

The Matrix of Ethno-Religious Politics in Kaduna State: Issues, Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

The phenomenon of ethnic and religious inequality has continued to be experienced in most societies of the world. In Nigeria, the problem seems to have increased over the past years thereby creating a complex matrix that produced negative effects. This has brought a lot of untold hardships and other social consequences upon the state. The present conflicts and violence that have destroyed a lot of lives and property in Nigeria is a product of social inequality. This has retarded growth and development of the state. To understand and provide possible solutions to this phenomenon, theoretical and empirical approaches were used to gather data needed for this work. The study adopts the survey design and the questionnaire was used as a tool to collect data. The analysis was performed using the simple percentage data analysis method. After, careful analysis and interpretation of the data collected, it was found that groups are more loyal and sympathetic to their identity and interest rather than any state goal. This may be as a result of government and groups not playing their roles well. They sometimes use machinery of state to enhance themselves and their group interests. The paper concludes that politicians favor some ethnic and religious groups in their policy decisions, power sharing, distribution of resources and equity. This has brought inequality and dissatisfaction among groups and citizens. These and other external forces bring inequality which often results in crisis. Part of the solution is to evolve consensus building mechanism that will put in place a state ideology.

Keywords: Democracy, Ethnicity, Insecurity, Inequality, Republic.

Introduction

The history of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria can be traced back to the colonial administration that forced the ethnic groups of the Northern and Southern provinces to become one entity called Nigeria in 1914. Since the

various ethnic groups were not consulted regarding the merger, this British colonial policy was undemocratic, denying the peoples basic needs of participation, equality and social well-being, which evidently led to conflict. The introduction of indirect rule in Nigeria by Lord Fredrick Lugard, the chief administrator was not the appropriate mechanism for managing animosities in the colony, rather it was a mechanism designed to strengthen the colonial grip on the Nigerian society and weaken the people's potentials for resistance. The power given to traditional rulers by Lugard was corruptly used in the villages to amass wealth, land and establish patronage networks, which in the long run encouraged tribalism and nepotism. This era of provincial development though relatively peaceful also led to growing ethnocentrism (Enwerem, 2001; Egwu, 2011).

In 1947, a colonial constitution divided Nigeria into 3 political regions-East, West and North. The North, which was predominantly Hausa-Fulani, was the largest and eventually the most populous region. The Igbo's dominated the East and the Yoruba's the West. With the three (3) major ethnic groups in dominance, the minority ethnic groups rebelled, and Nigerians started fighting for ethnic dominance as the nation was struggling to strengthen its independence. The unequal and differential treatment of ethnic groups by the colonial administration was responsible for the intense competition in the Nigeria society. It created disparity in educational achievement and widened the political and economic gaps between Northern and Southern Nigeria.

Even after Nigeria attained her independence in 1960, ethnic and religious conflicts still-continued to re-surface. The conflicts escalated as various ethnic groups demanded a political restructuring that would ensure their active participation in the decision-making process of the nation. But what is more worrisome is the religious dimension most of the ethnic conflicts that have taken place in the Northern cities of Kano, Kaduna, Jos and Zamfara took. Some of these crises were as a result of the introduction of the Shari'ah Legal system in some Northern states.

Nigeria's Kaduna State has been embroiled in conflict for decades. The violence has its roots in ethnic tensions between the state's Muslim and non-Muslim populations. In Kaduna State, the Hausa-Fulani majority occupies the north, often referred to as "mecca". The minority Christian population resides in the south, or "Jerusalem". Since 1980, violence fuelled by these divisions has claimed about 20,000 lives (Soyinka, 2000). The Hausa-Fulani have historically wielded governmental power and control over the state's political and economic structures. This has damaged relations with the non- Muslim minority. The non-Muslims are often referred to as pagans and they have been ruled by the dominant Muslim population for years. These ethno-religious differences have been entrenched by the dominant Hausa-Fulani group who

make up 60% of the population. The group has marginalized the 30 minority non-Muslim tribes who make up the remaining 40%. These tribes are now predominantly Christian (Ojukwu, 2000).

The Muslim/Christian divide has exacerbated socio-cultural differences between the dominant and minority groups. These differences were intensified by uneven development, economic disparity, and the political marginalization of the minority population. For example, the Hausa-Fulani group has imposed its leaders on communities' right from the governorship of the state to the local government. The current governor, Nasir Ahmed el-Rufai's re-election on a Muslim-Muslim ticket, and the Governor elect, Uba Sani who flies same in the face of expectations that he would run on a Muslim-Christian ticket is a clear example. Combined, these factors have fuelled the recurrent protests in Kaduna.

