

# ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF KADUNA STATE

BY

YUSUF BABA

STUDENT ID: 6217810006

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- Author: Yusuf Baba
- Student ID: 6217810006
- Degree: Master of Arts in Peace Studies and Diplomacy

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Approved by

Advisor .....

Dr. Emmanuel Nweke Okafor Date November 10 2022

Tature Nentark

Associate Professor Dr. Tatree Nontasak

Director of Master of Arts in Peace Studies and Diplomacy

Date. November 10, 2020



TITLE:ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF KADUNABY:YUSUF BABAADVISOR:DR EMMANUEL NWEKE OKAFORDEGREE:MASTER OF ARTS IN PEACE STUDIES AND DIPLOMACYFACULTY:GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PEACE STUDIES AND DIPLOMACYACADEMIC YEAR:2021

## ABSTRACT

This study analyzed the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, particularly in the Northern state of Kaduna. Nigeria, the most populous black nation, is marred with several ethno-religious conflicts predominantly in the Northern states. Several news outlets and research studies have highlighted and investigated ethno-religious tensions prevalent in Nigerian society, however, insufficient efforts were made by the State and Federal Government to curtail them. Examining these internal conflicts, one of the main objectives of this research was to analyze different forms of ethno-religious conflicts and development needed in Nigeria; this study aimed to create awareness on the effects these ethno-religious conflicts have on Kaduna, while proffering recommendations that will foster peace to enable people to live harmoniously. The study adopted a qualitative method to provide the best analysis of the literature on Kaduna-ethno-religious conflicts, primarily through various academic research findings and reviews of literature. A historical research method was employed to gather secondary data from sources such as books, newspapers, journals, government publications and online information. Research findings indicated that ethno-religious conflict had a negative impact on the development of Kaduna. As such, the implications of the research findings, recommendations, and limitations were discussed for both theory and practice to support future research.

Keywords: ethno-religious conflicts, development, peace, Kaduna, Nigeria

Check By

# DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to those who have died during ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria



# DECLARATION

I, Mr. Yusuf Baba, hereby declare that this work is entirely mine and it is original unless

specific acknowledgements verify otherwise.

iv

Signature:

Name: Mr. Yusuf Baba

Date: 12 - 10 - 2022

# **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

ABSTRACT -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i
ACKNOWLEDGEME	NT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ii
DEDICATION -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iii
DECLARATION	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iv
TABLE OF CONTENT	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v
LIST OF FIGURES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vii
LIST OF MAPS	-	-				-	-	-	-	viii
CHAPTER 1 -	-	-	- 0	1		$\sim$	-	-	-	1
INTRODUCTION	-//	-6	-	-00	-	-0)-	47	-	-	1
1.1 Background and Significance of the Study									-	1
1.2 Thesis Statement		-	-	<u> </u>	: ``		- 69		-	3
1.3 Research Questions	- 60	-	-		-			-12	-	4
1.4 Research Objectives	5	- 9	- 0	200	<u>م</u>		178	-0	-	4
1.5 Preceding Relevant	Researc	hes	-	-	- 1	- 21			-	4
1.6 Definitions of Key	Ferms	2	-23	-	-91		-///	-	-	7
1.7 Scope and Limitatio	ons of th	e Resear	ch		78		-0	-	-	9
1.8 Methodology	-			-	-		2	-	-	9
1.9 Research Outline	-	-				-	-	-	-	9
CHAPTER 2 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
LITERATURE REVIEW ON HISTORY AND CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA									-	10
2.1 Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2.2 A Brief History of N	Vigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
2.3 Concept of Conflict	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
2.4 Types of Ethnic Con	nflicts ir	n Nigeria	. –	-	-	-	-	-	-	15

2.5 Summary of Chapter	er 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
CHAPTER 3 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
LITERATURE REVIEW ON HISTORY AND CONFLICTS IN KADUNA STATE -										
3.1 Introduction-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
3.2 Brief History of Ka	iduna Sta	ate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
3.3 Religious Conflicts	in Kadu	ina State	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
3.4 Political Conflicts i	in Kadun	a State	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
3.5 Causes of Ethno-Re	eligious	Conflicts	in Kadı	una State	e-	-	-	-	-	24
3.6 Effects of Ethno-Re	eligious	Conflicts	on Dev	elopmer	nt in Kad	luna Sta	te	-	-	25
3.7 Analysis and Mana	gement (	of Ethno-	-Religio	us Confl	icts in N	ligeria	-77-	-	-	29
3.8 Summary of Chapte	er 3	- /	- 72	-		- 1	2	-	-	32
CHAPTER 4 -		-	-	-	-	- 7	- 69		-	33
FINDINGS, ANALY	SES A	ND DIS	CUSSI	NC	-			-10	-	.33
4.1 Introduction-	*	- 2	<u>د</u> و	200 B	è.	- 0	7.**	20	-	33
4.2 Examining the Cau	ses and l	Managen	nent of E	Ethno-Re	eligious	Conflict	s in Kad	una Stat	e -	33
4.3 Consequences of E	thno-Rel	igious C	onflicts	on the D	evelopn	nent of t	he State		-	34
4.4 Social Impact of Et	hno Reli	igious Co	onflicts o	on Kadui	na State	Develop	oment-	-	-	35
4.5 Measures on How I	Ethno-Re	eligious (	Conflicts	s Can be	Abated		-	-	-	36
4.6 Discussions of Find	dings	-				-	-	-	-	38
4.7 Summary of Chapte	er 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
CHAPTER 5 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
SUMMARY AND R	ECOM	MENDA	ATION	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
5.1 Summary -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
5.2 Recommendation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
REFERENCES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42

# LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Reasons for Ethno-Religious Conflicts Between 1999-2019

Figure 4.2: Economic Implication on the State Development

Figure 4.3: Social Implication of Ethno-Religious Conflicts on the State Development



# LIST OF MAPS

Source: Digital Divide: Effects on Education Development in Africa (Bomah, 2014).

**Source**: Adopted from Problems and Prospects of Small Scale Industries in Kakuri, Kaduna South L.G.A, Kaduna State, Nigeria (Mukhtar, Ahmed, Najib, & Jibrin, 2019).



#### **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background and Significance of the Research**

Nigeria, Africa's most populated country, has existed for over 100 years as a country since its creation by the British colonial administration in 1914, and has witnessed various conflicts. It is expected that Nigeria will coexist in harmony following the amalgamation of the geo-political regions, which are made up of the northern protectorate, predominantly muslims; and the southern protectorate, largely christian for economic and administrative convenience (Anjorin, 1967; Eric, 2016; Ezeogidi, 2020; Mohammed, 2013). Although the initial reason for the unification of both the northern and southern protectorate for economic opportunities did not serve its purpose rightly, instead both protorates have spurred religious tensions for years in Nigeria (Abdulrahaman, 2001; Aguwa, 1997; Bienen, 1986; Chris, 2009).

