

**ETHNO- RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A
CASE STUDY OF KADUNA STATE.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I HAMZA HAUWA MAIJIDA declare that this proposal to the College of Humanities and Social Science of Kampala International University is my original work and I have no objections to this dissertation being available to any institutions.

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Signed  _____

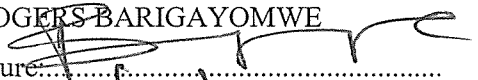
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APPROVAL

I confirm that the work compiled in this dissertation report was carried out by the candidate under my supervision.

SUPERVISOR

Dr. ROGERS BARIGAYOMWE

Signature: 

Date: 09/12/2017

DEDICATION

Almighty God, my father Alhaji Gambo Hamzat Garba , my mother Hajiya UmmulKhair Ibrahim Maifada and my siblings Saliha,Muhammed Al-qasim,Sadiq and Aisha.

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This dissertation was approved and made possible by my supervisor in Kampala International University. The theme of the dissertation is Ethno-religious conflict and local Development in Kaduna state, Nigeria. I am convinced that the dissertation presented will provide valuable resource to all the stakeholders for answering the question to why the ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state takes place and how they can be avoided.

This dissertation was made by my own personal efforts, with help and consultation of my supervisor Dr. Rogers Barigayomwe, I am grateful to him and all those who have cooperated with me in the field of the research and dedicated their time to answer the questionnaire of this dissertation and allowed me to access the necessary facilities.

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted between the months of August-December 2017 to examine the different forms of ethno-religious conflicts and local development in Nigeria and also create awareness on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts and what should be done about it to avoid it. Ethno-religious and other forms of sectarian struggles and conflicts are on the rise recently in Nigeria. The return of democracy with accompanying respect for fundamental human rights seemed to have unleashed all the tensions that have accumulated over the years. Of recent, deepest attachments have tended to shift more in favour of ethnic-based tendencies as ethnicity and religiocentrism occupies more space in the social and political landscape of the Nigerian society. This trend has been intensified and made more complicated by unpopular policies and bad governance in the past and even at this present time.

As the researcher I believe that sincere governmental schemes and efforts must be established by the government to achieve social and distributive justice for all people in the country. Merits, qualification and competence in or for a particular position must be respected. For where there is justice there will be peace and where is peace, there will be no ethno-religious conflicts. In fact, the control of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria will be among other social vices like corruption, litany of politically motivated killings, prostitution, examination malpractice, kidnapping, terrorism, rigging of elections etc. will go far in moving the country forward.

A complete and total implementation of the above recommendations would go a long way in the control of the incessant ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state and in most of the northern states of the country.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the study

Since the 1914 amalgamation of the northern and southern regions of Nigeria by the British colonial government (Michael Crowder, 1968), Nigerians have continued to debate the issues of peaceful coexistence among the various ethnic groups on one hand, and between Muslims and Christians on the other. The question about living together in peace emerged in Nigerian national debate as a result of the violent confrontation that has been occurring among “ethnic group in conflict” (Horowitz 2000), including the 1967 civil war- a three- year bloody war that was fought primarily by the Igbo people from the Southeast representing the Christian population and the Hausa Fulani people from the North representing the Muslim population, the post-civil war ethno-religious massacres, and the recent Boko Haram terrorism which has resulted in the death of thousands of people including Muslims and Christians and led to the destruction of property, valuable infrastructure and developmental projects; and above all, it possesses a great threat to national security, causes humanitarian disaster and psychological trauma, disruption of school activities, unemployment, and an increase in poverty that has weakened the country’s economy. The Boko Haram terrorist and violent attack have indeed reignited the old debate on what it means on Muslims and Christians, Hausa Fulanis, Igbos, Yorubas and the ethnic minorities to coexist and live together in harmony. Drawing on the post-colonial criticism (Tyson, 2015) and other relevant social conflict resolution, this paper seeks to analyse, through medico-diagnostic the drivers, dynamics and sources of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria. The paper lays out various ways in which this conflict could be solved.

Ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic groups’ position within society. This final criterion differentiates ethnic conflict from other forms of struggle. Kaufman, Stuart J. (2001).

But this study will take ethnic and religious conflict to mean

Ethno-religious and other forms of sectarian struggles and conflicts are on the rise recently in Nigeria. The return of democracy with accompanying respect for fundamental human rights seemed to have unleashed all the tensions that have accumulated over the years. Of recent, deepest attachments have tended to shift more in favour of ethnic-based tendencies as ethnicity

and religiocentrism occupies more space in the social and political landscape of the Nigerian society. This trend has been intensified and made more complicated by unpopular policies and bad governance in the past and even at this present time.

Kaduna is located in the highlands of Central Nigeria. It belongs to the Central State of Nigeria otherwise called the “Middle Belt”, a geo-political term with a lot of ethno-religious connotations comprising the states of Bauchi, Benue, Kaduna, Nassarawa, and Taraba. These states have unique characteristics vis-à-vis other states in the federation. A special report by the National Orientation Agency (NOA, 2002) identifies these features in the zone to include:

Home to over 50% of ethnic groups in Nigeria; although no ethnic group shares 100% of its culture with other groups; Christianity, Islam and Traditional African Religion all command considerable influence on the lives of the people.

Apart from the rich mineral resources, the zone is also endowed with massive land and grazing activities, explaining the massive influx of people from other areas to this zone; In terms of development, the zone is one of the least developed in spite of the location of the federal capital close to the zone; The zone has a very large pool of ex-servicemen, some of whom are not gainfully employed; The people of this zone are known to be hospitable, accommodating and peaceful. It is indeed worrisome that such a people could suddenly be engaged in frequent violent clashes (National Orientation Agency, 2002).

However, Kaduna is viewed as a rainbow of vibrant diversity; and mini Nigeria with a population of about 59 to 63 ethnic groups that are both Muslim and Christian population. It should also be noted that Kaduna state has always played host to a variety of interests from both the North and even beyond whom always rightly or wrongly, believe that Kaduna state is a place from which messages of whatever hue and cry could be effectively conveyed to the entire country. The convergence of these factors in Kaduna state no doubt have contributed to the development of the state, but has also put a lot of strain on the systems as it has now and then been found handy by some mischievous and misguided elements among Christians and Muslims who exploit them for the attainment of their selfish and often nefarious objectives. Such individuals and groups often pretend to be pursuing public or communal interests.

Kaduna state however does not have the monopoly of being the flashpoint or theatre of ethno-religious tensions and conflicts. Elsewhere in Nigeria and indeed throughout the world, contemporary events and political processes provide ample evidence that even the developed

societies are not free from the deadly explosions and violent confrontation along ethnic, religious, regional, economic, cultural and other divisions.

What makes the difference from one area to the other is the question of the degree of the conflicts and, perhaps more importantly, the efforts being made to address the basis of the problems related to the conflicts. Whereas in some places mechanisms have been put in place to tackle the problems, in others, nothing is being correctly done, therefore leaving the problems to find concrete expressions in the most violent form.

Plurality of ethnic and religious groups, ideally, should not be a problem. Diversity and pluralism are known to be the basis of cosmopolitan and complex societies and other cultures. However, the mismanagement of these factors by controllers of political power often breeds sectarian and other conflicts. The multi ethno-religious nature of the society therefore is not the problem. It is only when ethnicity and religion are made means of narrowing people's participation in political, economic, and social spheres that problems manifest in various forms.

The state under discussion (Kaduna) geopolitical area has for sometimes occupied positions of volatility in the history of ethno-religious tensions and conflicts in Nigeria, with eruptions from the state having great consequences nationwide. Kaduna state has experienced varieties of conflicts - Sometimes subtle and at other times violent – mostly expressed in ethno-religious forms. Bad leadership at both macro and micro levels has also played a major part in the escalation of ethno-religious conflicts, particularly when adequate mechanisms to reduce their occurrence are not employed. The central issues continue to revolve around people, social equality, citizen's rights and participatory democracy.

The negative effect of these conflicts is that, government, private individuals and groups have spent huge amount of money in rebuilding the destruction caused by ethno-religious conflicts in the country. The amount of money spent on Kaduna state alone would be enough to move Nigeria to another level of socio-economic and political development. What is very much disturbing are the irreparable lives of Nigerians lost during such conflicts.

1.1 Definition of Terms

Religion: Elaigwu (2004) viewed religion as “a set of beliefs and practices based on faith, which are sacred and depth rational scrutiny”. Therefore, it can quite easily trigger off emotional reactions. However, for the purpose of this study, we shall adopt the definition by Merriam (1980) as our working definition who defined religion thus:

The outward act or form by which men indicate their recognition of the existence of God or gods having power over their destiny, to whom obedience, service, honour are due: the feeling or expression of human love, fear or awe of some super human and over-ruling power, whether by profession or belief, by observance or rites and ceremonies or by conduct of life.

Conflict: Sani (2007) defined Conflict as “a moment or time of danger or great difficulty, turning point, disaster, emergency, calamity or catastrophe, as level of Conflict with tense confrontation between mobilized armed forces”.

In other words conflict is the state of opposition between ideas, interests. Typically a protracted one

Economics: Hornby (2001) views economics as “the science of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services or the condition of a country as to materials prosperity”.

In other words economics can be defined as the branch of knowledge concerned with the consumption and transfer of wealth, allocation of capital and investment and management of the factors of production.

Development: Balogun (1988) defined development as “the act, process or result of developing, or state of being developed, gradual advancement or growth through progressive changes in Technological, scientific, political, social, economic and religious advancement leading to better condition of living”. Changes occur and can be seen or observed in all human endeavours.

In other words development can be defined as a gradual and continual process of a specified state of growth or advancement.

1.2 Statement of the problem

By ethno-religious conflicts, it means a situation which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterised by lack of cordiality, mutual, suspension and fear and a tendency towards violent confrontation. B. Salawu (2010).

Ethnicity results from conditions of multiplicity of ethnic groups within a territory in which ethnic difference mobilized for political and economic interests in relation to other groups. This condition of politicalized ethnicity may lead to ethnic nationalism; where by an ethnic group may

demand for a separate nation including using violent or terrorist methods to advance its realizations.

According to Babalawe,(2010)“Nigeria is an archetypical plural society characterized by divergent languages, cultures, ethnic groups and geological regions. The realization that a society as diverse as Nigeria may be difficult to manage administratively partly informed the decision to adopt Lyttleton constitution of 1954 which formally inaugurated the practice of federalism in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the Nigerian federal structures was so inaugurated and was still in an unbalanced and lopsided one in which the northern religion emerged as a bigger entity than the combination of the entire population of the eastern and western region. The struggle for power sharing was reduced to a struggle of al hegemony among the three main ethnic groups namely the Hausa Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo. In the course of this struggle, those who fall outside the three main ethnic groups were regarded as minorities who were marginalized not only in the allocation of power but for resources as well.

Ethnic and religious conflicts have seriously and negatively affected the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria as a nation. This has negative effects on the country’s national security, stability and integration. The manipulation of religion and ethnicity has been a major obstacle to the country’s efforts towards attaining greater height and as a force to be reckon with, the world over.

Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have become major boundaries that create divisions among people. Ethnicity and religion have also become potent tools for mobilization and manipulation in the country. They have been so manipulated that virtually all institutions in the public and private sectors have been polarized along ethnic and religious lines. Civil servants, community and social workers are most victims of intimidation and oppression in their places of work. Survival and job security are strongly based on who is of the same ethnic group and religion with the boss. These are ideologies that do not promote peaceful and harmonious co-existence among Nigerians. Our ethnic and religious values should have been a force that will encourage Nigerians to appreciate the great benefits derivable from working together as Nigerians in honesty and for a better future irrespective of our ethnic and religious differences.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This work is aimed at assessing the extent of human and material resources destroyed or lost in ethno-religious conflict in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to Kaduna State. It also

create awareness as to what Nigerian enemies, mostly in the Northern part of the country are doing underground to undermine the country's socio-economic and political growth and development.

The research unravels the roots and remote causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. And how these conflicts have dictated their ascendancy as normative process in the history of the country's march to socio-economic and political development as a nation state.

The work also aims at establishing the fact that each ethnic group is as important as the others. As such, the leadership of this great country is not the sole responsibility of only one particular ethnic group.

1.4 Research Objectives

The research will be guided by the following objectives;

- a) To identify different forms of ethno-religious conflicts of Kaduna state.
- b) To examine the causes of ethno-religious conflicts of Kaduna state.
- c) To examine the effects of ethno-religious conflicts of Kaduna state.

1.5 Research Questions

The research will be guided by the following questions;

- a) What are the different forms of ethno-religious conflicts of Kaduna state?
- b) What are the causes of ethno-religious conflicts of Kaduna state?
- c) How does an ethno-religious conflict affect the development of Kaduna state?

1.6 Significance of the study

The research reawakens in the minds of Nigerians the important role religion plays in the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. That is to say, that religion can be a very good tool for fostering national unity, economic and political development when properly handled. On the other hand, it can also be a disruptive instrument and viable tool for conflict if negatively handled.

Teachers, students and researchers of religion, economics, sociology and history in Nigerian schools will find the work benefiting to them as it furnishes them with current information on the country's social, economic, political and religious development. The research shall be useful to

politicians and political leaders in decision making on issues that affects religion directly in the country.

It will help in the provision of relevant data on the genesis, effects and measures towards the control of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria particularly the Northern part of the country.

It will also unravel the awareness of decision makers on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts on the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria as a country. This will help in the formation of favourable policies and decisions that will stimulate a conducive atmosphere for the practice of religion in the country.

It will also serve as a means towards the development of a strategic action plan that will be a significant force in peaceful and harmonious co-existence amongst the practitioners of different religion in Nigeria.

It will strengthen a network of the all stakeholders who would share the experiences in the search for peaceful co-existence which will in no small measure contribute to the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This research work focuses on the effect of ethno-Religious conflicts on the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria with particular reference to Kaduna state. This is because, Kaduna is ranked among the list of States that have witnessed most perturbing and unprecedented upsurge of ethno-Religious conflicts in contemporary times in the country.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Brief Analysis of Religious Conflicts

A review of available literature will be made so as to get at a clearer picture of the ethnic and religious Conflicts particularly in Kaduna state. The review about Kaduna state falls under the following categories:

Religious conflicts in Kaduna State

Ethnic conflicts in Kaduna State

Political conflicts in Kaduna State

Land dispute conflicts in Kaduna State

This grouping is done so as to reconstruct properly the recorded series of conflicts as they occurred in Kaduna state.

2.1 KADUNA STATE

2.1.1 Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State

Nache (2001) explained that, Jesus Christ is believed by all Christians to be the prince of peace. Christianity is therefore, totally believed to be a means for peace, prosperity, progress and development for all its adherents.

Thus Christianity frowns at violence, injustice, and destruction of public property and the killing of innocent souls or lives. This position according to Nache is made clear in the gospel of Mathew where Jesus said that:

Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called children of God (Mathew 5:9).

Jesus further says that and do not resist him that is wicked; but whoever slaps you on your right cheek, turn the other also to him (Mathew 5:39). In another portion of the same Mathew, Jesus said that; however, I say to you: continue to love your enemies and to pray for those persecuting you (Mathew 5:44).

From Christ teachings, Christians are obliged to be loving and peaceful to one another and non-Christians alike irrespective of their religious or cultural differences. Unfortunately, this understanding of Christ's teaching is gradually dying down. This is because modern Christian

preachers, particularly of the Pentecostal generation demonize the other, particularly Islam and sometimes interpret the Bible wrongly. Supporting this point, Udoidem (1997) observed that:

The Pentecostal fundamentalists could be likened to the Islamic fundamentalists. They spread their message through public crusades and revivals often in a predominantly Muslims area. Therefore, Muslims resentment of them for violating their Shari'a law which forbids Christians on their right to profess and practice their religion anywhere often results in confrontation.

Furthermore, the Christian fundamentalists and Pentecost lists see Islam as a satanic kingdom and Muslims as Satan who ought not to be converted but condemned. Crusades that encapsulate this idea provoke negative reactions from Muslims. Udoidem (1979) further observed that:

This type of blatant insensitivity to others' religious sensitivity constitutes an act of provocation. It was this type of crusade that led to the Kano Riot in 1991 between Muslims and Christians... sometimes the Pentecostal and fundamentalist groups feel that the mainstream churches are too compromising in matters of faith and politics. Thus they often campaign to take over the leadership of CAN and use it as a political platform.

The researcher agrees with Achunike's (2007) View that:

Generally speaking, Muslim and Christian preachers are guilty of unwholesome preaching and negative comments against each other's religions, particularly in Northern Nigeria. In Eastern Nigeria, it is common knowledge that Christians engage in iconoclasm against the African Traditional Religion.

Islam as a religion is belief by all Muslims to be a religion of peace. To the best knowledge and belief of most Muslims, Islam has wonderful teachings on peace and peace building. This is clearly demonstrated in the Islamic teaching on religious tolerance which states that, "And insult not those whom they worship besides Allah lest they insult Allah wrongfully without knowledge" (Qur'an 6:108). The above verse shows that, whoever wants others to listen to him must equally learn how to listen to others. In other words, whoever wants people to respect his religion must respect other people's religion as well.

However, in the last three decades, from our experience, the peace that Islam and other religions enjoy is gradually declining due to the activities of some people. Some educated Muslims believe that some uneducated Islamic fundamentalists who know little or nothing about Islam as a religion are against it. The over-zealousness of Islamic fundamentalists has resulted in violent confrontation against non-Muslim, injustice, destruction of public property and the killing of innocent souls. The educated Muslims also believe that Islamic fundamentalists are of the belief that unbelievers of Islamic faith are infidels who are to be humiliated; and ultimately killed or converted as prescribed by the Holy Qur'an, (Qur'an 9:29).

The Qur'an however shuns excesses. Every religion at one time or another engaged in proselytization. Jihad is not a religious obligation binding on individual Muslim, but rather an obligation incumbent on the Islamic community as a whole, Jihad is a war undertaken for the spread of Islam. There are types of jihad outside of the sword (war). There is jihad of the heart where an individual attempts to be nearer God by purifying his soul of evil thoughts and desires. There is also jihad of the tongue by means of preaching, persuasion, the use of Islamic literature and so on to spread Islam. The Ahmadiyah sect adopts today the jihad of the tongue. Nzomiu in Achunike(2007) views jihad as holy war declared with the object of winning unbelievers (i.e. non-Muslims) over to Islam, or subduing and exterminating them in case they refuse to become Muslims. Furthermore, the Qur'an (2:190–193) urges Muslims thus:

Fight in the cause of God those who fight you. But do not transgress limits; for God loveth not transgressors. And slay them wherever you catch them. And turn them out from where they have turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter... fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression. And there prevail justice and faith in God.

The Qur'an (9:5) further commends thus:

When the sacred months are over, then fight, slay the pagans wherever you find them; And seize them, beleaguer them, and lie and wait for them in every stratagem (of war). But if they repent and establish regular prayers and practice regular charity, then open the way for them; for God is often-for-giving, most merciful". Any Muslim who dies in the course of such a war becomes a martyr.

Qur'an (3:169–170) attests that those who die in such wars are not actually dead but living in the presence of their Lord, their needs supplied, rejoicing in the bounty which God has given them.

Nzomiwu in Achunike (2007) observes that: Today many Muslim scholars and theologians agree that religion should be treated as a matter between man and his God, a matter of conscience in which nobody has right to interfere. They therefore advocate freedom of religion. Some even deny that the Qur'an ever enjoined on Muslims to fight jihad of the sword and maintain that the idea of the holy war for the spread of Islam and triumph of Islam over all religions was a wrong notion of jihad introduced by jurists owing to misconception of certain verses of the Qur'an.

Ubaka (2003) succinctly sums it as thus:

Sharia implies a totality of God's ordinances and prohibitions, which have to do with the activities of man. Its concern is all embracing, catering for all the activities of an individual from birth to death. Just as Islam, Sharia governs both the religion and secular life.

Ethno-religious conflicts have become "annual rituals" in some states in the northern part of Nigeria. Kano, Katsina, Bauchi, Kaduna states are particularly, Nigeria's hottest beds of religious upheavals. These states have assumed notoriety in harbouring violent ethno-religious effusions which constitute serious threat to lives and property (New Nigeria, December 16, 2001). In the last three decades, it is almost impossible to recall the number of ethno-religious conflicts that have occurred in the northern states at the slightest provocation since after the civil war in 1970, the first major conflict against the nation was the Maitatsine religious conflicts. These conflicts were tagged war against infidels. The conflict started in December 1980, about 4,177 people were killed and property worth millions of naira were destroyed (News watch, March 30, 1987).

Against these backgrounds, there have been opposing relationships between the two dominant religions, Christianity and Islam, in the socio-economic and political affairs of the country. This further reveals that the subsequent upheavals in the country often identified as ethno-religious conflicts from 1980 to date have political, social, ethnic and religious undertones. Other identified records of ethno-religious conflicts fact files where lives and property worth millions of naira were lost in some towns and villages of Kaduna state include the followings:

The Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Muslims and Christians student clashed in 1977-78 over ideological differences was the first ethno-religious conflict recorded in Kaduna state. Sani (2007) reported that the conflict came up when the Kegites club was celebrating the restoration of the Blackman's pride, and chose palm wine as one of the symbols of their rituals. As part of the rituals, members were expected to drink a lot of palm wine. However, the celebration did not go down well with the Muslim Students Society of the University, who claimed that the behaviour of the Kegites was the height of depravity, and since they as Muslims were prohibited from consuming alcohol, the Kegites had no right to flaunt this decadence in their face. They also argued that the glasses used by the Kegites were bound to be used by Muslim Students in the dining hall later. Thus, as soon as the Kegites party got underway, some members of the Muslim Students stormed the hall and organized a violent disruption of the Kegites' activities. Many Kegites were wounded in the process. The Muslim students went on further rampage, damaging other university buildings in the process.

Furthermore, Maigari (1996) reported that following allegations that immediately after the arrest and detention of the Christina' preacher, the group responsible had sent signal to their leader, Ibrahim El-zakzaky, in Zaria, for direction on how to handle the "offender". A special police unit from the Federal Capital, Abuja, swooped on the Zaria residence of El-zakzaky on September 12, 1996 and arrested him and a handful of his followers. This sparked off protest by Shiite faithful in Kaduna, Kano, Zaria, Kastina, Funtua and Sokoto on September 13, 1996. No fewer than six and possible 14 Shiites died while several others were injured during the violent clash between the sect members and the police. This did not deter the Shiites, rather on Monday September 16, 1996 they threatened government with the ultimatum published simultaneously in Zaria and Kaduna, which says "produce and set our leader free before Friday September 20, 1996 or face further protest" (*The News*, September 30, 1996).