In 2000, the then Governor Makarfi introduced sharia law in Kaduna State. This dramatically intensified religious tensions as the introduction of sharia law further polarized people and made the Christian minority even more fearful of their Muslim neighbours. The change was contrary to Nigeria's 1999 constitution which states that Nigeria is a secular state. Ultimately, the introduction of sharia law led to even more violence. Attacks and counter attacks claimed the lives of 1,295 people and an unstated number of bodies were buried without identification (Egwu, 2011). Violence in the region is also undoubtedly fuelled by the fact that both sides have unfettered access to weapons. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is due to the fact that the borders between Nigeria and neighboring states such as Niger, Chad and Cameroon are porous, allowing illegal entry of arms smugglers (Debki, 2000). There is also an occupational dimension to the violence. The Hausa-Fulani are predominantly cattle herders while the people of southern Kaduna are mostly farmers who cultivate food crops for a living. Violence periodically flares up between the herdsmen and the farmers when the herdsmen migrate to the south in search of pasture. The migration triggers conflict over land use, land ownership, and encroachment of farmlands. Reprisal attacks from the farmers are common. This dimension of the conflict has been made worse by the religious differences of the actors and the perceived bias of successive Kaduna State governments against the Christian minority.

The study brings into focus the problems of ethno-religious conflict among people of Kaduna state and proper solutions and suggestions for possible way out of the problems; this study will focus on the five (5) major areas where conflict broke out in Kaduna metropolis which are: (Barnawa, Kawo, Rigasa, Tudun Wada, Ungwan Romi). For time and accuracy of the study, the state at large will be limited to these five (5) mentioned areas above, which shall be used as a case study. The areas were chosen specifically by the virtue of the fact that

they are made up of divergent ethnic-groups and also because the conflict had its root there only to spread to other areas in the city (Kaduna). The study is necessary in identifying both the immediate and remote causes of these conflicts so as to articulate and recommend preventive measures to avoid future re-occurrence. It will also enumerate some conflict management techniques.

Kaduna State is today considered a pluralistic society, in view of rapid socio-economic and political changes that have taken place over the years. These changes came with the challenges of social relationship and interaction that raised tension among groups. The State has diverse religious, ethnic and political classes with aspirations and interests. Matrix in this study has to do with the social conditions, elements and formalities upon which relationship of inequality can be understood. It shows the synergies that produce an effect, problem or development. It has to do with the socio-economic and political experience upon which ethno-religious inequality strives (Horny, 2001). Instead of achieving her goal, Kaduna State continues to battle with the differences and conflict among groups. The State is suffering under the forces of ethno-religious politics that are militating against her collective peace, equality, harmony and progress. There is discrimination and identity crisis among groups in Kaduna State. The State is also characterized by factionalized indigenous bourgeoisie on one side and the proletariats on the other hand (Osaghae, 1994).

The situation in Kaduna State has made the maintenance of social security, order and stability impossible. The friction by groups and interests has made the ideals of statehood and task of corporate governance difficult. There is today a growing concern among citizens to get to the root of the matter and to find solutions to the problems. Governor Nasir El-Rufai recently stated that conflict and violence has brought the state to its knee (El-Rufai, 2023). As a result, the task of governance, development and the creation of wealth are made difficult. There is the urgent need for leaders, citizens and the general public to come together and solve the problem. This work is a historical and political attempt to discover the causes and solutions to social inequality in Kaduna State. This work will make use of both theoretical and empirical methods in its data presentation.

Conceptual Issues

Ethno -Religious Politics: Ethno-religious is a compound word from two separate words: Ethno and Religious. Ethno is from the word ethnic. Ethnic or ethno means something that is cultural to a social group which shares common ancestral and traditions. Religious is relative to beliefs, worldviews and practices that are connected to some set of teachings and rules about existential issues or the supernatural being (Hornby, 2001). The words are used in this

study to mean social behaviors and actions that are motivated or re-enforced by cultural and scared sentiments and consideration. Ethno-religious mean something and problem that is rooted, related or caused by religion and ethnicity.

