**UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA**

**COLLEGE OF LAW, GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ETHNO-RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS:  A STUDY OF NORTH-EASTERN REGION OF NIGERIA (2000-2007).**

# TIJJANI HALLIRU
**Matric No. 92764**
**hallirutijjani@yahoo.com**

**SUPERVISOR: PROF.MADYA DR. MOHD FO`AD SAKDAN**

**CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF. MADYA DR.ROHANA YUSOF**

Dissertation submitted to the College of Law, Government and International Studies University Utara Malaysia in Partial Fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**FEBRUARY, 2012**

# ABSTRAK

Nigeria mempunyai masyarakat yang terdiri daripada pelbagai ethno agama yang berpotensi untuk maju dari segi sosial dan ekonomi. Walaupun ramai yang melihat perkembangan ini sebagai manfaat demokrasi namun ada juga yang menggunakan demokrasi sebagai satu wadah untuk meluahkan ketidakpuasan hati mereka. Ini menyebabkan berlakunya konflik ethno agama dan politik yang berterusan. Sejak demokrasi diamalkan semula pada Mei 1999, lebih daripada seratus konflik bermotifkan ethno agama dan politik telah berlaku di negara ini. Kajian ini bertujuan mengenal pasti faktor yang menjadi punca konflik ini dan mengapa konflik ini berterusan berdasarkan insiden konflik ethno agama dan politik yang berlaku di antara tahun 2000-2007 di Nigeria. Selain itu, kajian ini juga mengkaji ancaman konflik ini kepada kerajaan yang dipilih berdasarkan proses demokrasi. Khususnya kajian ini menelusuri sejarah konflik ethno agama dan politik di Nigeria dan menegaskan bahawa konflik ini sebenarnya berakar ubi dari isu kolonialisme/penjajahan yang disokong oleh tentera kuku besi Nigeria. Kontradiksi dalam kerajaan persekutuan Nigeria memburukkan lagi keadaan ini. Data bagi kajian ini dikumpulkan melalui dua instrument: temu bual mendalam separa struktur yang dibentuk berdasarkan kajian literatur dan perbincangan fokus berkumpulan. Temu bual berkenaan melibatkan 90 responden manakala sesi perbincangan fokus berkumpulan dijalankan dengan ahli yang mewakili 6 buah negeri di daerah utara-timur Nigeria. Analisis data pula dijalankan secara kualitatif. Kajian ini juga menghurai latar belakang konflik ethno agama dan politik secara umum, membincangkan punca konflik dan menerangkan konsep penting dengan rujukan khusus kepada konflik berkenaan di daerah utara-timur Nigeria. Dapatan kajian telar menunjukkan bahawa factor ketiadaan toleransi, kemiskinan yang berpunca daripada pengangguran, rasuah, buta huruf, kejahilan, kegetiran ekonomi dan kepimpinan yang lemah merupakan halangan utama kepada proses perdamaian, perpaduan dan kestabilan politik. Kajian ini menyimpulkan bahawa pentadbiran yang baik, akauntabiliti, pengurangan kadar kemiskinan dan pengangguran, reformasi pendidikan serta penstrukturan semula kerajaan persekutuan di Nigeria merupakan isu utama yang mesti ditangani bagi mengawal impak konflik ethno agama dan politik. Kajian ini bermanfaat kepada penyelidik yang berminat untuk mengkaji konseptualisasi dengan lebih mendalam bagi memahami konflik ethno agama dan politik di Nigeria. Dapatan ini juga berguna kepada pembuat polisi, ahli politik, organisasi agama, masyarakat awam dan organisasi bukan kerajaan yang berminat untuk memahami isu yang mendasari konflik sebegini dan pengurusannya.

**Kata kunci:** Konflik politik, ethno-agama, penstrukturan semula harajaan persekutuan, governan yang baik.

# ABSTRACT

Nigeria is a multi ethno-religious society with a great potential for social and economic development, although this development is seen by many people as an easy way to enjoy the democratic dividends; others see it as a way to express their grievances. Therefore, the result is the persistence occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts. Since the return of democracy in May 1999, more than one hundred ethno-religious and politically motivated conflicts have occurred in the country. The purpose of this study therefore is to examine the root cause and the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts from 2000-2007 and the threat they pose to the democratically elected government. The study investigates the history of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria and argues that the foundation of ethno-religious and political conflicts was laid by the issue of colonialism, and which has been supported by the Nigerian military dictatorship, followed by the    contradictions compounded in the Nigerian federalism. During the study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ninety respondents, and a session of focus group discussions with participants from the six states of north-east region. An interview guide based on a conceptual frame work was established based on literature review. These data were then analyzed qualitatively. The study also outlines the general background of ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria, with particular reference to north-east region. It also discusses its origin and highlights the key concepts used in the dissertation. The study revealed that ethno-religious intolerance, poverty occasioned by unemployment, corruption, illiteracy and ignorance, economic hardship, and poor leadership are the most significant hindrances to the peace process, unity and political stability in the area. The study concludes that good governance, accountability, alleviation of poverty and unemployment, education reform and the restructuring of federalism in Nigeria are most important issues to be addressed in order to control the impact of ethno-religious and political conflicts.

**Key words:** Political conflict, ethno-religious, restructuring of federalism, good governance.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I'd like to express my sincere gratitude to Allah (SWA) who gave me Strength to go on up to this level. Many people have provided valuable inputs into this dissertation, the list is obviously endless. However, I would like to note down and thank the following wonderful persons:

To my supervisors Professor Madya Dr. Mohd Foad Sakdan and Professor Madya Dr. Rohana Yusof for their motivation, guidance and useful suggestions throughout the various stages of this research during the course of my study.

To all UUM staff who assisted me during this journey especially PM Dr. Asmah Laili Bt Yeon, PM Dr. Shafee B Saad, PM Dr. Ahmad Martadha, Dr Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, Yus Asmah, Sobiro Binti Md. Taha, Nor Fatima Binti Hashim, and Idris bin Islmail staff of my college, COLGIS and the staff of Research and Innovation Management Centre (RIMC) College of Law, Government and International Studies.

To my colleagues who provided inputs and share their experience with me by sharing thoughts and comment during the course of the study.

Finally, my greatest gratitude goes to my wife, sons and daughter, and all the members of my family for giving me the opportunity, the time, their support, and most importantly, their unconditional love during this journey without their love, this journey would never have been accomplished: Mac and Ayah-thanks for your greatest love and dua.

**TIJJANI HALLIRU**

Collage of Law, Government and International Studies

Universiti Utara Malaysia

0610 UUM Sintok, Kedah Darul Aman

2012

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN NIGERIA

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

**CHAPTER ONE**

**INTRODUCTION**

**1.0 Background of the Study**

The political context called Nigeria was constituted by the British colonial masters in the year 1914. The protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria which comprises up to 371 ethnic nationalities has the majority of mainly the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba while others are lumped together as minorities (Otite 1990; Suberu 1996; Mustapha 1998; IDEA 2000 in Alulo2003). Nigeria is situated in the West African sub-region and lies between 3 and 14 degrees longitude and between 4 and 14 degrees latitude. The land mass is 923,768 sq km, Nigeria shares borders with the Republic of Chad and Niger Republic to the north, the Republic of Benin to the west and the Cameroon Republic to the east. With an estimated population of over 137 million people (Adebisi, 1999), ethno-religious and political conflicts is an endemic feature of most of the world`s political systems. This is particularly true of the developing countries, including Nigeria, where ethno-religious and political conflicts become essential characteristics of the political process, especially after the 1960 independence. However, it is rather unfortunate that after independence, Nigeria stumbled from violent conflicts and near disintegration as the country witnessed a marked increase in the bitterness of party, ethno-religious antagonism and intolerance.

Specifically, Nigeria has demonstrated a very high propensity for ethno-religious and political conflicts during the fourth republic (1999-2007); ethnic, religious and regional tension was widespread. Episodes of violence were ethnic or religious on the surface were often caused by political competition and economic influence, in a country where politics is seen as one of the few avenues to a mass wealth. In Nigeria,

when party lines and her political divisions coincide with ethnic or religious differences, the strong sentiments associated with people's ethnic or religious identity come into play in the political arena. Politicians are often able to capitalize this sentiment to mobilize support from both religious and ethnic groups. For example, the role of elites and religious leaders from the north-eastern region of Nigeria who mobilizes ethnic sentiments to secure advantages from local, state and federal government aggravate ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region.

Government had tried to balance its material and human resources with the aid of federal structure while the agitation of ethnic or regional tensions persist to the extent that, although the country had been independence for 42 years, it has been subjected to military rule for almost 30 years. Moreover the report indicates the failure of military rulers in doing very little to manage and provide the basic demand of the entire people (Federal Government of Nigeria Strategic Conflict Assessment, Nigeria Consolidated Report October 2002),

There is no argument in saying that ethno-religious and political conflicts had strong implications for the cultural, socio-political and economic developments of Nigeria.

> Conflicts have reached unprecedented levels and there is no gain saying the fact that the problem of conflicts has devastating effects in Nigeria on the socio-political and societal development. The destruction of property and lots of lives due to ethno-religious and political conflicts has caused to our nation cannot be quantified, hundreds of innocent people have been killed, displaced from their place of residents on account of their ethnic or religious identification. Educational sector has been grounded (Olusegun Obasanjo 2004).

The ethnic composition of Nigeria is responsible for deepening ethno-religious and political disparity. However, Nigerian government has put efforts to manage the

conflict escalation in the country, but these efforts have yielded either little or no success. In view of such, pro-active measures in managing conflict are very essential.

This research will therefore critically examine the factors that are responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts in north-east Nigeria and suggest ways on how the conflict can be manage. The systematic investigation of north-east region of Nigeria is because of the peculiarities of the conflicts that usually occurred due to its geographical nature. The research believe that political, socio-cultural, and economic domination over ethnic minorities, as well as disparities between ethnic nationalities with accompanying struggle for economic power and leadership, resulted in the formation of acrimony between minorities over the domination.

After the demise of colonial masters in 1960, Nigerian leaders failed to work hard and unite people towards national integration. That is why Imobighe contended that, they failed to pay due attention to the regional, cultural and political differences and inequalities but rather employed the principle of "divide and rule" to their advantage. Even their idea of the formation of the security agencies, including the armed forces, was to have a standing military force that would protect the interests of the colonial trading companies. Furthermore, the problem of ethnicity and religious diversity has poses serious challenge to the survival and peaceful co-existence of Nigeria. In more recent time, one of the most worrisome groups that unleashed varying degrees of conflicts to Nigeria's nascent democratic order is the ethno-religious nationality identity movement otherwise known as the ethnic and the militia movement. The conflict spiral generated by the politicization of the current democratic dispensation in

1999 has become ferocious and alarming. This study observed that, despite its theorisation as a standard-bearer for a general value of peace, evoking a commitment to pluralistic participation, in the Nigerian context, through federalism has proved very inadequate to manage the feeling of hatred between the component units of the ethnic nationalities.

However, most cases of ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region are the results of prejudice as well as majority domination of minority group and mobilization of ethno-religious sentiments, in their own interests. Therefore many Nigerians usually depend on the interest of either their religion or their ethnic background. Categorically, people tend to protect the interest of their regional, religious or even their economic power of leadership. Conflicts in Nigeria have tended to occur more frequently since the inception of the fourth republic and have tended to evolve into more violent and organized religiously based movement with stated ethnic agenda. Noteworthy among these groups include the Boko Haram fanatics of northern Nigeria, the Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC), Odudua Peoples' Congress (OPC), the Niger Delta Volunteer Force, the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA) Edlyne, 2002.

The most worrying aspect of the recent conflict escalation in Nigeria seems to be its threat to the Nigeria's corporate existence and the prospects of democratic consolidation. As Nigeria's contemporary history shows, periods of great socio-political instability are usually chained with overthrow of the civilian government and the assumption of power by the military.

Beside the threat, the growing domestic instability and turmoil in the country now seriously negates the ideals of democracy and Nigeria's corporate existence (Edlyne, 2002). But away from this notion, the present ethnic militia structure seems to be more complex with contradiction, as many of these groups have acquired sophisticated arms and weapons to rubbish the state political and administrative system.

## 1.1 Root of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts in Nigeria

The root of conflict is always complex in nature. Some scholars in Nigeria like Jega (2004) and Salawu (2010) assumed that ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria started during the first regime of Nigerian independence of 1960. Ethno-Religious and political conflicts are found everywhere in Nigeria, not just in the North. Quite a number of them have taken place in the South and in the East independently of, or in response to, such conflicts going on the North. This said, the centres of religious conflicts are in Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Adamawa Gombe, Kaduna, Jos and Kano states, which are all found in the Northern region of Nigeria On the other hand Salawu (2010) have rightly observed that Nigerian conflicts is rooted following the tactics of domination by the political leaders which he described as interplay of ethnicity, religion and the concept of political agenda. There is much struggle for power in these states not just between the two religious groups but the politicians who usually tend to manipulate religion and ethnicity for their selfish ends.

Ethnic conflicts are closely related to religious and political crises in Nigeria. They are mostly between Christians and Muslims which affected the social relationships among them, and they are usually carried out by young people who are incited to fight

by older religious leaders or politicians. Therefore, many cases of ethno-religious conflicts have taken place on campuses of higher institutions of learning in Nigeria example, ethno-religious crisis of 1986 at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria and that of 1987 crisis of Collage of Education Kafanchan in Kaduna state. This means that conflict in Nigeria was always consciously being encouraged by the ruling elites for their political gains.

Ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria is destructive which causes element of hatred, division among ethnic groups and poverty while weak state in Nigeria also contributes the rising incidence of conflict escalation for instance the inadequate provision for the Nigerian police to combat crime or proactive measures before any violent conflict. The due are inexcusable and rests squarely on the government which has failed in its duty to provide job as well as equip the police adequately in the face of any violent conflicts.

Therefore the root cause of ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria consist of religious intolerance, a weak security system, political instability, a selfish elite, lawlessness, the manipulation of religion, unemployment, corruption, poverty and ignorance (Jega 1988). However, behind every conflict in Nigeria there are remote and immediate political, social, and economic causes. In addition, conflicts in Nigeria range from verbal exchange, attacks through writings, tensions, demonstrations, protests, a trade of accusations, and violent conflicts. Various groups are responsible for such conflicts such as the Yoruba ethnic group Odudua Peoples` Congress (OPC), the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group known as Arewa Peoples` Congress (APC), the Igbo ethnic group has Igbo Peoples` Congress and Movement for the Actualization of the

Sovereign State of Biafra (MOSSOB) more so, the present ethno-religious groups appears to be very complicated because they possess large amount of sophisticated weapons.

Politicians, religious leaders, and religious organization and associations that assume the role of defending and protecting their religions also share the blame of causing conflicts. Ethno-religious and political conflicts present many implications to the social, economic, and political life of Nigeria and its development in various dimensions.

But it does not means that before independence in Nigeria there were no incident of conflicts. Dele Sobowale (1995) explained the concept of Nigerian conflict in his article in a national daily Sunday Vanguard, February 19, 1995 who stated that "For some reasons based known to our leaders and the faith in the black man's ability to be in control coupled with ignorance about what organisational structure is Awolowo, Ahmadu Bello, Macaulay, Anthony Enahoro, Azikwe, Tafawa Balewa and many others demand for independence from the British colonial masters". Categorically, the Sobowale perception is that the Nigerian founding fathers agitate for the Nigerian independence at wrong time they miscalculated the time.

Contending his argument the Nigerian leaders such as Awolowo, Ahmadu Bello, Azikiwe, Anthony Enahoro, Tafawa Balewa, Macaulay and the rest of them are visionary leaders to Nigeria, because they meant good to Nigerians. Moreover, conflict in Nigeria has strong link with the issue of struggle of regional power by the majority ethnic groups consist of Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo who for their own

reasons of political domination, land acquisitions and taxpayers (revenue) succeeded in destabilizing the nation. Therefore conflicts in Nigeria had a link of either ethno-religious or political. Boer (2004) in his Muslims: Why the Violence? Studies in Christian-Muslim Relation, Vol.2 (2004), identifies two responsible factors in Nigeria which to him are very sensitive to religion, one is corruption and secondly the relationship between Islam and Christianity.

The genesis of indirect rule by the colonial masters was found to be the weapon used to dominate minorities, thus keeping the people from rising up against the colonisers. Lack of adequate sharing of resources caused the majority to subjugate minority. The researcher believes that the Nigerian state is a violent institution because of the application of ethno-religious mechanism by the politicians and the policy makers for their own economic interest and development neglect the constitutional provision for the respect of human rights, the rule of law, the democratic order and good governance.

**1.2 Problem Statement**

The manifestation of ethno-religious and political instabilities in Nigeria has been one of the divisive tendencies that continued to threaten Nigeria's unity in diversity. Along this line the existence of Nigeria as an indivisible country cannot be guaranteed. Ethno- religious and political conflict has far reaching implications for educational development, peace, unity and stability in Nigeria.

Conflict is not only a threat to the lives and properties of innocent people in Nigeria; it is also a threat to the nascent democracy and even to the concept of nation building.

The conflict of ethnic and regional politics in Nigeria has been translated into conflict of religion for sentiment and struggle for power.

The impact of attacks and reprisals attacks between Muslims and Christians in the north-east region has remained largely unexamined. I have observed that there have been studies conducted on sociological, cultural and religious background in some part of Nigeria but the questions of factors responsible for the persistent occurrences of ethno-religious and political conflict in the north-eastern region of Nigeria still remain largely unexplored. Some of the recent manifestations of ethno-religious and political conflict in the region were the attacks that were unleashed in Bauchi, Borno and Yobe states by the Boko Haram extremists in 2003, conflict over Sharia implementation in Kaduna, Kano and Plateau states. Thus, there were no studies of why conflicts persist in the north-eastern region of Nigeria.

## 1.3 Research Questions

i) What are the factors responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflict in North-East Nigeria?

ii) To what extent has ethno-religious and political conflicts led to social disruption in north east region?

iii) What are the challenges against the effective management of ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region?

iv) How does better relationships among the adherents of ethnic and religious groups in north-east region, promote nation building and national integration?

**1.4 Objectives of the study**

The broad aim of this research is to examine the interplay of ethno-religious and political conflict in north eastern region of Nigeria. Driving from this broad aim are the following specific objectives:

i)   To examine the factors that is responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflict in North-East Nigeria.

ii)  Identify and discuss the impact of ethno-religious and political conflicts on national security in North-Eastern Nigeria.

iii) To examine the challenges against the effective management of ethno-religious and political conflicts in North-Eastern region of Nigeria.

iv)  Make recommendations for better relationship among the adherents of the ethnic and religious groups in North-Eastern Nigeria in order to enhance nation building and national integration.

**1.5 Significance of the study**

The study is significantly important from the theoretical perspective because it will help to extend the growing body of literature in conflict resolution. Specifically it will help to bridge the gap in literature by examining ethno-religious and political conflict through a more comprehensive model. A major consequence of this situation has increased insecurity on several dimensions of socio-economic and political life in Nigeria.

This work is an attempt to clearly understand the ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria, with Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe States, in the

North-Eastern Region as a specific case study. Thus, the study would be significant in the following ways;

1. The study will help in understanding the root causes of the conflict in the region and indeed, other parts of Nigeria.

2. It would also help policy makers to formulate policies with necessary information in relation to conflict in Nigeria.

3. The study will help in better understanding of ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region.

4. The study will also contribute in bridging the existing gap in the literature on ethno-religious and political conflict in general.

**1.6 Scope of the study**

The scope of the study covers 6 states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe which forms the north-east region of Nigeria. The region is the most heterogeneous region in Nigeria with 220 ethnic groups. However for the purpose of this study an example has been drawn from beyond the north-east region for comparative analysis.

**1.7 Limitation of the study**

The study is limited to examining the ethno-religious and political conflict instabilities. This limitation is to enable the researcher to have an indepth analysis of the problem in the study area. Furthermore it may also be a point of reference for other researches in relevant areas.

**1.8 Operational Definition**

**1.8.1 Conflict**- refers to difficulties involved in meeting every one's aspirations where goals and activities become incompatible when one's own interests are threatened by the action of another, due to scarce resources, power and status. Weber (1971) argues that conflict is any action that is oriented intentionally to carry out actor's own wish which the actions are unacceptable or resisted by other members.

For Coser (1966) social conflict arises whenever there is struggle over political power, recognitions and status, and limited resources that the main aim of the parties involved are not only to gain the desired value but also to break through the general rules. Generally, conflict comprises a struggle to which both individuals and groups attach importance. This struggle would be for gaining into material resources or otherwise. The material objects may include scarce resources like monetary aspect, job opportunity, and political representations, advancement in the private and public establishment. However, other resource comprises cultural, traditional, religious and ethnicity (Osaghae, 2004).

**1.8.2 Ethnicity**- is defined as the mobilization of cultural identity and difference to gain advantage in situations of competition, conflict or cooperation.

**1.8.3 Ethnic group**-is organized activities by individuals who linked by a consciousness of a special identity, who jointly seek to maximize their corporate political, economic and social interest. Langer (2008) defined ethnic group as people who share common ancestry, identity, language and culture. It is simultaneously a process of naming self, naming others, as well as being named by others.

## 1.9 Organisation of the Study

This study consists of six chapters: Chapter one contains the background of the study, statement of the problem, scope and limitations, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study and operational definition.

The chapter two deal with the review of related literature and theoretical framework, and factors responsible for the persistence occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflict in the region.

Chapter three comprises the research methodology, population, instrumentation such as in depth-interview, observation methods and focus group discussion, and procedure of research. Chapter four deal with historical development of religion in the region. Chapter five consist of data presentation and data analysis. The findings of the research will be generalised for the purpose of further research on the subject. Chapter six contains the conclusion and recommendations and provide a summary of the study findings implications, and recommendations for practice and future research.

## 1.10 Summary

Scholars characterize the phenomena of conflict potential to be aggressive and injurious that is, the conflict this chapter is discussing is referring to an illegal exercise of physical force with the intent of harming or destroying human life or property.

This research work carefully arguing that the religious conflict is an upshot of religious ignorance, conflict in its ethnic nature is personified as identity disputes

between the so-called settler and host communities, while conflict in its political form leads to manipulation, political obsession with love of money and wild living. Therefore, political conflict leads to irrational use of political power and control. Ethno-religious and political arrogance mixed with corruption leads to the retardation of growth and development.

Specifically, the north-east region of Nigeria has demonstrated a very high propensity for ethno-religious and political conflicts from 2000 to 2007. This is because the party lines and the political divisions coincide with ethnic or religious differences; the strong sentiments associated with people's ethnic or religious identity come into play.

**CHAPTER TWO**

**LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

## 2.0 Literature Review

## 2.1 Introduction

Chapter one dealt with general background of ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria, and also highlighted the key concepts used in this thesis. This chapter reviews and discusses relevant literature written in relation to the key research questions of this thesis. These are the factors responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts in north-eastern region of Nigeria; to what extent has ethno-religious and political conflict led to social disruption; and the challenges militating against the effective management of ethno-religious and political conflicts. Discussions on these key subjects become essential for a better understanding of ethno-religious and political conflicts as a global phenomenon.

The primary sources of data in this research is an in-depth interview and focus group discussions, while the secondary sources consist of literature on the subject such as articles, books, existing write-ups and journals that are related to the topic. A number of books and articles have been written on the subject matter therefore, a critical review of the existing sources was made possible. In doing so, effort was exerted on conceptualizing the various aspects of the thesis in order to enhance the understanding of the issues that would be raised in the course of this research. Specifically, this chapter provides an overview of other relevant research works with a view to clarifying the gap in knowledge that this study seeks to fill.

**2.2 Factors Responsible for the Persistent Occurrence of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts**

The factors contributing to the upsurge of ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria have been characterized into Politics of identity, that is division between northern region dominated by Muslims and the southern region dominated by Christians which started during the colonial period. Therefore, conflict escalation in the Nigerian politics can also be attributed to the history and processes inherent in state formation during the colonial and the post-colonial era. To support this argument Egwu (2001) argues that, the colonial state which was in every respect the foundation upon which the post colonial state was built played a significant role in the process of ethnic identity formation and the political use to which such identity can be described.

Consequently, the present Nigeria-state is inherently a violent institution and to that extent a conflict generating mechanism because of the Richard constitution of 1946, this constitution provided for the division of the country into regions, while each region built around one of the major ethnic groups. However, it was this constitution which built a pattern of political rivalry between the regions. Ironically, each of these dominant groups such as Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba ethnic nationalities had its own history, traditions, customs values and language distinct from each other. On the other hand within each of these regions there were numerous other ethnic groups with distinct cultures who were known as the minorities. Furthermore, factors responsible were analyzed extensively by various scholars below:

Institutionalising Ethnic Representation: How Effective is Affirmative Action in Nigeria? Is an article written by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, Journal of International

Development (2009), the article stated that the necessity and effectiveness of affirmative action for overcoming the entrenched ethnic imbalances in Nigeria`s public sector. While advancing both philosophical and instrumentalist arguments in defence of affirmative action, he concludes that such programmes should be transitional. Mustapha examines the role and working of the Federal Character Commission (FCC), which was established in 1996 to oversee the process of affirmative action, concluding that the commission has contributed positively to the management of ethnic inequalities in the Nigerian public sector. However, the central argument in the author`s opinion is that the Federal Character Commission (FCC), had exclusive concern with elite political and bureaucratic interests to the detriment of issues that affect the wider population, such as education, health and livelihood, which undermines the moral claims of those advocating affirmative action.

Federalism State and Religion in Nigeria by Ogbu U Kalu is the Professor of Church History in University of Nigeria, Nsukka. In his work, he identify three major reasons of persistence occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria particularly from the 1980s. He argued that, ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria begins from the 1980s. Various policies has been implemented by the Federal government of Nigeria ranging from 1975-1993 with the aim of restructuring the nation economic condition such as the creation of new more local government areas and state, creation of more political parties and agricultural development programme and establishing more universities as part of educational training and development.

The other factor is viewed as conspiratorial model which he highlight how ethno-religious conflict affects Nigerian political programme for instance the of ethno-

religious groups such as Arewa Consultative Forum, Afenifere and Ndigbo Ohanese have causes a lot of political division and tension because of gangs among these groups who were sponsored to defend their ethnic and regional areas. Therefore, this model suggested that Nigerian government suppose to:

1. Rebel against injustice and oppression (seen as embedded in the Christian orientation of modern Nigerian structures).

2. Establish an Islamic state at an opportune time.

3. Replace or purify a corrupt Muslim leadership.


Islam in Nigeria: Its Concept, Manifestation and Role in Nation Building, by Umar, S.M. (1989) within Nigeria since Independence: the First Twenty Five Years, (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1989), by Ashiwaju, G and Abubakar, Y. (eds). He described how Muslim ummah in Nigerian political regime loss confidence to Northern political stakeholders and the ruling elites because of what they belief is financial gain not any issue of development in the region or the state at large, this is due to the way and manner of corrupt practices and enriching themselves. According to him that is why the agitation of Muslim in Nigeria to adopt Islamic legal system failed to actualize.


The inability to recognize and accept people's views due to ethnic or religious differences is one of escalating factor of political conflict in Nigeria. That is why the Nigerian Muslim and Christian have shows a great deal of intolerant behaviour to result to conflicts. However, even with the establishment of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs in Nigeria, headed by Yusuf Fardi a Pakistani the Council failed to be effective in controlling the political elites in order to get more support or influence. Thus, the adherents of the major religious body in Nigeria especially Muslims and

Christians are influenced by religious fanatics who think that they can protect their religion at all cost or through various means which result to conflict. On the other hand, the main objective of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is its aim to promote understanding, unity, progress and peaceful co-existence among its members through the propagation of the Christian mission in Nigeria as such this unity improved the relations of both Christian in North and the Southern part of Nigeria together and achieved their political structure.

Politics, Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria, is an article written by Ukoha Ukiwo (2003). Ukiwo examines the cause of ethno-religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria, he argued that Nigerian expected to have peace and security guaranteed due to new political dispensation when the military handed over the political power to elected president in 1999. The article stated that the political and corrupt nature of the Nigerian political transition and the failure of democratic government to deliver social services and good economic policy have led to the resurgence of ethnic groups which stated that these groups tend to employ different kind of ammunitions. He also expressed how the government failed to provide democratic dividends and the way political elites and stakeholders agitate for resource allocation have resulted into violent conflicts especially between ethnic and religious groups, which have endangered Nigerian democratic dispensation. Furthermore, in order to bring peace and unity in Nigeria government has to control the illegal possession of weapons and improve the standard of living by reducing rate of unemployment, poverty and corruption.

Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the Travails of National Integration in Nigeria's Fourth Republic by Lanre Olu-Adeyemi (2006), to him the very nature of the Nigerian society which is multy ethnic with religious diversity is prone to ethno-religious and political rivalry. The nature of Nigerian society also goes a long way in determining the possibility of collective actions which are destructive. However, such diversity and hatred resulted to military coup of 1966, the outbreak of civil war in 1967 up to 1970 and also the conflict of 12 June 1993 following the annulment of Abiolas` presidential election.

To properly comprehend the Nigerian conflict Adeyemi (2006) in his view the political leaders have initiated various policies such as constitutional reform, new political parties, creation of new local government areas and states, with national pledge in order to bring people together, but due to nature of Nigerian state which is compounded with multy ethnic and regionalism still such diversity and conflict becomes the order of the day Adeyemi (2006).

The Influence of Religious Legitimacy on Grievance Formation by Ethno-Religious Minorities Jonathan Fox (2000) He stated that, it is secular nationalism that currently serves these societal functions in the modern world, while religion becomes the mechanism of challenges. This challenge has become more potent because secular nationalism is suffering from a 'loss of faith' which has led to a 'crisis of legitimacy'. He described reasons for this loss of faith. First, many governments following secular nationalist ideologies have promised political freedom, economic prosperity, and social justice but have failed to fulfil these promises. Second, secular nationalism is perceived by many in the non-Western world as a foreign ideology imposed from

outside. It does not have any local authenticity or legitimacy. Third, and along a similar vein, secular nationalism has become identified with the issues of colonialism and cultural colonialism. The imposition of secular nationalism by governments in former colonies has led to the accusation that the leaders of these former colonies are perpetuating colonialism through their espousal of secular nationalism.

Furthermore, some Nigerians see ethno-religious and political conflict as the major way of addressing perceived differences. The main argument in his opinion is that, secular nationalism is seen to be in league with the West (the enemy) in a global conspiracy against religion. In fact, secular nationalism is seen as a 'sinister religious entity' that is responsible for society's moral decline. This has, in some cases, been taken to the point where anything the West does is part of this plot and anything secular is considered, by definition, illegitimate. The lack of legitimacy for secular governments and ideologies that these factors are causing has resulted in the search for a different source of legitimacy which has often turned out to be religion.

According to Egwu (2001) in his work Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria, posited that; the political history of Nigeria comprehend the problem of ethno-religious and political conflict. He expressed that, the colonial state which was in every respect the foundation upon which the post colonial state was built; which played a very important role in the formation of ethnic groups and political use to which such ethnic groups can be identify. However, Nigeria today becomes violent political institution which he called crisis generating mechanism. Consequently, following the amalgamation of Northern and southern Nigeria in 1914 the development of a bourgeoisie nation-state based on respect for the human rights, rule

of law and the establishment of democratic order was not the concern of the colonial state.

### 2.2.1 Economic Factor

Many scholars have tried to look at the economic dimension of the various conflicts in Nigeria and my interviewees hinged heavily on this issue. This matter cannot be separated from the problems of leadership in the country. For most people, the greatest failure of the Nigerian State is the economic hardship in which the 'oil' rich Nigerians have found themselves. Violence feeds on poverty which means that conflict causes economic hardship. The oil boom of the early 1970s did not last long, it had brought along with it rural-urban migration and had exposed the people to better social facilities. Egwu (2001) stated that, the period of Babangida rule/misrule in the 1980s and his Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has gone down in Nigerian memoirs as the official entrenchment of economic decline, resulting in many conflicts. People were now becoming aware of certain aspects of life.

