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SECURING THE MIDDLE BELT: OPERATION RAINBOW, INTER-FAITH DIPLOMACY, AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF HYBRID POLICING ON THE PLATEAU (2021–2025)

BEST MANJI DANIEL
manjibest2@gmail.com
Department of History and International Studies
Plateau State University Bokkos

Abstract

In Nigeria's volatile Middle Belt, internal security challenges are deeply intertwined with ethno-religious identity, land contesting, and indigenous-settler dialectics. While centralized federal policing has consistently faltered, the Plateau State government"s hybrid security outfit, Operation Rainbow, emerged as a localized alternative. This paper historicizes and analyses Operation Rainbow between 2021 and 2025, evaluating it not merely as a bureaucratic security agency, but as a site of intense cultural negotiation and inter-faith diplomacy. Utilizing historical narrative analysis, elite interviews with religious/community leaders, and local archival materials from the 2021–2025 crises, this study explores the "religious paradox" of decentralized policing. The work argues that in a deeply fractured landscape, the operational viability of state-backed policing depends entirely on its capacity to navigate local cosmologies of sacred land ownership and manage sectarian mistrust. Between 2021 and 2025, Operation Rainbow"s neighbourhood watch mechanism functioned as a fragile apparatus of inter-faith diplomacy, attempting to decouple local security from narratives of religious jihad or ethnic cleansing. The initiative demonstrated that grassroots intelligence collection is impossible without first securing communal trust across fault lines. However, structural dependencies on federal security architectures and persistent funding deficits routinely compromised its tactical autonomy during peak escalations. The paper concludes that in pluralistic, conflict-prone societies, decentralized policing is fundamentally an exercise in cultural diplomacy rather than a mere exercise in tactical law enforcement. Ultimately, localized security apparatuses cannot succeed through kinetic power alone; their survival rests on their legitimacy as neutral arbiters capable of co-authoring peace within highly polarized, sacred landscapes.

Key words: Operation Rainbow, Decentralized Policing, Interfaith Diplomacy, Internal Security

Introduction

In the fragmented and deeply contested landscape of Nigeria"s Middle Belt, internal security challenges are fundamentally crises of historical meaning, memory, and sacred geography. For over two decades, Plateau State has functioned as the violent epicentre of ethno-religious volatility within the Nigerian federation, characterized by recurrent, asymmetric conflicts that routinely weaponize identity markers (Best & Rakodi, 2001; Lar, 2016). The years spanning 2021 to 2025 marked a critical, hyper-violent acceleration of this trajectory. This period witnessed a devastating structural shift from urban, localized riots within the capital city of Jos to expansive, highly coordinated rural displacements, massacres, and land-grabbing incursions

across the agricultural fertile belt of Mangu, Bokkos, Barkin Ladi, and Riyom Local Government Areas (Samuel et al., 2026). The security landscape during this specific window was punctuated by catastrophic humanitarian emergencies, most notably the Christmas Eve 2023 massacres in Bokkos and Barkin Ladi, which catalysed widespread farm abandonments, systemic food insecurity, and the wholesale fracturing of agrarian communal life (Bewul & Cyprian, 2026).

As the subnational state grappled with banditry, pastoralist-farmer clashes, and asymmetric night raids, the structural and architectural limitations of Nigeria‟s centralized federal policing framework were starkly exposed. Under the rigid framework of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the monopoly of legitimate coercion remains strictly vested in federal apparatuses specifically the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and the Armed Forces. However, the structural failure of these federal forces between 2021 and 2025 frequently manifesting as tactical inertia, top-down detachment, slowed operational deployment, or a complete lack of localized geographical knowledge engendered a profound crisis of legitimacy and public trust.

Within this volatile atmosphere, federal security units, including the multi-agency military task force *Operation Safe Haven* (OPSH), were routinely perceived by traumatized local communities not as neutral, blind arbitrators of peace, but as external, partisan actors compromised by systemic, institutional, and sectarian biases (Nankap, 2026). Christian indigene populations frequently accused federal troops of complicity or passive compliance during rural raids by armed herders, while Muslim and pastoralist communities countered with allegations of structural harassment, extrajudicial bias, and unlawful reprisal operations conducted by state-backed actors (Oral Interview 1, July 2026).