Nigeria is plagued by violent confrontation over ethnicity and religious issues in the northern states (Alimba, 2014; Krause, 2011; Mustapha, 2014; Okpanachi, 2010; Yusuf, 2007). Mass brutality due to religious conflicts has resulted in insecurity and economic instability in Nigeria. Recurrent violent attacks of ethno-religious conflicts have become a significant challenge in Nigeria's socio-political discourse (Adebayo, 2010; Uhunmwuangho & Epelle, 2011). A plethora of studies highlights that the leading causes of conflicts were the result of continued government failure to tackle the core problems right from the early stage and lack of good governance (Alagbe, Ekhaese, & Daramola, 2015; Alagbe, Ekhaese, Daramola, Alagbe, & Erebor, 2018; Amusan, 2001; Lamorde, 2018). With over 400 ethnic groups (Chinenye, & Ogbera, 2013; Salawu, 2010), belonging to several religious sects, Nigeria, since independence, has remained a multi-ethnic nation-state, which has been grappling to cope with the problem of

ethnicity on the one hand, and the problem of ethno-religious conflicts, on the other hand. With the uprising of ethnic conflicts and the division of various ethnic groups, religious intolerance has become more violent and more devastating (Adebayo, 2010; Chinenye, & Ogbera, 2013).

The primary issue in Nigeria is the violence in Kaduna which derives from disparities in religion, ethnicity, tribes, and other differences (Lamorde, 2018; Okpanachi, 2010; Yusuf, 2007). These differences in religious identity split the state of kaduna along religious lines which had led to conflicts, disagreements and deaths of many people over a period of time. Kaduna has undergone a number of violent conflicts, most of which are ethnic and religious conflicts (Lamorde, 2018). The conflicts among local communities, according to Abdu (2011), in the Kaduna State include, Kafanchan in 1987, Gwandu in 2001, Zangon Kataf in 1984, Kaduna and Kachiya in 2000, Kasuwar Magani in 1980, Zangon Kataf and its break away from Kaduna and Zaria in 1992, and the most recent crisis in 2009 in the southern Kaduna State. There have been tensions recorded between the Hausa-Fulani Muslims and the southern Kaduna Christian minorities, which often lead to crisis and blood spilling (Angerbrandt, 2015; Yusuf, 2007). The history of religious conflict in kaduna has revolved between the two cultures stemming from the pre-colonial political system, and the character of the Nigerian colonial and post-colonial states.

Research found that conflicts have consequential implications on all aspects of human life, such that violent clashes lead to several irresponsible destruction of lives and properties, looting and vandalization (Adebayo, 2010; Amusan, 2001). The discussion of ethno-religious conflicts has been a great concern in Nigeria due to its recurrence in many parts of the country. Conflicts positively affect insecurity, and increase the level of underdevelopment in the country (Amusan, 2001). On the grounds of religious unrest across the Nigerian State of Kaduna, this research examines ethno-religious conflicts, and how it affects the development in the state. The issues of ethno-religious violence on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria cannot be overemphasized; thus, examining the relationship between ethnicity, religion, and national development is paramount. Studies on ethno-religious conflicts have attracted the attention of scholars from diverse academic disciplines. This study, therefore, adds more to the existing research and literature. The study's findings will provide a long-lasting solution to ethno-religious conflicts in kaduna. Furthermore, the results will serve as a revelation to political leaders on how to manage ethnic differences in Kaduna State (Lamorde, 2018).

## **1.2 Thesis Statement**

Research indicated that ethnic and religious conflicts have seriously and negatively affected the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria (Lamorde, 2018; Salawu, 2010). These conflicts have negative effects on the country's national security, stability, and integration (Amusan, 2001). The manipulation of religion and ethnicity by religious and ethnic leaders, have been a significant obstacle to the country's efforts towards attaining greater height. Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have become major boundaries that create divisions among people. Ethnicity and religion have also become tools for mobilization and manipulation in Nigeria (Agbiboa, 2013). There has been frequent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes which have posed significant security challenges in Nigeria. The long protracted ethno-religious conflict leads to the destruction of lives and properties. Consequently, the conflicts left several people wounded and several thousand people displaced from their homelands. In other words, the ethno-religious conflict has led to the loss of human lives and capital; this is why this paper needs attention.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1.3.1 What causes the ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State?

1.3.2 What are the consequences of ethno-religious conflicts on the development of the state?

1.3.3 How can ethno-religious conflicts be decreased on their continuous occurrence?

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

The objectives of this study are to examine the impact of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State on the development of the state. To achieve this, the specific objectives are set as follows;

1.4.1 To examine the causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State.

1.4.2 To find out the consequences of ethno-religious conflicts on the development of the state?

1.4.3 To proffer recommendations on how ethno-religious conflicts may diminish.

### **1.5 Preceding Relevant Researches**

Several works on the violent conflicts, especially ethno-religious conflicts have their historical forebear in Nigeria. In many ways, it can be assumed that the creation of Nigeria was an outcome of many conflicts and compromises. Nigeria is said to be a pluralistic society such that culturally, politically, ethnically, religiously, etc are part of its existence. Despite this pluralism, it seems that ethnicity and religion are the most dominant and problematic issues in Nigeria. Ethnicity and religion have provided the pattern for the violent ethno-religious conflicts Nigeria has experienced in the past 30 years. Several scholars have attributed the causes of these conflicts to various factors such as the struggle for land resources, traditional authority, competition for economic, and political spaces, clash of values and way of lives, religion and ethnicity, and religious manipulations (Sa'adu, 2016; Uroko, 2018). These studies included the

work of Ukiwo (2003); Alemika et al. (2002); Gwamna (2012); Okpanachi (2010); Mbah & Nwangwu (2014); Onwuzuruigbo (2010); Çancı & Odukoya (2016); Salawu (2010).

Ukiwo (2003), examined the explosion of violent ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria contrary to the expectation that the inauguration of civil rule will usher in stability and peace. Ukiwo (2003) contends that the reluctance of Nigerians empowered the resurgence of social groups. The inefficiency and negligence of local governmental authorities spurred various ethno-conflicts in Nigeria. According to Ukiwo (2003), the rate of competition for power among government officials caused conflicts between ethnic and religious groups, where a group of people do not represent the interest of the state in general but a sect or religious identity. Nigeria had experienced several ethno-religious conflicts in the past both on the state and federal levels (Ukiwo, 2003).

Alemika et al. (2002), posit that the socio-economic factors are a significant cause of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria's middle belt area. The researchers blame the pluralistic nature of Nigeria's middle belt area, which is the center of the state policies that motivate conflicts in the area. However, they posit that ethno-religious conflicts are not limited to poverty alone, but economic crisis, structural adjustment, and political manipulations by the state political officials, and religious leaders. The origin of social relations, according to them, contributes to the character of division as people resort to families, tribes and communities for ethnic security and preservation of life. Alemika et al. (2002), believes that these differences common among ethnic religious groups are the root causes of conflicts in which religion becomes the beacon of grievance expressions. A good proportion of the Nigerian civilians prefers to resort to religious leaders, influential persons, and traditional rulers for peacekeeping in times of unrest (Alemika et al, 2002).

In Gwamna (2012) article, the grave danger of religious conflicts, mentioned the importance and observations of tolerance should permeate in society for harmonious existence among different ethnic groups, however, external factors determine a particular religious crisis in Nigeria (Gwamna, 2012). Another study examined the causes of religious conflict and its effect on Nigeria's unity and development; results indicate that the influence of religious leaders was found to be the root causes of religious conflicts in Nigeria (Daura, 2009).

