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**Dynamic International Journal of Arts and Humanities:
Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Ignatius
Ajuru University of Education Rumuolumeni, Port
Harcourt, Rivers State
Volume 1, Number 1, 2021
ISSN: 2814-0907**

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CRISES IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA, 2000-2011

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Abstract

Many states in Nigeria have been devastated by ethno-religious crises. The frictions in Kaduna were caused by a combination of factors that range from the introduction of Sharia Law, Muslim/Christian divide, added to unequal treatment of ethnic groups within the state structures, unemployment, misconception of Christians and Muslims about their faith, Christians and Muslim Fundamentalists, bad governance, ethnicity and indoctrination of some of the communicant of both faiths. The research argues that the sudden upsurge of the

skirmishes affected the socio-political and the economic activities of the people in the state. Socially, many lives were lost while, thousands were displaced. Economically, it thwarted business activities, which resulted in unemployment of many. The crises crippled the political life of the people. Some group agitated for the creation of another state. Secondary sources in the form of books, journals, articles, oral interviews and internet sources were used. The research recommends that Christians and Muslims should accommodate the cultural, religious and developmental differences within the objective of one indivisible nature. To ensure lasting political stability and economic development, there should be respect for individual and community rights, justice, fair play, equity, transparency and high degree of public morality. The government of Kaduna State should provide more basic amenities for the entire local government within the state.

KEYWORDS: Political, Crises, Economic, Social, Unemployment

Introduction

The city of Kaduna, the capital of Kaduna State, is one of the largest state in northern Nigeria. It was founded by the British in 1913 and became the capital of Nigeria's former Northern Region in 1917.¹ Northern Nigeria is predominantly Muslim, but Kaduna has a significant population of Christians. **Christian religion**

remains the major religion of the state.² Kaduna, like other states of Nigeria, has experienced outbreaks of violence and skirmishes between different groups. In recent years, leaders have used religion to stir up violence whenever it suite their purposes. Since 2000, in particular, the religious dimension to the tensions in Kaduna emerged more explicitly, as conflicts began to centre around the extension of Sharia to criminal law, one of the most divisive issues in Nigeria in recent times. In 2002 Kaduna experienced violence in response to a controversial newspaper article suggesting that the Prophet Mohammed would have approved of the planned Miss World pageant. During the three days of attacks and reprisal killings that became known as the “Miss World Riots,” 250 people were killed and nearly 30,000 fled the city.³ The overall frequency of violent deaths in Kaduna state owes much to a combination of other factors that include car accident, armed robbery attacks etc. However, religious issues appear to also reinforce the collective expression of fatalities which most times devastates the economic and social activities of people.

In 1999, ethno religious attacks against Southern Kaduna and other Christians in Kaduna North LGA and environ were witnessed.⁴ One of the causes is as a result of incitement from the clerics who in the course of their sermon used provocative and inciting words to the hearing of their disciples against the other religion. Another reason for incitement which played a significant role in fueling crisis is illiteracy and ignorance. The religious crises

in Kaduna State has political undertone. Most politicians use their religion as a shield against their opponents if on realizing they could not get a way forward with either their policy or their political need.⁵ They tend to incite the clerics to preach in their favour thereby inciting the followers to protect their own interest. Some of the politicians would use such opportunity to destabilize the effort of their opponent. The lack of proper orientation of the followers on the need for peaceful co-existence is the main bane of ignorance thereby allowing themselves to be used by some of the politicians and clerics.

A lot of works exist on crises, although not much in terms of a single compendium has been done on Kaduna crises. According to Zwahu Bonnat he was of the view that the 2001, ethnic cleansing to move non-Muslims from Kaduna North LGA, after the failure of attempts to impose sharia on Kaduna State contributed to the crises.⁶ He made an excellent contribution as regard the conflicts that struck Kaduna State.

The Background of the Ethno-Religious Conflict in Kaduna State 2000-2011

The origin of crises in Kaduna state can be traced to deadly demonstration tag 'I found it' (Jesus Salvation) religious demonstrations which took place simultaneously in Kaduna in 1978.⁷ This resulted in the destruction of lives and properties. Still in that same 1978, there was a demonstration by Muslims students from higher institutions in Kaduna. The demonstrators did not

stop at that. They were alleged to have written their messages of protest on trees, parked vehicles and on vehicles belonging to Christians. It was in a bid to resist the attempt to write the slogan on a particular car allegedly belonging to a Christian that led to fights between Muslims and Christians. The causalities of the conflict could not be ascertained.⁸ Another crises in the same 20th century erupted in Kafanchan in 1987, when the Muslim Students Society attacked students of the College of Education in Kaduna state. This spread to Zaria, Kaduna, and Katsina which culminated in the burning of churches.