However their party did not last long due to lack of foresight, the wine started reducing. Soon the country started experiencing economic hardship just when some were trying to adjust to improved life styles. Tempers began to rise, people started ganging up to face common enemy. Hence a little matter that would have been ignored before now became a big matter resulting to hundreds of causalities. It was given a religious or ethnic undertone or political rivalries but soon burst into a communal clash. Leaders are now monitored with eagle eyes. Mistake cost them their positions. Traditional titles in Nigeria, which never existed before, are created to give people a sense of self-worth, particularly now that the traditional council is a force to

reckon with. Hence in the quest for economic independence, the sacrifice of lives became a small price to pay.

Thus, Human Rights Watch found that the people of the oil-producing areas were brutalized by agents of the state for attempting to raise grievances with the oil companies. In some cases, the state security forces threatened, beat and jailed members of community delegations even before they presented their cases. Many local people were repressed simply for putting forth an interpretation of a compensation agreement, or for seeking effective compensation for land ruined, or livelihood lost as a result of the operations of the companies (Human Rights Watch, 1999: 2)

As a result of these economic hardships, many people took solace in the Churches and Mosques which had to support them for that which was government's responsibility to provide. Loyalty to religious bodies increased and people were available to run whatever errands came in the name of religion, including conflicts.

However, ethno-religious and political conflict appears to be symptoms of the social and moral decadence in the Nigerian society generally and north east Region in particular. This delay manifests itself in the form of various conflicts, moral laxity and many other ills in the society. In addition, political actors manipulate the government failure to achieve the economic bases of interest (Mustapha, 2009).

Corruption among the political leaders is the still very pervasive in all facets of north east Nigeria, social system. It can also be suggested that the deep inequalities that

exist in the distribution of educational, employment, and power opportunities is responsible for corruption. These people callously enrich themselves dishonestly and exploit those not privileged and they go unchallenged.

Corruption has dipped the region masses of their due democracy dividends. The educational system, health services, transport system and many social institutions are in crisis. Armed robbery, divorce cases, prostitutions and many other anti social conducts are consequently being faced by the people (Fagbadebo, 2007).

Corruption has eaten deeply into the entire fabric of Nigerian life. It is a household word and it permeates all strata of Nigerian society. No hierarchy of governance is ever free from corruption. It is customary among politicians, business organizations, the local farmers, and even in worship places.

A survey conducted in Nigeria reveals that the Power Holding Company of Nigeria a national electric company and the police force are the most corrupts government agencies in Nigeria. The police force and other agencies like ministries and commissions have brought a bad image to Nigeria. Nigeria is one of the oil producing nations in terms of oil deposits. A survey has shown that "corruption is highest in oil and gas producing countries (Yinka Kolawole, 2006). One of the biggest obstacles to the battle against corruption in Nigeria is the immunity clause in the constitution which protects public office holders from prosecution while in office. Public office holders are the most corrupt set of people in Nigeria but are protected with the immunity clause while there is no transparency and accountability.

In addition, the socio-political and economic situations of north-east Nigeria are seemingly the issues of mass illiteracy, poverty and misery. The region is facing challenges of poverty which affects all aspects of societal development, (Ibrahim, 2000) while the issue of religion is in the heart of the people. It also encompasses or integrates the people into political allegiance. Similarly the culture of the region contributed to the backwardness of the region to western education thus resulting in failure to demand for modern economy.

**2.2.2 Ethno-Political Mobilization**

Ethnic-political mobilization is another factor that led to conflict in the region. The tribal groups of Hausa and Fulani who occupy north east Nigeria are still living in the North because they have no other place to live. But today, more than ever before, they feel different, disfranchised and disinherited. Ibrahim and Kazah-Toure, (2003), for example, posit that politically, the condition in the north east Nigeria indicates that regional politics of majority domination over minority causes ethno-political and religious intolerance in the region and has becomes a sign of divisive political challenges.

Tribal or ethnic mobilization of political issues is a problem that has continued to plague the region. This problem of ethnicity is experienced in the religious, political and economic circles and it is harmful to any kind of meaningful development, in addition, the crunch of economics, leadership and politics has now become a means used to grab political power. It has also become a means for enthroning poor leadership culture, corruption, ignorance, insensitivity, mediocrity, and all forms of violent conflicts in the north east Nigerian politics.

## 2.3 The Impact of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflicts

The implication of these conflicts in Nigeria, which is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural society, is that it should accept the differences among its people since it has a consensus of agreeing to live together. The full realization of democracy and federalism, adopted by the country, despite the constant threats of ethnic and religious conflicts are therefore necessary for national security. Memorandum Submitted to the Presidential Committee on National Security in Nigeria (2008). In this memorandum, it was opined that: Communal and societal conflicts have emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often structured around ethnicity and religion Memo (2008).

In all parts of Nigeria, ethno-religious conflicts have assumed alarming proportions. It has occurred in places like Shagamu in Ogun State, the states of Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Nasarawa, Borno, Bauchi and Taraba, and many of the oil producing communities. Groups and 36 communities who have over the years lived together in peace and harmony now take up arms against each other in gruesome war. According to the memorandum; the claim over scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy, local government areas, control of markets and other trivial things have resulted in large scale killings and violence amongst groups in Nigeria. In those conflicts, a new logic of social separation has evolved in many communities in Nigeria. This is the classification of the settler and the indigene or Christian and Muslim dichotomy. Ethnicity and religion have become disintegrative and destructive social elements threatening the peace, stability and security of the country.

However, since 1978, the issue of Islamic legal system has become a major threat to Nigerian political arena. Sharia became an important factor that the political and religious leaders in the country have been carrying out their struggles and manifestos. It developed into a major struggle in 1999 when Zamfara and 11 other states also adopted the Islamic law, to include criminal law, from its initial personal law. The Christians then opposed its reintroduction and as a result several anti-Islamic law demonstrations took place in some states of the Federation, the most volatile being Kaduna and Bauchi States (Suberu, 2009).

Alulo (2003) in his work Ethnic Nationalism and the Nigerian Democratic Experience in the Fourth Republic identify four factors that hinder peace and unity in Nigeria. First, he stated that, the issue of majority and minority domination such as the dominant Hausa/Fulani, the Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups has meant persistent threat to political stability. However, there are fear of domination and cases of impeachment in the national assembly since the beginning of fourth republic 1999 to date. He lamented that, this has become a political threat to the consolidation of democracy that is why it is very difficult to consolidate democracy in such a country (Nigeria) that always has political instability.

Second, the emergence of majority ethnic groups with different ethnic militia group in Nigeria such as *Odudua* People's Congress (OPC) for the Yoruba nationality, *Arewa* People's Congress (APC) for the Hausa/Fulani nationality and Bakassi Boys for the Igbo nationality and Egbesu Boys for the Ijaw nationality. The emergence of these ethnic militias group has also meant an increase in the level of political instability, riots and clashes among them.

Third, the interplay of ethnic nationalism has also made the sharing of the national revenue a much more volatile and sensitive issue. In Nigeria, for instance the principle of derivation was unjustifiable because of the shift in revenue generation from the majority groups that are politically powerful to the minority ares that are politically powerless. The current on shore/offshore dichotomy in the principle of derivation also aggravated the already tensed situation. This offshore/onshore dichotomy is now seen as an indication of contempt and hatred for the ethnic nationalities in the Niger Delta who believed that they are already marginalized, traumatized and exploited. Finally, the interplay of ethnic nationalism has also divided and fragmented the civil society in Nigeria he added.

Oyadare (1994) argued that, civil society in Nigeria is relatively weak as they are divided into ethnic-religious or political group, therefore one major problem with political structure in Nigeria is how the government weaken civil society by using ethnicity or religious differences while it is believed that the more the civil society is weak the higher the product of political tension in society. If the civil society is divided, it is obvious that it will have some adverse effects on the nascent democracy in place.

In contrast, Hegel was completely critical of the general contribution of civil society to the development of democracy. He sees civil society organizations as a source of conflict which usually spread to generate into the larger society. Supporting his view it is not every organization in civil society works towards the success of democracy, because many are working to destroy democracy in context. For example, specifically

in Nigeria the major ethnic groups whose function as civil society organizations such as Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), The Oduduwa People's Congress (OPC), and The Arewa People's Congress (APC), have cases of such destructions.

On the other hand Putnam (1997) has argued that "The key determinant of the success or failure of democratic reforms in a society is the character of its civic life. To create and sustain democratic institution, a society must possess a critical mass of citizens who are well educated about their rights, concerned about the long-term goals of the community as a whole, and are in constant social contact with each other, allowing a free exchange of ideas".

### 2.3.1 Sectarian violence

Ethnic militia and religious fanatics groups have become a major part of Nigeria`s present political landscape, often inflicting or threatening to inflict conflict for regional and identity advantage. For instance several lives and property were lost in sectarian violence in Bauchi State North East of Nigeria from the year 2000 to 2007. Because of religious intolerance, the area recorded many clashes between Christians and Muslims over the building of mosque. At least five persons were killed and over thirty one people seriously injured since the conflicts began (Edo, 2001), similarly, in Numan and Dunme area of Adamawa state North East Nigeria over twenty persons have been killed as a result of sectarian violence. The crisis started in the predominantly Christian town of Numan after a Hausa-speaking Muslim trader killed a Christian woman. The violence also caused or degenerated into wide spread destruction, tension and hatred among people.

## 2.3.2 Political intolerance

Ethnic consciousness is corroding the political fabric of Nigeria especially the north east region or states. Similarly, due to quest for power the ethnic minorities where dominated, and marginalized by the majority ethnic nationalities (Okolona 2009), this political intolerance as resulted in thurgery, intimidation and abuse of voters registration process, compilation of voters register, and late supply of election materials to opponents during elections in order to de franchise them. Political intolerance has lead to the harassment of opposition candidates even with state resources and bribing of electoral or polling officers, party agents and voters.

Okolona (22009) point out how the educated elite, must bear the blame for the present confusion because political intolerance has brought rancour and bitterness that have poisoned the political system in the North East region of Nigeria. It has generated the supply and use of arms, given rise to a sense of insecurity and encourages a political fanatic which has resulted to the wanton destruction of peoples and properties, political division and sectoral disparity. The youths are paid to escalate conflict during electioneering campaign or general elections, thereby creating humanitarian crisis in the area.

## 2.3.3 Indigenous/Settlers factors

Many social conditions have in different ways resulted into violent conflict in the North East Nigeria polity. Hence the region has undergone some many conflicts between the indigenous and settlers, government and social, political, ethnic and regional groups (Osunibi, 2006). The phenomenon of indigenes and settlers has redefined the notion of citizenship in the Nigerian context. Many citizens who do not

reside in their socio-political zones but affirm their indigeneship experiences all kinds of discrimination against their constitutional rights. This kind of constitutional deprivation generates tension and conflicts that leads to wanton destruction of lives and properties (Egwu, 2001). For instances, in Borno State north east Nigerians, only Kanuri and Shua ethnic groups who constitute the majority in the state are considered as indigenes, while other ethnic groups who are minorities are said to be settlers. This has resulted to spate of communal clashes that lead has led to the sound disruption.

In Nigeria, Local Governments determine who their indigenes are. This acceptance of an indigene is offered by a local government area with a certificate of indigeneship. A person being born in a place or the parents who have reside there for years does not necessarily translate into the person being an indigene of that area. One has to have ones forefathers. According to Smith (1996) the indigene and settler context in Nigeria has become a factor of Social change that concerns educational activities and employment requirements.

Ethnic Nationalities and the Nigeria State: The Dynamics and Challenges of Governance in a Plural Nigeria, (2002) in his opinion the Nigerian former military president General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida popularly called (IBB} during an annual lecture at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies Kuru Jos "while in Nigeria considering our multi ethnic nature of diversity we have been lucky enough to avoid a major conflict between the major religious communities, that is Islam and Christianity the fact remains that religion and cultural diversity is enough justification to see religion and ethnicity as a potential threat" (IBB 2002). He aptly noted: Events within the last half decades have shown that religious and ethnic
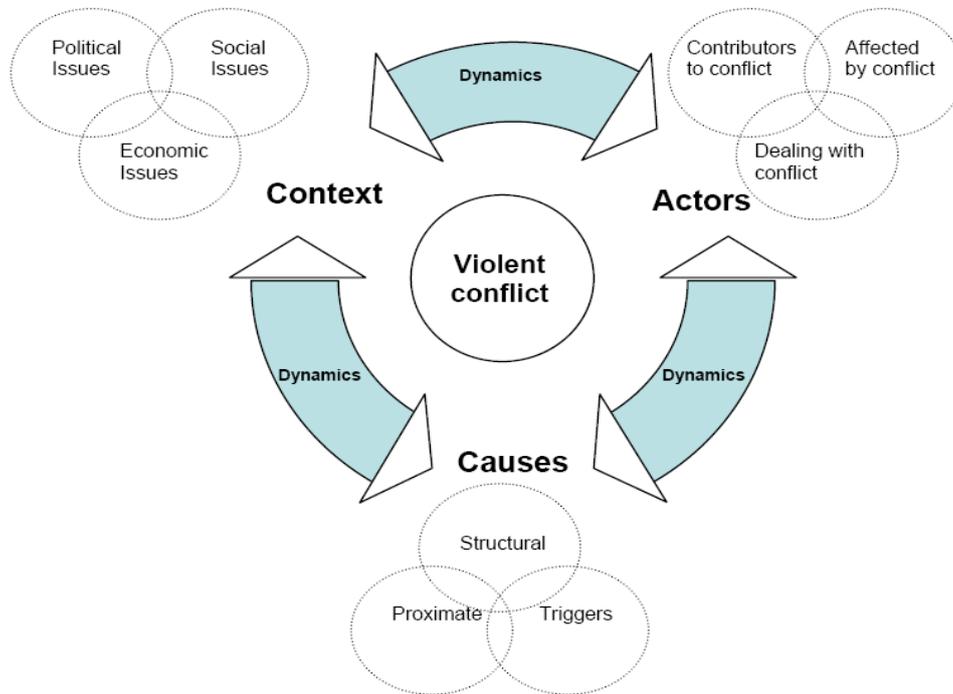
tension has been increasing in scale and intensity. It cannot be disputed that religion and ethnicity are being manipulated to serve partisan and electoral interests. This interrelationship is a key to a better management strategy of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

Religion: The Secret Weapon in Resolving Religious-based Conflicts, Stephen D. Hayes. In his argument, Stephen considers religion as an important mechanism in helping people to organize a sense of social relation in respect of domination by the majority group. However, conflict theorists opined that religious conflict may be between different religious group example in Nigeria conflict between Muslim Student Society of Nigeria (MSS) and the Christian Student Society (FCS), religious conflict within the same group such as Tijjaniya Muslim sect in Nigeria and the Izalatilbidia Waiqamatus Sunnah, therefore conflict theorists believed that religion is used by the political leaders to impose their own political agenda in order for them to control the society and maintain power.

On the other hand functionalist viewed the concept of religion as a powerful social institution that has influential force in human society. For them religion is a cultural universal found in all societies because it serves an important social role and provide some basic human needs. Durkheim, in his study of religion, presented arguably, the most influential interpretation of religion from functionalist perspective. He argued that religion is based on the division of what is considered sacred and what is profane. It is therefore a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things – things set apart and forbidden. His conclusion was that the worship of God is nothing

more than the worship of society, which has the function of ensuring solidarity and preserving society (Barrett 1993).

**Table 2.1 Conflict causes and Dynamics**



Adopted from the work of Smith, A. (1996)

**2.4 Diversity of Nigeria**

Nigeria was declared as a single entity by the British colonial masters to be headed by a Governor. General Lord Lugard merged the north and the south to form one Nigeria. The British government made this merger for their administrative convenience in the year 1914 but neglected the socio-cultural dimensions and political locations. Therefore, since then the Nigerian state has witnessed several ethnic, religious and even political conflicts which constantly endanger the peaceful coexistence of Nigeria. While Nigeria has Islam and Christianity as the two main religions, it also has 371 ethnic nationalities and six regional units as given below.

**Table 2.2 Language and Religious Characteristics of Geo-Political Zones**

| Serial Number | Name of Zones | Geo-Political | Main Language | Religious | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Muslim | Christian |
| 1 | South-West | Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, Ekiti | Yoruba with several dialects | Minority | Majority |
| 2 | South-East | Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, Enugu, Anambra | Igbo with several dialects | Minority | Majority |
| 3 | South-South | Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Bayelsa, Rivers | Edo, Izon, Igbo with several dialects | Minority | Majority |
| 4 | North-Central | Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nassarawa, Niger, Plateau | Hausa, Yoruba with several dialects | Almost Equally | Almost Equally |
| 5 | North- | Adamawa, | Hausa, Fulfulde with | Majority | Minority |

| | | East | Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, Yobe | several dialects | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | | North-West | Kaduna, Sokoto, Zamfara, Kano, Jigawa, Kebbi, Katisna | Hausa | Majority | Minority |

Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey, 2001(Okunola, 2009).

## 2.5 The Nature and Scope of Nigeria's Identity Diversity

According to Erikson (1968) Nigeria historically became into single unit consisting social eruption of identity and diversity. He pointed out that identity refers to a process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of these two identities.

Aborisade and Mundt (1999) categorised the political culture as a concept having direct link with political ideology, norms and ethnic background. Therefore Nigeria has a strong link of political culture, ethnicity and religious dimensions which comprises both two major religions, Islam and Christianity.

Ezechukwu (2000) argued that there are over 250 tribal and getting to 300 ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, while the country has only three major ethnic nationalities, the Igbo Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba. Historically, political economic and social activities of Nigeria are clearly dominated by these groups.

**Table 2.3 Theoretical Model of Patriotism Allegiance and Loyalty of a typical Nigerian**



Source: Adopted from the work of Alulo, M. (2003)

**2.5.1 Ethnicity**

The establishment of ethno-regionalism had a significant impact in Nigerian political arena. Theoretically, Ake (2000) content that, even the formations of political parties, their manifestos, system of leadership and campaign strategies were dominated by ethnicity. An ethnic nationality refers to people who agree to share a common language, their cultural ideology and self identity. Existing explanations assume that the state is neutral in inter-ethnic relations and, therefore, can successful mediate them. They diagnose ethnic conflict as the product of a struggle for power and wealth among members of constituent ethnic groups. Unless this struggle is properly

managed, it tends to explode into violence. It is the responsibility of the neutral state to properly manage the struggle.

Since the beginning of democratic system of government during the first republic Nigerian political parties were formed into regional positions supporting the three major ethnic groups (Alulo, 2003), in a similar vein, the third republic of Nigerian democracy followed the same train. Furthermore, the model indicates clearly that Nigerians are more loyal to their ethnic background than their state. According to Nwaezeigwe (1998) cited in Osinubi and Osinubi (2006) is of the view that "Ethnicity is an instrument of groups' consciousness which serves to elevate one's pride and sense of identity. Every Nigerian is so by the fact of his identity with a particular ethnic group regionally located in the present political structure. Thus ethnicity in its fundamental sense is an exhibition of common ethnic identity in contrast to the members of other cultural groups within a definable geo-political setting" Osunibi (2006).

However, ethnicity should always be explained in its relation to, and interrelation with, other social dynamics. According to Nnoli (1989), ethnicity has four main attributes. First, it exists in ethnically plural societies. Second, it is characterised by exclusiveness that is manipulated during inter-ethnic competition. Third, conflict is inherent in ethnicity, particularly in situations of competition. Finally, it involves the consciousness of being one in relation to others.

**Table 2.4 Distribution of Ethnic Identities in Nigeria**

| GROUP | PERCENT OF POPULATION |
|---|---|
| Hausa-Fulani | 29.5 |
| Kanuri | 4.1 |
| Tiv | 2.5 |
| Nupe | 1.2 |
| Yoruba | 20.3 |
| Edo | 1.7 |
| Igbo | 16.6 |
| Ibibio-Efik | 3.6 |
| Ijaw | 2.0 |
| Other | 18.5 |

Source: Oladimeji Aborisade and Robert J. Mundt (1999)

The phenomenon of ethnicity becomes the most essential aspect of national identity in Nigerian politics (Suberu and Osaghae, 2005). People are more prone to their identity than being a Nigerian. On the other hand Lewis and Bratton (2000) observed that, majority of Nigerians in their survey prepare to be labelled by their ethnic background. However, "Nigerians tend to cluster more readily around the cultural solidarities of kinship, traditional entity than the class solidarities of the workplace" Lewis & Bratton (2000). They also opined that what is more, "religious and ethnic identities are more fully formed, more holistic and more strongly felt than class identities" as evidenced in the fact that "whereas those who identify with religious and ethnic communities are almost universally proud of their group identities…those who see themselves as members of a social class are somewhat more equivocal about their pride" Lewis & Bratton (2000). Suberu and Osaghae concludes that looking at the historical antecedent of Nigeria and the effect of colonialism the challenges is not a point of surprise but to adhere into unity in diversity.

## 2.6 How Ethnic and Religious Conflicts Threaten the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria

Nigeria is a country characterized by an intense ethno-religious and political conflict, there has been a rise in the level of ethno-religious fanaticism and an extreme sense of religious uprisings. Religious fanatics in Nigeria show excessive and irrational zeal to defend their religious and consequently become destructive agents of religious disharmony in the society. The adherents of the three dominant religions, especially Muslims and Christians are at one stage or another influenced by fanaticism to result to violent confrontation.

One saddest episodes of ethno-religious and political conflict motivated by fanaticism in Nigeria was the Maitatsine uprising of 1980 in Kano (Egwu, 2001) which thousands of people lost their lives and property worth millions of Naira destroyed. The riot started from a small enclave in Yan Awaki quarters in Kano. Two years later, Kaduna and Bulunkutu in Maiduguri of Borno state became victims of Maitatsine conflict. In 1984, Jimete Yola of Adamawa in the defunct Gongola state and Gombe, Bauchi state of north-eastern region of Nigeria in 1985 also counted their losses respectively both human and material, due to Maitatsine uprisings. One mechanism that can contribute to peace and unity among the diverse Nigerian ethnic groups is the dispensation of democracy (Olayode, 2007), he further expressed that, politically elected government which is the wish of majority can affect the change and bring peaceful environment to manage conflict, by providing equal representation among the ethnic nationality.

Therefore as Ibrahim (2000) points out, ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria are associated with the concept of where you come from and how many are you. Ethno-religious and political conflicts have become a staple feature of contemporary politics in Nigeria because the approaches is centred to method of exclusion in order to stop minority from the popular participation. For the sake of peace therefore, the idea of peaceful for coexistence among all religious bodies and the ethnic nationalities (Kwaja, 2008) can be made reasonable if the so called democratic government in Nigeria is restructured in line with good governance and equity.

Therefore as Hegre, *et.al,* points out in Kwaja "in many multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies, the procedures of dominating democracy have proven effective for managing group relations and maintaining social cohesion. However, in societies with deep ethnic and religious divisions and little experience with democratic government and the rule of law, strict dominating democracy can be self-defeating. Where ethnic and religious identities are strong and national identity weak, the population may vote largely along ethnic or religious lines. Domination by one ethnic or religious group(s) can lead to a tyranny of the majority" Kwaja (2008).

He concludes that, minority are considered as a local indigenes by the leading majority who feels that they are the originals, because the decision making body is always controlled by them which constitute distrust, injustice, conflict and poor economic condition.

Similarly, addressing the United State Senate Foreign Relations Committee in October 1997, Mr William Twaddel, former United State ambassador to Nigeria highlight on the Nigerian situation today as: Rampant corruption, the lack of transparency in decision-making, rule by military decree and the precipitous decline of government institutions undermine prospects for Nigeria as a coherent state. Instability or worse in Nigeria could have profound humanitarian, political and economic consequences for West Africa and other regions including the United States (Crossroads, 1997).

Applying this notion to the Nigerian nascent democracy, the utter neglect of certain areas and the consequent denial of infrastructure based on ethnic consideration may become one of the negating forces against the aforementioned democratic cultures, since it is relevant to note that the stability of a federal structure demands, equity amongst all ethnic groups as a way of reducing ethnicity and religious diversity, but if otherwise becomes the case, the political conversion processes if negated, will produce inequality, manipulation, domination, exploitation and social instability.

The fact should not equally be denied that many implications abound when the present government fails to create a melting pot of the various constituent ethnic groups, with the manners in which each government official and Nigerians continue to see themselves first as ethnic nationals instead of an unbiased bureaucrats or persons.

## 2.7 Diversity Implications

Nigeria's governance failures could be attributed to its diversity. After all, the northern region is overwhelmingly Muslim, while the southern region is largely Christian, Joseph (1991 in Suberu 2001) and within it has over two hundreds ethnic groups. One variation of this argument says that incumbents serve their own ethno-regional political base at the expense of others. Political actors manipulate ethnic and regional agenda to increase their access to the so-called "national cake," which symbolizes the resource wealth controlled at the centre of Nigerian politics. However, the major issue at stake is to equally address the regional confusion of marginalisation, political participation and peace. This argument has been theorized as a problem of "prebendalism". This reflects how Nigerian scholars call the "national question," meaning difficulty and conflict of identity (Amuwo, Agbaje and others 2000; and Suberu 2001).

A second variation of the "dangerous diversity" argument suggests that social heterogeneity is inherently a problem. Some Africans blame low growth, low school enrolment and federal budget deficits on ethnic fractionalization (Easterly and Levine 1994, Nnoli 1995 in Suberu 2001) blame ethnicity for Nigeria's failure to allocate centrally-controlled human and natural resources, for economic competition, and for the increasing level of religious diversities). The Nigerian government has employed a range of institutional experiments from strong regional governments to ethnic divide method to address the national question. But the challenge of identifying the common features responsible for the success or failure of these various experiments remains. These two arguments about diversity should be carefully considered following the strong belief in ethnically based before the state as the survey confirm. Fish and

Robin (2004) opined that an increasing body of evidence suggests that diversity has an uncertain impact on governance at best. More likely, the pessimistic view overestimates the adverse effects of diversity on civil peace (Fearon and Laitin 2003,) and on government performance generally Bates (2000) asserts that, ethnic diversity may hold the potential for developing human capital across other types of social divides.

The dangerous diversity arguments break down when we consider one case, where the outcomes vary but the number of ethnic groups essentially do not. Such studies imply that ethnicity is stable but its saliency shifts with different political and historical incentives for self-identification. In fact ethnic and religious self-identification varies locally and over time in Nigeria. As a result, social heterogeneity by itself cannot explain the vicissitudes of government performance. Both interpretations of diversity fail in Nigeria without accounting for the shifting saliency of social differences.

**2.8 Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in Nigeria: A Colonial Legacy**

Nigerian under the adverse effect of colonial administration, seem to have lost the concept of its independent entity of the present day (Akinwumi et al, 2006). For instance, Nigeria today is importing petroleum products for its domestic use neglecting its position as one of the countries blessed with population and natural resources for example, the Central Bank Monetary Policy Committee said between January and March 2011 Nigerian government spend almost $1.34 billion on the importation of refined products of petroleum to the country for just local consumption.

That is why Mahmud Jega in his Daily Trust Monday column of 19 December 2011 stated that: With the collapse of domestic refineries in Nigeria, the definition of fuel subsidy changed to the differential that is being paid to only private fuel importers who are forced to import petrol at a fixed price at home. This is an arrangement that offers immense possibilities for scams and rip offs by the fuel importers in collusion with government officials Jega (2011).

Colonialism was found to be the major factor responsible for identity conflicts in Nigeria. By amalgamating various societies into a single country (Suberu and Osaghae, 2005) for instance, the British used divide and conquer method to control power and resources in the new state. The system creates hatred, competition and injustice which cause conflicts. The colonial urban settings were particularly avenue for the development of ethnic contact and discriminations.

Egwu cited in Abdullahi et al (2007) expressed that escalation of such conflict in Nigeria is due to the historical development that threatened peace and unity since and up to postcolonial era. According to him, the colonial state formation was the beginning upon which the post colonial state was established whereby the beginning of ethnic identity formation and the regional politics were used to serve the interest of their masters. Nigeria has been classified as a country which is prone to conflict due to its nature of composition.

According to Agbese cited in Osunibi and Osunibi (2006) "Many have come to see the Nigeria's problems are partly man-made and the problems were associated with the long history of the Nigerian amalgamation of Southern and Northern protectorate

in 1914, while problems created by nature concern its geography and ethnic composition. The division of Nigeria into three regions of unreasonably unequal sizes was a grievous error of political judgment on the part of the British. It was a perfect recipe for an unhealthy national diet which they claimed for administrative conveniences" (Agbese cited in (Osinubi and Osinubi, 2006: 105).

## 2.9 The Role of the State in Managing Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in Nigeria

The provision of peaceful environment is vested in the hand of any government. That is why the guiding principles of Nigerian law, Section 14 (1) maintains that; *"the security and welfare of the people shall be a primary purpose of government"*. For better understanding the issue of ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria has been emphasizes the importance of the provision of law and order, has been emphasized (Osaghae, 2004).

The creation of more new states has been done to reduce conflicts in Nigeria. That is the reason why Nigeria at its 50th has 36 states. In addition, during the Military regime of General Yakubu Gowon 1975, one of his contributions to maintain cultural balance among the different ethnic background in the country he introduced the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme. The programme was aim to post all graduates from the Nigerian Universities and Polytechnics to serve their fatherland in other states instead of their own state of origin. The wisdom behind the establishment of the National Youth Service Corp is to lessen ethnocentric tendencies, and create cohesion considering the Nigerian cultural differences. This Programme led to corps

members having to live in other parts of the country to work and probably marry from other ethnic groups.

The establishment of Federal Unity Colleges is also another mechanism adopted with a view to promoting national integration and cross-cultural orientation amongst young Nigerians (Abdullahi *et al* 2007, Abdulrahman 2008).

The establishment of Federal Ministries in all state capitals was to promote inter-state transfer among the ethnic and cultural groups, in the Nigerian Public Service, Staffs from salary grade level seven and above can be transferred to any part of the country. The policy also introduces geo-political quota system and federal character criteria for any job opportunity to control the game of majority-minority representation in the public sector.

Nigerian government established a council that is responsible for all religious groups in the country. This will bring constant interaction and cohesion among the various religious groups. The council is headed by His eminent the Sultan of Sokoto Alh Sa'ad Abbakar the 3rd and the Arch Bishop Oneiykan. J. The establishment of the Federal Character Commission (FCC) in the Nigerian constitution is to ensure equal representations within the whole regions. The aim is to balance the issue of appointments, educational enrolment and advancement of workers among others. The introduction of rotational political leadership (Kwaja, 2008), registering political parties' based on national interest in order to avoid regional domination.

However, the state as an institution is being characterized into ethnic and religious networks and also as a struggle to dominate ethno-religious actors (Jinadu, 2007) with the aid of godfathers. Despite the above measures taken by the government in order to constitute cohesion, safety and security in the country, ethno-religious and political conflicts have continued to manifest thereby threatening the sovereignty of the Nigerian state and particularly under the present democratic dispensation.

## 2.10 Federalism and Its Contradictory Effects in Nigeria

The Nigerian state was declining and being blighted at a time it was expected to be optimally effective to be able to cope especially with the aggravated internal contestations and challenges to its existence, relevance and validity. Issues of contested identity, autonomy, citizenship, equity, power sharing and rights loomed larger than ever before, thanks to the contradictions of globalisation, democratization, liberalization and other simultaneous economic and social processes that gave vent and legitimacy to non-state and anti-state claims and demands (Alkali, 2004 cited in Abdullahi *et al* 2007), the search for an accepted and popular system of government into multi cultural Nigeria necessitates the adoption of a federal system of government. Indeed, world over, federal systems are conceived as "political arrangements that afford (an) opportunity for the myriad diversities within a political system to find legitimate expression" Abdullahi et al (2007).

