenda ngi i ka se kar sha min yo: (i.e., for the *mtem* to go on well and yield expected results, there are some essential steps and procedures that we have to follow). We follow these steps openly and clearly and our people are familiar with them. If they are not followed rightly, the community will certainly question the credibility of the judgement that the *mtem* has passed and the actors that were present, especially the elders or the leaders.

A successful *mtem u soron ayoosu* is evidently a good proof of the integrity of the elders and the members of the *mtem* gathering and the credibility of the approach itself. The Tiv will settle for another approach, for example, liberal peacebuilding, but for their immense confidence in the Indigenous *mtem* peacemaking system.

4.5.1 As Procedure

As a procedure, *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* (MUSA) has an overall structure which comprises of: (1) the overarching disposition; (2) the cases that it is applicable to; (3) the likely ways to commence the process; (4) the key members or stakeholders that constitute the process; (5) and the goals and principles that determine its credibility.

Overarching disposition – The participants noted that the first condition for a successful *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* is the ever-readiness or openness of the family, the conflict parties and the traditional leader to meet and address the matter. Against this background, a *Muer Ter* participant made this report:

My people bring every kind of conflict to my attention as the leader to address. What they usually look forward to is the conclusion that will foster their relationship with one another and restore the community to its harmonious status. They also want the project that will bring progress and harmony to the community, not an adverse initiative. My use of the *mtem* procedures is basically to meet these essential goals, just as when I give my advice and traditional blessings for a new project to take off in the community. I am delighted serving my people in this way to meet their aspiration of healthy communal existence.

It is important for community members to recognize the authority of their traditional leader by seeking his approval and advice.

Cases that Mtem u Soron Ayoosu is used to address - A *Ter* respondent elaborated the categories of cases that he intervened using the *mtem* approach. In his narrative, he recognized that:

Simple micro conflicts like fighting, inter-personal squabbles, and market scuffles as well as complex or macro conflicts like intercommunal clashes, land skirmishes, boundary disputes, political and electoral violence, and inter-ethnic conflicts are brought to me and I use *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* to address each of these conflicts.

I understood from all the participants that even though *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* is used for every form of conflict, the traditional leader uses his discretion to address micro conflicts without calling other heads to convene. However, he is morally compelled to convene the other leaders to address macro or complex conflicts. While throwing more light on this issue, one of the *Ter* participants relayed the following in his story:

There are times I do not call the entire family heads or elders to meet, but just myself and the conflict parties. It is either they have trust in my judgement, or they simply do not want the community to know about their issue. Usually, these are minor conflicts that center on money, loans, debts, family squabbles, and business disagreements.

The participants also indicated that even though they are not into *tsav* and *akombo*, they use the same mechanism to address spiritual warfare conflict. One *Tor* respondent recounted how he used the wisdom and logic of *mbatsav* to address spiritual conflict. He reported on this issue in this manner:

The elders in his chiefdom brought a young boy to him claiming that he was plotting to kill an adult with his *tsav* over land. After listening to the elders, I told them that the young boy was too innocent to contemplate that type of evil behavior. I thought that perhaps it was an adult taking advantage of the boy's naivety. Applying the logical use of some Tiv proverbs, I unraveled the truth that it was the boy's uncle who wanted to raise the false allegations to use the elders to kill the boy so that he would take over the boy's land inheritance. I unraveled this incriminating intention of the uncle and rescued the young man from death.

The bad *tsav* phenomenon is indeed a disturbing conflict experience in Tiv land. It is complex, thus not easy to deal with. This however does not mean the experience is non-surmountable. With the combined contributions of the members of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* they can address it, as in the case of this *Tor*.

Membership of Mtem u Soron Ayoosu- These are the participants or members in a hierarchical order that constitute the *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* approach. One of the *a-Tor* respondents described the members as “the peacemaking stakeholders,” and chronologically they include the conflict parties, nuclear family heads, and extended family heads (*mba yav mba ken Ate* – “family heads who own the succor hut”). Other members of the *of Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* include the welfare overseers (“*a tor-a-kpande*”), kindred heads (“*mba tare*”), district heads (“*u-tyo mbaiorov*”), clan heads (“*Muer Ter*”), mega clan heads (“*u-Ter*”), zonal clan heads (“*a-Tor*”) the paramount leader of the Tiv nation (The “*Tor Tiv*”), and the young men's age-group.

It is worth stating that these traditional heads address conflicts at their respective leadership levels, not in isolation, but as a gathering of *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*. The participants also observed that key matters are referred to the higher leaders in the hierarchy as the case demands. On the other hand, leaders at the higher levels refer conflict parties or less important

issues to the lower levels to respect protocol and the principles of collaboration and subsidiarity. A *Ter* informant narrated about the Tiv age groups thus: “in many cases when there was conflict, the age-grade of the parties will step in quickly with their interventions and discipline strategies which the conflicting members must comply to.”

Many of the traditional leaders revealed that they also delegate or send representatives to peace meetings either as members or facilitators. Those that are sent on such important assignments are family and compound heads, lower leaders or any trustworthy community member(s). A few *u-Ter* informants stated that in some complex conflict situations, they set up a committee to critically investigate and intervene and regularly report to them. Even if the committee resolves the conflict, they will call the parties together to finalize the peacemaking process and seal it with some rituals.

When does the Mtem u Soron Ayoosu begin? – There are two ways of beginning the peacemaking approach. One of the *Tor* participants explained it in his narrative that:

The process begins when the early signs of the conflict become noticeable and when the conflict is reported to me. Therefore, I advise all traditional leaders against waiting to be told about the conflict before they initiate the peace process. As for me, once I notice any unusual development that affects the relationship of my community members or the spirit of the community, I quickly invite those concerned to my place and I convene the members of our *mtem* to meet on the issue. I believe in the saying that *hiyar ka una hiin u hiin a i* (“you begin with the whirlwind, once it begins to gather”).

There is however not only one way of kick-starting the *mtem* approach. Another way of initiating it is when the conflict is reported to the traditional leader or community head. A *Ter* respondent depicted it about himself in this way:

I also wait for the conflict to be reported to me before initiating the peace process. Once it is reported, I will call the cohort to convene to address the matter. In other instances, I will set up a committee of investigation to do fact finding on the conflict, for the cohort. Once the report is completed, I will convene the cohort to study it. The next step is to invite the parties, their families, their witnesses and the members of the community for the *mtem u soron ayoosu*, the “peace committee”.

The values and goals of Mtem u Soron Ayoosu – The Tiv are tenacious about the *mtem u soron ayoosu* approach because of its credibility and service to their communities. It is made possible by the values and goals that the approach emphasizes and pursues. The values include:

(1) *Truth* is the most fundamental key value that the participants emphasized. They reported that truth as a value and truth telling practice bring credibility and success to their peacemaking gatherings. A *Tyo-or* explains that, “If truth is absent, then the effort is wasted. It is important for us Tiv traditional leaders to build our interventions on truth because it is the oil that eases the process of peacemaking.”

Another *MuerTer* said truth from everybody is irreplaceable and essential. He added that, “without it the *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* is like a tortuous path that has no end because the people will come back to the same conflict sooner or later.”

Some participants did not hide their regret that the dominant Western political and legal system with its exploitative and deceitful capitalist tendencies has influenced some traditional leaders with manipulative and untruthful attitudes when they process *mtem u soron ayoosu*. A *Tor* interviewee articulated that traditional leaders must represent the people with respect. He narrated further that:

Usually, the manipulative or untruthful instances are easily detectable and are strongly detested because the approach is essentially sincere, wide open, and participatory. Traditional leaders and the members of the peacemaking meeting only have to be sincere to impress the expectations of their people.

There are disciplinary measures put in place to ensure this leadership etiquette. In this light, a *Tor* informant shared his views on the measure that he has put in place to check any form of excess. He expressed that:

I usually summon any person or leader under my jurisdiction who is suspected of processing a case with an element of untruthfulness to be investigated and sanctioned if he is found guilty. I only had one instance of such, where my *Tyo-or* was manipulating a land case because of monetary offer. I took over the case and sanctioned him with some restrictions.

A *Ter* respondent recapped some of the reasons behind this unfortunate development that is becoming the common attitude of some Tiv traditional leaders.

Regrettably he narrated the troubling situation as follows:

Getting people who can speak the truth is very difficult in our (Tiv) society today. There are more people spreading injurious information than there are those who know the truth. Some of our leaders who facilitate peace meetings take sides thereby give the semblance of fair judgement. For the reason of politics, few people are even neutral now. The new political way of life we have accepted has a very low content for truth and justice.

Against this concern, another *Ter* respondent discouraged the replacement of truth with logic as truth is preferable to logic, since the latter can twist justice into injustice or vice versa. In his response he said:

Truth comes from the heart; it is manifest in words and body language and it is essentially affective. When a conflict party or member of the *mtem* (“peace gathering”) is saying the truth, you will know it in your heart, and hear no word that antagonizes. The person will easily accept the contrary opinions and be obviously weak where he is guilty. On the contrary, the person with logic is argumentative and not interested in restoring the ruptured situation and relationship because the person is only interested in how to emerge as the winner of the case. If as traditional leaders we put affective truth first and use it, we shall have less headaches and problems in our domains. We shall move around without fear and the police guarding us.

If the conflict parties and all in the peace gathering are more open and truthful compared to logic, the conflict will be addressed more easily, and the peacemaking will be more reliable. Truthfulness implies being considerate and being desirous of restorative conclusion even if there is penalty. In other words, insistence on logic connotes a win at all cost situation and it creates room for the conflict narratives and the stories of the *mtem* members to be twisted.

(2) *Respect* is another value that is strongly emphasized and upheld in *mtem u soron ayoosu* peacemaking approach. One of the elderly men respondents said generally, “*or Tiv soo icivir. Alu ibo na shin isho na, kpa, na un icivir na, ayoosu la a taver u been ga.*” That is, “the Tiv person wants respect. Whether guilty or innocent, once the person is shown respect, the

conflict will not be hard to resolve”. He added, “the Tiv man does not want shame, he dislikes it. He would say, for him to fall into shame he better dies. Once an issue gets to becoming public, the Tiv man gets inside himself and seeks for resolution.” A *Ter* participant acquiesces with this point as he shared his view:

When given respect, the guilty party expresses remorse and apologizes more easily, and the aggrieved is more willing to be forgiving and open to the restoration of the relationship. The show of respect to both parties by the traditional leader and members of the “*mtem*” (“gathering/council”) makes it easy to facilitate peacemaking or to address conflict. Tiv sons and daughters that are in political positions are showing disregard to Tiv Indigenous social systems and peacemaking values such as truth, respect, integrity and harmony. They seem to be forgetting or abandoning their ways, but they can’t because Tiv is greater than individual and they cannot become another people but be Tiv.

Tiv youths that are deeply immersed in modernity are turning their backs on Tiv traditional peacemaking methods and that is detrimental to the community.

(3) *Integrity* is another fundamental value emphasized in the *mtem u soron ayoosu* peacemaking approach. In terms of Tiv traditional leadership, one of the *Tor-Kpande* respondents described integrity as being impartial in all affairs and respectful of everyone. He added that the internalization of integrity conditions Tiv people to act with justice, and the leaders to mediate with fairness to all. In his response, he noted that:

Our ancestors are held with respect and prestige today because of their tenacity and show of integrity in the daily affairs of the community during their time with us. However, this has diminished today as integrity is lost to the encroaching Western culture, which is spreading capitalism and liberal influences thereby challenging our traditional value of integrity.

The participants suggested the following ways for building integrity and retaining it in the community. First, the Tiv and their leaders must be content with their status and what they have fairly acquired. Second, they must value honesty and moral uprightness above wealth and power. Third, a *Ter* respondent suggested the importance of self-investment in profitable farming, craft works, and entertainment as integral to the welfare of the community. He argued that the colonial

system has taken the Tiv and their leaders from their local traditional entrepreneurial investments and made them unemployed welfare recipients dependent on government handouts. This unfortunate situation has turned the Tiv into beggars compromising their integrity on the altar of fear and favor. The *Ter* informant reported that, “We no more have Indigenous self-investments; we need to take steps to tackle this ugly trend that has made our people compromise their integrity.” Fourth, an elderly woman interviewee in her response on how to salvage the situation stated clearly that young people must return to the ways of their ancestors:

It is important for Tiv traditional leaders to avoid flirtatious and debauchery lifestyles and return to the value of integrity, which their Tiv ancestors largely exhibited. This was the reason why the Tiv were victorious in wars and were successful in indigenous crafts and agricultural production when they settled in the Benue Valley. Our leaders should be men of integrity such that when they speak, the people will listen, and the government will accord them respect.

In other words, the value of integrity is a great determining influence in Tiv Indigenous peacemaking engagements because it commands the people’s trust, confidence, and respect in their traditional institutions.

(4) The participants also identified *availability and good disposition* as interconnected values in the *mtem u soron ayoosu*. They indicated that the leaders’ lived in the community and are always available for peacemaking gatherings that provide their people with the opportunity to report cases and to be attended to for different reasons. Now the government pays these categories of Tiv leaders. The *Mba-Tare* (“Kindred Heads”), *u-Tyombaiorov* (“District Heads”), *u-Ter* (“Clan Heads”), *a-Tor* (“Heads of Conglomerated Clans”) and *Tor Tiv* (“Supreme Head of Tiv Nation”) and they have no other primary work than to be available in their respective palaces or homes for their people.

There is more to just being available to the people. For example, the participants identified the importance of the traditional leaders being disposed to listen to their people’s complaints on issues. Many of the participants reported that these leaders hold many sittings (“*mtem*”) for one

case until it is addressed to the satisfaction of all the parties. A *Muer Ter* participant revealed in his narrative that:

For the love of peace and progress in our communities we Tiv traditional leaders invest our personal resources to facilitate the peacemaking *mtem* (“sittings”) for our people. Traditional leaders not only address conflicts and give advice, we also inform and educate community members of the new developments in the community.

Perhaps, it is against this background, the female participants reported above express their frown at those traditional leaders who are inclined to the life style of intoxication while abandoning their dutiful service to their communities. One of the middle-aged women responded with the following viewpoint:

This alcoholic life-style has rendered those traditional leaders ineffective and absent from their people. This lack of presence, guidance and mentorship from those traditional leaders has brought adverse impacts to Tiv communities. Impacts such as social disorder, communal disunity, and unattended grievances have in turn destroyed the people’s opportunities for progress in their aspirations and struggles and stability in their communal life.

Traditional leaders that embrace a lavish lifestyle instead of leading their people have put them in harm’s way. It can be argued that leaders can have their leisure, but it should not be to the detriment of their social responsibilities and official duties or at the peril of the communities they serve.

(5) The invocation of *akombo* especially *swem* as well as *igbe* and *ikyoor* at the *start of the sitting* is both a value and a principle in *mtem u soron ayoosu*. A *Tor* interviewee noted that bad things befall conflict parties that lie in the *mtem* setting. He demonstrated this by stating that:

The *swem* deity represents truth telling and visiting the liar with swollen abdomen or limbs. At the start of the *mtem* (“sitting”), the facilitator guides those present in swearing by *swem* and encourages them to be truthful during all of the deliberations. The advent of Christianity has introduced the alternative use of Christian symbols in many cases and has allowed deceit and logic to creep into our peacemaking sittings.

The facilitator of the *mtem* process uses traditional as well as Christian symbols to encourage the conflict parties to behave honourably during the *mtem*.

(6) The importance of *family and consanguinity* are also invoked during the sitting. The leader or facilitator of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* usually starts by reminding the gathering of their consanguinity as family and as members of the Tiv nation. One of the youth leaders elaborated some of the essentials of this procedure during our conversation. He said:

In the past, the elder initiated this popular value by digging a big heap of soil and making the conflict parties stand on two opposite sides of it. In his address, he would remind them of their common progenitor and ancestry and draw their minds to the futility of fighting or harming each other. In the case of conflict with outsiders, a peace circle was convened after both sides elevated the *ayande* grass for the cessation of antagonism and to initiate successful peace dialogue. During this meeting, both sides recounted some points of past mutuality in their relationship and the reasons to fight no more such as shared fears, ordeals, areas of collaboration, and interests.

This value of recalling and re-establishing our people's affinity for peaceful relations enhanced Tiv's peaceful relationships between themselves and with their neighbouring ethnic communities in the south of the Benue Valley.

(7) *Mtem u soron ayoosu* is guided throughout the storytelling deliberations by some very fundamental goals. The research participants identified those goals as seeking to restore peace and order; sustaining the unity of the community; mending the cracks caused by the conflict, which the enemy will use to penetrate the community; reclaiming the threatened brotherhood; enhancing the stability of the community; and restoring every distorted relationship and value of the community. The explanation of this *Muer Ter* participant sums it up very well when he said during our conversation that:

the *Mtem u soron ayoosu* works at removing the causes of the conflict, addressing the situation, repairing the emerging harms, mending the fissured community and restoring the broken relationships. The Tiv people are one family come what may, and this must be restored when it is threatened by any kind of conflict.

Another participant indicated that the entire process of *mtem u soron ayoosu* is to educate all of those generations of the irreplaceable value of unity and peace within Tiv society.

4.5.2 As a Process

Mtem u soron ayoosu is a peacemaking process that is facilitated by following some basic steps, and peacemaking rituals. From the information gathered from my research participants, I identify two contexts for using *mtem u soron ayoosu* as a process; the complex and the simple contexts. The complex context refers to the *mtem u soron ayoosu* convened and facilitated by the traditional leaders namely, the kindred heads (*'Mba-tare'*), district heads (*'U-tyombaiorov'*), clan heads (*'Muer Ter'*), mega clan heads (*'U-Ter'*), conglomerated clan heads (*'A-Tor'*), and the paramount leader of the Tiv nation (*'Tor Tiv'*). Family heads (*'Or ya'*), compound heads (*'or ya u ken Ate'*), and welfare mobilizers (*'A-tor a kpande'*) facilitate the simple context. The order of the process in both contexts is the same except that in the former there is more membership and cases that can be delegated to lower subsidiaries. The latter has a small scope of membership and can only delegate duties to themselves who are the family heads or parents.

The information shared by the participants depict the complex process of *mtem u soron ayoosu* in the following way:

Introduction and taking of oath- An elder male research participant described in depth the way that the *mtem u soron ayoosu* is usually introduced. He explained during our yarning encounter that:

When the quorum is formed, the leader will give the introductory remark, which usually welcomes the members to the *mtem* ("sitting"). The leader then reminds them of their shared consanguinity in terms of family, community and peace, welfare and harmony values that are the core elements they have gathered together to sustain the process. The elder will further invoke the *igbe* deity to enable the parties to sincerely declare their innocence or suffer severe punishment, and the *ikyoor* to empower the parties (mostly women) to tell the truth or bring ill-luck to the entire community. The *swem* deity was the commonest taking of oath ritual for truth telling whereby the guilty person suffers a deadly swollen stomach.

The advent of the Christian culture in Tiv land has impacted the *mtem u soron ayoosu* process and how it is now introduced. In this light, an elderly male respondent described the Christian influence as follows:

However, with the advent of Christianity, many of these gatherings began to use Christian rituals such as prayers and symbols from the Bible or other articles of faith. In both Indigenous and Christian rituals, the members of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* are encouraged to be truthful in their narrations to enhance the repair and restoration of the order that was distorted by the conflict. After the taking of oath, the leader introduces the conflicting parties and summarizes their conflict before the *mtem* (“sitting”). Usually, some members of the *mtem* will acknowledge the leader’s words and one person will request that the leader calls on the parties to narrate their stories about the conflict.

It is evident that despite the powerful of impacts of Christianity, Tiv traditional wisdom is still the strongest influence in the *mtem* approach.

Conflict parties speak – When the *mtem u soron ayoosu* gathering is set up at the insistence of the leader who first noticed the early conflict signs, he would ask the primary party that is associated with the conflict to be the first to speak up. A *Tyo-or* participant elaborated this point by stating who speaks first and the moral etiquette that should guide their stories. According to the *Tyo-or*:

If the conflict is reported to the traditional leader, then it is the aggrieved party that is called upon to speak first, then followed by the aggressor. Rather than accuse each other, the parties are expected to represent what transpired between them. In this way they will supply the correct information for *mtem* to use and facilitate the peacemaking well.

Finally, the traditional leader discreetly weighs the facts from the stories of the conflict parties while listening for more that are provided by the witnesses that are called up.

Witnesses – Generally, the respondents indicated that where necessary, the witnesses who are identified by the parties in conflict are usually invited at this point of the peace meeting and at other times to give their own accounts of what had exactly transpired in the conflict.

Interactive contributions – After listening to the accounts of the parties in conflict and the witnesses, the facilitator invites the members of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* to respond to the accounts and the conflict in general. Another elderly male interviewee revealed during the inquiry conversation that when the process gets to the point of clarifying the stories of the conflict parties, the members of the *mtem* are called upon to remark or ask their questions. In further explanation he said:

The “stakeholders” are invited by the facilitator, usually the eldest man or the traditional leader to make their interactive contributions by asking for clarification so as to confirm some of the information given by the parties and their witnesses, and by assessment affirm or fault some actions, as well as inferring the need for the parties and members of the *mtem* to be open to a restorative resolution.

In other words, in the peacemaking meeting, a wide room is given to all the members present to make their contributions towards arriving at a restorative conclusion, so the process is owned and facilitated by all, not just one person, the leader or eldest, who is the head.

On-site visit – This process is used to get more information on the conflict before it is further addressed and concluded. I recall also how my father often by himself and in some cases sent some youths and elderly men to go and look at the contested piece of land and bring back report to him. In this vein, one of the *Tor* informants said in land dispute matters alongside some *mtem* members would either visit the disputed pieces of land or boundaries or send representatives”. A *Tyo-or* informant gave an example of the investigation that he makes.

According to him:

I usually ask questions about the first and later people who farmed or invested in the land in order to identify them for witnessing or more information. I would also ask to know about the natural demarcation marks that were established, and who were the neighboring farmers around the contested piece of land. If the conflict is about who inherits the land, I will summon the children of the owner who is now deceased for consultation on what they think and how this can be best resolved amicably.

It is when the leaders are armed with rich information and facts from on-site visits that they and the council (“*mtem*”) can arrive at the required and anticipated conclusion that serves the restorative interest of the parties and the community.

Judgement – This process implies that the traditional leader will make use of the information gathered from the parties, witnesses, on-site visit and the seated members of the meeting to draw out a judgement. One of the *Muer Ter* participants explained the process in this way:

At this juncture, I usually refer to the information in my hand and use it to give my short conclusive address on the matter. Giving that from the various sources of information, which are the stories of the conflict the parties and their witnesses, interactive contributions of the *mtem* members and evidence from the sites, the guilty and innocent persons begin to become evident. What I do next is to ask if any member of the *mtem* has a reservation.

Interestingly, the *Muer Ter* respondent indicated that room is given for more contributions to fine-tune the conclusion. This is what he said on the issue:

I will also ask at this point if a member of the *mtem* has a reservation, correction, confirmation or a new insight with regards to my conclusive judgement that person can go ahead and speak.

One of the traditional leaders, A *Ter* respondent made the following observation with regards to the final goal of the peace meeting. In his story he reiterated what some of the respondents had said:

Guided by the fundamental values of the *mtem* which are: truth, respect, integrity, and harmony, my conclusion is usually geared towards the form of justice that repairs the community and safeguards its social order reinstate the relationship of the conflict parties and promote good feelings between the community members.

His report is indeed reminiscent of the opening speech that the leader would give at the start of the *mtem* to encourage the members present to remain conscious of their shared consanguinity and ancestry while the peace approach is processed.

Penalties –The research participants also indicated that once the leader and members of the *mtem* demonstrate the guilt and innocence of each of the parties, the penalty is then announced. A *Ter* participant said it all during the yarning encounter by using two interesting metaphors. He said:

This punishment is usually light and bearable since the goal of the *mtem* (“sitting”) is to restore the good mood and relationship of the parties and the community that have been disrupted by the conflict. What is better than getting back into eating in the same calabash with your brother with whom you had misunderstanding of any gravity. What is more than the community being made whole again after a painful relationship. After all, the teeth and the tongue remain the same members of the mouth even when the former bites and wounds the latter. They don’t separate, both take caution against a repeat while still being siblings of the same mouth.

Another *Tyor-or* participant described the most common penalty that is normally given out as follows:

The person found guilty is asked to *wua tia* (“make propitiation”) by slaughtering an animal. If the gravity of the offence was immense, the guilty party was asked to perform a nocturnal *tia* by offering human sacrifice. The guilty party may also be asked to vacate his/her paternal community and move to the maternal community. The belief is that with the aid and mentorship of the maternal kinsmen, the estranged party will correct the conflictive behavior at the time of eventual return to the paternal home.

The participants generally reported that these measures are basically corrective and are intended to serve as a deterrent by teaching the guilty person and the community to accept responsibility for wrong-doing and to avoid a repeat of the conflictive mistakes.

Responses from the parties in conflict – After the corrective conclusion is drawn and the penalty is announced, the conflict parties are specifically invited to make their response. One of the elderly women described this process as one that is characterized with remorse and the desire for the end of the dispute and glee at reconciliation. She averred that:

What I know is that since the process is open, interactive and collective, the verdict is usually correct, and the guilty party rarely contests the judgement. The response from the guilty party is thus either the expression of remorse for the aggressive action, apology to the aggrieved party, a commitment to avoid a repeat of the behavior, and a request for forgiveness and reconciliation.

It is obvious that the *mtem* process is transparent, interactive and collective. On this basis, A *Ter* participant said that: “the process therefore makes it easy for the guilty party to respond acceptably and the aggrieved party to accept the response and the request for reconciliation as well as participate in the ritual of reconciliation.”

It is important for both parties to save the face of the elders and to resolve the conflict and restore harmony within the community.

Appeal by the guilty - The guilty is not hindered from appealing the decision of the *mtem u soron ayoosu*. In precolonial times, the guilty would run to the maternal kinsmen (“*igba*”) and report the judgement or the penalty, especially if it concerned that he makes nocturnal *tia* (“propitiation”). A *Ter* participant provided an idea about how the appeal is made. The guilty party would say to the *igba*, “I have committed a crime and my kinsmen are demanding for both diurnal and nocturnal *tia*. I have come to appeal for your intervention”.

At this request, the *igba* would agree to meet with the maternal kinsmen and on that day seek a review of the case if it deserved to be gone over. If both groups concur on the penalty, then the *tia* is carried out. The nocturnal *tia* but not the diurnal *tia* was often waived because of the appeal.

Some participants said that with the introduction of the colonial courts, some dissatisfied parties went there to appeal their sentence. One *Tyo-or* participant noted that, “We strive to do our best and resolve the matter with truth, respect, openness and fairness and allow the unsatisfied parties to go to the court. Usually, the court upholds the same judgement we passed.”

On the other hand, one of the *Muer Ter* participants shared how his *mtem* gathering is able to successfully resolve a variety of cases, even those withdrawn from the state justice system, like the courts and police. Narrating about himself, he recounted:

I have withdrawn many cases from the court and together with those that were appealed to my *mtem u soron ayoosu*. I myself and the council members have been able to address them to the mutual satisfaction of the parties that are involved. I want to tell you that, some of these cases were related to land and marriage.