In the wake of the 21st century there was serious religious tension between Muslims and Christians, particularly over the implementation of Sharia law in the beginning of 2001.⁹ The skirmishes erupted on the 21st of February 2000.¹⁰ The state witnessed three major conflict from 2000 to 2011. The second crises was in 2002. It is called “**Miss World riots**”. It is a series of religiously-motivated riots in the city of Kaduna in November 2002, claiming the lives of more than 200 people.¹¹ The Miss World beauty pageant, that was controversial in Nigeria, was relocated to London after bloody clashes between Muslims and Christians, caused by what some Muslims deemed to be a “blasphemous”. The Miss World riots were part of the Sharia Conflict in Nigeria, that started in 1999.

Islamic states in Northern Nigeria decided to introduce Sharia law. Because of the 2001 contest won by the Nigerian Agbani Darego, Miss World 2002 would take place in Abuja.¹² In the run-

up to the pageant there were many controversies, like the fact that it coincided with the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, and the whole beauty contest was perceived by many conservative Muslims and also Christians to be unchaste.¹³

In 2011 the state witnessed another crisis. It is a post election attacks on Southern Kaduna and other Christians in Kaduna following incendiary comments and incitement by political party leaders during the 2011 presidential election.¹⁴ This crisis was planned and unleashed as a political uprising in ten northern States, but when they started in Kaduna, churches, houses, market were burnt, pastors and other innocent persons were killed, injured and rendered homeless.

. The fighting began following debate around the proposed introduction of Sharia Law in Kaduna State. Sharia has existed in northern Nigeria for many years, but until 1999, it had only been applied to personal and domestic law. From 1999 onwards, in a move which was popular among many Muslims but highly controversial in the broader Nigerian federation, a number of northern state governors began extending its application to criminal law and other areas that had not been previously regulated. Zamfara was the first state to do so; others soon followed, and by 2001, most of Nigeria's twelve northern states had adopted some form of Sharia in criminal law.¹⁵ In view of Kaduna's large Christian population, the possibility of introducing Sharia in the State was always likely to attract more controversy, and more protest, than in other northern states. A Lagos-based

human rights activist described Kaduna as having become a place of contestation for Muslims and Christians, a battleground for the “forces of secularity.”¹⁶ Although designed to apply only to Muslims living in these states (non-Muslim criminal suspects are not tried by Sharia courts), its application has been strongly opposed by Christians, who find themselves directly or indirectly affected by it in different ways. The religious riots involved mainly Christians and Muslims over the introduction of sharia law in Kaduna State.¹⁷ The then governor of Kaduna Ahmed Makarfi announced the introduction of sharia to Kaduna State, of which non-Muslims, are almost half of the population, the Kaduna branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) organised a public protest against it in Kaduna city.¹⁸ Muslim youths then clashed with them and the situation spiraled out of control, with massive violence and destruction on both sides. The violence happened in two main waves (sometimes referred to as "Sharia 1" and "Sharia 2"): a first wave from 21st to 25th February, with further killings in March, followed by a second wave from 22nd to 23rd May the same 2000.¹⁹

Due to the crisis the then president of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo gave an addressed just to arrest the situation. Look at his take at the crises:

Fellow Nigerians, I speak to you again today with a sad and heavy heart, having recently returned from a visit to Kaduna, where I saw the carnage and devastation resulting from the recent disturbances in that city. I had decided

to make a personal visit there, because I was very concerned by the security and other reports I got from the officials on ground. I could not believe that Nigerians were capable of such barbarism against one another. But what I saw there was perhaps even more gruesome in detail.... Those who break our laws will be punished to the full extent of the law.²⁰

Despite the long speech made by the then president of Nigeria. The crisis did not come to an end. Rather it subsided to some extent.

Major Causes of the Ethno-Religious Crisis in Kaduna State 2000-2011

Many factors including lack of good governance, corruption, religious bigotry, introduction of Sharia by governor Ahmed Makarfi, indoctrination of some Christians and Muslims, illiteracy and manipulations have been attributed to the ethno-religious crises in Kaduna state. However, these are some of the factors that led to crises in the beginning of the 21st century.

Lack of Good Governance: This factor is one of the major issue bedevilling Nigeria and some African States. It has led to quagmire and epileptic economic development. According to Akpokpari he notes that the absence of good governance is one of the root cause of the crises in Kaduna state.²¹ Good governance promotes administration that is democratic, efficient and developmental oriented. Good governance as the exercise of political power

promotes the public good and the welfare of the people. According to Babawale, he argues that good governance is the absence of lack of accountability in government, corruption, and political repression, suffocation of civil society and denial of fundamental human rights. He points out the attribute of good governance in any society to include: accountability, transparency in government procedures, high expectation of rational decisions, predictability in government behaviour, openness in government transactions, free flow of information, respect for the rule of law and protection of civil liberties, and press freedom.²² Also, Brinkerhoff argues that governance extends beyond government action to address the role of citizens and the way groups and communities are organised within the society. He observes that promoting good governance includes: reforms to increase accountability, transparency and responsiveness.²³ Furthermore, good governance seeks to improve the capacity of the state, encompassing a variety of strategies to increase efficiency and effectiveness of government performance.²⁴ This implies that accountability, transparency and responsiveness on the part of government and its officials are the hallmark of good governance in any society.