In Nigeria federal system of government started in 1954 with the introduction of the Littleton constitution (Jega, 1998), before this time the protectorates was managed by the colonial masters using a decentralized unitary system of government. He argued that Nigerian federalism meant by the British was made as an element of easy

administration in order to establish one single state. The constitutional provisions were made to depend the traditional set up and bring cohesion at the same time. Instead of bringing people together, the failure of the system generated a lot of tension, hatred and caused more religious, ethnic and political conflicts.

Osaghae and Suberu (2005) contend that, federalism has some good characteristics and weaknesses in Nigeria.

i) Politics of interest and power that are vested at the centre, has exploited the political actors to focus on material gain.

ii) The centralized funding of sub-federal authorities that continues to stimulate ethnic and sub-ethnic pressures for the formation of new sub national units as an avenue for easy access to national oil revenues

iii) The proliferation of sub-federal administrative boundaries and identities, in a context defined historically by discrimination against settlers and non indigenes, which has led to a sharp contraction of the geo-political space in which a Nigerian can claim indigene status within a particular state and enjoy full citizenship rights.

iv) Nigeria's distributive multi-state federalism, which is based essentially on the massive redistribution of resources from the oil-rich Niger Delta to the rest of the federation, has engendered violent struggles for local or regional 'resource control' in the oil-rich region Osaghae and Suberu (2005).

**2.11 Theoretical Framework**

Theoretically all phenomena can be explained and analysed for clarity and understanding. This research study adopted two underpinning theories in order to

48

better understand the phenomenon of ethno-religious and Political conflict in North-eastern Nigeria. These theories are:

1. Structural conflict theory

2. Economic theory of conflict

These theories are operationalized in this work because of their explicit analysis of ethno-religious and political interactions among the divers group in state such as Nigeria.

**2.11.1 Structural Conflict Theory**

This theory has two dimensions. The first dimension called the radical dimension of theory which was postulated by Marxist school of thought, like Karl Marx, Engels, and V.I. Lenin. The other dimension consists of liberal structuralists with Ross and Johan. Theories like Marxism, in its thesis on 'historical materialism' present conflicts tied to economic structures and social institutions.

The main argument of the structural conflict theory is that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. The theory looks at social problem such as outbreak of diseases, abject poverty, poor economic base, political marginalization, injustice and subjugation that causes conflict in society. Structuralists maintain that conflicts occur because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies, domination of one class by another, etc. This case is made by radicals like Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Joseph Lenin and Mao Tse Tung, who blame capitalism for being an exploitative system based on its means of production and the division of society into the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The exploitation of the proletariat and lower classes under capitalism creates conflict Ademola (2009: 41-51).

Thus, capitalist societies are accused of being exploitative, and such exploitation is a cause of conflict. Capitalist conflict, to Marxists, will be resolved through a revolution where the bourgeoisie will be overthrown in a socialist revolution led by workers, bringing about the establishment of a socialist order led by the working people. Furthermore there will be "capitalist internationalism", a situation where workers all over the world unite, and will not be limited by state boundaries, since the state itself is an artificial creation of the bourgeoisie to dominate others.

The Marxist tradition has been extended by neo-Marxists, mostly of the Underdevelopment and Dependency School, most of them from the developing countries. Some of the best-known theorists are Andre Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney, Samir Amin, as well as Emanuel Wallerstein who expounded the "world system theory". This group of scholars seeks to explain the reasons for development and underdevelopment, and why the third world is not developing. They situate their analysis within the world capitalist system, and accuse the system of being structurally exploitative, retarding development for the third world. Walter Rodney in his book how Europe underdeveloped Africa, differenciates between underdevelopment and non-development, he says non-development takes place when a country is not developing due to any external forces accounting for its stagnation Ademola (2009: 42). However, underdevelopment occurs when another external factor, a nation, is responsible for the situation, such as Europe is destroying the basis and foundation for African development through its various historical relations with the continent.

Liberal structuralists like Johan Galtang, explained that, lack of peaceful environment or the level of people's commitment determine the structural phenomena of escalation for conflict to emerge. The solution to this type of conflict, to the Marxists, is that the contradictions will end in a revolution, civil war, or some form of violence leading to the overthrow of the marginalize policy. They also prefer change that will provide the aspiration of people. The emphasis of structural theory is thus on how the competing interests groups tie conflict directly into the social, economic, and political organisation of society as well as the nature and strength of social networks within and between community groups. Ross (1993) noted for instance that, in situation where economic and political discrimination and weak kinship tie are the defining characteristics of a society, the chances that negative forms of conflict will result are higher than in situation where the condition are the exact opposite. In other words, when social, political, economic and cultural processes are monopolized by a group, it creates the conditions that make people to adopt adversarial approaches to conflict.

Therefore, in situations where existing structures are tilted in favour of one group while putting the other(s) at a disadvantage like in the cases where cultures are seen as exclusive; where holders of certain powers or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the rights of others to be different; or where people find it difficult to identify with the political and economic ideas of a political regime (Scarborough, 1998), the chances are that conflict will emerge and escalate if nothing is done to correct such anomalies.

Making the type of corrections that will lead to positive relationships requires a change of tactics, but change is often resisted not because people do not see its positive values, but because they are not so keen to admit their blunders which in fact

may be induced from within or by factors outside the immediate control of the political leaders. In the case of the internally-induced change, the resulting change is usually a product of social encounters which, where seen as opportunities for learning, growth and development and capable of leading to the construction of new, flexible attitudes, cultures and structures.

When social, economic, cultural or political change is externally driven, the assumption is that these institutions have problems that need to be dealt with by imposing new, radically different ones. Like the much criticized colonial experience in colonised territories, such culturally insensitive transformations are usually resisted for the very fact that it runs contrary to cherished value systems that are naturally opposed to change.

Structural theory is remarkably strong on the immediate and underlying factors that lead to conflict. It presents such phenomenon to make the emergence and escalation of internal conflicts possible (Brown, 1996). Structuralists present factors such as those listed above as the major motivating factors that explain the emergence of destructive conflicts between individuals and groups. In most cases, problems of over population, economic underdevelopment, unintegrated social and political institutions, as well as demographic factors that put pressure on human settlements and available resources are the main factors responsible for the emergence of internal conflicts.

There may be a need to look at the position of structural conflict theory again because of its narrow focus on material interests. It is possible that in trying to explain the severity of internal conflicts, material interests may also be the result of certain

psychological needs, which would better explain the intensity, duration and outcome of internal conflicts. To seek to explain intensity and protraction by focusing on material interests alone is therefore a problem. For instance, the interests of gatekeepers (those who are in a position to direct proceedings during a conflict) and shadow parties (those who provide secret support for those engaged in a conflict) may not be material gain per se; rather, their involvement may be based on psychological needs that they have to be recognised as people cannot be overlooked within the political community.

The perspective of this theory described the aspect of incompatible resistance by the competing groups due to lack of available means. Foremost, the argument evidently noted the cause of conflict as part of poor governance and institutional failure that have given rise to ethno-religious and political conflict in North eastern region. The issue of exploitation between bourgeoisie and proletariat is just a simple example of the situation in the area under study.

The Structural conflict theories posits that social problem such as political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, disease, exploitation, inequity among others is found to be among the causes of ethno-religious and political conflict. The North-eastern region is characterized by political exclusion through institutionalized thurgery, election malpractices and intimidation of electorates and opposition parties, lack of following due process and disregard for rule of law. Therefore as corruption became legitimized by total immunity of accountability and transparency on the part of elected leaders, they remain distant from the social services to their people, who voted them into power, and misappropriation *of public* funds weakens the economy of

53

the region, increase tide of poverty, social tension which causes political instability and conflict. Furthermore, structural conflict theory identifies exploitation as one of the real cause of conflict which seemingly explains the conflict of political subjugation by political godfathers which shrouded the problem of ethno-religious and political conflict in the area under study.

However, this was further confirmed by the exploitation and the pursuit of selfish interest among the political class. For instance whenever social, political, economic and cultural processes are being monopolized by government, it usually creates tension and resulted into different segment of conflict, ranging from physical demonstration against the government to either ethnic or religious conflict which affects the lives of innocent people and massive destruction of public and private properties.

This is in harmony with Lawan (2005) who opined that, mass poverty served to condition the minds and attitudes of Nigerians and made them susceptible to elite manipulation and mobilization of negative identities. As the state becomes unable to satisfy basic needs of the people, they in turn withdrew from the sphere of the state into ethno-religious and communal cocoons, with heightened sensitivity to the roles of the "others" in their marginalization and immiserations, which conquer with the basic argument of the structural conflict theorists.

### 2.11.2 Economic theory of conflict

Economics measures were found to be among the major causes of conflict in North East Nigeria. Theorists believe that competing for any scarce resources is a common

factor in almost all ethnic, religious and political conflict in north east Nigeria. In North-east Nigeria, people are fighting for their daily needs such as their food, educational attainment, water supply, health and other essential commodities. According to Collier (2007) some people actually benefit from conflict, while the over whelming majority of the population are affected by the negative impacts of conflict. The political, religious or ethnic leaders and their armed formations that are actually perpetrating the conflict often profit from the chaos.

The economic failure and hardship causes people to interact aggressively leading to negative reactions. Bates (2000) asserts that conflicts are generated by many factors, some of which are deep-seated. They state that conflict has a "functional utility" and are embedded in economic disparities as in the case of North East Nigeria. Ethno-religious and political conflict becomes an element of insecurity and national disintegration in the region which then causes ethnic groups to mobilize and to compete for resources along ethnic lines. It follows that multi-ethnic regions are more prone to conflict. Bates (2000), state that the importance of economic factors to the understanding of conflict will be a contentious issue; the need to explore this linkage is not contested. Furthermore, they content that even through issues in conflict may later be packed as resulting from ideological, racial or even religious differences; they represent at the most basic level, a contest for control over economic assets, resources or political system.

The disparity in managing the responsibilities of people into ethnic, religious and political groups causes oppositions and competition in North East Nigeria. In totality this diversity constitutes a wide range within the groups, for example party

marginalisation, and lack of access to social amenities by the majority against the minority people.

The economic theories of conflict highlight resources, and to that extent, are close to the radical structure theory of conflict, except for the emphasis of left wing structuralists on exploitative relationships between parties (Alanamu, 2005).

## 2.12 Gap in Literature

In Nigeria various literatures has been developed in order to address the issue of conflicts. For instance Dunmoye (2003) study of violence in the Middle Belt Zone of Nigeria, explain that the major factor responsible for conflict in the Middle Belt region consist of perceived injustice by one community or group against another. However, he did not point out what these perceived injustices are and how they emanate from ethnic and religious factors. Another study of conflicts in the North-Central Zone of Nigeria, Abubakar outlined how ethno-religious marginalization causes conflict. He did not explain the concept especially on the relationship between, marginalization ethno-religious differences, as well as how they emanate from each other.

This study therefore tries to fill the gap by identifying the areas have not yet studied in ethnic and religious crises especially as it applies to the peculiarity of north-eastern region of Nigeria which includes the concept of religious intolerance, illiteracy and ignorance, refugee problems and corruption. This is with a view to adopting strategies that will prevent conflict or manage them quicker when they occur. This study will also highlight the long standing domination of the Northern Muslims over the

Southern Christians, which has ethno-religious connotation that led both sides to stockpiling arms and ammunition.

**2.13 Summary**

This chapter examines the related literature and theoretical frame work, on ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria. This research study adopted two theories in order to explain the phenomenon of ethno-religious and Political conflict in North-eastern Nigeria. These theories are:

1. Structural conflict theory
2. . Economic theory of conflict

These theories are operationalised in this work because of their explicit analysis of ethno-religious and political interactions among the diverse groups in a state such as Nigeria.

The chapter argues that, conflict destroys every aspect of human life due to the destruction of properties, water supply, and the provision of electricity, education and even loss of lives. Generally speaking, ethno-religious and political conflict decreases human capacity in building national cohesion. As such, the impact will cause hatred, increases crime rates and poverty; encourage corruption and unemployment with poor economic base.

For unity, peace and positive development to be restored in this region, justice must be done with the electoral voting system, equal representation called federal character factor. As explained by some discussants there may not be peaceful co-existence in this region unless the political and religious actors are reformed by doing away with

partisan politics as this will constitute the powers of check and balance principles in order to have equality in power sharing, economic development, and freedom of religious practice and project allocation.

The implication of such conflict was institutionalized in the establishment of economic power by the politicians, policy makers, through the influence of our religious and traditional rulers using colonial policy of divide and rule .It has been observed that, in this region since the colonial time politics of godfathers had generated exploitation and injustice against the leading masses leading to tension among the ethnic groups.

# CHAPTER THREE

## METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology employed to undertake this research work, such as rationale for adopting qualitative research, a description of the study area, type of data sought, as well as the explanation of the research tools employed, the use of one-on-one interview, non-participant observation and focus group interview has be used in collecting and processing the data pertaining ethno-religious and political conflict in North Eastern Region of Nigeria.

### 3.1 Reasons for Adopting Qualitative Research

A qualitative research investigation is originated in research question. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) indicated that: Qualitative research has many ways for collecting first hand information in the field. It clearly indicates that the approach study phenomenon within the context of its originalities, attempting to interpret data in a way how people consider them. Qualitative research study involves the use and collection of a different data that describe things the way they are why and how they are such as history taken, an interview or case study

Patton (1990) points out that, researchers have long debated the relative value of qualitative and quantitative inquiry. Phenomenological inquiry, or qualitative research, uses a naturalistic style to investigate any concept from its natural conditions. Lodico et al (2006) opined that qualitative studies are carried out in naturalistic conditions with large research questions designed to explore, explain, translate, the social context which the participant are selected in a non random ways.

Qualitative researcher's goal is to know much about people's behaviour and knowledge. They tend to explain how people attach meanings to actions (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) they use scientific investigations because it is with concrete episode attached to behaviour that the researcher can think simply to understand human condition

Creswell, (2008) asserts that purpose of qualitative research is much more open - ended than in quantitative research. The investigators are expected to ask so many questions from the participant that will help in gaining more knowledge during the course of the discussions.

On the other hand qualitative research, broadly defined, means "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Creswell, 1998) posited that this technique is for investigators who are prepared to:

1. Spend much time during the course of the study.

2. Generate enough and appropriate data that can be reduced to reasonable themes

3. Discuss the content at large.

**3.2 Sources of Data**

For the purpose of this study the researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. For primary data this study used in-depth interview, using one-on-one interview method and focus group interview as primary sources of data. Moreover the following people were utilised during the interview in the study area: religious leaders, ethnic associations, taught individuals, politicians, youth organisations, non-

governmental organisations and traditional rulers. Secondary sources, data were obtained from Non Governmental Organisations, Muslim-Christian dialogue forum, Government publications, gazette, speeches and Journals.

Review of Documents-for the purpose of this study written document were also reviewed, such as textbooks, newspapers, political speeches, and formal policy statement, magazines, publications of non-governmental organisation, and civil society organisations.

## 3.3 Method of Data collection

### 3.3.1 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the primary methods of data collection. Interviews are the most frequently used method in qualitative research (Mason, 1996). This study used interview data as primary source of evidence to gain detailed, rich and holistic understanding of experiences, opinions and attitudes (May, 1997; Patton, 1987; Holistein and Gubrium, 1997; Mason, 1996).

Appendix A presents the interview guide followed throughout the fieldwork. The list of questions was a useful guide but the questions were sometimes adjusted to accommodate responses at the time, during, or from previous interviews. The interview guide was used flexibly, meaning that the researcher made changes to the planned guide where necessary, according to the different responsibilities and experience of the interviewees. Yin (1994) and Patton (1987) suggested that a researcher should have a good knowledge of interviewing technique in order to

formulate the right questions in the right way while listening carefully, taking good notes, and following up with relevant additional questions.

In order to have an open and "honest" response, the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the study before the beginning of each interview. The researcher also stressed to interviewees the confidentiality of information gathered from the interviews. The interview firstly explained the nature and purpose of the study to the key participants, and then the interviewees were questioned about their experience of the persistent occurrence of conflict in the study area. The process was then repeated with other discussants during the course of the main fieldwork (see Appendix A).

The interviewees worked with different organizations and held different positions from politicians, traditional rulers, religious leaders and civil society organisations, and were from a variety of background, skills and experiences. Key participants such as Chiefs, District Heads, Political parties Stakeholders, Religious Sect Leader, Youth Organisations were interviewed.

The selection of the interviewees was done on an ongoing basis during the progress of the data collection at the research study area (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). It was a purposeful sample (Ferrier and Merchant, 1992; Miles and Huberman, 1994). It was to understand their roles, involvement and how they used to respond when ever conflict arose. The interviews varied in length, from normally one to three hours. Indepth and face-to-face interviews were conducted over six-month period amounting to 117 hours. Some participants were interviewed more frequently than others, depending on their involvement in the conflict or their roles in managing conflict. The

interviews were conducted either on council chambers or at the main offices of the participants. Interviews were recorded using a minidisk recorder and notes were also taken during interviews to compliment the tape recording. The tape recording has been cited as one of the best methods for gathering an accurate rendition of any interview (Yin, 1994). The notes helped the researcher to probe and prepare follow-up questions, and to grasp some aspects mentioned by the participants that facilitated the data analysis (Patton, 1987). When interviews could not be recorded, notes were taken to clarify important aspects given in the words and expressions of the interviewees.

During the interviews, careful consideration was given to how interviewees expressed themselves (intonation, particular language, terms and pauses they made – see Patton, 1987) especially when there were some "off-the-record" remarks made by a few participants. Scapens (1990) suggest that informal evidence should be taken into account while gathering data. The researcher was prepared to consider any informal clues (e.g. the tone of answers, physical gesture) to make the data more valid. When consent was not given by the interviewees to record the interviews, notes were made during and after the interviews. The process of transcribing immediately after the interview enabled the researcher to add notes of informal evidence to the transcripts, which help the researcher to reflect on each interview and prepare for the next.

The transcripts and tape were studied several times to better understand construction activities and identify issues arising from them. The researcher made careful consideration in editing and quoting the interviews given that the participants responded either in the local or English language, or sometimes a mixture of both. Observation on the role of participant's was also carried out to understand how

effective management of conflict was practiced and carried out especially within the traditional, religious institution and the internally displaced persons.

This was done during visits and in-between interviews. Immediately following each interview, observations were written down on: (1) who was being interviewed (2) where and when the interview occurred (3) reactions of the interviewee to the questions asked; (4) relevant issues raised from the interview; and (5) the researcher's perceptions of the situation at the time. Thus, the observations during each interview were useful in validating the data gathered from interviews.

### 3.3.2 In-depth Interview Method

In-depth interview is a methods of data collection used in qualitative techniques. The key features of in-depth interview are intended to combine the structure with flexibility. Under the in-depth interview, one-on-one interview and focus group interview can be utilised.

### 3.3.2.1 One-on-one interview method

The interview is interactive in nature and the researcher poses a range of probing questions and other techniques to achieve depths analysis in terms of penetration, exploration, and explanation. The interview is generative because it will benefit the investigator to gain relevant information (Robson, 2002). The interview has been conducted through the following stages as provided by Creswell, (2008).

Stage One: Arrival

It is crucial to establish the relationship that is prerequisite for a successful in-depth interview. It is important to make the participants feel free, and the researcher is responsible for putting them at their ease. At this stage the researcher need to play the role of a host to be confident and relaxed, discuss with them at length prior to the main interview.

Stage Two: Introducing the research

The researcher starts to interact by introducing the research topic, and inform them the reasons of the research, and ask them to allow you to record the interview.

Stage Three: Interview

In the beginning the researcher begins with neutral topics by asking personal details, such as the interviewee's age etc. Having such information at the beginning is important to help with other questions. In addition, it is not at beginning of the interview that interviewee realizes that his/her role is to "open up" and give full answers. Most important issue is that the questions should be clear and during the interview the researcher will guide the participant through the key themes; each subject is explored in depth with a series of follow-up questions and probes.

Stage Four: Ending the Interview

The researcher signals the approach of the end of the interview five to ten minutes before the end of the interview. It is equally important to note that the interviewee has not been left with any unfinished relevant information.

Stage five: After the Interview

After the interview the researcher will thank the participant warmly and begins to move out of the interview by saying something, fairly briefly, about how the interviewee's contributions will help the research. This is the time to answer any question raised by the interviewee during the interview.

### 3.3.2.2 Focus Group Interview

This is a technique which involves at least four to six people for discussions that need all members to participate and contribute to the interview, the researcher is expected to ask small number of general questions (Creswell 2008).

Generally the focused group discussion is to permit the discussants to share their experience and point of view about the research topic. The method of interviewing many people at a time originated from marketing research which is now applicable to both applied and social sciences.

The composition of the groups should be about seven to ten people (note that the groups range from as small as four to as large as twelve) mostly those who are non familiar with each other and should be selected because they share certain quality relevant to the study's question. (Rossman and Marshall 2006).Therefore for the purpose of this research the researcher select six people from each state as a group composition of the study. The interviews were conducted through the following stages as provided by (Creswell, 2008).

Stage One: Setting the Rules

Focus group interviews use opened-ended question, and avoid the "why" question, questions are developed through a brainstorming session with the audience usually lasting 60-120 minutes so that all the relevant topics can be covered and audio taped while the respondents will be informed about the recording. This is to generate questions as well as determine the critical questions. According to Krueger in Lewis (2003) the questions should be arranged in a logical order, some time from general to specific.

Stage Two: Individual Introduction

During this stage the researcher will ask the group of participants to introduce themselves in turn, by saying their names. The purpose of this stage is to build up a degree of familiarity. It will also provide chance for each member to speak and to listen, and to rehearse two roles essential in the process of discussion.

Stage Three: The Opening Topics

The researcher starts off the general discussion by introducing the general topic. This may be something fairly neutral, general, and easy to talk about. At this point the researchers aim is to promote a discussion and to use the opening topic in order to engage the participants. The researcher continuous to be verbally active, asking more questions related to the topic and to enquire about other people's views.

Stage Four: Discussion

In this stage the researcher will follows the initial discussion, through active listening and observation. The researcher will keep a mental note of what is being said and

individual members, using open questions expressed in simple language. The researcher will listen to the terms used by the respondents, explore their meaning and formulate further questions or comments. The purpose of the research is to keep the discussion broadly focused on the research subject.

Stage Five: Ending the Discussion

The researcher will pace the end of the discussion in order to allow time for the group to be prepared for it. Finally, the researcher will end the discussion and thanks the group, stressing how helpful the discussion has been. According to Lewis (2003) it may be the time available to reaffirm confidentiality, especially if certain sensitive issues have been covered and how it will be used.

**3.4 Method of Data Analysis**

In analyzing data, the researcher begins with a large body of information and must through inductive reasoning, sort and categorize it and gradually boil it down to a small set of abstract, underlying themes. They further recommended that researchers construct interpretative narratives from their data and try to capture the complexity of the phenomenon under study Leedy and Ormrod (2005).

The data were reviewed, coded and pattern match in order to address the research questions below. The themes that evolved were also analyzed in the context of each research question in order to address the findings.

1. What are the factors responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflict in North-East Nigeria?

The researcher collected the data analysed and addresses the extent of the influence of social realities in Nigeria that causes ethno-religious and political conflict from 2000 to 2007. The findings were reviewed, translated and pattern matched into meaningful data which are presented in a descriptive form.

2 To what extent has ethno-religious and political conflicts led to social disruption in the region?

The researcher collected and analysed the data that pattern matched on how ethno-religious and political conflict, led to social disruption in the area under study from 2000-2007.

3. What are the challenges militating against the effective management of ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region?

Data were collected, analysed and pattern matched in order to examine the relationship between the ethno-religious and political actors.

*4.* To make recommendations for better relationship among the adherents of ethnic and religious groups in the north eastern region of Nigeria.

The researcher collected data and analysed the findings from 2000 to 2007 on the failure of the political leaders, religious leaders, including the nongovernmental organisations regarding persistence of such conflict in the study area which always led to loss of lives and properties. The data results were examined, analysed, translated, interpreted, and illustrated to make sure that the study findings made sense and was easy to understand.

The researcher used six stages of data analysis in order to have credible and accurate findings. Creswell, (2008) designed the stages as follows:

Stage One: Preparing and organising the data

In this stage hand analysis of qualitative data will be used by reading the data manually and marking it by hand, with the aid of transcription method using field notes and audiotape recording which will be converted into text data.

Stage Two: Exploring and coding the data base

This is the first stage in analysing data in qualitative research which consist of exploring the data to obtain a general sense of organizing and coding of the data collected. Here all the data collected during the interview will be labelled and coded to form a description and segment, the coding process will be organized into steps.

The researcher will read through text data which contain many pages of text:

a) to divide the text into different segments of information containing many segment of text

b) To label the segments of information with codes containing at least 30-40 codes.

c) To reduce the overlap and redundancy of codes, by reducing it to at least 20 codes.

d)  To collapse the codes into themes, then the codes will be reduced to 5-7 themes.

Stage three: Describing findings and Forming themes

This involves addressing the main research questions and establish on indepth understanding of the main concept through descriptive and formation of themes. The researcher will code aggregated themes together to generate the main idea in the data for instance; out of 30-40 codes will be reduced to five to seven major themes, in order to eliminate redundancies.

Stage four: Representing and reporting of findings

Representing of findings consist of explanation of responses of research questions in a figure and tabular form, the researcher will develop a demographic table to describe personal information for each participant, such as name, gender, etc. Also a table of comparison will be developed to represent information between the political leaders and the religious leaders regarding the root cause of ethno-religious and political conflict in the area under study. However the detail summary of the findings will be provided in a narrative form of discussion by challenging assumptions based on evidence supplied by the participants.

Stage five: Interpreting the meaning of the findings

To interpret the findings the researcher will make a thorough comparisons with the past studies and references to the literature in order to show if the findings support or contradict prior studies or both.

Stage six: Validating the accuracy of the finding

The researcher will determine the accuracy and credibility of the findings through the use of triangulation strategy. Triangulation is the process of corroborating evidence of findings from different individuals for example findings from youth organisation and religious leaders, the member checking strategy will also validate the research findings with the participants in the study to determine the accuracy of the data.

This technique of study is flexible as Creswell (1998) contends that the collection of data should be clean and appropriate. Yin (2003), Merriam (1998), Robson (2002), and Creswell (1995) suggested that researcher's validity of work should be accurate

by using some techniques like triangulation, and support, member checking, long-term observation, and participatory or active participation. Yin (2003) argued that qualitative research method has an advantage as it utilises several ways of generating data.

More detailed and specific data from indepth semi-structured interviews from participants were collected during the second phase of data collection; the main fieldwork. It lasted for six months. Data was collected by semi-structured interviews with key participants directly involved during the conflicts and those involved in the management of conflict, complimented by direct observation, and by an analysis of other documents related to the causes and management of conflict. In addition, the researcher had informal conversations with the interviewees especially internally displaced persons.

## 3.5 Validity of Data

The investigation gathered data through two major sources (primary and secondary), supplemented by the use of personal observations to satisfy the data validation. Yin (1994) recommends the use of various aspect of evidence that constitutes the data base (where the main data base is stored). Patton (1987) also notes the importance of systematically cross-validating and triangulating evidence by gathering different kinds of data from different sources. Furthermore, to ensure that the interpretation of 'stories' given by participants was understood, the results of fieldwork were fed back to some key participants- the religious, community leaders, chiefs and district heads, political party stakeholders and youth group organizations during the final stage of data analysis.

The ongoing discussions on the report with key participants were done through emails and conversations. The relationship between the research and the key participants improved through the ongoing interactions, which helped gather 'strong data' (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The interaction between the researcher and the key participants after the field study was crucial in enhancing the case interpretations. Therefore, the reports fed back to the participants indirectly provide more discussions and comments from the participants.

To summarise, the validity of data was checked through data triangulation, repeated interviews with key participants to verify the researcher's understanding and interpretations of data gathered, the use of documents as referred to by participants during the discussions, and the strategy of probing questions to clarify the understanding and interpretations of specific issues that arose during the interviews.

In addition, this study considered the possible 'biases' in interpreting the narratives gathered from the participants by reporting back a research process that may reduce bias, progress meeting with the supervisor and presentations to the PhD committee helped ensure that the interpretation of the result was coherent and plausible.

Due to the time constraint; key participants have not reviewed the final report. Nonetheless, feedback on both the representativeness and of data gathered and the plausibility of the conclusions and explanations was received from a few informants in the field.

**3.6 Sample Size**

The population of the study area comprised of government officials, religious leaders, traditional rulers, nongovernmental organisations and politicians in the area, which comprises the six states of the North Eastern Region in Nigeria namely Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno Gombe, and Taraba and Yobe states respectively. The region has 220 ethnic groups with a population of 18,971,965 according to the (National bureau of statistics 2006 census). During the in-depth interview the researcher interviewed fifteen respondents on one-on-one interview; from each state total of ninety respondents and focus group consisted of four – seven respondents from each state of the region. Therefore, the researcher interviewed ninety respondents and six sessions of focus group interview.

**3.7 Background of the Study Area**

**3.7.1 North-Eastern Region**

The north-east region is located in Maiduguri the capital of the Present Borno State, and was created in May, 27 1967 within the main section of Northern Region of Nigeria. The region was also split into three more states on the 3$^{rd}$ February 1976 namely Bauchi, Borno, and Gongola. In the year 1991 the military leadership in Nigeria also created Gombe State split out of Bauchi; Yobe State was split out from Borno while the state of Gongola was split into Taraba State and Adamawa State respectively. The city of Maiduguri became the capital in the year (1902) the place has gained a lot through commercial activities due to its location with Chad republic, Cameroun and Niger Republic.

The north-east region has a population of 18,971, 965 (National bureau of statistics 2006 census). The Kanuri language group is the dominant ethnic nationality which constitutes three quarters of the population of Borno state. Then Hausa people and the Fulani is the second major dominant tribe along the region. Other languages speaking group in the area comprises Margis, the Chambas, Tiv, Bolawa, Mumuyan, upper Mambila, Wurkuyams, Mandara, the Jukuns, Kuteba, Terawa, Kanakurun Icheni, and Ndororo, Baburawa, Shuwa Arab, Chibok, Ngoshe, Guduf, and Karekare.

### 3.7.1.1 Adamawa State

Adamawa is a Fulani state and it is one of the largest states in Nigeria. The area has 36,917 square kilometres and has a population of 3, 168, 101 according to National bureau of statistics census 2006 with 80 ethnic groups. The state is bordered by Borno state in the northwest, Gombe state in the western part and the Taraba state in the south-western area. The place also has border with Cameroon. The area is a heavily a mountainous place which it has crossed by the large river valleys of Benue state, rivers of Gongola and the Yedsarem Rivers. Farming is major occupation of the people, the area produce cotton and groundnuts as their economic crop, and their food consists of rice, millet, maize, yam, and cassava. The villages around the area mostly engage in fishing, while most of the cattle rearers are Fulani people.

Adamawa has a very good weather. It is a tourist area where people from different part of the world visit the place. The palace of Maallam Nuhu Auwalu Wakili is historically well known, that is why the state is called "the land of beauty state". The state has 21 local government areas.