It is also evident among the Tiv that restoration and reconciliation are the key goals of the Indigenous strategies. What the parties and the community want via these strategies are simply healing and re-integration of members into the community. This is the true demonstration of *tar soron*.

Peace and reconciliation rituals - The most common ritual associated with *mtem u soron ayoosu* and the last process in the approach is the slaughtering of the animal (e.g. goat, fowl, cow) for the purpose of celebrating the reconciliation and restoration. One of the *Tyo-or* noted in his story how crucial it is for order and harmony to be restored to the community and how this is aided with the peace and reconciliation ritual of meal sharing. He narrated the following in his story:

The guilty party usually makes provision for this, either as *tia* or as a personal gesture to mark the reconciliation. In some cases, it is the traditional leader that makes the provision to appreciate the stakeholders of the *mtem* (“sitting”) for helping to bring order back to the community. This explains why we the Tiv *zende nya hen nya* (“raise domestic animals”). There are also instances where the community will mobilize for a community feast where the women prepare and serve assorted cuisines to celebrate the resolution of the conflict. This meal generally signifies the end of all animosity, the return of order, the restoration of good relationships, and the healing of the community. *Ka tar soron jene!* (“This is the mending of the community”).

The information gathered from the narratives of one of the elderly male participants and *Tor* respondent depict how the simple process of *mtem u soron ayoosu* is organized, in the following order:

Compound head's visit – Once confronted by a disturbing issue, the family head undertakes a scheduled or unscheduled visit to the party that is connected to the conflict, and the *Ate* host usually receives n, him in the succour hut.

Narration of the purpose of visit – The host asks the visiting head that is consuming the reception snack and water if all is well regarding the visit or he asks if the visitor is only passing by. It is at this prompting that the visiting head will explain the conflict that prompted his visit.

Invitation of the family heads –Family heads usually live near to one another in closely located living huts that are arranged in a circular style that leaves a wide compound in the middle to accommodate the *Ate*. It is easy to invite the family heads to the *Ate* to participate in the process of addressing the conflict presented by the visiting kinsman.

Parties are interrogated – During this point in the conflict, the persons implicated in the conflict, especially if they are adults, are called before the visiting head and the family heads to respond to the allegations. If the conflict parties are children, their parents will make remarks on their behalf.

Evaluation and penalty – After the interactive deliberation by the heads, the adult offender is given a penalty or is cautioned against repeating the act. Sometimes, the aggressor is handed over to the appropriate age group or gender group to enforce the punishment.

Children aggressors – If the parties in the conflict are children, they are handed over to their parents with clear instructions to mentor and instruct them with the appropriate education and discipline.

Taking of Oath - The participants did not indicate that the taking of oath is performed in this simple version of *mtem u soron ayoosu*, Nevertheless, since the truth telling deities are part of the Tiv worldview, the conflict parties and members are always aware that the deities will punish liars and unrepentant offenders.

4.6 **Tiv Ethnophilosophies of Peacemaking**

The participants did not list any Tiv ethnophilosophies of peacemaking. Ethnophilosophies are the collective Indigenous worldviews and wisdom that are systematically

encoded in the oral traditions of the people, such as language, folklore, metaphors, taboos, rituals and stories that are studied by ethnophilosophers like anthropologists and sociologists (Emagwali, 2001). These ethnophilosophies of knowledge, practice and beliefs underly the social organization and the facilitation of community processes such as peacemaking in Africa (Chilisa, 2012; Melorose, Perroy, & Careas, 2015).

Tiv peacemaking ethnophilosophies include dances (“*amar*”), festivities (“*uniongo*”) theater festival (“*kwagh-hir*”), posthumous inquest (“*ku oron*”), protective and rectificatory evacuation of the troubled, abused or problematic wife by her paternal relations (“*kwase u kua amin*”), contributive farming (“*ihumbe*”), invitational farming (“*tom u lohon*”), taking succour in matrilineage (“*yem igba*”), and condolence/funeral visit (“*i shughn/ku zan*”) (Aboh, 2005; Hagher, 2013; Ivande et al., 2015). The Tiv indeed have rich Indigenous peacemaking traditions that they know and use to deal with their conflict encounters.

4.7 Key Findings

This chapter opened with the participants’ assertion that *se Tiv se mba a igbenda yase i soron ayoosu*: “we the Tiv have our own ways of addressing conflicts”. Five interesting findings emerged from the chapter with on Tiv’s “ways of addressing conflicts”: (1) the organized memory and knowledge the community has about its Indigenous peacemaking approaches, (2) the factors that enabled the Tiv to remain significantly knowledgeable and expressive about their peacemaking knowledge, (3) the image of the *mtem* members as stakeholders and the backbone of the life and safety of the Tiv community, (4) how the *mtem* transforms the conflict parties into agents of peace (5) the clear description of the steps of the *mtem* peacemaking process.

First, this chapter reveals the organized memory and knowledge the Tiv have about their Indigenous peacemaking traditions. This implies that the Tiv are good at memorizing, teaching

and using these Indigenous forms to maintain security and stability in their different societies. The Tiv have two types of combat peacemaking strategies (warring and fighting), two forms of peacemaking contracts (*ayande* grass and intermarriage), a popular peacemaking gathering (*mtem u soron ayoosu*) and a few peacemaking ethnophilosophies, which influence the choice and use of any of the other three strategies.

The *mtem u soron ayoosu* is the most important option of the three. The Tiv are essentially not a violent people. Even though they are peace lovers they engaged in violent conflict or wars when their collective peoplehood and existence faced threatening moments when they migrated and after they settled in their present abode. Their regular peacemaking tool is the *mtem* (peace gathering). In fact, it is worth stating that before any of the other peacemaking approaches is adopted, the *mtem* is first convened to determine the decision and choice of a strategy to use. This practice of collective participation and decision making to sustain the safety and future of the Tiv community is a value that cannot be overlooked or undermined, it needs further exploration as an example of grassroots democracy; a democratic practice of the Tiv, by the Tiv and for the people. It lies in stark contrast to the dominant neoliberal peacebuilding paradigm which by highlight is the democracy of the system, for the system and by its institutions in the name of the people. This is why the Tiv abhor the imposition of neoliberal peacebuilding institutions on their ways of life because it promotes a system that favors deceit and sustains animosity in Tiv land.

Another way that illustrates the Tiv people's knowledge of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* is their ability to clearly articulate the essential procedural and process elements of this Indigenous strategy and its overarching goal; which is the restoration of relationship and community harmony. The data reveals that, in Tiv worldview, restoration means the full and active participation of the people in community processes; the expression of remorse and acceptance of responsibility for wrongdoing or aberrant act of conflict; the show of collaboration to heal the

broken relational, communal and natural order; the reconciliation of the aggrieved and aggressor and their eventual re-integration into the family or community; and the joint efforts to strengthen the community and protect it from deadly and disintegrative threats. Restorative peacemaking thus means mending and preventing disorderliness in relationships and in the community, the *mtem* gathering is therefore held to facilitate this goal.

Another aspect of the Tiv people's grounded knowledge in their Indigenous peacemaking wisdom is their ability to describe the role of the spiritual in enhancing a good *mtem* in terms of following its procedures and processes. To achieve a good *mtem*, the assembly is welcome by the elder or leaders who reminds them of their shared identity, obligation for truth telling and focus on mending the broken relationship. The gathering is then made to take an oath to Tiv deities and spiritual instruments such as the *swem* and *akombo*. This spiritual ritual is meant to prepare the conflict parties and the participating members of the *mtem* to be sincere, constructive, and restorative as they share their narratives or make their contributions. Their interactive presence and contributions must be respectful of every member of the *mtem* as well as the institutions and ideals of the community. Anyone who fails to respect the essence of these spiritual deities will suffer an adverse consequence such as sickness, swollen organs or death.

The second chapter finding elaborates the factors, which enabled the Tiv to remain significantly knowledgeable and expressive about their peacemaking knowledge. The first motivating factor is their repulsive feeling against the dominant colonial institutions, which they accuse of directing systematic chauvinism against them as a people. The Tiv are not at home with the fact that foreign forces are determining their daily activities to the detriment of their own ways. It thus became compelling for them to remain knowledgeable and expressive about their Indigenous capital.

The pride for Tiv identity is another motivation for the knowledge and expression of Tiv peacemaking ways. It is obvious that the Tiv like their ancestral identity and heritage, and do not want to lose them to the continued corrosive wind of colonialism. They demonstrate that to be truly Tiv necessarily implies to be knowledgeable of Tiv history, worldview, social processes and peacemaking practices. It means to be conversant with *igbenda yase i Tiv* (“our Tiv ways”) and to use them for existential purposes, or what I will describe as communal existentialism.

Another factor that necessitates the Tiv to have good grasp of their Indigenous wisdom and peacemaking values is the reality of conflict that lives with them; conflicts within the community and with outside groups. To keep their families and community safe and harmonious, the Tiv certainly need to know, teach and use their Indigenous instruments and wisdom of peacemaking, and these are the elements they will first consult when they have conflict encounters with external communities. Of course, it is not expectant of the Tiv to be grounded and reliant on external wisdom to approach their conflict challenges but to be firmly grounded in their original ways as well as be pedagogically expressive about them. The participants indicated that, colonial disruption and diminishing knowledge of Tiv original wisdom by large population of the community is also responsible for the persistence of some of the conflicts that the community is suffering from. This is why the respondents do not only frown at the conflicts by calling them self-destructive activities but very much chide the family heads, compound elders, and community leaders who are failing to teach Tiv values and practices to their members and are indulging in unwholesome behavior like their absence from their homes and families and excessive consumption of alcohol.

Also, the belief in the Tiv *tar soron* ideology (“fixing or mending the community”) expressed in the *mtem u soron ayoosu* makes it peremptory for the community to be deeply knowledgeable about their cultural assumptions and heritage and pass them to the next

generations. That ideology represents the underlying principle of the Tiv social organizations and processes, the core value for family upbringing and social discipline. It implies therefore that the members will always refer to the *tar soroon* ideology. The demand to refer to the ideology and the need to use it as a pedagogical content makes it inevitable for them to be deeply knowledgeable of their worldviews and describe it with ease, as they demonstrated in this chapter.

The third stand out point from this chapter is the image of the members of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* gathering not as ordinary peacemaking actors, but most importantly as stakeholders and backbone of the life, safety and survival of the Tiv community. Their roles as stakeholders in the *mtem* gathering are therefore indispensable in the life of the community. For example, as stakeholders, they do not only collaborate in facilitating Tiv peace processes but safeguarding the community. As stakeholders with the noble task to serve their community, they do not serve as paid workers, but as sympathetic living guardians of the community. Conscious of their role as stakeholders, every peacemaking participant serves as a custodian of the collective identity and values of the community, thus act towards retaining, recovering, protecting and passing on Tiv heritage to the present and future generations. As stakeholders, the elder or leader of the *mtem* usually capitalizes on the opportunities it offers for example, open participatory policy and use it to educate and demonstrate the value of the approach by efficiently facilitating it well and arriving at restorative justice, the expected outcome that all the members of the *mtem* hope for.

As the future of the Tiv society, the youth participants in the *mtem* process are also open to learning from the senior members of the gathering. Thus, they use the *mtem* and other occasions to learn from the elders. On this ground, the contributions they make in the *mtem* also reflect on them as stakeholders in the present and future life of their community. The interviewees questioned why youth participation in peace processes is not good. The Tiv *mtem* forum poses as

one good example that is essentially open to youth participation and informs them that they are also core stakeholders of the process and the community.

Also, the community members as a whole are co-owners of the peacemaking process and the emerging restorative justice. The *mtem* is community process that is held in open spaces and is open to those who attend to contribute. In pre-colonial times, the success of *mtem* was easily seen as the outcome of the collective efforts of the community members. With the introduction of colonial hierarchical leadership ideology, where the head has it all, the precolonial egalitarian understanding that every member of the Tiv community has a stake in the *mtem* peace process is gradually losing popularity to the rising colonial culture where the leader alone takes the blame or praise. Despite colonial disruption, there is a residue of this feeling that every member of the community has a stake in the safety and prosperity of Tiv land. This explains why no member of a Tiv community tire to walk distances and sit for hours or consistently make many sacrifices as required to ensure that peace and harmony is maintained or restored at times of conflict.

This positive attitude or behavior comes with both benefits and responsibilities. It merits the *mtem* with high regard and respect. It also challenges them to act with high integrity at all times. They must therefore not indulge in debaucheries like drunkenness, they must not try to manipulate justice. They should not be bought over by their sons and daughters who are partisan politicians and who have the propensity to do so. As the Tiv society is increasingly becoming complex due to encounters with other cultures, the peacemakers need to be dynamic in their views and activities while remaining focused on safeguarding and using their Indigenous resources which they are custodians of. Indigeneity does not suggest closure and exclusivity. It denotes openness and inclusivity without compromising the indigeneity and agency of the community. Tiv leaders may be open to others but not supple to trading the Tivness of the community to foreign options.

The fourth finding is on how the *mtem* is able to transform the conflict parties into agents of peace. The *mtem* enables the aggressor and aggrieved to actively participate in the interactive peacemaking gathering. It also reminds them of their social responsibility towards each other and the community. For instance, the opening remark by the leader of *mtem* usually calls on them and other participants to cherish their common Tiv root, communal relationships, and social responsibility, thus speak and act for the purported goal of restoring the broken and healing the wounded. Furthermore, the corrective penalty that is given to the aggressor and the peace rituals that they shared. For example, the handshake, embrace or the general reconciliation meal that is eaten by all also have the power capable of transforming the conflict parties into peace agents. I recall facilitating a Tiv peacemaking gathering between two family factions within the Mbagooso community. At the end of the process, the conflict parties celebrated their transformation with a large meal made with two big goats and corn flour food. Since that time, they have been collaborating as agents of peace and change in the Mbagooso community. Consequently, these outlined processes and procedures of the *mtem* are able to reform conflict parties from nursing further ill-feelings, showing antagonism and seeking revenge to becoming actors of peace between themselves and in the community.

The members of the *mtem* peacemaking approach are indeed stakeholders and the backbone of the process and the community. As stakeholders, they essentially preserve their peacemaking wisdom and practices, and determine their productive impact at times of conflict. As the community's backbone, they are uncompromising on the commitment to recover, reinforce and impart their Indigenous assumptions. With the two designations considered together, the *mtem* members will not want their commitment and focus to be taken for granted, with regards to empowering their Indigenous peacemaking practices.

The fifth finding is the breakdown of the steps of the *ntem* peacemaking process. The process is initiated immediately the leader senses or knows about a conflict. Tiv leaders normally know about conflicts either by noticing it themselves or when it is reported to them. Whichever way they get to know about the conflict, the leader immediately swings into action by expressing worry, concern and the need to address it. Worry and the need to address the conflict can be considered as the first response that a leader makes. This is remarkable because it indicates that traditionally Tiv leadership is not passive or apathetic to the plight of the members of the community, but actively responsive to their welfare.

The next line of action the leader takes is to gather more information about the conflict, usually by sending out an inquiry team, especially when the conflict is a macro one. After he gathers useful information, he calls the *ntem* community to address the matter. Some macro conflicts do not need sending out fact-finding teams, but direct dialogic intervention by the leader and any member of the community who happens to be around or is called upon for that purpose. If however the conflict is a micro one, the leader will call the parties and families together to look into the matter. Examples of micro conflict include disrespectful attitudes, squabbles between friends, pilfering, and minor misunderstanding between couples while the macro ones comprise cases of adultery, bad *tsav* or witchcraft, land claims, wife battering, intercommunal disputes, traditional death inquests and external combat attacks.

It is important to single out this step as the most influential one, namely the introductory remark by the leader. This is considerably remarkable because it determines the tone of conversation during the gathering, the interactive mood of the parties and members of the gathering and the restorative goal that is usually anticipated. Thus, the opening speech invites the members present to remember their common Tiv root, shared community and harmony, the value of truth telling, and the need to restore the good relationship and reconcile. This comely remark

usually melts all anger and ill feeling and tunes the aggrieved and aggressive parties into a constructive mood. Following this is taking of oath. Usually, the leader leads and the other members follow suit. As said in the earlier chapter, the taking of oath is intended to enhance truth telling and faithfulness to the values of the *mtem*. What follows after this step is the invitation of the aggrieved to present the grievances, from here the interactive contributions proceed, until the matter is resolved.

With regards to when the *mtem* convenes, the interviewees revealed that it can be held at anytime of the day as determined by the leader who because he is aware of the daily activities of the community members chooses the time that will be most commonly convenient. Usually, the members make efforts to comply. In most cases, it is held in the morning so that members would go to their other businesses after the sitting. As to how many times the *mtem* can be held the respondents said, as many times as it is needed to arrive at the restorative conclusion.

In terms of location, the *mtem* is mostly held at the leaders or elder's *Ate* ("the succour hut") or an alternative place of convenience such as under the shade of a tree. There are also instances where the aggrieved party or the perpetrator hosts the *mtem*. There is however no rule of thumb that insists one particular party, or the leader must host the *mtem*, the choice is left to the discretion of the leader, and it is often determined by what is convenient for all. The venue is usually in an open space, and it is not secretive. It is worth saying that the sitting arrangement is always circular, connoting shared unity, community, equality, and mutual respect.

The fundamental reason why the *mtem* is held is clear, to achieve *tar soron*, that is the peace that mends, fixes, and repairs the wounded relationship, humanity, persons, and community. It is used to restore the natural and social order disrupted by the aberrant attitudes, behavior, and outcomes of conflict, and to reintegrate those ousted from the community because of their offensive behavior.

Basically, the *mtem* is not about prosecuting the perpetrator and justifying the aggrieved. The *mtem* is most fundamentally about identifying the conflict and discussing it constructively alongside the issues and causes that are associated with it. During the *mtem*, the conflict is dissected such that the causes are identified, and the wounded feelings are recognized, the disrupted humanity of the community is regretted, the associated issues or implications are discussed, and the entire conflict scenario is assessed for the common good of the parties and the community. The justice that is delivered is not compromised. It is usually firm yet conceived in the light of the common good.

Despite this immense benefit from the *mtem*, the parties do not pay for the process because it is free for all to use. It is free because it represents the social responsibility that the members have for the community as stakeholders and the backbone of the welfare and harmony of the community. This non-pecuniary nature and ideal of the *mtem* is nurtured among the members right from birth. The reconciliation meal ritual that is celebrated by the parties and the community is also provided from the perpetrator's goodwill or with the combined efforts of the aggrieved. During my intervention experience in Mbagooso, I realized that the meal signified the parties' acknowledgement of the members' efforts in restoring peace between them and in the community. In the instances where the host elder or leader entertained the *mtem*, it is a mark of appreciation of the members for the massive support they showed to him to process the *mtem* to a good end, and a gesture of encouragement to the members to lead a life that brings prosperity to the whole community.

In sum, the *mtem* is a collective security gathering. It is both an immediate and interactive response to conflict within the Tiv community. It is initiated by the elder and can be facilitated by him or another elder where the leader cannot do so or chooses to be assisted. Traditionally, the *mtem* is essentially held in a circular sitting arrangement expressing equality and mutual

belonging and in an open space and with an inclusive spirit. The *mtem* is free, it is not monetized, and it is held as many times as need to transform the conflict. The key goal of the *mtem* is the restoration of the disrupted social order and the healing of the parties, the wounded feelings and impacted humanity. The community members are nurtured in this Indigenous worldview from birth and they grow up to be the stakeholders and backbone of this noble heritage.

Finally, it is very interesting to see how the world is forced by increasing debates to open to paradigm change and the integrity of mutual learning, which necessitate every cultural and epistemological context to adjust to new forms and learn from each other for a habitable world without losing their respective agencies to interact. Relegated and chauvinised indigenous societies like the Tiv are seen to be increasingly resurging with their rich cultural knowledge and sonorously demanding for paradigm change so that their wisdom will also introduce new forms, bring new life, learn new things and fill the existing gaps in the dominant Western paradigm as we are in search of a better humanity. The internalization of values as the trend of the modern world is a welcome idea, and it has offered the opportunity for indigenous societies such as the Tiv to also internationalize their values and traditions of peacemaking. The clear and articulate description of Tiv indigenous peacemaking methods, particularly the *mtem u soron ayoosu* (“peacemaking gathering”) demonstrates the community’s ability to command a positive paradigm change and internationalize a new strategy of conflict resolution. As an African community, the Tiv have answered the renditioned question about what Africa can offer to advance the global, modern civilization and international peacebuilding. The indigenous peacemaking mechanisms that the Tiv have explicated are new and different from the dominant Western problem solving workshop architected by Herbert Kelman (1996) and the Antagonism, Resonance, Invention and Action (ARIA) approach articulated by Rothman Jay and Chrobot-Mason Donna (2012). However, it will be a hard task to see the Tiv community’s disposition to

create the deciphered paradigm shift and the internationalization of new models. Since their approach typifies the collective security that the UN emphasizes as key in peacebuilding, the global body is thus bound to collaborate with the community to achieve the goal.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the participants not only revealed the Tiv community's rich Indigenous peacemaking traditions, they also provide in detail the elements that explain the nature, principles, actors, processes and procedures of the approaches, especially the *Mtem U Soron Ayoosu* (MUSA). This comprehensive description of the approaches presupposes that the Tiv people are well knowledgeable and tenacious about their ways of thinking and making peace. The key findings of the chapter sum it all, as they depict the approaches, most particularly the *mtem* as a collective security gathering done for free and open to all to participate. Nevertheless, it can still be asked: Do the Tiv have any fears about the future of these approaches? Do they perceive any challenges that stand in the way of using or empowering the approaches? What are the ways that the Tiv community can address the challenges? The following chapter appraises some of the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches.

Chapter 6: Appraisal of Tiv Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches

5.1 Introduction

When I asked the participants to appraise their Indigenous peacemaking approaches, they highlighted the feelings, fears, challenges, hopes, and benefits that they and their community have for *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*. In general, their assessment typifies the Tiv saying: *kwagh u a lu wou yo, ka u wou*; “what is your own, is your own.” This chapter therefore discusses (1) the Tiv people’s feelings for *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*, (2) their perceived challenges, fears and hopes regarding *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*, (3) their hopes and wishes for *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*, and (4) the benefits of mainstreaming *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* and Tiv cultural values.

5.2 Tiv People’s Feelings for *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*

The Tiv people and Indigenous leaders feel strongly for their cultural capital in general and they have the inclination to use *Mtem U Soron Ayoosu (MUSA)* in conflict scenarios. I asked the participants to explain some of the limitations of the *mtem u soron ayoosu* and the other non-violent peacemaking approaches. The interviewees argued that these peacemaking methods gave the Tiv society more focus, communality, morality, security and welfare, which the colonial invasions had disrupted and bequeathed on the people the legacies of deceit, animosity, division, adversarial participation, and conflict. They acknowledge that some of these peacemaking approaches have imperfections, which could be worked on by the community. For example, a *Tyo-or* participant said that, “the defective ones will not be passed on to the children but only the good ones.”

The study participants listed the following positive feelings that the Tiv have for their dominant Indigenous peacemaking approach, the *Mtem U Soron Ayoosu*. The feelings include love, acceptability, preference and tenacity.

Love and acceptability of the Mtem u Soron Ayoosu - A Muer Ter participant revealed that, *Tiv soo i gbenda ve u soron ayoosu sha ci u ka i sor ayoosu shi i hime iyongu* or noted a Muer Ter participant. He explained deeper:

When the Tiv, especially those from my community go to the conventional Western courts, their conflicts do not end because the hurt and bad feelings linger on forever. They feel better and reconcile easier when they use our own Indigenous approach where they are active participants in the deliberations.

He illustrated that some people see white but insist it is black, *mba yilan ve er ka a lawya* (“they are lawyers”). The lawyers who are strangers to a disputed piece of land are so arrogant and condescending in exhibiting their knowledge about the case that they ignore the disputing parties and their families. How can the justice that emerges from this context be fair? The Tiv love their way of making peace over the punitive court system. For example, a *Tyo-or* informant reported that the Tiv enjoy sitting together, talking interactively over their problems and resolving them amicably. This provides them with a lasting resolution instead of the skeptical and imposed judgement of the court. He advised the Tiv to keep the tradition of sitting together to address their own problems, foster the common welfare, and sustain their relationships.

The research participants also reported how the *mtem u bem* (“the sitting for peace”) is acceptable to the Tiv community. For example, a long serving *Ter* informant described the feeling of love and attitude of acceptance in this way:

Tiv people accept this method and are happy when it is used to address their problems. They constantly advocate for its use whenever they encounter major problems. They are excited when it addresses their problems and restores their wounded fraternity. Parties whose conflicts are resolved come back to show gratitude for the *mtem* (sitting). Many have come back unsolicited to express appreciation, and usually they bring with them various tokens of appreciation. This gesture gives me a sense of fulfilment and satisfaction that I have been able to serve my people at their point of need.

Despite the Tiv’s contentious encounters with external cultural forces, they have passionate feelings of acceptance for their Indigenous peacemaking ways, especially the *mtem*

process. The participants' stories point to this fact as demonstrated by another *Ter* participant who relayed during the interview that the people like the participatory justice of the *mtem*. In his words:

Tiv ka ior mba kpen sha ci u mlu man akaa ve a yiase a dedoo. Ve soo gbenda ve u soron ayoosu kpa kpishi. (“Tiv are people that will die for their identity and their good old (Indigenous) ways. They also like their way of resolving conflict so much”). Because of the transparency of *mtem*, and the participatory justice it offers, as well as the integrity that the traditional leader exhibit, when they facilitate it, the Tiv will accept and opt for Tiv ways of resolving matters, they will continue to express confidence, belief, and trust in the Indigenous ways.

It is the acceptability of Tiv ways that inspired the participants to reiteratively call for the revival of Tiv values and practices and the empowerment of the *mtem* process and remain nostalgic about them.

Preference and Tenacity for Mtem u Soron Ayoosu - The Tiv also have feelings that prefer it to other methods. The participants made this statement repeatedly. For example, a *Tyo-or* participant said that rural villagers are comfortable with the *mtem* process. This is what he said:

This is the way my rural community knows best, is accustomed to, and prefers to use when they have conflicts. *Ka igbinda i or Buter i yilan poloshi man shi zan koti la ga,* (“it is not the ways of the Whiteman of calling the police and going to court”).

A *Ter* participant revealed the following in his narrative:

Because of my people's preference for *mtem u soron ayoosu*, I have on several occasions, at the insistence of the conflict parties, gone to the courts and withdrawn cases so that they could be addressed by us the elders and leaders in my place.

Many of the research participants expressed their pride in the peacemaking *mtem* approach because it emphasises and focuses on sharing, caring, fraternity, restoration and harmony. One *Ter* participant narrated about himself and his people for instance, that the *mtem* is a transparent and inclusive peacemaking process:

My people prefer this approach because it guarantees collective listening, warrants a brotherly presence, and encourages interactive participation. *Mtem u soron ayoosu* provides transparency, which makes the people to accept our peace gathering and its conclusions and to choose it over other ways.