Ethno-religious politics is the art and the practice of using ethnic and religious interest as a motive or vehicle to aspire and agitate for political gains. Many scholars do not see ethnicity and religion as the pure motive for politics in society. They are rather utilized as instruments for socio-economic and political agitations. Happenings and developments in political agitations by individuals and groups have proved the last view to be true. Nnoli saw ethnicity in two dimensions: social and political. On a narrow dimension, he saw ethnicity as a social phenomenon associated with the interactions among different social groups (Nnoli, 1995). At a broader dimension, it is considered as a socio-economic and political phenomenon associated with interactions among diverse groups that have similar cultural, linguistic and common consciousness in a State (Nnoli, 1980). It cuts across ethnic or religious interest by creating unity in diversity thereby forming diverse political ideologies representing the interests of groups in State affairs (Eruvbetine, 2001). In his book: *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria*, Nnoli states that ethnicity could be a solution to the problem of social injustice and inequality in society. It can fight exploitation, oppression, deprivation and alienation of individuals and groups in the society (Nnoli, 1995).

For Nwaezeigwe, ethnicity is a vehicle of group consciousness and identity, which gives one a sense of being and pride in a socio-political and geographical setting (Nwaezeigwe, 1998). Sanda and Badru in their views stated that it is the intensification of ethnic identity, the feeling of allegiance to one's social group with or without a recognized institutional structure in the context of a multi ethnic existence (Sanda, 1976; Badru, 2000). However, we must caution that in the context of interventionist state, it becomes an instrument of injustice in the hands of the ruling class. The colonial powers encouraged and used religion and ethnicity to perpetuate their policy of divide and rule in Nigeria. Ethnicity was maximized and used to protect the interests of the political class and the rich (Nnoli, 1995). Osaghae went further to state that ethnicity is a product of competition for scarce resources among groups in society. He contended that such competing interests brought about social inequality and sometimes results in violence and crisis in society (Osaghae, 1994). This seemed to be the truth of what is happening in most modern nations and states like Nasarawa.

There are two basic views about religion and ethnicity in society. There is the Functional view by Max Weber and Conflict view by Karl Marx. Weber saw nothing wrong in religion and organization of society. That it brings stability, solidarity and social progress in society (Haralambos, 2000). Religion and

ethnicity if properly practiced should be able to address all socio-economic and political challenges in society. Others see religion as an instrument of exploitation and manipulation in the hands of the rich and those in power. Karl Marx believes that the rich make use of religion and ethnicity to exploit the poor. Marx saw religion as the opium (a drink from an opiate tree that intoxicates) for the poor workers. He further stated that religion is the sight of the heartless world, and the soul of the soulless soul (Cone, 1986). Marx concludes by justifying violent conflict against the rich for the good of the society (Dzurgba, 2010). However, Marx could be right depending on the usage and practice of religion in a particular society. Religion and ethnicity can be used to bring about progress or to cause destruction in society.

The manipulation of ethnicity and religion is what Karl Marx considered to be the development of dialectics in his theory of social change and conflict in society (Wilkins, 1976). Marx saw economic interest and resources a major source of conflict and violence in human society. Groups fight over how national and state resources are shared. Other sources of conflict can be differences of values, norms and the ways or methods people pursue their interest in society (Dzurgba, 2010) Karl Marx insisted that politics is primarily determined by the elites who have the means and forces of production (Wilkins, 1976). Politics is about controlling social production: what is produced is distributed. In a situation like this, the dominant social class dictates the power sharing formula, distribute resources and share equity. Marx insisted that the strongest social group prevails against the weaker. He considers this as the reason for group domination and unequal treatment in society. And that such unequal interaction is the cause for social classes and conflict in human society.

General Causes of Ethno-religious Politics in Nigeria

A major cause of what we now see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has to do with the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry. In every nation, there is no complete agreement on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among individuals and groups. There is also no agreement on how to effect necessary changes and reforms. This is because, different groups and individuals have diverse interests in which case, some groups will have their aims met, while others will not. What this means is that conflict (ethno religious ones inclusive) usually occur when deprived groups and individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant values, norms, beliefs or ideology. Thus, in Nigeria and going by the various examples of ethno-religious conflicts cited earlier in this paper, there seems to be a divisive interplay of politics, ethnicism and religions, which has consequently led to the rising nationalism and militancy of various ethnic and religious movements. It is interesting to note that the overall consequence of this is the escalation of various ethno-religious conflicts that are

witnessed all over the country today which are meant to correct any perceived form of marginalization, oppression or domination.

It is important to note here too that the failure of the Nigerian leaders to establish good governments, forge national integration and promote what can be called real economic progress, through deliberate and articulated policies, has led to mass poverty and unemployment. This has resulted into communal, ethnic, religious and class conflicts that have now characterized the Nigerian nation.

Poverty and unemployment have therefore served as nursery bed for many ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria because the country now has a reservoir of poor people who warmongers use as mercenary fighters.