2.1.2 Ethnic conflicts in Kaduna State

The Cudjoe judicial commission of inquiry into the ZangonKataf (market) conflict was appointed by the then governor of Kaduna state, Dabo Mohammed Lere, on February 11, 1992, five days after the conflict. It was made up of seven members, namely, RahilaHadeaCudjoe, a judge of theKaduna High Court as Chairperson, and MassoundOredola, William FageiShera,

JaafaruMakarfi, GarbaGaladima, Abbas Usman and Musa Gaya as members. The secretary was Bashir J. Sukola of the Ministry of Justice, Kaduna state (*Citizen*, June 15, 1992)

Evidence before the Cudjoe panel confirmed the death of 95 people, most of whom were Hausa-Fulani. Police source put the death toll at 200-300 while NGOs and human rights groups put the figure at above 1000. The number of injured persons was put at 252, not counting those who did not go to any hospital. Also for property damaged, government experts commissioned by the panel confirmed that 28 motor vehicles and plants worth N4.2 million were completely burnt, all of them in Hausa areas. In addition, 10 motor vehicles worth N412, 000 were damaged, 9 motorcycles worth N121, 000 were burnt and other things such as spare parts, generating sets, bicycles and sewingmachines worth N4.2 million were destroyed. Also destroyed were 133 houses worth N7.3 million and 26 farmlands worth N821, 000 (*Citizen*, June 15, 1992).

2.1.3 Political conflicts in Kaduna State

The National Mirror of (April 19, 2011) reported another political conflict that came up on April 18, 2011 in Kaduna State. The State came under serious attack with the burning of Vice President NamadiSambo's resident in Zaria. Churches and Mosques in Zaria were also burnt down during the crises. The protests are reportedly being spearheaded by the supporters of the defeated presidential candidate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), Major General MuhammaduBuhari.

Soyinka therefore, charged the President to tackle the problem facing the country head on; in a comprehensive and holistic manner, not in piecemeal; and not scratching here and there. Otherwise there is great fear for the continuum of this nation. Soyinka believed that some prominent Nigerians were behind the crises. He said that as he watched the body language of some of those leaders, he did not detect any vestige of remorse or geniuses. There was a complete disjunction between what the mouth was saying and the body language. He suggested that, "the culture of impunity must stop and that it is about time we sat down and adopt the code of common behaviour with distinct punishment for those who violated that code of mutual existence" (*National Mirror*, April 29, 2011)..

However, Kure (2011) of the Throne Room Trust Ministry in Kafanchanfaulted Abdullani's explanation on the post-election crisis in Kafanchan. On thisnote therefore, Kure explained that:First of all, it is clear that the whole crisis was thoroughly pre-planned with logistics set out

and lines of action and operation spelt out clearly. Otherwise, one cannot explain what a spontaneous call for prayer on most of the loudspeakers in the Mosques across the city at the same time at 9pm or thereabout with a shout of Allahu Akbar was all about. Muslims began to troop toward, the mosques and designated areas to be followed at 10pm with another call on loudspeakers. This was repeated a few times and the killings and burnings began.

According to Kure (2011), in the history of this great nation, he is not aware of any demonstration at night by 9 to 10 pm except they were clandestine. This is because during their operation, they seemed to have reinforcement centres where they went to for either arms/ammunitions or some form of coordination. Some reports even mentioned some coordination and movement from the Emir's Palace. This led to some of these locations being attacked after the attackers became short of arms and could not sustain the movement anymore.

The circulation of the CD message left many people feeling unsafe, especially as the last crisis took the security operatives more than three days to quell. Already, some prominent indigenes of the state have spoken against the danger of allowing another bloodletting.

Therefore, Kure (2011) just like other people is of the belief that the problem is not the type that has defied logical solution as long as both sides would agree to tell the truth. A meeting of stakeholders should be constituted to address the situation in order to find a solution to the problem of incessant conflicts in the state.

2.1.4 Land dispute conflicts in Kaduna State

Zakkari (1980) reported on the 1980, inter-ethnic communal land dispute which erupted between the Hausa and Kadara in KasuwanMagani, Kajuru Local Government Area of Kaduna state. The conflict resulted in the lost of many souls and property worth millions of naira (*New Nigeria*, November 22, 1980)

2.2 Causes of Ethno – Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State

2.2.1 Religious Causes

Yusuf, Y.A, (2010), a civil servant in Kaduna stated that the various ethno – religious conflicts in the country should be blamed on tribal sentiments and religious bigotry. According to Yusuf, people attach a lot of sentiments to their religious beliefs than respect and loyalty to this nation. He said that it is high time for Nigerians to start seeing themselves as one irrespective of their

tribal and religious differences. He further maintained that, unless Nigerians learn to mutually respect one another and live together then, they should be prepared to be faced with more of such ugly crises.

Mustafa, J.J. (2010), a politician in Zaria, blamed the conflicts in Kaduna State on tribal sentiments and not religious as some people always portray it. He said Kaduna State that were known to be very peaceful in the past years are now assuming a different dimension that should be the concern of all well meaning individuals in the two States. He therefore called on all people to always tour the path of peace not only in Kaduna State but in the country at large.

Achunike (2007) identified some causes to these conflicts in the modern day religious practices which includes two of the following:

a) Claims of revelations: Unguarded claim to exclusive revelations to God who despite all human efforts remains unknown. Muslims however claim that they have total knowledge of God. Christians equally have the same claim and even the African Traditional Religion (ATR). These claims of ultimate knowledge of God by adherents of religions create forms of social conflicts.

b) Pride: Proud people have the tendency of looking down on others under the claim that they have something which others will never have also leads to conflict when applied to religion.

Furthermore, Sunday in Achunike (2007) identified other eight factors that also lead to inter religious conflicts:

Wrong Perception of Other People's Religions or their Faith:

This portrays looking at other people's religious activities with levity which often leads to conflict. This is true particularly when we know that every religion promises its adherents salvation and hope.

Wrong Religious Orientation: People are taught differently under different religions. When wrong methods are used in indoctrinating adherents of a particular religion, what often follows is religious obsession which invariably leads to conflict.

Literacy Level of Religious Adherents: Every Nigerian belongs to one religion or another, but not too many Nigerians are educated. Since people often believe what their religious leaders say; illiterates are easily manipulated to achieve one selfish aim or another since they are not critical and logical in their thinking.

Selfishness on the Part of Religious Personalities: Some religious leaders, despite their calling, are given to selfishness. They employ foul means to perpetrate religious conflicts knowing that

they will be invited by the government in power to seek their consent. That way, they get closer to the government for their personal interest.

Too Much Freedom Given to Religious Leaders:

It appears that too much freedom is accorded religious leaders in Nigeria. Anybody can carry microphone and say whatever he or she likes in the name of religion. There is no censor for religious preachers.

Pronouncement; Therefore, pronouncements from such could lead to social conflict.

Soyinka (1991) witnessing the sharp and mindless intolerance of Muslim worshippers who called for the removal of a cross, the Christian symbol of faith in the University of Ibadan Christian Chapel some years back remarked that: "Violence appears to be the one constant thing in the histories of the major religions of the world, a primitive aggressiveness violence – despite the lip-service which their tenets pay to the need for tolerance, peace and understanding". The above scenario to Soyinka's close friend, though not a Christian who was bitter and not happy with the development vowed that if the problem was not amicably settled between the Muslims and Christians, he was going to take a gun and shoot someone who will attempt removing the cross.

From the above expression, we can see that lack of tolerance of the beliefs and views of others, unguarded and provocative utterances or preaching by some religious leaders and their followers or even the use of loudspeakers which produce unpleasant noise are some ways by which conflicts arise. Disagreement as a result of differences of opinion, misinterpretation and wrong perception between religious groups, blocking of roads by Muslims on Fridays during their prayers, unnecessary delays of non-Muslim passengers in commercial vehicles on roads for prayers, etc. could also be responsible for conflicts.

While some people think that Christianity is an agent of American and European imperialism, others think that Muslims have close ties with Saudi Arabia. Both religious bodies are believed to often get financial support from their applications.

2.2.2 Poverty/Unemployment

Poverty is said to exist when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs. The poverty level in Nigeria today constitutes a great threat to the nation's peace and security, particularly with the condition of living standard declining daily. Poverty has been identified as one of the major causes of ethnic and religious conflict and the prevailing social and political ills bedevilling the

nation. The poverty level most especially in the Northern part of Nigeria contributes to the high frequency of the ethno-religious conflicts in the North.

Physical poverty creates societal problems particularly when many people cannot afford needs like shelter, clothing and feeding. Since Nigeria lack structural economy to cater for large population, the consequent poverty creates societal problems. Extremely poor people can do anything to sustain themselves. Thus, the poor youths (*Almajiris*) particularly in Northern Nigeria are manipulated with small amount of money and food to cause religious conflicts.

Biodun, A. (2010), an Evangelist in Zaria blamed the conflicts on low level of education among the youths who are always and easily used by mischief-makers to foment trouble for their selfish ends. He further observed that children are left on the streets without proper education. He therefore, said that, unless positive steps are taken to address the educational problem of our children these conflicts would continue.

Unemployment and poverty have been named also, as remote; and at times the immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts. Sani (2007) asserted that: The unemployment of our willing and able youths has a translate security implication for the country. These jobless youths have on several occasions been manipulated by the economic and political elites.

The poverty level of Nigeria according to is very alarming and it only reflects the level to which the Nigerian masses have suffered economic deprivations and injustices in the form of exploitation. Yet, there is lack of enough incentives on the part of government for poverty alleviation. This has therefore been another major cause to these crises in the country.

Given the current economic hardship and high level of unemployment, “armed youths for hire” are available at cheap cost. While the federal government “deregulates” the economy, politicians “deregulate” violence and the control of instruments of violence, which is supposed to be the monopoly of government. A hungry man easily turns out to be an angry man, and the use of these weapons can be dangerous to the state. The armies of the unemployed are always willing to find new jobs as body guards, assassins, and cannon-fodders in communal violence. The conspicuous consumption of political office holders (whose backgrounds were well known before they assumed public offices) amidst the abject poverty of the people, not only alienate, but generate hatred.

2.2.3 Poor Security Network

Vincent, D. (2010), a civil servant in Lere Local Government of Kaduna state attributed the causes of religious conflicts to inadequate or poor security network. According to him, government does not provide security at the right time during crises. He therefore suggested that preventive measures should be put in place by government so as to prevent the frequent occurrence of conflicts in the affected states and the nation at large.

Kolawole, C. (2010), a contractor in Lere town is of the belief that some well-meaning individuals used the masses to fight themselves for their selfish ends. He therefore advised government to always bring out such people and be made to face the full rot of the law to serve as a deterrent to others.

In potential conflicts situations, security agencies may be useful in creating a sense of safety and security among groups. The partisanship of security agencies usually tips the balance, resulting in lack of confidence in the security agencies. Thus instead of preventing violent conflict or effectively controlling conflicts, the perception of the security agencies as neutral arbiters are known for, there have been allegations of partnership of security agencies which have helped to escalate rather than dampen conflicts.