Also, the Tiv have strong feelings of tenacity for their ways of making peace. The participants' words and their clear illustrations combine with their community members' attitudes to depict that the Tiv have an unflinching inclination to use *mtem u soron ayoosu*. A *Tor-Kpande* respondent narrated this point very clearly in his story:

The people are hankering to use this peacemaking system. They do not look like they want to throw away this Indigenous method. It is important to revisit and revive our marginalized ways and values. When the Tiv encounter challenges, they return to their Indigenous approaches.

In corroboration, one of the elderly women participants expressed her nostalgia for many other Tiv cultural values lost to the incursive foreign neoliberal culture. She calls for the return to Tiv social ways and values to stabilize Tiv society. She stated this during our conversation:

Losing our Tiv ways worries and frightens me. Growing up as a little girl, I participated in many of our cultural things. I participate in the ones introduced by the coming of the Whiteman and his culture, but I cannot tell you I want to lose mine for his own. His ways are still alien to me and our Tiv things such as community, dances, food, festivals, unity and ways of solving our problems still fascinate me.

Another elderly woman participant tasked Tiv traditional leaders to maintain the Tiv peacemaking practices and eschew the acts that will compromise their integrity but rather facilitate the return of the community to Tiv traditional values with all seriousness. She discouraged them from accepting gratifications from politicians who derail them from their leadership roles, so as not to compromise their own integrity and the credibility of the *tar soron* tradition.

The words of one of the *Ter* participants capture this point rather well. He said that the Tiv must refrain from engaging in practices that strip them off their Tiv values:

Kwagh ne ka uma u Tiv. Ka gbenda wase. Kwagh ngu u yamen se u eren ieren ne ga; or “this is a Tiv practice. It is our way. Nothing will hinder us from enacting this practice. The Tiv must remain tenacious in using this peacemaking approach as the abrasive wave of Westernization continues to splash at them. Parents and elders must educate their wards in Tiv wisdom and practices. It is not my wish that the Tiv reject modernity or change, but I feel the Tiv should not engage in behavior

that will strip them off their Indigenous identity and respect and impede them from offering Tiv values to the world from their rich and unique worldview and wisdom.

Tiv elders must socialize the younger generation with Tiv cultural values and norms so that they become a way of being in the world and as such do not embrace shallow Western values.

5.3 Perceived Challenges Confronting *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*

Despite their strong passion for the use of non-violent Indigenous peacemaking approaches, especially *mtem u soron ayoosu*, the participants outlined what the Tiv people conceive to be very strong challenges and fears that test the existence and usage of *mtem u soron ayoosu*, as well as future hope that it will survive and thrive. They also revealed that the Tiv are not daunted by the challenges because they wish to recover, protect, impart, develop and mainstream their Indigenous cultural values and peacemaking strategies to stabilize and develop relationships among the Tiv.

The participants identified four fundamental challenges that are threatening the use and future of the *mtem* peacemaking approach. The participants reacted in various ways to these challenges. First, a male youth participant contended that these issues “are bastardizing Tiv cultural identity, values and practices.” Many other informants described some of the challenges as “imperial ways” that are disrupting Tiv cultural opportunities. Other participants observe that the challenges are impeding Tiv Indigenous institutions from fully exercising their peacemaking and leadership powers. The four challenges that they perceive as impacting *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* include Christianity, post-colonial politics, globalization, and the loss of the custodians of Tiv cultural values and practices.

Christianity - This is the first major challenge that the interviewees identified. The participants accuse Christianity of negatively impacting Tiv Indigenous peacemaking

mechanisms by distorting their true meaning. Even though almost all the participants identified with Christianity, they singled it out for negating Tiv Indigenous values such as good *akombo*, entertainment arts, medical practices, marriage practices and warring paraphernalia. It is noteworthy to observe that Christianity discourages Tiv culture and religion while extolling Western norms.

A *Ter* participant identified the distorting impacts of Christianity stating that it demonized Tiv traditions to have the Tiv abandon their traditional practices and embrace the new Christian values. He lamentably said this about Christianity:

Christianity has the stubborn propensity of linking every aspect of our tradition with evil thereby reducing the number of those who will pass the values on or those who will inherit them and other Tiv cultural practices. For example, my own children especially those who have their own families and are more steeped in Western rather than traditional norms do not want to adopt the Tiv way of life because the Whiteman's religious influences have incorrectly made them see Tiv values and practices as repressive and outdated.

It is in the same vein that one of the Tiv youth participants said sarcastically that "Tiv land is so Churchy!" Another youth participant illustrated this point in this way:

Christianity has bastardized old Tiv ways and instituted its own culture hinged on Christ. This new culture does not want any variant and alternative culture. Christianity has suddenly become the determining factor of what is good to be adopted and bad to be discarded in Tiv society today.

He explains further that the imposition of Christianity in local communities means that more Tiv youth are inclining towards adopting it thereby endangering their traditional cultural and religious heritage.

A few observations can be made at this point. Just as *mtem u soron ayoosu* does not support court justice, Christianity also discourages it. However, Christianity takes the power of processing conflicts away from Tiv elders or traditional leaders and replaces it with Church leaders who are trained in a Western educational system and ideology and are loyal to the state. The implication is that they will perpetuate the transmission of Western peacemaking values and

ideas that are alien to Tiv society. It is also interesting to notice that even though all of the respondents are Christian converts, they did not hold back from criticizing Christianity for disrupting Tiv's Indigenous powers. One of the *Ter* participants noted that people have turned to Christian clerics and pastors to solve their problems rather than consulting with the elders:

Let me say it clearly that even though I am a Christian, Christianity sometimes acts for us and other times against our ways. Just like our ways don't support court judgement, so does Christianity, however, it does not allow us to practice our ways either but imposes its on ideals as the alternatives. For example, it has oriented our people towards going to see the Rev. Fathers Pentecostal pastors with their problems and not us, their elders or traditional leaders. Christianity has also influenced them from consulting our Tiv spiritual wisdom, but its own spiritual resources. So, you can see how it takes us away from our things and pushes us into its own things.

In essence the *Ter* participant is saying that Christianity and Christian leaders in Tiv land have marginalized Tiv traditional practices, he is therefore worried about the overall benefits of this development in correlation to the Indigenous history, identity, culture and future of the Tiv community. Their feelings and position indeed resonate with the Freirean advice that community members should not be carried away by the "false generosity" of the alien and marginalizing system which also fails to highlight and address its destructive impacts on the people (Freire, 2000, p. 44). In line with Freire's advice, Tiv leaders are bold to criticize Christianity for stripping the Tiv society off its traditional values and powers while entrenching its own systems and processes within the grassroots.

Post-colonial Political Order –It is described by all of the participants as alien, dominant and offensive as a force working against the Tiv's Indigenous identity, social systems, and values. For example, another youth participant revealed his position on this by stating that:

The post-colonial political order with its police and court justice system has subverted the Tiv's gerontocratic leadership style and its collective peacemaking system whereby every member of the community is a stakeholder. This alien system is grounded in monetary values, and it places punishment over the restoration of the conflict parties into good relationship and community.

He lamented against this experience in his story suggesting that local restorative practices are free and are resolved faster than Western court practices. The youth participant said:

Every time you take a case before the Whiteman's court, what you expect is punishment, which is police detention, imprisonment or fines. If you are financially strong to keep the case going, the court proceedings or appearance never end. You are likely to become more enemies than not with your conflict party at the end of it. But our ways orientate us towards addressing the issue and feelings and keeping the fraternity and relationship. We don't pay our leaders and we celebrate with a meal when the case is resolved by our traditional leaders or elders. I personally prefer our ways that repair to punish as its main goal.

Generally, the respondents regretted the replacement of the inclusive Tiv Indigenous peacemaking practice with exclusionary bureaucratic systems of the post-colonial government. Critical peacebuilding scholars accuse the liberal peacebuilding paradigm which is the embodiment of the bureaucratic system of being too punitive, mechanical, systemic, monetary, and violent in nature, as well as complicit in Africa's conflicts and unsuitable for building peace in the region (see Issifu & Asante, 2016; Mac Ginty, 2010).

A *Tyo-or* agreed in his story that young Tiv people are using the tools of the master to destroy their own heritage and identity:

With the aid of the external foreign systems, *mbayev asev* ("our children") who have inadequate life skills, leadership experiences and wisdom in Tiv ways are elected leaders and they use their political powers to flout Tiv Indigenous values and institutions. They also show gross disrespect to their own people, their elders and traditional leaders.

For example, another male youth participant described how Tiv children in Western systems are disrespectful to their own Tiv ways. He bared his mind saying:

These privileged political leaders use post-colonial political powers to also impose "traditional" leaders who are loyal to the postcolonial state on Tiv communities. This violent action is improper and disrespectful, and it clearly demonstrates their ignorance and disrespect to Tiv values, wisdom, culture, history and practice. This is quite a big challenge to address. I don't know how Tiv elders and leaders will go about confronting this challenge perhaps, the new approach to revive Tiv ways may help in some way.

Consequently, the infiltration of Tiv institutions with corrupt and manipulative behavior makes these post-colonial political leaders complicit in the violent conflicts that their alien state institutions are exerting on Indigenous societies such as the Tiv.

The political order employs its resources to further entrench itself by dislodging Tiv traditional institutions. Some of the participants observed that elected functionaries of government create, introduce and promote policies and systems that frustrate the Tiv institutions, and the Tiv's demand to practice their own Indigenous peacemaking processes. A *Muer Ter* informant threw more light on this point by indicating that the modern often clashes with the traditional. He noted that:

In many instances, the police prevented us from taking charge to address some conflicts or implement the corrective and restorative penalty of *mtem u soron ayoosu* such as the estrangement of the guilty party to their maternal kinsmen.

The participants described the dominant political order as *kakwagh u dedoo hen avese Tiv ga* (“it is not a good thing to us Tiv people”). For example, a youth participant shared his feelings in the following way:

This new order “has taken our youths from engaging in profitable agriculture and other self- investments to becoming political thugs and beggars to the politicians. You see them waiting to be engaged or given charities by politicians or to be used for violence during elections. A Tiv youth was not a waiter or a beggar on anybody, but an active worker in their traditional works. Education has taken them from this self-investment to begging.

In other words, the participants are saying that the principles of the dominant political order are violating Tiv ways and creating animosity, idleness and dependency within Tiv society. An elderly female respondent also accused the dominant political order of using a divide and rule strategy to foment divisive structures and introduce division among the Tiv such that they fight each other over elections and political offices. She sadly asserted that:

Mlu u hegen a va se a mpav man mgbe jime, “our contemporary society has brought us division and retrogression”. Family members are more apart now than before

because of money, power, modern things and practices. We look up to our leaders for the way out.

It is indeed interesting to know of the painful lamentation of the Tiv against the prevailing political system, which they accuse of deliberately fanning conflicts within the Tiv community. This outcry contradicts the belief that colonialized communities prefer to lose their ways for the new colonial ones. Another challenging component of the post-colonial order is its constant contraction and opposition of Tiv ways of doing things. In this regard, a *Tor* participant shared with me one of his difficult experiences in dealing with a violation of Tiv traditional marriage customs. In his story he said:

The police condemned some couples in his community who decided to elope, because this practice is originally acceptable in Tiv society. The police decided to criminalize them for practicing their custom on the grounds of abduction, where the activity was mutually carried out by the couple. By treating our people and ways like this, one will say the postcolonial order disrupted one of Tiv's marriage customs inhibiting the development of Tiv customs and persecuting the people for practicing them.

A *Tor* participant identified another challenge posed by the prevailing political order. He narrated that:

The intruding culture has made us refuse to see our Indigenous ways and consider our collective vision as everyone's concerns. We destructively see ourselves as different people and enemies to each other as enabled by the divisive political practices that we have inherited. Politics has ruined us and our old good initiatives. This explains why our paramount ruler [the *Tor Tiv*] has directed us the traditional rulers not to politicize our offices.

With the views elaborated above, I am left wondering if Tiv practices and values are being misinterpreted and or rightly criminalized by the alien and superimposed political and legal system.

Globalization-It has also impacted negatively on the Tiv. With its emphasis on Western values such as individual freedom and human rights, globalization is suppressing and eroding Tiv practices and pedagogies of community rights and individual duties towards community,

customary peace processes and respect for nature. Speaking on this point, a youth participant pointed out that globalization has hurt the Tiv culturally and economically. He asserted that:

Another thing we confront today is called globalization. It has destroyed our (Tiv) culture and stood in the way of our cultural progress with its foreign stuff. We are continuously socialized with this value in schools. As a result, Tiv children have become more familiar with foreign ideas and ways of doing things and disrespectful to their traditional institutions and snobbish of Tiv cultural values. They wrongly describe Tiv cultural values as archaic and outmoded. Instead of growing in appreciation of our communal rights, they are learning more about individual rights.

Some of the elderly men observed that globally there is so much population mixing these days given the openness of the world to cross-border movement. For example, one of the elderly men made the following observation:

The increased influx of different people and cultures into Tiv land is quite noticeable. It has been different since our great grandfathers first encountered the Whiteman a very long time ago (in the late 19th century). This population mixture has arrived with the pollution and distortion of our Tiv culture so that resolving local conflicts in our Tiv values and practices has become complex and challenging. This influx has impacted on our youths who now indiscriminately borrowed ideas and practices excessively from the outside world thereby furthering the destruction and marginalization of their own Indigenous values.

In one of the conversations, a *Muer Ter* informant explained that the perpetual encroachment of the “Whiteman’s things” (*akaa a or Batur*) into Tiv local affairs is dangerous to their worldviews. With deep fear he said the White man’s things are:

Impeding the Tiv from speaking and having one voice on matters of national concern in the country. Tiv need to return to their worldviews which encourage unity and one voice thus be able to confront the challenge of globalization and the other experiences that are facing them such as the lack of security and development. Recourse to our worldviews will re-empower our Tiv identity, tar soron philosophy and common unity. With these in our hands, we will speak as a people with a clear self-expressed idea and vision, rather than continued reliance on what we are told to do and follow by the sustained colonial political institutions, as a people.

Globalization is understood either as building the local into a global element, adopting the global into the local context or giving autonomy to the local culture (Roudometof, 2016). As implied in the above narratives, globalization is harmful to the Tiv. It is paving more ways for

Tiv values to be marginalized by the commanding ideologies of the West that are continually impacting them. Concerned also by these experiences, a *Ter* participant pointed out that Tiv leaders are using local practices to humanize the people. He argued that:

Tiv leaders have acknowledged the challenging experiences. They are also self-motivated to search for emancipatory responses such as control of the influx of foreign cultural values as well as the recovery, and the mainstreaming of Tiv practices and peacemaking forms.

Globalization has had a detrimental impact on the Tiv way of being and doing as elders strive to reclaim Tiv traditional wisdom and practices. But with its continued growing adverse impact as they cry out, one is left to wonder if they will efficiently curtail it as they promise, hope and resolve to do with the mainstreaming strategy.

The Loss of Custodians of Tiv Indigenous Values – is another challenge identified by the participants. One of the elderly women participants decried the loss of elderly men and women who are versed in Tiv Indigenous wisdom, values and practices, and how they are unable to pass Tiv Indigenous knowledge onto the younger generation. According to him,” the elders who can pass Tiv wisdom onto their grandchildren have drastically reduced in number due to the influences of Christianity on Tiv land”. A *Ter* participant revealed the following in his story:

Even if you talk of reviving the traditional ways, you will hardly get the kind of people who will do it in this modern era. The youth are strongly inclined to adopt Western knowledge and religion. There is more pressure on them to learn about these foreign ways and more opportunities for this purpose than it is done for learning Tiv Indigenous wisdom and practices.

A youth participant attributed the loss of the custodians of Tiv wisdom to death. He noted that when the elders pass on, their wisdom becomes lost to the younger generations. He is unhappy with the fact that:

Tiv elderly men and women who were not able to train and educate the younger generations in Tiv ways have regrettably died with this knowledge and taken it to their graves without imparting much to younger generations.

In the view of an elderly woman participant, the loss of Tiv wisdom is occasioned by the desire to become urbanized by moving to big cities. In her arguments she bemoans the development where the young Tiv generation are abandoning their identity for the popular cultural identity and forms of the Global North which are common in the cities where they are rushing to. In her own words:

Everyone wants to live in the city that is designed after the Whiteman's style, and they have no time to learn, practice, and hand on their ancestral heritage to their children and grandchildren. We must know that the loss of the custodians connotes the loss of Tiv Indigenous identity, values, religion and conflict resolution mechanisms, medicinal practices, and responsible parenting.

Tiv scholars also express the significance of this point. For example, Ihugh (2014), a Tiv female scholar identifies this factor as one of the obstacles that the Tiv women are encountering in carrying out their traditional roles in the health and herbal medicine women. In other words, due to urbanization, Tiv medicine women are gradually disappearing.

To assuage the impacts of challenges listed above, a *Tyo-or* participant made this contribution in his narrative:

The strong interest of some Tiv youths and women in Tiv traditional ways represents indeed a ray of hope which must be sustained. Their inclination towards Tiv things can be used as a means to revive Tiv customs, by the Tiv Traditional Council.

The loss of the custodians and teachers of Tiv Indigenous powers and practices can cause a little setback to the effort being made to mainstream Tiv peacemaking practices with peacemaking forms.

5.4 Fears and Worries About the Future of *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*

The challenges elaborated above have created situations that make the Tiv community afraid and worried about the future of their Indigenous epistemological forms in general and peacemaking practices in particular. The participants indicated to me that the Tiv are afraid of

persisting situations such as the sweeping forces of change, the strong presence of Christian apologists, the increased entrenchment of post-colonial institutions, the rising wave of moral decadence and the diminishing commitment of the current generations to Tiv Indigenous identity and peacemaking practices.

Forces of Change - The words of this *Ter* participant genuinely capture the essence of his concern. He articulated it in the following narrative:

When I sit and wonder about the fate of our traditional values in this world of sweeping changes, I fear that in the future these values will disappear. But when I look around and see the inclination of some of our youths to learn and inherit Tiv Indigenous values and practices, I am relieved with the hope that the future may not be that bad.

In other words, the traditional leader fears and worries that the forces of change like globalization and the Christian religion which are sweeping across Tiv society will extinguish Tiv values someday, but he respects and honors some of the Tiv youth who still want to keep their Tiv identity.

Christian Apologists - A *Ter* participant is afraid of the serious level at which the Tiv are Christianizing because it will hamstring efforts to mainstream the use of many Tiv values and practices such as the peacemaking ancillaries such as, the use of *Swem*, *akombo a kperan*, *igbe* and *ikyoor*. A youth informant also expressed his fear when he stated that:

Many Tiv people have become Christian apologetics. Many of them are leaders and members of different Church societies such as the Knights of Saint Mulumba, Catholic Women Organization and Christian Men's Fellowship. A lot of others are Church pastors and investors in Church enterprises. What do we expect of these Tiv sons and daughters with regards to advancing Tiv ways and those of the Western Christian faith? With the status of missionaries and defenders of the faith more than their traditional values, they will stand for the Christian values, as we are always hearing them say and do. They reject Tiv things and condemn them because the Bible has said so.

Some of the participants pointed out to me that the present paramount ruler, the *Tor Tiv* is a Pentecostal Christian and well- trained in Western science and ideology. Thus, they fear he

might be influenced by this external neoliberal background to reject or compromise on the cry for the recovery and mainstreaming of Tiv cultural values and peacemaking practices, even though he has given his blessing to this project.

The perpetuation of Post-Colonial Institutions - Some participants expressed clear discomfort with the continued and forceful entrenchment of colonial legacies in Tiv land, and in Nigeria in general. As it is observed above, some of the colonial influences disrupting the Tiv Indigenous society are the state system, political institutions and Western education. Even more worrisome for the interviewees is the further subjugation of Tiv traditional institutions by their own children and grandchildren who hold leadership in the post-colonial institutions. For example, a middle-aged woman participant bemoaned the unfavourable development saying:

Some of our children in government and politics have not helped us the Tiv community. They are using these Whiteman's institutions to further divide us and destroy our ways. They have introduced the cultures of animosity, division, killings and fear in the land. They are encouraging the learning of foreign things over our Tiv things. As for me, I am afraid how these trend and outcomes can be changed. How can Tiv ways return to their noble status again?

This position brings the community's judgement upon those Tiv children for participating in the exogenously influenced neoliberal tyranny that solely benefits the state and Global North colonizers (see Cooke & Kothari, 2001). According to this *Ter* participant, the Tiv are extremely troubled by the consistent insertion of foreign systems and institutions into Tiv's cultural world. He revealed that:

The Tiv are not only worried about the continued entrenchment of these colonial legacies but also that there are little or insignificant efforts being made to address the problem, especially to Indigenize Tiv culture. With this development, I can say there is a bleak future for the Tiv and their Indigenous heritage.

Tiv traditional institutions are bypassed by state institutions whose rules, norms and values are alien to the Tiv's cultural traditions.

Moral Decadence - The participants equally highlighted their fears regarding moral decadence in Tiv society and it pertains most specially to telling lies. Truth telling, is a sterling value in the Tiv *tar soron* ideology. With the entrenchment of *a kaa a or Batur a bo*, that is “decadent things of the West.”, the life and power of this value are threatened. A *Ter* participant did not fail to also ascribe the blame on the establishment or the deep-rootedness of the Western values in the land, a historical event that has occasioned the proliferation of deceit, disrepute and materialism as well as the spread of deadly information in Tiv land. This *Ter* participant made the following assertion in his story:

I am troubled seeing how some traditional leaders are joining in this unfortunate trend. Yes, they have education in this foreign experience but should not allow it to influence them in these questionable ways. Rather than oppose these negative influences with vehemence, they have tolerated, overlooked or participated in perpetuating them to the detriment of their own worldviews.

An embittered *MuerTer* revealed in his story his deeply wounded heart because of the disappearance of Tiv culture and how it is hijacked by what he described as the “unfriendly Western culture”. He revealed that:

My heart is bleeding not only because the Tiv norms are disappearing. No, it is not for this reason, but what has come with it. What has confronted us, and I fear most is that there is no more unity among the Tiv people. The Whiteman’s politics is our problem. In those days, the Tiv man was a Tiv man, and when they hear the expression; *Ayatutu ka u no?* (who are those that eat while it is still very hot from the fire?), they will all sonorously respond *ka se!* (we are the ones!), signifying unity and collaboration. But today, when they hear the exclamation, they answer *ka ve!* (It is them!). This is our biggest problem and it is occasioned by the Whiteman’s culture and politics that he brought and imposed on us. I worry and wonder if this destabilizing problem will ever be over someday, and what can be done to salvage the situation.

Moral decadence to the Tiv transcends ethical behavior of Tiv individuals because it encompasses the suitability of the current political structure, educational system, foreign values, and the impacts of these elements on the Tiv people. These elements are alien and disrupt the unity, culture, values and social responsibility of the Tiv making them morally questionable.

Diminishing Commitment to Impart Tiv Indigenous Resources - Another worry the participants expressed to me was their fear for the diminishing commitment of the elders and parents to impart Tiv Indigenous resources to the younger generations due to the death and the urbanization of Tiv culture custodians, as clearly demonstrated in the above section. Sharing his views on this fear, one of the *Ter* informants singled out the youths and children whom he described as less interested in learning or inheriting Tiv practices from their parents and elders. "My children are more into Christian things and the Whiteman's wisdom". One of the *Muer Ter* stated thus: "I have a great fear for the future of Tiv traditions, I wonder when this genocidal trend will end given that the destabilizing alien forces are so entrenched in our society".

5.5 Hopes and Wishes for *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu*

The Tiv are undaunted by the challenges and fears associated with both the practice and future of their Indigenous knowledge system. The participants exhibited a firm hope that their Indigenous values and peacemaking practices, especially the *mtem u soron ayoosu* will survive and flourish in the future. In expressing this optimism, a middle-aged woman participant spoke generally about Tiv identity, cultural values, and social practices. She narrated that:

If the Tiv do not return to their cherished cultural values and practices, I am afraid our society will perish in the long run. We should stop pursuing the strange values that are alien to us. We should hold firmly to our own and the truth and peace they bear. We must use the disposition for Tiv ways that most of us have, that is, the nostalgia, desire and demand for our ways, the efforts we are making to recover and empower them, the events we are holding to reignite our rich cultural identity and values and the plans to mobilize our people for this need. As mothers, we women have the major role to play in this regard.

This statement informs her optimism for preventing the non-extinction as well as the preservation and revitalization of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking systems and *mtem u soron ayoosu*. Their hopes are premised on a few factors namely the efforts to impart Tiv cultural ways to

children and others, the Tiv nostalgia for their Indigenous wisdom and peacemaking practices and the launch of the Committee for Reforms and Re-empowerment of Tiv practices and forms.

Domestic Training in Imparting Tiv Cultural Ways - One of the *Tyo-or* relayed during a conversation about how he is doing it in his community. In his response he said:

In my chieftom, I have embarked on mobilization campaign. I aim at awakening parents and elders to the prospect of reviving the teaching of Tiv wisdom and practices and teaching their children and wards. Even though I am a Christian, I remain incurably apologetic of my Tiv values. It is good to teach them the positive ones, that is, our ways, but not to lead them to the evil ones that will make them lose the Kingdom of God.”

A *Ter* participant prayed that parents should return to their traditional roles as custodians of Tiv values and teachers in the family. They should also make themselves available to socialize their children with Tiv values instead of only watching TV in the homes.

Nostalgia and Desire for Tiv Values - According to one of the youth leaders, there is a ray of hope as young Tiv are expressing the desire and making the struggle to reclaim their cultural values. He indicated the following in his story:

Despite the increased inclination of young people to Western values as well as their diminishing interest in keeping and practicing Tiv beliefs, a good number of Tiv youth have a growing desire to immerse themselves in their ancestral values.

His point corroborates with the examples of many youths who are studying and increasingly writing on various components of Tiv identity and cultural values (see Agber, Udu, Fiase, & Aniho, 2015; Ihugh, 2014; Shija, 2018).

This *Ter* participant indicates another ray of hope for the future of Tiv values. He said:

As participants, many young parents are wishing and asking for ways of how they can revitalize Tiv cultural practices in their homes. They are asking for the return of the entertaining *kwagh hir* (“puppet-theater”), *a mar ase a Tiv* (“our Tiv dances”) and other social events that make our people feel the Tiv in them.

It is sanguine to see that both the young and old Tiv generations still have a catalytic yearning for their cultural identities, a disposition that can be said to be indestructible despite Tiv encounters with the abrasive forces of globalization.

Mobilization Committee and Official Caution - The future of Tiv Indigenous values and peacemaking practices are also assured because of the official declarations made by the current Tiv paramount chief, the *Tor Tiv*, His Royal Highness, James Ayatse. Each one of the participants revealed that they are aware of and support the mobilization committee that the *Tor Tiv* has inaugurated to work for the revival, protection, promotion and empowerment of Tiv identity and cultural practices. This is a grand initiative to salvage the deplorable situation of the loss of their 'Tiv-ness.' In fact, during my fieldwork, I was included in one of the committee meetings. The committee was delighted with my work and I was honored with its request of being incorporated into the project upon the completion of my studies.