To bridge this chasm of local legitimacy and tactical operational capacity, successive subnational administrations on the Plateau turned decisively toward the paradigm of security hybridization. Central to this institutional, counter-insecurity re-engineering is Operation Rainbow, an unconventional, state-backed joint security task force established to systematically merge formal state bureaucratic authority with grassroots civilian intelligence.

Yet, while contemporary security literature on decentralized policing in Nigeria particularly studies evaluating the South-West zone under the auspices of the *Amotekun* network consistently emphasizes ethno-regional and cultural homogeneity as an indispensable anchor for subnational security stabilization (Barje, 2025), Plateau State presents a radically divergent, complex socio-political paradigm. On the Plateau, any community-based or decentralized security apparatus that mirrors a single ethnic group or religious constituency risks immediate delegitimization, instantly transforming law enforcement into an active weapon of sectarian warfare. Non-state or hybrid policing structures cannot simply emerge as spontaneous, romanticized communitarian responses; they operate as highly complex, contested extensions of elite state-level bargaining and localized identity negotiations (Lar, 2016). Therefore, this paper historicizes and critically analyses Operation Rainbow during the critical 2021–2025 window, evaluating it not merely as a bureaucratic, tactical, or statutory law enforcement agency, but as a deeply contested site of intense cultural negotiation and inter-faith diplomacy.

Theoretically, this study anchors its analysis within the analytical domain of *hybrid security governance* and the pioneering peace-building scholarship of Shedrack Gaya Best. Best‟s foundational conflict analyses explicitly caution against the reductionist, monocausal labeling of Middle Belt violence as a purely primordial religious war or an immutable ethnic feud (Best & Rakodi, 2001). Instead, Best posits that the intricate intersection of structural institutional failure, the deliberate political manipulation of indigene-settler identity narratives, and the socio-economic exclusion of agrarian and pastoralist communities creates a volatile "conflict trap" that renders top-down, non-indigenous, and highly centralized security measures entirely impotent.

Extending Best‟s thesis into the academic realm of *Religion and Cultural Studies*, this paper introduces a crucial analytical dimension: the concept of sacred geography and land cosmologies. Within the epistemological framework of the Middle Belt‟s constituent groups, territory is never an elastic, neutral, or secular commodity; it is an ancestral sanctuary inextricably bound to spiritual belonging, indigenous cosmic identity, and religious heritage (Samuel et al., 2026). The physical soil represents a theological covenant between the living, the dead, and the divine.

Consequently, we argue that between 2021 and 2025, the operational efficacy, structural resilience, and local survival of Operation Rainbow depended entirely on its capacity to function as an institutional mechanism of *inter-faith diplomacy*. By deliberately accelerating youth recruitment and strategically embedding Christian and Muslim youths, local clerics, and traditional rulers into its integrated Neighbourhood Watch architecture commissioning and deploying over 1,400 community-vetted operatives by late 2025 (Bewul & Cyprian, 2026) the outfit attempted a fragile cultural experiment. It sought to purposefully decouple community-level intelligence gathering from weaponized, apocalyptic narratives of religious jihad and ethnic cleansing, striving to construct an indigenous, localized framework of mutual survival.

Through an empirical assessment utilizing elite semi-structured interviews, local state archival materials, and oral histories extracted directly from the frontlines of the 2021–2025 crisis points, this paper demonstrates that in a pluralistic, deeply traumatized landscape, decentralized policing cannot operate merely as an exercise in kinetic, top-down control. It must function as an instrument of cultural diplomacy, proving that the ultimate guarantee of human security lies not in the state‟s monopoly of coercion, but in the painstaking restoration of inter-communal and inter-faith trust.

HISTORY OF OPERATION RAINBOW

To understand the socio-cultural performance of Operation Rainbow during the 2021–2025 security emergencies, it is historically imperative to trace its lineage out of the deep state of Plateau politics. Operation Rainbow was not an ad-hoc creation of the 2020s; it was birthed out of the structural ashes of the catastrophic September 2001 Jos riots and the subsequent 2004 Yalwan Shendam massacres. Recognizing that the federal security architecture was structurally incapable of managing the subtle micro-dynamics of localized ethno-religious tension, the administration of Governor Jonah Jang conceptualized an indigenous, state-controlled security

matrix. This political ambition culminated in the passage of the *Plateau State Operation Rainbow Establishment Law* in 2010.