Several research on religious conflicts in Nigeria highlighted various possible causes of these conflicts as the high level of diversity and pluralistic nature of the Nigerian society have spurred these conflicts. One of many causes is the introduction of the Sharia law in two of the Muslim predominant states in Northern Nigeria, Kaduna and Kebbi. Okpanachi (2010), examined the relationship the Sharia law, identity and conflict have on Kaduna and Kebbi states, the study investigates historical and empirical implications of the Sharia policy for the formation transformation of the identities of the different ethno-religious groups within the two states. The Sharia law has more impact on ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna State than Kebbi State due to the variety of different ethnic groups in Kaduna State. The Sharia policy shaped the formation of both the Kaduna State and Kebbi State given its Muslim majority in both states (Okpanachi, 2010).

As other scholars focused on Sharia law (Okpanachi, 2010); political differences and identifications (Alemika et al, 2002); corrupt government official (Daura, 2009; Ukiwo, 2003); however, Mbah & Nwangwu, (2014) focused on linguistic differences and segregation as factors behind the conflicts. Kaduna State, as one of the largest states in Nigeria, where millions of people from various ethnic-groups with different religious identities reside. Mbah & Nwagwu (2014), study examined and analyzed the intra-ethnic and sub-ethnic conflicts of Nigeria's Ezza

and Ezillo people in Ebonyi State, findings indicated that material interest and animosity were the two common causes of these conflicts which are deep-rooted and widespread among sub-ethnic groups. Ethno-religious conflicts have been indicated by several scholars to become increasingly common in Nigeria, however, political factors, linguistic differences and patterns of ethnic segregation are found to be poor predictors of sub-ethnic identity conflict in the Nigerian State of Ebony (Mbah & Nwangwu, 2014).

Onwuzuruigbo (2010), research highlighted the insufficient publications of the subject of the perseverance of intra-ethnic identities and conflicts in Nigeria as one of the main contributions of lack of knowledge on the ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. On the contrary, Çancı & Odukoya (2016) research sheds light on religious and ethnic nationalism to be one of the main motivators of conflict in Nigeria, where inequality of allocation of resources, state collapse, economic decline lead to ethnic conflicts. In other words, Salawu (2010), study examines the manifestations of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, their causes and provides proposals for new management strategies for the control of the conflict placed Nigeria as one of the key reference point regarding the study of ethno-religious conflicts in Africa, spanning years of conflicts between the Christian and Muslim groups. Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have resulted in an estimated loss of over three million lives, displaced indigenes, destruction of properties, and psychological damages Salawu (2010).

## 1.6 Definitions of Key Terms

1.6.1 Religion: religion is viewed as a set of beliefs and practices based on faith that are sacred faith, and depth rational scrutiny.

1.6.2 Ethno religious: a group whose members are also unified by a common religious background.

1.6.3 Conflict: Wendy (2017), defines conflict as a clash between individuals or groups arising out of a difference in thought process, attitudes, understanding, interests, requirements, and even perceptions.

1.6.4 Ethnicity: ethnicity refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives, and distinctions that differentiate one group of people from another.

1.6.5 Peace: peace is seen as harmony and tranquility with the absence of violence and freedom from fear of violence.

1.6.6 Peace building: can be defined as the mechanism designed to facilitate and ensure that stability and peace are reinstated and prevent the recurrence of conflicts by promoting peacebuilding and reconciliation through social, political, and economic transformation.

1.6.7 Economics: 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.

1.6.8 Development: Balogun (1988), defined development as "the act, processor 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."

#### 1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Research

The scope of this study is on ethnic and religious conflict and how these conflicts affect the development of Kaduna State. Since Kaduna State has a long history of violence since 1987, this study will be restricted to cases of ethno-religious violence during that period. The limitation is the possibility there could be other factors that contribute to Kaduna-ethno-religious conflicts which are not covered in this research. However, future research may consider different religious identities, other than Christianity or Islam, that lead to conflicts in Kaduna or Nigeria.

### **1.8 Methodology**

To achieve the objectives of this study, conferences, and seminar papers, the internet and journal articles were used. Also, the study analyzed contents of editorials, news analysis, news items, readers' opinions, advertorials in selected newspapers and magazines.

## **1.9 Research Outline**

This research is organized into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the general background to the study, objectives, scope and limitations, research questions, thesis statement, proceeding relevant reaches, and the methodology used in the study. Chapter two reviewed the relevant literature, where the study analysis identified gaps yet to be filled and the relevant theories. Chapter three further reviews in-depth literature on Kaduna and proffer solutions in managing ethno-religious conflicts. Chapter four contains the findings from previous researches, analyses and discussion. Chapter five contains the summary, and recommendations.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

# LITERATURE REVIEW ON HISTORY AND CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA 2.1 Introduction

Nigeria is said to be the most populated African nation in the world, with a population of over 182,202,000 million people (WHO, 2012). Kaduna is said to be one of the largest states in Nigeria, located geographically in central Nigeria, and it is home to over 50% of ethnic groups in Nigeria (Bununu, Ludin, & Hosni, 2015). This chapter critically reviews and discusses relevant aspects of the literature on ethno-religious conflicts. Research found several factors such as language (Fakuade, 1989; Ioratim-uba, 2009), religion (Lamorde, 2018; Osinubi, & Osinubi, 2006; Salawu, 2010; Ushe, 2015), ethnicity (Çancı, & Odukoya, 2016; Mbah, & Nwangwu, 2014) or tribal identities (Aremu, & Stanislas, 2019; Thaut, 2020), to be factors that spur unrest among people in a state. Therefore, the relationship between religion, and ethnicity, conflict, development and as well the factors responsible for ethno-religious conflicts are discussed in this chapter. Several research papers on the topic were explored to shed light on the recent development particularly, in the kaduna-ethno-religious conflict.

## 2.2 A Brief History of Nigeria

Nigeria gained independence on October 1st, 1960, from Britain and became a Republic on October 1, 1963. Nigeria is a country on the Coast of West Africa, bordering benin and the Gulf of Guinea in the south, Cameroon, Niger, and Chad; while sharing maritime borders with Equatorial Guinea, São Tomé, Ghana, and Príncipe (Falola, & Heaton, 2008). With an area of 923,768 km<sup>2</sup>, the country is almost four times the size of the UK, or slightly more than twice the size of California (Falola, & Heaton, 2008). Nigeria's main river is the River Niger. Nigeria's highest point is Chappal Waddi (or Gangirwal), with 2,419 m (7,936 ft.), which is located in the Adamawa mountains in the Gashaka-Gumti National Park in Taraba State (Adeniyi, 2014).



Source: Digital Divide: Effects on Education Development in Africa (Bomah, 2014).

According to WHO (2012), the estimated population of the country is over 182,202,000 million people, making Nigeria the 7th most populated country in the world. Nigeria has more than 300 tribes, of which the biggest are Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba, Ijaw, Kanuri, Annang, Tiv, Ibibio, Etsako, Efik, and other smaller tribes (Davis, & Kalu-nwiwu, 2001; Odeyemi, 2014). Almost 120 different languages are spoken in Nigeria, of which English is the official language of the country where 70% of the population are Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba. (Falola, & Heaton, 2008). There are known factors to be responsible for the unrest in Nigeria, of which religious doctrine that is proclaimed as truth, or tradition, or ways of life have divided Nigeria.