A *Muer Ter* informant cautioned that the *Tor Tiv* has released a statement calling on Tiv traditional leaders to keep away from partisan politics. He noted that it was the responsibility of the leaders to repair the fabric of the society, and provided the following reasons:

This is because, we as traditional leaders are symbols of Tiv unity. This is because as traditional leaders we are the custodians and teachers of Tiv cultural heritage. The future of our land is in our hands and we cannot afford to destroy it by being partisan in all affairs. We should be for all our people, not for some and against the others. We have to repair disunity and restore unity. These are our roles as traditional leaders.

In other words, the *Muer Ter* participant is implying that the caution by the *Tor Tiv* is meant to foster oneness, collaboration, social responsibility, moral rectitude and social discipline among the Tiv people. The elders and traditional leaders are key factors in this goal. It also implies that their deep participation in the foreign political system will be detrimental to their Indigenous values and social powers. Their full engagement in post-colonial institutions furthered the entrenchment of foreign forms and the loss of Tiv ways. The *Tor*

Tiv's caution resonates with Chandler's (2015) and Richmond and Mitchell's (2011) description of Indigenous people's resilience, resistance and agency in non-Western societies. The scholars indicate that, people from these communities still have and express strong anti-colonialization, decolonization, and Indigenization consciousnesses.

Despite the presence and impact of Christianity that work against *Tiv* Indigenous values and peacemaking approaches, all hope is not lost. For example, a *Muer Ter* respondent stated, *or Batur u a va na se kwagh u Aondo u Kristu kpa ngu eren akaa ana a gba-aondo shi ngu eren sha kwaghfan na. Se kpa se er kwagh u Aondo u he ne kpa se lu a aeren ase man kwaghfan wase u Tiv*. That is, "the Whiteman who came and gave us Christianity is still practicing it and keeping his own cultural knowledge and forms. So, it is good for us the *Tiv* to also keep our practices and knowledge as we practice this new religion." The *Muer Ter* indicated that he is a member of the Reformed Church, *Nongo U Kristu U Sha Tar* (NKST) and when the Whiteman taught the new religion, he made the *Tiv* throw away all of their culture. He further explained that it is time to return to our culture so that, "it will not disappear." He also assured me that when the reform committee meets, it will be mindful of this important point. The *Tiv* are indeed ready to recover and revitalize their cultural pride.

5.6 **Mainstreaming *Mtem u Soron Ayoosu* and *Tiv* Cultural Values: Benefits**

I observed that the participants were excited as they discussed the key benefits of *mtem u soron ayoosu* and as they surmised when this peacemaking approach and other *Tiv* cultural values will be institutionalized as the *Tiv* people are now demanding from Benue State government. They highlighted benefits that include restorative justice and stability, progress, cultural identity, mutual respect, social order and moral rectitude.

Restorative Peace - The statement by this *Ter* participant captures the benefit of restorative peace for the community. He asserted that *tar Tiv u hegen ne, u vihi. U tar ne shi u*

doo man shi u lu a bem yo, sar se hide sha igbenda yase i soron tar man ayoosu, meaning, “the Tiv society of today is bad, for it to become good and have peace, we must return to our ways of transforming the society and making peace.” His statement represents the views that the participants individually shared with me.

Another *Ter* participant explained to me that for the Tiv, peace is the combination of respect and truth, the restoration of relationship and reintegration into the community, and it empowers the members to trust, collaborate and support each other for the welfare and progress of the community. I also learned from the participants that a Tiv person is generally ashamed of conflict and disrespect. A *Tyo-or* participant made the following assertion during his interview:

The Tiv man doesn't like public shame such as conflict and once shown respect in the peacemaking process, whether as the guilty or the innocent party in the conflict, he embraces remorse, apology and reconciliation without difficulty. This is why conflict occurs, both the aggressor and aggrieved feel ashamed and show their readiness to address it and regain peace and their personhood and pride as well as one another.

What is most critical for the conflict parties is the peace that restores their inner serenity, personhood and the harmony of the community and the peacemaking assembly and their conflict parties all long for the transformative outcome. The participants count restorative peace as one of the fundamental advantages that will emanate from their Indigenous peacemaking approaches and other cultural values, especially when they are eventually mainstreamed within local communities.

Mzehemen – The participants indicated that the use and empowerment of Tiv practices and values will bring *mzehemen* to their land. The informants described *mzehemen* as “progress and growth,” and they identified some of the Indigenous practices that should be revitalized.

In this light, a *Tor* participant identified *iwyyua* (“blacksmithing”) as a remarkable Tiv technological practice that thrived before the arrival of colonialism and which must be revived to re-introduce progress in the community. He narrated the following from historical memory:

The Tiv used *iwyyua* and its sites as instruments of sharing their Indigenous knowledge, building their technological sector, improving their economic activities, executing their wars, and advancing their hunting expeditions. The loss of this progress opportunity to some historical events in the life of the Tiv is baneful and it is very important to recover it.

Agber et al. (2015) also noted that the Tiv *iwyyua* and *ate-iwyyua* (“blacksmithing hut”) facilitated the growth and progress of Tiv land in the areas of commercial engagements and religious beliefs that was a positive experience that the surrounding Tiv neighbours acknowledge. The mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking approaches and values, therefore, implies the return of the progressive *iwyyua* that will usher in growth in crafts, trade, wealth and spirituality to the people.

A *Tyo-or* participant identified *mzehemen* in respect to the revival of *kwagh hir* arts and performance. *Kwagh hir* is the combination of both art works and theatrical performance, which the Tiv people nurtured with the aid of spiritual and physical powers. They have always used *kwagh hir* to entertain and purify the land. According to Hagher (2013), *kwagh hir* is used in Tiv land as a tool for social, educational, moral and spiritual instructions and purification. The *Tyo-or* informant did not point out in detail, the full social functions of *kwagh hir*, but he acknowledged that the mainstreaming of Tiv cultural practices and values will bring back *kwagh hir* which will also facilitate the cleansing of Tiv land from the plaguing spiritual conflicts of bad and destructive *tsav* which is a bane to the peace, progress and growth of the different Tiv communities. He added that the entertainment aspect of *kwagh hir* improves the people’s resiliency. He expounded on this viewpoint in the following manner:

Kwagghir ka a seer kwagh fan, ishima i veren man shi ishima itaver. That is kwaghir (the puppeteering entertainment) increases wisdom, attention and

endurance. If we revive our *kwaghir* performances and festivals, we will record remarkable progress in wisdom, craft, and development. *Kwaghir* is both an art and a trade.

The participants also indicated that the *Kwaghir* will also improve the stability of marriage and family institutions. A *Ter* participant proclaimed that:

The Tiv viewed marriage and family as wealth and progress because they are very essential for the perpetuity of Tiv society. For this reason, marriages are long-term, divorce was rare, and families grew stronger. This commendable development was made possible by the emphasis the Tiv placed on the institution of marriage and how it was contracted.

A *Ter* participant indicated that Tiv people contracted marriage in different ways. For example, he revealed that young people often eloped with the consent of the bride. He went on to identify the following ways that marriage was contracted:

It was contracted with the *kungwa* factor (the appealing face). The appealing face and looks of a man and the beauty of a woman attracted the two and led them into a genuine marriage union. With *yam she*, couples also entered marriage. In this way, two families will each offer their daughters to the other for their respective sons to marry, nevertheless, it depended on the consent of the prospective brides. There was also marriage by “eloping” or *gba toho a kwase*. In this case, the girl would secretly run away with a young man and begin a married life together, after which her parents would be informed, and the marriage requirements performed. There was also marriage by “capture” or *kor kwase* whereby the bride and the groom agreed and arranged for the bride to be captured by the man, his friends or relations so that she was taken to his home for marriage. The young woman’s family was informed later and the family then celebrated the formal marriage enactment.

Family problems are occasioned by some factors. In buttressing this point, a *Ter* informant blamed the problems of marriage and family in Tiv community on the objectification and monetization of the two institutions. He elaborated on this viewpoint as follows:

The Euro-Christian colonial culture wrongly framed these modes of marriage as bad (savage) practices and thwarted them by introducing the payment of money as marriage dowry. Consequently, the Tiv people began to demand large monetary marriage dowries giving the impression that the bride is a monetary object that the parents are selling off in marriage.

This chauvinistic practice by the colonial culture and the creation of marriage monetary payments helped to accrue revenue for the colonial administrators (see Torkula, 2009). By implication therefore, the monetization of marriage has held back Tiv society with various forms of family conflicts that are beleaguering the Tiv to this very day.

This same *Ter* participant went on to express the hope that with the revival of Tiv cultural mores and norms, and peacemaking strategies, the return to these non-monetized marriage ways will be restored so that marriages and families will become more stable and unbreakable. In fact, it is worth stating that a recent report from the Tiv Area Traditional Council (TATC) has begun the revival of Tiv traditional values and practices. It has announced a ban on alien marriage celebrations and regulated non-monetized marriage so that the monetary dowry and expenses should not exceed the amount of N100.000 (Abah, 2018). This *Ter* participant noted further that the stability of marriage and family also means *mze hemen*. He reported to me in detail that:

Peace in the family and between the man and the woman are signs of progress. This is what I strive to give to my people. With calm in marriage and family, the members will work together for a lot of good things for themselves and for others. For the Tiv, family peace is a sign of greater things to come.

There will also be *mze hemen* or growth and progress in the development of Tiv Indigenous epistemological contents and pedagogies. According to a *Ter* participant the Tiv culture is enriched by stories, songs, myths, crafts, and festival. Furthermore, he said:

Tiv Indigenous epistemologies are represented in our language and the metaphors, riddles, jokes, songs, taboos, rituals, stories, myths, proverbs, festivals and crafts that we have. Our wisdom is also demonstrated in our parental care and guardianship. Our social activities like *imongo teman* (“conversational gathering”) and *kwagh alom u oron* (“storytelling and riddles gathering”), *mtem u mba-kware* (“age group meeting”), *kwagh hir* (“moral and entertainment theatre”), *ihyumbe* (“cooperative farming”), and occupational training and trades like farming and *iwyuavaren* (“blacksmithing”) are other sources of Tiv knowledge on peace and social responsibility. To improve in any or all these aspects is also a sign of progress to the Tiv society. It is advancement in the teaching and learning of Tiv wisdom.

The Tiv culture is vibrant and alive as the past informs the present as the people connect with each other and with their culture through the arts and local cultural assets.

Mzough u Tiv (Unity of Tiv People) - The revival and mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous cultural values and practices will benefit the Tiv society with unity of peoplehood and purpose. Tiv unity was lost with the creation of Benue state in the 1970s. A *Tor* participant reported that some Tiv people support local customs while others are opposed to it as they cling to the mores of Western pop culture. He elaborated on this issue as follows:

The Tiv people are seriously divided. Regrettably, they are also fighting and killing each other, largely because of the creation of Tivland into a post-colonial administrative state. We have the serious need to restore our unity and fix our land from the political crises that keep happening in it. For me, I strongly have hope in the return to what made us to appreciate each other, our Tiv feelings and ways. I think that if we return to our Tiv ways, we shall also return to the unity we once enjoyed before the post-colonial state was created. The mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking approaches will hopefully enhance the return of unity and peace in our land.

In reiteration, another *Tor* participant recalled that the Tiv were so united that the exclamation of *ayoo!* that is a Tiv distress call for assistance saw the Tiv gather in numbers to assist the distressed brother. He also regrets:

That this mark of unity is gone these days. The Tiv do not show much care when they hear the outcry any longer. Due to lack of unity, we hardly like to help one another as much. Since we are trying to revive our practices and values, I am feeling our unity will return and the utterance of this outcry will now mean something among our people.

The Tiv people are fragmented as they struggle to cope with Western pop culture while remaining true to their Tiv ancestral and cultural heritage and practices.

Revival of Cultural Identity, Self-Confidence and Moral Order - The revival of the Tiv's cultural identity, self-confidence and moral order were also listed as accruing benefits from the revitalization and empowerment of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches and ideals.

According to a *Tor* participant, the CRRTCEN is working hard to revive and rejuvenate Tiv culture.

He also reveals his satisfaction about this development noting that:

The news of the formation of the Committee for Reform and Revival of Tiv Cultural Norms (CRRTCEN) excited me because the revival and empowerment of Tiv ideals will facilitate the restoration of our identity. It will rebuild self-confidence in our people and in our culture. Once our self-confidence is restored, we will feel our proud Tivness once again.

A *Ter* participant spoke with a strong passion about self-investment. He bemoaned that the Tiv have become dependent on government handouts as they have lost their entrepreneurial spirit to reliance on paid wages. He said the following about the Tiv:

We were great investors and developers in farming and making crafts, we have lost all these to the modern society. No Tiv parent and child were idle as they were all trained in farming, trades and handicrafts and they were engaged in various subsistence and commercial activities. This made the Tiv entrepreneurial and productive. It is our deftness in self-investments, especially food production that earned our State, the federal government's sobriquet, *The Food Basket of the Nation*. This noble identity or quality of ours needs to be restored. We must make our people return to some forms of self-investment, no longer dependency on the government.

He believes that retrieval and a look back at Tiv practices and ideals will help in bolstering their ability in self-investment and discourage the prevailing youth and adult ignoble syndrome of dependency on government salaries, and solicitations for handouts from the politicians. He noted that the youth must be provided with meaningful employment opportunities. He revealed the following in his story:

It is a shame to see our young boys and girls sitting idle and begging as if they cannot invest in meaningful projects. There is need to make them believe in themselves and motivate them to engage in various gainful trades. This ongoing conversation and efforts for the revival of Tiv traditions and values will help significantly in this regard.

This same radical *Ter* informant identified the return of moral discipline to the society as a great benefit that is also associated with the institutionalization of Tiv values and approaches.

He recalled that in traditional Tiv society, the youth respected their culture yet that is not the situation today. He stated clearly that:

Children respected the social order and mores, while adults grew with integrity and became pedagogical examples for their children. I am very emotionally disturbed when I see the lingering legacies of colonialism ravaging our land almost irredeemably by occasioning and allowing exploitation, rivalry, deceit, and division to become the order of the day. To restore moral sanity in our land means to necessarily institutionalize our core moral values of respect and truth telling.

An elderly woman participant reinforced the same point by stating that the Tiv used to respect and listen to their elders, but lamentably there is a sudden change. She revealed more in the following narrative:

When the elders called out for any general work, for example, the community to come together to make or create new pathways or repair old roads, both men and women turned out *en masse* to do the work. When the elders discouraged vices the community members kept away from them. However, elders are disregarded today, and their orders are flouted by those who claim that *ve zua a kwaghfan man shi aeren a or Batur ve hembra u ter vev*; that is, “they have acquired the Whiteman’s knowledge and practices and are thus superior to their fathers/elders.”

The views of the other Women participants also buttressed the benefiting outcomes of mainstreaming Tiv peacemaking ways and cultural values. Worthy of quote is the assertion of a middle-aged woman participant who aptly sums up the argument with these words:

Sa igbenda yase I Tiv i ahide ve tar wase u a bee a mba mzaiyol mba se oron ne ye; “until our Tiv ways are restored, our land will be rid of these conflicts that we have outlined” How to go about this? Let our leaders lead and guide us and we shall follow in this regard.

The very expressive *Ter* participant who called for Tiv cultural reform as was done for China by Chairman Mao Zedong gave an Afro-sopic dimension for this struggle. This is his assertion on the issue:

Kwagh ne ka u se ior iir cii. Sar se hide sha a kaa a yange se eren man sha mlu wase u ior iir la ve zua a mze hemen ye. Uma u or Batur una na se ior iir mzehemn u se soor la ga. (This struggle [mainstreaming] is for all black people. Unless we return to our ways and practices, we cannot get the required progress and development. The life and ways of the Whiteman will not give the black people the advancement we are dreaming for).

In other words, Africa and its communities ought to return to the Indigenous wisdom, practices, works, entertainment, handiwork and teachings of the people to gain liberation, assert their identity and address their conflict experiences.

5.7 Key Findings

I have eleven key findings from this chapter on the feelings that the Tiv have for their Indigenous peacemaking wisdom and social values, namely: (1) Tiv's deep commitment to "Tiv ways" (2) strong tenacity and preference for Tiv values, (3) regret for the gross misrepresentation and destruction of Tiv culture (4) the dilemma faced by Tiv traditional leaders who are both custodians of their ways and apostles of the Christian gospel (5) the expression of Tiv agency, (7) Tiv ways of addressing the surmountable limitations of their practices (8) Tiv approaches as a collective security gathering (9) appreciable impacts of mtem, (10) condemnation of self-destructive conflicts or the "palm of stupidity" and (11) the value of Tiv's mainstreaming project for Africa.

The first finding is that the community has a very strong commitment for its "Tiv ways", that is, their Indigenous ideals and ways of making peace, namely: the *ikyur yan* ("peace covenant") and *ayande* grass ("olive peace branch"), inter-marriage, but most importantly the *mtem u soron ayoosu* ("peacemaking gathering"). The Tiv's feelings for these "Tiv ways" of peacemaking are strong and unflinching. The people's feelings are also motivated by some factors. First, their serious rejection of the colonial infiltration of their culture moved them to create and launch the Committee for the Reformation and Mainstreaming of Tiv Ways (CRMTW). Second, their persistent conflict experiences have made the Tiv feel that the use of their traditional methods will serve as a good alternative. "Tiv ways" are viable alternatives to liberal methods.

Second, I noticed that the Tiv are holding on tenaciously to their traditional practices, especially the peacemaking ones. They openly prefer them to the foreign methods such as the political state and the court system. After my interviews with the Tiv respondents, I realized that their strong feelings for Indigenous capital are a common experience on the continent, among African communities. Other African communities also express these same feelings of tenacity, nostalgia and preference for their Indigenous peacemaking forms like the Tiv's. African community's Indigenous peacemaking processes are deemed suitable and viable in addressing their contexts and challenge.

Third, I found that the Tiv still place their original values over those bequeathed to them by colonialism and its legacies. This is demonstrated in their deep lamentation against the persisting post-colonial political order that they are accused of continually destroying their ways. They identified the Christian tradition as an institution that is snubbing their original peacemaking ways and entrenching its foreign tenets in their communities. Suffice it to state that this finding contradicts the position held in some quarters that Indigenous communities have an unreserved appreciation for imperial institutions and that they prefer foreign institutions to their Indigenous ones (see Coates, 2004). The Tiv experience has demonstratively questioned this assertion and rendered this kind of position very obsolete. The position is not tenable with the Tiv community and very much with any other Indigenous community. Insistence on this position represents two pathological conditions that must not be left unchallenged, namely: the depravity for colonial violence and the disillusionment from internalized colonialism.

The fourth finding from this chapter is that "Tiv ways" are grossly misrepresented by the intrusive imperial voices and ideologies of the West. The participants identified Christianity and globalization and post-colonial state apparatuses as the key agents of the misrepresentation. These ideological forces have not indicated that they really want to learn from, support and employ Tiv

Indigenous peacemaking ways rather they come already poised to shove them off and impose their own forms of peacemaking on the people. For example, the participants demonstrate that globalization brings with it the Western emphasis on human rights, whereas for the Tiv, community rights matter above all else. They also depicted how Christianity misinterprets Tiv institutions and values such as the consultation of oracles, the use of traditional medicine, participation in cleansing rituals, keeping custody of some heritages and the performance of some social activities as abominable. Christianity abhors Tiv ways but imposes its foreign tenets on the people such as consultation with Christian pastors, the performance of Church rituals, and full membership and commitment to a particular church. The participants noted that Christianity is dislodging Tiv ways and implanting its own tenets, which have a strong Western ideological and cultural emphasis. Constant misrepresentation, dislodgment and replacement of Tiv values with Eurocentric ones in the name of globalization and Christianity have become worrisome to the Tiv community.

My fifth finding from this chapter is the dilemma that Tiv traditional leaders are confronted with. The dilemma is that, they either defend and promote their Indigenous values or they destroy them by promoting the Euro-Christian colonial elements they are living with and swear to serve. Recall that some of the traditional leaders who responded are members of the Knighthood of the Church. Thus, as traditional leaders, they are custodians of Tiv culture and as Knights they are apologetics of the Christian faith. While they are committed to advancing Tiv peacemaking ways, they are constantly reminded by their Christian obligations of how those ways are ungodly, unchristian and abhorrent and that is why they were replaced with Christian light. Even though these traditional leaders appear to be managing both traditions simultaneously, there is evidence of their anxiety and dilemma, and the guilt of leaning towards one while rejecting the other. This dilemma has rendered Tiv leaders and their people vulnerable to syncretic practices,

the mixture of Christian doctrines and Tiv cultures. Unfortunately, the participants did not identify syncretism as a challenge, however, with their increasing awareness of decolonization and indigenization that rejects cultural syncretism or adoption, co-option and adaption of imperial values, the Tiv will one day wake up to this controversy. They will once again be compelled to make a strong choice that will advance their struggles to mainstreaming Tiv peacemaking and cultural traditions or as the participants succinctly put it, “Tiv ways”.

The sixth finding from the chapter is Tiv people’s struggle to regain and reassert their genuine agency to participate with others as mutual collaborators in building a better world. The participants represent this credible point in various ways by, for example, their confidence in Tiv Indigenous identity and practices. Ordinarily, this expression of freedom should indicate that the Tiv have genuine agency, that is, the possession and exercise of self-confidence and power which are derived from their Indigenous worldview. However, with the marginalizing influences of colonialism and its ideological and structural legacies, the Tiv cannot claim to possess the required agency to act decisively. This is the precarious situation that has stimulated them to mobilize and work for the revival and institutionalization of their original wisdom and practices. In this light, the Tiv are devising ways to curb the further destruction of their values by the corrosive wind of globalization and the aggressive posture of postcolonial state institutions. The Tiv’s genuine agency is the development power from the internal resources of the people as they use that power to determine the social processes that occur and shape the life and future of their community (see Brown, 2012; Delves & Patrick, 2006). This is the kind of agency the Tiv are hoping to develop with the mainstreaming of their cultural resources.

My seventh finding from the chapter is also very interesting. It is the fact that the complexities and the problematic frictions associated with Tiv Indigenous traditions are actually surmountable, contrary to existing fears and questions. Tiv cultural traditions are not static or

finished products, they are dynamic and open to improvement, so that they are able to reform and refine themselves to serve emerging challenges. The data indicate that the Tiv have various ways of reforming their traditions to serve their needs. First, their practice of discouraging and abandoning traditions that they consider evil and negative and that contradicts the *tar soron* peacemaking ideology is important. Second, their art of teaching and bequeathing only the traditions that are assessed to be good and valuable to their children is noteworthy. Third, the fact the Tiv had in place some corrective steps for reforming their traditions and offsetting bad practices like bad *tsav* and other harmful activities is informative. The corrective measures and purification rituals they used included: *nyambuan* rite (see Bohannan, 1958) and others shaming and stigmatization ritual for discouraging evil doers (see Danfulani, 1999). Others were the *Ijov* of 1912, the *Budeli*, the *Ivase*, the *Hoyo*, the *Haakaa-pase pase* of 1929, the *Inyambuan* of 1939, the *Garzyo* of 1948, and the *Korchen*. Interestingly, some of the corrective measures have fizzled out while others are laying waste due to the continuous impacts of colonialism (see Danfulani, 1999). In general therefore, the Tiv and their Indigenous wisdom have the ability and wisdom to fix the shortcomings associated with their cultural and peacemaking values and to reform them to become more effective. It is very important that the Indigenous peacemaking systems of the Tiv and other communities to be supported with adequate funding, research efforts and legal backing to fully develop and serve the people as required.

Eight, the findings from this chapter have also illuminated that the *mtem u soron ayoosu* is a good example of collective security gathering. The *mtem* is a collective security strategy because it does not exclude anyone but includes everyone in the problem-solving process. As a collective security system *mtem* opens its door to all the members of the conflict community to be present and to actively participate in the resolution process and ratification rituals. It is a good example of collective security because it focuses on collective achievement of the justice that

restores order and relationship, contrary to the Western punitive justice style that seeks punishment for the culprit and reward for the aggrieved. The interviewees' experience shows that restorative justice 'rehumanizes' conflict parties and communities and promotes re-integration with its emphasis on unity, transformation, healing and reconciliation. In contrast, the Western punitive justice dehumanizes conflict parties and the community with its paramount emphasis on military bombardment, incarceration, deprivation, sanctions, criminalization, isolation, separation and death (see Hermann, 2017). Since the Tiv *mtem* approach is a good example of collective security gathering, its pedagogies can be exploited and incorporated into new peace programs or projects.

Ninth, the Tiv's appreciation of *mtem* is also strikingly new knowledge to me. The participants explain that the benefits of the *mtem* approach will be significantly enhanced if it is mainstreamed to bring *mzehenen* that means "progress" to Tiv land. This progress is variegated in the revival, use, and improvement of Tiv welfare systems, commercial and sustenance practices and arts and crafts such as peacemaking gatherings, *iwyua* ("blacksmithing"), *kwagh hir* ("puppet entertainment") marriage and family ideals. Others include inculcating moral values such as mutual respect, truth-telling and social responsibility. *Mzehenen* represents improving the wealth of Tiv knowledge and technology to advance their living standards or welfare, create conducive opportunities, improve their self-esteem, and increase their sense of community belonging.

Tenth, in general, the feelings, hopes and excitement the Tiv have for their traditional practices to maintain a healthy society are fundamentally geared towards preventing and ending self-destructive conflicts in their community. The participants bitterly decried the misfortune of perpetrating self-destructive conflicts against one another such as violent political activities, bad use of *Tsav*, disregard for Tiv values and the perpetuation of the post-colonial institutions. These acts of self-destruction are harmful and retrogressive to no other person but the Tiv community.

The identification of Tiv peacemaking systems and the demand to mainstream the systems demonstrate that the Tiv desperately want to address these self-destructive conflicts they bring upon themselves by using their Indigenous tools. Africans are also accused of self-destruction due to the precarious activities they engage in, a situation that is described as the “palm of stupidity” (Dukule, 2001). In general, it is also lamented that Global South leaders are carrying out the “tyranny of participation” against themselves (see Cooke and Kothari, 2001). This means they are conniving with foreign actors to violate and destroy their home nations via corrupt practices and resource wars. From the Tiv experience therefore, it should be learned that self-destructive conflicts represent self-defacement and it must not be allowed to go unscathed but confronted and terminated.

Eleventh, the Tiv participants spoke about the mainstreaming of Indigenous peacemaking solutions to be used on the African continent, even though the research questions dwelt solely on the experiences of the Tiv. For example, one of the Ter participants clearly said that, “this struggle [mainstreaming] is for *se ior iir cii* (“all of us the black people”). Unless we return to our ways and practices, we cannot get the required progress and development. The life and ways of the Whiteman will not give us, *se ior iir* (“the black people”) the advancement we are dreaming of”. This consciousness and advocacy are certainly informed by what the interviewees described as social intercourse, the interactive process where people learn and share experiences and use them to create meaning. From their ethnophilosophies and Western education, the Tiv are aware of their co-existence with other African communities, the shared history of slavery, colonialism and the continued struggle to decolonize and now to indigenize. Consequently, they see their plight and demand to mainstream their Indigenous peacemaking ways as a shared African struggle.