### 3.7.1.2 Bauchi State

Bauchi state, in north eastern Nigeria was under Borno region before the year 1976. In 1976 the state was sliced out of the present Borno state. Bauchi state is bounded by Kano state, and the state of Jigawa in the north-western part of Nigeria; and in the western side the state is bounded with the present Kaduna state; it also has Plateau, Taraba, and Gombe state on the southern part; while Yobe state is on the eastern part. The state has an area of 17,698 sq miles with a population of 4,676, 465 according to national bureau of statistics report of 2006 and 51 ethnic nationalities. The major languages are Hausa, the Fulani, Kanuri, Jarawa, Sayawa and Balawa. Bauchi town remain the capital city of the state even after the creation of Gombe state from the old Bauchi state. The economic activity in the state is mainly agriculture and the area produces millet, maize, and beans. It has twenty local government areas and six traditional emirs.

### 3.7.1.3 Borno State

Borno State is a former capital of north -eastern Nigeria; Maiduguri is the state capital while Borno was created in 1976 after the split of North-Eastern regions by the military rulers. The present Yobe state was created in 1991from the then Borno state. It has a Population of 4,151, 193 people in 2006 census with 23 ethnic groups. The major tribes are Kanuri and shua Arabs language. Historically, the shehus of the former empire of Kanem Bornu had played a major part in the development of political stratum of the area for over 1000 years. The state has 27 local government areas.

### 3.7.1.4 Gombe State

Gombe State was created in the year 1999 during the military rule of the late General Muhammadu Sani Abacha from the former Bauchi state in north-eastern Nigeria. Gombe town is the capital city of the state. It has a land mass of 20,265sq km and a total of 2,353,000 population according to population census 2006, with 17 ethnic nationalities.
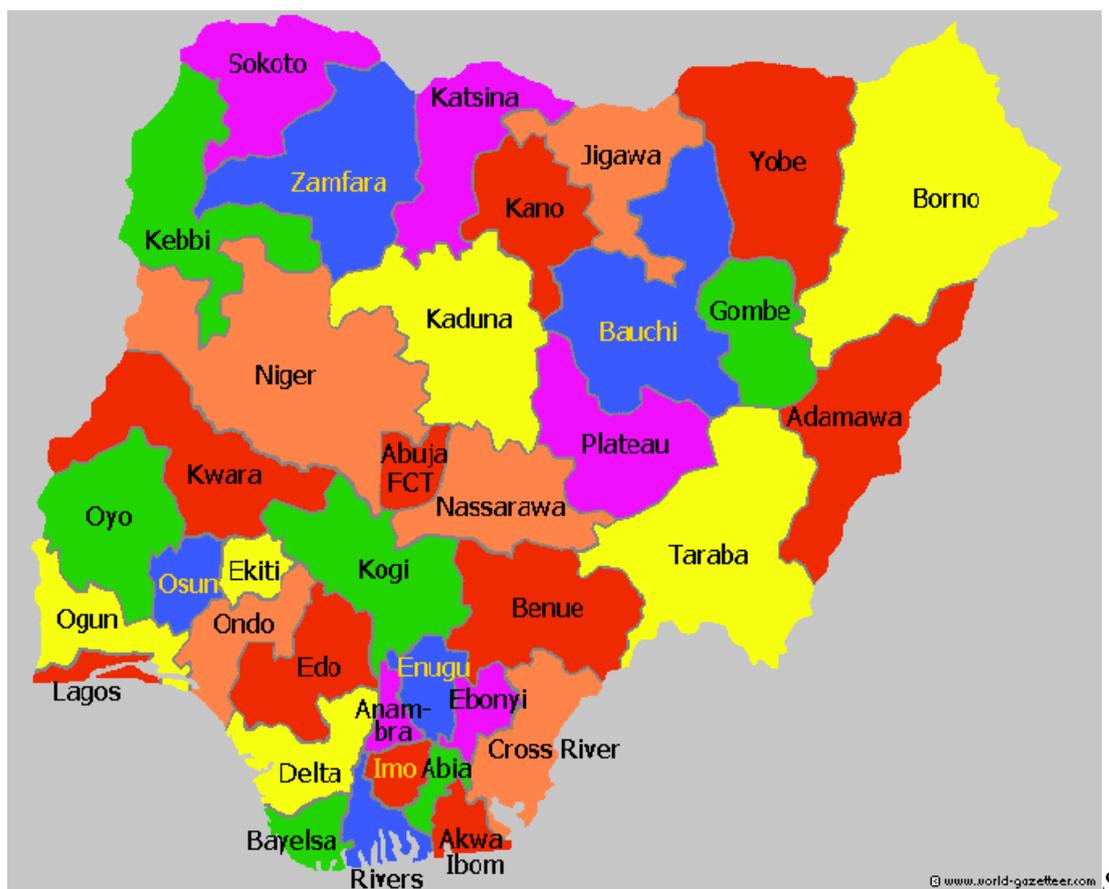
### 3.7.1.5 Taraba State

Taraba State is named after the Taraba River that crosses the southern part of the state. Jalingo city is the capital of Tararba state which was created out of the former Gongola State in August 27,1991, during the regime of the military leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida .According to National bureau of statistics 2006 census the state has a population of 2, 300,736 people with 39 ethnic groups. Taraba State is largely bounded by Benue and Plateau state in the western part and the Republic of Cameroon on the eastern side of the state. Taraba state has sixteen local government areas.

### 3.7.1.6 Yobe State

Yobe State was split from Borno state in 1991, with Damaturu town as the state capital. The state has a total population of 2,321,193 according to National Bureau of statistics census in 2006. There are 10 ethnic groups consisting of Fulani, Hausa, Karekare, Bolawa and Gizim as major ethnic groups. Yobe state bounded with Gombe state, the state of Bauchi, Jigawa state and northern part of Niger republic. Yobe state has 17 local government areas.

**Table 3.5 Map of Nigeria showing the study area (North-Eastern Region)**

### 3.8 Summary

This chapter describes the methodology employed to undertake this research work, such as rationale for adopting qualitative research, a description of the study area, type of data sought, as well as the explanation of the research tools employed. A qualitative technique is originated from the research question. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) contend that Qualitative methods comprise several techniques in generating data. This clearly indicates that qualitative researchers can study phenomenon in their original conditions and provide result. The method of data collection includes

interview methods through an in-depth interview, one-on-one method, focus group discussion and non participant observations. The north-east region comprises six States: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe states respectively. The study interviewed ninety respondents and six session of focus group interview in the region.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN NIGERIA

### 4.0 Introduction

### 4.1 Religious Pluralism in Nigeria

Nigeria has the largest population in West Africa, one out of every six African is a Nigerian, and this therefore makes presence of religion very visible. (World population data sheet, 2009). Of the basic religious conflict in Nigeria is the manner in which religious tradition in the country have interacted and some times the way religion is being manipulated for selfish interest of the political class. As is known the three main religions known within the society is Islam, Christianity and Indigenous religions. Islam and Christianity are more visible and prominent as having the largest followers, which becomes a centre of ethno-religious and political conflict in the country. The focus is centred on these two religions having been at the centre of conflict among its followers, with the indigenous religion contributed to large extent in shaping the practices of the two dominant religions, that is Islam and Christianity. This therefore shows that African Christianity or African Islam cannot be over looked in looking at the context upon which conflict arises within its followers, in terms of power relation and politics. Ibrahim (2000) opined that:

> Religion has been constructed in a way that encourages Nigerians to identify themselves as either Muslims or Christians.

To further explain, it should be focused that the colonial Masters developed a virtual witch hunt against all sects and pagans that demonstrated any sign of non orthodoxy, usually seen as a resistance

against the policies of the colonial masters. These practices still hold,

even after the independence up to modern day Nigeria.

## 4.2 Traditional African Values as a Religious Belief

Scholars have argued that although European and Arab values have collided

forcefully against African traditions and religions, significant practices in Africa have

continued to be governed by indigenous traditions (Olupona, 2003). Hence traditional

African values are still greatly cherished in the areas of music, dress, language, and

the rites of passage, although the modern forms have been significantly influenced by

various factors. Even in the area of worship, despite the growing influence of

Christianity and Islam, indigenous religions still thrive. Especially during life's crises,

it has been argued that Christians and Muslims usually return to the indigenous

religions for respite. In his opinion, (Olupona, 2003)

> Even today, many Christians and Muslims consult Ifa
> during…the important events of their lives.

Such consultations are made by both the educated and the uneducated; and by rural

and city dwellers alike. In fact many politicians and even fighters of guerrilla armies

are believed to be heavily reliant on traditional rituals for success and stability.

Therefore, that despite the overwhelming presence of Christianity and Islam,

indigenous religions have been resilient.

Understanding indigenous religion helps one to appreciate African life. In his

argument Kukah (1993), expressed that, "The study of African religion remains

essential to any who would understand the background and the motive forces of

African life". In their various expressions, indigenous religions in Africa are perhaps the most common trait of the African people. In real totality "Hardly can one find an African society without religion which was practiced before the advent of Islam and Christianity in Africa (Kukah 1993).

According to some scholars, the tolerant attitude of the AIRs as the 'host' religions as opposed to the conflict-laden nature of the 'guest' religions can be attributed to their understanding of the character of the Supreme Being who is believed to be tolerant of other powers. Though Supreme in power, he is able to allow deities to exist with him and operate at their own realms. In view of this, indigenous religions not only welcomed but accommodated Islam and Christianity for many centuries in Africa. Turaki described the situation thus: The ready acceptance of Western civilization, Christianity…and Islamic influences proves the fact that [indigenous Nigerian religions were] accommodative to others and should not be viewed as primitive or inferior" (Tuaraki, 1997).

Enwerem (1995) also speaks in favour of indigenous religions: As a matter of fact, it is worth noting that people in Africa were not involved in religious conflicts until the intrusion by the Islamic and Christian Religions, each claiming to possess the only true god and, consequently, each less than tolerant of other religious world views. Although the above claim may be contested, since traditional societies cannot be exonerated from their peculiar polemics, what is important is that the violent religious conflicts which have threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria have not emerged through the adherents of the indigenous religions.

The traditional African religion predates both Islam and Christianity in north east Nigeria. In its era, the religion and the society were not separated. Therefore the spirituals, the lives and activities were not differentiated. This helped to shape the ways the people adopted Islam and Christianity. While Islam and Christianity are considered to be referred as "received religion" (Langer and Brown 2008) traditional religion is considered to be indigenous.

African Traditional Religion lack written scriptures or records. That is why Fathi (2004) asserted that, it is written in all aspects of our life and that is the source of African Traditional Religion. Concepts are in liturgy, songs, and myths, folktale, proverbs and ejaculatory statements. God is believed to be one who is above any human being and he is high in heaven and can be reached their through intermediaries and supplications. That means there is a belief in a supreme deity and the worship of lesser deity that serve as agents of the supreme deity. And the cardinal tenet of Africa is traditional religion or indigenous religion is love, peace and devotion (Kwaja, 2008).

In the north east Nigeria, the traditional Africa religious communities are in the minority, and they are referred to as non-dominant faith groups. These people face discrimination, and lack access to power. They have been branded as infidels; they suffer systematic exclusion and violation of their rights and this has resulted in alienation, division, tension and conflicts. Furthermore, the north east Nigeria states are mainly populated by Muslims majority. Since 1999 when most states in the north east started the implementation of Sharia law many ethnic communities were systematically marginalized and disadvantaged (Ogoh, 2008). It is a well known fact

that the state implementation of Sharia has legalized the discrimination against minority religious belief communities, especially the traditional African religious adherents.

According to Adeyemi (2006), in the Sharia states, many traditional African religious members have been tried and convicted in courts to which none of their members can be appointed as a judge. Though the members of those who identify themselves solely as practitioner of African traditional religious has greatly declined over the last five decades, the tradition is alive and continues to have impact on the society to the extent the Africa civilization is called a "Spiritual civilization.

## 4.3 Early Development of Islam in Nigeria

Scholars are not in agreement on the specific date of the arrival of Islam in Nigeria. Islam arrived in North Africa between AD 1000 and AD1100 and gradually spread to parts of present day Northern Nigeria. By the 11th and the 15th Centuries, the earliest Islamic Kingdoms had emerged as the Kanem Borno (Kanuri) Empire and the Hausa-City States respectively. The former was ruled by Kings called Mai(s) and the later was ruled by Kings and Queens. These two kingdoms were greatly influenced by Islam from the Maghreb and by Arabian Islamic civilization (Tuaraki 1997).

 The flourishing Trans-Saharan trade became the main conduit for the spread of Islam and Arabic influences. Large trading colonies were established in Kano by merchants from Tripoli and there were flourishing trades between the Hausa people of the region and merchants from Timbuktu. Also, during this period, Muslim missionaries and scholars peacefully and quietly Islamized the region. By the 15th Century, the Hausa

City-State of Kano already had a Muslim monarch named Mohammed Rumfa (Enwerem, 1995).

The northern part of Nigeria was even before the coming of the European and Colonial Masters, has developed social, political and religious system of governance than other parts of the regions. Therefore, between the 13th and the 15th Centuries, Arabian Islamic civilization had taken deep roots in shaping the Hausa City-States. As for the Kanuri, their various Mais helped to consolidate the people of the Lake Chad regions and the satellite south into a developed concentration of Kanuri cultural identity. However, this effort was not cheaply attained as the processes included conquests, paying homage to the succeeding authorities, who demonstrated superior powers over the other regions (Falola, 1999).Consequently, he also contends that:

> By the 13th Century, the dominant state in the Western Sudan was the Borno Empire to which many of the Hausa City States paid tributes. As at this time, the political system established in the Kingdom was hybrid, including Islamic, traditional and Arab types, thus the Kanuri Kingdom prospered in its military, economic and political organization as the first Empire in Northern Nigeria.

Perhaps the triumph of the Kanuri economy at this time was due to its flourishing trade in slaves with North Africa. Slaves from the Middle Belt Regions of Adamawa, Gombe and Bauchi became the main targets of this moving Kanuri industry. Logams (2004: 34) makes a similar argument: That they were used as currency in exchange for large numbers of horses from Berber merchants of North Africa. The horses in turn were used as cavalry for the reinforcement of the Empire's military might. In this way, the Kanuri Kingdom became a dominant political unit in the Sudan. The apex of Kanuri solidarity was attained during the reign of Mohammed el-Kanemi, the stalwart monarch who resisted the penetration of the Usman Dan-Fodio jihad into the Empire.

The Hausa City-States began to develop owing to their contacts with North Africa during the Sudanese Empires of Mali, Ghana and Songhai. According to the legend of Hausa origins, the Hausa City States were a product of an exodus from Baghdad through the Borno land. Their ancestor, Abuyazidu (Bayajida), on arrival at Borno, was not allowed to stay, but was given a wife by the monarch and requested to move to the regions of Daura where he domiciled (Paden 1986). He also asserts that, the son of this marriage, Bawo, became father of seven sons known as "Hausa Bakwai" who founded the seven Hausa City States of Gobir, Kano, Rano, Zaria, Katsina, Bauchi and Daura. According to the legend, there were also seven illegitimate children who developed the States of Kebbi, Zamfara, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba and Jukun. At some point in history, the illegitimate children became mixed with the legitimate children and this led to the emergence of the Hausa City-States. Due to Islamic civilization, they became developed politically and economically like the Kanuri Kingdom. Also, like the Kanuri Kingdom, the Hausa City States were consolidated by military superiority over weaker societies. Wars therefore became their endemic feature Paden (1986).

Religion is meant to draw man closer to his creator as well as serve as a channel for communication. Again, Kukah (1993) sees religion as a belief in other than-man which influences people's relationship with others. Historically, there are three major religions in the North-Eastern Nigeria: Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion. The region is predominantly Muslim, while the Christians and African traditionalist form the minority.

Lewis and Bratton (2000) are of the opinion that religious division becomes the next phenomenon to ethnic diversity, the bases through which people adhere strictly to religious beliefs tend to decide how people react to other social issues affecting their social lives. In fact, in northern Nigeria "the two largest ethnic" groups of Fulanis and the Hausas who originally came from the northern part of Nigeria influenced the implementation of Islamic sharia legal system in 2000(Media trust, April 2000). The southern Yoruba people were considerably more prone to define themselves on the bases of ethnicity… than were the northern Hausa-Fulani …who rather opted for a religious (Muslim) identity". Nigerians are very religious people and easily ascribe everything to a supreme being. This makes religious a phenomenon a dangerous tool if left in the hands of some people who were ungodly. The belief system of religion has therefore influenced the emergence of conflict within and outside the northern Nigeria and has become a basis upon which all other interpretation of social and political events are rested and erected. Bala Usman (1984) suggested that there is manipulation of religion in Nigeria, among both the elites and the ruled, for the former, for political reasons, while the latter for blind support and strict adherence

The result is that people are easily brainwashed and now try to revere their religious leaders more than God. Why? Because, most people receive orders from such leaders some even contrary to what religion tell them to do. Karl Marx aptly captured the sensitivity of religion in his critique of Friedrich Hegel's philosophy of right when he said Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress (Das capital 1984).

## 4.4 The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio (1804-1808)

Islam came to North East Nigeria in the fifteenth century. The spread of Islam was through the activities of Islamic scholars and merchants. The spread of Islam in the area under study has political, a social and economic under-tones by the clerics and traders who spread Islam through peaceful means.

Prior to 1804, the City-States had separate monarchies. Despite the commonality in language, religion, structure of power and authority, each City-State maintained its dynasty and manoeuvred its own socio-political and military agenda in a different way from others. South of the Islamic Kingdoms of the Hausa City-States were other kingdoms in Northern Nigeria, some of which had some early Islamic influence, though not of the magnitude of the Borno Kingdom or the Hausa City-States. They include the Jukun, Igalla, Nupe, Igbirra and Idoma kingdoms. And caught between the Islamic Hausa City-States and the Middle Belt Kingdoms was a varied spread of non-Islamic groups and societies with their autonomous socio-political organizations (Boyd & Shagari 2003).

These autonomous Middle Belt groups were a legion. The 1921 census which identified about 250 "tribes" in Nigeria reported that over 200 of them belonged to this territory. They were quite distinct from the Hausa and the Kanuri people of Northern Nigeria and Islamic civilization did not penetrate them. From the above, one begins to come to terms with the magnitude of the dissimilarities in the geopolitical, cultural and religious spread of Northern Nigeria. It is from these historical antecedents that one can appreciate certain challenges to unity, not only in the Nigerian State, but also in Northern Nigeria.

The first main advancement of Islam took place between 1804 and 1808 through the jihad (holy war) of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio. Dan Fodio and his followers aimed at bringing the entire territory and its populace under the Qadiriyya order. Dan Fodio himself initially belonged to the Sufi brotherhood which was founded by one Abdul Qadir Jelani in the 12th Century. By their religious commitment, the Sufi sheikhs sought to distance themselves from extravagance, worldliness, greed, ostentation, accumulation and desire for power. They maintained a simple lifestyle and abhorred misrule and corrupt practices (Boyd & Shagari 2003).

In view of this, the oppressive, unjust and exploitative rule of the Hausa dynasties of that time became grounds for Dan Fodio's campaign. In six years of war, his movement defeated the territory which covered a vast portion of present-day Northern Nigeria. The area conquered also extended to parts of Niger Republic, Cameroun and Burkina Faso (Ibrahim & Ibrahim 2000). And although the countries of Africa had not been partitioned at this time, the independent state created by DanFodio's Islamic revivalism was significantly sizable.

Falola (1999), in his book the History of Nigeria expressed that, the victory of the jihad was widespread, but it did not cover all of Northern Nigeria. For instance, a large portion of the Hausa community known as the Maguzawa successfully resisted the jihad and continued in their traditional religions. A similar resistance was met by the jihadists when they attempted to conquer the Kanem Bornu Empire which was already a numerically dominant Islamic group. Apart from these, the jihad was unable to conquer most parts of the Middle Belt Region because it was strongly resisted by

the indigenous people, giving Islam only a partial success in the area. As such, even to the present period, the people of this region have continued to resist all that the advocates of the jihad stood for. To the South West, the jihad stopped at the outskirts of Ilorin; and it never reached the South Eastern part of Nigeria Falola (1999).

He also maintained that, to his conquest of a huge part of Northern Nigeria, Dan Fodio instituted his vision of Islamic administration on the societies and made Sokoto his capital. He and his successors firmly imposed Hausa as the lingua franca and established an unprecedented Islamic theocratic state which was administered under Sharia law. Islam spread in North East Nigeria, thanks to Shehu Danfodio's Jihad, that took place in 1804. Jihad is defined as a holy war carried out by Muslim believers in defence of the Islamic faith against unbelievers who are considered as a threat to Muslim ummah. According to Falola (1999), there were a number of jihads but the one that furthered the cause of Islam was the one led by Usman Danfodio. The sheik (Usman Danfodio) not only waged his jihad to purify the Islamic religion but also to do away with the corrupt Feudal system of the Hausa rulers of the time that suppressed and exploited their helpless subjects. It was with this mind that Danfodio and his followers gallantly fought to victory and into the history books. The jihad helped in the expansion of Islam in the North East Nigeria, more than anything else, (Paden 2008).

Tuaraki (1997) asserted that, through Jihad Danfodio was able to transform the state into an Islamic system/state. This led to the establishment of political, legal, educational, socio-cultural and social system to be based on Islamic teachings, values and concepts. The Jihad of Usman Danfodio United all the North East Nigeria and

Hausa States and dynasties and they became part of the Sokoto Caliphate administered under the Islamic law. However, since the advent of the Islamic Jihad by sheik Usman Danfodio in the Northern Nigeria region about one hundred years back there was no major attempt to revive or purify the Islamic religion in the North region until the Izala movement was formed by some Islamic Scholars led by the Late Sheik Abubakar Gumi in the late 1970's with the revival and purification of Danfodio in mind.

## 4.5 Colonial Government and the Spread of Islam

Between 1804 and 1900 when British influence became significant in Northern Nigeria, there were disparities in the development of the region. The areas which adopted Islam were more socio-politically developed than the parts which rejected it, particularly the Middle Belt. Consequently, British influence benefited the Islamic areas while the Middle Belt regions remained underdeveloped and subordinated to the Islamic societies. In spite of this, these minority ethnic groups continued largely to resist both religious and political incorporation into the Northern political society. Thus they faced political exclusion from the Northern Islamic societies and it led to serious socio-economic predicaments for them, (Falola 1999). Crowder was of the view that Islam was and is still conservative, this is why today most people from the north are still seeing what ever is to be interpreted first from the religious beliefs and values than from other perspective, and owing to the nature of background and values attached to it, make other interpretation almost impossible. Crowder 1968 therefore wrote that:

> Islam under colonial rule became a force of conservatism rather than change, as it had been in the 19th century... Administrators supported established Islam in the form of emirs and marabouts of whose loyalty, they were sure, and saw in them a dam harnessing Western ideas to African society whilst holding back what they considered its disruptive influences. Christianity, which gained only a tenth of the converts Islam did, nevertheless made a much greater impact on African society, far from trying to control the flow of ideas from the West, the missionaries positively pumped them into West Africa" (Crowder, Michael. 1968. *West Africa under Colonial Rule*. London: Huchinson University Library).

From the statement it can be seen that the Muslims even during the colonial era adhere strictly to the values and belief of Islam, more than the values and belief system of the colonial government.

## 4.6 Unification of Islamic Communities in Nigeria

 Islamic growth in Nigeria took a different dimension through the affiliation between the North West and the North-East. The Kanuri people of Kanem-Borno, who had been under the influence of Muhammad El-kanemi the great and had earlier resisted Dan Fodio's jihad and Hausa-Fulani political domination, became incorporated into the Islamic politics of the North between 1900 and 1950. During this period of colonial administration, the three political regions of Nigeria functioned independently of one another. In the North, Islam was intermixed with governance and the vision of the Northern leaders was to have a Northern Nigeria which was united as one Islamic community. Thus, the most outstanding Northern

Nigerian politician of the 1950s and early 1960s, Sir Ahmadu Bello, strove to 'win' the Middle-Belt area of the North both religiously and politically. According to Paden, the Sardauna Belle feels it is a duty to undertake conversion campaigns among the 'pagan/polytheist' communities of the north. He becomes in the eyes of many the 'leader of Muslims' (Sarkin Musulmi) that he had always aspired to within the Sokoto Caliphate (Quoted in Gwarzo, 2003).

He was so committed to this cause that when in 1959 he had the privilege of moving from the region to ascend to central power as Prime Minister, he rejected the offer, supporting Tafawa Balewa while he remained the regional Premier, to control both regional and national politics from his base in Kaduna. Thus "Bello stressed the political and religious ideas of Usman Dan Fodio as an example for his own policy

and tried to consolidate the political unity of the North in order to unite the area on a religious basis (Gwarzo, 2003).

However, the military coup of 1966, which led to the murder of Bello and the ensuing civil war, destroyed this political foundation and expansion zeal. Regions were dissolved and twelve federal states were created. This began the process of weakening the North and the emancipation of Nigeria from Northern oligarchy. In the 1950s also, there was increased agitation for the creation of a Middle Belt Region by the Northern ethnic minorities. This was due to the experience of acute inequality, deprivation and perceived marginalization. Paden concludes that, this colonial impropriety, which caused serious tensions in the North, had its roots in the pre-colonial resistance of Islam by the people of the Middle Belt. The period between 1940 and 1967 witnessed the formation of ethnic identity groups which became a part of the Middle Belt Movement. (Gwarzo, 2003)

With the death of Bello (1966), the Civil War (1967-70) and the creation of twelve states (1967), Islamic expansion through political manoeuvring became curtailed. Therefore, since the 1970s, Muslims have carried out bitter struggles to centralize Islam in the federation. Loimeier puts it thus: Muslims' insistence in acknowledging the cultural symbols of Islam and the brutality of the clashes of the 1970s and the 1980s were a sign that the Muslims in Northern Nigeria reacted with increasing awareness to the changes in the social, political and economic structure of the federation (Loimeier 1997). In other words, the increasing realization of the impossibility of having a federation patterned after the vision of the great Islamic leaders, namely, Usman Dan Fodio and Sardauna Bello, has culminated in pressures

on the nation to conspicuously accommodate Islamic symbolism. Failure to achieve this has led to brutal clashes. This phenomenon is germane for understanding the concept of ethno-religious and political conflicts in contemporary Nigeria.

**4.7 Eastern Nigeria and the Spread of Western Islam**

Scholars like Onyuibuko (1992) are of the view that among the Yoruba, there are various versions to the advent and spread of Islam. Ade Ajayi has argued that contacts between the Yoruba and Islam dated back to around the eleventh or twelfth century through Lamurudu and Oduduwa, the ancestors of the Yoruba who migrated to Ile-Ife from Mecca. This notion is prominent among historians based on oracle that the Yorubas migrated from Saudia Arabia, and through contact with the arab world has made it possible for Islam to be practiced among the Yoruba communities, like in Oyo, ondo, Ogun and even some parts of Lagos state. (Onyuibuko 1992).

Thereafter, through trade influence with the Kanuri of Borno, the Yoruba were persuaded to adopt Islam (Fathi, 2004). However, according to him it was not until after the jihad of 1804 that Islam began to have strong effects. The jihad had spread up to Ilorin through the activities of the Fulani during the reign of Afonja. From Ilorin, Islam spread to other parts of Yoruba land.

Ilorin became the gateway through which the spread Islam to Yoruba land became possible, extending to other to other Yoruba states and influencing the expansion of Islam to all the Yoruba societies. The Eastern part of the country didn't have the opportunities of receiving Islam nor allowing the penetration of Islam to the eastern part of the country. But due to influence of migration from one state to another,

particularly from the northern part of the country to the eastern part, have made Islamic presence conspicuous there. There are also Easterners who have now settled in northern Nigeria, which is a significant for understanding religious conflict in Nigeria (Gwarzo, 2003).

## 4.8 Revitalization of Islam in Northern Nigeria

One main process of Islamic expansion in Northern Nigeria has been through its revitalization/reform (tajdid) programmes. It has been argued according to Paden that, the main purpose of the jihad of 1804 was to reform the laxity of Muslims and not to convert pagans, but when it culminated in the establishment of the Sokoto Empire, Dan Fodio and his brother Abdullahi decided to officially outline the state's dogma under the Sufi brotherhood of the Quadiriyya. In spite of this effort, when Dan Fodio died in 1817, his idealistic concepts were discontinued, until they were revamped in the era of his grandson, Sir Ahmadu Bello. Before then, several systems which had been dropped, like cattle taxation called "Jangali" and other burdensome charges, were re-introduced.

These lead to a growing discontent for the Sokoto Sultanate by Hausa leaders leading to some people expressing their discontent by defecting from the Quadiriyya brotherhood to the new Tijaniyya tariqa which was established by al-Hajj Umar Tal al-Futi in the 1830s, which led to a serious reaction from the political establishment of Sokoto to the end that affiliation with Tijaniyya by emirs was punished with deportation. To Sokoto's disappointment, the emirs of Zaria, Katsina and Kano publicly affiliated them with the Tijanniyya, thus claiming quasi emancipation from the spiritual hegemony of Sokoto (Gwarzo, 2003).

Loimeier (1997) argues that, the climax of the Tijaniyya revitalization came in the 1940s under Ibrahim Niass and by the 1950s, the Tijaniyya brotherhood had metamorphosed into a strong religious movement. Because of the success of the Tijaniyya, revitalization was also started among the Quadiriya by Nasiru Kabara, a Kano-based scholar. Both Kabara and the Tijaniyya groups interpreted their movements as programmes of reform and the purification of Islam. Their activities continued into the 1960s.

In the 1970s, a new movement of Tajdid emerged under the leadership of Sheikh Abubakar Gumi (1922 -1992), former Grand Kadi of Northern region and religious adviser to Ahmadu Bello. Like Kabara and Niass, Gumi emphasized the cleansing of Islam through Islamic education. This led him to founding the Jama 'at Izalat al-Bid 'a wa-Iqamat as-Sunna (the Association for the Eradication of the Innovation and the Establishment of the Sunna; Hausa 'Yan Izala). With this new group, Gumi turned against the two Sufi brotherhoods. In order to fight a common enemy, the Quadiriyya and the Tijaniyya had to shelve their disagreement and confront the advances of the Yan Izala, the Nigerian version of radical Islamic movement. Although the fight between Gumi and the Sufi brothers brought some disunity among Muslims in Nigeria, Gumi's insistence on the education of women and their participation in politics paid off as the Sufi brothers had no choice but to join in the campaign Loimeier (1997).

Loimeier (1997) summarized the situation as follows: Through their open disputes, Abubakar Gumi and his opponents did not only achieve a greater sensitisation of

97

Muslims concerning religious issues they have also-willingly or unwillingly-contributed to a stronger politicization of Islam in Nigeria. Meaning that without doing it intentionally, both sides of the scholars have contributed in politicizing Islam in Nigeria.

The reform agenda therefore became vital agency for the re-orientation and expansion of Islam, both religiously and politically. The Sunni Islamic brotherhoods constitutes the largest followers in Nigeria, the Shiite with time were able to have a significant followers, who also contributed significantly to Islamic consciousness in Nigeria. Through their activities, the Nigerian Shiites under the Ibrahim Zakzaky and Abubakar Mujahid promoted the revolution in which society is to be radicalized for the Muslim faith, their presence increased the voice of Muslims and in a way, strengthen the faith of Islam among Muslims and bring about the emergence of young radical groups in the nation Loimeier (1997).

### 4.9 The Introduction of Izala Sect in Northern Nigeria

The Izala group is a radical indigenous Islamic movement in northern Nigeria which emerged to purify some of the traditional practices introduced to the pure teaching of Islam. The Izalatul Bid'ah Wa Iqamatus Sunnah" called Izala was popularly known as Izala among Muslims in Nigeria, and was founded by late Sheikh Ismaila Idris Zakari (Sammani 1988).

The group engaged in preaching and propagating the pure Islamic Religion in every nook and corner of North East Nigeria. The preaching activities attracted hundreds

and thousands people, young and old, educated and uneducated, the low and the high of the society Okafor (1997).