From its historical inception, the outfit was designed to operate as a legal hybrid: it possessed statutory backing from the State House of Assembly, yet its primary operational engine was meant to be a heavily localized, unarmed Neighbourhood Watch structure embedded across all 17 Local Government Areas. However, the historical trajectory of the outfit under successive political dispensations reveals a turbulent struggle between purely tactical securitization and deep cultural co-optation. During its early developmental phase, the federal centre viewed Operation Rainbow with profound suspicion, treating it as an unconstitutional attempt by a subnational governor to establish a secessionist "state police" or an ethnic militia disguised as civil defence (Lar, 2016). Consequently, for nearly a decade, the outfit was systematically starved of federal cooperation, denied operational coordination with the military, and restricted from acquiring standard firearms, reducing its personnel to glorified community watchmen.

The historical turning point arrived between 2021 and 2025, when the structural configuration of conflict on the Plateau shifted away from urban communal riots in metropolitan Jos and exploded into a brutal, ruralized warfare characterized by sophisticated guerrilla tactics, midnight village burnings, and the weaponization of demographic shifts (Samuel et al., 2026). As traditional agrarian communities felt increasingly abandoned by the distant federal apparatus, pressure mounted on the subnational government to militarize local defenses. It was within this specific historical crucible that Operation Rainbow underwent a radical, structural transformation. It transformed from a stagnant, underfunded bureaucratic agency into a dynamic, highly sensitive cultural apparatus.

This historical transition stands in stark contrast to the evolution of the Western Nigeria Security Network, popularly known as *Amotekun*. The historical comparison is highly instructive for scholars of religion and culture. *Amotekun*, established across the southwestern states in 2020, drew its institutional legitimacy from an intensely homogeneous cultural and linguistic repository. It historicized itself as the modern manifestation of the ancient Yoruba *Ode* (hunter) guilds and the legendary security legacy of the *Agbekoya* peasant revolts. It utilized Yoruba indigenous cosmologies, cultural solidarity, and implicit ethno-nationalist narratives to construct an insular security shield that explicitly identified the "external threat" primarily foreign banditry and nomadic pastoralist incursions. The cultural narrative of *Amotekun* was built on exclusion: protecting the indigenous sons and daughters of the soil (*Omo Odua*) from external predators (Barje, 2025).

On the multi-ethnic, multi-religious Plateau, however, Operation Rainbow could not afford the luxury of such cultural insulation. The historical geography of the Plateau is a complex, overlapping tapestry of indigenous Christian ethnic nationalities (such as the Berom, Ngas, Tarok, Mwaghavul, and Ron) existing alongside deeply rooted, generations-old Hausa and Fulani Muslim populations. Any attempt by Operation Rainbow to adopt an exclusionary, single-identity cultural framework would have instantly triggered a catastrophic civil war within the state's borders. If the outfit had leaned exclusively into Christian-indigene imagery, it would have been immediately branded by the Muslim population as a state-sponsored Christian militia designed to execute ethnic cleansing. Conversely, any structural appeasement

of pastoralist interests without localized accountability would provoke absolute condemnation from the indigenous agrarian population, who viewed themselves as victims of existential displacement (Oral Interview with Barr Solomonon Mwantiri President Berom Youth Moulders Association (BYM) (11 June 2026)

Therefore, between 2021 and 2025, the historical evolution of Operation Rainbow forced it to pioneer a completely unique model of pluralistic hybrid policing. The agency realized that its structural survival depended not on physical firepower which it still lacked due to federal firearm prohibitions but on informational and cultural legitimacy. The subnational administration began a systematic restructuring of the outfit's hierarchy, ensuring that the selection of zonal coordinators and community commandants precisely mirrored the delicate demographic and religious configurations of each specific Local Government Area.

In Jos North, a historical flashpoint dominated by intense sectarian territoriality, Operation Rainbow‟s structures were split into meticulously balanced inter-faith committees. In rural sectors like Mangu and Barkin Ladi, the outfit had to develop a dual-layered operational language: one that validated the indigenous population's deep, ancestral claim to their sacred soil, while simultaneously providing institutional mechanisms that protected peace-loving, non-indigenous or pastoralist residents from unlawful retaliatory violence (Oral Interview 12, June 2026). Thus, by 2025, Operation Rainbow had historically evolved into something far more sophisticated than a security agency; it had become the institutional arena where the cultural politics of religious alignment, indigenous survival, and civic pluralism were continuously negotiated, contested, and performed on a daily basis.