Christianity and Islam are the two main joined indigenous religions proclaimed as truth (Angerbrandt, 2015).

## 2.3 The Concept of Conflict

Several scholars from different academic disciplines have defined conflicts in many ways, however, this study focuses on the definition of conflicts in people-to-people and people-to-society relationships. Conflict can be defined as a clash between individuals or groups arising out of a difference in thought process, attitudes, understanding, interests, requirements, and perceptions. Not only is conflict common among communities, it is an inevitable fact of human existence (Fisher, 2000). As different scholars believe that conflict is a clash between two opposing groups (Ghani and Iyer, 2010; Varshney 2002); others believe it involves struggles for values, power, and resources (Fox, 2004; Krause, 2011; Okpanachi, 2010). Conflict can be between external or internal to a country, meaning it can be between interstate or state-to-state conflict (Ghani and Iyer 2010). According to Ghani and Iyer (2010), the conflict between state-to-state has declined in recent times, however, internal conflict is on the rise. Internal conflicts are common among Nigerian states given its pluralistic nature. Ghani and Iyer (2010), believe that internal state can be categorized into two, which are conflicts against the state (civil war, rebelion, and separatists movement); and people-to-people conflict, which involves tribes, social groups, religious riots, domestic violence, and other heinous crimes. Ethnic and religious conflict stand out in people-to-people conflict (Varshney 2002). Literature on conflicts tends to focus on the conflict against the state due to its greater consequences for the stability of the state (Ghani and Iyer 2010), however, the people-to-people conflicts are very lethal as they have far more consequences, especially the loss of life, to maintaining a peaceful state. People-to-people conflicts are more likely to recur more than interstate conflict or conflict against the state even

after a peaceful agreement is reached or peaceful solutions are applied. Conflict entails disagreement, incompatible and opposing behaviors or views (Laursen, & Hafen, 2010). According to Fisher (2000), conflict is the incompatibility of values or goals between parties in a relationship which leads to escalation when a particular group's identities are threatened.

It is important to distinguish the consequences of conflict for individuals from its consequences for relationships. The primary focus of this essay is the impact of conflict on individual adjustment. But we note in passing that conflict has important repercussions for relationships and these relationship correlates have implications for understanding the impact of conflict on individuals. Conflict undermines the quality of voluntary affiliations (such as those with friends and romantic partners) and threatens their stability. Conflict may not be a direct threat to the stability of obligatory relationships (such as family relationships), but it is an important component of perceived relationship quality.

Most theories hold that conflict has consequences for individual adjustments, however, others have argued that conflicts could be beneficiary from agreement. There is evidence to support each view. As conflict has motives (Okafor, 2018), African conflicts are tied to the pluralistic culture widely practiced in Africa (Stedman, 1996). According to Stedman (1996), different ethnicities and inequality of the distribution of power as possible triggers of common conflict in Africa. As other scholars focus on different forms of conflicts among people of different tribes; Okafor (2018), highlighted several different forms of conflict between the governments and numerous disagreeing groups and factions. On the contrary, this study focuses on different forms of conflicts with people of different tribes and religions.

When conflict is mentioned, the image that comes to most people's minds is crisis, war, fighting, confusion, et cetera. All these have negative connotations attached to them which are

13

undesirable to human wellbeing. On the contrary, it is said that conflict could have positive effects on society such that it can improve clarification about current challenges, and potentially lead to new approaches to solving social problems. Conflict involves struggles of one group of people or the other over claims, values, power, and resources which represent the opponents' goal or the other to neutralize in outright elimination of its rivals (Fox, 2004; Krause, 2011; Okpanachi, 2010). The incompatibility of objectives of one group in their conduct of interfering with other group goals often results in conflicts. Conflict is seen as a difference of interest or conviction in one group of people in contrasting ideals, opinions and beliefs which lead to clashing of values or interest of another group of people. Akande (1998), believes that there is no conflict-free society; however, conflict is inherent in societal relations and management. A prosperous society or state can resolve conflicts, even though conflicts cannot be eliminated entirely, but it can be curtailed. Conflict differs and has various aspects. Although, conflicts promote aggression, violence in most situations, and can also lead to anarchy.

Conflicts occur due to distrust, animosity, and polarization of ties between groups at times in a competitive environment (Fox, 2004). There are a lot of sources of conflict which take different shapes and forms as highlighted in several research journals (Fox, 2004; Krause, 2011; Okpanachi, 2010). As posited earlier in this study, conflicts are bound to occur in most countries, both developed and developing countries alike. It is believed that the complexities of conflict rely on the conflict management strategies that are accorded to deal with situations when they arise. Osaghae (1994), posits that conflicts are common and devastating in African countries where alternative approaches such as status, organisations and party identities have not become deeply immersed to question the primacy and legitimacy of ethnicity. On the contrary, conflicts have had much less disruptive or negative impacts in advanced or industrial countries, where

alternative approaches and management strategies are better developed. In other words, conflict is seen as a disagreement that occurs between people of either the same or different ethnic, belief, or value system (Fox, 2004).

### 2.4 Types of Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria

The majority of the Nigerian population believes that ethnicity is the primary conflict in Nigeria, however that is not true. Most of the conflicts may partially relate to ethnicity not because the parties belong to different ethnic groups (Osakwe, 2017; Anamene, 2018). Research studies indicate that factors such as religion, population, and struggling for scarce resources, or competing for all state power lead to conflicts (Alegbeleye, 2014; Fawole & Bello, 2011). What categorizes these ethnic clashes occurs in the way that those who participate in them belong to various ethnic or sub-ethnic groups (Ibrahim, 2008). The participants do not always attack each other because of their ethnic backgrounds, but instead, represent issues that may not directly relate to the public. The contention begins on individual rather than ethnic bases. For the most part, when these conflicts increase, related ethnic groups turn out to be involved (Sa'adu, 2016).

Anemone (2018) identifies three types of ethnic conflict on an international dimension which consist of (a) irredentist, this refers to a situation where people advocate the incorporation within their areas; (b) ethnic conflicts, this refers to people's origins within state; and (c) decolonization, which symbolizes colonial power and nationalist groups struggle that lead to interstate conflict. Moreover, this study analyses three types of conflicts on a local dimension which consists the following: Intra ethnic conflict: refers to a kind of conflict between the same ethnic or sub-ethnic group within the same or different border. The cause of this conflict could be political, religious, and economical (Sa'adu, 2016).

Inter-ethnic conflict: refers to a conflict between, or among, or involving two or more ethnic groups living in the same geopolitical boundaries. Ethnic-religious clashes: this is the conflict common among different ethnic religious groups.

## 2.5 Summary of Chapter 2

In this chapter, an attempt was made to analyze the concept of conflict and types of conflicts from different scholars, focusing on Nigeria as a country. It was essential to recognize the grassroots conflicts in Nigeria before understanding its impartation on its parts particularly, Kaduna. It is obvious that ethnic-conflicts are rooted in Nigerian society, and barely any region is conflict-free of any sort. Moreover, there seem to be several conflicts across Nigeria; however, this research focuses on Kaduna ethno-religious conflicts in the following chapters.