According to Lewis (2003) the programme of the Izala group became deadly opened during 1970's and 1980's. The Izala's basic aim is to practice Islam according to Sharia, to purify Islam, abolish innovation and practice Islam strictly in accordance with the prospects of the Qur'an and Sunnah in North East Nigeria. Though in the north east Nigeria, Islam is characterized by different organisations, movement, sects and societies each with its own unique ethos, interest, and programmes but all working towards the progress of Islam. Some of these include fanatics, and reformed revivalist movements.

Further, the Izala movement is essentially an anti-Sufi movement committed to the eradication of what it perceives to be innovations that are heretical and therefore un Islamic (Okafor 1997). With the advent of economic collapse in Nigeria, with its multiple consequences of unemployment and low and poor standard of living, the youths turned to radical Islam, especially in the north east. The youths massively joined the Izala movement, and there were massive preaching congregations every weekend throughout the North East. The scholars preached to the faithful, to purify Islam and follow the path of the Prophet peace be upon him in honestly and in every aspect of their life.

With the introduction of Sharia in the Northern Nigeria in 1999, the spread of Islam in north east Nigeria was made more palatable. Sharia was introduced to gain religious momentum, it implementation was a ploy calculated to unify a divisive Muslim

ummah. Izala's main aim was the purging from Islam its alleged evil local practices. The younger generation showed contempt for the practices and organization of the older generation. Sharia implementation helped Muslims overcome their internal tension.

### 4.10 The Emergence of Christianity in Nigeria

Scholars have traced the earliest attempts to establish Christianity in Nigeria to the period between the 15th and the 18th Centuries through Roman Catholic missionaries from Portugal, Italy and Belgium. But whatever took place then failed to survive. The concrete accounts of Christianity in Nigeria are therefore rooted in the various missionary attempts of the mid-19th Century. Before that time, most of the efforts to take Christianity into the area were unsuccessful, especially due to the booming slave trade.

However, when Christianity eventually penetrated the country, its journey to the North was through the South. Although the Niger Missions began their work in the North around the same time, Christianity, as it has spread in Nigeria has been more of a movement from the South to the North. Given the fact that Islam penetrated the country from North to South, the 'middle' belt of the country has been a melting pot of crisis between the two religions. In order to understand the dynamics involved in religious conflict in Northern Nigeria, it is pertinent to briefly examine how Christianity penetrated the South (Enwerem, 1995: 20).

## 4.11 How Christianity Spread in North-Eastern Region

According to Kukah (1993) Christianity came to north east Nigeria when Islam was already established. Christianity had to spread in the region by confronting an already established religion and African Traditional Religion. Apart from this, Christianity was spread mostly by white missionaries who were not used to the African whether and tropical diseases. Further, the British Colonial Government had many policies that slowed the spread of Christianity mainly in the North East Nigeria. Again the spread of Christianity was not through the use of force. Christianity did not take root in north east Nigeria until the Nineteenth Century. There were many things happening in Europe at that time that created interests in mission work, things like the industrial revolution in Europe and the end of slave trade Kukah (1993).

The Christian Missionary Society was the first mission to penetrate the interior of Nigeria due to its relationship with the British Government. The Methodist missionaries came in greater number in the 1850's. They concentrated their effort in the southern part of Nigeria and entered the northern Nigeria by 1880's. The Sudan interior Mission had north as its target for evangelism. They were the largest protestant mission to significantly convert in the north and north east in particular .Further, the Christian missionaries in the north east were able to make their converts to break completely with their past lives. Consequently, the north east people's culture were assumed to be and seen as taboos. The traditional African adherents were uprooted from their cultures and histories. In fact, the aim of the churches was to provide social services and civilize their adherents. However, they changed the convert to be like western in character.

Christianity in the north east Nigeria comes also with its forms of extremism. In the 1970's and 1980 there were conflicts and internal disputes within and between the main stream churches. For instances, the orthodox churches and the fast growing Pentecostal churches saw themselves as traitors, in the same vein Turaki (1997) asserted that:

> Religious fanaticism was not expressed in Islam alone and that it was a general feature of religion in the country. He further argued that the atmosphere of religion in the area under study is replicated in conflicts among the Christian and Muslim believers.

Again, in the north east, Christianity is the minority religion when compared to Islam is the majority. The Nigerian Government recognizes both though the constitution does not adopt either of the two as state religion; instead the constitution does allow every citizen to practice the religion he or she prefers. Various states have adopted the Sharia' law and has caused a lot of tension among non-Muslims, for the simple fact of politics and fear of been dominated (Gwarzo, 2003).

## 4.12 The Spread of Christianity in Yoruba Land

Fathi (2004) have traced the history of Christianity in Nigeria to the mid-19th century through Badagry. Quite notable during this period were the efforts of liberated former slaves who had become converted to Christianity during their stay in Europe, America and other places. Upon their settlement in Sierra Leone after the 1807 Act of Parliament on the abolition of slave trade in the British Empire, many of them traced their roots to Nigeria and brought Christianity with them (Mutombo 1996: 528). Because the largest of the seventeen nations which settled in Sierra Leone was Yoruba, many of them found their way back to Badagry, Lagos and Abeokuta. These ex-slaves saw themselves as being saved from death/slavery and given the

opportunity for a new life. Oduyoye recalled Fyfe's description of the situation as follows: "Abandoned by their own gods who had failed to protect them in their homeland, they came up from the hold of the slave ship like Jonah from the whale, cut off from their old life, ready to be reborn into a new". The Yoruba people of Nigeria referred to them as 'Saro' while in Sierra Leone, they were known as 'Aku', a derivation from Yoruba greetings (Oduyoye, 1969).

Samuel Ajayi Crowther whose work was first covered all regions regions within Nigeria, and was able to translate the bible into Yoruba language in the south western Nigeria, he was to introduced the first Christian worship in the Yoruba language in Freetown on Sunday, January 3, 1844. This is because of his interaction with the first missionaries, and he has succeeded in entrenching Christianity in the southern part of Nigeria (Onwubuko, 1967).

Modern missionary enterprise in Nigeria according to Onwubuko (1967) commenced in the founding of a Methodist Mission in Badagry through the efforts of Thomas Birch Freeman and William de Graft a Fante Christian, in 1842. It was Freeman who went to Abeokuta in answer to the invitation of some freed slaves who had returned there. This debunked the speculations that Christianity was imposed upon a reluctant people by missionaries.

Actually, modern missionary movement in Nigeria began before the arrival of the European missionaries and at the behest of the infant congregations begun by freed African slaves who were in many parts of West African regions. Abeokuta was a central place of settlement for most of the freed slaves and Badagry was important

because it was a sea port of arrival for the returnees, this therefore made it possible for the freed slave in the western region to aid in the spread of Christianity (Onwubiko, 1967).

The CMS (Church Missionary Society) also established a post at Abeokuta in 1846 through the combined efforts of Rev Henry Townsend and Rev Samuel Ajayi Crowther.

However, effort to convert the Badary people met with little success as the people were deeply interested in the slave trade, which the missionaries stood against. From Abeokuta, the CMS moved to Ibadan in 1852. In 1850, Thomas Jefferson Bowen, an American Baptist missionary, arrived through Badagry. By 1855, he had a mission post in Ogbomoso. Christian influence in Lagos was not as early as in Abeokuta. This was because the freed slaves who first returned avoided Lagos where slave trade was still going on, Oduyoye (1996).

Mutombo (1996) expressed that in 1851; the British force bombarded Lagos and deposed Kosoko, the king, who was a notorious slave driver. Akintoye was made to sign a treaty of ending slave trade and thereafter, reinstated as the king of Lagos. It was at this time that the missionaries began to penetrate Lagos. The CMS, Methodist and Baptist missions were the earliest Christian influence on Lagos. Afterwards, thousands of emigrants from Sierra Leone, Cuba and Brazil entered Lagos, bringing the different strands of Christianity. The spread of Christianity in the Yoruba land has had a significant bearing on Christianity in Northern Nigeria. For instance the spread of Baptist Christianity in Northern Nigeria has been significantly carried out by Yoruba traders and civil servants who found themselves as settlers in the North. Their

entrance into the core north predates the advent of Western Baptist missionaries. In every major city in Northern Nigeria, prominent Yoruba speaking Baptist congregations are found. These Churches in turn have helped to establish indigenous and 'English' speaking Churches in the North. They have also had great influence on Northern Nigerian education through their primary and secondary schools/colleges. This kind of influence of the Yoruba Churches is not limited to the Baptist, but also found among The Anglican Methodist Catholic, Presbyterian and the African Independent Church (AIC) Churches which are spread all over Northern Nigeria Mutombo (1996).

## 4.13 The Niger Mission of Christianity in Northern Nigeria

Northern Nigeria is a very diverse area, not only in topography and climate, but also in traditions, cultures and religions. Studies by Onyibuko (1967) show that even though Christian missionary works of the mid 19th Century, they were concentrated in the South; interest in penetrating Northern Nigeria had always been nursed. According to Ayandele (1979), Northern Nigeria was of a special romantic and strategic interest for Christian missions. There was the advantage of healthy highlands contrasting with the prostrating coastal areas. Moreover the writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden, the well known pan-Africanize Negro missionary of Liberia, whose authority on Islam was respected, made missionaries sanguine on the possible conversion of the inhabitants of Northern Nigeria Ayandele (1979).

Blyden emphasized time and again that Christianity could easily incorporate Islam, for Muslims were already half-Christians, Christianity in Northern Nigeria is traced to the beginning of colonization. While British intrusion into Africa after the abolition of

the slave trade was primarily to find markets for their new industries, there were also churchmen who had genuine evangelistic motives for the region. One of such Churchmen was Henry Venn, Secretary of the CMS between 1841 and 1872. The CMS, based in London, had a considerable influence on the British Government. (Onyibuko 1977)

For Venn (1977) he looked forward to the evangelization of the interior with the anticipation of establishing a "self-governing", "self-supporting", and "self-extending" Church. It all began in 1840 when people in Great Britain who claimed to have an interest in Africa came together to form the Society for the Extinction of Slave Trade and Civilization in Africa. The society mounted pressure on the British Government to develop Africa through an alternative export system to Slave Trade and through the propagation of Christianity. This led to the expedition of three ships to the Niger in 1841, popularly called the First Niger Expedition.

Among those on the trip was Rev J.F. Schon of the CMS and Samuel Ajayi Crowther, then a young catechist: an indication of a strong connection between the British Government and the CMS. Its purpose was to introduce sustainable and legitimate trade to the basin of Rivers Niger and Benue and to establish a Model Farm at their confluence. Unfortunately this trip was hampered by the illness and death of many of the voyagers due to malaria and other strange illnesses. Consequently, the Model Farm was a failure and no mission station was established Venn (1977).

Despite these discouragements, Schon (1977) would not be deterred. Rather, he pressed for the training of African evangelists and this led to the establishment of a

Training College in Freetown in 1842. This school became as famous as the Fourah Bay College in Freetown where Samuel Crowther had enrolled as the first student in 1827 and afterwards worked as teacher. The pioneer students of this Training College were occupied with various language studies which were considered needful for the evangelistic task of the Niger area. Crowther learned and specialized in his native Yoruba, Schon studied Hausa, Archdeacon Henry and Rev C. Paul learned Nupe, P.J. Williams learned Igbirra and S.W. Koelle studied Kanuri.

In 1843, Crowther was ordained in London as the first Anglican priest of Sierra Leone and afterwards, posted to Yoruba land as a missionary. In 1854, through a joint venture of Macgregor Laird and the British Government, another expedition was made to the Niger which was more successful than the first. The purpose of the mission was to establish legitimate trade and to introduce the Christian religion into the Niger and Benue areas. A third expedition took place in 1857 in a combined effort of the Government, the CMS and several commercial interests (Onwubiko, 1967).

At this time the All-African Niger Mission was founded and Crowther became head. It was also at this time that Crowther secured permission to establish a station at Igbebe, near Lokoja. In 1862, eight adults and a child were baptized there, signifying the first baptismal ceremony in Northern Nigeria. In 1864, Crowther was consecrated Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions.

Though he resided in Lagos and his southern work was more successful, Crowther spent a substantial amount of time moving around from the Delta to Nupe land. The CMS missionaries continued to work in partnership with the Royal Niger Company

(RNC) until 1900 when the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was proclaimed. Sir Fredrick Lugard was appointed the first High Commissioner and from that time, the RNC became limited to solely commercial activities (Onwubiko 1967).

The missionary activities according to Ibrahim, (2005) moved through Jebba to Zaria where the Emir warmly welcomed the missionaries. It happened that this Emir had already incurred the displeasure of the Sultan of Sokoto and so the coming of the British was perceived by him as divine intervention on an impending dethronement. Exhilarated by the warm reception in Zaria, the missionaries advanced to Kano where Emir Aliyu treated them in the most contemptuous way. He sent them away from Kano and they barely escaped with their lives. On their return, the missionaries remained for some time at Girku but in 1905, they returned to Zaria where they remained for many years for their work to slowly develop. Upon their return to Zaria, the warm reception they had initially received from the Emir had disappeared.

In the Zaria district, not up to twenty converts were made by the CMS missionaries between 1900 and 1914. However, there was a small group of Muslims living in a village some 25 miles from Zaria who had earlier converted to a form of Christianity, following the teaching of one Arabic scholar called Mallam Ibrahim. He asserts that it:

> Their lives were at a stake in the market place in Kano by Muslims on the charge of blasphemy in 1867. Based on what he claimed to be (Adamu 2005) his in-depth study of the Koran, Ibrahim upheld the superiority of Isa (Jesus) over all the other prophets including Mohammed. After his death, his scattered disciples continued to uphold his teachings even though they were greatly persecuted by Muslims. Known as "The Children of the Israelites" (or Isawa), about 160 members of this group made contact with Dr. Walter Miller in Zaria in 1913. In 1914, Miller and the Isawa found a new settlement at Gimi, but they were soon be fallen by the tragedy of

sleeping sickness in 1919 which practically eliminated the adults
(Ibrahim 2005).

The older boys and girls of this community were taken to the CMS School in Zaria and together with other converts in the area, became the nucleus of the Church in Hausa land. Some of the products of these missionary efforts include Dr. R.A.B. Dikko, the first Northern Nigerian Medical Doctor, Prof. Ishaya Audu, and the first Nigerian Vice Chancellor of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Dr. (General) Yakubu Gowon, former Nigerian Head of State and Miss Maude Miller, first Northern Nigerian lady to become a school principal (Ibrahim, 2009).

Despite the disappointment which missionaries met with in Kano, their work reached several parts of Northern Nigeria. The Toronto Industrial Mission was allowed to occupy Pategi in 1899 and together with the CMS; they were warmly received in Bida. In 1905, The Mennonite Brethren of the USA were allowed to begin work in Kontagora for missionary work. The mission was unable to take advantage of the opportunity due to lack of personnel (Onyubiko 1977).

Thomas Jefferson Bowen attempted to penetrate through Ilorin in order to established Mission in Northern Nigeria. In 1855, he visited the Emir from Ogbomosho and requested permission to live there. The Emir refused to grant him permission, insisting that the missionary should only visit him from Ogbomosho with that, the early Baptist missionary move into the North was stalled. They therefore decided to become from Ogbomosho, and stalled the missionary activities in northern Nigeria (Ibrahim 2005).

The extended development of Christian congregations in the Muslim North came during the amalgamation of northern and southern protectorate to have what is called Nigeria today, it was during this period that Christianity started gaining access to Northern Nigeria, and in a way paves ways for the expansion of Christianity among the minority ethnic groups.

Southerners having advantage of early contact with western education, they were employed by government and posted to work in the North. Consequently, Christian places of worship developed all over the North. However, most of the Churches were restricted to the

Sabon gari (new towns) designated for settlers. By 1961, there were 33 Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) mission stations in Kano, Kastina and Sokoto Provinces but only few Hausa people attended. Also, the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) had large congregations in the North while the Sudan United Mission (SUM) worked in Maiduguri among the Kanuri. Thus in the core of Northern Nigeria, the majority of Christians were immigrants. In Central Nigeria the SIM, led by Bingham around 1900, and the SUM, under German Karl Kumm, had a fertile ground to blossom and flourish. The SUM decided to make it a policy to work among the 'pagan' tribes of Northern Nigeria, even though there was a disaster initially , and they succeeded in establishing about 550 foreign missionaries and major stations by 1958 within the various ethnic groups, with even local languages of the ethnic minorities (Ibrahim, 2005).

SIM became known as Evangelical Church of Western Sudan (ECWS) and later, Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA). SUM metamorphosed into Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN or EKAN, Ekkilisian Kristi a Nigeria). Some of the ethnic groups that first became Christians were greatly instrumental in the conversion of others to Christianity. The move towards Christianity in this area was greatly spurred by awareness of the value of Western education and the attraction of modern life. Christianity blossomed greatly in Central Nigeria after Nigerian independence in 1960. Kalu (1980) argues that the spread of Christianity in this area thus: The fact was that the Jihad of 1804 did not conquer all of the communities in the north; many un-Islamized ethnic groups became Christian under the evangelical missionary impulse of the Sudan United, Sudan Interior Missions, and Dutch Reformed Christian Mission. Among the Tiv, the most populous Middle Belt group, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa arrived in 1911 but made no noticeable impact for decades due to its emphasis on the Tiv language. Therefore, when the Catholic Church came around 1930, it established several schools and taught in English. After a few decades, this approach appeared convincing to the people (Kalu, 1980).

**4.14 The Coming of Christianity to Ibo Land**

Among the Igbo, some liberated African slaves from Sierra Leone made a significant impact. This was apparent when Crowther arrived in Igbo land from the Yoruba land in 1857. It was also a time when the city states of the region had been divided by many wars. Crowther moved his capital to Onitsha and was assisted by John Christopher Taylor, an impressive counterpart and a Sierra Leonean of Igbo origin (Boer 2004).

The Missionaries relied heavily on the provision of education as a tool for converting the people into Christianity and ensured a good relationship with the rulers and elders of the people. It was 1885, that the arrival of two French Catholic missions brought a great challenge to the 30 years' domination of the CMS on the Niger. Although this led to some unhealthy rivalry between the two missionary organizations, Christian missions and education grew rapidly in Eastern Nigeria. Churches that later penetrated the region include the Presbyterian, Methodist and Qua Ibo missions (Boer 2004).

**4.15 Convergence of Politics into Islam in Northern Nigeria**

In Nigeria, Islam has a clear, long intermix with politics as shown in the Dan Fodio Jihad; this can be traced back to the establishment of the emirate system of Governance in the days of Danfodio, and his successors. Who, after the coming of the colonial masters, were used to develop the indirect rule system and is later used to consolidate the ruling class, through the use of religion to justify their position (Charles 1997).

On the other hand, despite Islamic and Hausa/Fulani hegemony in Northern Nigeria, Enwerem (1995) identified three significant events that caused Christianity to threaten the Islamic ruling class in the wake of Nigerian partisan politics. First, a group of educated, northern Christians was emerging, who were products of missionary efforts from the non-Muslim regions of Northern Nigeria and the thought of non Muslim Northerners possessing such education was enough to send fears into the Muslim North. Second, these educated Christian Northerners emerged with unprecedented political ambition. For instance, Dr. Dikko, a Fulani Christian, founded the Jamiyar

Mutanen Arewa (JMA-Association of Northern People). Thus, the prospect that Northern Christians would rule over Muslims was inconceivable to the Northern rulers (Enwerem, 1995).

Third, there was the emergence of anti-authority politics in the 1940s; an example of this was Sa'adu Zungur, who had been influenced by radicalism during his studies at the Yaba College of Technology. He became the father of radical politics in Northern Nigeria and his group produced figures like Mallam Aminu Kano, Abubakar Zukogi and Mallam Lawan Danbazzau. Through them, the first political party of Northern Nigeria was organized under the name Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). Among these people were commoners (talakawa) who joined to stand against injustices in the Northern emirate. Going by the prevailing Northern aristocracy, this political party was a major threat (Enwerem, 1995).

In handling their opposition, the rulers quickly dislodged NEPU politicians by accusing them of un-Islamic practices. Their interactions with the Christian South were projected as fraternity with infidels (Kafirai). Also, with the aid of the British, Dikko's political organization was hijacked and changed into the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and Dikko himself was removed from the mainstream. The Sultan of Sokoto became the patron of the party and Sir Ahmadu Bello, grandson of Usman Dan Fodio became the party leader. Following the advice of Sharwood Smith, the Governor of the North in the 1950s, the party brought in indigenous Northern Christians in order to give a united front of "One North" against the South. This strategy led the NPC to assume the leadership of the country's first post-colonial government and to entrench religious politics into the Nigerian system. Between 1960

and 1966, Northern Nigerian politics was dominated by the religious charisma of the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello; the Premier of the region.

According to Enwerem (1995), Ahmadu Bello's politics "emanated from, revolved around, and rebounded from his sincere religious conviction and commitment. His idea was different from what politicians from the South conceived as important. While for Southern politicians, independence gave room for Nigerians to be ruled by Nigerians, the Hausa-Fulani class wanted Nigerians to be ruled by Nigerians as approved by the Hausa-Fulani ruling class, which was Islamic. For Bello, the task he saw before him was not merely to put in place the pre-colonial Islamic rule, but to complete the jihad which was considered to have been interrupted by British colonization to Enwerem (1995).

Therefore, Kenny (1996) opined that, in the North, Bello sought to harmonize the entire people of the region under Islamic leadership. To actualize this programme, he started a number of Islamic organizations, notably the JNI (Jamaatu Nasril Islam – Society for the Victory of Islam) which began in 1962/3. The Jamaatul Nasril Islam was an organization of Northern Muslim intelligentsia which was founded for the expansion of Islam and the teaching of Islamic doctrines. All the Caliphate Emirs, Muslim Parliament members and top Government officials were invited to the inaugural meeting in Kaduna in August, 1963 (Kenny 1996).

Through government and philanthropic donations, the organization was established. The Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian governments donated generously for its launch. The post of President General went to Sir Ahmadu Bello and the first Nigerian Prime

Minister, Tafawa Balewa, promised the organization a donation of £1 million although his administration collapsed before this was actualized. Despite the proclamation of JNI as a body for religious matters, it soon became manifest that its goal was equally political. Thus, it became an agent of the political struggle of the North against the South. After the coup of January 1966, JNI was shaken by the death of Bello, but continued to mobilize Muslims in the country for Islamic and political activities. In 1973, it spread South among Yoruba Muslims, merging with the West Joint Muslim Organization (WESIOMO) to form the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), and yet retaining its identity as JNI in the North. As a group, it has manifestly stood in opposition to CAN, particularly in the North. JNI and NSCIA jointly promoted the cause of Nigerian membership in the OIC and mobilized huge propaganda efforts in defence of government on the issue (Kenny, 1996).

Between 1967 and 1975 when Gowon was Head of State, Muslims succeeded in their political manoeuvres. Having won the Civil War in 1970 against the Igbo who were predominantly Christians, the victory of the federal troops was seen as a Muslim victory by the Muslims (Kenny, 1996).

During his reign, Christian institutions were taken over by the government, and Pilgrims' Boards were set up exclusively for Muslims. However, the creation of the twelve states in 1967 was seen as emancipation from Hausa hegemony, particularly in the Benue-Plateau State (Enwerem, 1995). Thus J.D. Gomwalk, the Military Governor of the state, sought southern assistance in the establishment of the University of Jos and the Nigerian Standard newspaper as opposed to the suggestions of Ahmadu Bello University and the New Nigeria press respectively, both of which

were already perceived as agencies of Hausa-Fulani manipulation. These factors help to understand present-day conflicts (Enwerem, 1995).

## 4.16 Convergence of Christianity and Politics in Northern Nigeria

The main entrance of Christians into modern Nigerian politics began in the first half of the twentieth century. At this time, both Southerners living in the North and the non-Islamized Northerners felt marginalized by the Hausa/Fulani hegemony and 'Northern System' of government. In view of this situation, the Northern Christian minorities and their missionary partners sought ways to survive in the hostile environment (Kukah, 1993) through ecumenical meetings. After preliminary meetings in 1910 and 1913, a major one was held in 1948 at Bukuru where the various Churches of the North came together to form what has been described as a Northern Christian Movement.

The main decision of this meeting was for Christians to begin to raise the political consciousness of their people and to mobilize them against the political manipulations of the Islamic ruling class of the North. With that development, Northern Christians were encouraged to participate on the main stage of the Nigerian political drama. (Kukah, 1993)

Another phase of Christianity and politics in Nigeria is tied to the Nigerian Civil War. On January 15, 1966, a military coup organized mainly by Christian officers, led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu, toppled the first republic and brought to power General Aguiyi Ironsi, the most senior army officer, also a Christian. In what he claimed to be an attempt to dissolve the ethnic divides which had characterized the first republic,

Ironsi introduced the unitary system, disbanding the regions. His Unification Decree of 1966 was viewed by a cross-section of Nigerian Muslims as a plot by Southerners to subordinate the North to Christianity. Although this claim was denied by Ironsi, he could not convince his accusers of a non-religious interpretation of the unitary system. Six months later, in July of the same year, Ironsi was assassinated in another coup led this time by Northern officers. During this saga, the indiscriminate killing of Southern officers, mainly Igbo, and the tensions which arose thereafter, culminated in the Nigerian Civil War Under the leadership of Colonel Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the Biafrans, predominantly Christians, fought unsuccessfully for thirty months to secede from Nigeria on the grounds of marginalization and inequitable treatment in the allotment of national wealth (Kukah, 1993).

The Biafra's saw themselves as both Christian and anti-Muslim, and publicly declared their stand, drawing from the manner of Sir Ahmadu Bello's pre-1966 militant Islamic pronouncements. Thus, during the war, an overwhelming support for the Biafran side came from the WCC, the Catholic International Relief Agency and major Church organizations in Western Europe and North America who saw a religious angle to the whole conflict.

Also, The Economist magazine reported: "the Christian East was being subjugated by Muslim Nigeria in a final jihad" Thus, although the Nigerian Civil War was fought due to a combination of factors, there were definitely strong religious undertones to it, this was of the strong belief by the non Muslims on the notion that Muslims are dominating the helm of political affairs (Economist 2011).

The civil war events therefore portend a major convergence of religion and politics in Nigeria. Under Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian Southerner and former military ruler, religion became more conspicuous and activism increased. This caused the period to be characterized by numerous acts of ethno-religious violence. Several factors are responsible for the sudden political awakening among Christians in Nigeria. They include: increase in religious violence against Christians, perceived Muslim domination of power, the unjust distribution of the country's wealth, the inclusion of Nigeria in the OIC, the threat of the inclusion of the Sharia in the constitution and the posture of northern Nigerian politics. More than anything else, these factors have increased the political consciousness of Christians in the nation (The Economist, 2011).

In view of this, Christian Association of Nigeria and its auxiliaries took a radical stand from a state of apathy to that of conscious involvement in politics. Through the years, CAN become the major Christian agency of political mobilization. Although the organization started in 1976, by 1986 its activities had become very well known in the country. Kalu has identified major contributions of the Pentecostal brand of Christianity to this larger Christian body in Nigeria (Kukah, 1993).

According to Kukah (1993), the Pentecostal group in Nigeria significantly prompted CAN into political consciousness and helped to put an end to the ambivalent disposition of the mission Churches to the question of Christian involvement in partisan politics. The Christian environment soon became charged with what Kalu described as 'a political theology of engagement'. CAN also debunked earlier missionary teachings which encouraged Christians to shun politics and began to

campaign for active Christian participation, reminding them that they were ambassadors of Christ and of God on earth. According to CAN:

> The Christian is a citizen of heaven but also an ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ here on earth, in this capacity he is expected to be light to a dark world and salt to a sour community. Christians as a community in Nigeria have failed in their ambassadorial responsibilities (Quoted in Kukah, 1993).

Churches and pastors became more politically conscious and this ignited a strong political awakening among Nigerian Christians. In view of this, CAN have tirelessly been in battle with government, particularly in the North, whenever anti-Christian attitudes are perceived. A portion of one CAN publication in 1988 gives a summary of one of the struggles of CAN against the anti-Christian ethos as follows:

> Our schools and colleges have been taken over by government and yet we see schools and colleges established under the umbrella of another religion Islam being sponsored and entirely administered by government; we have been denied access to the use of the electronic media in certain parts of the country and yet another religion Islam has the monopoly of rendering a near 24-hours religious broadcast in the same areas; some States have deliberately refused to accept and recognize the growing population of Christians in the Stat. (Quoted in Kukah, 1993).

CAN made public the one-sided manner in which appointments of people into top government offices were made since the inception of the nation. This was instigated by Babangida's reshuffle of his cabinet in December 1989, filling it mainly with Muslims. Also, on January 11, 1990, a massive protest was organized by the Northern branch of CAN on the exclusion of Christians from the country's central administration. In these protests, thousands of Christians in Kaduna, Jos, Yola and Bauchi marched in peaceful demonstration.

However Fathi, (2004) argue that, there were counter arguments which claimed that the administrations of Shagari, Buhari and Babangida were dominated by Christians and that before the restructuring of Babangida's cabinet, sixteen out of the nineteen ministers in his AFRC were Christians.

Until the coming into office of Obasanjo in 1999, the Aso (Rock) Villa, seat of the federal government of Nigeria, had three mosques without any provision for Christian worship. Both Babangida and Abacha had lived there under those circumstances. Christians in Nigeria took this to mean that the designers of the citadel did not anticipate a Christian President for Nigeria. Obasanjo's erection of the Aso Villa Chapel therefore remains a singular activity of lasting impression for Christians in Nigeria. However, perhaps eclipsing the Aso Villa Chapel is Obasanjo's effort in ensuring the completion of the National Christian Centre which for many years stood uncompleted. It was dedicated on October 2, 2005 with President Obasanjo in attendance (Fathi, 2004)

Therefore, politics and religion have converged for mutual patronage in Nigeria. As far as Christianity is concerned, political naivety appears to be a thing of the past and by the same reason (Fathi 2004). One can predict that the future political space will continue to be charged with Christian active presence. However, in spite of invaluable benefits derived from the admixture of politics and religion, the interaction between the two remains a source of religious conflict in Nigeria.

## 4.17 The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)

In 1986, the Organisation of Islamic Conference for the first time made a special entry of Nigeria into its membership, after 21 years of its establishment. Nigeria was finally registered as a member state by the Babangida administration. The aim of the OIC According to Kenny (1996) is:

> To unite Islamic nations politically and economically Member nations are required to pay their membership dues and also have the opportunity of interest-free loans. While in his view Falola, asserted that "The creation of the OIC was a part of a larger movement to create a strong Islamic forum for discussing development and fighting the West. (Kenny 1996).

The move to obtain Nigeria's membership of this organization had been there from the onset, but it was with so many rejections by the non Muslims as seen it as an attempt to turn the country into an Islamic nation (Kenny1996). In 1969, Nigeria was invited to the Morocco meeting but General Yakubu Gawon, wrapped up in the Nigerian Civil War, sent a delegation of observers.

The Morocco meeting was specifically informed that the Gumi-led delegation was representing only the Muslim population, not the state of Nigeria. All other previous leaders rejected the invitation of the OIC to joined, with the exception of Babangida who surreptitiously pushed the country into the organization. Nigeria was registered as 46th member as carried out by a French news agency in January 1986. To the amazement of non Muslims in Nigerians, key institutions and personalities who should have been able to speak on the issue were dumbfounded (Kenny, 1996).