Another very important cause of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria also, is the breakdown of vehicles of social control that characterized the traditional African societies such as: The police, courts, family, education, law, religion and political system that cared for the well-being of all citizens. Indeed, the malfunctioning of all these important institutions has actually increased ethnic and communal conflicts in Nigeria. For instance, the inability of many homes to make the ends meet with the family income tends to increase immorality, broken fatherless/motherless homes, divorces and drunkenness, leading again to a large reserve of youths who could be employed for execution of ethno-religious conflicts.

It is also important to note, that the school system in Nigeria today is in shambles and cannot impart even sound knowledge, let alone instill discipline and desired type of morality. The religious institution is also not playing its expected roles, while the law enforcement agents indulge in crimes, demand bribes and collect illegal levies from motorists openly and, shamelessly. All the above constitute a wrong signal to the social and encourage social vices in the society thereby laying the foundation for conflicts in general.

Ethno-Religious Politics in Kaduna State

A critical look at the history of Kaduna State gives some stages of evolutionary progression of inequality. We must understand the existence and the dynamics of the Native Kingdoms, the Republican Ethnic Communities, Hausa-Fulani and Kambari Emirs scattered in areas covered by the present Kaduna State. This combination made the State heterogeneous with different views, interests and aspirations (Ayih, 2003). African Traditional Religion was able to harmonize the ethnic groups and individuals to their experience. But the synergies from social plurality encouraged; re-enforced ethno-religious inequality. Such interests and agitations brought about inequality between groups and citizens of the State (Eruvbetine). The state is today mainly divided along religious

(Christians versus Muslims) and ethnic agitations. The social groups in Kaduna state experienced their differences and unequal treatment from the colonial to the independent period. Ethno-religious inequality and divide cannot be said to be a new phenomenon in Kaduna State. But the concern is the dimension the problem has assumed over the years.

Over the centuries, ethnic and religious groups in the State have been living cordially with one another. Except for some cases of inter and intra ethnic conflicts and wars. This was because they had independent existence, some cultural differences, interests and organizations. They may not have many things in common, but do not interfere in the internal affairs of one another. Differences are settled through mutual negotiation or war where there is break down of communication (Ayih, 2003). Things started changing with the coming and conversion of the natives into Islam and Christianity respectively. Islam used the power of the sword or Jihad of the 18th century by Othman Dan Fodio and his agents to forcefully convert the natives into Islam. By the time the colonial masters came, the established Emirate System was used to subjugate the natives under the system of indirect rule. Many groups and individuals were pressurized and forced to accept Islam. Accepting Islam was condition to be given a village or ward head and other incentives. Those who accepted Islam were treated better and given more social opportunities and responsibilities to the detriments of other groups (Abimiku, 2011). This enhanced their socio-economic and political status as compared to others. This is why politics and actions are still being influenced by the Emirs, Politicians and Religious leaders outside the state, thereby re-enforcing inequality (Ihonvbare, 1989). According to Ojukwu (2000:19) "he stated in a lecture delivered to a congregation of Christians at Hekan Church Katsina road, Kaduna that "we as Christians believed in services. It is unfortunate that what we find coming from the other side doesn't appear quite fair to us. That is what we are saying, our point is not go and convert them, they have failed in converting us; and so far, this is, if they have not failed, why would they need so much force to put things against us? It is significant and we must look at it this way. Nigeria is a country, a country which belongs to all of us. That is the beginning of wisdom for anybody who wants to hear. All of us are Nigerians; nobody has a pre-emptive right over Nigerians'.

Looking at this literature, it is true that Nigeria is for all of us whether you are a Muslim or a Christian, a Northerner or a Southerner, Nigeria belongs to everybody irrespective of one's personality, so therefore, no single group or body has the right to force or drag anyone into what they don't wish for themselves; Rather Nigerians should be allowed to choose what is good for them. Ojukwu failed to acknowledge that the demand for the full implementation of shari'ah legal system is a legitimate and genuine demand of people from grass root. It is not a political demand that can be washed away.

This aspiration is provided by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1991 and the issue of shari'ah has existed since before the coming of the colonial masters that abrogated the shari'ah legal system in 1903 after conquering the Sokoto Caliphate. In respect to Ojukwu's statement, what is demanded by the Muslims? And there is also another weakness, where Ojukwu failed to inform his fellow Christians that shari'ah does not apply to the Christians, instead he went on saying that, the Muslims are using much force to put things against them (Christians).