#### **CHAPTER 3**

# LITERATURE REVIEW ON HISTORY AND CONFLICTS IN KADUNA STATE 3.1 Introduction

Religious conflict is a dynamic and complex subject as its participants have various justifications in taking part. On the one hand, from the Christian perspective, engaging in religious-related conflicts is a sign of martyrdom upon which, if a person is killed, heaven is assured. On the other hand, their Muslim counterparts resort to the belief of Jihad in engaging in religious-related conflicts. These differences in religious beliefs suggest the importance of studying their grassroots causes. Thus, this chapter sets out to explore the concepts of conflict from Kaduna's perspectives and its political affiliations.

# 3.2 Brief History of Kaduna State

Kaduna is located in the central part of Nigeria. It belongs to the middle belt, a geo-political term with a lot of ethno-religious connotations comprising other states. A report by the national orientation agency (NOA, 2002) shows these features in the zone to include: home to over 50% of ethnic groups in Nigeria. However, there seems to be no ethnic group that shares 100% of its culture with other groups. Christianity, Islam, and traditional African religion all have influence on the lives of the people in Kaduna (Bununu, Ludin, & Hosni, 2015).



Source: Adopted from Problems and Prospects of Small Scale Industries in Kakuri, Kaduna South L.G.A, Kaduna State, Nigeria (Mukhtar, Ahmed, Najib, & Jibrin, 2019).

It is noteworthy to mention that Kaduna State has always played host to various interests in northern Nigeria. Kaduna is not only the economic hub of the middle belt area of Nigeria, but the center point between the north and the south. Kaduna State has contributed to the development of the middle belt region, and Nigeria, but it has also caused many problems regarding religious clashes between the Christians and Muslims. Kaduna State does not have the monopoly of being the center of ethno-religious tensions and conflicts. In other parts of Nigeria, contemporary events and political processes prove that even the developed societies are not free from explosive religious division. What makes the difference from one area to the other is the level of the conflicts, and the efforts made to address the basis of the problems related to the conflicts. In some places, measures to curtail the conflicts have been implemented, moreover, in other areas of the nation, nothing is being done to curtail the conflicts.

The pluralistic idea of ethnic and religious groups, ideally, should not be a problem. Pluralism and diversity are parts of cosmopolitan, and complex societies. The mismanagement of these factors by political powers often breeds sectarian and other conflicts. It is believed that the Kaduna geopolitical area has occupied positions of volatility regarding ethno-religious tensions and conflicts in Nigeria. These tensions and conflicts have erupts from the state, having significant consequences nationwide. Research indicates that Kaduna State has experienced various conflicts which are mainly expressed in ethno-religious forms (Bununu, Ludin, & Hosni, 2015). It is also believed that corruption at macro and micro levels has also played a significant part in the escalation of ethno-religious conflicts.

Continuous conflicts in Kaduna have cost the government, private individuals, and groups vast amounts of money in rebuilding the destruction caused by these conflicts. It is reported that the amount of money spent in rebuilding ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State could be enough to elevate Nigeria to another level of socio-economic and political development. It is unfortunate that the most disturbing part of these conflicts is the irreparable lives of Nigerians lost during such conflicts.

### 3.3 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. According to Nache (2001), it is made clear in the gospel of Mathew where Jesus said that: Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God (Matthew 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 addition, 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 decreasing. This is because modern Christian preachers, particularly, of the Pentecostal generation demonize the other, especially 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 Sharia law which forbids Christians on their right to profess and practice their religion anywhere often results in confrontation.

Furthermore, the Christian fundamentalists and Pentecost 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 (1997) 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 believed 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 overzealousness 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).

It is said that Kaduna State has been marred by ethnic and religious conflicts (Lamorde, 2018). Past research has shown a significant level of ethnic-religious conflicts in the state, however, tribal tensions are known to be a major reason for some of the conflicts in Kaduna. It is noteworthy that major conflicts in Kaduna State have been spurred by tribal clashes. Kaduna, as a big state, encompasses people from different tribes and religions, tribal differences are known to be the major reasons for violence. According to political elites in Kaduna, some educated Muslims believe that some uneducated Islamic fundamentalists know little or nothing about Islam as a religion. Due to the ignorance of these Islamic fundamentalists, violent confrontation against non-Muslims, injustice, destruction of public property, and the killing of innocent people have marred the state. The elite Muslims also believe that Islamic extremists believe that unbelievers of Islamic faith are infidels who are supposed to be humiliated, or 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. 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:

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.

## 3.4 Political Conflicts in Kaduna State

The central argument concerning the conflicts in Kaduna is the continuous competition for power, and the failure of the government to provide mechanisms of managing conflicts have resulted in violent conflicts, especially between ethnic and religious groups which puts the country's democracy in danger (Ukiwo, 2003). It was reported by a local news outlet that Kaduna State came under severe attack with the burning of the vice president's residence in Zaria State due to religious conflicts. Churches and mosques alike in Zaria State were reportedly burnt down. The protesters were known to be the supporters of the defeated presidential candidate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). A Nigeria's local online news outlet, featured Wole Soyinka, one of Nigeria's prominent literary figures, charged the president of Nigeria to tackle the problem facing the country's problem comprehensively. Wale Soyinka, a prominent literary icon in Nigeria, believes that some prominent Nigerians were behind the crises. According to Soyinka, the body language of some of the Nigerian political leaders did not show any signs of remorse. It was reported that some prominent indigenes of Kaduna State condemned bloodletting and violence. In other words, to restore peace and harmony in Kaduna State, a meeting of state leaders should be constituted to buttress the situation, and find a solution to the problem of constant conflicts in the state.

#### 3.5 Causes of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State

Achunike (2007), identified some causes of religious conflicts, which include: On the one hand, claims of revelations with muslims who claim to have complete knowledge of God, same as their Christians counterparts. These claims of ultimate knowledge of God by adherents of religions create forms of social conflicts between them. On the other hand, it is believed that proud people have the tendency of belittling others with the impression they have something which others do not have.

Furthermore, Achunike (2007) identified other eight factors that also lead to inter-religious conflicts: (a) Wrong perception of other people's religions or faith: this refers to looking down at other people's religious activities with detest. This leads to religious conflicts especially, when every religious adherents believes that religion promises salvation and hope; (b) Wrong religious orientation: as people are taught differently under different religions, religious leaders capitalize on brainwashing adherents which often leads to a religious obsession and conflict; (c) Literacy level of religious adherents: every Nigerian belongs to one religion, but not too many Nigerians are educated; (d) Too much freedom given to religious leaders: it is believed that much freedom is accorded to religious leaders in Nigeria. It seems like anybody can deliver sermons and say whatever they like in the name of religion. There seems to be no censor for religious preachers; (e) Poverty and unemployment: the rate of poverty in Nigeria is very high, and poverty is said to exist when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs; (f) Poor security network: in potential conflict situations, security agencies in Nigeria may be helpful in creating a sense of safety and security among groups; (g) Political causes: the level of hypocrisy among the political leaders is appalling. Some of these politicians have no constituencies from which to demonstrate their relevance except through their narrow ethnic and religious groups; (h)

Ethnic migration/indigene-settler causes: indigene ship and settler problems have become a problem all over the country. Despite the rhetoric about Nigerian citizenship, all Nigerians recognize that there is indigenes hip. Often some citizens of ethnic and religious groups consider themselves as hailing from traditional aristocratic backgrounds, and arrogantly exhibit ethno-centrism in relations with other groups.