2.2.4 Political causes

Elaigwu (2004) asserted that there is enough evidence to show that quite a number of ethno-religious conflicts are caused by politicians and political leaders. The level of hypocrisy among our political leaders is nauseating. Some of these politicians have no constituencies from which to demonstrate their relevance except through their narrow ethnic and religious groups. Without being religiously judgmental, they are not religious in their personal lives-whether they claim to be “born again” or is it “born against” God. Their personal lives do not show that God has a place. They exude religious bigotry and ethno-centrism, with demonstrable arrogance. They symbolically use churches and mosques as their theatres of operation in the day time, while they consult *babalawo* or *juju men* or even ritualists at night. It is important that they maintain this semblance of churchianity and mosquianity, bereft as these may be of the core values of Christianity and Islam. This is because it is their lifeline for survival. They pollute young children with their bigotry and copiously exhibit ethno-centric arrogance. Many of the ethno-religious conflicts in the North are generated or exacerbated by these groups. Since no

commission of inquiry ever punishes them, they hide behind their ethno-religious curtains as untouchable-constantly brewing and dispensing new forms of violence. Genuinely religious people respect the ways of life of others.

Bonnet, A: (2010) a Sociologist, attributed the genesis of ethno-religious conflicts in the north and the country at large on the colonial masters who taught Nigerians to know that a Hausa man is different from a Gwari or a Kataf man is different from an Igbo man or an Igbo man is different from a Yoruba man, etc. According to Bonnet, the colonialists succeeded in dividing various tribes against one another in the country so that they could rule us easily. They in fact, succeeded because Nigerians were ignorant of their plan.

It was so unfortunate that at the time Nigerians got to put things in order and come together as one people and a strong country, the politicians made matters worse. Today, some of the conflicts in the country and in our various communities are for economic survival. Since we all know that lands belong to our communities or our fore-fathers, communities are now at each other's throat at any slightest encroachment. Instead of discussing the matter through the elders of the affected communities, many idle youths have taken the laws in their hands with the assistance of some politicians.

Bonnet further stated that the Nigerian government has failed to provide the necessary basic amenities to the people or is not doing so quickly enough. The people in these communities that are killing each other in the name of ethnic, religion, land and political issues are peasants who cannot boast of any basic amenities in their areas. Bonnet said that he is of the belief that if government has been living up to its expectation, he does not think if people would be senseless to start fighting or killing each other over land or religious issues. He therefore suggested that government should ensure that necessary basic amenities are provided to the people, employment opportunities created to the country's youths who are idle and roaming the streets of our major urban centres and villages.

Bonnet did not spare the country's religious leaders. According to him, the country's religious leaders also have their share of the blame in this matter of ethno-religious conflicts. Many of them claim to be holy, when they are in fact devils in religious garb, and they mislead their followers to think that apart from their religion there is no other. What the religious leaders should know is that if God had wanted all human kind or people of the world to be Muslims only or Christians, it could have been so. Bonnet therefore called on government to take a serious

stand towards bringing these conflicts to an end as they posed serious threats to the mutual co-existence of various tribes and communities in Kaduna state and the nation at large.

Donatus, I. (2010), a trader in Kafanchan accused the Kaduna State government of aiding and abetting conflicts in the States. Donatus is of the opinion that lack of the States government action against the perpetrators of the conflicts always sent wrong signals to the trouble makers. He further maintained that the government is not courageous to fish out and punish those behind the crises either because they are in support of what is happening or because those behind these crises are close government associates.

The congress therefore urges the new National Security Adviser and the State Government to brace up to the challenges of restoration of peace so that residents of the state and their relations elsewhere will have peace of mind. It also called on governments at all levels to make security of lives and property a prime objective of governance. The congress also viewed that while religious or ethnic differences may have been the apparent reasons for the recent mayhems, the greatest contributing factor to rampant cases of breakdown of law and order is the manipulation of religion and ethnicity for political ends. It therefore urges all those in positions of authority to commit themselves to the core ideals of leadership in line with universal concepts of governance so that majority of the people who presently serve as foot soldiers of violence would be engaged in productive ventures (*The Nation*, March 22, 2010).

Uzor(2002) blamed the conflicts on the struggle for power.

According to him, most of these crises may have started on religious note, but later exposed the political tensions that have been moulding in the North. The struggle for power in KadunaState gave the ethnic and religion conflicts the bloody execution. Kukah (2002) blamed the conflicts on the continued manipulation of religion by leaders as a tool for governance. Kukah asserted that: Leaders have realized the difficulty in trying to separate politics fromreligion; they have continued to manipulate this as a tool for governance.

2.2.5 Ethnic Migration/indigene-settler causes

Indigeneship and Settler Problems has become a problem all over the country. In spite of the rhetorics about Nigerian *citizenship*, all Nigerians recognize that there is *indigeneship*. President Obasanjo and his Vice President, AlhajiAtikuAbubakar has claimed that indigeneship is illegal. This problem cannot be solved by political hypocrisy and rhetoric. Yes, there have been patterns

of migrations. But we all know the settlement pattern at this point in time. Even though the Hausa/Fulani have lived in Shagamu for over a hundred years, not many of them are in the local government council or in the Ogun State House of Assembly. In Abia, Enugu and Anambra States, Hausa-Fulani people have lived there for a long time, also not many are recognized as indigenes of any local government council area. In Kano and Adamawa States, many Ibos have also lived there for generations, but many of them are not recognized as indigenes. Even the names of individuals immediately disqualify them. Similarly, in Jos and Kaduna, many Yoruba families claim to have lived there for over four generations, but still they are not accepted as indigenes.

Every Nigerian can live anywhere in Nigeria, but not all Nigerians have the same indigene-ship rights everywhere political hypocrisy will not help us resolve this problem. We should rather be frank and realistic with ourselves.

The 1999 constitution, section 25-32, and the Part I, provides in item 9, that “citizenship, naturalization and aliens” is an exclusive matter of the government of the federation. Thus, any Nigerian can live anywhere in the federation. Note that citizenship is not a concurrent matter as in the United States and other federations of the world.

Very often some citizens of ethnic and religious groups consider themselves as hailing from aristocratic traditional backgrounds, and arrogantly exhibit ethno-centrism in relations with other groups. At times, these people relate to other groups (that is when they care to) with disdain, extending their ethno-religious status recklessly to domains of other’s socio-cultural preference. Politicians do this with nauseating efficiency. It is no wonder that traditional leader “sell” or “award” titles more under democratic politics in Nigeria. This often offends the sensibilities of other people who find other platforms for checkmating the nuisance of these leaders.

2.2.6 Constitutional violation

It has been observed that constitutional violation is one of the grey areas that have continued to promote religious conflicts in Nigeria. This has on several occasions prompted the call for a Sovereign National Conference because of the perceived marginalization of a section of the country, and also because of the Sharia and OIC issues, and power sharing among others. Government should therefore try to address all forms of marginalization, the Sharia and OIC

issues once and for all. It should also discourage any tendencies towards secession and integrate groups that feel alienated into full political and economic life of the country.

In addition, unemployment into the Federal or State Public Services, the principle of “Federal Character” is applied. The Federal Character Commissions expected to monitor these patterns of recruitment and call for corrections. In fact, forms for recruitment into public services also provide for an identification of one’s religion.

As a federation, citizenship should be a concurrent matter under the constitution. Each state should have a residency requirement, given the laws of the state. A state could provide that if you have lived for 15 or 25 years in the state, or if you were born there and contributed to its development, you should be given a certificate of indigeneship and entitled to all the privileges of a citizen. However, this means that you cannot carry your family in truckloads to your original village for census exercises or elections. You have a new base of territorial identity. Let us be honest with ourselves. We cannot eat our cake and have it. We cannot run a federal system and run away from issues of dual identities.

2.2.7 Electoral Malpractice and Political Intolerance

Leaders who are not genuinely elected lack legitimacy. These leaders only know themselves. Nigerians must avoid electoral malpractices. Election rigging is an evidence of democratic deficit which replaces the people’s mandate.

The level of political intolerance is amazing even within the same political party. Nigerian political, religious and traditional leaders must learn to interact and dialogue with one another so that their followers can pick up the signal. Political leaders should avoid the current winner-takes all in the country’s political terrain. Each State and Local government must establish power-sharing arrangement to accommodate various ethno-religious groups.

Given the perception that the control of state power is important, groups often decide which political platform is the best for the pursuit and the promotion of their interests. Thus, politics in Nigeria is not game but a battle. Nothing wins much as success, and nothing fails as much as failure. The political exclusion of political failure has been a major source of conflict.

In addition, the blatant rigging of elections-as done in 2003/2004 and 2007 if I may add creates a reservoir of ill-will for the so-called winners. Seeing no prospects of peaceful change, the aggrieved often take the violent route. Even the judiciary could not, in such circumstances be

trusted. Similarly, the political intolerance of members of political parties generates intra-party and inter-party conflicts. At times, ethno-religious support gets mobilized to achieve targets. In addition, the “Tarzarcemania” (or self-succession) of political incumbents generates conflicts as there are often zones or groups which are opposed to the self-succession of the incumbents. Electoral malpractices often offend the sensibility of those already dissatisfied with incumbent regimes.

2.2.8 Economic Causes

Onayeikan (2010) argued, not without some justification that the recurring violent conflict between the Hausa/Fulani settlers and the Ikara people is not simply a matter of their religious differences, but that it has more to do with the competition for limited land and other economic resources in the area. Land and resources have been a major cause of conflict all over Africa and have often led to ethnic confrontation and conflicts. In a situation such as that prevailing in the Kaduna area where Fulani herdsmen are pitted in competition for land against the Ikaras, an indigenous group that is largely agrarian, the eruption of ethnic conflicts all but becomes inevitable without the intervention of the state to ensure that the legitimate demands of both ethnic groups are made.

Therefore, in seeking to tackle the problem, Onayeikan feels that the federal and state authorities must demonstrate fairness to all parties concerned. Open partisanship in support of one party can only aggravate the situation and make peaceful resolution of the conflicts even more difficult.

Many of the ethno-regional conflicts we have today are related to strategic nature of interaction among groups as they compete for scarce but locatable resources. As the state or government, at all levels, becomes the main allocator of resources and also sets the terms for such distribution, government becomes also an object of group competition. Controlling government also means the control of resources and the power for their distribution. Thus, as groups contest for political power, ethnic and religious sentiments and loyalty get easily regimented for the achievements of goals. Yet ethnic and religious sentiments are issues of primordial identity with large emotive contents. Thus, often the contest for the control of state policy, produce religious and ethnic interests. These resources could be land for farmers, or boundaries for claimed lands or grazing lands. The creation of additional states

heightens these problems in certain areas, especially in the north-central zone to where there have been recent migration and pressures on resources.

2.2.9 Poor standard of education

Kukah (1993) stated that one of the reasons expressed generally by some Nigerians as the causes of religious conflicts in the North where this is common, is that the standard of Western Christian Education Civilization and the growing numerical strength of the indigenous Northern and Middle Belt Christians have continuously been a threat to the Northern – Fulani Islamic hegemony. This is because of their abhorrence of non-Muslim ruler-ship over them, with Muslims living in the fear that the Christians could one day take over the mantle of political leadership over them. This suits the interest of the members of Northern Hausa-Fulani Islamic hegemony, to continue the Jihad started by Usman Dan Fodio, revived by late Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto to Islamize Nigeria, in a religious ambition camouflaged and enrobed in political gab, tactically and cleverly packaged and disseminated.

2.3 Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflicts on Development in Kaduna State

The last two and half Plurality of ethnic and religious group ideally should not be a problem for they are parts and parcel of societies. Diversity and pluralism are known to be the basic of cosmopolitan and complex societies and other cultures such as ours in Nigeria but Kaduna State in particular. However, the management of these factors by socio-political systems and controllers of political power often breed sectarian and other conflicts. The multi ethno-religious nature of the society should not be a problem. That will be a problem only when ethnicity and religion are made means of narrowing people's participation in social, economic and political spheres in various forms.