The coming of participatory democracy did not eradicate social inequality in Kaduna State (Dzurgba, 2008). This seemed to have increased beginning from the creation of the State. The State was already divided along ethnic, religious and political classes with their vested interests. The creation of the State came with a renewed attempt by groups and individuals to outsmart one another. The ethno-religious divide was manipulated by those in power and became a determining factor that dictated policies and decisions. The various ethnic and religious groups seemed nurtured and mobilized to struggle and fight for their interests and goals. There are now elitist groups that found themselves in economic and political positions and are using the ethno-religious divide to advance their personal goals (Isiguzo, 1999).

The successive governments encouraged and used ethno-religious inequality as platform to divide and rule the State. Political leaders and governments smartly deployed the ungodly injustice and immoral policies to favor some ethnic and religious groups. Some politicians in power consistently carried out unjust decisions which are enforced with the backing of security agents (Onyeacholem, 2013). Some particular ethnic and religious groups seemed favored, supported and their members appointed into top and sensitive political offices than others.

Another aspect that some groups cry of inequality is in the area of religion. Muslims, Christians and African Religious adherents cry of discrimination against each other. Christians and Traditionalists felt unequally treated in the areas of top appointments, empowerment programs and sharing of equity. Christians and Traditionalists are not equally placed in appointments both at the federal and state ministries. They cry of discriminations in the aspect of employment, siting of government projects and the award of contracts by government. It is alleged that more than eighty percent of all government contracts and positions are given to Muslims (YOWICAN, 2011). Christian or traditionalist has only once been a governor, speaker or chief judge of the state. According to Enweren (1995:70) "Nigeria is divided into two (2) major religions i.e. Islam and Christianity, each in constant struggle over power with the other. Lurking behind this struggle was regional and ethnic interest. The issue of religion according to the author took a political dimension because each

religion likes to have its members in positions of power, even if they are only nominal adherents of that religion. Through their adherents each religion wanted to have its world view occupying the commanding position in the economic and socio-political scheme. Hence, the winning of converts became crucial; or to put it in Marxist parlance, the class struggle acquired a religious garb.

In relation to this literature, it is obvious that religious conflicts in most cases do not happen as a result of religious purposes; rather it is because of economic and socio-political reasons. Example, the shari'ah conflict of 2000 in Kaduna, as stated by both the Christians and Muslims communities; one of the causes is agreed to be unemployment, which is related to economic factor while the dominance of one group over the other which is a socio-political factor is another cause of the conflict. According to Y.B Usman even the few tribunals and commissions of inquiries established to investigate these conflicts produced reports, which sometimes lead to white paper that hardly go beyond the desktop of government officials and some officials and some editors of media houses".

The whole agitations and conflicts among groups in Kaduna State are rooted on resources to satisfy personal tastes and needs (Haralambos; 2000). In a whole, activities of citizens, groups and governments are the main sources of inequality, poverty, conflict and lack of development (Igwe, 2010). Nevertheless, groups and politicians have recognized the fact that political power is the only legitimate instrument to allocate, distribute resources and equity (Nnoli, 1995). As a result, they seek to use any available platform to gain political power, resources and equity. Today, citizens and groups in the State have divided interests, loyalty and goals. They fight for what is important and good to the group and not the good of the entire State (Igwe, 2010). Ethno-religious inequality and rivalry have caused a lot of untold hardships, poverty, agitations and violence with negative consequences on lives and property. This has brought social inequality, insecurity, instability and violence in recent years in the State. In the light of the above challenges, there is the need in the State for actions by groups to be harmonized.

Research Methodology

The paper adopts a mixed approach of studies layout which involves series of each quantitative and qualitative statistics. The populace of the observe includes respondents in Kaduna L.G.A. The general populace, in keeping with National Bureau of Statistics (2006), of the L.G.A is 357,694. The pattern length of 380 at 95% self-assurance degree become used primarily based totally at the Wimmer and Dominick on line pattern length calculator. The multi-level and purposive sampling strategies have been deployed to pick respondents who've been laid low with the disaster from Barnawa, Kawo, Rigasa, Tudun wada,

Unguar Rimi in Kaduna metropolis respectively. Meanwhile, one key informant become purposively decided on in step with groups making a complete of 5 individuals for the important thing informant interviews to supplement quantitative survey. The motive for the small range of individuals is because of the truth that during qualitative studies approach the range is generally small, as Khan, Anker and Patel (2016) have a look at that qualitative observe generally includes small individuals in an in-intensity dialogue wherein small range of humans from the goal populace planned on troubles which are of relevance to the observe. The contraptions for statistics series have been questionnaire and interview guide. The questionnaire made out of Likert scale questions. The consequences of the disbursed questionnaire have been offered in tables the use of easy frequency, percent and imply analysis.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Respondents Bio-data