In appreciation research, another strategy of the indigenous research tradition, the participants’ positive feelings and fears as well as hopes for their personal and local possibilities

are investigated for the purpose of supporting them. This study adopted this approach for this chapter to detect Tiv's appraisals of their indigenous forms thus appreciate and be in solidarity with their on their struggle to mainstream the forms. This appreciative outlook is also helpful in addressing a key question in peacebuilding, namely; local ownership in peacebuilding. This is understood as the degree of consciousness, appreciation and control that the local conflict community wields over its domestic environment, endowments, processes and opportunities to address its conflict challenges, despite all odds (see Donais, 2012, p. 2). The strong passion the Tiv have for their traditions as revealed in this chapter is demonstrative of the two points: deep appreciation and strong ownership of their local resources of conflict resolution. As to whether the community can overcome the challenges on the way of owning local peacebuilding, the Tiv have expressed the optimism of confronting such hurdles. This hope may not be a farce, but one is left to wonder about the level of its success and the length of time it will take to materialize.

5.8 Conclusion

The Tiv have strong melancholic feelings over the destruction, distortion and marginalization of their Indigenous cultural wisdom and peacemaking forms by an incurative neocolonial culture. They also regret the self-destructive disease within their community of "me against my brother" that dehumanizes, divides, impoverishes and kills Tiv people as well as denigrates their Indigenous systems by instead extolling foreign ideals. Inflamed by their positive feelings and pride for their Indigenous culture and peacemaking system and motivated by the different benefits associated with their Indigenous values, the Tiv as a people have embarked on formal efforts to recover, reassert and re-empower their Indigenous powers to address these disturbing experiences.

The next chapter explores the ways of mainstreaming Tiv Indigenous peacemaking systems. It outlines the participants' ideas regarding the factors that will enhance the process in

terms of what should be continually done, how it can be done and the relevant actors and their roles.

Chapter 7: Mainstreaming Tiv Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches: Processes, Steps and Actors

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter outlined the Tiv's positive feelings toward their peacemaking strategies. This chapter provides in detail the factors that the Tiv participants identified and asserted that are critical for the mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking strategies in Tiv land.

The participants identified and described the following nine processes: (1) returning to the Tiv's indigenous heritage, (2) promulgating a Tiv peacemaking ideology, (3) knowledge control, (4) the socialization of Tiv indigenous knowledge and practices, (5) the indigenization of existing Western forms of peacemaking, (6) speaking and teaching the Tiv language, (7) mobilizing and educating the youth about Tiv ways, (8) popularizing the *tar soron* as a peacemaking ideology, and (9) exhibiting a collective zeal and collaboration for the mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking traditions.

6.2 The Enabling processes

When the Tiv participants spoke about the processes, steps and actors under the concept of *igbenda*, they elaborated on them in general sense as the sequence of steps or repeatable tasks (processes) and the action plan or the items on the "to-do-list (steps) that schemers (actors) use to attain the envisioned cause or goal (see Brinkmann, 2006; Lessure, 2010; Little & Appleby, 2004; Lodato, 2006). Most fundamentally, the participants representation of *igbenda* is in resonance with the views of other African scholars on decolonization and Indigenization that describe processes, steps and actors as the tangible and intangible local and cultural assumptions of Africans that can be used to reclaim, institutionalize and assert African identity, possibilities and agency (see Aluaigba, 2011; Dei, 2013; Fanon, 1967; Mazrui, 2005).

In other words, *igbenda* means the constant engagement with a sequence of steps or a to-do-list by designated actors to re-invent and re-integrate “Tiv ways” of living in and making peace. For instance, a *Muer Ter* participant spoke about the three factors collectively as *igbenda* in the following manner:

Kwagh a lu hange hegen yo ka u keren shi karen sha igbenda i se hide a aren ase a Tiv man shi se sor a, hegen u mba mzaaiyol kpishi ve va ta sha a vese ne, that is “what is very important now is to return to our Tiv ways and reform them, especially as we are weighed down by the many problems that have besieged us”. As the *Tor Tiv* is seeking for these useful ways, some of us are also behind him so that this thing must be achieved. The most important action now is to see that the traditions of the Tiv are revived and that the committee set up in charge of this can carry out its duties. But the most important thing is to spread this light through associations.

In respect to the importance of returning to and reforming the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking ways, the participants identified the following nine enabling processes: (1) returning to Tiv Indigenous heritage, (2) the promulgation of a Tiv peacemaking ideology, (3) knowledge control, (4) the socialization of Tiv indigenous knowledge and practices (5) Indigenization of Western forms of political and social organization, (6), speak and teach, (7) mobilization and education, (8) popularizing the *tar soron* as a peacemaking ideology and (9) collective zeal and collaboration.

Returning to Tiv Indigenous Heritage - According to the participants, the Tiv must return to their traditional heritage to be able to mainstream them. The constant preference and use of Tiv peacemaking approaches will reinforce their powers and popularity. The Tiv have not failed to return to their practices and values since their encounter with colonialism. What the participants are perhaps asking for is improved consciousness and use of the traditional customs. The participants believe that the Tiv nostalgia for their values is capable enough of fueling their return to their peacemaking customs and having them mainstreamed. A *Ter* reiterated the fear and resolve about the loss and preservation of Tiv culture. He divulged to me that:

It is not right that Tiv culture is dying. If Tiv traditional heritage come to an end, the Tiv are finished. There will be no difference between the Tiv man and the other. Our culture must remain with us, and we must return to it as we always long for. We must continue to talk about our cultural ways and celebrate them. In these ways, we will make our people conscious of our culture and identity. We cannot afford to lose our ways of doing things.

An elderly woman participant believes that the desire to sustain order and serenity in Tiv society can reinvigorate the “returning” process and enhancing the project of mainstreaming Tiv ways. She explained it as follows:

The combination of Tiv deities, elders’ disciplinary measures, age group powers, and *mtem* (“peacemaking sitting by elders”) provided the mores that the Tiv respected and sustained moral and social order in the community. Since the Tiv are plagued by moral conflicts, the process of returning to these control principles as a remedial strategy will be a welcome idea to the people.

The Tiv’s desire to return and mainstream their Indigenous peacemaking approaches and other cultural values is apparently an innate one and to these respondents this project is irreplaceable and a matter of a lifetime commitment.

Promulgation of Tiv Peacemaking Ideology - The participants identified the promulgation of the Tiv peacemaking ideology, namely, *tar soron* as the first practical step that will facilitate the mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking strategies or the return to “Tiv ways.” In this light, the participants advocated for collaborative efforts in ensuring that this catalytic tactic is done. One of the youth participants revealed that:

By promulgating the *tar soron* ideology, we will become more aware of what is expected of us. We will have a better reference point to use to mobilize ourselves better and participate in the mainstreaming project. Without a guiding peace ideology, we will struggle like the blind without a guide. Always announcing and talking on the importance of *tar soron* will make a big difference in what we want to achieve.

A *Muer Ter* informant believed that with the promulgation of the *tar soron* ideology the Tiv maxim for *Aya tutu ka u no? Ka se!* and the distress call of *Ayooo* will regain their efficacy in uniting and mobilizing the people for various causes. In this case, the centralization of their

Tiv cultural powers because they are cultural exclamations of the Tiv for expressing their identity and cooperation.

While emphasising the efficacy of this step in mainstreaming Tiv ideals, a *Ter* participant called for discontinued reliance on Western forms of thought and values in order to pave the way for the massive development of Tiv forms of knowledge and wisdom. He described the *tar soron* ideology as a tool of liberation from dependency on foreign ideologies and as an instrument for the promotion of self-reliance. Very interestingly, he observed that the effectiveness of this ideological instrument largely depends on the Tiv's critical approach and discourse on the malevolence of the stratified post-colonial system in Tiv land and Nigeria. He went on to make this suggestion in his response:

To successfully establish our Tiv peace ideology, there must be early exposition of our children to Tiv values, and essential teachings on communal living. We must first empower them with our Tiv ideals as they grow up. We want to become self-sufficient, but this can only come to be if we have a supporting ideology as a people. The Western systems have disrupted us from advancing our culture, but we must galvanize our resources and begin to do from this moment.

The young woman participant also firmly asserted that the promotion of the *tar soron* ideology as a step toward mainstreaming *igbenda yase i Tiv*; “our Tiv ways,” should be a matter of imperative. Recalling the critical positions that have been made against the colonial invasion of the Tiv's land, this young participant insisted on the redemption of Tiv social values and peacemaking practices from colonialism, which she also speaks about as follows:

Promoting disunity, deceit, laziness, selfishness, enmity, manipulation, marginalization, monetization over integrity, propaganda as well as furthering the destruction and marginalization of Tiv cultural ways, community organization, collective welfare, fraternal co-existence, individual integrity, truth telling, and moral responsibility.

Tiv demand and struggle to redeem and reaffirm their cultural values is compared to the Indigenous transformation of China. In this light, the elaborate *Ter* participant recalled the example of China's rising global profile. He explained that China derived its local development

and global advancement because under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong, the culture subjected Western knowledge to critical studies and used this approach to educate the people in the way they became more appreciative of Chinese knowledge and cultural forms. He explains it in the following way:

China also subverted Western ideologies with Chinese worldviews, and He acknowledged that, despite the criticisms that were levelled against Chairman Mao Zedong, he protected China from Western imperialism and promoted Chinese Indigenous cultural values, such that everyone has consequently come to know about China today.

In other words, the Tiv nation needs to have a similar dynamic leader and catalytic ideology to achieve its dream to mainstream “Tiv ways.”

Knowledge Control - The *Ter* participant who spoke about Chairman Mao Zedong advised the Tiv society to control what it is consuming from other contexts and look more inward to promote its Indigenous knowledge, especially peacemaking resources, considering that foreign practices are contributing to some of their conflict experiences. He further narrated that:

Tiv culture is rich and capable of sharing its constructive innovations on the international scene, especially with regards to its arts and entertainment heritage. However, imperial influences in the forms of foreign knowledge, technology, diplomatic dictatorship and conditional financial donations will not allow us in different ways to develop them. These forms of obstruction and distraction must be put under control for our local ideals to be successfully promoted.

The idea of knowledge control sounds intriguing, especially when seen in the light of the freedom to access information. However, the Tiv’s experience of colonialism and its destructive consequences should factor in their need to process and control the knowledge that the community is consuming, an argument that can also be made for all global Indigenous communities. Indigenous contexts deserve emancipation from all constraints and the power to consume their own cultural resources. Global Indigenous communities can do so by instituting knowledge control strategies to put the people’s consumption of colonial knowledge in check and by promoting their Indigenous languages, wisdom and values to put their rich cultural

heritage at the sieve (see Dei, 2013; Fortier, 2017a; Kovach, 2015; Nabudere, 2006; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013; Palmater & Sinclair, 2015). Therefore, the Tiv nation is only looking for what is right, namely, mainstreaming their Indigenous peacemaking approaches. These research participants do not show any sense of compromise in the Tiv achieving this anticipated goal (also see Agber et al. 2015; Shija, 2018).

The Socialization of Tiv Indigenous Knowledge and Practices - Each of the research participants indicated that there is a need to share and socialize the younger generations with Tiv Indigenous wisdom, values and peacemaking knowledge. For example, one of the *Ter* participants stated clearly that, “we should seek to transfer our ways of life to our children, I am not against positive changes. I am not against the handing on of our ways either. To preserve and mainstream our Tiv ways, we must pass them on to our children and them to their own and so on.” When he was explaining the future implications of institutionalizing Tiv knowledge and cultural practices, an elderly man participant also stated that, “I am afraid of the death of our elders who know our Tiv ways, values and practices of peacemaking and who are dying without passing them to our children.”

Even though a *Ter* respondent lamented that his children are unwilling to be inculcated with Tiv ways and knowledge, however with *u lamen shi u tesen ve a kaa a Tiv, man er i doo u ve fa shi ve ngohol la yo*; meaning “with “speaking and teaching them to know our Tiv ways and why it is good for them to know and inherit them,” there will be significant progress with the socialization process. This idea to impart Tiv peacemaking wisdom holds true in the Tiv saying, *idyako i kwaghfan kpa ka idyako*; or “knowledge is also an inheritance.”

Indigenization of Western Forms - Fanon (1967, p. xv) posited that to decolonize and Indigenize, non-Western societies must use “the tools and instruments of western civilization,” which the West used to colonize them. The participants did not use these words verbatim, yet

they implied the same strategy when they pointed out the importance of using the government's political machineries, court system, legislative process, political lobbying, lawmaking and educational institutions to educate the youth and mainstream "Tiv ways" of doing things. For example, a youth participant with a significant level of purpose and firmness made this observation:

The Whiteman's *igbenda* ("ways") of imposing his agenda upon us (Tiv) cannot be easily undone or dislodged but we can use their ways to teach and promote our Tiv peacemaking mechanisms and our social values. Since Tiv families, homes and young people patronize these Western institutions and spend so much of their time interacting with them they should be met at those points also with *igbenda i Tiv* ("Tiv ways") and values. By doing this, we can ably indigenize the mainstream processes with our Tiv resources.

It is difficult to disentangle Western influence and institutions from the culture, politics and economics of Tiv land. Nevertheless, the Tiv are not daunted by this in pursuing their struggle to Indigenize the mainstream systems with the Tiv worldview.

Speak and Teach -Regarding both speaking and teaching, the participants called on parents, family heads and the elderly to communicate with their wards and family members in the Tiv language. Another informant, the leader of a Tiv cultural association suggested the following in his response:

We u lam dzwa wou ga yo, mlu wou u Tiv la una sar; or "you who do not speak your language will lose your Tiv identity." For this reason, unless parents and elders speak the Tiv language daily they will be unable to explain and pass on Tiv traditional heritage to their children so that the children will learn to appreciate the values.

Generally, the participants tasked family leadership, social and cultural associations, traditional institutions, the media industry and the academic sector to speak and teach in the Tiv language. Very passionately, a *Tyo-or* interviewee called on the Tiv Traditional Council to teach ancestral wisdom and peacemaking practices to the younger generations. He recognized that:

The Council must intensify its efforts for the promotion and the teaching of Tiv history, epistemologies and peacemaking wisdom. The Tiv must teach one another about

themselves and their *yiase* (“ancestral wisdom and traditional practices”) especially as they are confronted with a variety of historical conflicts and challenges, which are continually robbing them of their identity and values.

The respondents highlighted some other additional suggestions to promote Tiv culture. For example, a youth leader participant called for renewed and increased literary activities and scholarly documentation of Tiv peacemaking approaches, identity, and values by Tiv persons working as academics and in publishing. Similarly, a *Tor* participant made this call in his story:

I am calling and expecting academics and researchers to document Tiv cultural values and peacemaking opportunities as a means of preserving and imparting Tiv knowledge and correcting those distorted narratives about the Tiv and their ways. This study you are doing is a good step in this direction.

An elderly woman participant made a specific call on the parents to become the Tiv teacher they are meant to be. With a strong measure of passion she made the following appeal:

Our Tiv parents have to be the teachers, not only of morality in the family, but also of Tiv Indigenous wisdom using the Tiv oral pedagogies of teaching and learning, like telling of stories, riddles, proverbs and idioms during family time in the evening under the moonlight and by the lit open fire. Tiv parents need to return to the knowledge that trained children in fraternal and cooperative co-existence, which was manifest in collaborative farming activities and house construction.

What I am able to decipher in this passionate story is that the elderly woman participant wants Tiv parents and guardians to nurture their children in peaceful co-existence using the Tiv’s oral pedagogical tools to communicate their social and moral ethnophilosophies.

A *Tyo-or* respondent was also vehement when he called for the revival of the various Tiv entertainment heritage. He elaborated on this issue in the following way:

Gba pe se hide a akaa ase a msaaniyol (“it is important that we should bring back our arts of entertainment”) especially the *kwaghir* (“puppeteering”) entertainment in Tiv families, compounds, hamlets, villages, and clans. This Tiv heritage teaches and promotes the values of peace, collaboration, crafts, as well as fraternity and responsibility. *Kwaghir* also purifies community of those haunting evils and spiritual activities such as bad *tsav*. There are other entertainment activities but let me dwell on the *kwaghir* above all for now.

On this same point, a young woman participant cautioned Tiv parents with these words:

I am advising the parents to watch against relishing in the fact that their children speak good English even when they cannot communicate in Tiv, their mother tongue. Parents should take on the task of teaching their children to love and communicate excellently in the Tiv language rather than in other languages because the Tiv language encodes the Tiv's cultural identity.

She went on to berate the parents who indulge in the deficient behavior of not educating their children with Tiv cultural norms and values saying:

Inculcating in themselves and in their children *akaa a or Batur* (“things of the Whiteman”) and turning around to *laha shi vihi akaa a Tiv a dedoo* or “to denigrate and destroy the good Tiv values.” I am very disheartened to see that *kave tese mbayev vev i mbya ieren nekpaa* or “they are to also teach their children this unacceptable attitude” Of snubbing Tiv things and super rating those of the Whiteman.

The above statement by the Tiv cultural association leader informant that the people will lose their Tiv identity if they do not speak their Tiv language is very striking. Given that the Tiv do not want to lose their identity, peacemaking wisdom and other cultural values, the community must be poised to use these and other steps and processes to promote the practice of speaking and teaching in Tiv and to impart Tiv knowledge to the younger generations.

Mobilization and Education - A long-time serving *Ter* respondent identified the necessity of mobilizing and educating the Tiv population at various levels in the community, group, national and international. He tasked Tiv traditional leaders to be fully involved in this mainstreaming effort. He noted that this step is capable of bringing Tiv peacemaking from the fringe to becoming the central strategy of the Tiv nation. A *Muer Ter* participant emphasized the imperative of mobilizing Tiv parents, families and communities so that they can provide collaboration and support to the committee on the institutionalization of the Tiv peacemaking system in society. He corroborated with the committee by listing some relevant institutions that must make contributions towards the process. He reported on this issue as follows:

Our Tiv homes, the Tiv chiefs and the state government too will need to make their efforts and our children too for the project. This process and the Tiv agenda should

be taken to schools so that they can read and know that this is how our parents or chiefs resolved conflicts and had the ways institutionalized.

In other words, as a process for enhancing the re-empowerment of Tiv peace ideals and practices that encompasses every sector of the community then the community must be mobilized and educated for the purpose of advancing Tiv cultural knowledge.

Popularizing the Tar Soron as an Ideology - To promote and succeed in mainstreaming Tiv Indigenous peacemaking practices and culture, the participants identified the practical step of popularizing the *tar soron* peacemaking ideology. This lies in stark contrast to the West's dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm that emerged from Europe's war history to address conflicts there (see Richmond & Mitchell, 2011). With the assistance of the US, this heuristic paradigm was imposed as an international peacebuilding paradigm on non-Western and Indigenous cultures despite the fact that it was resisted by these cultures (see Chandler, 2015) as unsuitable, complicit, failed and incongruous to their contextual ideals (see Issifu & Asante, 2016). It is also against this backdrop that Indigenous communities are now demanding the mainstreaming of their Indigenous paradigm(s) that they adjudge to be more suitable, feasible and practical in addressing their localized conflicts (see Ani, 2017; Issifu & Asante, 2016).

One of the *Ter* participants, a retired civil servant spoke about giving power to the *tar soron* ideology. He asserted himself on this issue noting:

The development and popularization of the Tiv *tar soron* philosophy as a very strong tool to mobilize the Tiv community for *mze hemen* ("progress and growth") in advancing and using their Indigenous values and heritage. This step will address our problems of disunity, disrespect and disorientation as we encounter foreign ideological threads, which influence us on daily basis. This step will also help to confront the negative effects the encounters have on us, such as correct the new cultures of disseminating injurious information, perpetuating exploitative and manipulative schemes, entrenching deceitful and propagandist processes, and upholding derogatory and repressive attitudes against our Tiv institutions. It is my sincere belief that if we are able to mainstream our cultural practices, we will also be able to promote our *tar soron* philosophy and use it to mobilize the Tiv for unity and progress and to address our historical conflicts experiences.

Other participants suggested how the *tar soron* could be mainstreamed as an ideology in this postmodern age. For example, a middle-aged woman participant appealed to Tiv parents, leaders, families and academics that are hurt by colonialism to subject their prevailing social experience and system to continue critical analyses. In her explanation, she indicated that:

Ka nahan man u kaven a kaa a ken won ne una pande, nahan se kpa se hide sha igbenda yase ye; or “it is in this way that our art of consuming foreign ideologies will minimize, and we can return to our own ways.” But we must be obviously melancholic about losing our culture and peacemaking practices to invasive and imperial ways.

Other participants tasked Tiv academics, elite sons and daughters to use their various activities and engagements to evolve, develop and publicize *tar soron* as the Tiv people’s Indigenous ideology for cultural mobilization, peace education and *mze hemen* (“growth and progress”).

Collective Zeal and Collaboration - The participants identified the importance of collective and individual zeal as another prerequisite for mainstreaming Tiv Indigenous ways of making peace, especially *the mtem u soron ayoosu*. A long-time serving *Ter* informant explained himself regarding this process in this way:

Tiv traditional leaders have begun to demonstrate their unflinching collaboration for the mainstreaming of Tiv ways and peacemaking practices. We are supportive and working with the Tiv Area Traditional Council on the project. I am optimistic that Tiv communities and cultural groups will exhibit similar zeal and collaboration and support the Committee for reforms and restoration.

An elderly woman participant shared her hope that well-educated Tiv families will be equally zealous and collaborative towards the mainstreaming project. In the same vein, a *Muer Ter* respondent expects the Benue state government, where the Tiv are the dominant ethnic community, to be supportive by supplying the struggle with the very much-needed resources.

In general, African individuals and groups have made a successful commitment to embark on their struggle with an undeterred unflinching zeal to mainstream Indigenous forms of

peacemaking and cultural values (see Malan, 1997). The project must be undertaken with commitment and coordinated carefully given the overwhelming risks and challenges that are associated with it.

6.3 The Enhancing Steps

The participants listed these five “to-do-list” or practical steps that will enhance the peacemaking processes suggested above: (1) continued consultation (2) the introduction of Tiv arts and crafts in modern media technology, (3) the design and mainstreaming of Indigenization programs, (4) the promotion of Tiv Indigenous arts and crafts exhibitions, and (5) learning from other community struggles.

Continued Consultation – “It is necessary to have a continuing process of consultation with other communities about how to sustain the Tiv mainstreaming process,” stated the elderly male respondent who earlier reported on his visit to the Yoruba community. He added that:

Such consultation steps must be encouraged and sustained. Continued learning from other contexts will provide us with more innovative ideas to enhance the success of our dream and struggle mainstreaming to reform our values and practices.

In the same light, a *Ter* respondent called for continued learning and studying of other contexts like China and colonized communities around the world to ascertain their best practices to preserve their cultural traditions. He articulated the following in his narrative:

We will learn from other people. Those who suffered or did not suffer colonialism, and the disruption of their cultural life. If we go by this step, we will be able to gain comparative knowledge and understanding about how they are doing and how we can do well in our efforts.

Indigenous communities who are trying to decolonize and indigenize can learn and borrow from other contexts, methods that will advance their efforts (see Smith, 1999). Indeed, the idea of shared knowledge and support cannot be undermined for communities in search of true liberation and empowerment.

Introduction of Tiv Arts and Crafts in Modern Media Technology - The research participants regretted the lack of enough materials on the Tiv concerning trade, tourism, entertainment and values and bemoaned the fact that Tiv children spend most of their time on social media learning about foreign knowledge and global issues. One of the *Tor* participants made this observation:

When our children are alone at home, they turn on the television and when elsewhere they search the internet to access pornography and view everything that is going on and the worse thing is the naked dancing as we see it on the streets today. The problem is not that nobody is at home or those places with them but the lack of Tiv music, dances, sports and values in the media for these children to access and practice.

To make Tiv “ways” available, the participants suggested organizing a massive campaign to mobilize Tiv children who are knowledgeable about the media in order to have Tiv materials introduced into the major information and communication technologies. One of the youth participants said; “it is time Tiv social media applications were introduced such as *Tivpedia* and dictionary”. His suggestion reminded me of a paper that was presented at the 2018 Falola @ 65 International Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria which expounded on indigenizing the emoji applications with Yoruba Indigenous input. This is one of the media outlets this respondent is referring to.

Additionally, a *Ter* participant charged Tiv academics to introduce teaching and learning in the Tiv language in schools and in media houses as was the case a few decades ago. He proclaimed the following viewpoint:

Tiv sages and academics will have to inject the research and teaching of the Tiv *tar soron* ideology in the curriculum as a key component of Indigenous studies in the State’s schools and universities. This step will make the Tiv peacemaking ideology more developed and appreciated by the people.

The Tiv peacemaking paradigm could be introduced in the university and school curriculums to deepen the education process for young people.

Design Programs of Indigenization and Mainstreaming - Another process and step the participants noted was designing various programs that can be used or followed to ensure the mainstreaming peacemaking agenda. What should be done and by whom and at what time? These are the questions and areas they suggest the mainstreaming program should address and stipulate. So outspoken on this issue was a middle-aged woman participant, she said, *doo u a tor ase ne man a gber takerada, gayo man ve tese se igbinda i se kaa sha u eren man shi tesen aeren ase yo*. That is, “it will be good for our leaders to publish a booklet or teach us the ways we can follow and things to do to restore our Tiv ways.” Another female participant highlighted the following when she narrated her experience to me:

Tiv traditional leaders should make laws that will enforce the actualization or practice of these practices by the people. I will want the inclusion of Tiv knowledge and our *tar soron* way in the school curriculums. I think this can be done with the collaboration of our daughters and sons in the academic and publishing world,

A youth participant said that Tiv traditional leaders were obliged to come up with an annual program of events that promote the speaking and teaching of Tiv values and practices. In the same vein, the *Ter* informant advised that, “our activities and programs must encourage regular gatherings to celebrate Tiv festivals and arts, which should emphasise the return to Indigenous local practices like self-investments in sport, farming, tourism, and entertainment.”

This point reminds me of the Tiv proverb, *or fan gbenda ka ihowe*, which literally means “we know the way with the pointing of the finger.” That is, until Tiv leaders design programs and point out clearly what ways need to be followed and which actions need to be taken, the mainstreaming project will struggle to be institutionalized. The Tiv must design a program of action for the local community as well as for concerned individuals and groups living in the diaspora.

Tiv Indigenous Arts and Crafts Exhibitions - The *Ter* participant who was outspoken about Chairman Mao Zedong’s mainstreaming of communist Confucian culture in China argued that

until Tiv ingenuities are exhibited, Tiv and other Indigenous people will not come to know and appreciate their cultural wisdom and values of peacemaking. In his explanation, he made the following assertion:

We the Tiv must exhibit our cultural values; Our intellectual and performing ingenuities such as dances, songs, music; our handicrafts such as blacksmithing, sculpturing, carving, fabrics and knitting and skills in farming and hunting and our culinary specialties in the forms of our famed pounded yam food, *genger* festive soup, and the *ikyegh sha shwa* (chicken on beniseed) delicacies should be shown to the public. By showing to world what we have, our confidence in our things will increase.