Decades (80 – 2010) witnessed a resurgence of violent religious conflicts in Nigeria with obvious and severe consequences on political instability, low economic development, negative international image, break down of social order and heightened mutual suspicion between Christians and Muslims. These have led to the death of hundreds of thousands of people. In fact, the conflicts have impacted negatively on every aspect of life. That is why Sanj (2007) stated that: The conflicts have impacted negatively on political, social and economic development. Religious fanaticism affects or limits social interaction and harmony... These have also affected the social components of associations as exemplified by the situation in Kaduna where there is

sharp segregation of restructuring of the town in settlement by people along religious and ethnic divides.

From the foregoing, we shall now look at the negative social, economic and political effects of ethno-religious crises on Nigeria (Kaduna State in particular).

2.3.1 Social Effect

According to Ibrahim (2002) the year 2000 Sharia crises in Kaduna created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups in the State. They feared that the new legal regime would affect them adversely, despite claims to the contrary by the Muslim supporters. Indeed many voices on both sides called for partitioning of Nigeria rather than the adoption or abandonment of Sharia legal system.

From the observation and opinions of many, ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in the destruction of property and death of several of hundreds of thousands of people, men and women. The conflicts have resulted in the irreparable loss of human resources that could have been used for developmental purposes. The sad elimination of the breadwinners of such families led to increase in begging, prostitution and unemployment. Sadly still, where both parents were eliminated, the children (boys or girls) were forced to assume parental roles at tender ages which also have its negative social implication. In most cases the wounds left in the psyche of these people might not be obvious, but are often said to be mentally, psychologically and emotionally far reaching. These children may grow up with their minds fixed on hatred and set for revenge. No meaningful social development can thrive under the circumstances of religious crises (Arukwe, 2004).

2.3.2 Economic Effect

Ethno-religious crises have also contributed to the weakening of the nation's economic development. The statistical breakdown of personnel and material resources wasted in Kaduna State alone can in a glance give insight into what Nigeria has lost to ethno-religious crises. Ahamdu Bello Way, Kaduna, by all standards is one of the most beautiful streets in Northern Nigeria that houses business shops and political offices. Car Malls and financial institutions equally jostle for accommodation along the road. A peaceful protest match by Christians against

plans to adopt Sharia ignited violence and carnage which turned out to be the worse in the history of the State and the nation in general (Tell, 2000).

The 2000 February ethno-religious crises in Kaduna did not allow some foreign investors who came into the state to invest in the Agricultural sector to do so. Instead, they were abruptly ferried out of the State by security agents. The same crises led to the shifting of that year's Kaduna Trade Fair a week further. Despite the shifting, several foreign participants who had earlier indicated their interest to be at the fair hurriedly cancelled their participation. Kaduna State that was fast becoming an industrial centre suddenly lost that status. Also, to that effect, several direct air flight to Kaduna State and other States in the northern part of the country were cancelled. These crises made both local and foreign investors see Nigeria as no-go-area that is full of risk and uncertainties in doing business.

Ethno-religious crises discourage growth in the sense of industrialization. This is because; no businessman or industrialist would want to invest where the safety of their investment is not guaranteed (Arukwe 2004).

2.3.3 Political Effect

Ethno-religious crises have serious consequences on thenation's political development. It affects our democratic values and norms and also delays viable political transition and consequently decimates the aspiration of producing a nation state. The Nigerian political evaluation has been characterized by periodic instability instigated mostly by the elitist manipulation of religion as a survival strategy. Religious membership and association rather than the political parties selected these candidates for elections.

These have also contributed to the electoral violence that we have witnessed in the past and in these recent years. For instance, in the 1964 general elections, the violence instigated led to the 1966 military coup and political instability, which culminated in the civil war. Yet, the violence occurred in 1983, 2003 and even in the 2007 general elections. These are obvious indications that politicians have not learnt any lesson from their mistakes of the past. Most politicians are particular about the issue of who takes what, rather than how democratic norms and values would be entrenched in the nation. The political future of the country depends on the level of which the various religious components can tolerate themselves. The religious polarization of Muslims and Christians poses serious challenges to democratization in Nigeria.

It is the obvious instability and deficiency in the democratic process that prompted religious and ethnic nationalism. It has resulted in the emergence of socio-cultural groups like Ohaneze, Afenifere or Oduduwa movement and the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF). These groups now act as political platforms to actualize the aspiration of their adherents. This has prompted Muslim fundamentalists craving to convert Nigeria into a theocratic state governed by Sharia and also prompted Christian fanatics craving to convert Nigeria into a theocratic state governed by the Canon Laws.

The above craves according to researcher; by both Christians and Muslims have serious security implication for the waves of religious violence in Nigeria. Money is wasted on litigation and out of courts settlements. Funds are also wasted in mobilizing and sustaining security operatives and the proliferation of small arms.

Arms are now getting into wrong hands. Some of these arms are legally imported or smuggled into the country, or are violently acquired from law enforcement agents. Realizing the security implication of these arms getting into wrong hands, made the Federal Government established a task force to work towards retrieving such illegal arms.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presented the strategy the researcher used to address the concerns of the objectives of the study. It highlighted and described the research design adopted and rationale for adopting it, the study population, the study sample size, study population, sampling strategies, instruments' reliability and validity as well as the methods of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The design for this research is both the primary and the secondary sources of data collection. Questionnaires were administered to obtain the desired information on the effects of ethno-religious conflict on the development in Kaduna State. Also, other sources like textbooks, journals, magazines, newspapers, editorials, and articles were used in order to arrive at the acceptable and cohesive research result

3.2 Study Population

The population of the study was comprised of the inhabitants of and Kaduna state. This is because these inhabitants were severely affected with the ethno-religious crisis.

3.3 The Study Sample Size

A sample size of 177 participants from the study population was selected for the study using sample size determining table of (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970). The categories of the participants to make the sample size were; Community/religious leader, retired military personnel, local community members, Politicians, local government functionary public servants, and the youth

3.4 Sample Selection Techniques

Purposive or judgmental sampling technique was used. This given the researcher the privileges to hand pick certain groups of people that are considered knowledgeable and important in the conduct of this research. Questionnaires were administered on the following categories of people, namely; local government functionaries, politicians, traders, local community members, religious leaders, and youth leaders

3.5 Data Collection Methods

In this strategy of data collection, the researcher used questionnaires which had a compilation of questions which were physically distributed to the respondents to anonymously respond to them and then after, return them to him. The data collection strategies involved the researcher delivering the questionnaires to the concerned respondents that ensured that correct instructions were given and avoid instances where questionnaires would get misplaced. After giving time to the respondents to fill the questionnaires, the researcher systematically collected them from the respondents to avoid letting them incur transport costs and to avoid misplacement of the filled questionnaires.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

The researcher intended to use a questionnaire as well for data collection as these gave a wider opportunity for data gathering and minimize bias. The Questionnaire was applied to the targeted population to get their opinions on various indicators on the study topic.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

The validity of the instruments was determined by computing the Content Validity Index (CVI). This was the quantitative measure to the content related evidence of validity of the instrument (Amin, 2005). To compute the Content Validity Index (CVI), independent research experts were requested to evaluate the items in the instruments independently to determine their relevance to the objectives by rating each item using a five level Liker scale of 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3-Not sure, 2-Disagree and 1-Strongly disagree

$$\text{CVI} = \frac{\text{Number of items rated relevant}}{\text{Total number of the items in the instrument}}$$

The research instrument is accepted as valid when the average CVI is 0.7 and above (Amin, 2005)

To determine reliability of instruments, two colleagues were requested to pre-test the instruments with the selected respondents and evaluate their response to the items. Percentage of number of times they give a common score was calculated to determine the reliability of the instruments. It was expected that 70% and above consistency in the score of the instrument determined its reliability. The items which had high variance in rating were reviewed to make it relevant to the study.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis was guided by the research objectives. The data collected from the field was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). All questionnaires items in the questionnaire were coded to facilitate data entry. The data was analysed using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). The data was cleaned, coded, categorized per each of the research variables. Descriptive tables were developed in order to examine various indicators that were used to measure the study variables. The indicators of the study variables were ranked according to the means and interpreted accordingly.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0. Introduction

This chapter showed the presentation of data collected, analysis and discussion of findings as obtained from the field. The demographic features of the respondents in the study included gender, age group, the level of qualification, as well as the marital status of the respondents. The results of the analysis are presented using a combination of frequency and descriptive tables to completely analyse the objectives that were stated in the previous chapter.

4.1 Demography of the respondents

Background and personal information of the respondents were exhaustively discussed in this section of demography.

Table 4. 1: Showing the demography of the respondents

Gender	Frequency	Per cent
Male	71	60.7
Female	46	39.3
Total	117	100.0
Age group		
20-29 years	29	24.8
30-39 years	55	47.0
40-49 years	25	21.4
50 and above years	8	6.8
Total	117	100.0
Education Level		
Certificate	16	13.7
Diploma	32	27.4
Bachelor's Degree	44	37.6
Masters	20	17.1
PhD	5	4.3
Total	117	100.0
Marital status		
Single	43	36.8
Married	53	45.3
Divorced	12	10.3
Widowed	9	7.7
Total	117	100.0

Source: Field data, 2017

Results presented in table 4.1 above indicated the demographic information of the respondents. From the above table, it can be observed that greatest percentage of employees were Male representing 71 (60.7%) while their female counterparts were 46 which in terms of percentage was 29%. Though the males were more than the females, it can be observed that there is fairly good representation of gender among the sampled respondents.

The results of the study in terms of age bracket, also showed that out of the approached respondents, 29 (24.8%) were between 20-29 years, 55 (47.0%) were from 30-39 years, 25 (21.4%) were of age bracket 40-49 years while those who were aged 50 and above years were 8 representing 6.8%. On average, most of the respondents were below 40 years of age.

In terms of education levels of the respondents, the findings indicated that the largest number of the respondents 77 (45.8%) were bachelor's degree holders while the least were PhD holders with a number of 5 (4.3%). Those who hold diploma were 32 (27.4%) while master's holders were only 20 (17.1%). The remaining number of respondents that accounted for 13.7% were certificate holders. Generally, the findings revealed that most of the respondents were bachelor's holders since they constituted the greatest percentage.

Marital status of the respondents as revealed from the above table showed that the greatest number of the respondents 53 (45.3%) were married, while 43 (36.8%) were single. Those who were divorced 12 (10.3%) while those who were widowed among the respondents were 9 representing a percentage of 7.7%. The table above further suggests that on average the greatest number of the respondents were actually married as they had the highest number of frequency of 53 with a corresponding percentage of 45.3%.

4.2. Descriptive Analysis of the objectives of the Study

The major findings of the specific objectives of the study were exhaustively discussed in this section. To get an exhaustive answer for this specific objective, the respondents were asked to rank various questions in the questionnaire by indicating the level of their agreement. Five point Like scale was used with 1 denoting choice of those who strongly disagreed while 2 denoted those who just disagreed. For the respondents who did agree had the choice of 4 and 5 to show their level of agreement with 4 denoting a choice for those who agreed and 5 for the respondents who strongly agreed. Those who had no choice and were neutral had a choice of 3 also to reveal their mind. The means and standard deviations for all the questions were computed, ranked and interpreted as revealed in the table below. The mean rank range and corresponding interpretation was as indicated below

Table 4. 2: Showing the range for interpretation of mean responses

Mean range	Response	Interpretation
4.21-5.0	Strongly agree	Very High
3.41-4.2	Agree	High
2.61-3.4	Not sure	Moderate
1.81-2.6	Disagree	Low
1-1.8	Strongly disagree	Very low

Table 4. 3: Examining different forms of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state in Nigeria

Forms of ethno-religious conflicts	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank	Interpretation
Intra-ethnic and religion conflicts	3.53	1.522	7	High
Power and resources conflict	3.54	1.355	6	High
Inter-religious conflicts	4.26	1.094	1	Very High
Struggle over values and claims conflicts	3.55	1.393	5	High
Inter-ethnic conflicts	3.92	1.093	2	High
Minority Vs Majority conflict	3.56	1.470	4	High
Other group Vs State conflict	3.66	1.353	3	High
Student groups conflict	2.32	1.479	8	Low
Overall Mean Response	3.51	1.340		High

Source: Field data, 2017

The mean responses from the above table were used to rank various indicators that were used to measure the different forms of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna .