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18 – 25 Years	109	28.68
26 – 32 Years	103	27.12
33 – 39 Years	151	39.74
40– 46 Years	12	3.16
47– 53 Years	3	0.79
54- 60 Years	2	0.53
Total	380	100
Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	198	52.11
Female	182	47.89
Total	380	100
Religious Affiliation	Frequency	Percentage
Christianity	179	47.1
Islam	201	52.9
Traditional Religion	0	0
Total	380	100
Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Business	71	18.68
Farming	30	7.89
Teaching	72	18.9
Students	93	24.5
Civil Service	89	23.4
Others	25	6.57
Total	380	100
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022

As shown in Table 1 above, 28.68% of the respondents are 18-25 years old, 27.12% are 26-32 years old, 39.74% are 33-39 years old, 40-46 years old 3.16 -53 years is 79% and the remaining 0.53% are between 54 and 60 years old and older. This shows that the majority of respondents are between 33 and 39 years old. From the table it can be concluded that the research received responses from all categories of adults in the study area. On the other hand, the gender distribution of respondents indicates that of the 380 respondents, 366 represent 96.3% were males while 14 (3.68%) were females. This implies that the majority of the respondents are men, but the opinion of women was not left out. The table also shows that 179 of the respondents, representing 47.1%, belong to the Christian religion, while 201 of them represent 52.9% are said to belong to the Islamic religion. None of those interviewed claimed to be associated with the traditional religion. This indicates that Islam is the dominant religion in the study area. In terms of occupation, the table shows that 23.4% are civil servants, 18.68% are engaged in various types of business, 7.89% are engaged in agriculture, 18.9% are teachers of various levels, 24.5% are students, while 18.68% are engaged in various occupations such as craftsman, mechanics, tailors, drivers, hairdressers, etc. Therefore, most respondents are business people.

Table 2: Illiteracy is a major cause of ethno-religion conflict?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	98	25.8
Agreed	122	32.1
Undecided	10	2.6
Disagree	83	21.9
Strongly disagree	67	17.6
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

From the above, Table 2 shows that 98 (25.8%) of the respondents strongly agreed that illiteracy is a major cause of ethno-religion conflict in the State. 122 (32.1%) agreed, 10 respondents were undecided while 83 (21.9%) disagreed and 67 (17.6) strongly disagree. This result shows that, illiteracy is a major cause of ethno-religion conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis.

Table 3: Immoral acts within religions leaders also contribute to the ethno religion conflicts?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	112	29.5
Agreed	191	50.3
Undecided	8	2.1
Disagree	44	11.6
Strongly disagree	25	6.6
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above shows that 112 (29.5%) of the respondents strongly agreed that Immoral act within religious leaders also contributes to the ethno- religion conflicts in the State. 191(50.3%) agreed, 8 respondents were undecided while 44 (11.6%) disagreed and 25 (6.6) strongly disagree. From the views of respondents, it indicates that immoral acts within religious leaders contributes to ethno-religion conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis.

Table 4: Lack of proper teaching and understanding of individual religions is a factor enhancing this menace?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	164	43.2
Agreed	149	39.2
Undecided	2	0.5
Disagree	39	10.3
Strongly disagree	27	7.1
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

From the above table shows that 164 (43.2%) of the respondents strongly agreed lack of proper teaching and understanding of individual religions is a factor enhancing this menace in the State. 149(39.2%) agreed, 2 respondents were undecided while 39 (10.3%) disagreed and 27 (7.1) strongly disagree. The researcher therefore concludes that lack of proper teaching and understanding of individual religions is factor enhancing ethno-religion conflict in the society at large.

Table 5: Selfish interest of religious leaders tends to fuel the ethno religion conflicts?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	176	46.3
Agreed	153	40.3
Undecided	3	0.8
Disagree	33	8.7
Strongly disagree	15	3.9
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above shows that 176 (46.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed that selfish interest of religious leaders tends to fuel the ethno-religion conflicts in the State. 153 (40.3%) agreed, 3 respondents were undecided while 33 (8.7%) disagreed and 15 (3.9) strongly disagree. From the views of respondents indicates that selfish interest of religious leaders contributes to ethno-religion conflicts in Kaduna State.

Table 6: Ethno-religion conflicts affects lives of the people?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	74	19.5
Agreed	306	80.5
Undecided	-	-
Disagree	-	-
Strongly disagree	-	-
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above indicates that 74 (19.5%) of the respondents strongly agreed while 306 (80.5%) agreed that ethno-religion conflicts affects lives of people in the community.