Even the second in command of the junta, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, told the nation in a public statement that he was unaware of the decision, which most people

concluded was the reason for his removal from office a few weeks after President Babangida claimed the matter had been discussed by the AFRC, but the Chief of Staff denied that information. For a long time the nation was in the dark on this issue and up till now, it is in doubt whether any public report of Nigerian membership has been confirmed or denied. At an early stage, the editor of New Nigeria wrote: The Federal government has yet to confirm or deny the story of our admission. It would appear as if discussions were not held on a matter as sensitive as this and that is worrying. If it is true that Nigeria is a member the government should not fight shy of saying so. For most Nigerians, New Nigeria newspaper is perceived as pro-government and pro-North. If OIC membership remained shrouded to its editor, then to the rest of Nigerians, only ignorance of the matter could be assured. (Kenny 1996)

The OIC issue led to national crisis as leaders of the two main religions responded predictably. While the Christian leaders called for an immediate withdrawal from the organization, Muslim leaders hailed its continuation. People like Peter Y. Jatau, the Catholic Archbishop of Kaduna, Professor Aluko, the renowned Nigerian economist, and Tanko Yusuf, all publicly reminded the government of the unconstitutionality of the decision taken, based on the 'secular' status of the country.

However, these appeals fell on deaf ears. Several Church groups also reacted to the country's OIC membership and called for immediate withdrawal. According to Falola (1999) explained that,

> The Catholic bishops felt that the OIC issue had soured the relations between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria, making it difficult to build a united country based on equity social justice, and respect for human rights regardless of religion. The bishops were disappointed that the government had even admitted to OIC membership without acknowledging that it should have consulted the public before joining.

They affirmed without any ambiguity that 'we do not and shall not agree to Nigeria's membership of the OIC'. It dismissed all the government's justification as unconvincing (Falola, 1999).

However, many Muslims stood in firm justification of Babangida's administration and called on Christians to be tolerant of the development. Also, Dr Lateef Adegbite, the General Secretary of the NSCIA confirmed Nigeria's full membership of the organization. Sometime later, News Exchange reported Nigeria's withdrawal from the OIC but the government of Abacha announced in April 1998 that Nigeria was a full member. Among Christians in Nigeria, there was great suspicion of foul play in Nigeria's OIC membership. Numerous documents were circulated, the truth of which could neither be denied nor verified. People were left to draw conclusions in ways they found suitable. This led to a period of tension and religious crises in the country. Falola (1999) said:

> In every way, Nigeria's entry into the OIC turned out to be a costly miscalculation. The resulting controversy polarized the country along the religious divide more than had any other issue in Nigerian history.

In another account, Falola (1999) said:

> Babangida clandestinely pushed the country into the organization. A period of prolonged tension followed as Christians interpreted the move to turn the country into an Islamic state. In later years, Christians and Muslims engaged in major clashes in a number of cities.

Supporting this view Falola (1999) also expressed that, this new alliance (OIC) re-emphasized Christians and Muslims. Extreme rioting and violence between these two religious communities escalated during the 1980s and the 1990s. Thus the OIC issue becomes a valid foundation for religious tensions in Nigeria. Falola described the indeterminate state of the OIC issue as follows: To this day, the government has been

walking on tightrope on the OIC issue; in order to satisfy Muslims, it has not officially withdrawn its membership; and to satisfy Christians, it has refused to play an active role in the OIC or to advertise its participation in the organization…al-Shari'a is not applied nationally, and Nigeria continues to be officially a secular state. Christians remain convinced that the Islamic intelligentsia has not given up its agenda of Islamization and the power centred manipulation of religious issues. With most outstanding issues unresolved, opportunities for violence and aggression are legion.

From the above one can feel the pulse of the twin Islamic symbols of Shari'a and OIC, dangerously ignored, like some explosives, awaiting either detonation or defusing.

## 4.18 Conclusion

Various stages of ethnic and religious transformation were discussed, using the works of different scholars, who laid the foundation for the study of how politics and religion are used for political and economic reasons; activities of Islamic civic associations in Northwest of Nigeria was used to buttress the argument of ethnic and religious conflict. Sharia and Christianity in Nigeria: Islam and a "secular" state, from this article, it has been shown how right from the time of Danfodio up to colonial and post colonial era, how divergent views are used to show the struggles and conflicting views of different faith and beliefs and how it affect peaceful co-existence by the followers.

From foregoing, it can be argued that there are several background contexts to ethno-religious and political conflicts in Nigeria, particularly north-eastern region of

Nigeria. They include the manipulation of the Nigeria's religious plurality; ethnicity, colonialism, religious politics, politics of Sharia, Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), international religious and political issues. These factors are not exhaustive and sometimes they are inseparable. However, by considering them separately, both the potency of each factor and the dynamic ways in which the factors intermix for conflict generation could be seen.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

## 5.0 Introduction

The primary purpose of this qualitative study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the ethno-religious and political conflict in north eastern Nigeria from 2000-2007. Chapter 3 presented the proposed qualitative method for this study. It included a description of the qualitative research design and the appropriateness of this methodology. This chapter presents themes that are gleaned from the primary source, review of the secondary existing data and a review of literature. The goal is to capture the views, assessments, and insights into the issue of ethno-religious and political conflict.

The data is presented to help readers and potential researchers analyze and draw their own conclusions regarding the procedures used and the themes and patterns that emerged herein. The researcher conducted a thorough review of the secondary existing data from 2000-2007 from several sources in order to triangulate and converge themes and patterns. Singleton and Straits (2005) indicated the variety of existing data was large, and it is only limited by the researcher's imagination, Singleton & Straits (2005).

## 5.1 Data Collection and Analysis

This study employed the use of both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected, and in addition, all data collected are available to the general public. Furthermore, this study was guided by the following research questions:

i) What are the factors responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts in the study area?

ii) To what extent has ethno-religious and political conflicts led to social disruption in the region?

iii) What are the challenges militating against the effective management of ethno-religious and political conflicts in north east region?

iv) To make recommendations for better relationship among the adherents of ethnic and religious groups in the north east region.

The secondary data were gathered from the review of documented literature that includes articles, books, documents, peer-reviewed journals and public records as related to the ethno-religious and political conflict. This data-collection method used a triangulation of sources to ensure validity and mitigate bias. Yin (2003) contends here that, the advantage of this technique is the use of variety of data. In triangulation, the investigators can use various sources, methods, investigations, and theories to provide corroborating evidence (Creswell, 1998).

The use of both primary and secondary sources of data provided the researcher with the best information to study the causes of ethno-religious and political conflict in north-east Nigeria. Using both primary and secondary sources of data afforded the researcher the opportunity to use large amounts of data, thus increasing the reliability of the findings and further enhancing the validity of the results. According to Singleton and Straits (2005), the use of secondary existing data allows for replication of observation, and in turn increasing the sample size. In addition, this approach is the most cost-effective in terms of time and personnel for the researcher.

The literature review revealed the genetic makeup of Nigeria through an overview of its historical amalgamation by the British; Nigerian leadership; Nigerian public-sector makeup; ethnic, tribal, religious differences; cultural and political conflicts (Mustapha, 2009; Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, 2006; Lawal & Tobi, 2006). Nigeria has been plagued by tribal and ethnicity issues that have contributed to leadership difficulties, the insidious military interventions, and corruptions. According to the World Bank (2003), the leadership difficulties relating to the administration of Nigeria, governance, and economic and social development remains a problem. Yin (2003) concludes that when a case study is used in different conditions it eases the understanding of the whole phenomenon. With the tremendous amount and variety of secondary existing data available, the researcher was guided by the research questions under investigation along with reference to relevant literature on ethno-religious and political conflicts.

A pilot study was first conducted for a month in Yobe State in January 2010. Personal contact was established during the pilot study with traditional rulers, religious leaders, politicians (stakeholders), security agencies and leaders of Youth organisations. The aim of the first visit was to get access to the participants as permission from both parties was needed. The pilot study helped the researcher to refine data collection plans, the content of data required, and procedures to be followed (Yin, 1994). Used in conjunction with an ongoing review of relevant literature, a pilot study is useful for developing the research design (Yin, 1994; Maxwell, 1996).

The pilot study involved semi-structured interviews; collection of written materials, especially materials on the causes of conflict, reports produced by religious leaders, and direct observations. Further readings on case study methods were done after the pilot study to better understand field-based research. Particular attention was also paid to the processes involved in the root cause and management of conflict. Data was grounded in context; it consisted of description and explanations gathered from the participants in the study area. The processes of gathering and analysing data were unstructured in the beginning. The interview questions in Appendix A were used as the basis. They were often refined and rephrased during the process of gathering information.

## 5.2 The Sharia Conflicts

Sharia criminal law unsettles the frameworks for accommodating religious convictions in public policy under liberal legality in Nigeria. The accommodation began with colonialism and continued after independence until in 1999, at the advent of civil rule after many years of military dictatorship.

Governor Ahmed Sani of Zamfara State was the first to introduce the extended sharia in 1999 in Northern Nigeria who works to redraw the structure of the relationship between religion and politics in Nigeria. The Governor campaigned on the banner of the restoration of Islamic justice a populist theme that resonated among the poor and oppressed people of Zamfara who had become disenchanted with the malfunction civil law system.

In 2000, the Sharia Penal Law of Zamfara state came into effect. The law created different Sharia courts with full criminal jurisdiction to try offences ranging from trivial crimes like possession, sale and drinking of alcoholic beverages to other more serious offences like prostitution and adultery. The law recognized a guild of Islamic clerics who could act as judges of Sharia courts and grants them power to award the death penalty stoning in the case of adultery by a married or divorced woman. The role of the public prosecutor was more or less performed by a vigilante group set up by the Governor the Hisba command otherwise called the "Sharia Police". Many other states at the last count eleven states in the north have followed the path of introducing Sharia criminal laws. In effect, legal dualism in Nigeria has taken a trajectory contiguous to its geo-political dualism.

Sharia legal system and the incursion of religion into political programme were dangerous to the stability of the region. The responses as to how the conflict started were in the form of storytelling, or narrative form. Interviewees were asked to explain in their own words how the conflict started. The five major themes emerged from these responses in the region. The main theme in both areas was ethno-religious intolerance and the second one was economic hardship, while the third theme was illiteracy and ignorance, the fourth theme was poverty and unemployment, and lastly corruption.

In response to factors responsible for the conflict escalation over the issue of sharia implementation majority of the people I interviewed during the study expressed their view as to how the conflict started. Those who witnessed the incidence gave more details even though it depends on the ethno-religious affiliation of respondents, it is

claimed either that the Christians started it or that Muslims provoked Christians. All parties, therefore, agree that the conflict was triggered by the demonstration against the introduction of sharia in the region. However, the conflict started on the 7th September 2000, during the Christians Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Ambassador from Israel visited Gombe state to discuss the Sharia issue with their Christians followers in the region, right from there, Muslims and Christians members just walked about in support of their favoured demand. After the occasion, then later in the day according to the discussants conflict started, with burning of houses, market areas and holy places and reducing them into ashes, and the killing of over 20 people. During the study, the respondents explained that, the real situation in Gombe State was the power of religion on the people and how it influenced their ways of life. The moment there is any disagreements or lack of consensus, because of their multi-ethnic and multi-religious diversity it will fuel conflict.

Yet, the discussants concluded that:

> The two opposing groups of both Muslim and Christian members we believe are ignorant about what sharia is immediately after Jumaat prayers some people starts shouting we want sharia while the other side responding no! We don't like sharia, so at the end we begin to see fire on the street, within a short while damage had been done.

With regards to the effects of the conflict Alhaji Muhammad Gadau the district head of Gadau (interviewed on the 3rd of February 2011) was however of the opinion that, the impact of colonialism had put the region and entire country in a very difficult situation to the extent that both states were in a state of division and not uniting. This has encouraged political godfathers and religious actors to play politics of interest and not national integration. Colonialism is a tragic phenomenon ever in history that constitutes the regional identity of conflicts in Nigeria, by amalgamating several

regions as single state. The colonial role in making Nigeria as a single unit has been explained as the merger of destructions. By all indications, the British government neglected the cultural background and historical antecedent of both the protectorates (Suberu and Osaghae, 2005) which would necessarily be a political entity. They also failed to consider the ethno-religious nature diversity of the place.

In Gombe, Bauchi and Borno state the conflict of 2001 was more clearly ethno-religious oriented. In the course of the discussion, the discussants (the respondents interviewed in Bauchi and Borno in the appendix C) gave the same explanation as to how it started. According to them, there was a serious protest against the visit of one Ambassador from Israel to the north-east region when all Muslims of the region mobilized the youth against the visit. Although his visit was to speak with state government officials, political and religious actors about the issues of economic matters and also to swear in the Christian union called a Shalom Club who was engaged in an organizing pilgrimage service to Israel. This triggered massive property destruction, killings and militia assaults, due to low capacity of law-enforcement agencies.

From the assertions, the research deducted and concluded that the geneses of such conflict includes the Muslim agitation of sharia that has a political linkage with the then Governor of Zamfara state Yariman Bakura who promised to implement the sharia to his people if voted into power, which he did and even assured that the non Muslims will be protected, meaning that the implementation would be applicable to only Muslims. The immediate implementation of the said Sharia by the Zamfara State

Governor generated a lot of debates all over Nigeria regarding the constitutional provision of sharia legality.

From the set of responses the secretary of Katagum Emirate Council Alhaji Suleiman Umar (interviewed on the 3rd of February 2011) expressed that, the reasons for the introduction of Sharia legal system to Muslims in the region was due to some conditions. Firstly, the introduction of Sharia was as a result of the Governor of Zamfara`s campaign promise to implement sharia, which he intended to keep.

The next point is in this region the Muslims are the dominant population and they wanted to follow the provision of Islamic law. Third, the 1999 Constitution provided for the freedom of religion. Lastly, the extremist view of Islamic law argued that Islamic Sharia is fundamentally God's Law and therefore it is superior and takes precedence over any type of law that has been designed by the west. On the other hand, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) North-East Chapter argued that since such issue was already in the Constitution which recognised Sharia law in the western system because Muslims operated on customary law.

 Therefore, he argues that what people want today is the provision of basic welfare services and developmental projects that would improve standard of living and security of the nation. He also expressed the need to have social amenities like good education, health care facilities, water supply and good economic policy than this sharia manipulation which is just a political calculation by the northern political elites. Therefore Sharia legal system in his opinion becomes a threat to the political agenda nation integration.

The discussants pointed out that on the 30th March 2001, and another conflict occurred in the town of Damboa in Borno State where Muslims attacked Christians who were building a chapel. An attempt was made by the Christians to stop them conflict emerged among them leading to killing of 20 people and several people made homeless, and many fled the town to Maiduguri for their safety in the internally displaced persons camp.

One of the discussant in Bauchi (Alhaji Muhammadu Gadau) was however of the opinion that, the escalation of conflict had a strong link with the failure of the security forces, when the security agencies had problem with Boko Haram sect leading to killing of their leaders. Boko Haram blames the government officials for banning of any religious preaching in the state. The government cancelled so many religious, ethnic and political gathering pending when the security situation improve in Bauchi because of their fears that Boko Haram's extremists, if allowed to preached publicly, they could easily escalate conflicts.

On the other hand Sheck Bin Idriss in Adamawa State is of the view that the issue of influx of youth gang migration to the region contributed to the rising incidence of religious conflict, by giving an example that, as with the introduction of Islamic sharia in northern Nigeria since 2000, now the Boko Haram request for "full Sharia" implementation in Nigeria. Usman Yakubu, a member of Boko Haram said that, their organisation resolve to purify the political structure of Nigeria which is polluted by western education and values and to establish Sharia Islamic (Interviewed on the 6th of March 2010).

## 5.3 Religious Intolerance

This is a negative attitude which generates into violent conflict that spill over to the political and economic lives of people. Furthermore, added to this, is the fact that the traditional system of religious learning ordered by different sects and denominations such as Tijjaniyya and Izala on the Muslim side, and protestant and ecwa on the Christian side, Nigerians has been faith oriented. Preaching in religious education was frequently used to convert people to embrace Islam or Christianity. When asked how the political actors managed the issue of ethno-religious diversity in politics since they claimed that majority of the people are ethno-religiously oriented. The chairman All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) Alhaji Sanin Mallam in Bauchi expressed during the interview that ethno-religious identity is a prominent direction of our political activities that you must to belong to one group. Significantly, such ideology is practiced all over the African nations; you can either belong to your ethnic group or to any opposition party, or rather to be loyal to government in power. However, ethno-political diversity has always been regarded as the reasons for our backwardness, leading to the failure of the state and political leaders and increasing the possibility of conflict due to injustice. These are what generally cause conflicts of identity. (Interviewed on the 7th of March 2010)

He remarked that since political actors could not provide the needs for social and economic development, and resolve the struggle for political recognition, the high number of ethnic groups in the region gives rise to fight for their rights and representation in which process their demand turns into conflicts. Therefore, until the Federal Character Policy with free and fair election is held and also patron/client

135

relationship is done away in the effectively from there, there can be no peace governance.

## 5.4 Illiteracy and Ignorance

Illiteracy and ignorance have a negative effect on peaceful existence. Some religious leaders are known to have played the religious card while seeking for their political agenda and this is due to high level of illiteracy. During the discussion Mallam Ibrahim Kabir the Taraba leader of Jamaatul Izalatul Bidia Waikamatus Sunna (JIBWIS) explained that.

> Illiteracy and Ignorance among the people enable is the major cause of political and religious manipulation by some of our leaders today.

One of the implications of illiteracy and ignorance is increased militancy among the youth in the region. In a similar vein Sheik Dahiru Usman from Bauchi, an Islamic preacher during the interview, expressed his concern over the condition in Nigeria like this:

> Nigeria is facing a religious crisis today due to ignorance of what both the religion of Islam and Christianity teaches. When a man understands the Holy Koran and the Holy Bible very well, he would neither burn a church or a mosque (Interviewed on 6th March, 2010).

 He would understand that the two edifices (the church and the mosque) are built mainly to pray to only one God.

Furthermore five of the leaders interviewed were honest enough to tell me that they rarely studied their holy books, whether it is the Quran or the Bible, in order to learn

what their responses should be to the ways of managing conflicts. Many of the respondents such as Haj Bilkisu Mohammed, a women leader of Action Group Party (AC), Ummul Khair Abdullahi of the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) North-East Chapter and six discussants Alhaji Muhammadu Gadau, Sanin Mallam, Terefina Daju, Ladi Jamaare, Ahmed Adamu and Sale Kawuntaji expressed that government should urgently re-train both politicians, religious leaders, and community based organizations in the management of conflicts. They remarked that, those leaders are expected to know what conflict is, what causes it and how to manage it.

According to Kushe (2008) the lack of adequate knowledge or information on politics, particularly the electoral processes, combined with low level of education, and high level of deprivation and impoverishments of the Nigerian people, force many to take the readily available job opportunity in implementation of violence. Further, Kushee (2008) asserted that the conditions easily play gullible people into the hands of unscrupulous politicians or religious or ethnic leaders, who manipulate them by dangling irresistible baits for the people to undertake violence, despite the attendant aftermath of violence.

The unprecedented decay in our academic institutions for which we must hold our past leaders responsible is today one of the major elements in our unsteady and violence realities. According to the report from centre for regional integration and development (CRID), the north-east Nigeria has the lowest female adult literacy rate of 43.3% when compared to North West 48.3% while the North central has 50.7%. It has been observed that in the Northern Nigeria Muslims were against the education

137

for women all though there are evidences that some support female education at different levels (CRID, 2008).

The weak state, political leaders and high level of ignorance, illiteracy as well as poverty in North East Nigeria have been blamed for incessant ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region. Poverty in North East Nigeria is a result of poor governance, ignorance, misguided utterances and rumours were also principal causes to ethno-religious and political crises (Alamu, 2005).

The constant ethno-religious and political crises can only hinder national development. The north east region has been battling with economic hardship compared with the rest of the regions in the country which are waxing strong in several aspects. The North East remains backward and worst in education with poor policies.

The cause of such conflicts is never centred on the production of resources along, but it is also attributed to the state failure occasioned by illiteracy and ignorance. However under these harsh conditions people have tended to act on ethno-religious based politics in order to protest against the marginalization In this case, states act with bias to favour a particular ethnic group especially the Hausa/Fulani and Kanuri who are the majority in the region.

## 5.5 Refugee Problems and other Impacts of the Conflict

In recent times, a distinction is made between refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The first term is reserved for those who have fled their countries and

sought sanctuary in another, and by the same token, are protected by the host country. Recent experiences in the West Africa Sub region include Liberian refugees in Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast and elsewhere. Internally Displaced Persons, on the other hand, are people who have fled persecution from one region/location of their country to the other. Such people might be fleeing from ethnic, religious and other persecutions (CRID 2008).

In Nigeria, recent conflict have ethnic and religious coloration and involve mass movements "home" or to safer areas. Because Internally Displaced Persons remain within their country, they are citizens, unlike refugees. Unlike internationally defined refugees they do not get any protection either from multilateral troops or from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. However, like refugees they face threats to personal security and in some sense worse their condition is worse because they are forced to rely on the same government that could not protect them in the first place.

This research has not made this distinction between "refugees" and internally displaced persons here and instead has employed the term refugees in the everyday sense of fleeing for safety. Besides, everyone involved in the process—the people who fled, the community members from where and into which they are relocated and the government functionaries that coordinated relief and other aspects of the management of the exodus—used the term refugees. Refugees and IDPs are therefore used interchangeably.

Ethno-religious and political conflict for long had led to wide range of internally displaced persons in the region, looking at the launch pad for all violent crises in the region. Around Borno and Yobe states in 2003 to 2004 over 10,000 people from Ibbin Babangida, Gaidan, Kalawar, were forced to leave their place of residence due to violent conflicts between the security agencies and that of fanatics group. Another clash emerged in Bauchi State during the 2007 general elections and the same thing happened to people in Boto town in Tafawa Balewa local government area and Tilden Fulani of Toro local government due to political instability which later escalated to ethno-religious conflict (Human Right Watch, 2008).

BAUCHI16: The issue of serious economic condition in the region has influenced other factors that cause conflict such as unemployment, poverty, religious diversity. The challenge before the government is to improve the economic condition and do away with injustice during the management of internally displaced persons.

BAUCHI22: Government should promote economic growth, development and prosperity that would generate income and improve living condition of the people in the refugee camp; this will reduce the poverty rate that always fuels conflict in the area.

BAUCHI28: There is an urgent need for the government to redirect socio-economic activities that would provide employment opportunities to our youth and establish stake holder's forum that would supplement government effort towards management of such conflict, and encourage the victims (IDPs) to go back to their place of residence.

BORNO31: Government should provide all necessary support to the Civil Society, strategic advice to religious, ethnic and political actors and implore principles of equity and justice among the displaced persons irrespective of their ethno-religious or political affiliation.

BORNO41: I want to plead with the government to organize operational strategies of training for the religious, ethnic and political elite including the traditional leaders to enlighten them about the internally displaced persons and their management in the region, this will at least reduce tension and bring peace among the victims.

BORNO45: The religious leaders should improve their programme and educate members on the dangers of conflicts, and preach for tolerance and what people should learn from their religious teachings, especially in the IDP camp.

ADAMAWA3: Lack of enough security personnel after the conflict make the IDP centres not secured, which contributed to the increased incidence of such conflict. Therefore the government should recruit more security men and train them appropriately and adopt community policing for immediate coverage within and outside the IDP`s.

ADAMAWA5: Government should consider the peoples` demands as this will reduce tension and improve cohesion. I mean the politicians make a lot of promise during their election, campaigns and refuse to keep their wording they careless to even visit the displaced persons in the camp.

ADAMAWA6: The government should include the Military, Civil Defence Corps, community based organisations and the Police during the campaign rallies and general elections and support the IDPs` with necessary facilities like donation of fund and social amenities.

ADAMAWA7: Constitutional provisions must be enacted considering the increase in displaced persons in the region. Therefore politicians and the stakeholders should encourage and promote peaceful democratic spheres and not be biased towards sentimental politics of economic power and neglecting the victims.

GOMBE48: Government should develop the mechanism of early warning strategy for managing conflict and support those found to be the IDPs` in the area.

GOMBE57: I have observed that we lack government support for internally displaced persons; is not security guaranteed in the camp. Within the displaced areas, the victims were found to be grouping into ethno-religious line.

TARABA61: The issue of internally displaced persons in this area should involve the three tiers of government that is the Federal, State and Local Government Areas, in order to support and improve the standard of IDP's in the state.

YOBE88: We need political ideology, that accepts our ethnic differences, and develop religious harmony among the diverse ethnic groups in the region and the victims (internally displaced persons) so that we can attain societal development. However,

parents and community leaders should be involved in this development because it has to do with youth's initiative, empowerment and poverty alleviation programme from the grassroots level.

Therefore, based on the responses expressed by the respondent the study concludes that the internally displaced persons in the region become another centre for conflict generation. In similar vein the security agents are backing only the political party in power. It is an open politics of interest in the area due to discrimination against the victims (IDPs`) in the camp. The displaced persons face a lot of challenges from government, politicians and the religious leaders especially in the areas of compensation, education and health care.

This is the central argument that Ted Robert Gurr's relative deprivation thesis (Why Minorities Rebel) addressed in saying that the greater the discrepancy, however marginal, between what is sought and what seem attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and conflict will result (Gurr,1993b: 161-201).

Several discussants expressed that, lack of good governance and political representation account for the failure of Nigerian governments, especially in the management of refugees in the region. Furthermore, democracy cannot be effective without popular participation and cohesion.

Related to this, there is serious discrimination in the distribution of aid given to IDPs` and lack of support from government particularly in the area of reconciliation and compensation. According to the chief Imam of Society for the Victory of Islam (JNI)

Mallam Ibrahim Abubakar in Bauchi within the religious leaders due to the issue of sect and denominations among them, some prosperity preachers the religious actors manipulate its members and gain support from politicians for their economic interest, instead of instilling the right morals in the heart of the people.

A Taraba based business man Emeka Boni said that the IDP problem in Nigeria will be solve through managing the immediate cause of ethno-religious and political conflicts and the political structure in Nigeria should be accountable and transparent because according to him the cost of corruption is high and has undermined development, caused poverty, unemployment and insecurity to the system.

## 5.6 State failure

Nigeria consists of tribes, different cultural ideology, languages and even sects and denominations within the two religions which were dictated by the imperialist economic interest of the British colonial masters, to enable them to administer easily. Poverty is the most serious problem world over (world population datasheet 2008), which affects the sustainable growth in underdeveloped countries. Poverty and unemployment according to Osunubi (2003) are today the cause of so many political, ethno-religious and environmental diseases in the region. Osunubi (2003) cited in Mustapha (2008) expressed that people are referred to as poor when their estimated standard of living in terms of income or consumption is below poverty line, in terms of living standard, Nigerians are becoming increasingly poor.

> The Episode of Nigerian History and epoch of ethno Regionalism is a critical stage in explaining the state failure, having look at the process through which the state creation and state organ are created, scholars are of the view that " Nigerian state today was the creation

of British colonialism, colonial rule itself was an episode, that plant the seed of distrust, and emergence of religion as bases of identity, leading to identity politics, which in a way entrench politics of ethno-religious crises in the country (Ibrahim, 2000).

On the predisposing factors responsible for the persistent occurrence of conflict the discussants (Cosmos Solomon, Interviewed in Gombe on 2nd May, 2010) was of the opinion that "politics of regional identity, client/patron relationship and corruption of the ruling party failed to deliver societal development over a long period of time" which led to the challenge of unemployment, abject poverty, poor education and generate insecurity. The discussants also stated that, people are more patriotic to their cultural and ethnic identity in our society leading to the formation of "Arewa consultative forum" standing to back only the northern people, Igbos has its Ohanizi fellow group while Oduduwa people's voice representing Yoruba's identity. This is because of the fact that, the Mosaic identity profiles of Nigeria is vast, complex and multidimensional. In essence, both the three major ethnic groups are regionally based and failed to be identified as Nigerians, first, but as originators of their ethnic identities. In the words of Ibrahim (2000):

> Ethno-regional identities in Nigeria have developed along tri-tendential trajectory. The first is the north/south divide that emerged at the beginning of the colonial period. The second is the tripolar framework related to the three colonial regions and the majority groups that dominated each region. The third may be the most important tendency in Nigerian politics, which is persistent multi-polarity, continuously repressed with imposed bipolarity and or tri-polarity but has managed to survive (Ibrahim, 2000).

From the set of responses the discussants in Adamawa state (Gidado Tukur on 4th April 2010) had agreed on the view that the state failed to maintain free and safer environment in the area, this is because of the state inability to maintain partial stand

on ethnic and religious issues, even though the constitution recognised the state as secular; As a result, tension was already mounting in the hearts of people because of poverty, unemployment and marginalization leading to conflict. Alanamu (2005), states that the country has demonstrated a very high propensity for political conflict during the Fourth Republic (1999-2003) and in 2003-2007, ethnic, religious and sectional conflict. According to him, conflict is a breakdown of political system. This view was corroborated by prominent politicians in Taraba State, who asserted that, when youth are jobless and disenchanted they become intolerant because they have few opportunities for productive engagement. They become a ready pool of recruits for politicians seeking youth support for political purpose.

The regional (North-East) National Vice Chairman of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) Alhaji Musa Ahmad during the interview (6th March 2010) has said that, considering the April 2007 elections, positions allocated to represent the whole region experienced a lot of challenges sponsored by our prominent politicians and stakeholders who used their money to build youths gangs and pay for people to aspire for most lucrative post in order for them to have access to control the government. Categorically, the three major ethnic groups in the country and many 'minority groups' are represented by one or more militias allegedly defending their interest. The Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) is one of the most prominent of these groups. (Alhaji Musa Ahmed, 2010)

During the Interview in Yobe, on the 18th January 2010, Asabe Musa was of the view that the roots of ethnic and religious conflicts is been linked to colonialism. In the course of the discussion, she pointed out that ethno-religious and political conflicts

violate the structure of civil society. The study also found that, many of the discussants expressed their concern about the rural-urban migration, which was a response to the new opportunities created by the British colonial masters. This had the effect of bringing people of different ethnic background, cultural and educational backgrounds into closer contact at the beginning. They respondents remarked that in the process of uniting people to live together, to accept each other, to compete for the scarce resources and power as one nation, they developed a dichotomy among the different part of the area with a confusion of who is the owner of the land and who is settler (Asabe Musa, 2010).

The study found that corruption and white collar crime were widespread at every segment of both public and private sector, while both civil society organisations and the NGOs only existed by depending on financial support from government agencies. However; the government lacked a monopoly on the use of its political will and judicial control in order to bring peace and unity.

The former military ruler General Ibrahim B.B contends that:

> The most fundamental underlying forces which propel ethnic nationalism in Nigeria are those of pervasive poverty, mass unemployment, and underdevelopment of productive forces and non-absorbance of the economy. The absence of developed productive forces constrains the transformation of the structures of the economy and society. Mass poverty and unemployment create alienation and insecurity, which in turn encourage Nigerians to experience and prefer accommodation within the social insurance system of ethnic nationalities. In this regard, people are easily excited about injustice- of other groups against their own groups. Poverty also creates frustration and divisiveness (Babangida 2002:34).

Of the reason for state failure as outlined, over the past four decades of military and civilian rule, the Nigerian state has evolved from a federal polity characterised by three politically strong regions, each controlled by the elite of a majority ethnic groups, and heavily influenced the decision of the state apparatus, which woefully does not take into cognisance the issues of religion and state as different entity. The Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo are the major players in the state, while other minority ethnic groups are relegated to the background of this major groups, with the state answering their beck and call, this to an extent, failed in addressing ethno religious and political conflict in the region, and in general terms, the whole country (Ibrahim, 2000:63).

## 5.7 Deprivation, Marginalization and Dominance

This is a great phenomenon that endangers human aspirations, as the society is divided into regional, ethnic, religious and political ideology the minority are deprived by the majority. The leading majority ethnic group marginalizes the minority group in such appointments such as ministers; political advisers, ambassadors and even the elected post were dominated by the majority class. The clear argument here is that, Nigeria with 371 ethnic groups thirty six out of forty two ministers' positions were dominated by the three majority ethnic groups. In his insightful book, The Functions of Social Conflict, Coser (1956), cited in Joseph et al (2009) noted that the scapegoating of new group members may be the result of displaced aggression. When members of a group face failure or marginalization, they are often reluctant to direct their anger toward the whole society.