#### 3.6 Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflicts on Development in Kaduna State

It is said that the last two and a half plurality of ethnic, and religious groups is not a problem in the society because they are parts of societies. Diversity and pluralism made of cosmopolitan and complex societies, and other cultures in Nigeria's Kaduna State. Reports and research reveal that ethno-religious conflicts have claimed thousands of lives, destroyed properties, and led to an increase in the number of displaced persons (Onwumah, 2014; Uroko, 2018). Among other effects of ethno-religious conflicts on development of Kaduna State, lands, religious supremacy, and hate speeches are some of the major causes of the Kaduna crisis (Uroko, 2018). On the one hand, Uroko (2018) research suggested that perpetrators of religious conflict in the region should be apprehended. On the other hand, Onwumah (2014) suggested that to maintain peace or mitigate religious conflicts, a new pathway to peace should be promoted in the Nigerian state. However, the management of these factors by political authorities breeds sectarian and other conflicts. Diversity and pluralism in society should not connote conflicts or confusions, instead should be the base of unity and harmony. Ethno-religious conflicts will be problematic if religions are made means of narrowing people's participation in social, economic, and political engagements. Furthermore, fostering religious tolerance, peaceful coexistence among the different ethnic groups, grassroots development, and youth empowerment through viable and productive labor should be implemented by the Nigerian

government (Onwumah, 2014). From the onset, a closer look at the negative social, economic and political effects of ethno-religious have in Nigeria particularly, Kaduna State.

Social effect: according to Ibrahim (2008), in the year of 2000, the sharia crisis in Kaduna created insecurity among Christian minority groups in the state. The minorities feared the new legal regime would affect them adversely, despite opposite claims by the Muslim supporters. Many people called for the partition of Nigeria rather than adopting or abandoning the sharia legal system. Sharia as an identity maker is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria (Okpanachi, 2010). According to several research observations, ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in many casualties (Alagbe, Ekhaese, & Daramola, 2015; Fawole, & Bello, 2011). There are several ideas that researchers have put out in the study of violence or conflicts (Alagbe, Ekhaese, & Daramola, 2015; Thaut, 2020). Idevi's (2008) posits that two broad schools of thinking on the essence and origins of conflict can be found in this vast volume of conflict literature theories. The first school of thought sees social conflict as rational, constructive, socially functional; however, the second school of thought considers this from the viewpoint of being irrational, pathological, and socially dysfunctional (Dougherty & Pfalzgraft, 1981). According to Idevi (2008), there are three main theoretical approaches originating from each aforementioned school of thought which are, the "classical," the "comportmentalist," and the "linkage". The classical approach contributes to the unit of analysis, the macro-level, for example, nation, organizations, race, faith, class. Moreover, the behaviorist approach operates on a micro level, such as the individual, as its unit of analysis. In all methods, it is believed that both the conscious and the unconscious are explored to explain hidden motivation.

Although, there exists the linkage which adopts an interdisciplinary approach which sees social conflict as an interconnected phenomenon encompassing several subsystems and causes.

26

Both the macro and micro stages, the logical, and irrational mechanisms, are constituents of the relationship between the person and the nation-state is considered (Ideyi, 2008). Furthermore, the theory of conflict identity is focused on natural psychological mechanisms in the formation of social identities (Tajfel, 1981). The meanings of ingroup, and outgroup are essential in that Nigerians compare themselves to other communities that they see as inferior to them. During conflicts, they alluded to demonizing others, and attempted to label them with bad names that Nigerians condemn (Ideyi, 2008). It is noteworthy that an analysis of most conflicts in Nigeria show that the different groups involved in such conflicts were very influential, using the principles of ingroup and outgroup. Moreso, the macro conflict theories focus on group interactions at the conscious level, and on the objective processes and situations involved.

Economic effect: some research highlighted that ethno-religious crises had contributed to the weakening of Nigeria's economic development (Alegbeleye, 2014; Fawole, & Bello, 2011). The breakdown of personnel and material resources and possessions that are wasted in Kaduna-ethno-religious conflicts provide insight into the damages they had on Nigeria. Kaduna State has one of the most beautiful well-known northern Nigeria streets that houses businesses and political offices. News outlets reported that the February 2000 Kaduna-ethno-religious crises prevented some foreign investors from investing in the agricultural sector as they normally would do in peaceful times. Moreso, the same crises led to the postponement of that year's Kaduna trade fair, and several foreign participants who had earlier indicated interests in participating in the trade fair canceled their participation. These conflicts tarnished the image of Kaduna State as the economic hub of the middle belt where no foreign investors have interests to invest.
Political effect: as research found that ethno-religious crises have severe consequences on the nation's political development (Odeyemi, 2014; Ukiwo, 2003). It also affects Nigeria's democratic values, norms, political transition, and consequently depreciates the aspiration for producing a prosperous nation-state. The Nigerian political system has been characterized by periodic instability through apparent elitist manipulation of religion as a survival strategy. Examining the political effect ethno-religious conflicts have on Nigeria, electoral violence that Nigeria has witnessed increase especially, the year election is scheduled to be conducted. For example, referencing the 1964 general elections, the violence led to the 1966 military coup and political instability, civil unrest. These are apparent indications that political figures or authorities have not learned from their past mistakes.

The political leaders have the responsibility to restore democracy in Nigeria by fulfilling the social contracts with the people (Alegbeleye, 2014). The political landscape of Nigeria depends on the level at which the various religious components can tolerate each other. It is also apparent that instability in the democratic process can lead to religious and ethnic nationalism. For example, it has resulted in the emergence of several socio-cultural groups such as the ohaneze, afenifere, or oduduwa movement and the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF). The inefficient mechanisms to curtail religious sparked violence by the central government of Nigeria has led these groups to act as political platforms to actualize the aspiration of their adherents. This has led Muslim fundamentalists in Nigeria promoting theocratic state governed by sharia; and also started the Christian fanatics in Nigeria prompting theocratic state governed by the canon laws. Funds are also wasted in sustaining these security operatives formed by local communities.

#### 3.7 Analysis and Management of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

Conflict, viewed as part of human nature, is considered as an inevitable aspect of social, political, economic, and organizational life (Alli, 2004). It is believed that one of the apparent causes of conflict is perpetrated by man's nature to exert certain aggression, envy, ambition, and frustration. Upon the aforementioned factors, scholars of conflicts, and religious conflicts particularly, believe that conflict cannot be eliminated entirely from society; thus, it is part of life generally (Abdulrahaman, 2001; Chris, 2009; Lamorde, 2018; Salawu, 2010; Yusuf, 2007). Scholars believe that the existence of conflict does not pose threat to social norms and peace, but the problem of humankind and tendency for violent pose threat to peaceful co-existence (Adebayo, 2010; Alegbeleye, 2014; Amusan, 2001; Onwumah, 2014; Uroko, 2018). Furthermore, conflicts negatively impact the development of society, they also pose threats to national security, peace, and socio-economic activities (Alegbeleye, 2014; Fawole, & Bello, 2011; Onwumah, 2014). Religious conflicts have posed severe problems, and security implications to the human race particularly, in Nigeria (Uka, 2008). Despite its threats, damages and costs, the nature of conflicts vary over the course of time.