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH AS INTER-FAITH DIPLOMACY (2021–2025)

The operational heart of Operation Rainbow‟s resistance to the 2021–2025 security collapse lay within its integrated Neighbourhood Watch framework. This layer of the security architecture deliberately functioned less as a standard intelligence-gathering bureau and more as a dynamic space for inter-faith diplomacy and crisis mediation. As conflict rapidly ruralized across the Plateau, the traditional avenues of bureaucratic communication collapsed, leaving rural communities highly vulnerable to inflammatory digital propaganda, rumours of impending religious jihads, and retaliatory panic (Samuel et al., 2026).

In response, between 2021 and 2025, the leadership of Operation Rainbow orchestrated a systematic integration of local actors specifically pairing Christian and Muslim youth operatives within identical surveillance sectors, and subordinating their operational mandates to joint committees headed by local pastors, imams, and traditional rulers (video report by Masara on 15 Octorber, 2026).

This structural configuration established a radical shift in how early-warning information was processed. In the historical model of centralized federal policing, an intelligence report regarding an impending attack was routed through a closed, external military hierarchy that was completely divorced from local cultural nuances. This process frequently resulted in delayed interventions or outright bureaucratic dismissals (Nankap, 2026).

Under the reformed 2021–2025 Operation Rainbow rubric, however, intelligence gathering was intentionally conversational and pluralistic. In volatile sectors like Jos North and the border zones of Mangu, cross-sectarian youth pairs were tasked with monitoring rumours within their respective religious enclaves. If an incendiary rumour emerged within a Christian neighbourhood claiming that armed pastoralists were massing at a particular Muslim-dominated peripheral outpost, the Operation Rainbow Neighbourhood Watch architecture did not rely on external verification. Instead, the Muslim youth counterpart within that specific operational cell was deployed to verify the claim through localized, faith-based networks (Oral Interview with Dalyop Chuwang 22, October 2025).

This localized verify-and-dispel mechanism proved vital during the intense escalations of 2023. By utilizing local actors who possessed intimate knowledge of regional cultural semantics, Operation Rainbow successfully defused multiple micro-crises before they could escalate into full-blown communal massacres.

According to oral accounts from community leaders in Mangu, this method of collaborative, cross-faith surveillance acted as a powerful buffer against the systemic "social alienation" that typically precedes rural conflict (Oral Interview 2, 2025). The physical presence of a mixed-faith security unit patrolling fractured villages served as a visible, daily counter-narrative to the extremist rhetoric of total sectarian exclusion. It demonstrated that mutual survival was still structurally possible through joint civic responsibility.

Furthermore, this framework creatively leveraged the moral authority of religious institutions to anchor its structural legitimacy. Local pastors and imams did not merely act as passive advisors; they were formally integrated into the operational debriefing cycles of the outfit. Whenever an operative flagged an emerging fault line such as a dispute over cattle routing through ancestral farmlands or the desecration of a local burial ground the embedded religious leaders immediately convened a local mediation tribunal under the protective umbrella of the state‟s statutory security law (Bewul & Cyprian, 2026).

This approach allowed the hybrid outfit to systematically resolve minor, identity-charged frictions before they could be co-opted by political entrepreneurs or transnational bandit networks. By transforming community policing into a collaborative exercise in inter-faith diplomacy, Operation Rainbow effectively demonstrated that in deeply religious societies, the structural containment of violence requires a sophisticated, institutional engagement with the cultural and spiritual values of the populace.

The Crisis of Pluralism Contesting Neutrality on the Ground

Despite the significant peace-building victories achieved by Operation Rainbow's Neighbourhood Watch framework, the 2021–2025 hyper-violent window exposed deep, structural contradictions within the paradigm of pluralistic hybrid policing. The most critical of these challenges was the constant, exhausting battle to maintain absolute institutional neutrality in a landscape where the very concept of neutrality was viewed with intense public suspicion (Lar, 2016). As asymmetric guerrilla attacks intensified across rural Local Government Areas, both Christian and Muslim constituencies began to exert powerful, diametrically opposed

pressures on the outfit's operational structures, threatening to tear its fragile pluralistic fabric apart.