The cultural leader participant also reiterated the imperative of reviving the exhibition shows of Tiv art forms. According to him:

The Tiv have their traditional sports like wrestling, *ikyo-dar* (game of holes and nuts); Indigenous war arts and artifacts; festivals such as *Mzou u Tiv Day* (National Tiv Day), *mamiwata* carnival, the *kwagh hir* festival and the Tiv historic pilgrimages and sites. All these are lost to Whiteman's sports. Today, every Tiv person watches foreign sports such as football, wrestling and athletic races but not our own traditional sports, which are disappearing. We must revive and showcase this to make the statement that we are Tiv people.

It is also interesting to find out that some of my participants on the one hand believe that the annual exhibition of Tiv ingenuities will facilitate the mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking approaches, while others, on the other hand, assert that the centralization of the Tiv *mtem u soron ayoosu* method will enhance the revitalization of these creative inventions. What remains fundamentally important however is that processing each of them will advance the re-empowerment of the other and the management of the conflicts impacting Tiv society.

Every people have both abstract and material cultural elements that sustain and define them, this explains why people are tenacious about their cultural values. The exhibition of Tiv Indigenous arts and crafts is not only the demonstration of their vibrant culture; it is also a process for empowering their peacemaking practices to address their conflicts.

Kômôti u Mser U Aeren a U Ter Man Mlu Wase U Tiv - The participants also identified the recently inaugurated *Kômôti u Mser U Aeren a U Ter Man Mlu Wase U Tiv* as a remarkable process and step to re-empower their Indigenous values and *mtem u soron ayoosu* or peacemaking approach. *Kômôti u Mser U Aeren a U Ter Man Mlu Wase U Tiv* translated into English means “The Committee for the Reforms of the Practices of our Ancestors and our Identity as Tiv” (CRPAIT). A long-time serving *Tyo-or* narrated his experience of the commendable works of the committee with these words of confidence:

Tiv traditional leaders, Tiv cultural groups and Tiv sons and daughters agreed with the *Tor Tiv* to establish the committee for the purpose of reforming and returning Tiv traditional practices and values to stabilize our society. Some of the key objectives of the committee include setting in place processes and steps to initiate and sustain the project to revitalize Tiv ways, outlining how the Tiv will restore peace between themselves and the land, how it will organize and schedule events that will promote and showcase Tiv arts. I trust strongly that this strategy will develop those systems that will enhance the promotion of Tiv knowledge.

Other respondents expressed their excitement with regards to the creation of the CRPAIT. For example, a female leader participant reported that *kwagh ne ka u dedoo, shi saan mo iyol sha ciku una wase u hiden a bem hen tar wase, man shi u hiden a aren ase a Tiv*: or “this development is good and it delights me because it will foster the return of peace to our land and the return of our Tiv ways.” Some other participants declared their support for the CRPAIT’s efforts to mainstream “Tiv ways” of peacemaking and cultural values. For example, a *Or Tar* participant reported that this is a decision of the Tiv nation. He noted that, *ka kwagh u dedoo, nahan mo kpa me gilim shamin dedoo*, that is, “this is a good thing [development], I will give my all to it.” Another *Muer Ter* participant revealed that all the traditional leaders in the land are part and supportive of this process. With hope and prayers, a *Tor* participant assured me that the CRPAIT has held a series of meetings and would not take too long to begin making the expected changes. One of the *Ter* participants invited my research assistants and me to a meeting of the CRPAIT and he promised to fully include us in it. As a result of some traveling challenges, both my

research assistants and I arrived late to one of the CRPAIT's meetings. However, we had the opportunity to express our gratitude for the invitation and inclusion and we promised to support the success of this process.

CRPAIT has an open-door policy to incorporate new suggestions from any person to strengthen its primary assignment or achieve its terms of reference which include the following fourteen areas: (1) marriage and dowry ceremonies, (2) funeral and burial rites, (3) settlement and community patterns, (4) land ownership and sales, (5) traditional chiefs: creation and regalia, (6) age groups system, (7) new crops and harvest festivals, (8) the learning and teaching of the Tiv language, (9) collaborative support and dialogue with other cultures and organizations, (10) care for widows/widowers and orphans, (11) strategies to mainstream peacemaking approaches to settle disputes, (12) respect for Tiv identity, institutions, elders and leadership, (13) re-empowerment of Tiv peacemaking principles, and (14) the adoption of any other useful suggestion or practice that will reinforce this mainstreaming project as well as Tiv presence, orientation and identity.

The CRPAIT represents the Tiv's decision and plans to recover and re-empower their Indigenous peacemaking wisdom and values as well as to strengthen their identity and knowledge as a *tar soron* mechanism that will aid in addressing the myriads of complex conflicts that are threatening their peaceful existence, unity and *mze hemen* ("progress in Tiv ways").

Learning from Other Community Struggles - The participants also identified the importance of consulting with and learning from the experiences of other Indigenous groups or communities who are mobilizing to mainstream their ideals. In this light, one of the elderly male respondents revealed that he and some friends decided to perform a consultative and learning visit to a Yoruba community in Ibadan, Western Nigeria. He explained that the Yoruba nation is also reflecting on the impact of colonial violence and its destructive and disruptive impact on their

identity, knowledge and cultural practices and values. Their visit provided the group with significant insights on the numerous efforts the Yoruba community has embarked on to revitalize their Indigenous thoughts and social practices. This elderly male participant noticed that the Yoruba community is fully committed to revitalizing and empowering their Indigenous power. He further revealed that:

To facilitate the mainstreaming project in that part of the Yoruba land, the community has set up various strategic processes to penetrate schools, groups, communities, families and government institutions with their Indigenization agenda. Those enabling strategies are being used at different levels and places. For the same agenda, Yoruba language is spoken in homes and in public spaces to impart knowledge to individuals and the community and for carrying out administrative duties in government institutions.

He also noted that social media is influential in the mainstreaming of Yoruba cultural materials by increasingly promoting the elements and bringing them to the awareness of the public. The elderly man also reported that it is a common standard in Yorubaland that one's first step to seek justice or to address one's conflict irrespective of its type and level of escalation is to use the Indigenous institutions rather than the court system. It is the traditional institution that decides if the matter goes to court or not. It has been inculcated in the people, children, youth, adults and the elderly that their Native Yoruba peacemaking ways are indispensable despite the colonial state system. They may use the state apparatuses, but they must first utilize their Yoruba Indigenous identity, values and peacemaking practices.

The Yoruba are struggling to recover and reassert their Indigenous values that were disrupted by colonialism and that has its residue in the postcolonial state system, and they are undaunted and unfazed by their efforts to revitalize their ideals (Olayide, 2007). For example, the Yoruba have penetrated the entertainment and theater industry with their Indigenous content and materials (see Olayiwola, 2011). In addition, the Yoruba are using their educational outlets,

business ingenuities and social media applications to protect and promote their identity, values, and practices (see Adeniji, 1984; Fadamiro and Adedeji, 2016).

This respondent noted that he would share this information with the CRPAIT and at organized forums to facilitate the Tiv community's efforts to advocate for their culture. It is worth stating that the CRPAIT will benefit from this process of learning from other communities so that they can utilize these learned insights from the Yoruba to advance Tiv society's efforts to promote their culture and knowledge system.

6.4 Performative Actors

The participants identified the following five key performative actors that could materialize both the processes and the steps: (1) Tiv families, communities and traditional leaders, (2) government and constitutional support, (3) the state government, institutions and functionaries, (4) the academic communities and the Tiv illustrious children, and (5) the supporting communities.

Tiv Families, Communities and Traditional Leaders - The respondents identified varied roles that the different Tiv community members can play to enhance the mainstreaming project. The Tiv nation is made up of the combination of interconnected segments and a head, popularly called a traditional leader. These traditional leaders are arranged hierarchically in this ascending order: the nuclei family is headed by the *Or-ya u Ken Iyough* ("Father"); the extended or compound family is led by the *Or-ya u Ken Ate* ("Eldest Father"); the village is headed by the *Tor Kpande* ("Community Mobilizer"); the kindred by the *Or-Tar* ("Kindred Head"); and the district headed by the *Tyo-Or* ("District Head"). Other leaders include the clan, which is led by the *Muer Ter* ("Clan Head"); the mega clan led by the *Ter* ("Father"); the *Tor* ("Subordinate Chief") looks after the zonal clans; and the *Tor Tiv* ("the Paramount Chief") heads the Tiv nation. Due to their

settlements in many parts of the world, they organize themselves under the cultural association called the *Mzough u Tiv* (“The Tiv Association”), which is headed by an elected or appointed president. Throughout their stories, the research participants identified these Tiv ancestral institutions and their leaders as catalytic contributors to mainstreaming Tiv peacemaking wisdom and epistemologies.

For example, an elderly male participant tasked family heads and community leaders with the duty of presence and service. On this issue, he reported that:

Tiv family and community heads should always be available and disposed to listen, teach and guide their members in Tiv ways. For example, as a family head and a father, I have no other work above me being present, available and disposed to be with my people and address their conflicts and concerns. If Tiv family heads and leaders adopt this process, they will advance the consciousness of our values in family members.

The participants also observed that as Tiv community and family leaders, they can use storytelling and riddles to teach their children Tiv values, especially before TV and bedtime.

Tiv families, communities and traditional leaders have significant roles to play in the mainstreaming of their Indigenous peacemaking approaches and social ideals. Their collective roles in this regard is similar to what the UN disclosed as “collective security,” and as the participants indicated, it should not be compromised (see Zartman, 2008, p. 238)

Government and Constitutional Support - Speaking as a retired government officer, a *Ter* participant suggested the centrality of winning the support of the postcolonial state system or government to mainstream Tiv Indigenous peacemaking strategies and values. In this regard, the *Ter* presumed that the Benue state government’s stewards are largely Tiv, so they can be convinced to support this noble cause. He recognized the following in his narrative:

As key actors for this project, the government and lawmakers in the State will have to be behind us. To win the government’s backing for this project, traditional leaders and illustrious sons and daughters of the Tiv nation must ceaselessly lobby the government and its legislative actors to offer the required resources for our cause.

In other words, Benue state government and legislative house are very important actors whose roles will provide the required executive and constitutional powers that the Tiv struggle needs and for the CRPAIT to perform maximally.

A *Tor* participant said that he expects that the State would provide financial and infrastructural support as well as grant access to existing government media outlets to ease the CRPAIT's work in support of this great cause. By implication, government will support the CRPAIT empowering efforts to highlight arts and crafts exhibitions, knowledge control and socialization and the Indigenization of Western knowledge forms and the agendas of the CRPAIT.

The State Government, Institutions and Functionaries - Despite their discontent with the post/neocolonial political system, the participants still identified the Benue state government and its institutions as important actors for the mainstreaming of their Indigenous peacemaking approaches and values. A *Ter* participant made this clear observation in his narrative:

The success of the *Kômôti u Mser U Aeren a U Ter Man Mlu Wase U Tiv* that has been created is largely determined by the support of the Benue state government, which will be consulted for advice, logistics, financial and policy support and for its enforcement agencies. In this light, there is need for Benue state legislators to make laws that give power and publicity to Tiv Indigenous peacemaking institutions and the ongoing efforts to indigenize them.

In other words, the state government and its functionaries are required to give their backing to this project that the Tiv members are demanding and mobilizing themselves to achieve.

The identification of the government and its functionaries resonates well with the call by Fanon (1967) for the use of colonial legacies or institutions to decolonize and Indigenize. Even though postcolonial state actors are Africans and it is their communities that are struggling to mainstream their cultural identities, Malan (1997) is afraid they may not provide any support to those communities because, "They [African state actors] may fear the solution to prove disadvantageous to their own status, the policy and image of their party, or the ideology they are

adhering to. In such cases, therefore, there may be enough will, but too little political will to put a wise plan into practice” (p.99).

This fear or refusal to supply the required political will by African postcolonial state actors has many implications for Indigenous people. First, it is likely they still think that colonialism and the destruction it wrought on them and their people are myths. Second, the outcome of their excessive internalization of colonialism is so embedded that they refuse to challenge it despite seeing its realities. Third, the intellectual and mental capability to challenge the status quo could be low because of extreme pessimism for actual success (see Ngugi, 2006). Thus, the refusal or failure to support the mainstreaming of African peacemaking processes contradicts the repeated declarations by African leaders for “African solutions for Africa’s problems,” their noncommitment makes them look fraudulent before their communities.

Academic Communities and the Tiv’s Illustrious Children - The participants also specifically identified the roles of Tiv academics and their illustrious sons and daughters who have etched remarkable successes in various fields of human endeavors both at home and abroad. As we read above, they appealed that the Tiv academic community and its illustrious children must facilitate the inclusion of the Tiv language and *tar soron* in school programs and media productions. A *Ter* informant made known the following:

Tiv academic and illustrious children can invest intensively in knowing and teaching our Tiv things. This will enhance our desire to recover, document and centralize our thought forms and peacemaking values. As actors, Tiv scholars and creative children must sustain the critical approach on the dominant alien colonial systems and expose their defective impacts on the Tiv society.

With the view of evolving the constructive Tiv Indigenous cultural paradigm, these types of actors are indispensable in ensuring that long-term plans are put in place for this project.

Already, notable good strides in that direction are being made by Tiv academics and experts such as the creation and launching of the Tiv Encyclopedia with many contributors

sending in their explications on various topics, not to mention the growing number of publishers, publications and bloggers writing about Tiv people, the culture and its emancipation.

Supporting Communities - The participants and the CRPAIT's terms of reference identify the support roles for the communities and their allies. The elderly male participant once again recalled with appreciation the idea of seeking the moral and practical support of Tiv friends such as the Yoruba community and expressed this resolve for collaboration by the Tiv:

We are so passionate and serious about the reform and re-empowerment of our Tiv ways, and happy that we consulted the Yoruba encampment in Ibadan to get useful ideas on how to go about the project in our case. We shall continue to consult with other groups who also share with us the dream and demand to re-entrench the traditional wisdom and ways of our respective communities.

Consequently, the CRPAIT is tasked with seeking and accepting resources from organizations and cultures that sympathize with this dream of the Tiv community.

The relationship between insiders and outsiders in peacebuilding is increasingly becoming prominent (see Roepstorff & Bernhard, 2013). Despite arguments about what and who constitute internal and external actors, one thing remains most important, their partnership in helping the conflict community (see Lederach, 1995; Van Brabant, 2010). The EU, China, the UN, the US and International non-governmental organizations are continually making commitments to facilitate this kind of partnership to address Africa's conflicts experience (see Roepstorff & Bernhard, 2013). What remains to be seen is when these external actors will begin to partner with African communities, especially the Tiv, to mainstream their Indigenous peacemaking paradigms. The creation of this type of partnership is indeed a litmus test of their supposed non-neutrality and impartiality in helping African communities to address their conflicts.

6.5 Key Findings

This chapter has provided an array of rich information that illustrates the various factors that the Tiv interviewees identified and described as useful tools for mainstreaming their

Indigenous peacemaking practices and values to address their prevailing conflict dilemmas. In this respect, the following seven findings were made from the chapter: (1) consistent reference to “Tiv ways”, (2) identification of the factors that will enhance the mainstreaming of “Tiv way”, (3) key actors and their roles, (4) constructive cultural essentialism, (5) promulgation of *tar soron*, (6) the Tiv community’s activism and (7) the Tiv as an epitomic image of soft power to Africa and African communities.

First, the participants consistently made references or spoke of “our Tiv ways,” which the Tiv must return to. For example: *saa se hide sha igbenda yase* – “unless we return to our ways;” *saa se tese aeren ase* – “unless we teach and pass on our values;” and, *saa keng se kura igbenda yase* – “we must protect and preserve our ways”. These examples represent many significant points. For example, they represent truthfulness, consciousness, tenacity and commitment that the Tiv have for the mainstreaming project. They also convey the Tiv’s pride and love for their own peacemaking practices and resistance against the overbearing presence of Western forms of peacemaking. They also depict the Tiv’s problem with the existing neocolonial political systems, which is still exerting genocidal impacts on Tiv identity and cultural resources.

These strong feelings also indicate the Tiv’s realization and firm belief that it is not the foreign forces who caused the conflicts that will fix them but the Tiv who are suffering from these conflicts and can use their productive peacemaking knowledge to effect the required change. These characteristics of the Tiv’s peacemaking paradigm have buttressed the arguments that no external entity can liberate and transform Africa because it is only Africans who can do so, yet they must rise up and sustain the struggle to liberate themselves (Muiu & Martin, 2009). These strong feelings to return to “Tiv ways” are therefore obviously a key factor in the drive to mainstream Tiv Indigenous values and peacemaking approaches to enhance the stability and development of the community.

The second finding is the listing of nine ancillary processes, five steps and five actors that can be used to facilitate the mainstreaming of Tiv cultural practices. The identification of these factors has many significant implications. It demonstrates that the Tiv community has an unquenchable nostalgia and undefeatable memory for their traditions. The overbearing and harmful impacts of colonialism are not able to defeat the nostalgia and destroy the memory. The Tiv have thus employed these traditions to enhance the recovery and re-empowerment of their cultural assumptions. It also implies that the Tiv have a clear vision and mission of what they want to achieve. With these processes in their hands, the Tiv have a clear roadmap to follow, an action plan to refer to, a to-do-list to check off and a strong ideology to inspire them in their struggle. The Tiv have a clear and cogent argument to make for their identity and self-expression.

I noticed that these processes and strategies are also similar to those that are being listed and discussed by the Indigenous people of Manitoba. At a public lecture on “Indigenization as a Pathway to Resiliency”, Annette Trimbee, President and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Winnipeg¹ elaborated the points that can facilitate indigenization and resiliency among Indigenous communities. She argued that the Indigenous people and communities must be able to grow in self- knowledge about who they are, where they are from and why their identity and culture are threatened. They must embark on “coming back” to their homeland and their cultural values when interacting with others. They must not deny colonization and they must reject decolonization. They are to celebrate their cultural festivities and arts as much as possible. It is important for Indigenous people to create Indigenous academic programs and curriculum about themselves. The mass mobilization of the community and the creation of youth programs on Indigeneity are additional indispensable programs. Aboriginal people must recognize and celebrate Indigenous sages, actors, educators and leaders. Dr. Annette Trimbee regretted that in

¹ See flyer of event as Appendix 1

this neoliberal contemporary society, sponsorship and partnership for Indigenization may not be easily accessed, but it must be fought for². The similarity of the Tiv peacemaking processes and the elements suggested by the speaker not only depict the shared colonial dire straits weighing heavily on the Tiv and Aboriginal communities, but above all else both communities have indicated the credibility of the demand that each is making for the decolonization and indigenization of themselves, their cultural values and their social practices.

Third, I found a list of key actors and the required roles they will play to advance the mainstreaming project. The most fundamental actors the participants identified are Tiv sons and daughters or to put it simply, Tiv actors. The participants succinctly outlined the roles they are expected to play such as teaching Tiv ways, ideologizing Tiv *tar soron*, the annual showcasing and celebration of Tiv heritage, consultation with partners and allies, and lobbying for legislative support. Furthermore, the Tiv actors must be aware of the obstructionist challenges posed by Christianity, globalization and post-colonial political institutions as well as the loss of Tiv cultural custodians. They are tasked to navigate around the challenges and to remain resolute and focused on other hurdles that might arise to block their work. For example, the participants identified the collective Tiv community as the primary actor in the mainstreaming process. Of course, without the Tiv community involvement as a collective whole, the struggle would be unsuccessful.

The second category of actors is the Tiv traditional leaders who have the onus on their shoulders to mobilize the Tiv community for action. Their failure to perform their designated roles would also make the whole exercise or project a questionable undertaking. I also noticed the seriousness of the traditional leaders in this regard, as many of them who shared their views with me stated that they would provide guidance and design clear programs for their respective communities in pursuing this ultimate goal. They also promised to provide full support to the *Tor*

² These are my summary points of the speaker's in-depth paper presentation and arguments.

Tiv (“Grand Chief of *Tiv*”) and to ensure their unreserved commitment to the CRPAIT to ensure that the project is successful. Another set of actors’ worthy of special mention is the non-*Tiv* persons and institutions that the *Tiv* find useful for this mission. For example, clauses 9 and 14 of the CRPAIT’s terms of reference clearly state that the *Tiv* community will collaborate with any other non-*Tiv* person, organization and culture “that will enhance appropriate positive cultural reforms, perception, attitude and orientation”³ useful for the mainstreaming project. Identifying and providing room for this group of actors give more credibility to the *Tiv*’s struggle. Their demand opens up to shores beyond the community in Nigeria and Africa. External actors can support the *Tiv* community in confronting their conflict predicaments.

My fourth finding is what I loosely call *Tiv* constructive cultural essentialism to express the pride of who they are, what they have and what they can do with what they have as a people. In a destructive sense, cultural essentialism means the identification and labeling of reality on the basis of its apparent elements and intrinsic characteristics. For example, to label nomads as unintelligent because they move around and do not go to school is to negatively essentialize them. Second, if the *Tiv* defined themselves and their cultural values by stating that their culture is superior to all and must be used as the standard to assess and appraise other cultures, they would also be associated with negative cultural essentialism. What the *Tiv* respondents have demonstrated in this chapter is a philosophical expression of their peoplehood and identity, their vital survival force, the core elements that define their culture, their peacemaking wisdom and their collective efforts to recover, represent, reinforce and reintegrate these key features about themselves.

They also hope to use this philosophical attempt to regain and reassert their agency as a people. This art of cultural essentialism is therefore a constructive one. It does not reduce *Tiv*

³See Appendix 1

culture or other cultures to a fixated status as inferior but acknowledges the validity of their culture and invariably other cultures. In contrast, the Tiv cultural self-definition does not intend to be chauvinistic against other contexts as it is typical of the Western worldview, which typically negates, otherizes and thingifies other contexts as inferior. Furthermore, because the Tiv have suffered from the colonial Western worldview, its cultural self-definition is a functional act of gaining emancipation and empowerment from the colonial dire straits that are weighing heavily on them. I am arguing, therefore, that the Tiv are a good example of constructive cultural essentialism, the expression of self-consciousness without negating any other, and at the same time favouring mutuality, diversity and divergence, and encouraging a non-abusive openness and respect for the cultural other.

The fifth finding is the strong call made for the promulgation of *tar soron* as the Tiv ideology for peacemaking and social order in Tiv land. This strategic practice is viewed as the backbone of the Tiv's struggle to emancipate their culture. The participants revealed that with *tar soron* as the overarching idea, the Tiv community would have a clear vision and reference point to use in their various conversations and their struggle to mainstream the "Tiv ways". The *tar soron* ideology would give them the power of voice to articulate their ideas, the material to develop and build their discussions with other cultures and the inspiration to develop and undertake political actions. The *tar soron* ideology would empower the community members to make decisions and take positions more consensually and less controversially because their wisdom, the same vision, common principles and a shared mission would guide them. Without having a strong *tar soron* ideology, the Tiv participant's fear is that the Tiv worldview and social cohesion will wither and disintegrate. Moreover, the loss of the *tar soron* ideology will create very large fissures for disruptive and adverse forces seeking to penetrate and destroy Tivland.

Consequently, they want *tar soron* to be taught in schools, spoken about in the media, included in legal regulations, demonstrated in entertainment arts like the Tiv *kwagh-hir* and represented in every social gathering of the community. The Tiv also call on their allies to back them in this project, connoting that the allies need to be appreciative and supportive of the struggle.

From this discourse, ideology within the Tiv perspective means the demonstration of the underlying Indigenous idea about their identity and destiny in every public and private space for the primary purposes of mobilizing and guiding the Tiv community towards a united and safe peoplehood and the formulation of functional political actions that will advance their common goals. The Indigenous wisdom is *tar soron*.

For decades, the call for an overriding ideology to mobilize Africans and guide them towards liberation and agency has been made without recognizable success. The Tiv community's feisty call for the ideologization of *tar soron* to transform their local experiences should be regarded as an excellent illustration for African actors and their allies to also act in the same manner for the continent. No doubt, the Tiv have provided a roadmap and a ray of hope for Africans and their allies to demonstrate that their public vibe to work for Africa's liberation and the agency of its people to confront its destiny on its own terms is true and sincere. Their failure to demonstrate the positive vibe for the establishment of African solutions will not only discredit them, but keep the continent continually enslaved to the West and its ideological forms, which are not only incongruous but gravely injurious to the continent and its communities.

The sixth finding is the strategic activism and theory, which the Tiv have adopted to pursue the aspiration to mainstream their Indigenous peacemaking approaches. The theory aspect is represented in their sorrow, critique and suggestions concerning historical and other forms of conflicts that continue to haunt them to this very day. The Tiv's activism, on the other hand, refers

to the activities they have outlined and undertaken to have their Indigenous strategies mainstreamed so that they can counteract their conflict experiences. Tiv activism is demonstrated in their commitment to see that their ways are mainstreamed. It is also seen in their lobbying the government to support the mainstreaming project. Their activism is equally manifest in their advocacy and study of other communities. Tiv activism is also displayed in their encouragement of Tiv youth to keep away from idleness by investing in Tiv Indigenous trades, the entertainment arts and sports, as well as to encourage them to discipline themselves in Indigenous moral principles and wisdom. It can be said that the apogee of the Tiv's activism is the formation and inauguration of the special CRPAIT, which is fully committed to realize social justice. This finding is very revelatory of the true fact that mainstreaming an Indigenous process requires necessary research and activism to educate, mobilize, enlighten, engage, encourage and task the Indigenous community members and their allies and partners towards achieving the set goals.

My seventh finding is the epitomic image of soft power that the Tiv have made of themselves. By articulately describing their original cultural resources and peacemaking practices, their resolute position to mainstream them and the enabling factors they identified the Tiv depict themselves as social changers of their predicaments without the use of physical force but ideological transformation. Soft power represents the community's traditional power, which is developed from the appreciation of itself, cultural assets, political values and consciousness of other communities and it is used primarily to define its new future and address its challenging situations. Provoked by their difficult social circumstances, the Tiv looked inward and emerged with an appreciative and assertive recognition of their peacemaking possibilities and the ways of entrenching them for the primary goal of addressing their conflict difficulties and reinforcing their agency as a people.

Soft power also denotes impacting the external contexts that exist in the consciousness of the Tiv community, in this case African communities and perhaps other global Indigenous nations as well. By asserting their identity and peacemaking practices and making a very strong demand to mainstream them, the Tiv have attracted themselves and their struggle to mainstream to other African communities. Like the Tiv, other African communities are also sweltering under neocolonial violence and other forms of conflicts. They need to learn from the Tiv and embark on the same struggle for emancipation and self-determination. They too must appreciate their Indigenous wisdom and capabilities, and essentially seek to entrench them into the daily processes that unfold in their communities.