Onigu & Isaac (1999), states that scholars should not perceive conflict as something abnormal, dysfunctional, or detestable. They believe that conflict is part of life and could be a forerunner to positive changes needed in society. It is understandable that every pluralistic society is bound by nature to experience one form of conflict or the other given the co-existence of people of different ethnicities, or tribes, or religions, or belief systems. Given the nature of conflicts and the reality of its existence, conflicts should be curtailed to prevent them from going beyond certain limits that pose threats to the very survival of society and togetherness (Onigu & Isaac, 1999). According to Alemika, et al. (2002), conflicts are a result of socio-economic,

religious, ethnic, racial, cultural, gender differentiation, scarce in resources, and struggle for power among groups of people. They posit that the primary sources of social conflicts are due to interests associated with economic, class, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, political, and racial differentiation. Furthermore, these factors combine to produce conflicts of varying scope, intensity, duration, and consequences (Alemika et al, 2002).

Research has highlighted that ethnic and religious conflicts result in several negative consequences. Many of which are loss of lives and property, population displacement, migration, and traumatic experiences, diverse deprivation, poverty, lack of access to education, lack of employment opportunity, health care facility, and denial of human rights (Alemika et al, 2002). Trust between, and within groups, or communities continue to sore, underpinning the essence of inter and intra community cooperation and alliance that are supposedly meant to promote community development and unity. It has been found that the negative consequences of ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria, and the threats they pose to democracy, national development, and human rights, the Nigerian government and society need to develop mechanisms for identifying the causes of these conflicts, managing these conflicts, and resolving ethno-religious conflicts in different parts of the country. To actualize the nation's aspirations for development and democracy, such aforementioned mechanisms should be applied to curtail the conditions of conflicts and the consequences. Past research suggested conflict management processes by the state and law enforcement agencies in Nigeria should apply these mechanisms to suppress the causes of these conflicts (Alemika et al, 2002). Consequently, there seems to be no attempts by the government to analyze, negotiate, mediate, change and resolve these conflicts. Peace, and conflict scholars argue that conflict management does not apply to eliminating conflicts, rather constructive mechanisms are essential to curtail them.

Conflict management must tackle the root causes of social conflict like resource scarcity and socio-economic inequalities by laying a solid foundation for a just, democratic and harmonious society where violent conflicts are managed. Alemika, et al. (2002), posit that religious conflict has an ontological basis in human needs which causes resolvable differences in conflicts. They further observe that conflict must coexist with cooperation, and a degree of peace for development in society. Conflict resolution has been suggested by scholars to reduce the chances of violence in society, or prevent further violent escalations (Alemika et al, 2002). Furthermore, conflict resolution is essential to changing or facilitating the course of a conflict. (Alemika et al, 2002). The best approach to conflict resolution is to be found in conflict prevention through the process known as "preventive diplomacy" which refers to attempts to prevent disputes from turning into conflicts, or limit frictions between ethnic groups in a society (Alli, 2004). There is a need to provide solutions to the management of these conflicts due to the negative consequences they have on society. Confrontations of any sorts contribute to conflict and it takes either verbal or physical forms, for parties to settle their differences. Problem-solving is another way used to curtail these conflicts, as it is one of the most constructive approaches for parties to cooperate, admit their differences, while seeking out ways to rectify their issues through controlled communication (Best, Gaya, & Shadrack, 2007). Alemika et al. (2002) argue that conflict management is an effort to contain, and reduce the amount of violence used by parties engaged, and that the parties can engage in proper communication in settling differences that occur between them. It is noteworthy to mention that Nigeria has made various efforts to find an enduring solution to the lingering conflicts, however, these conflicts still permeate the Nigerian society, and reduce efforts made towards the development of the nation. Research indicates that the frequency of conflicts of any sorts have caused a general threat to national security, which affect national integration of ethnicities, tribes, economic, and political developments.

# 3.8 Summary of Chapter 3

Any research aims to identify and investigate problems and proffer solutions to them. The researcher delved into the review of literature in regards to the study. Therefore, this chapter reviewed the brief history of modern Nigeria, overview of Kaduna State, the concepts of conflicts, ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State, causes of the conflicts, and effect of the conflicts on the development of Kaduna State, and Nigeria in general. The chapter further captured ways through which ethno-religious conflict can be managed.



## **CHAPTER 4**

#### FINDINGS, ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION

## 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter analyses various ways ethno-religion conflicts could be managed. Analysis and discussion of ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna State will be explored in this chapter. This section analysed the qualitative and quantitative data collected from the empirical evidence on ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna State and how it affects the development of the state, and the analyses of the theoretical framework.

## 4.2 Examining the Causes and Management of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State

A plethora of studies have highlighted the causes and best practices to manage conflicts in Nigeria. These studies include the works of Osaretin & Akov (2013), on ethno-religious conflict and peace building in Nigeria; Yusuf (2007), on managing Muslim–Christian conflicts in Kaduna State; Lamorde (2018), on managing ethno-religious identity conflicts in Kaduna State, Nigeria; and Omotosho (2014), on managing religious conflicts in Nigeria through peaceful movement. There are other reasons for the unbridled ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State as presented in the diagram below by the National Archives.







Source: National Archives, Kaduna (Adelberger, 1992)

From the diagram, it was observed that an ethno-religious conflict is majorly triggered by struggles over identity and territory between the predominantly Hausa-Fulani, and the southern people of Kaduna. Religious ideological domination is another factor that is among the reasons for the conflicts. Marginalisation has been a major issue in Nigeria, which has resulted in several interstate conflicts. From the figure 4.1, marginalisation in terms of political (i.e. control of the seat of power of the Hausa-Fulani emirate in the state government), and economic marginalization caused major complaints of the southern Kaduna people of poor infrastructure in their region as compared to their northern counterparts.

## 4.3 Consequences of Ethno-Religious Conflicts on the Development of the State

It has been found that the Kaduna crisis is motivated by religion and ethnicity differences. These challenges have contributed to the poor growth of Kaduna State. As a result of religious conflicts, both the Christian and Muslim groups have lost many lives and properties as shown in the figure below.

 High cost of living is experienced during and after ethnic or religious conflicts

 Essential commodities are scare

 Ethnic or religious conflict bring about hunger and poverty

 Investor are prevented from coming to invest

 Decrease population

Figure 4.2 Economic Implication on the State Development

Source: National Archives, Kaduna (Adelberger, 1992)

According to figure 4.2, the consequences of degradation of life and property in Kaduna State have created a gap in the implementation of the poverty elimination programme created by the Kaduna State government. As a result, there is a high cost of living experienced during and after ethno-religious conflicts as the conflict affected the micro economic activities of the state. There have been many deaths which have led to a decrease in the population, and many displacements of indigenes who migrated to other neighboring states. Ethno-religious crises have also contributed to the weakening of the nation's economic development. The religious conflict in Kaduna pushed both foreign and local investors out of the state. The Kaduna ethno-religious conflict pushed locals out of the state which affected usual commercial activities in the state. The impact of ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna has negatively affected the state both in economical losses, socially, and politically.