For the indigenous Christian agrarian populations in areas like Barkin Ladi and Bokkos, the primary threat was viewed as existential displacement driven by armed actors who were often colloquially framed as "foreign invaders" or sectarian jihadists (Samuel et al., 2026). Within this cultural cosmology of defense, local communities frequently demanded that Operation Rainbow abandon its neutral, diplomatic stance and transform itself into a kinetic, offensive shield essentially acting as an indigenous Christian civil defense force comparable to the South-West‟s *Amotekun* network.

When the outfit‟s commandants refused to sanction unilateral reprisal raids against pastoralist settlements, maintaining strict adherence to their statutory multi-ethnic mandate, they were occasionally branded by local political actors as weak, compromised, or complicit in the face of local suffering (Oral Interview 3, March 2026). This internal friction exploded during the aftermath of the December 2023 Christmas Eve massacres, as deeply traumatized local populations openly questioned whether a pluralistic security force could truly protect indigenous ancestral lands without explicitly naming and targeting the sectarian identity of the aggressors.

Conversely, the Muslim and pastoralist communities across the state viewed the expanding footprint of Operation Rainbow with continuous, historical anxiety. This anxiety was rooted in the reality that the overarching subnational state apparatus was helmed by an indigenous Christian political elite. Consequently, despite the careful, demographic balancing of the Neighbourhood Watch cells, Muslim residents in metropolitan sectors like Jos North frequently alleged that the outfit's broader intelligence channels remained structurally biased toward the preservation of indigene privileges at the expense of settler security (Oral Interview Davou Gyang Irmiya on March 2026).

During periods of heightened panic, the movement of Operation Rainbow units into historically segregated Muslim enclaves was occasionally met with civilian resistance. Local youths sometimes viewed the state-backed operatives as a subtle, hostile extension of the Christian-dominated local government rather than an impartial, protective force.

These deep-seated anxieties were further exacerbated by the severe "firepower gap" that plagued the outfit throughout the 2021–2025 crisis. Because the federal government consistently maintained its strict, constitutional prohibition against state-level security outfits bearing sophisticated automatic weapons, Operation Rainbow‟s field operatives remained structurally dependent on the federal military (Operation Safe Haven) for kinetic support during active engagements (Nankap, 2026).

This dependence created an operational paradox: during real-time insurgent raids on rural villages, unarmed or lightly armed Operation Rainbow watchmen could do little more than witness the destruction and transmit immediate data to federal troops. If federal troops delayed their deployment due to logistical failures or tactical inertia, the local populations routinely blamed Operation Rainbow for the catastrophic failure. This dynamic shattered community

trust and lent weight to extremist arguments that pluralistic diplomacy was an entirely obsolete weapon against heavily armed, non-state combatants (Oral Interview. With Barr Solomonon Mwantiri President Berom Youth Moulders Association (BYM) (11 June 2026)

Ultimately, the 2021–2025 trajectory revealed that the crisis of pluralism facing Operation Rainbow was not merely a failure of tactical execution, but a fundamental structural tension embedded within the broader Nigerian federal project. In a society where internal security is completely entangled with deep structural contests over land ownership, religious dominance, and citizenship rights, the maintenance of an impartial, hybrid security apparatus requires an almost impossible level of political equilibrium.

Constantly balancing between the indigenous anxieties of the Christian agrarian population and the structural fears of the Muslim settler communities, Operation Rainbow demonstrated that while decentralized policing is essential for localized survival, it remains continuously vulnerable to the explosive, polarized forces of the very cultural environment it seeks to protect.

Conclusion

The structural and operational trajectory of Operation Rainbow between **2021 and 2025** offers profound empirical insights into the changing nature of subnational security governance within deeply divided societies. By moving beyond a narrow, technocratic analysis of tactical output or logistics, this study has analysed the outfit through a distinct *Religion and Cultural Studies* lens, revealing that decentralized policing in Nigeria‟s Middle Belt is fundamentally an on-going, delicate exercise in cultural diplomacy and historical memory. While the federal centre continues to fiercely guard its centralized monopoly over formal law enforcement under the 1999 Constitution, the severe escalation of asymmetric rural violence across the Plateau during this period forced a pragmatic shift toward security hybridization (Bewul & Cyprian, 2026). Operation Rainbow emerged as a vital intermediary, bridging the massive trust deficit between an estranged, distant federal defense apparatus and a traumatized, highly fractionalized citizenry on the ground (Nankap, 2026).