The findings from the above table indicate that respondents when asked whether intra-ethnic and religion conflicts exist in Kaduna state in Nigeria, most respondents agreed as this form of ethno-

religious conflict recorded a mean score of 3.53 and corresponding standard deviation of 1.522. This indicator was ranked as the 7th and interpreted as high as per the responses of the respondents.

The results further showed that when the respondents were asked about inter-religious conflicts, the average response was 4.26 and its corresponding standard deviation was 1.094. The rankings from the table above indicate that this particular form of ethno-religious conflict was ranked the 1st meaning that the greatest percentage of respondents were very satisfied with this statement thus strongly agreed that one of the highest form of conflict in Kaduna state in Nigeria is inter-religious conflict.

Furthermore, when the respondents were asked if one of the common forms of conflict was power and resources conflict, the average response was 3.54 with standard deviation of 1.355 and with a rank of being the 6th amongst all the forms of conflicts that exist in Kaduna state in Nigeria. The interpretation for this was that this kind of conflict happens so often in Nigeria as the outcome of the responses indicate that most of the respondents strongly agreed to the statement that power and resource conflicts are high.

Struggle over values and claims as a form of conflicts from the above table is ranked the 5th and this was interpreted as high to the respondents and this is truly revealed by the corresponding mean value of 3.55 and standard deviation of 1.393 as can be observed from the above table. This implies that the respondents agreed that one form of conflict in the study areas is claims and values struggles.

The results as can be seen from table also showed a mean value of 3.92 and standard deviation 1.093 when asked if inter-ethnic conflicts are one of the forms that exist in Nigeria. The rank for this question was 2nd and this was interpreted as high to the respondents. This according to the findings also indicates that inter-ethnic conflict is the second highest form of conflict that happens in Kaduna state in Nigeria.

The analysis further revealed that the respondents were equally satisfied and agreed when asked if minority versus majority conflict also exists in Kaduna state. This form of conflict was represented with a mean of 3.65 and a standard deviation 1.470 and was ranked the 4th implying most of the respondents agreed to minority versus majority conflict exists in the study area.

When asked if there are forms of conflict such as other group versus state conflict

The findings as per the results in the above table, revealed that most respondents were satisfied with the statement as it had had a mean value of 3.66 and standard deviation of 1.353. This form of conflict was interpreted as high in Nigeria it got a rank of being the 3rd implying that most respondents did agree to this statement.

The findings further showed that most respondents disagreed when asked if Student groups' conflict were also high in Nigeria as it was ranked the 8th and the last among different forms of conflict that exist in Nigeria. This had a lowest mean score of 1.16 and standard deviation of 0.89.

Finally, the overall mean value of 3.51 and its corresponding standard deviation of 1.340 is an indication that most of the respondents agreed that almost all the stated forms of conflicts exist and often happen in Kaduna.

i

Table 4. 4:Examining the causes of ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna.

Indicators causes	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank	Interpretation
Tribal sentiments and religious racism	3.62	1.382	2	High
Electoral Malpractice and Political Intolerance	3.46	1.390	11	High
Unguided utterances of religious leaders	3.52	1.393	7	High
Land disputes	3.51	1.478	8	High
Promoting one religion over the other	4.26	1.248	1	Very High
Poor leadership examples of Islam and Christianity leaders	3.50	1.472	9	High
Too Much Freedom Given to Religious Leaders	3.55	1.411	6	High
Ethnic migration	3.47	1.483	10	High
High levels of corruption	3.56	1.392	5	High
Constitutional violation	3.58	1.464	4	High
Poverty/Unemployment	3.62	1.363	2	High
Protracted military interferences in politics and religion	3.45	1.562	12	High
Overall Mean	3.49	1.42		High

Source: Field data, 2017

The findings from the table above shows that when respondents were asked if one of the main cause of ethno-religious conflict was tribal sentiments and religious racism, most of them strongly agreed as this indicator cause recorded a mean value of 3.62 and standard deviation of 1.382 and thus this was ranked the 2nd best indicator. The interpretation for this was that it is one of the high causes of ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna, Nigeria according to the respondents.

When the respondents were asked if electoral malpractice and political intolerance also causes ethno-religious conflict, the results indicate that most respondents agreed to this statements as it had a ranking of being 11th, mean value of 3.00 and standard deviation of 1.39.

The results of the table further indicate that when respondents were asked to give their opinion on if unguided utterances of religious leaders as also been a cause of ethno-religious conflicts,

most respondents agreed as this recorded a mean score of 3.52, standard deviation of 1.393 and a rank of being the 7th out of all the indicators that were used for measuring causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna, Nigeria.

Land disputes as a cause of ethno-religious conflict was ranked the 8th overall cause with a mean value of 3.51 and standard deviation of 1.478. This implies that most of the respondents strongly agreed that most of the conflicts in Kaduna state in Nigeria are as a result of high levels of land disputes that exist in the state.

The results from the above table also show that the biggest cause of ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna is promoting one religion over the other. When respondents were asked to give their opinion on this aspect, most of the respondent strongly agreed as this had the highest mean score of 4.26, standard deviation of 1.248 with a ranking of being the best among the indicators that measured causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

The outcome results of the table indicate that the mean and standard deviation value of Poor leadership examples by Islam and Christianity leaders as a cause of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria are 3.5 and 1.472 respectively. This according to the interpretation of the causes of ethno-religious conflict was that it is one of the often high causes as it recorded a rank of being the 9th meaning that most respondents agreed to it.

Ranked the 6th among the causes, the statement of too much freedom given to religious leaders had a mean score of 3.55 and standard deviation of 1.411. This to the respondents, was true implying that most of them strongly agreed to that that too much freedom to religious leaders brings conflict

When asked if ethnic migration brings about ethno-religious conflicts, the table reveals that most respondents agreed to this with a mean value of 3.47 and standard deviation 1.483. This was ranked the 10th and interpreted as one of the high cause of ethno-religious conflicts.

In terms high levels of corruption, most respondents agreed to it as a source of conflict as the results showed that this had a mean score of 3.62 and standard deviation of 1.382. In the ranking scale, this was the 5th among the causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

The table further indicates poverty and unemployment had a mean sore of 3.58, standard deviation of 1.464 and a ranking of 4th implying that most of the respondents did consent that poverty has brought about ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna.

Also the findings from the above table indicate that when the respondents were asked prolonged military interferences in politics and religion had contributed to causing ethno-religious conflict, the findings indicate that most of them agreed as it recorded a mean value of 3.45 and a standard deviation of 1.562.

Lastly the overall mean response out of all the respondents revealed that most respondents agreed that most of the stated causes in table 4.3 were true causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna.

Table 4. 5: Effects of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna.

Indicators	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank	Interpretation
Weakening of the nation's economic development	3.58	1.410	4	High
Destruction of property and loss of lives	4.30	1.116	1	Very High
Loss of democratic values and norms	3.52	1.412	5	High
Negative international image	3.43	1.381	8	High
Continued abductions	3.62	1.437	2	High
Poor service delivery	3.50	1.546	6	High
Created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups	3.62	1.338	2	High
Irreparable loss of human resources	3.44	1.459	7	High
Overall Mean	3.52	1.39		High

Source: Field data, 2017

The results as can be seen from table show a mean value of 3.58 and standard deviation 1.410 when the respondents were asked if ethno-religious conflicts Weakens the nation's economic development. The rank for this effects of ethno-religious conflict was 4th and this was interpreted as one of the highly observed impact that ethno-religious conflict has brought to Kaduna and Nigeria as whole nation.

The most felt effect of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria is destruction of property and loss of lives. When respondents were asked to give their opinion on this, the analysis revealed that most respondents strongly agreed with this statement as it had the highest mean score of 4.3 and a standard deviation 1.116. This was ranked the biggest effect that among those that were used to measure various effects of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria.

The findings of descriptive analysis also indicate that when asked when asked if ethno-religious conflicts had brought about loss of democratic values and norms, the results from the table revealed that most of the respondents were satisfied with the statement as it had had a mean value of 3.52 and standard deviation of 1.41. This was interpreted as high as it got a rank of 5th implying that most respondents did agree to this statement.

The findings further showed that most respondents were in agreement with the statement that ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria's Kaduna state had affected international image of the country negatively as it was ranked the 8th. This had a mean value of 3.43 and standard deviation of 1.381 implying that most of the respondents agreed to this statement.

There were high levels of agreement among most respondents when they were asked if continued abductions are as a result of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. This was represented by a high mean value of 3.62 standard deviation of 1.437 and was ranked the 2nd overall along with the statement that ethno-religious conflict has created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups in Kaduna.

The outcome of the results equally revealed that most of the respondents were in agreement when asked if poor service delivery was as a result of ethno-religious conflict as this had a mean value of 3.5 and standard deviation of 1.546.

When asked if ethno-religious conflict had also brought about irreparable loss of human resources, most of the respondents seemed satisfied as it recorded a rank of 7th and mean value of 3.44 along with standard deviation of 1.459.

The overall mean was used to generalize the responses of the respondents on the effects that ethno-religious groups have brought to Kaduna. The findings indicate that most respondents agree that ethno-religious conflict has brought about all the stated effects in table 4.4.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Principal findings

Religious conflicts have been a major problem in the history of Nigeria. These conflicts have negatively affected the social, economic and political sectors in the last three decades (80 – 2010). During such conflicts, many lives were lost and properties running into billions of naira were lost.

Socially, the conflicts succeed in limiting social interaction and harmony between Christians and Muslims. These have also resulted into major religious restructuring of settlements or town with people congregating in areas where their religious faiths have majority of inhabitants in the Northern part of Nigeria. The crises have also resulted in the sharp increase in the number of widows and orphans leading to prostitution, begging, unemployment, etc.

Economically, the Nigerian economy is weakened particularly through the cost of investment by the conflicts in the affected States. The crises have also discouraged economic growth in the sense of industrialization and modernization as both local and foreign investors shy away from investing in the country.

Politically, the country is now divided along religious lines because of such crises. These have affected the voting and campaign patterns, democratic value and norms. The conflicts also delay viable political transition and consequently, the aspiration of producing a nation state.

5.2 Contribution to Knowledge

This research work stems a good tool of effectiveness for religious teachers and leaders. It is good particularly to those who instruct others to embark on self-transformation. It is also a good source for character development. The research provides people with the relevant information about the root causes of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. It serves as documented evidence that increases the awareness of religious leaders and their faithful and policy makers on the evil of ethno-religious conflicts in the country. The work therefore recommends for better policy formulations right from the local, state and national levels that would help in correcting issues relating to religious conflicts in Nigeria.