**5.8 Case of Ethnic Conflict in North-East Region**

This region is characterised as one with over 200 ethnic groups in the region, and therefore the issue of domination, marginalization always arise, leading to conflict of who own resources and political power. Among the groups, the most visible ethnic conflict is that of Tiv and Jukuns ethnic groups. This is why scholars are interested in the way and manner conflict exists among these ethnic groups, and scholar's views are used to further explain the conflict within the region.

The relationship between Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups have been going on for quite long time. Their interaction predates colonialism and it was particularly cordial (Diamond, 1988. Avav, 2002: 15). However, the tide of that amiable coexistence changed and progressively turned sour between the 1930s and the 1950s because of ecological as well as political changes in the Wukari area in particular and in the Benue Valley in general (Diamond, 1988).

The emergence of overt conflicts between the two ethnic groups, particularly from 1959, and their continuation since then, has turned this feud into what Diamond has described as "the deadliest inter-ethnic clashes". Surprisingly, there seems to be no end to the conflict as each decade since the 1950s keeps resonating with new waves of the Tiv-Jukun brawl. This clearly indicates the existence of intractable, deep-rooted and fundamental disagreements between the two neighbours.

The Tiv-Jukun ethnic phenomenon has traversed through several occasions. The first conflict emerged in the year 1959 preceding the Federal Election that was held in Nigeria that year. By March 1960, conflict and violent outbursts were imminent in

Wukari and Lafia Divisions that bordered the Tiv Division and subsequently, *"riots in Wukari and Lafia provided a cue for Tiv Division, where massive disturbances broke out five months later"* (Diamond 1988). It should be noted that although these initial conflicts and violence were not directly targeted at the Jukun as they were more politically inclined; they illustrated their grievances against the colonial authorities, their policies and the Northern oligarchy. The Tiv people on the other hand saw this latter as allies in the course of their political domination during the colonial era.

The 1981 to 1982 conflict also occurred due to the political agitation that gave birth to the Nigerian Second Republic of 1979, to 1983. The Tiv and the Jukun groups in Taraba found themselves into division (in their majority) since that they belonged to two different political parties: the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC). The Jukun mainly identified themselves with the NPC side while the Tiv saw the NPC as the signpost of their marginalisation and domination (Alulo 2003); and therefore supported the UMBC massively.

The first event in the politics of Wukari that could have signalled a future conflict between the Tiv and the Jukun is the victory of Mr Charles Tangur Gaza, a Tiv man of the UMBC, over Mallam Ibrahim Sangari, a Jukun man of the NPC, to represent the Wukari Federal Constituency in the House of Representatives during the 1956 Federal Elections (Bates 2000). The Jukun feared the Tiv, whom that they considered as immigrants and aliens, would dominate them politically in the future (Avav, 2002: 49). So, on the eve of the Second Republic, this fear was indeed reignited. In fact, a substantial number of Tiv people were in the cabinet of the then Gongola State during the Second Republic. For instance, to the surprise of the Jukun, the Alhaji Abubakar

Barde led cabinet from 1979-1983 appointed Iyortyer Tor Musa, a Tiv man, as Wukari Local Government Caretaker Chairman.

Again in 1983, a Tiv man, Dr Samuel Tor Agbidye was appointed as Commissioner for Health even though the Second Republic ended before the Alhaji Bamanga Tukur cabinet had done much (Bates 2000). The latter also appointed Emmanuel Yawe as his Chief Press Secretary in 1983. Yawe has been re-appointed by Group Captain Jonah D. Jang in 1987.

These political appointments have made the period from 1979 to 1983 to be seen as the golden age (Avav, 2002) of the Tiv in Wukari because of their wider participation in the local political process, to express their anger against this development the Jukun "physically assaulted the Chairman (Iyortyer Musa)" in 1982 (Avav, 2002:50).

All these political developments turned the Jukun against the Tiv and triggered a kind of "cold war" between the two groups until the military coup of General Buhari put an end to the Second Republic on December 31, 1983. Another landmark in the Tiv-Jukun conflict occurred between 1990 and 1993. These conflicts have been described as superior since they have stretched over a significant period (Alulo, 2003). As for the level of damage caused by the crises of the early 1990s, "1990/93 crises recorded widespread destruction; burnt of villages, mutilated corpses in various stages of decomposition and household items found on the street while other valuables are thrown all over (Alulo, 2003)

On the other hand, Avav (2002) has also described in great details the devastating occurrences of these crises. Their cause, like past versions of the conflict, has revolved around the issue of the land.

The 2001 Tiv-Jukun conflict is the most recent in the series of crises that have occurred between the two ethnic groups in Taraba State. Just as its episode in 1990-1993, the 2001 incident represents one of the most violent and bloodiest strands in the history of the Tiv- Jukun conflict. With regard to the root cause of the 2001 conflict, all those interviewed during the study were in agreement that, the conflict started as a tussle involving a Tiv farmer called Iortimin Umande and Fulani man a cattle pastoralists. Accounts of the dispute vary as where the incident took place. One source (Alubo, 2006: 111) states that it occurred in Tse Ikyambe on June 13, 2001, while those Jukun interviewed but resident in Wukari said the confrontation took place in Tsokundi.

Notwithstanding this discrepancy, it happened that Fulani cattle pastoralists trespassed into the farm of Mr Umande and grazed there. When Mr Umande confronted the Fulani, he was stabbed to death by the Fulani. The veracity of the Fulani murdering the Tiv farmer is however refuted by Jukun respondents. According to them: "a Fulani man went into a Tiv farm to graze on Tsokundi road, it was Ben seed farm that the cattle grazed and eventually they said the Fulani man killed the Tiv man which was all lies. …it turned out to be that the dead body they were saying was found on the farm was false, that man was sick and he died", (Avav, 2002: 49).

The 2001 version of the longstanding clash was yet peculiar in the sense that when it erupted, the Federal Government attempted to intervene in order to restore peace, law and order by deploying a contingent of the army to Taraba and Benue States. But following the abduction and murder of 19 soldiers by the Tiv militia on October 10, 2001, the attempt by the government turned out to be fatal for reprisal attacks by soldiers on the civilian population in Benue State were destructive in terms of lives and properties. Therefore based on the above discussions three major factors have been used to explain the Tiv-Jukun ethnic conflict. These are the land issue, the issue of political disparity and the question of indigene versus settlers. If we consider the land issue for instance, the general consensus among scholars is that, in as much as other vital factors such as politics have often acted as a stimulant of the crises between the Tiv and Jukun, land remains fundamental in the understanding of the standoff. Both Tiv and Jukun are farmers. However, this is even more the case for the Tiv as 80% of its population engage in farming.

Thus as professional farmers, land, more than any other thing, remains the most valuable resource to the Tiv people. They are therefore often attracted to any fertile land. The tendency is that whenever there is scarcity of land in the area where Tiv are residing or if the land becomes depleted and become infertile; they are bound to migrate to a more spacious and fertile place. This was the reason why they had to migrate from *Swem* to their present settlement in the Benue Valley.

In subsequent decades, large percentage of the Tiv population migrated from the Benue State to their present location in Taraba State in search of fertile lands. This has ignited conflicts between the Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups in the area and particularly

in the Wukari and Jalingo Local Government Areas (LGA). Similarly, according to Materton-Smith (cited in Alubo, 2006: 98), it is the open bush which the Jukun vaguely claim to be theirs which is responsible for the crisis. On the other hand, the agricultural system and techniques adopted by the Tiv wherever they settle (as in Wukari) and their arbitrary land acquisition have often ignited tensions. Obioha has captured these two behavioural tendencies among the Tiv and Jukun in this way: "The case of Tiv-Jukun crises is deep rooted in the issue of traditional homelands, which is deep in Nigerian culture and it is a typical case of conflict between two sedentary cultivator groups from different ethnic groups.

There was once a Jukun kingdom over much of the area of the conflict, and there is much sentiment among the Jukun that this is their land. The Tiv diet staple is the yam, a nutritious root. The yam removes almost all nutrition from the soil, and yam fields must lie fallow for several years before reusing them. So each year, Tiv farmers must move to new plots of land, and after generations they began to feel this was their right. Jukun felt the Tiv were no longer respecting the rights of the traditional people of the area, but were taking new land without permission" (Alubo 2006: 93).

During the study, there were divergent opinions among the respondents whether the issue of ethnic identity is the root cause of the conflict in the area. Many of the respondents interviewed admitted that ethnicity is the major root cause for decades of ethnic conflict between the Tiv and the Jukun in Taraba State. However, the Jukun accused Tiv that they have dominated their land in terms of public service, political representation and farming. Similarly, the Tiv respondents interviewed said in their own words that, the Jukun fear of the Tiv population that has an advantage over any

154

political opportunity against them, so they want us to leave the area which is not possible, (they said). Therefore, the Jukun ethnic group are claiming of domination as the causes of such conflict among them with the Tiv people, while the Tiv were claiming political factor as the reason, not the issue of domination because politics is the game of number.

Alubo (2006) has pointed out about the character of African ethnic groups. Ethnic groups in Africa (as in Nigeria) have internal dichotomies as a group, but were of the view that:

> It pertains to issues of political, social and economic concerns, there tend to be overriding loyalty to group interest vis-à-vis other groups within society.

This applies to what happened in Wukari and Jalingo when it comes to the issues of land and politics. Furthermore, this is not to say that there are no differences within the Tiv and Jukun ethnic groups, but when it comes to the issue of land and political representation, each group unite and will gang up against the other. In this way, therefore, conflict is the result.

## 5.9 Consequences of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in Nigeria

The upsurge of ethno-religious and political conflict has been recognized as a major threat to national integration in the whole of Nigeria. One of the respondent Zaphania Ngurza from Adamawa during the interview (4th March, 2010) expressed his views on the trends and the speed at which conflict is raising within the region, he opined that growing rate of illiteracy, unemployment, increased in the rate at which followers become fanatic, and clashes with security, while innocent people are being attacked in

especially, Borno, Taraba, Bauchi, Yobe and Gombe, has posed a serious challenge to social and economic condition such oa breakdown of law and order, collapse of quality in education, access to health facilities, and water supply.

Collier, et al, (2004) suggest that conflict it involves breakdown of law and order, insecurity and austerity. Therefore the impact of ethno-religious and political conflict in North-Eastern Nigeria can be identified in several aspects outlined below:

**5.9.1 Diversity of National Unity**

The unity in diversity and peaceful co-existence of all socio-cultural groups in the country is one of the basic needs for growth and development and has been the major strength of the country, had it been properly harnessed. However over the years since independence in 1960 a great deal of both human and natural resources has been exploited giving rise to marginalisation, corruption and client/patron relationship, among the major ethnic and minority groups, for instance, the 1999 Constitution, like the previous ones of 1960, 1963, 1979 and 1989, shows how the Nigerian people had resolved to live in unity and diversity as one sovereign nation called Nigeria. Incidents of ethno-religious and political conflict create disharmony among Nigerians, polarize ethnic groups, religious and politicians into an identity groups. Therefore, an informed civil society is obviously needed in order to balance the power of leadership, which will unite people of Nigeria. The institutional failure of the Nigerian leaders in maintaining appropriate security, health care facilities, portable water supply, good education for all, and control of youth inflow, job opportunity and agricultural development contributes to such outbreak of violence, while the unity in diversity is

subordinated over conflict of interest. This weakness should have been the strength of the federal republic of Nigeria.

## 5.9.2 Weakening the Stability

The increase in fanatics who are linked with politicians and associated with strong gangs largely frustrated the Nigerian security system. This is against the Section Number One Sub-section one of the 1999 Constitution which expressed:

> The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall not be governed, nor shall any person or group of persons take control of the government of Nigeria or any part thereof except in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

Therefore it will be better for any group seeking for the implementation of a new policy to request for a legislative order for constitutional amendment.

## 5.9.3 Undermining of National Security Agencies

The Nigerian Police force are traditionally involved in prevention and detection of crime, preservation of law and order, protection of life and property, and enforcement of law and order (Nigerian Police Act, section 4). The genesis of failure in the Nigerian Police Force is attributed to British colonial administration in Nigeria prior to the 1960s independence, during the colonial period the so called colonial Police agents were serving only the interest of colonial agenda in Nigeria. However, after the Nigerian independence the Nigerian Police Force inherited the policy of serving the

interests of ruling class not the masses that is why the Nigerian Police Force became repressive and services organisation.

In his book Police and Policing in Nigeria, Alemika (2000), expressed his concerned over national security agencies in Nigeria, he argued that:

> Nigerian Police Force as an institution are agent of maintaining peace and security to the nation, they are expected to control whenever a social system is exploited or in oppressive.( Alemika, 2000).

Also, in a just and democratic society the Nigerian Police have a greater chances of serving as vanguard for socio-economic justice and human rights, but yet, the Nigerian Police Force became an instrument of oppression, totalitarian exploitation and unjust social systems, (Alemika, 2000: 19-32). Incidents of conflict in the region indicate low level of strength in the Nigeria Police Force for instance, from July 2009 to date, north-east region experienced serious challenge leading to clash between the militant group (Boko Haram) and the security operative which involves killing and bombing of police station in most especially Bauchi, Borno, and Yobe and Kaduna states respectively. This happened as a result of perceived extra judicial killing of Boko haram members with their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, by the Nigerian police. (Daily trust, December 2009)

### 5.9.4 Economic Impact

Categorically it has been observed that the conditions of safety in Nigeria are not satisfactory. This situation has a great impact on technological advancement and economical transformation in the country. To conclude many foreign investors like

Chinese, Lebanese, Filipinos and the South Africans, are leaving the country, since the conflict has always had religious participation. The destruction of public and private properties, unnecessary killings, looting of property, including food and other farm produce during the conflict retards the growth and development. Conflict, regardless of its nature tends to slow down development because development can only take place under a peaceful atmosphere. That is, no amount of national unity and social integration can be achieved under unstable conditions.

Ambassador Segun Olusola from Taraba, (Interviewed on May 17$^{th}$ 2010) indicated that the conflict had affected the economic activity of various areas. People had to move with their business, selling houses at just lower prices, while the Muslims no longer want to do any business with a Christians and vice-versa. Collier suggested that economic conditions are an element of controlling or escalating conflict. (Collier et al, 2009, 15). This is because economic based support other bases of human existence, upon which conflict may arise or otherwise.

Furthermore, the conflict has the potential of resulting into large-scale physical displacement and forced relocation of individuals, families and groups. The discussants pointed out that the conflict in the region had affected the economic activity of various areas. People had to move with the business they owned; people had to dispose their houses at cheaper price.

## 5.9.5 Political Impact

The impact of political conflict is very outrageous; conflict related to political arena has led to collapse of statehood, nationhood and sense of belonging as a federal state

among some ethnic groups, as result of strong affiliation to religious and ethnic conflict. Bawole and Bello (2011) are of the opinion that ethno-religious and political conflict tend to weakened the state apparatus, there creating vacuum in the place of leadership. This is because the people involves in the conflict are no longer respecting the authority of the state and are paying more allegiance to their ethnic powers than the state. During the interview in Taraba state, (Interviewed on 12th May, 2010) Ibrahim T and Yusuf Gambo both opined that:

The state and the government does favour only those with ethnic affiliation to them, and they therefore both feel that the government is not responsible for their security of lives and property, and would rather be identified with their ethnic group, than with the state. Example, the People's Democratic Party is being dominated by the major ethnic groups and in most instances does not in any way favour the minorities and their right who are usually belonging to other 54 political parties.

In essence ethno religious and political conflict does a number of negative impact to Nigeria as a whole and north eastern region in particular; the region used to be politically relevant during the first and second republic, but with the persistent ethno religious and political conflict, the region is continuously becoming irrelevant, especially from 2000 to 2007, as they failed for the first time to influence the emergence of the president of the country as a whole, secondly other key political position secured at the centre by the region, is gradually slipping through the regions grip, as their relevance are being eroded. Thirdly, the realization by the other regions that the north as a whole is facing one of the greatest problem of ethno religious

conflict, are being politically sidelined, and are being threatened with Sovereign National conference (Adesina, 2000).

## 5.10 Summary

The primary purpose of this qualitative study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the ethno-religious and political conflict in north eastern Nigeria from 2000-2007. This chapter comprises of data presentation and analysis of the research findings and themes that are gleaned from primary source, which contains: ethno-religious intolerance, economic hardship, illiteracy and ignorance, poverty and unemployment, and corruption. However the study also identified marginalisation and insecurity as other factors responsible for the escalation of conflict in the region. During the study discussions were made extensively on Sharia conflict, religious and ethnic conflict, the conflict of internally displaced persons, Tiv-Jukun conflicts, and political domination and conflict consequences, by the reviewing of related literature.

# CHAPTER SIX

## CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

**6.0 Introduction**

This study was set out to examine ethno-religious and political conflicts in North-eastern region of Nigeria, with a view to identifying factors responsible, its impact on the country's national integration, and proffer possible recommendations on how the peril could be avoided or mitigated whenever it occurs. During the course of the study, the researcher also identified several factors that have been contributing to this trend. Among these factors are the emergence of religious sects and militant group like Boko Haram phenomenon and adherents within the two major religions (Christianity and Islam); the tendency of some Muslim sects to rebel against the existing political order and enthrone an Islamic theocracy; the exploitation of religion by the political leaders in the vicious competition for the nation's resources; the collapse of rural economies, especially in the more arid states of the far north, which has become ghetto populations with mostly unemployed youth with poor educational background and the intensification of various social and economic inequities especially in the north-eastern region.

The summary of was organised in such a way that it follows the traditional way of research report , with six chapters; the first chapter discussed the background of the study, laying introduction to issues of ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria and north-eastern Nigeria were discussed. Problem statement and discussion of manifestation of ethno-religious and political conflict were highlighted as well. Research Questions and objectives of the study were also highlighted, among the

major objectives are; examining the factors responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno religious and political conflict in North-eastern Nigeria, identification and discussion of the impact of ethno religious and political conflict on national security, challenges militating against the effective management of ethno religious conflict in north eastern Nigeria. Recommendations for better relationship among adherents of the ethnic and religious groups were made so that it can be properly addressed.

In chapter two, literature review and theoretical frame work were highlighted, discussion of political conflict, religious and ethnic conflict were also discussed. Social and economic factors were discussed, along with ethno-political mobilisation. Impacts of ethno religious conflict were also discussed. Another important point raised in this chapter is the indigenous and settler factors as major causes of conflict. The theories used in the research are, structural conflict theory and Economic theory of conflict. The structural conflict theory rest on the assumption that the structures erected in societies generate tendencies for conflict to emerge, since people pursue different conflicting goals and interest, they are bound to be in conflict situation, as a result of different interest and groups, based on class and power. Marx and Engels was the first proponent of the theory, while other Neo-Marxist scholars refined and extend the theory, Samir Amin, A.G frank and Emmanuel Wallenstein. The other theory, Economic theory of conflict as posit by Collier (2007) some people actually benefit from conflict, while other over whelming majority of the population are affected by the negative impacts of conflict. The political, religious, or ethnic leaders and their armed formations that are actually perpetrating the conflict often profit from the chaos. This shows that economic benefit of conflict tend to increase the level at

which beneficiaries of such conflict tend to ignore the negative consequences of the conflict.

Chapter three describes the methodology employed to undertake this research work, showing the rationale behind using qualitative methodology, the areas used for the study was briefly described, the use of one on one interviews, non participant observation and the focus group discussion used in the research were also described.

Chapter four the research focussed on the historical development of religion in Nigeria, religious pluralism in Nigeria was discussed, laying foundation for the emergence of modern religion, conflict and politicisation of religion. Unification of modern religion and politics in Nigeria were discussed with focus on north-eastern Nigeria, and how it breeds conflict within the region and the whole country as a whole.

## 6.1 Summary

Conflict in general impacts human development, it usually affects national integration. This study has examined the root cause and persistence occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflicts. The data revealed that the issue of colonialism generated the formation of such disparity in the region which hinders the national cohesion of Nigerian populace and the civilian administration. This was made during the amalgamation of northern and southern Nigeria (forceful marriage) of the 1914, by the colonial masters who refused to consider the geo-political division of the differences in cultural background, ethno-religious and political ideology. Consequently, it has become very difficult for the godfathers (political actors) to

manage the controversial postcolonial conflicts. The study also concludes that the frequent intervention of military dictatorship in Nigeria has contributed to the persistence occurrence of conflict in the area. In addition, the issue of Sharia has become a challenge to the leaders and the religious group of both sides in the region. Muslims want to introduce the legal system of Islamic judgement while the Christians see the policy as a process of raising the religion of Islam against them. This is the contention that causes contradiction, division, bias and regional politics in the region.

Many Christian discussants claimed that they are afraid of Islamic sharia because it made them look inferior in the presence of their brothers and that is the reason why they had decided to react negatively on anything Islamic law which has led to deadly conflicts. Furthermore, the study revealed that ignorance associated with low level of education is a negative element in the society has contributed to the escalation of conflict in the area. Therefore, illiteracy and ignorance were found to be contributing factors that have giving rise to the incidence of ethno-religious and political conflict in the north-east region.

Similarly, poverty is a condition of either having low means of consumption or inadequate means or source of livelihood. The data also revealed that, large number of conflicts in the area under study was caused by the phenomenon of ethnic - marginalization, regional-deprivation and political-domination by the majority Fulani, Tiv-Jukun, Hausa people and Kanuri against the minority ethnic groups that are not benefiting from the resource allocation or reasonable appointment. This was pointed out in the forum attended by who is who`s in the area consisting of political leaders, traditional rulers and religious actors. In addition, the clash of Tiv-Jukun indigene

versus settlers is an institutional failure by the government side who failed to provide security coupled with all basic human needs in the area leading to fuel violent conflicts. This is in agreement with the view of structural conflict theory who opined that, the issue of marginalisation, unemployment and state failure to exercise power made conflict difficult to resolve.

Finally, the federal system of government in Nigeria has failed to address the issue of ethno-religious and political conflicts. The system rather than uniting the ethnic nationalities has introduced a lot of controversial agenda that has contributed to the rising incidence of conflict. Despite this efforts are being made by the government and civil society organizations, the traditional rulers and the religious bodies to bring good living condition in Nigeria.

## 6.2 Discussion of Findings

In this part, attempt has been made to discuss the major findings of the work in line with the study objectives and theoretical nexus. The research questions in the area under study have been used to achieve the objective of the study. The first objective of the study was to determine the factors that are responsible for the persistent occurrence of ethno-religious and political conflict. This study found that ethno-religious intolerance, economic hardship, illiteracy and ignorance, poverty and unemployment and corruption are the major factors responsible of conflict in the region. Analysis of the research questions proceed where its indicates that in Adamawa, Borno, Gombe and Taraba States the major factors responsible were found to be in line with communal clash, ethno-religious and political conflicts, while

religious and political factors were identified as the leading factors responsible for conflict escalation in Bauchi State.

The research also revealed that ethnic and religious factors persist in Yobe State. The study indicates further that the political leaders and their patron/client loss in control to the extent that the basic needs of the Nigerians were not sufficient or adequately provided. Therefore, it helps to explain the concept of structural conflict theory; Marxism sees it as a false consciousness or ideology of a plural society that fails to be related to the ultimate economic factor as regards the mode of production. The theory looks at social problem like political-exclusion, abject poverty, unequal distribution of resources, influx of migration causes of outbreak of law and order.

This case is made by radicals like Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Joseph Lenin and Mao Tse Tung, who opined the concept of capitalism for being an exploitative system based on its relations of production and the division of society into the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Based on the premise of structural conflict theory, the conflict of ethno religious and political conflict, it is seen that structures erected by the social system, religiously and politically, made ethno religious and political conflict inherent and visible within the region, and on the other hand the economic theory of conflict focuses on the benefit inherent in conflict by a particular class over the larger society who are likely to be at a disadvantaged position because of it. By implication ethno religious and political conflict is visible as established by the study, because a particular class of people are benefiting from the existence of the conflict and has to a large extent being used by a particular class, which is why up to this time, it has not been properly resolved.

167

This study found that there is shortage of basic demand of common man in the region coupled with unemployment, all of which determine the quality of life. Oyemomi (2003) corroborates this view when he defined poverty as either in an absolute term or in relative terms. While absolute poverty is a situation whereby the victims are unable to meet their most basic and elementary requirements of human survival, relative poverty is situation whereby the victims experience deprivation when compared with other individuals, groups or societies. The study found that there was a phenomenon of majority versus minority conflict in the region which concur with structural conflict theory who identifies exploitation as one of the real cause of conflict which seemingly explains the conflict of political subjugation by political patron/client which shrouded the problem of ethno-religious and political conflict in the area under study.

Ross (1993) noted for instance that, in situation where economic and political discrimination and weak kinship tie are the defining characteristics of a society, the chances that negative forms of conflict will result are higher than in situation where the condition are the exact opposite. In other words, when social, political, economic and cultural processes are monopolised by a group, it creates the conditions that make people to adopt adversarial approaches to conflict. The study therefore concludes that conflict occurs due to adverse effects of unemployment, illiteracy and poverty.

Marx also argued (Das Capital, 1985) that, conflicts are mostly tied to economic structures and institutions. The main argument of the structural conflict theory is that conflict is built into the ways and manner people organise their environment.

In addition the study revealed that, government and civil societies organizations have done little in curbing conflict in the region, more especially the NGOs and the management of Internally Displaced Persons, furthermore politicizing the religious sector by politicians who marginalized the minority groups by using the religious and traditional leaders, lack of basic human needs, ignorance and illiteracy are the factors responsible for raising conflict in the region.

This study found that, religious, political, ethnicity; corruption and military dictatorship are among the major factors responsible for the conflict escalation in the region, while the findings revealed that poverty and unemployment, religious intolerance and ignorance, politicisation of religion and communal clash were identified as the root cause of conflict in Nigeria.

The findings also revealed that the impact of political, economic and security factors have led to social disruption in the north-east region, categorically it has been observed that the hierarchical patron-client and client/patron relations, and the way minority feels disproportionately disadvantage group in the political system greatly affect all capital intensive programmes, and foreign investments for example, the Chinese, Lebanon, Philippines, South-Africans and the Ghanaians are reducing their investment in the region since the conflict had always escalated into religious conflict even if the source is political or ethnic in nature. Collier opined that the challenges of negative impact of conflict affect development, educational programmes and social relationship among people and their state (Collier, et al, 2004).

Edoh (2001) holds that Nigerian's complex plurality has a number of dimensions. Nigeria, as earlier said has over 250 ethnic groups spread over 36 States and Federal Capital Territory. The Yoruba, Igbos and Hausa-Fulani are however the major groups that form the tripod of politics. It is useful to note that the differences amongst them manifest in all characteristics in geographical habitat, language and culture, and religion. The combination of these characteristics coupled with two other defects in the structuring of the Nigerian policy by the colonial Masters provides the basis for cultural and ethnic identities to become the *de jure* factor in the Nigerian politics. In conclusion this therefore explains why the Nigerian diversity within political, religious and ethnicity happen to be the reasons for political power and competition in the struggle for economic scarce resources.

## 6.3 Conclusion

In this study an effort was made to examine the problem of ethno-religious and political conflicts in North-East region of Nigeria, its challenges for national integration, and provide some important recommendations. The study conducted on ethno-religious and political conflicts in north eastern Nigeria do not only focus on conflict as an issue, but its significance to national development and integration. It is paramount in understanding the dynamics of the conflict as a national issue and analysis where made based on the findings.

## 6.4 Contribution of the study

- The study contributes to the understanding of the effects of ethno-religious and political phenomena on conflict exist in a multi-ethnic society.

- This study also contributes to the understanding of potential influence of ethno-religious actors on the management and conceptualization of conflict

- This study highlights on how the failure of the state contributes to conflict escalation.

## 6.5 Recommendations

Consequent upon the analysis of ethno-religious and political conflict discussed in the preceding chapters, and judging from the conclusion, the menace of ethno religious and political conflict can be reduced following the recommendations below:

### 6.5.1 Educational Development among Citizens

One of the major avenues for managing and reducing ethno-religious and political conflict is through educational development. Consequently, the government needs to give education the priority it deserves, by improving budgetary allocation to the sector; rehabilitating educational infrastructures and enhancing access to develop and explore their potentials and skills for self-employment and productive activities. In addition, education should be reviewed to incorporate skills acquisition, as this will make people self-reliant and economically empowered, using lifelong education policy, education for all and special grant to all primary, secondary school teachers, including the tertiary institutions.

Smith (1976) explained the concept clearly when he wrote that, the moment a society educating its people; it will gain no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. However, the more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of superstition belief which, among ignorant state frequently occasion the most dreadful

171

challenges. He argues that "An instructed and intelligent people besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid ones". The externality of educational development is important to the proper functioning not only to the state economy but also to the democratic consolidation (Smith 1976).

The education if properly used can reduce the extent to which people are being used and marginalized, since the power to control and the mind can be reduced. Religion cement social relationship, but the modern setting requires a broad understanding of complexities of today's civilization and appreciation of how religion affect human social interaction, this if properly channelled can enhance people's understanding for peaceful coexistence and in a way reduce ethno-religious and political conflict (Durkheim, 2003 in Abdu 2010).

**6.5.2 Religious Tolerance**

This study recommend that, ethno-religious and political conflict in the region and Nigeria in general should attain the instrument for a just, peaceful and united Nigeria through pro-active measures in promoting the culture of accepting and understanding of each religion, this can be done through dialogue, and organizing interactive session, where religious leaders would be encourage to organize interactive session to encourage their followers to adhere to living in peace and harmony.

Religious intolerance has been identified as one of the major source of ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigerian context, because it has been observed that, deeper cleavages are created in society by it more than any other factor. Religious intolerance in turn has several factors attributed to its notorious existence in human societies.

Although Muslims and Christians in Nigeria accept change and no one is rigid, there is ample chance giving to understand, learn, and also to share social activities with each other in respective of their ethnic identity, but they stick to their orientations as either being a Muslim or Christian Abdu (2010).

The diversity of interpretations of doctrine even within the same religion is another factor which needs to be addressed. There is also the need for religious leader of different persuasion to meet constantly to discuss issues of common good and resolve those capable of causing dissension among the people. If the religious leaders of different religious groups are seen discussing issues of common good fraternally, it will behove their followers that working with one another as brothers is acceptable.

Abdu (2010) views religion as an identity is all about solidarity and setting of boundaries between those who are considered to be believers and those that are not. This deal with issues of intolerance, sentiments, feelings and also norms which may arises due to mechanism of unjust social order.

### 6.5.3 Illiteracy and Ignorance

There is need to include in the budget and then develop an information communication technology in the area that would empower and also enhance people to be productive. Government should also establish community education program that will educate the community members, to create ways by which people will have their link for resolving conflicts within their domain. Illiteracy can be seen as agent of political and ethno-religious based conflict in Nigeria. In order to reduce the impact of illiteracy in Nigeria government should invest much on educational development and

to do away with the dichotomy of ethnic background. By this, society would be able to have peaceful living environment and which would also attract foreign investors.

This in a way can go a long a way in encouraging and addressing the level of ignorance and would encourage religious intolerance and therefore would reduce the occurrence of ethno religious and political conflict in not only the north eastern region but the whole country.

Adebayo (2010) argued that, ethno-religious crises in Nigeria arise following the wrong interpretation of the holy books by those who claim authority over the religious affairs in some cases. That is why people always go into contrary to the teaching of their religion especially in matters concerning inter-religious relations, and peace among people. He posit that, it is a serious disease for an ignorance to claim authority to knowledge, due to economic interest majority of religious leaders use their shallow knowledge to interpret the holy books to suit their selfish end banking on the ignorance of their members. That is the reason why Nigeria experienced a wide gap between the religion and the teaching and practice among its followers.