The core theoretical contribution of this paper lies in its re-evaluation of the cultural prerequisites required for successful decentralized policing. As demonstrated by the comparative historical reference to the south-western *Amotekun* network, contemporary security literature frequently assumes that subnational law enforcement thrives best under conditions of ethno-regional and religious homogeneity (Barje, 2025).

The Plateau paradigm radically disrupts this assumption. In multi-ethnic, multi-religious borderlands, any decentralized security architecture that succumbs to exclusionary, single-identity narratives instantly loses its local legitimacy, degenerating into an instrument of sectarian aggression. Operation Rainbow‟s structural survival between 2021 and 2025 depended precisely on its rejection of this insular framework. By strategically weaving local inter-faith diplomacy, cross-faith youth pairing, and structural community mediation into its Neighbourhood Watch infrastructure, the outfit attempted to neutralize the volatile "conflict

trap" that Shedrack Gaya Best identified as the hallmark of Middle Belt destabilization (Best & Rakodi, 2001).

Furthermore, this analysis underscores the profound impact of sacred geography and land cosmologies on modern law enforcement. In landscapes where territory is bound up with spiritual heritage and ancestral lineage, the act of policing can never be a purely secular, administrative exercise (Samuel et al., 2026). Operation Rainbow‟s daily operational realities between 2021 and 2025 were continuously compressed by these deep cultural currents. It had to develop an institutional dual-literacy: a language capable of respecting the deep-seated ancestral anxieties of indigenous agrarian populations facing territorial displacement, while concurrently upholding strict civic protections for non-indigenous, pastoralist, and Muslim minority communities (Oral Interview with Da Iliya Dashwei of Fan (2026, June). The severe operational boundaries encountered by the outfit most notably the unyielding "firepower gap" imposed by federal statutory limitations demonstrate that while local diplomacy can prevent micro-level communal escalations, hybrid security networks remain structurally vulnerable when facing heavily armed, transnational non-state actors without a synchronized, well-funded federal partner (Nankap, 2026).

Ultimately, *policing the sacred* on the Plateau reveals that sustainable state-building and internal security in pluralistic, conflict-prone societies cannot be achieved through top-down, detached military coercion alone. The ultimate resilience of any localized security apparatus relies on its capacity to cultivate, protect, and continuously perform inter-communal trust.

Between 2021 and 2025, Operation Rainbow‟s neighbourhood surveillance cells functioned not merely as data-gathering points, but as micro-sites of inter-faith diplomacy, proving that even amidst deep existential trauma, cooperative civic responsibility can be institutionalized. For future security policymakers and scholars of contemporary African history alike, the Plateau experiment offers an indispensable blueprint: showing that to successfully secure a fractured landscape, the state must look past the simple logistics of force projection and learn to deeply engage with the historical memories, cultural spaces, and spiritual cosmologies of the people it is sworn to protect.

Recommendations

1. **Codify Inter-Faith Mediation into Statutory Operational Mandates**
   The subnational government must move beyond informal reliance on religious leaders during active crises. The *Plateau State Operation Rainbow Establishment Law* should be amended to formally institutionalize and fund the Inter-Faith Neighborhood Watch Committees, establishing permanent, state-salaried mediation desks co-chaired by local Christian and Muslim clerics within all local government commands.

2. **Institutionalize Cultural Literacy Training for Embedded Security Personnel**
   To mitigate minority settler anxieties and prevent structural indigene biases, Operation Rainbow must establish a mandatory *Cultural and Inter-Faith Literacy Curriculum* at its training academies. Operatives must be rigorously certified in local land cosmologies,

dispute-resolution history, and multi-ethnic community diplomacy before field deployment in volatile flashpoints like Jos North and Mangu.

3. **Establish a Formal Trilateral Joint Information Framework**
To overcome the "firepower gap" and structural tactical inertia, a statutory *Trilateral Security Coordination Protocol* should be legally binding between Operation Rainbow's community watch cells, the State Security Council, and the federal military (*Operation Safe Haven*). This framework must mandate real-time, shared communication channels to convert indigenous inter-faith early-warning data into immediate, legally coordinated federal kinetic responses.

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