## 4.4 Social Impact of Ethno Religious Conflicts on Kaduna State Development

On the social impact on development of the state (Adelberger, 1992), ethno-religious conflict had contributed negatively as displayed in figure 4.2 below.



Fig. 4.3. Social Impact of Ethno Religious Conflicts on the State Development

Source: National Archives, Kaduna (Adelberger, 1992)

As observed, in fig 4.2.1, the consequences of the ethno-religious crisis in Kaduna State have generated internally displaced people. The number of IDPs in the state have increased, resulting in loss of possessions, family members, roots, and jobs. There are reports that up to 23 IDPs have been found in a local government area. The ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State resulted in the destruction of property and death of several of hundreds of thousands of people, including children. 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. The level of mistrust between Muslims and Christian has also had an impact on the development of the state. There has been an increase in drug abuse, and crimes among the youth and the level of psychological trauma has been increased. This has a negative impact on development of the state which has hampered their participation in economic development. Research on the consequences of conflict shed light on the negative effects conflict has on both the social and personal well-being of a state or people.

Studies found that aftermath conflict affects the stress level of those who lived through these times (Laursen & Hafen 2010). Some of the most common aftermath effects are the increase in stress level, anger and aggression which among other things, may result in an extended period of high blood pressure (Laursen & Hafen 2010). Poorly managed conflict may cause social dysfunction, and interfere with normal socialization, hinders supportive functions of relationships, while leaving individuals isolated (Laursen & Hafen 2010).

## 4.5 Measures on How Ethno-Religious Conflicts Can be Abated

Conflict is considered as part of human nature. It has been argued that the root cause of conflict is that man by his very nature exhibits certain traits like aggression, envy, ambition and frustration. Scholars argued that conflict cannot be completely eliminated from human society,

meaning it will continue to occur. Although conflicts arise from clashes of values and claims to scarce resources, power and status (Yusuf, 2007), it is therefore seen as a creative aspect of organizational life and life generally. Conflict is necessary otherwise nations will stagnate (Alli, 2004), meaning that conflict has become accepted as an inevitable aspect of life.

Historical records over the years reveal that of all conflicts known to man, one of the most damaging is ethno-religious conflict. Social conflicts, right from ages have posed serious problems to the human race, however, the nature and dynamics of conflicts vary over time and places. Furthermore, conflict should not be perceived as an abnormal or detestable aspect of life Onigu & Issac (1999). In other words, conflict is a fact of life and could be a forerunner to positive change. Research indicates every plural society is bound to experience one form of conflict or the other. Conflicts occur from the pursuit of divergent interests, goals and aspirations by individuals and or groups (Fisher, 2000).

Any form of interaction among human beings and groups can generate conflict, however, issues are settled through conflict management and resolution mechanisms. It is believed that conflict occurs in every state because it tests the fragility or otherwise of the state and creates the basis of future amelioration or adjustments. Conflicts often result from socio-economic, ethnic, religious, cultural, racial and gender differentiations within the context of scarce resources and struggle for their control by different groups (Alemika et al, 2002). However, the primary sources of social conflicts are divergent interests associated with class, economic, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, political and racial differentiation (Alemika et al, 2002). Conflict resolution and management when actively conducted requires process and time effort, in other words, it should not be perceived as a structural process that resolves conflict at a set period (Uhunmwuangho & Epelle, 2011).

## 4.6 Discussions of Findings

From the analyses, it was discovered that ethno-religious conflicts have had a negative impact on the development of Kaduna State. Amongst such impact was the disruption in lives and properties of the affected communities. Ethno-religion conflicts have led to drawbacks in economic growth and political instability in the midst of abundant natural resources in the state. This study findings indicate that major factors identified as the main drive to ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna is the struggle over identity and territory. The Muslims (Hausa-Fulani), majority are struggling to take total control of Kaduna State, which in turn leaves an impression of margination towards the people of Southern Kaduna. These findings are consistent with Okoh (2005), role of the Christian Church in conflict management in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. Results suggest that ethno-religious dispute is a struggle between groups for the possession, value claim to scare resources, status symbols, and power struggles among the people of the Delta Region of Nigeria. The goal of individuals or groups during the conflicts is to eliminate their opponents from attaining available resources, wealth, status symbols and power base. On the economic impact, the findings indicate that there is serious economic implication suffered by both Christians and Muslims. Loss of property, high cost of living, and scarcity of essentials were a few factors which lead to increased levels of poverty in the society. Study findings indicated that ethno-religious conflicts have created gaps in insecurity, as many societal vices are as a result of the conflicts. These findings are in tandem with Uhunmwuangho and Epelle (2011) findings on the challenges and solutions to ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

#### 4.7 Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter presents the findings, analysis and discussion of ethno religious conflict in Kaduna State. It attempted to analyse the findings of studies on ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, the reasons, and the causation to such conflicts. It also reviewed the measures on how ethno-religious conflicts can be abated with references and results of past studies. This chapter also shed light on the social impact of ethno-religious conflicts on the development of Kaduna State, while examining the causes and management of ethno-religious conflicts in the state.



#### **CHAPTER 5**

#### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION

## 5.1 Summary

The main objectives of this study were to investigate the impacts of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, with Kaduna State as a case study. This was conceived to examine the causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State, find out the consequences of ethno-religious conflicts on the development of the state, and provide recommendations on how ethno-religious conflicts can be reduced against its continuous occurrence. Much of the discussion of the study on ethno-religious conflicts have been observed which indicated imbalance or marginalization of one ethnic group over the others. This marginalization has taken various forms such as political, economic, and social unrest, which are accumulated into religious crises. Ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna have a long history in the past as well as in recurring accounts, and the conflict has dramatically affected the socio economic lives of the residents in the state.

From the analyses of this research, the study indicates that the Kaduna crisis is motivated by religion, and ethnicity differences. These challenges have contributed to the poor growth of Kaduna State. As a result of religious conflicts, both religious groups have lost many lives and property. Recurrent violent attacks have become a significant challenge in Nigeria's socio-political discourse which has caused severe mayhem as a result of a continued failed effort to tackle the core problems from all sides. The violence in Kaduna State must be addressed from its roots, and differences in terms of religion, ethnicity, culture, and tribal disparities need to be looked into and addressed legislatively.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Based on the research findings and discussions, this research provides recommendations to mitigate various conflicts caused by ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State. Firstly, the religious communities or ethnic groups should act as a mediator to ensure that the conflicts between their religion or ethnic group and others do not intensify. Second, religious and ethnic communities should ensure justice in settling any dispute situation. Religious organizations should be able to give up their interest, only for the sake of peace to prevail. Selfishness must be resisted, and egalitarianism must be accepted. Third, there is a need for public symposiums and seminars consistently to bring the two religious groups together to create harmony, as it will foster national development. Fourth, the state government has the responsibility to protect lives and property, and the security agency should always be on alert to prevent any conflicts between groups.

In other words, ethnic and religious conflicts constitute a significant impediment to the peace, stability, and development of a nation. It also negates principles necessary for entrenching enduring democracy in Nigeria. The knowledge of various factors which influence ethnic, religious, and political conflicts and the requisite mitigating policies are vital to policymakers and stakeholders in place and conflict settlement.

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