The researcher strongly believes that this work will help in strengthening the analytical and operational work of stake holders in the area of research, conflicts resolution and sustainable socio-economic and political development. The work provides some kind of scientific ways of managing ethno-religious and other forms of conflicts in the country.

5.3 Recommendations

Ethnic and Religious conflicts, undoubtedly, constitute a great impediment to the peace, stability and development of a nation like what has been going on in Nigeria. It also negates principles necessary for entrenching enduring democracy in the country. However, the knowledge of various factors which influence ethnic, religious and political conflicts and the requisite mitigating policies are vital to policy makers and stakeholders in place and conflict settlement.

From the foregoing therefore, Sani (2007) identified eight factors, if properly handled would help in the control of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. These include:

1. Literacy level

The level of literacy in the Northern part of Nigeria is low. This is because the North despite the vast resources at its disposal has not shown enough commitment necessary to turn around the educational sector. Regrettably, the zone has the highest school drop-out rate in the country. Most of these school drops-out in their bid to survive turn to menial jobs as means of livelihood. Some of these drops-outs eventually graduate to become miscreants in most cases that serve as the willing tools in many ethno-religious conflicts in the country.

Therefore there is need for government policy to place priority on the nation's educational development. The cling illiteracy equally requires special focus on Islamic education in Nigeria. The structure of the nation's Islamic schools gives room for religious indoctrination and inadequate acquisition of Islamic education from Islamic schools. There is also the need for modernization of the traditional Qur'anic school (MakarantaAllo) system of education, which would add value to the system in the process. This could be done either by a complete reform of the system or its integration into the modern formal system of education.

President Obasanjo administration to some extent was proactive in policies aimed at promoting the educational development of the country. The implementation of Universal Basic Education (UBE), early child care and education, free launched for pupils in the nation's primary and junior secondary schools and the tackling of adult literacy through National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult Literacy and non-formal education are indicative of such determination.

2. Religious Knowledge

Islam according to Muslims is a religion of learned people therefore; ignorance has no place in it. It is the only religion according to its teaching that demands knowledge as criteria for admission. Yet, many of the Islamic adherents suffer high level of illiteracy and ignorance of the religion. Most of the Islamic religious preachers lack deep knowledge and interpretation of the Qur'an, Hadith, Sunna and Figh. This makes many of them interpret the Qur'an according to their biases and passion. This contributes to the low level of literacy in the Qur'anic school thereby, leading to indoctrination of the pupils against other religions. This therefore becomes a motivating factor to those Muslim adults and youth who participate in most of the ethno-religious conflicts in the North. Today, Wanton arson, murder and destruction of property are persistently going on in the North in the name of religion. This is because of the glaring inadequate knowledge of the religion.

To deal firmly with these conflicts therefore demands that government handles the hoodlums decisively according to the laws of the land, no culprit should be spared when caught committing such devilish acts during ethno-religious conflicts. That will serve as a deterrent to others.

3. Regulating Religion

As a regulatory measure, religious leaders should be screened, registered and granted license to preach. They must commit themselves to un-provocative and non-violence act while their constitutional rights to freedom of speech and association is guaranteed. Religion should be used

to promote institutional integration instead of otherwise. Religion should be given its proper place in national life commensurate with our historical situation. It should be seen purely as the private affair of an individual based on his or her convictions, not forced on him or her.

Killing in the name of religion is a distortion of the message of God. There is the need for the reorientation of Nigerians, particularly among the youths. There is also the need for the review of the school curriculum so as to lay more emphasis on the application of religion to orientate the minds of young pupils. It is also necessary to incorporate peace study and conflict resolution as part of school curriculum. Pupils should be re-oriented to support national goals and aspirations.

4. Sports

Sports in Nigeria, particularly football, are one of the most potent instruments of national unity. In football, Nigerians are one and united irrespective of religious identity and tribal affiliation. Unlike other aspects of politics and governance issues in Nigeria, the composition of the national teams pays no respect to ethno-religious biases. Football undoubtedly, is a unifying factor in Nigeria. Players are viewed from all parts of the country as heroes and legends.¹ Football stars and other sportsmen and women could, therefore, be used as agents of national unity and exemplary life of tolerance and cohabitation in pursuit of a common goal.

While Muslim and Christian groups could protest religious ratio rates in governmental appointments and even in the armed forces, Nigerians are united in use of merit in the selection and the composition of the national team. It is obvious that, in most instances, Christians from the Southern part of the country dominate the national football team, which does not bother Muslims in the North and elsewhere.

5. Arts

Arts are strong emerging factors that synthesize the consciousness of Nigerians of diverse faiths. The rising popularity of home videos cuts across all faiths and denominations. Nigerian home video has a strong influence on the lives of Nigerians; artists are revered and viewed with strong admiration even more than politicians and clerics. Their fame and pulling power could be harnessed and exploited to promote the culture of peaceful coexistence, religious tolerance and elimination of hatred, hostility and civil strife.

6. Music

Music, its messages and messengers profoundly influence the millions of its listeners. In today's Nigeria, a popular musician is most likely to attract more spectators than a popular preacher

would. With no barrier to age, gender and belief, music and musicians have overtime proven to be strong and virile bridges that cut across the hearts and minds of the Nigerian people. in an atmosphere of pleasure, with their songs and rhythms, musicians could influence politics and social life of the people. The recent resurgence of interest in Nigerian music by youths especially makes music a suitable channel for the attainment of national unity and harmonious coexistence.

7. Drug

The nation's primary and secondary schools have sadly turned out to be den of drug addicts and cultists. This has contributed to the rising incidence of crime in and out of the schools. The government, therefore, needs to empower the agency responsible for the campaign against these vices, so as to stamp them out of the society. Drugs have become a sort of solace for criminals and most young people in the North and other cities in the country. Drug taking gave them a false sense of accomplishment, ecstasy and protection, hence its continued patronage. Addiction to drugs hampers these young people's ability to reason effectively and show compassion in the process. Hence, at the slightest provocation, they let loose their fury and resort to violence. Most of these drug addicts are usually from broken homes or those neglected or abandoned by their parents.

8. Probe Panels

Government should strengthen its machinery to enforce the implementation of probe panel reports, so as to prevent criminal impunity on the side of the offenders and their sympathizers. Regrettably, each time there is ethno-religious crisis; those who ought to have been prosecuted and tried and consequently punished for their roles in the crisis are always pampered. In some instances, people who committed grievous offenses like arson and murder were being protected and prevented from prosecution by their godfathers or prominent personalities. This gave the culprits further boost to perpetrate more heinous crimes in future. In treating the reports of the probe panel on any ethno-religious conflict, government should ensure that there is no sacred cow in the administration of justice.

9. Leadership

The role of good leadership in the prevention of ethno-religious conflicts cannot be overemphasized. This is why Professor Chinua Achebe in 1983, asserted that:

The problem with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate, or water

or air or anything else. Nigeria's problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility; to the challenges of personal examples which are the hall mark of true leadership.

The failure of leadership in Nigeria is responsible for the numerous conflicts witnessed in the country. Until when qualitative leadership is provided, peace may continue to elude Nigeria. A responsible, respectable and responsive leadership is indispensable in the nation's quest, not only for development but also for the sustenance of peace and promotion of national integration.

A self-serving leadership with a narrow socio-economic and political interest, characteristically appeasing the class of a privileged few and ostracizing the mass of the people through economic policies that dis-empower them, and entrancing socio-economic injustice, has by its conduct created a volatile atmosphere for all forms of conflicts. Successive government in Nigeria, whether military or civilian, had continue to retain social and political system that emphasized more on boosting the fortunes of those in government, and those with government.

Further recommendations towards controlling the incessant ethno-religious conflicts in the country include the following:

Education

Nigerian citizens irrespective of religious affiliation have a right to balanced and objective education. Respect for each other's religion must be inculcated in the citizens through sound education. Religion ought to help engender good knowledge of other's religion particularly in a pluralist nation like Nigeria (Achunike 2007).

Government should consider it an urgent need for the provision of Western education along side Arabic education for the Northern 'Almajiris' so that they be denied being agents of religious crises in the country because they constitute a ready instrument for unleashing religious mayhem. Government should also demonstrate political will in the establishment and respect of the rule of law, which should dispense equal justice to the high and low. Any person or group of persons engaging in the promotion of disunity and religious crises should be identified and sanctioned with appropriate penalties.

Reconciliation

Government should set up an independent inter-religious council comprising of members from Christianity, Islam and the African Traditional Religion (ATR). The Council should be saddled

with the responsibility of reconciling warring religious factions or groups in the country. This is important because, if the council is dependent on government, it may achieve little or no success. That is why we agree with Kukah (2003) who stated that “the National Council for Inter-religious dialogue set up by the Obasanjo administration was still dependent on the government.” Kukah further asserted that:

The council continues to hold many meetings, but their practical outcome is minimal. The public really has no contact with what the council is doing. Moreover, the body is still being funded by the Federal Government... It is difficult to say how long the council will last for and whether there are any plans in future for it to become independent and more assertive in addressing national issues. Its role need not be that of a fire extinguisher in times of crises, although it has so far failed to fulfill even that role. Properly handled, it can serve as a moral compass for the nation... Whereas the Christian leaders have independence and no links with government, the Muslims leaders are all appointed and funded by government. It is hard to get them to criticize government policies.

Dialogue

As rational beings, dialogue is a good and effective tool in solving ethno-religious crises. Sincere and open hearted dialogue becomes crucial when discussing religious issues. Christians and Muslims should all think more rationally, critically and appreciate the dignity of human person and the sacredness of life. They should also work together in the areas where they find themselves in order to improve on their lives condition, fight against drug abuse, prostitution, HIV and AIDS and so on. Dialogue is the gateway to achieving sustainable peace in our conflict torn society.

Government Sensitivity in Political Decisions

Nigerian government should be sensitive, fair and just in their decisions and policies. It is wrong for government to be a conflict – generator. Nor should government overheat the polity through hurriedly rehearsed and unthought-out policy because it suits the interest of a few people either in government or who have influenced over government. Good governance entails catering for the interests of the majority while protecting the interest of the minority.

Political Maturity in Leadership

Leadership is not all about privileges to loot public treasury or push personal interest to the disadvantage of the public. Leadership is responsibility, an obligation to demonstrate

commitment, integrity, honesty and decency in handling the affairs of a heterogeneous group which chose some one as a leader. The speeches and utterances of our religious, ethnic, traditional and political leaders before, during and after ethno-religious crises clearly show that they do not have patience, understanding, honesty, maturity and tolerance, which are marks of good leadership. It is even worse when those leaders manipulate ethnic and religious' identity for their selfish ends. Mature leaders must treat their followers with respect and not talk down to them. They must encourage mutual respect even in contexts of vehement disagreement among groups.

We need a conference of all ethnic and religious leaders to discuss and also learn the values of tolerance and accommodation. This takes a long time to achieve, but we must not underrate it. We must start now. We can start this first at the State and Regional levels and then have delegations to a Northern Conference. Therefore, all State governments should host a State Conference on ethno-religious conflicts.

Mutual Respect and Recognition of Claim of Others

Most of the ethno-religious crises we have witnessed in the country emerged from the lack of mutual respect for one another. We cannot all be the same. We must realize that even within single religious and ethnic groups there are differences in perspectives and opinions. Disdain and arrogance (bankrupt of content) are often marks of inferiority complex (Elaigwu 2004).