Soft power does not coerce, but attracts the other with its plausible cultural elements, political values, self-expression, and relational consciousness, and influences the external context to reform its vision and policies. The attractiveness of the Tiv's soft power should necessarily motivate other African contexts to also develop from their cultural assumptions suitable and viable emancipatory peacemaking strategies. The difference between the Tiv's soft power and the Western idea of soft power demonstrated in neoliberal peacebuilding paradigm is that the Tiv's approach is based on attraction, while the latter's is woven around the threat with a powerful military blitz, coercive diplomacy, economic sanctions, development aid with strings attached, and cryptic imperial treaties. While the Tiv's soft power approach is very respectful and motivational to other African communities, the dominant Western version of soft power is ontologically damaging to the identity and cultural assets of the communities and detrimental to their self-definition. The Tiv are indeed a good soft power community model that could be appropriate influence other African communities to also raise their struggle for the recovery of indigenous wisdom in their localities and the continent.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the Tiv interviewees have clearly elaborated on the key factors that will empower their struggle to mainstream their “ways” or peacemaking practices. By so doing, the Tiv are indicating that the mainstreaming project is not an option; it is an imperative that compels them as individuals and community members as well as their allies to be committed to doing so. The question of what needs to be done in terms of the key processes, steps and actors is already answered. The ancillary feelings and passion to push the project to its realization indicate that the community is non-flexible with its emotional disposition. Their arguments decipher that their logical position is valid. Their general aura for self-emancipation, self-assertion, and self-defined agency is obvious and justifiable. The Tiv’s public stance in defence of their identity and the mainstreaming of their emancipatory Indigenous processes is clearly an epitome of soft power for other African communities to imitate.

The mainstreaming of Indigeneity in Africa in general is not a new development, nor is it an option any longer (see Adedeji, 1983; Ani, 2017; Issifu & Asante, 2016; Zondi, 2016). The project is strategic and imperative for the attainment of peace, security and development in Africa and in its communities. Thus, the continent and its communities like the Tiv must also rise to the task of naming and empowering the factors that will advance the Indigenization agenda. There is so much academic defense made for African Indigenous peacemaking approaches in terms of expanding their nature, suitability, viability and acceptability to addressing Africa’s conflicts difficulties. What is most needed now is not a “ferreting” out of the constitutive elements of the Indigenous African peacemaking approaches as much as identifying and developing the factors that will enhance the call to mainstream them in order to address Africa’s conflict difficulties.

Once again, the question concerning the factors that can facilitate the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches is justifiably addressed in this chapter. The next chapter

of this study is the conclusions. The chapter elaborates on some important overall key findings that emerged from the study, drawing out in a discussion form the summary of its key arguments and chapter findings.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters clearly demonstrated that this study has addressed its core problem, by describing the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches, especially the *mtem u soron ayoosu*, and identifying the processes, steps and actors that can be employed to mainstream them, thus tackling the prevailing conflict experiences in the community. First of all, one of the preceding chapters expounded the persistent conflict typologies that are bedevilling the Tiv community: historical conflicts characterized by migration, settlement hostilities and Arabo-Islamic and Euro-Christian colonial violence; occasional conflicts in the forms of spiritual warfare and industrial disputes; regular conflicts variegated in political violence, land skirmishes, family conflicts, inter-personal and intergroup disputes; and moral conflicts, which connote the member's failure to fulfill their social responsibilities for the welfare of the community.

Another preceding chapter reported that the Tiv community is deeply lamenting the failure of the dominant Western liberal peacebuilding paradigm to address these conflict difficulties, and at worst for being complicit in their emergence and escalation. With great deal of passion, feelings of appraisal and tenacious confidence in Tiv Indigenous approaches, the Tiv participants assert with vehemence that the approaches must be mainstreamed to effectively confront these predicaments.

Another preceding chapter showed how the Tiv community is taking their demand further, by explicitly identifying and elaborating the processes, steps and actors that will aid the mainstreaming of their traditional peacemaking practices. The Tiv participants clearly described how each of the factors can act constructively for the achievement of this vision. This development indicates that the Tiv are indeed poised for the project, thus becoming the true

epitome that Africa and African communities can emulate as they also yearn and declare for a similar project.

This last chapter of the study is the conclusions because of its closing discussions on the following four key themes: (1) key discoveries, (2) the study's significance, (3) the study's limitations, (4) the grounded theory from the study and (4) the relevant questions for future research. The discussions in these four sections emphasize that the centralization of Indigenous peacemaking wisdom in Tiv land, in Africa and its communities is long overdue. The concrete processes, steps and actors determined by this study should be adopted and improved upon to achieve this cause in Tiv land and to advance the same cause which is being advocated for the African continent.

7.2 Overall Key Findings

This study has made five overall key findings which are: (1) the Tiv people's sadness over the persistence of their conflict experiences, (2) the Knowledge of and Nostalgia for Tiv Peacemaking Approaches (3) the Strategic practices for mainstreaming Tiv peacemaking ways (4) Tiv skills and abilities for peacemaking (5) Bold Rejection of the Disabling factors in the way of the Mainstreaming Project (6) True Agency is Derived from Within.

(1) Sadness over the persistence of conflict experiences – This discovery represents the Tiv people's sadness over the persistent conflict experiences that have besieged them. In their sadness, the Tiv decry that the conflicts are devastating to their peoplehood, identity, unity, culture, self-confidence, safety, progress and fraternity and have caused them the loss of their sense of collectiveness as a people. Since the people's loss of identity is tantamount to the loss of their existential purpose, the Tiv are deeply rightly sad about the structural and behavioural conflicts and their adverse impacts on them.

The Tiv are most pained by the fact the conflicts are not only coming from external influences, but also the aberrant physical activities of some Tiv sons and daughters. With strong melancholy, the participants recounted that the divisive partisan politics, spiritual warfare or “*bad tsav*,” communal clashes, immoral behaviour and the derogation of Tiv traditions perpetrated by their sons and daughters are totally unacceptable by any moral standard. These are acts of self-destruction because they are harming the perpetrators as well as their kith and kin, the Tiv as a people and their “Tiv ways” or traditional heritage.

The Tiv community is also melancholic because of the reinforcement of the post-colonial institutions and the Western forms of peacebuilding and their diminishing impacts on their cultural heritage. The community identifies the court system, police, capitalist economy and the traumatizing democratic system as some of the imperial institutions affecting the development of Tiv Indigenous social values and ways. According to the participants, these foreign institutions are intrinsically characterized with deceit, propaganda, rivalry, financial pressure and dependency. They state that these *igbenda i or Batur* (“the ways of the Whiteman”) are contrary to Tiv worldview and virtuous practices of restorative justice, fraternity, unity, inclusivity, collectivity, collaboration, support, mutual respect, communal rights and moral responsibility which are being eroded and marginalized. Thus provoked, the Tiv community have made a firm public resolve to keep pressing forward its demand to address the harmful external and internal tyrannies. It is equally the community’s resolve to mobilize the members against *u za ngohol aeren a atoatiev va nyoron a, man nungwan sha a ase a Tiv* (“borrowing and participating in foreign practices and diluting our own Tiv ways”). In general, the Tiv’s outcry and sadness over their precarious conflict experiences essentially represent their struggle for emancipation.

(2) *Knowledge of and Nostalgia for Tiv Peacemaking Approaches* – Another key discovery of this study is the Tiv people’s rich knowledge of their peacemaking ways. This is

clearly illustrated in the previous chapters. The chapters demonstrate how remarkably Tiv leaders and elders dissected their “Tiv ways” in relation to their identity, *tar soron* ideology, ancestral history, social organizations, epistemological forms and pedagogical systems, cultural values, peacemaking institutions and communal mores and responsibilities. The Tiv community does not only retain the memory of its Indigenous wisdom, it has also expressed a very strong appraisal of it as well as a strong nostalgia for their cultural practices which is also informing their demand to have them restored and re-entrenched.

African communities have also demonstrated deep depth of knowledge and an unwavering nostalgia for their epistemological forms and Indigenous ways, and like the Tiv, they are also working for the reclamation and re-insertion of their Indigenous wisdom into the social processes of their communities. They want to have their traditional peacemaking methods used officially and unofficially to address their conflict predicaments. In recognition of this experience and struggle, Issifu & Asante (2016, p. 18) assert that African communities must therefore, organize themselves in the manner that will enable them to transit from the dominant Western liberal peacemaking forms to the institutionalization of their Indigeneity. In this respect, Issifu and Asante (2016) calls on the political and legal institutions in Africa to give maximum backing for this legitimate and suitable consciousness to achieve Africa’s emancipation, agency, peace and development. In reiteration, Udokang (2014, p. 269), asserts that Western education and culture have planted in the minds of Africans a state of confusion and conflict and have left them “in the vortex of schizoid” from their Indigenous capacities. Consequently, Africans are suffering from “a confused mind” and are “caught in the web of two conflicting cultures”; the Western and Indigenous. To address this dilemmatic stagnation and for “modern Africa to enjoy social order and stability in her communities”, Udokang (2014) recommends “a conscious return and revival of [African] traditional ethical principles of the pristine time” (p.269). African communities’ deep

knowledge of their Indigenous wisdom and their strong yearning to restore must not be ignored or downplayed. The attributes must be appreciated and promoted, and collective and individual efforts must be organized for this purpose.

(3) Strategic Practices for Mainstreaming Tiv Peacemaking Ways—The identified strategic factors that will enhance the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking practices is another fundamental discovery of this study. The preceding chapter illustrates how the Tiv research participants identified and defined each of the factors and how it will function for the mainstreaming of the practices.

For example, the participants identified the legislative and policy-making institutions. They explained that these institutions will have to provide the necessary legal and policy backing, power, credibility and popularity for the project to succeed. The Tiv people in legislative and policy-making positions are expected to invest the resources at their disposal to see to the conclusion of the project. The value of these institutions is reflected in this general statement, that: “appropriate changes in legislation and policies play a major role in enabling transformational change” in Africa (Jongh, Fourie, Merwe, Swart, & Merwe, 2013, p. 6). The formation of a symbiotic alliance is another enabling factor that the Tiv have identified and are working with. The participants demonstrated how they are using it by forming a supportive relationship of learning with the Yoruba community in Ibadan. The Committee for reforms and restoration of Tiv traditions has also expressed its openness to work with anyone who admires and supports the struggle to revitalize Tiv traditions. Symbiotic alliance is what the Tiv and African community need for this project. Symbiotic alliance means the partnership that is struck with the right persons, who truly sympathize and support the partner’s struggle for freedom, in this case, the Tiv community. Commenting on this in the light of the Africa’s struggle to Indigenize peacebuilding and assert its agency, Murithi (2006b) challenges the continent and its

communities to enter into collaboration with “those who are genuinely interested in improving the welfare of the [African] populations” (p. 2). Symbiotic alliance for the Tiv and African communities therefore implies the avoidance of self-interested alliance that have spoiler tendencies and networking with those who have the sincere interest to help them to realize their shared dream to mainstream the Indigenous peacemaking practices. It is also obviously important for these communities to identify and work with those who are not afraid of being “co-conspirators in their struggles to decolonize” and Indigenize (Fortier, 2017, p. 14). With the existing imperial system set to be exploiting and subjugating the continent, African communities must avoid those “who may seek to engage in order to secure their own economic or political interests” and go with those who will assist for the assertion of African Indigenous ingenuities (Murithi, 2006, p.2).

(4) *Tiv Skills and Abilities for Peacemaking* – It is already evident that Tiv traditional leaders and elders have excellent knowledge and wonderful skills in the use of Tiv Indigenous approaches. It is worth stating that these skills and abilities are developed from within their cultural milieu and assumptions, and not from their encounters with external forces.

This *a priori* development or elicited process has many implications. First, it calls for the acknowledgement and appreciation of the Tiv community for being resilient against the disruptive forces of colonialism and for showing an emic (inward) knowledge and skills in the use of their traditional wisdom to address their social problems, in the face of the overwhelming ethic (outward) influences of colonialism. Despite the conditioning influences of colonialism, the Tiv have remained dexterous in harnessing their Indigenous elements to build their society.

Second, Tiv’s explicit knowledge and dexterity have wide implications for the idea of external actors in peacebuilding. This explicit knowledge and skills imply that the Tiv can effectively use their wisdom to overcome their drawbacks. Their overt resistance against the

dominating imperial forms and their agitation for the empowerment of their Indigenous ways implies that the community needs nothing other than their symbiotic partners. The external peace actors exhibit an unquestionable attitude to condemn their plights and a vehement posture for the institutionalization of Tiv indigenous wisdom. The deep knowledge, dextrous skills and obvious aura for their Indigenous opportunities imply that the Tiv leaders do not have to be trained in or be imposed with foreign peacemaking strategies that are unsuitable and adverse to their Indigenous context and their aspirations to empower their Indigenous capabilities. The Tiv rather need the free and fair space to use their Indigenous wisdom and to improve on it as it were in precolonial times. The participants reported that the Tiv employed various methods to reform their traditional practices and values as times and events evolved, without being dictated by any external force or imperial wisdom in the pre-invasion period. In this light also, Danfulani, (1999) reports that the Tiv developed many rituals which they used to purge their society of bad and obsolete practices and promulgated relevant reforms which aimed at adjusting some perturbing traditions on their own and not because of external pressure or imperial interference. This is the kind of reform they have embarked upon now. They thus need the same kind of commitment and freedom from imperial distractions to advance this cause of self-recovery and transformation.

Third, it also implies that it is no longer tenable for external actors to impose prescriptive peace models on the Tiv. It has been the tradition of external or International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) coming with foreign models and teaching them or using them to facilitate peace matters in Tiv land. This practice is clearly challenged by Tiv leaders' evident skills in their cultural methods. The prescriptive approach is also challenged by the established argument which calls for the discontinuation of Western imperial peacebuilding models in Indigenous communities because they perpetrate "ontological violence" against them and destroy their cultural potential (Walker, 2004, p. 528). The prescriptive INGOs tradition is equally challenged

for reformation by the recommendation that only symbiotic allies should align with African communities who are now poised to recover and enforce their Indigenous models to address their conflict worries. On these grounds, external peacebuilders are thus bound to restructure their programs, retool their intervention kits, refocus their ideals and reform their emphasis and direct them towards achieving the peacemaking aspiration of the Tiv community, namely, the development and entrenchment of Tiv Indigenous wisdom and peacemaking practices. It has thus become important for external actors to transform from being imperial partners with prescriptive toolkits to symbiotic partners who work for the realization of Tiv's struggle to reform and restore their "Tiv ways" of life and peacemaking. It is very provocative for Tiv traditional leaders and elders, the custodians of the Indigenous worldviews of the people and the expert practitioners in Tiv peacemaking to be subjected to training in alien forms that harm their identity and contradict the ideals they are custodians of. It defies the International Law to use diplomatic tactics and coerce the custodians of Tiv traditions to abandon their legitimate and suitable ways and become practitioners of adversely impactful foreign prescriptions. What is rather most appropriate is for the external actors to be seated and taught about Tiv Indigenous peacemaking worldviews and how they can align in mainstreaming them. Carvalho et al. (2014) state vehemently that international peacebuilders are obliged by the evolving events of resistance and the unfolding struggles for emancipation to develop in and appreciate African Indigenous peacemaking mechanisms and compelled by these same reasons to strongly support their institutionalization. While arguing defining the relationship between development and conflict in colonized communities, Mac Ginty & Williams (2009, p. 149) call for the search "to find 'one-size-fits-all' solutions". However, with the Tiv community seeking to recover and develop the model that represents their identity and agency, that "one-size" must not perpetrate any ontological harm, impede their struggle for self-actualization and strong agency, will not reduce them to the

syndrome of dependency. It must also favour the advancement and empowerment of their suitable and viable cultural potentialities. The participants have demonstrated the legitimacy, suitability, acceptability and viability of the peacemaking ways and cultural values of the Tiv. The loss of these legitimate values to alien and adversely impacting liberal peacebuilding paradigm, which recommended as the “one-size- fits- all” and the only “big tent” in town that must cover every culture (Mac Ginty, 2010, p. 401) has informed their resistance and demand to recover and re-empower them. The resistance struggle and the agitation for the Indigenous are not uncommon to non-Western and colonized societies. They are repulsive against the subjugation of their “indigenous methodologies and ontologies of peace” as well as epistemologies and perspectives of life by power (Richmond, 2011, p. 60). They are also resisting against being the “complex web of international compliance methods” such as the subversion of their local powers and incentivizing with foreign aid and diplomatic conditions (Young, 2015, p. 170). It is worth clarifying that this resistance struggle does not represent the romanticizing of the local or Indigenous, but an appropriate struggle which must be appreciated and supported for the emancipation and empowerment of the agency that has been subjugated by the imperial power and its efforts to address its own problems.

The fourth implication of this key discovery is another call for reversed attitude. The cultural wealth of the Tiv and their expertise knowledge in their peacemaking methods and values have the compelling power that makes it necessary for external actors to learn and immerse themselves into their worldview. By so doing, external actors will be divesting themselves of the tendency of cultural chauvinism and demonstrating the appreciation of the cultural other. Ang (2003, p. 60) asked this pertinent question which is yet to be answered; why is the European colonial community afraid of “being Aboriginalised”? In the light of this study, I reiteratively reframe Ang’s questions into this fashion; why won’t external actors in Africa submit, learn,

adopt, insist and support the re-entrenchment of the viable and suitable Indigenous epistemological forms and peacemaking practices of the people? Future research must explore this question.

Fifth, the key discovery indicates that the Tiv and African communities are not bereft of relevant potentialities to define themselves, articulate their solutions and confront their troubling experiences. They are very much replete with relevant resources to attain these aspirations. For example, the Tiv want to express themselves by using, developing, and empowering their “Tiv ways”. As African communities are increasingly making “efforts at shifting the continent towards decolonial peace” (Zondi, 2016, p. 105), this struggle has become a litmus test to determine the sincerity of their leaders and their allies for achieving Africa’s peace. It is now left for their significance to be seen, not furthering the destruction and suppression of the Indigenous assets of the communities but investing enough resources to fully develop them.

(5) Bold Rejection of the Disabling Factors in the Way of the Mainstreaming Project – The identification and elucidation of the factors obstructing the mainstreaming of Tiv peacemaking mechanisms essentially signify the community’s boldness and readiness to confront them to achieve their goal. Some of the disabling factors they elaborated include the extant postcolonial political institutions, the deeply entrenched Christian traditions, the propagated Western values, the proliferating Eurocentric educational system and the abrasive wind of globalization. In respect of the dominant culture of westernization, it is least expected that the Tiv will accuse these elements of standing in the way of the mainstreaming project. It is easier to expect that they would identify them as preferences over their Indigenous traditions. However, by depicting them as adverse factors, the Tiv have communicated a strong message about what are being claimed as the benefits of colonialism. They have reinforced the existing arguments that the legacies of colonialism are not authentic benefits, but “false altruism” (Bishop, 2005, p. 84)

and “false generosity” (Freire, 2000, p. 44). That is, what are associated as the benefits of colonialism do not represent what true freedom, authentic agency and self-definition mean. The so-called benefits are contradictions of the true features of self-actualization. It is thus commendable of the Tiv for boldly demonstrating the point. The demonstration is a strong portrayal of their vision for freedom and self-confidence, and their commitment for self-actualization through engaging with their worldviews and centralizing them.

This bold action by the Tiv is in line with some existing arguments on the topic. For example, Stedman (1997) recognizes that to address any conflict experience, the disabling factors that stand in the way of the process must also be identified. He refers to the factors as the “spoiler problems in peace processes” (Stedman, 1997, p. 2). Further, he suggests that to curb or contain them, two important steps must be adopted. First, the community needs to identify and name factors to be able to confront them with the alternative options that it has prepared. Second, the community must establish and enforce the alternative cultural option as a norm for the spoiler factors and the members of the community to respect.

In general, the boldness of the Tiv in naming these hamstringing elements which are also referred to as the features of modernization calls for a deeper reflection and not a spasmodic rejection of the matter. Very often, the controversial belief that the elements are benefits of colonialism hinders even the victims from seeing the unacceptable dehumanizing aspect of the wrongdoing and the degenerative impacts it bequeaths against the victims’ right to full agency.

(6) *True Agency is Derived from Within* – Another overall discovery of this study is the emerging fact that the Tiv are developing an authentic agency for themselves by looking from within and taking recourse in their cultural assumptions. Authentic agency is contrary to false agency in that the former is derived from the party looking inward and developing its own natural capacities, while the latter means depending on the agency of another party or the agency which

the other party has agreed to give. In other words, true agency is elicited from one's inner capacities, false agency is a given.

The Tiv are developing the correct agency for themselves by acknowledging their richly stratified Indigenous potential and worldviews and exploiting them for their social challenges. By identifying and naming enabling factors of the mainstreaming project and exposing the spoiler problems, the Tiv have demonstrated a significant sense of authentic agency. The authentic agency is also manifested in their bold launching of The Committee for the Reforms of the Practices of our Ancestors and our Identity as Tiv (CRPAIT) and their declared readiness to use the strategy to advance the dream. Furthermore, the authentic agency is buttressed in the deep knowledge, retentive memory and expert skills they have exhibited in relation to their worldviews and peacemaking practices. According to Lederach (1995) to have agency in peacemaking means to be the owner of the peace process because it is elicited from the community's cultural assumptions. In this light also, the Tiv have communicated an important message for individuals and communities in the modern age who have no true agency and are craving for it.

The 2019 International Studies Association conference (ISA) in Ghana was on the prospects of agency for Global South nations. It can be argued that this theme denotes the Global South countries have no true agency, but the false one. That is, they are trying to perfect in the agency that the colonial agency is giving to them and which they have been trying all this while to fully adopt or adapt and be expertise in. The central argument is that, African and other Global South communities cannot have authentic agency by struggling to develop expertise in the agency of the Global North and failing to make an a priori and introspective journey that appraises and develop their own cultural assumptions. Indigenous community's dependency or struggles for experts in the epistemic assumptions of the West is not true agency, but the expertise and the development of the Indigenous powers. This was the argument of my academic paper at the

conference in the light of Africa. The paper noted that Africa's dependency or struggles for expertise in foreign influences has subjected the continent and its people to the life of perpetually trying to adopt, adapt and rely on alien elements to the detriment of developing and flourishing in their Indigenous possibilities. The needful now is for Africa to abhor this syndrome of dependency and sole reliance on Western science, forms and models, and embrace the fact that they are able "producers and creators of [the] knowledge that they need and can take them to remarkable heights (Emeagwali & Dei, 2013,p, ix). This is what the Tiv have demonstrated, and this is also how Africa's true agency can be achieved.

In general, this study has revealed that the Tiv are very much knowledgeable about their peacemaking assets. Considered to be suitable and viable to address their conflict experiences, the Tiv are working toward making the peacemaking opportunities become mainstream processes. This dream also has another fundamental benefit to the community, namely the restoration and reinforcement of true agency with which the Tiv can relate with other cultures without feeling subservient. The Tiv community's struggle significantly represents the similar struggle by the continent as illustrated in the literatures that this study has reviewed. The Tiv are therefore an epitomic case for the continent and its communities to learn and use to boost their efforts for the same aspiration. The Tiv and African communities must remain conscious of the disabling factors or "spoiler problems" coming in the way of the quest to mainstream. The need to remain undeterred and resolute on this all-important project cannot be understated.

7.3 Significance of the Study

This study is immensely significant for the Tiv community, Africa and its communities, African and international peace actors, the PACS discipline and me. The demand to institutionalize Indigenous peacemaking approaches is a topic of universal relevance and the

elaborated factors of mainstreaming the approaches are useful in many ways and to various local and global segments.

(1) *The Tiv Community* – To the Tiv community, the contribution of this study is seen in its reinforced representation of the aspirations and struggles to mainstream Tiv peacemaking wisdom. They also serve as a repertoire of information and knowledge on Tiv peacemaking traditions. The community can use for primary information on Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches and how to effectively insert them into their daily formal and informal processes. For example, the Tiv leaders who expressed interest for more guidance on how to step up the mainstreaming program will find from this study useful ideas for their quest. They will find the many enabling processes, enhancing steps and relevant actors that are clearly articulated. There are ideas also on who should be accepted as genuine partners or symbiotic allies for the advancement of their cause to mainstream. The study has also contributed relevant information on how the community can lobby its members who are serving in postcolonial institutions to understand what the mainstreaming project entails, thus appreciate and support it with the required legal and policy statements. The findings and recommendations of the study will be made public and available to existing Tiv institutions. In this way, the community can access the material and use it to assess their progress on this matter. The community will continually use the study as a material to re-strategize themselves and adopt new tactics.

(2) *Institutionalization of the AU's Declaration* - This study contributes to the advancement of the African Union's (AU) strategic declaration to institutionalize African solutions to address Africa's problems (Sesay and Omotosho, 2011). Since the AU made this declaration at the dawn of the 21st century and repeated it in later subsidiary declarations (e.g "silencing the gun," and "Agenda 2063"), new research, policy and diplomatic discourses have been emerging and reiterating the imperative to explore the ways of embodying the declaration

(Ani, 2019). Insights from the Tiv community do not only validate this declaration but also throw light on how the project can proceed at the African continental level. For example, the African Union can create a special research fund for consistent exploration of this agenda and struggle. No special fund has been established to sponsor further research or exploration of this declaration since the Union uttered it for over two decades now. Learning from the Tiv experience, the African Union will have to create a special commission for this purpose and as a mark of respect for its communities who are demanding it. On top of funding, a consultative body can equally be formed, for instance, the Commission for the Institutionalization of African Indigenous Peacemaking Approaches (CAIPA). This Commission can be mandated to sponsor research on this noble cause, as well as advise the AU, educate Africans and direct Africa's foreign allies on how to advance it. The commission will also help Africa's foreign allies to salubriously relate with Africa in matters of peacemaking and economic collaboration in ways that no longer harm their ontological existence and Indigenous capacities.

African leadership and policymaking powers are compelled by these arguments to name and make promulgations specifically for this process as they have done in other areas. Once African leaders make the promulgations to mainstream African traditional peacemaking wisdom as a strategic approach to tackle Africa's problems, many catalytic themes such as the *Ubuntu* social philosophy of peace and development, African communalism, African communal human rights, African science and technology, holistic theorization of conflicts and peace in Africa, African Indigenous studies and many other similar ones will emerge flourish in scholarship and policy. As it is now, Africa is ripe for this transformative development; it is only waiting for the right signal to begin the transformative process.

The demonstration of the above listed areas of commitment can inspire Africans to widely mobilize for this fundamentally important cause. In addition, the African Union will prove that it

was sincere when it made the declaration. Above all else, African leaders and their people will be compelled to take on this cause with a collective responsibility. The failure or refusal to show the required commitment for this noble cause which is logically and morally warranted will imply shame and be perceived to be a sham played against the continent and its people. The relevant ideas contained in this Tiv case study can contribute to Africa's search for this required response or attitude.

(3) *External Peacebuilders and Policymakers* - The concrete processes and steps outlined in this study can be used as contributive ideas that will support external actors who want to collaborate with the Tiv to do peace work in the community. External actors may use this study to understand the community and its current idea of peacemaking and allow the community's central demands to determine their programs or patterns of collaboration. In other words, by consulting with the Tiv to know what the community wants and is doing, external allies will no longer be imposing foreign ideas, but will be learning and promoting the Tiv local or Indigenous ideas. It will no longer be the same situation of coming to do for them as dictated by foreign scripts but coming to do with them according to their cultural assumptions or "Tiv way". Africa's collaborators need to henceforth be asking the African continent and its communities; how can we accelerate your vision and mission to decolonize and Indigenize peacemaking and elicit your agency? This study is a contribution toward the end of the era where African leaders taught how to do peace with alien and flawed tools in their communities as if they in the lack of viable and legitimate Indigenous tools.