These figures show that majority of the respondents were affected by the recent crises. It indicates how the crises have a devastating impact to the life of many people. A greater percentage of the respondents enumerated that, they lost one or two of their relatives, their properties destroyed and face economic and social imbalance among other factors. According to Human Right Watch Report (2008, p.7):

Nigeria is a nation deeply divided along ethnic and religious lines: more than 12,000 people have died in inter-communal clashes since the end of the military rule in 1999.

Table 7: Lack of religious knowledge triggers conflicts?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	144	37.9
Agreed	193	50.8
Undecided	2	0.5
Disagree	23	6.1
Strongly disagree	18	4.7
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above shows that 144 (37.9%) of the respondents strongly agreed that lack of religious knowledge triggers conflicts in the State. 193 (50.8%) agreed, 2 respondents were undecided while 23 (6.1%) disagreed and 18 (4.7) strongly disagree. From the views of respondents, it indicates that inadequate religious knowledge contributes to ethno-religion conflict in Kaduna State.

That is why Egwu (2011) 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 in Kaduna Metropolis in particular and Nigeria at large.

Table 8: Religious leaders influence ethno-religions conflicts?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	161	42.4
Agreed	151	39.7
Undecided	1	0.3
Disagree	40	10.5
Strongly disagree	27	7.1
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above indicates that 161(42.4%) of the respondents strongly agreed while 151 (39.7%) agreed that religious leaders influence ethno-religion conflicts in the community, 1 respondent undecided while 40 (10.5%) disagreed and 27 (7.1) strongly disagree. From the views of respondents indicates that religious leaders influence ethno-religions conflicts in Kaduna State.

According Debki (2000). The crises of 2000 in Kaduna state 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 has 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 (Abdulyakeen, 2022).

Table 9: Communal crises enhance ethno-religion conflicts?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	137	36.1
Agreed	194	51.1
Undecided	-	-
Disagree	23	6.1
Strongly disagree	26	6.9
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

From the above table shows that 137 (36.1%) of the respondents strongly agreed that communal crisis contributes to ethno-religions conflicts in the State. 194(51.1%) agreed, while 23(6.1%) disagreed and 26 (6.9) strongly disagree. From the responses of respondents, it can be deduced that communal crisis contributes to ethno-religions conflicts in Kaduna State.

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 basics 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.

The last two and half 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, breaks 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.

Table 10: Ethno-religion conflict weaken nation unity?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	154	40.5
Agreed	186	48.9
Undecided	-	-
Disagree	-	-
Strongly disagree	-	-
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above indicates that 154 (40.5%) of the respondents strongly agreed while 186 (48.9%) agreed that ethno-religion conflicts weaken nation unity and economy of the country.

Ethno-religious crises have serious consequences on the nation'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 Christians and Muslims 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 establish a task force to work towards retrieving such illegal arms.

Table 11: Ethno-religion conflicts affect socio-economic and academic activities of the community?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agreed	198	52.1
Agreed	182	47.9
Undecided	-	-
Disagree	-	-
Strongly disagree	-	-
Total	380	100

Source: Field Survey (2022).

The table above indicates that 198 (52.1%) of the respondents strongly agreed while 182 (47.9%) agreed that ethno- religion conflicts affect socio-economic and academic activities of the community. This result justified the fact that, this factor manifests in the forms of competition for inadequate resources such as land and its content, problem of distribution of available resources, unemployment and poverty. This is eminent in the herder-farmers conflict which the herdsmen migrated as a result of inadequate grazing lands and fresh water in Kaduna metropolis. The farmers-herders conflict has always been as a result of clash over land for grazing (herdsmen) and farming (farmers). In this, there is high demand by the herdsmen for grazing, this has always ignited an unending conflict between the Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers in the State.

Discrimination/marginalization in the civil service has caused conflict also in the State. It is noticed that the way appointments are been made in civil service is capable of eroding the confidence people have in the Civil Service as well as undermined the neutrality and impartiality of the service. Appointment of Accountant General and other Directors are done not for the career Civil

Servant but officers are brought outside the system and appointed into the Civil Service. Junior officers are also appointed over their superiors. The principle of Federal character is not applied into the appointment of chief executives of boards and parastatals.

Summary of Major Findings.

The study revealed the political elites that rule the country since independence manipulate the ethnic and primordial sentiments to achieve their goals within the practice of Nigerian federalism. They caused hatred in the minds of Nigerians and make them to see each other as enemies. Many Nigerians identified themselves in primordial terms, and their loyalties are likely to be first to their ethnic group before it is to the Nigerian state.