Similarly as we earlier on mentioned, we must be able to dialogue with one another, no matter how difficult. We should respect and recognize the claims of others in a competitive context even if we disagree with such claims. Non-recognition of claims generates major conflicts, which often mobilizes ethnic and religious loyalties. Recognition of claims, while disrupting the nature of claims, creates a basis for discussion. Government can be helpful in mediating in some of these conflicting claims. It should not wait until the competitive process turns into violent interaction among claimants.

Improvement of the Economy and Management of Unemployment

Sincerely speaking, unless those in government are in a country different from ours, they should realize that conditions of life are currently very hard for the average Nigerian citizens. As earlier

on observed, eating poses a real problem, not to talk of payment for families medical bills and children's school fees. There are no jobs for many Nigerian graduates. As a result there is a large army of the unemployed, ready to be used for odious jobs which bring in some income. Armed robbery, political thuggery, banditry and other forms of crimes have virtually been 'legitimized' by the logic of the imperatives of survival.

While reforms are welcome the human being should be object of reforms. It is not enough to mention that there are poverty alleviation programs. The truth is that most Nigerians experience since 1999 shows that these programs are not properly thought-out programmers for poverty alleviation. At State and Local Government levels, we all know how the poverty alleviation funds are thrown down the drain – pipes. When programmers tend to contribute to poverty escalation rather than alleviation, Government would need to review its activities. Government also needs to address the issue of economy, poverty and how to check and manage unemployment if we are to control ethno-religious crises in the country.

DE politicization of Ethnic and Religious Groups

Given the cost of violent ethno-religious crises in Northern Nigeria, it is clear that ethnic and religious groups need to be depoliticized. Politicians must halt the current trend of manipulating these two groups with primordial identities for political and selfish ends. Politics overtly radicalizes religion and ethnicity. An elaborate process of depoliticizing ethnic and religious groups must be put in place.

While the management of conflicts is important and continues in the lives of nation-states, it is even more important to put in place adequate mechanisms for conflict prevention. As earlier on discussed, it is important to realize that conflict prevention, management and resolution are cardinal functions of government and must be taken seriously.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Research

In spite of all that has been said and done on this research work, there is still much to be done on this topic (the effects of ethno-religious conflicts on the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria). However the researcher hereby suggests that further researches should focus on the following areas:

The psychological effects of the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

How Comparative studies on religions with help to enhance better understanding of religious leaders and their followers.

Conflict prevention and management of ethno-religious crisis in Nigeria.

5.5 Discussion

1. To identify the different forms of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna;-

My finding in inter-religious is very high and is in agreement with Achunike (2007) identified some causes to these conflicts in the modern day religious practices which include two of the following:

a) Claims of revelations: Unguarded claim to exclusive revelations to God who despite all human efforts remains unknown. Muslims however claim that they have total knowledge of God. Christians equally have the same claim and even the African Traditional Religion (ATR). These claims of ultimate knowledge of God by adherents of religions create forms of social conflicts.

b) Pride: Proud people have the tendency of looking down on others under the claim that they have something which others will never have also leads to conflict when applied to religion.

Furthermore, Sunday in Achunike (2007) identified other eight factors that also lead to inter religious conflicts:

Wrong Perception of Other People's Religions or their Faith:

This portrays looking at other people's religious activities with levity which often leads to conflict. This is true particularly when we know that every religion promises its adherents salvation and hope.

Wrong Religious Orientation: People are taught differently under different religions. When wrong methods are used in indoctrinating adherents of a particular religion, what often follows is religious obsession which invariably leads to conflict.

Literacy Level of Religious Adherents: Every Nigerian belongs to one religion or another, but not too many Nigerians are educated. Since people often believe what their religious leaders say; illiterates are easily manipulated to achieve one selfish aim or another since they are not critical and logical in their thinking.

Selfishness on the Part of Religious Personalities: Some religious leaders, despite their calling, are given to selfishness. They employ fowl means to perpetrate religious conflicts knowing that

they will be invited by the government in power to seek their consent. That way, they get closer to the government for their personal interest.

Too Much Freedom Given to Religious Leaders:

It appears that too much freedom is accorded religious leaders in Nigeria. Anybody can carry microphone and say whatever he or she likes in the name of religion. There is no censor for religious preachers.

Pronouncement; Therefore, pronouncements from such could lead to social conflict.

2. To examine the different causes of ethno-religious conflict

My findings on tribal sentiment and religious racism is high and in correlation with Yusuf, Y.A, (2010), a civil servant in Kaduna stated that the various ethno – religious conflicts in the country should be blamed on tribal sentiments and religious bigotry. According to Yusuf, people attach a lot of sentiments to their religious beliefs than respect and loyalty to this nation. He said that it is high time for Nigerians to start seeing themselves as one irrespective of their tribal and religious differences. He further maintained that, unless Nigerians learn to mutually respect one another and live together then, they should be prepared to be faced with more of such ugly crises.

Mustafa, J.J. (2010), a politician in Zaria, blamed the conflicts in Kaduna State on tribal sentiments and not religious as some people always portray it. He said Kaduna State that were known to be very peaceful in the past years are now assuming a different dimension that should be the concern of all well-meaning individuals in the two States. He therefore called on all people to always tour the path of peace not only in Kaduna State but in the country at large.

3. To examine the different effects of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna

My findings on the destruction of property and loss of lives which is very high and in agreement with Ibrahim (2002) the year 2000 Sharia crises in Kaduna created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups in the State. They feared that the new legal regime would affect them adversely, despite claims to the contrary by the Muslim supporters. Indeed many voices on both sides called for partitioning of Nigeria rather than the adoption or abandonment of Sharia legal system.

From the observation and opinions of many, ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in the destruction of property and death of several of hundreds of thousands of people, men and

women. The conflicts have resulted in the irreparable loss of human resources that could have been used for developmental purposes. The sad elimination of the breadwinners of such families led to increase in begging, prostitution and unemployment. Sadly still, where both parents were eliminated, the children (boys or girls) were forced to assume parental roles at tender ages which also have its negative social implication. In most cases the wounds left in the psyche of these people might not be obvious, but are often said to be mentally, psychologically and emotionally far reaching. These children may grow up with their minds fixed on hatred and set for revenge. No meaningful social development can thrive under the circumstances of religious crises (Arukwe, 2004).

5.6 Recommendation

- 1) According to My findings on the different forms of ethno-religious conflict:

Inter-religious conflict which is very high, I recommend that the use of loudspeakers mounted on the external walls of churches and mosques should be made illegal by a law of the Kaduna State House of Assembly. The practice by any religious group causes annoyance and inconvenience to the adherents of other religions. The evidence before the commission shows that during the September, 2001 conflict, some religious bodies made use of such loudspeakers to mobilize their members to join in the killing of people of other faiths and destroying their properties, thus escalating the crisis.

- 2) According to My findings on the causes of ethno-religious conflicts:

Tribal sentiment and religious racism which is high, I recommend that favourism and nepotism and tribal sentiments should be avoided in that both Muslims and Christians should be treated equally and Nigerians should mutually respect each other when it comes to employment and politics, as well as distribution of resources. No religion or tribe should decide to favor his tribe or religious members.

- 3) According to My findings on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts:

The destruction of property and loss of lives happens to be very high and I will recommend that both Christian and Muslim leaders should be admonished through the inter-religious Committees to educate their members on the consequences of killing human beings or destroying their properties and on the need for religious tolerance generally. In particular, members of the Islamic faith should be educated on the true

meaning of “Jihad” and the need to abstain from the use of derogatory language in describing the adherents of other religions for example, the use of the term “arne or arna” to describe non-Muslims. This is provocative.

I believe that if the above recommendations were implemented it would have gone a long way in control of the incessant ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State. That would have also sent a strong warning signal to other states in the northern part of the country.

5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion therefore, as the researcher I believe that sincere governmental schemes and efforts must be established by the government to achieve social and distributive justice for all people in the country. Merits, qualification and competence in or for a particular position must be respected. For where there is justice there will be peace and where is peace, there will be no ethno-religious conflicts. In fact, the control of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria will be among other social vices like corruption, litany of politically motivated killings, prostitution, examination malpractice, kidnapping, terrorism, rigging of elections etc. will go far in moving the country forward.

A complete and total implementation of the above recommendations would go a long way in the control of the incessant ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state and in most of the northern states of the country.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER

Dear Respondent,

I am Hamza Hauwa Maijida a student of Kampala International University with a Reg No. BDS/54388/152/DF from Collage of Humanities and Social Science, faculty of development studies doing a research on assessment on the human and material resource and ethno-religious conflict in Northern Nigeria (Kaduna). This research is meant for academic purpose. You are kindly requested to provide answers to these questions as honestly and precisely as possible. Responses to these questions will be treated as confidential. Please tick where appropriate or fill in the required information on the spaces provided.

.....
Hamza Hauwa Maijida
BDS/54388/152/DF

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The following questions were used as a guide for obtaining information from those interviewed:

- a. What has been the cause(s) of many ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State Especially since 1980?
- b. How have governments, NGOs, religious organizations/ institutions, groups and individuals helped in managing the conflicts?
- c. What has been the role of the security operatives in the conflicts control? Have they promptly responded to most of the conflicts in the state under discussion?
- d. Does the alleged presence mercenaries from within and outside the country and the use of sophisticated weapons signal to a threat to the security of the two states and the country at large?
- e. What do you think has been the impact of these conflicts on human and material resources in Kaduna State and Nigeria in general?
- f. To what extent have these conflicts eroded mutual trust and confidence among indigenes and non-indigenes. What have been the general implications of these conflicts on the entire northern states and the nation at large?

How do you think these conflicts can be managed for the purpose of ensuring peace and harmony, socio-economic and political development of Kaduna State and the country at large?

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE A

This research is meant for academic purpose. You are kindly requested to provide answers to these questions as honestly and precisely as possible. Responses to these questions will be treated as confidential.

SECTION A

Demography of the respondents

Gender

Male ☐

Female ☐

Age group

20-29 years ☐

30-39 years ☐

40-49 years ☐

50 and above years ☐

Education Level

Certificate ☐

Diploma ☐

Bachelor's Degree ☐

Masters ☐

PhD ☐

Marital status

Single ☐

Married ☐

Divorced ☐

Widowed ☐

SECTION B

EXAMINING DIFFERENT FORMS OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN KADUNA STATE IN NIGERIA

Category	A	SA	D	SD
Intra-ethnic and religion conflicts				
Power and resources conflict				
Inter-religious conflicts				
Struggle over values and claims conflicts				
Inter-ethnic conflicts				
Minority Vs Majority conflict				
Other group Vs State conflict				
Student groups conflict				

EXAMINING THE CAUSES OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN KADUNA

Indicators causes	A	SA	D	SD
Tribal sentiments and religious racism				
Electoral Malpractice and Political Intolerance				
Unguided utterances of religious leaders				
Land disputes				
Promoting one religion over the other				
Poor leadership examples of Islam and Christianity leaders				
Too Much Freedom Given to Religious Leaders				
Ethnic migration				
High levels of corruption				
Constitutional violation				
Poverty/Unemployment				
Protracted military interferences in politics and religion				

EFFECTS OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN KADUNA

Indicators	A	SA	D	SD
Weakening of the nation's economic development				
Destruction of property and loss of lives				
Loss of democratic values and norms				
Negative international image				
Continued abductions				
Poor service delivery				
Created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups				
Irreparable loss of human resources				

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APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE B

Table for Determining Sample Size from a Given Population

N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	168	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	198	3000	341
80	66	420	201	2500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380

190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	100000	384

Note: N = population size

S = sample size

Source:-Krejcie& Morgan, 1970