(4) *Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS)* - The study is important to the Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) discipline in various ways. First, it has contributed to the field by introducing a new theme and developing significant knowledge about it, namely, the mainstreaming of African (and global) Indigenous peacemaking approaches to address

conflicts in Indigenous communities. Aside the Tiv, other African (see Murithi, 2006) and global Indigenous communities (see Smith, 1999) are making similar demand for this strategy. PACS needs to engage with the knowledge that is richly embedded in this study to enrich its research programs and conversations on Indigenous communities in search for peace and empowerment.

It is interesting to notice that through its critical and emancipatory peacebuilding framework, PACS is beginning to engage on issues that relate to Indigenous communities such as colonialism, globalization, Indigeneity, decolonization, ethnic wars, political upheavals, intercommunal clashes and structural violence empowerment, African solutions, and social justice (Byrne et al., 2019). Nevertheless, PACS can reinforce these efforts and conversations by appraising the efforts of this study and advancing its finding. In other words, the study has contributively challenged PACS to patronise its insights that promote its central debate, the mainstreaming of Indigenous peacemaking forms in Africa. PACS can do this by dwelling its academic curriculum, conferences, colloquia and research programs on the theme and the associated topics.

(5) African Diasporas - Africans in the diaspora are wondering how they can contribute to the management of conflicts in Africa and particularly in their respective homelands. By way of contribution, this study has provided them with various insights on how they can go about this quest. First, the study explains that they can start by appreciating their African identity and roots, as they prepare to be peace ambassadors to their various home communities. On this note, the study discourages them from going out there as Africans who want to bring with them foreign strategies which are already demurred at. Second, the study reminds them that African peacemaking possibilities exist, and they are legitimate, viable and suitable to their conflict communities. For this reason, they must once again familiarize themselves with

these heritages and be prepared to engage with them when they are in the field. Failure to do this will render the African diasporas and their interventionist contributions very vulnerable to obsolesce and the destruction of their home cultural riches. In other words, they are learning from this study how to avoid the tyranny of participation by away from consciously and unconsciously keeping away from the propagated the colonial liberal peacebuilding forms and norms that are injurious to the communities they are reaching out to help.

(6) *Giving back to the Community* - I will also use the knowledge from this study to give back to the Tiv community by making use of the articulated suggestions to run my already established Center for Research on African Indigenous Knowledge and Peacemaking Approaches (CRAKPA). The Center wants to produce Indigenous peacemaking knowledge and organize campaigns, host events, sponsor bills and undertake lobby visits in support of the community's demand to mainstream their Indigenous peacemaking approaches. The center will also research and associate with activities that promote the Afro-sopic focus of this demand to mainstream African Indigenous solutions for Africa's conflicts. In terms of practice, the Center will specialize in using Indigenous peacemaking approaches to intervene in conflict cases. It will also organize learning sessions for groups who want to learn and train in Indigenous knowledge and peacemaking methods. These are the immense way the study has contributed to my future career and practice.

7.4 **Grounded Theory**

The grounded theory that is associated with this study is *igbenda i hiden a aeren ase a Tiv* ("the strategies of restoring Tiv ways/practices"). The architects of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 3) described grounded theory as "the arrival at a theory suited to its supposed uses," while Creswell (2009) explained it as that "general, abstract theory of process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants in a study" (p. 3). Thus, it implies

that to be a grounded theory, the idea or concept must have consistently manifested as the dominant position or articulation from the collected views of the research participants, and not from the preconceived ideas of the researcher, and solely be for the purpose of serving their supposed interests as well as the problem of the study. By consistently referring to the recurrent ideas that are encapsulated within the grounded theory, the participants depicted their aspirations and behaviours for the mainstreaming of their practices in the theory.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 23) explain that grounded theory is generated by extracting the recurrent ideas in the data collected about the group or sub-groups and using the ideas to articulate the concept that the participants are communicating. Further, the emergent concept is explored and compared with other groups or instances, not minding whether the outcome is convergent, divergent or suggestive of modification for it to be more generalizable. The generation of grounded theory does not require a lot of cases, one case is enough, and other existing cases can also be referred to (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 30). Basically, The Tiv case has sufficiently validated the emergent grounded theory in this study, the illustrated cases for the use, recovery, and mainstreaming of indigenous wisdom: *mato oput* in Uganda (Wasonga, 2009), *gacaca* in Rwanda (Mutisi, 2009), *bashingantahe* in Burundi (Naniwe-Kaburahe, 2009), and the *palaver hut* in Liberia (Brock-utne, 2001) have further reinforced the validity of the theory.

Fundamentally, the grounded theory should exhibit valuable functions to the community and the study that are derived from the data analysis, an expectation which Glaser and Strauss (1967) captured as “the interrelated jobs of [grounded] theory.” The jobs include: (1) explaining situations (2) predicting behaviours, (3) forecasting outcomes, (4) offering practical and applicable interventions, (5) suggesting future research, and (6) stimulating other theoretical projections (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3). The grounded theory of *igbenda i hiden*

a aeren ase a Tiv projected in this study captured these expectations by functionally speaking for and about the Tiv community and struggles. For example, in terms of stimulating future research, theory building, and peacemaking practice the grounded theory reinforces the advocacy for theorizing about the agency of Africa's indigenous worldviews and peacemaking systems.

To determine the validity of a grounded theory, it must be tested. Glaser and Strauss (1967) noted that the theory must demonstrate that (1) it emerged from the data, (2) it is open to quantitative and qualitative test by future research, (3) it is understandable from every viewpoint by students and laypeople, (4) it is able to "fit," that is, it is applicable and meaningful to its context of birth, and (5) it should engage with existing sources and ideas which must have relationship with the data. A grounded theory is usually not refuted, it is destined to last, even when it is modified and reformulated (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 10). The grounded theory in this study is yet to be tested, refuted or modified by other qualitative research, yet in relation to the outlined parameters, it has enjoyed significant verification. It is appreciably open to future research that may emerge with positions that refute, confirm or reform it.

It is worth recapping the following in support of the grounded theory's validity, that the Tiv participants ably identified and elaborated on nine empowering processes, five enhancing steps, and five performative actors as the *igbenda* ("ways/practices/strategies") of revitalising Tiv wisdom. They have also demonstrated that the leaders are still very knowledgeable about their Tiv ways of making peace, and the community members are still very familiar with the use of these "Tiv ways." The community prefers them over the dominant neoliberal peacebuilding system of the law court, police system, prison confinement, political institutions, and alienating government political protocols. Clearly, the data revealed that the

Tiv are demanding the revival of their peacemaking and cultural ways because they are nostalgic about them, and adamant and tenacious concerning their restoration within the community.

The Afro-sopic implications of the study also speaks about its relationship with the grounded theory. The AU made a clear declaration for the need to develop and mainstream African solutions to address Africa's challenges. However, it did not suggest what are the factors needed to realize this agenda. In response to the call to fill the political vacuum, my emergent grounded theory with its functional roles or "interrelated jobs" has provided some useful ideas. It has also challenged scholars and policymakers to work with, configure, and interpolate it with new knowledge that they are able to develop. The theory's fundamental concern is for all hands to be engaged in advancing the mainstreaming of indigenous wisdom on the African continent.

What remains to be seen, therefore, is the practical impacts that the *igbenda* ("strategic practices") grounded theory will bring to the life of the Tiv and other African communities. For example, is the theory going to be well appreciated and received by the Tiv and African communities? Will it be appraised positively by African and international peace actors and donors? Will external peace actors allow the theory to reform their self-interested liberal peace collaborations, and transform their alliance into a real symbiotic partnership with local African communities? Will I be continually be inspired by this theory in my future career and practice, considering the possibility that my research will suffer from scarce funding, lack of policy support, and the unlikely acceptance of my work by Nigerian political power brokers and epistemic communities who are inclined towards the status quo? Will the theory survive the hamstringing influences of spoiler factions against Indigenous peacemaking wisdom? How can the theory respond to its dissenters? Importantly, can the Tiv peacemaking system coexist

with the Nigerian state system and its neoliberal institutions because it does not exist in splendid isolation or in a political vacuum? The analysed data does not depict that the Tiv have adopted an isolationist stance from other institutions, but an openness and integrity of mutuality and collaboration where it does not lose its power and values and agency but maintains it while interacting. Nevertheless, these pertinent questions still call for further exploration by future research.

7.5 **Limitations and Future Research**

This study has some limitations, and they are pertinent questions that future research must explore. First, I am cognizant of the participants' fears concerning the negative impacts of globalization, Christianity and postcolonial institutions on their identity and their cultural opportunities. These impairing forces need to be explored on a deeper level and addressed for the community to attain its quest to mainstream their Indigenous practices and processes. Tiv traditional leaders are in a dilemmatic situation and there is need for decisive position to overcome it. On the one hand, the leaders are the custodians and imparters of Tiv cultural heritage and on the other, the key members of the foreign institutions like Christianity and the postcolonial state, which are examples of some of the obstructive factors to the mainstreaming project. How can the leaders be key factors of the two contradictory institutions without harming their Indigenous traditions? Should they sacrifice one for the other? This phenomenon of contradiction needs to be researched to determine the way out of it. There is also need for research to investigate the phenomenon of spiritual warfare or bad *tsav* (witchcraft) in Tiv land. This conflict typology is no doubt a popular conflict phenomenon in Tiv land and counterpart communities in Africa. The conflict has however received little or no research attention in relation to PACS. As a very perturbing African conflict experience, future research must not fail to deeply explore it.

Another limitation that future research may pay attention to is the Afro-scopie implications of the study. It is important to explore this question because the data and insights represented in this study have not provided a detailed and sufficient information on the topic, despite bringing out a significant amount of implications that appropriately relate to the continent. The African Union declared that African peace solutions should be adopted and empowered for Africa's conflicts. Emerging literatures e.g. Ani (2019) reveal that one of the three interpretations of this declaration represents the call for the institutionalization of African peacemaking wisdom. Since the AU did not provide the strategies for institutionalization, there is therefore a serious need for future research to explore this missing link, using the Tiv case study as a rich source of reference and inspiration. Finally, while there are many positive factors associated with the Tiv peacemaking practices, epistemology, and wisdom there are also some grey areas and negative factors that needs future research to explore further. For example the controversial arguments about the exclusive presence and diminished active participation of Tiv youths and women in the leadership and peacemaking practices of the community. Tiv scholars like Tyodoo (2016), Aboh (2005) and Agber, et al (2015) observe that Tiv youths were actively involved in the social life and peacemaking processes of their community, they were also conscious and protective of their identity and cultural values, however these active roles were lost to the disruptive arrival of colonialism and the continued abrasive incursion of the Eurocentric globalization. According to Aboh (2005) and Agber et al (2015) the removal and relegation of the youths from their traditional religious, education and development institutions has diminished to this day, their contributive participation in the community's activities of farming, entertainment and healing. Tyodoo (2016) identifies "Urbanization, Industrialization, and Education" as well as media imperialism, internationalization, marketization and democratization as the factors globalization corroding

the Tiv youths and paralysing their active leadership roles in their community. As for the Tiv women, Ihugh (2014) recalls that they were also prominent in the health and medicine traditions of the Tiv society, however they assume a “low status in health-related occupations such as hospital maids, nurses, and other paramedical jobs” (p. 254) at the incursion of Western normativity. Even though other Tiv scholars for example, Hagher (2003) and Iorapuu (2012) insist that Tiv youths and women did not have a prominent active presence in the traditional times, due to patriarchal practices and cultural restraint, Shija (2018, p. 2) cautions them and similar scholars from failing to assess the Tiv “as we really are” and falling to the pressure of the Western academy and European ethnographic literatures that have significantly misrepresented the Tiv society. Falola and Amponsah (2012) and Isike and Uzodike (2011) illustrate the same arguments about the active peacemaking roles of the youths and women in pre-colonial African societies and insists on the restoration of their active status in their Indigenous peacemaking processes. In relation to the Tiv, Shija (2018) and Tyodoo (2016, p. 38) firmly insist that exotic influences that are alienating the Tiv youths and diminishing their active participation in their cultural heritages and social life must be controlled. On the African scene, Isike and Uzodike (2011) have invited research to focus on the revitalization of the disrupted indigenous conflict resolution systems thus return African youths and women to their active participation in the processes. In the light of the above arguments therefore, this study. These contentious issues need to be researched in future studies.

7.6 Conclusion

The key focus of this study is to identify the factors that will facilitate the demand of the Tiv community to restore Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches and empower them for effective intervention in their conflict challenges. The demand is informed by the facts that the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm is unsuitable and flawed thus unable to address the

conflicts, and as demonstrated, it is complicit in the eruption and perpetuation of the conflict encounters. The demand is also enabled by the increasing advocacy and declarations from scholarship, practice and leadership communities for recourse in African Indigenous solutions and for the solutions to be institutionalized to curb African's fears and pains.

The new knowledge that is developed by this study comprises of the interesting list of the clear description of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches and the *igbenda* ("strategic practices") in categories of processes, steps and actors that can be used to mainstream them. These two forms of knowledge combine to essentially define the emerging grounded theory of the study, namely; the *igbinda i hiden a aeren ase a Tiv*. With the new knowledge, the study has contributed to the existing arguments on how to efficiently address colonial violence and other social conflicts as well as the call for every peace program of our time to necessarily consider Indigenous peacemaking wisdom or be seen as grossly defective. In fact, the call to adopt and develop Indigenous peacemaking methods is the trending development in the academic, practice and policy communities. This study is an appreciable creative response to this call and development. And as a response, it has buttressed that the mainstreaming of Indigenous peacemaking practices is imperative, and achieving this imperative is an onus that is resting on the shoulders of the African communities and their leaders as well as their symbiotic allies.

Two important observations are worth mentioning at this point. First, the project of mainstreaming Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches is a fascinating imperative and it is characteristically intriguing, demanding, challenging, tortuous, threatening, and counter-cultural in nature. These characteristics are capable of making the project feel like a prosaic task to perform and like an impossible project to accomplish. Second, insistence on the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm by its advocates who overlook its adverse impacts on Indigenous identity and values stands at variance with the mainstreaming project. This is because the proponents of

the paradigm do not acknowledge the fact that the strategy is essentially imperial, and recognize the defective impacts that colonialism is exerting against the unfortunate Indigenous communities (Byrne, 2017; Rahman et al., 2017). Thus, by insisting on the dominance of the liberal peacebuilding approach, its apologists are abysmally insisting on the perpetuation of the colonial wrongdoing. These two observations and perhaps other similar ones are capable of daunting the optimism that is sparked for the mainstreaming project. However, considering the enthusiasm that the Tiv have exhibited for the mainstreaming program, one can assert that the community will remain undaunted in its quest. Ishay (2004, p. 4) describes those who frustrate the promotion of the rights of people and communities and liberation changes as “reactionary forces.” In peacemaking discourse, such forces are represented as inside and outside peace “spoilers” (Stedman, 1997, p. 65). Both scholars respectively argue that reactionary forces and peace spoilers must be identified and tackled to advance the emancipatory venture. In other words, the Tiv and African communities in the search to centralize their original peacemaking wisdom must not be daunted by the tediousness of the project, the insistence on increased entrenchment of the liberal peacebuilding apparatus and reactionary attitudes of spoilers. These influences must be acknowledged and defused.

Furthermore, the Tiv and African communities can capitalize on this inspiring Tiv proverb for more motivation. The proverb states that: *wanye u a venda er adudu u ter na una hia ga yo, yevese num ga*: that is, “the person who has resolved to achieve a goal doesn’t run away when confronted by despairing challenges.” In general, African communities must not run away nor despair on their demand to re-entrench African Indigenous capabilities but must remain focused and stay on course for it. In fact, it behoves the communities to remain undeterred. History has it that whenever Africa takes the bold initiative to unite and act for its emancipation and empowerment as a unitary force, intrusive external forces with vested interests come in their way

with gimmicks, ploys and strategies and destroy the initiative (Arrieta, 2011; Berhe & Waal, 2015). Africa must stand firm against any disruptive tyranny that is designed and executed against the success of this vision.

It is possible at first sight to think that the Tiv's engagement in the activism to work for a return to their indigeneity or "Tiv ways" means they are locking themselves in from the outside world (the Nigerian neoliberal state) and the controversial global political economic order. The data indicates that their search for the recovery of their agency to mutually influence the events that affect them locally and internationally. It is in this light that as the participants reported, the Tiv are open to the outsiders that support their vision. The indigenization process in general is appreciated by indigenous scholars who akin the struggle to the endangered lion roaring for power and survival, the repressed seeking the resurgence for its identity recollection and cultural reaffirmation, a survivor group demanding for emancipation and empowerment (Smith, 1999), and most especially, a gadfly that stinging to the oppressed to wake to the truth that African (and global) indigenous communities exist first and foremost for themselves before all others (Soyinka, 2012, p. 19). Moreover, indigenization to African communities is the process of retrospection upon the African pre-colonial world and its cultural capital in order to restore its lost agency to be able to determine the events around them (Doe, 2009). In other words, the Tiv's indigenization is the effort toward a paradigm change toward their indigenous wisdom and agency, whereby it does not want to be dictated to with cultural changes by alien factors. The Tiv is open to and inevitably engaged in encounters with external cultures and the political economic order yet wants to be active on their own terms while interacting with other cultures and groups.

The study equally demonstrates that the Tiv like other indigenous communities have many significant rich cultural values and contributions to offer the world, or which the dominant Western global order may learn. They are the values of respect for the sacred environment or

nature, communalism, restorative justice, relationality, collaboration, community human rights, solidarity, harmony, mutual responsibility and family unions. The West and “Western civilization” have no doubt influenced the world with its 1648 Westphalia realist ideology of the state or nation state which became essentially transformed with the American liberal democratic principles of protecting the integrity of the nation state and its indomitable power structure, complex military industry, imperial international policies, capitalist political economic system, positivist research tradition that should serve it and a universalist educational system (Richmond, 2006). Dean Babst (1964) has romanticized this Western order and social processes with the mantra that “democracies do not fight each other” (Gleditsch, 2015, p. 61), because of shared capitalist interests, or euphemistically put, the existence of more than two MacDonald’s in those countries. However, with the inundation of conflicts within and between democratic states and the continued ontological violence it is perpetrating against Indigenous communities, the belief is thus too simplistic. More so, with its declining crisis pertaining its moral, political and economic image, the West is apparently in dire need of adopting the useful pieces of cultural wisdom that the Tiv are richly endowed with and are putting across to enhance the integrity of mutual collaboration.

Further more, Geuss (2019) contends that the West and its liberal culture have come under severe disaffection from within and without. The West is lost in the odd situation of being content with itself, it has refused to embed other cultural forms of knowledge and values within its pop culture or acknowledge its “borrowing” of other ideas, and it is maintaining a conscious or non-deliberate ignorance of other rich and comprehensive cultural approaches to human society, economics, and politics. In response to non-liberal or non-Western societies that are abandoning their rich cultural traditions to adopt the Western cultural veneer to be compatible with the West,

Geuss (2019) rebuffs this unfortunate attitude and argues that it is time for the Westerner to learn from those Global South rich cultural contexts to address its own discontents.

Pope Francis (2020) has also condemned persisting Western chauvinism perpetrated against indigenous communities and cultures, and the West's arrogant refusal to learn from these communities. The Pope has described the West or Global North's posture as imperial and destructive to both the West and Global South communities. He asserts that the West obviously lacks the cultural and ethical values that indigenous communities have, and needs what these communities have to offer, such as relationality, communality, solidarity, restoration, and respect for the earth. He charged non-indigenous communities of rejecting indigenous wisdom, and notes that the Catholic Church must develop a radical pastoral program that appreciates, learns from, respects, promotes, interacts and collaborates with it.

The Pope recognizes that Indigenous populations must bring forth pedagogies of how the world can learn and collaborate with Indigenous communities as they remain resolute to their indigenous forms. The Pope encourages the communities to remain resistant to the Western neoliberal ideological systems and predatory economic schemes which seek to destroy their identity, land, practices, and values. The Pope insists that, the world must appreciate, learn, accompany, and collaborate with indigenous knowledges to advance the needed universal human ingredient of compassion to be able to promote the "common good" (Pope Francis, 2020, p. 7). In the above light, the revival of Tiv cultural forms and values represents the argument that it has a significant cultural content to teach to the global community, and to influence global economic and political developments. What remains now is for Indigenous and non-indigenous communities to abhor the chauvinism that is perpetuated by some scholars that African indigenous communities have nothing to contribute to the modern world (see Dalglish, 2005; Huntington, 1996). Credence must be given to recent calls by the Pope and emerging

peacebuilding scholarships That reiterate the to regenerate and adopt African Indigenous wisdom and to recover self-belief in Africans as an imperative for the reformation and survival of the modern world that has lost its way (Run, 2013).

With regards to remaining firm in resolution, bold in attitude and undeterred in focus for the mainstreaming of African Indigenous solutions for Africa's problems, Malan (1997) provides the following encouraging statement to the Tiv and African communities:

To put such a conviction into practice is obviously no simple matter. Anyone or any organisation, undertaking such a project may be criticized for presumptuously tackling an impossible task — But those of us who feel challenged by the relevancy and urgency of this responsibility, may just as well make some contributions without being deterred by the overwhelmingness and riskiness of the task — our conviction is that Africa's practical and relational wisdom, both in its tremendous diversity and its elemental commonality, deserves to be taken seriously (p. 8).

Malan's (1997) encouragement is appropriate and deserves to be included in every public discussion on conflict predicaments and peace interventions in Africa. The Tiv and African communities need every form of encouragement to grow in confidence and succeed on this fundamentally important but very challenging cause. It is very important to conclusively state that despite the existing odds or challenges, the Tiv community have begun the process of mainstreaming their Indigenous practices to address their troubling experiences. They have remarkably identified and articulated a list of factors that can help them in this regard and have expressed a stoic resolve to achieve this dream. African leadership and its allies are thereby challenged by this Tiv experience to ensure that the declaration for African solutions has attained the practical dimension it deserves. The statements and quest for the mainstreaming of African Indigenous peacemaking approaches must no longer subsist on paper only but be seen to be practically present in the social structures of the communities and materially seen influencing the daily experience of the people.

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APPENDIX 1

All welcome at “Indigenization as a Pathway to Resiliency” lecture

Posted on: 03/11/19

Dr. Annette Trimbee, President and Vice-Chancellor at UWinnipeg. Photo by Cory Aronec.

The public will have a chance to learn about *Indigenization as a Pathway to Resiliency* at a free public lecture by UWinnipeg’s President and Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Annette Trimbee, on Friday, March 15.

President Trimbee will reflect on best practices toward Indigenization, with a specific emphasis on UWinnipeg’s efforts to support Indigenous students from early learning through to university graduation, during the 17th Igbo Educational Lecture Series (IELS) event hosted by the [Umunna Igbo Cultural Association of Manitoba Inc.](#) and UWinnipeg’s [Global College](#).

“Our approach to Indigenization continues to be informed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Calls to Action,” said President Trimbee. “As a place of learning, we recognize our role in supporting the development of the next generation of leaders and we are committed to including more Indigenous people, perspectives, and knowledge in the academy. Our community has taken a number of important steps toward Indigenization over the last few years and I look forward to sharing what we have learned.”

UWinnipeg is one of the first universities in Canada to mandate that all incoming undergraduate students learn about Indigenous peoples and be exposed to Indigenous perspectives and worldviews. The annual [Indigenous Summer Scholars](#) program encourages Indigenous students to explore graduate studies opportunities in 10-week research assistantships with faculty researchers from a variety of areas. An [Indigenous Advisory Circle](#) ensures the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples’ perspectives in the governance of the University, and the achievements of Indigenous academics and community members are honoured at graduation ceremonies, at the annual Spring Pow Wow, and at various events throughout the year.

Dr. Michael Eze, Department of Chemistry, has played a key role in organizing and convening the series since its inception, bringing together students, faculty and community members to share important conversations on human rights, human security and peace while advocating for harmonious and meaningful coexistence. He was thrilled when President Trimbee agreed to give this year’s lecture.

“This series helps make people aware of the need to live in peace and harmony, to understand different perspectives, and create a new way of being in the world, the global village of our dreams” said Dr. Eze. “I was honoured when President Trimbee accepted our request to speak.”

Since announcing this year’s lecture, Dr. Eze has received numerous letters of support from across the community. He has been humbled by how positively the topic has been received.

“Here in Winnipeg, where we are on a path to reconciliation with Indigenous people, it is so important that key partners in the community, like The University of Winnipeg, are engaged in supporting, bringing forward, and championing Indigenous perspectives in the provincial, national, and global human rights discussion,” said Mayor Brian Bowman in his letter of support.

Dr. Eze is a longtime member of the Umunna (Igbo) Cultural Association of Manitoba Inc. The non-profit organization has fostered the security, growth and development of Igbo people in Manitoba for more than 20 years. He is proud of all the volunteers that come together to organize the IELS, bringing people together to promote peace-building in a multicultural society. The series began in 2006 under the vision of the Honourable Dr. Rey Pagtakhan, founding director of Global College and inaugural IELS lecturer, and the Honourable Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, UWinnipeg past President and fourth IELS lecturer.

This series is one of the ways that UWinnipeg’s Global College fosters global citizenship and engagement in human rights. Events like this give students, faculty, staff, visiting scholars, and community leaders an opportunity to interact and share diverse perspectives about global citizenship, human rights, and other issues affecting local and global communities.

Everyone is welcome to attend this free public lecture. The evening begins at 7:00 pm in UWinnipeg’s EckhardtGramatté Hall. President Trimbee’s lecture will be followed by a question and answer period, and light refreshments.

For more information on the lecture series, contact Dr. Michael Eze at m.eze@uwinnipeg.ca, Nivin Abdalla (Global College office assistant) at global.college@uwinnipeg.ca, or Ernest Anamalu (Umunna Igbo Cultural Association of Manitoba) at ernest_anamalu@yahoo.ca.

<https://news-centre.uwinnipeg.ca/all-posts/all-welcome-at-indigenization-as-a-pathway-to-resiliency-lecture/>

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Research Questionnaire

(1) How can the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches be mainstreamed to prevent and address their conflict experiences, and are there systems in place to facilitate the mainstreaming process?

(2) What are the conflicts that the Tiv people are experiencing or struggling with?

(3) How can you describe the Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches? How are they used to prevent or address their conflict experiences?

(4) What are the feelings of the Tiv community and their cultural leaders about Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches and their usage to address conflicts?

(5) What is the way ahead for Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches?

(6) Apart from preventing and addressing Tiv experiences of conflicts, what other benefits or concerns can be associated with the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches?

(7) What can be the major challenge(s) in the mainstreaming of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches?

(8) What are your best hopes and wishes, as well as worst fears and worries for the future of Tiv Indigenous peacemaking approaches?