Furthermore, it was also revealed that majority of the respondents 59% are degree holders indicating that educational attainment has nothing to do with the causes of ethno-religious conflicts. It was also revealed that immoral acts within religious leaders contributes to ethno-religious conflicts of 56% from the responses view of the research population samples. The findings also revealed that the following contributes to ethno-religion conflicts which includes: Communal crises, Religions leaders, Selfish interest of religious leaders and Lack of proper teaching and understanding of individual religions. Finally, the finding indicated that lives of people, and socio-economic and academic of the community were all affected.

The study noted that, there are no proper guidelines for reconciling equal protection for Nigeria's citizens with the need to maintain "federal character" and promote diverse ethnic representation in the government. This has led to what the Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform has defined as "multi-layered system of citizenship", where by citizens residing in a State in which they are not indigenes a discriminated against, and members of indigenous communities within any State are favored over settlers. Such a system contributed to ethnic conflict in Kaduna State and Kaduna metropolis in particular where ethnic communities fight over scarce resources.

Finally, the Hausa-Fulani and the other tribes need to come together to understand their common differences through dialogue and commitment to peaceful coexistence. That's because; understanding our common humanity is the best guarantee of peace and universal brotherhood.

Conclusion

Despite the diversities and ethno-religious inequalities existing in Kaduna State, there is still hope for a brighter future for her people. The State has great potential of both human and material resources within her borders and if properly utilized can bring about transformation of the people. A State

ideology should be put in place to create a common aspiration among groups in Kaduna State. This will ensure consensus, peace building, integrity, stability and progress. The State government has a sacred responsibility and the constitutional power over resources to deal with the problem of inequalities among social groups. This is because inequality does harm and violence to the ideals of social welfare, social justice and State integration. There are bound to be disagreements and tendencies by individuals and groups to agitate to the detriment of the collective will and good. It is for the State Government to exercise her will power. They should discourage and where necessary make use of force to regulate the activities of individuals and groups. If nothing is done, it will lead to affront, suspicions and violence. Ethnic and religious groups should be able to associate freely based on mutual trust and respect. This is to be able to bring about understanding which is necessary for peaceful coexistence. Until this is done, citizens and groups cannot pull their resources together for any meaningful development in the State. A comfortable atmosphere and fair participation are requisites to achieving collective aspirations and good.

Recommendations

The following measures are recommended toward ameliorating ethno-religious conflicts and achieving lasting peace in the State.

1. Power sharing between the majority and minority groups must be adopted as a way to stem the frequent ethno-religious conflicts in the State (Alao, 2016). Respect for "secularity principle of the State": Kaduna State government must come to terms with the constitutional provision of the "Secularity Principle of the State" by staying clear off religious matters including pilgrimages. Depoliticization of sharia practice: sharia practice should be restricted to Muslims in the State as it had been the practice before the return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999.
2. Reintegration of ethno-religious groups: The State housing scheme should be intentional in bringing Muslims and Christian as neighbors once more. The scheme should not be restricted to civil servants alone but include other residents in the state.
3. Education and public enlightenment: there should be education and public enlightenment such that Muslims and Christians would know that they have brothers in each side of the divide. The State should criminalize the use of derogatory terms such as "kafiri" (infidels) and so forth.
4. Inter-religious confidence-building measures: there is also the need for the institution of inter-religious peace committee for fostering religious tolerance between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna and other States in the northern part of the country.
5. Effective implementation of Government initiatives for peace: In order to stem the frequent reoccurrence of ethno-religious conflicts in the State, the

government at all levels has been advised through the recommendations of the various judicial commissions of inquiry not to politicize initiatives for lasting peace and harmonious inter-group relations.

6. Legal actions against sponsors and perpetrators of religious Conflicts: the perpetrators of ethno-religious violence must be brought to book especially if they are at the corridor of power or influential members of the society.
7. Despite the diversities and ethno-religious inequalities existing in Nigeria, there is still hope for a brighter future for her people. The country has great potential of both human and material resources within her borders and if properly utilized can bring about transformation of the people.
8. A State ideology should be put in place to create a common aspiration among groups in Nigeria (northerners, southerners, westerners and easterners alike), the culture of mutual trust, cooperation, nationalism; liberation of the mind-set of persons and groups.. This will ensure consensus, peace building, integrity, stability and progress.
9. The leadership should be controlled by those who have the general interest of Nigeria at heart. Ethnic strife should be barred from the political space.
10. Good governance, social justice, equity and distributive justice should be encouraged to reduce tension, unrest and undue competition for space thereby building a befitting democracy now and beyond.

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