### 6.5.4 Sharia Penal Code

The states should be allowed to adopt Sharia legal system in accordance to their needs as stipulated in Islamic religion. As the Federal Constitution of Nigeria 1999 section 38 provided for freedom of thought, conscience and religion or belief, and section 277 (1) of the same constitution provided for the establishment of Sharia Court of Appeal for the States. While in section 6 (5) the constitution also gave power to the state legislative houses to enact laws for peace, security and good governance Federal

Constitution of Nigeria (1999). The government should educate people to accommodate others, while everyone should have freedom to worship according to their religious principles enumerated in the constitution. In addition, religious and political actors should preach the genuine teaching of their religious. Seminars, educational institutions, traditional rulers, interviews and Nigerian press can equally play a big role towards averting such conflicts and promoting national unity.

### 6.5.5 Committed to True Federalism in Governance

Good governance and political solutions is most needed in Nigeria. The solution is to have stable country as a federation of ethnic nations. If these situations exist, the religious, political actors and ethnic nationalities will support all government machineries by living under one unit of diversity, regardless of their tribes, ethnicity or religions. Writing more specifically about conflict violence, Lave and Cormick (1978), make similar assumptions about the nature of human beings. Human beings, and the systems within which they live, they contend that, humans physiologically want some basics needs for shelter and food, security and status, and self determination (empowerment).

The absence of these needs in respect of their identity or injustice by the ruling class therefore leads to conflict. "Wherever systems discriminate between groups, communities, and nations to the point of threatening lives and livelihoods", according to Fisher et al (2000, p.9), "the result is structural and institutional conflict". The need for regulatory body against corrupt practices in Nigeria is equally expedient, such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) that should hold those in power accountable, for maintaining all financial regulations and which will bring all

corrupt people into book. Finally, any government that found to be transparent, accountable and just, will develop human development, stability and national integration.

**6.5.6 Reduce Unemployment rate through initiation of good plans**

This research tried to address the major challenges facing democratic society of Nigeria; Reduction of unemployment rate will automatically reduce the wave of criminal tendencies. The government should introduce lifelong learning project, enhance small scale industries, for local and rural dwellers and improve unified Universal Basic Education in the country.

The government should improve its public private partnership programme that would raise the capacity of small and medium scale informal sector economic activities. Poverty could be tackled by investment in agriculture through improved access to fertilizer, agricultural loans, technology and supply of modern agricultural equipments. Evidences have shown that there is no country in Europe or the United States that do not give support to agricultural production subsidies and other market incentives. The Nigerian government should, therefore, embark on similar policies and introduce subsidies to agricultural equipments and support the programmes to reduce poverty and unemployment, this can be done through public private partnership.

As White, et al (2003) in Mustapha et al (2008) observed that, various phenomena of poverty generates discrimination, diseases and lack of quality education restrict income level, and political and economic power resulted to inequity. Government

expenditure should be developed to provide basic health facilities, infrastructural development, community services, good education and the provision of all social services. This can be attributed to the victims and others involve in conflict, especially ethno religious conflict, within and outside the north eastern regions.

### 6.5.7 Religious Enlightenment and Sensitive Reporting

The media has a strong potential role in playing a reconciliatory and conflict management if properly managed. An Arabic poet says "Knowledge raises a house without a pillar and ignorance wrecks a noble and exalted house" from this statement and similar utterances on the importance of knowledge, it is not illusion to state that most ethno-religious and political conflicts occur as a result of ignorance and poverty.

According to (McNair, 1999, 20-21 cited in Abdu 2010) The 1999 Nigerian Constitution has clearly provided for the media that is why it is often described as the "Fourth Estate of the Realm". It is suggested that the media plays five strategic roles in an ideal democracy. First according to him is to inform citizens of what is happening around them. Second is to educate them as to the meaning and significance of the "facts" Third, to provide a platform for public political discourse including space for expression of dissent, fourth, to play a watch dog role and ensure state accountability, and finally to serve as a channel for public policy advocacy (Abdu 2010).

Therefore, there is an urgent need for ethno-religious enlightenment programmes at all levels of contact in the Nigerian societies. Religious leaders should always preach peace. They should eschew provocative preaching and condemnation of other

people`s faith. Whenever people are well grounded in their faith, it would be very difficult to manipulate them for sinister aims in the name of either religion or ethnic diversity.

**6.5.8 Improvement of Socio-economic Conditions of the Citizens**

Most of ethno-religious and political conflicts in the region were perpetuated by poor citizens who harboured or who were made to harbour grudge of marginalisation and domination against government and politicians who they accuse of not showing sympathy to their sufferings In fact most people identified as religious fanatics were ignorant, illiterate and poverty-stricken individuals. Therefore, government should improve the lot of the citizens economically and socially. They should provide job opportunities for able-bodied citizens with attractive wages and better conditions of service. As explained by one of the theoretical frame work, the structural conflict theory, the structures inherent in the societies are the major reasons for the existence of conflict in the society, particular the north eastern region is one of the region with more poor citizens, and therefore more likely to be used for conflict situations, like the "almajiri" and other unemployed youth. Addressing their situation and their economic situation if properly improved can reduce the risk of occurrence of conflict within the region.

**6.5.9 Dispatching Commensurate Security Agents**

Previous experience has shown that the police because of the nature of their training and equipments have not succeeded in quelling ethno-religious and political conflicts. Therefore, the military which has brought such conflicts under control should henceforth be immediately dispatched. The rationale behind these recommendations is

that the situation usually created by ethno-religious conflict is akin to that of war. However, it is clear that lack of adequate facilities and professionalism on the part of law enforcement agencies have created untold hardship for the people over the years. The Police therefore should be properly equipped and motivated. Police operatives need to be trained to anticipate conflict and nip them in the bud to avoid escalation Abdu (2010). Proper funding of the Police is a condition to good performance and sustenance of democracy. Because inadequate training, poor conflict detection and management facilities, lack of motivation and the increased politicisation of law enforcement have seriously retarded the efficiency of the Nigerian Police.

### 6.5.10 Proactive Measures

There should be proactive measures for conflict prevention. According to Horowitz (2002) "early warning signal is a credible strategy of managing the challenges of ethnic, religious and political conflict, and therefore must be heeded to, so that conflict do not snowball into unmanageable dimensions." In Nigeria, proactive measures in order to control conflicts are not taken into consideration, as evidenced during the 2002 Taraba conflict, conflicts which are mainly politically motivated violence were not urgently treated unless when the clash resulted to loss of lives and displaced many people from their domain.

### 6.5.11 Recommendations for Further Study

- Although this thesis has answered all its primary and secondary research questions, there are many topics pertaining to ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria that need further study. There should be studies of other ethno religious and political conflict to broaden the understanding of the area..

- There is the need for further research on the impacts of arms proliferation in the region, in relation to how the people are getting arms without the law doing anything about the culprit, even though they are known.

- There should be research on the behavioural factors responsible for the conflict in the region.

- The study suggests further research on factors responsible for the breakdown of cultural ties among diverse communities in the region.

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## Appendix A

## Interview Guide

| Interview Questions | Probing Questions |
|---|---|
| 1. From your own experience and observations what do you think are the root cause of ethno-religious and political Conflict in this region? | Have you ever voiced out your opinion? What type of policy do you think could help in managing conflict? Who care for the internally displaced persons? |
| 2. How do you think that poor governance contribute to the persistence occurrence of conflict? | When was the last incident? Who made the attempt? |
| 3. Do you support the way and manner how Civil Society organisations discharge their selfless services here? | Do you have any comment about it? Do you satisfied with the efforts made by both government and the NGOs during and after the conflict? |
| 4. How were people affected by the conflicts? | Was the conflict resolved? |
| 5. How does political and ethno-religious based conflict impact on the North-East and Nigeria in general? | |
| 6. What are the origins, objective and nature of Taliban phenomenon in this state? | |
| 7. Does the state possess the capacity to manage ethno-religious and political | |

| conflict? | |
| --- | --- |
| 8. How can such capacity be transformed with the aim of guaranteeing durable peace, security and stability? | |
| 9. On your own view how can the government reconcile the contradictory role of the diverse ethnic and religious groups? | |
| 10. What are the challenges militating against the effective Management of ethno-religious and political conflict In North-East region? | |
| 11. What are the strategies could be adopted to minimized or neutralized the impact of this phenomenon | |

**Appendix B**

**Excerpts from the Interview regarding causes of ethno-religious and political conflict**

| Causes | Ethno-Religious | Political |
|---|---|---|
| Poverty | Respondent.3 | Respondent.16 |
| | Economic hardship, and the Ignorance of religious teachings. | Ethno-politics of godfatherism encourage youth gang reactions |
| Unemployment | Respondent.41 | Respondent. 56 |
| | In this place today, you can either belong to their tribe or you give bribe or else you remained jobless. | There is no social amenities here, you cannot even see the politicians so who will give you work? No light, no water only to fight. |
| Illiteracy and Ignorance | Respondent. 65 | Respondent. 82 |
| | Due to lack of understanding the teachings of religion, selfish interest, politicising the religion itself, both religious leaders and the political actors are not doing | Majority of the community and the religious leaders are serving the interest of wealthy politicians and top government functionaries instead of educating people. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | enough to educate people. | |
| Corruption | Respondent.28 | Respondent.7 |
| | Even the religious leaders among them there is no cohesion, politicians and contractors are paying them to support their criminal and corrupt practices. | I can say that the government has no direction, once you are opportune to be there that is all, one day you thief as much as you can, don't forget we have the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) but<br><br>go to Nigerian Prison and see<br><br>only poor people were detained<br><br>and jailed why? Corruption!!! |

| Marginalisation | Respondent.90 | Respondent.10 |
|---|---|---|
| | We are doing politics but still only Hausa-Fulani, and Kanuri ethnic groups are controlling the region, can you imagine a place of over 200 ethnic nationalities to have peace easily? I doubt. | The ruling party in any state used to mobilised youth gangs in numbers to disorganised elections and win even by force,<br><br>That is why only that tribe in power are marginalising the rest. |
| Insecurity | Respondent.21 | Respondent. 84 |
| | We have poor governance the law enforcement agencies are not well equipped, if there is any conflict you hardly see policemen on time until damage has been done. The IDPs are not well prepared; the hospital is not ready for treating patients. Because no light, no good salary, no | People are taking law into their hand, the police are openly corrupt, likewise the government officials, then at last people were afraid to come and stay here or making investment in the place for that matter. |

| | promotion and anything you can think otherwise. | |
| --- | --- | --- |

**Appendix C**

**Summary Demographic Description of each Respondent**

| ID NO | State | Category | Gender | Status |
|-------|-------|----------|--------|--------|
| 1 | Adamawa | Communal clash | Male | Adamu Sale Chairman N/E Peoples Democratic Party |
| 2 | Adamawa | Ethnic | Male | Zaphania Ngurza Tiv Supervisor |
| 3 | Adamawa | Religious | Female | Bilkisu Mohammed Action Congress Party Women leader, Yola |
| 4 | Adamawa | Religious | Male | Mallam Auwal B. Islamic Preacher Gombi LGA |
| 5 | Adamawa | Communal clash | Female | Victoria. U Guyuk Politician |
| 6 | Adamawa | Communal clash | Male | Anthiny Emeruju Catholic Pastor Yola |
| 7 | Adamawa | Political | Male | Usman Haruna Ganye Staff Teachers Service Commission Yola |
| 8 | Adamawa | Ethnic | Male | Bashir Ali Ganye Leader Youth Forum |
| 9 | Adamawa | Political | Female | Bito Hassana Joda Women Leader All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) |
| 10 | Adamawa | Religious | Female | Patricia Doja ECWA Church Numan |

| 11 | Adamawa | Religious | Male | Nasiru Nuraddin Farmer & Member Fadama Access Project, UNDP Initiative Programme Yola |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 12 | Adamawa | Religious | Female | Eunice Felix Bakare Christian Association (CAN) Madagali |
| 13 | Adamawa | Political | Male | Gidado Tukur Politician |
| 14 | Adamawa | Communal clash | Male | Ibrahim Mohammed Jamaatul Nasril Islam (JNI) Aid Group Jada |
| 15 | Adamawa | Communal clash | Male | Aliyu Hussaini Adamawa Elders Forum Community Bases Organisation |
| 16 | Bauchi | Political | Male | Alh Muhhammadu Gadau District Head of Gadau |
| 17 | Bauchi | Political | Male | Suleiman Umar Secretary to HRH emir of Katagum, Bauchi |
| 18 | Bauchi | Religious | Male | Usman Yakubu Taliban (Boko Haram Member) |
| 19 | Bauchi | Religious | Male | Sanin Mallam Bauchi State Chairman All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) |
| 20 | Bauchi | Religious | Female | Terefina Daju Women |

| | | | | Advocate and Documentation Centre Bauchi an (NGO) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | Bauchi | Political | Female | Ladi Jamaare Women leader Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Bauchi |
| 22 | Bauchi | Political | Male | Alh Musa Ahmed PDP Regional Vice Chairman |
| 23 | Bauchi | Religious | Female | Delu Yalwa ECHWA Church Yelwa Bauchi |
| 24 | Bauchi | Religious | Male | Sheik Dahiru Usman Bauchi Islamic Preacher |
| 25 | Bauchi | Political | Male | Adamu Madara Youth Forum of Nigeria Bauchi Chapter Coordinator an (NGO) |
| 26 | Bauchi | Religious | Male | Alh Yalwaji Turaki Traditional Ruler Emirate of Katagum Bauchi |
| 27 | Bauchi | Political | Male | Ahmed Adamu Lecturer Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Uviersity Bauchi |
| 28 | Bauchi | Ethnic | Female | Zulai Ahmad Politician |
| 29 | Bauchi | Ethnic | Male | Kawuntaji S. Primary Health Care Dept Genaral Hospital |

| | | | | Azare Bauchi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | Bauchi | Ethnic | Male | Mallam Ibrahim Abubakar Imam Jamaatul Nasril Islam Bauchi |
| 31 | Borno | Religious | Male | Bulama Dugum Staff Board of Primary Education Maiduguri |
| 32 | Borno | Religious | Male | Alh Tanko Social welfare Officer University of Miad Teaching Hospital |
| 33 | Borno | Religious | Male | Bukar Saje Politician |
| 34 | Borno | Religious | Female | Zara Ibrahin Vice President Federation of Muslim Women Ass of Nigeria NGO |
| 35 | Borno | Political | Female | Yakaka Lamin ANPP women Council Maiduguri |
| 36 | Borno | Political | Female | Grace Dominic Alis Bulunkutu Catholic Pri Sch Staff |
| 37 | Borno | Ethnic | Male | Mukthar Abubakar Jamatul Nasril Islam Maiduguri Aid Group |
| 38 | Borno | Communal clash | Male | Aliyu Abana Environment & Sanition Board Min of Environment and Protection |

| | | | | Agency Maiduguri |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 39 | Borno | Religious | Male | Yusuf Ibrahim Resident Bulunkutu area |
| 40 | Borno | Ethnic | Female | Ramatu Ibrahim Shani Member The Country Women Association of Nigeria an NGO |
| 41 | Borno | Religious | Male | Mallam Yahuza Islamic Preacher Maiduguri, Nat Council of Muslim Youth of Nigeria (NACOMYO) |
| 42 | Borno | Religious | Female | Aubakar Maina Askira Youth Organisation For Peace Bensheick NGO |
| 43 | Borno | Religious | Male | Usman Tatabe Staff IDPs Maiduguri |
| 44 | Borno | Communal clash | Male | Gana Lawan JIBWIS Aid Group an NGO Maiduguri |
| 45 | Borno | Political | Male | DSP Azare PRO Nig Police Borno State |
| 46 | Gombe | Ethnic | Male | Muawiya Usman Welfare officer Specialist Hospital Gombe |
| 47 | Gombe | Ethnic | Male | Hussaini Alhaji First Aid Group of JIBWIS Fantami |

| 48 | Gombe | Ethnic | Female | Sheick Kabru Islamic Preacher |
|----|-------|--------|--------|-------------------------------|
| 49 | Gombe | Religious | Male | Dr Modibbo Former FCT Minister Abuja |
| 50 | Gombe | Religious | Male | Abdulkarim Shehu Traditional Council Gombe |
| 51 | Gombe | Political | Female | Hadiza Sani PDP Women Coordinator |
| 52 | Gombe | Religious | Female | Asabe Hamisu Student Union Government Treasurer Gombe State University |
| 53 | Gombe | Religious | Female | Christiana Madugu President Centre for Peace Advancement in Nigeria (Inter-Faith organisation) |
| 54 | Gombe | Religious | Male | Ado Bello Fulani Forum Speaker an Ethnic Union |
| 55 | Gombe | Ethnic | Male | Abdulmalik Usman Kaltungo Traditional Council |
| 56 | Gombe | Communal clash | Male | Simon Bakari Staff National Orientation Agency Gombe |
| 57 | Gombe | Communal clash | Male | Dikko Sham Resident Tudun Wada area |

| 58 | Gombe | Ethnic | Male | Sadiq Mohammed Kumo Staff Public Complain Commission Gonbe |
|----|-------|--------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 59 | Gombe | Religious | Male | Buba Lamido Staff Buba yero Primary Sclool (IDPs Centre) Gombe |
| 60 | Gombe | Communal clash | Male | Cosmos Solomon G. Nigerian Chapter Mennonite Central Committee an NGO |
| 61 | Taraba | Communal clash | Male | Yusuf Gambo Youth leader |
| 62 | Taraba | Communal clash | Male | Amfani. J. Chairman, Advisers Council to HRH Aku Uka |
| 63 | Taraba | Communal clash | Male | Jolly A. Angyu District Head of Nwokon, Wukari |
| 64 | Taraba | Ethnic | Male | Mr Tony Oyatedor Journalist |
| 65 | Taraba | Communal clash | Male | Mallam Ibrahim Kabir Chairman Islamic Preachers (JIBWIS) |
| 66 | Taraba | Ethnic | Male | Amb Segun Olusola Chairman AREF |
| 67 | Taraba | Political | Male | Mr Emeka Boni Business man Wukari |
| 68 | Taraba | Political | Female | Justina Hamma Women leader PDP |

| 69 | Taraba | Communal clash | Female | Miss A. B Jalingo Peace Implementation Committee Secretary |
|----|--------|----------------|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 70 | Taraba | Communal clash | Female | Tabitha Lyocks Staff Central Primary School Jalingo |
| 71 | Taraba | Political | Male | Alh Dahiru Jibbo Chairman Miyetti Allah (Fulani Ass) |
| 72 | Taraba | Communal clash | Female | Jummai Avav Internally Displaced Person's Clack Jalingo |
| 73 | Taraba | Ethnic | Male | Ibrahim T. 400 level Student Dept of Political Science Jubilee University Wukari |
| 74 | Taraba | Communal clash | Male | Mohammed Abdullahi elected Councillor Wukari |
| 75 | Taraba | Political | Male | Wurani Kwazai Joseph Lecture Jubilee University Wukari |
| 76 | Yobe | Religious | Male | Idi Yusuf Lecturer CABS Potiskum |
| 77 | Yobe | Religious | Male | Abbati Mamudo Traditional Council Gujba |
| 78 | Yobe | Religious | Female | Bitu Kuna Journalist Yobe Radio Corperation |
| 79 | Yobe | Religious | Female | Asabe Musa Nigeria Chapter |

| | | | | of Transparency International Damaturu NGO |
|----|------|----------------|--------|------------------------------------------------|
| 80 | Yobe | Religious | Male | Ahmed Bello President SUG Bukar Abba University Damaturu |
| 81 | Yobe | Religious | Male | Tijjani Maianuwa Bolewa group Communty Based Org |
| 82 | Yobe | Religious | Female | Polum Andrews ECKWA Church Women Chapter Damagun (Christian Association) |
| 83 | Yobe | Political | Female | Talatu Maigari ANPP State Campaign Coordinator Damaturu |
| 84 | Yobe | Political | Male | Bukar Abba Ibrahim Former Governor |
| 85 | Yobe | Ethnic | Male | Mallam Abubakar Yakubu Bolewa Community leader Potiskum |
| 86 | Yobe | Political | Male | Haruna Saleh Gaidam Youth Forum Chairman |
| 87 | Yobe | Communal clash | Male | PC Ade Aja Nigerian Police Force |
| 88 | Yobe | Religious | Male | Jibrin Adamu Staff Public |

| | | | | Complaints Commission Damaturu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 89 | Yobe | Ethnic | Male | Mallam Usman Babayo Imam Jamatul Nasril Islam Yobe Chapter |
| 90 | Yobe | Ethnic | Male | Sunusi Iliyasu Nigerian Immigration Service Yobe State Command |

**Statement of Informed Consent**

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview it is very important because the study that Iam doing requires the researcher to understand the issue of Ethno-Religious and Political Conflict in North-East Region of Nigeria from 2000-2007, we will discuss our general ideas about the root causes and management.

This interview will last for two hours or less and will be audio taped. The participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you wish to withdraw from the interview, you may do so at any time, and you do not need to give any reasons or explanations for doing so.

The names of all the people in the study will be kept confidential.

You will not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study, but your participation may help others in the future.

The members of the research team will answer any question you may have about the study.

_____

I have read and understand this information and I agree to take part in this study.

_____                           _____

   Today's date                                      your signature

# Appendix E

## "Boko Haram" Bauchi





.

# Appendix F

## "Boko Haram" Borno

**Appendix G**

**Images of Political, Religious and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria Since 2000**

Abdullahi et al (2007) opined that even with the demise of military regimes, and following the coming of new elected government in May 29, 1999 in Nigeria, it has been observed that while one part or region view the coming of elected government in Nigeria as a chance for societal development and the time to benefit the system of democracy, the other section view it as a way to dominate others. The political administration established an avenue of political domination (IDMC, 2006) and cause conflicts to be caused by the political actors. According to IDMC (2006) the dangers of ethno-religious and political conflict in Nigeria is a great challenge. It had recorded a 14,000 people killed and had make many Nigerians into internally displaced persons. As adapted from the work of (Human Right Watch 2003 and Elaigwu 2005 cited in Abdullahi et al 2007) below consist of several conflicts of ethno-religious and political factor that have erupted in various parts of Nigeria.

1. Conflict between Itsekiri and the people of Ijaw land of Delta State on the May 31, 1999: This violence has its genesis in the era of Military regime.

2. Ethno-religious conflict at Sagamu in Ogun State between the Yoruba and the settlers Hausa-Fulani July 2, 1999.

3. Reprisal attack July 22, 1999 by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic challenging the Yorubas following the 2 July conflict:

4. Military killing so many people in Odi town Bayelsa Staet November 8, 1999: (Elaigwu, 2005).

5. On the February 28, 2000: There was a clash between Muslim and Christian extremists in Kaduna State Northern Nigeria due to the implementation of the Sharia legal Islamic system in some parts of the region.

6. Reprisal attacks to the Kaduna Sharia conflict on the Feb. 28, 2000, the conflict broke in Abia State; which later spread to other eastern parts of Nigeria..

7. Communal clash between Ife and Modakeke people in Ijesha, Osun State on the March 10, 2000

8. In Agyragu, Nasarawa State there was a clash on the April 14, 2000, over the location of the headquarters of the local government.

9. May 4, 2000, clash among the Ife and Modakeke in Osun State.

10. Ethnic division clash between Ilorin land and their counterpart the Yoruba October17, 2000, over the leading team of traditional system in Kwara State.

11. Ethno-religious clash in October 18, 2000, between the militant OPC and Hausa/ Fulani in Ajegunle, Lagos State.

12. Ethno- religious conflict in Minna Niger State in October 21, 2000, after the Yoruba assaults on the Hausa/Fulani in both Lagos and Ilorin of Kwara State.

13. On the 28, June 2001, an ethnic conflict between the Azara people and the Tiv natives in Nasarawa State. The conflict started following the killing of an Azara traditional ruler. The conflict later spread to Tiv area.

14. Conflict of ethno-religious crisis erupts between the Muslim Hausa/Fulani and the Christian indigenes in Jos, Plateau State, on the September 7, 2001. The conflict was between the Development Association of Jasawa and the Council of Plateau Youth over the political appointment in Jos North Local Government Council.

15. Massive killing of Northerners in September 15, 2001. There was a reprisal attack in Onitsha, Anambra State Southern Nigeria

16. Political conflict, which turned into a ethno-religious clash on November 2, 2001, as a result of a government decision to relocate the Local Government Headquarters from Gwantu, in Kaduna State.

17. Peoples Democratic Party PDP held its ward congress on the May 2, 2002. During the congress conflict started which immediately turned into an ethno-religious conflict in Jos town, Plateau State.

18. Sokoto Town the capital of Sokoto State experienced political conflict in early March, 2003, between the armed supporters of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP).

19. The Chairman of All Nigeria Peoples Party ANPP, Ebonyi State on March 3, 2000, reported shooting attack on him while in a vehicle.

20. Political clash between the members of ANPP and that of PDP on the March 4, 2003, where the governor's convoy was attacked in Edo State.

21. On the March 6, 2003, there was an attack on the opposition ANPP senatorial candidate's convoy in Cross Rivers State.

22. In Kebbi State on the March 10 and 11, 2003, the leading Peoples Democratic Party clashed badly with the opposition All Nigeria Peoples Party.

23. Lagos state had a clash on March 11-12, 2003, between PDP and Alliance for Democracy (AD).

24. Supporters of ANPP and that of PDP had a serious clash on March 15, and 16, 2003, in Kebbi State.

25. Political conflict on July 14, 2003, in Delta State between Epen people and Uvwie community.

26. Election violence on February 17, 2004, in Takum LG between supporters of PDP and National Democratic Party (NDP).

27. Massive killing on the May 1, 2004, due to ethno-religious and political conflict in Yelwan Shendam local government area, Plateau state claimed over 650 lives.

28. Reprisal killing May 12, 2004, in Kano state following Yelwan Shendam ethno-religious conflict.

29. Armed youth stormed the capital city of Anambra State on November 10, 2004.

30. January 16, 2005, ethno-religious conflict between O'Odudua People's Congress and Muslims community for the building of Ogun Shrine in a Muslim praying ground in Ipakodo, Lagos State.

31. On the February, 2000, there was a Clash between nomads and farmers over claims of invasion of farmlands and destruction of crops in Ringim town of Jigawa State.

32. February, 2005: Armed men in military uniform invaded the town of Ibidi and Odioma of Bayelsa State resulting in injuries and killing of innocent people in the area.

33. Interstate conflict between Burmin town in Bauchi State and that of Maruta town in Jigawa State on the March 5, 2005 following the relocation of the market

34. Ethnic conflict on May 11, 2005 as Guza and Mariri area in Lere town of Kaduna State had a serious ethnic clash over relocation of a secondary school by the government.

35. Members of Shiite group clashed on June 2005, with the sect of Sunni followers over the use of mosque in Sokoto town of Sokoto State.

Alubo (2008) argues that the present outbreaks of civil disturbances are rooted in the historical (colonial) past and fuelled by the mismanagement of old structures by various post independent governments. He concludes with the following incident of conflict: 19 March 2001 clashed in Borno state and Kogi, nine innocent people were killed during the reprisal attack from cattle rearers.

January 2, 2002: Clash between armed youths and the Fulani "settlers". As a result about 50 people were killed, and about 20,000 Fulanis immigrated to the neighbouring state of Cameroun.

March 27, 2002: Borno State religious clash erupted in Damboa town when a man volunteered his residential quarters for church services. About 20 people lost their lives and over 100 refugees were recorded.

December, 11, 2002: Adamawa state clash between Fulani Dafur native.

March 4, 2003: a reprisal attack by the Fulani in Adamawa state on ethnic Dume community. Over 100 people including 8 policemen and 2 soldiers were killed.

June 10, 2003: a conflict started in Numan of Adamawa state when a water hawker stabbed a woman to death; over five people were killed while churches and mosques were burnt.

December 28-January 4, 2004: in Yobe state Islamic militant attacked police stations, murdered and sized weapons, over 50 people were killed.

October 22, 2001: In Taraba state soldiers attacked defenceless civilians at Gbeji and killed over one hundred and fifty civilians.

In 2006, new wave of political violence engulfed Anambra, Jos and Oyo states where Governors were unconstitutionally removed from their offices though some were re-instated through judicial processes. The aftermaths of these events were destruction of properties by aggrieved people in those states.

## Appendix H

## List of Islamic organisations registered in Nigeria

Ahmadiyya Movement in Nigeria

Jamaatul Nasril Islam

The Council of Ulama

Federation of Muslim Women Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN)

Ijebuode Muslim Friendly society

Isawa Movement

Islam in Africa Organization (IAO)

Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN)

Nigerian Muslims brothers

Jamaatu Izalat Al-Bida Wa Iqamatus al-sunna (Izala)

Jamatul Taqwiyyat-l islamiyyat

National Council of Muslim Youth Organizations of Nigeria NACOMYO

National Joint Muslim Organization *NAJOMO*

Qadirriya Tariqa

Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs

Tijaniyya Tariqa has seven different organs under its umbrella

Hamahullah Rariqa

NASFAT

Nasrul-Lahi-il-Faith

Nurudeen Society

Nawar-ud-deen Society

Hezbollah Movement Nigeria

Young Muslim Brother and Sister YOMBAS)

Quareed Islamic Society in Nigeria

Fit Arul Islam Organization

Islam Missionaries Association of Nigeria

Hizbullahi al-Ghalib (HLA) Society

Sirajudeen Society of Nigeria

Shamsuddeen Society of Nigeria

Muyiddeen Society of Nigeria

Qamarul-Islam Society

Shamsul-Arifuna Society

Muinud-deen Society of Nigeria

Ahbabuddeen il Islamiyya Society of Nigeria

Nigerian Taliban

Al Sunna Wal Jamma

Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs (SCIA)

Daawah Coordinating Council of Nigeria (DCCN)

Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria (SCSN)

Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)

Islamic Forum of Nigeria (IFN)

Islamic Education Trust (IET)

Jamaatul Izalatul Bidia Waikamatus Sunna (JIBWIS).**

Muslim Corpers Association of Nigeria (MCAN

Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN

National Council of Muslim Youth Organisations (NACOMYO

Council Ulama of Nigeria (CUN)

Centre of Islamic Information

Islamic Trust of Nigeria (ITN)

Council of Daawah and Welfare of Converts (CODAWOCO

Jama'tul Muslimeen

Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS)

Federation of Muslim Women Associations In Nigeria (FOMWAN

Muslim Sisters' Organisation (MSO)

Third World Relief Agency (TWRA)

International Islamic Charitable Organization (IICO

Muslim World League (MWL)

Munazzamah Al-daawah Al-Islamyyah

World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY)

28

International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO

International Islamic Federation of Students Organizations (IIFSO)

University of Nsukka Muslim Community

International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)

Ansarul Islam Society of Nigeria

Islamic Foundation of Nigeria (IFN)

Benue State Daawah Committee

Islamic Missionaries Association of Nigeria (IMAN

Abu Sheriffideen Organization

Adabiyyah Kamaliyah of Nigeria

Council of Daawah and Guidance

Abuja Muslim Forum

Abuja Muslim Women in Daawah

Muslim Public Affairs Centre (MPAC)

Islamic Propagation Centre

Nigeria Islamic Centre (NIC)

Fityanul Islam

The Young Muslims

Islamic Health Students Association of Nigeria (IHSAN

Islamic Medical Association of Nigeria (IMAN)

Jama'atul Al-Nahdal Al-Islamiyya

Association of Muslims Professionals

National Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies (NATAIS)

Jama'atu Shababul Islam

Jama'atul Tajdidul Islam (JTI)

Almuntadatul Al-Islam

The Muslim Congress