More so, Ekpe argues that the purpose of good governance is to create a conducive climate for political and socio-economic development and to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of development programmes in a society. He points out that the concept of good governance is used to characterize the interplay of the best practices in the administration of a state or nation for

sustainable development.²⁵ The Southern Kaduna has been suffering marginalization. The Kaduna State chapter of Evangelical Church Winning All, (ECWA) appealed to the State government to stop the creation of grazing reserves in Southern Kaduna in the interests of justice, peace and security.²⁶ ECWA, which is the biggest Christian denomination in Kaduna State, alleged that there were indications of the existence of a desperate, well funded, organised and executed campaign not only to make life unbearable for the entire Southern Kaduna territory through threats, intimidation and psychological warfare, but also to occupy the land through what can only be described as ethno-religious cleansing by Fulani herdsmen militia.

Ethnicity and Migration: Indigene-ship and Settler Problems has become a problem all over the country. Ethnicity has proved as one of the most intractable problems confronting Nigeria in her effort to attain national unity and integration.²⁷ In spite of the rhetoric about Nigerian citizenship, all Nigerians recognise that there is indigene-ship. President Obasanjo and his Vice President, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar has claimed that indigene ship is illegal.²⁸ This problem cannot be solved by political hypocrisy and rhetoric. Yes, there have been patterns of migrations. But we all know the settlement pattern at this point in time, even though the Hausa/Fulani have lived in Shagamu for over a hundred years, not many of them are in the local government council or in the Ogun State House of Assembly. In Abia, Enugu and Anambra States, Hausa-Fulani people have lived there for a long time, also not

many are recognised as indigenes of any local government council area. In Kano and Adamawa States, many Ibos have also lived there for generations, but many of them are not recognised as indigenes. Even the names of individuals immediately disqualify them. Similarly, in Kaduna, many Yoruba families claim to have lived there for over four generations, but still they are not accepted as indigenes. Every Nigerian can live anywhere in Nigeria, but not all Nigerians have the same indigene-ship rights politically. The 1999 constitution, section 25-32, and Part I, provides in item 9, that “citizenship, naturalization and aliens” is an exclusive matter of the government of the federation.²⁹ Thus, any Nigerian can live anywhere in the federation. Note that citizenship is not a concurrent matter as in the United States and other federations of the world. However, many activities of government, and the constitution still remind us that we need an identity called indigene-ship. As an illustration, it does not matter how long a man has lived in Kaduna, his daughter who is admitted to the Federal Government College, is required to go to her local government to get a certificate of indigene-ship even though she has never been there. One can imagine for instance if Odogu Emeka go to Yola and requesting for a certificate of Local Government of Origin, there is no way he would be given the certificate.

Introduction of Sharia Law : In Nigeria, Sharia has been instituted as a main body of civil and criminal law in some States in the North. With this in the mind of the then governor of Kaduna state Ahmed Makarfi he announced the introduction of Sharia to

Kaduna State. His intention led to serious crisis and riot.³⁰ Muslim youths then clashed with them and the situation was out of control, with massive violence and destruction on both sides.

Religious Leaders Freedom: This appears to be one of the causes of the crises. It appears that too much freedom is accorded to religious leaders in Nigeria.³¹ Anybody can carry microphone and say whatever he or she likes in the name of religion. Ja'afara in a related development commenting on some key causes of ethnic and religious conflicts. He asserted that: A lot of Christians misunderstand or rather have misconceptions on a number of things about Islam and Muslims.³² The same happens with a lot of Muslims about Christianity. Sincerely speaking, these misconceptions are the causes of the absence of reasonable peace in the Muslim and Christians communities.

Sani further asserted that “differences over values such as ideology and religion remain some of the major causes of ethnic and religious conflicts in the past”.³³ A good example of this is the 2000 Kaduna religious conflicts which claimed many lives. The conflicts were allegedly sparked off by the protest against the implementation of Sharia legal system. This is because the Christians saw Sharia as an attempt to diminish the strength of Christianity.

Poverty and Unemployment: Poverty is said to exist when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs. The poverty level in Nigeria today constitutes a great threat to the nation's peace and security, particularly with the condition of living standard

declining daily. Poverty has been identified as one of the major causes of ethnic and religious conflict. The poverty level especially in the Northern part of Nigeria contributes to the high frequency of the ethno-religious conflicts in the North. Physical poverty creates societal problems particularly when many people cannot afford needs like shelter, clothing and feeding. Since Nigeria lack structural economy to cater for large population, the consequent poverty creates societal problems. Extremely poor people can do anything to sustain themselves. Thus, the poor youths (Almajiris) particularly in Northern Nigeria are manipulated with small amount of money and food to cause religious conflicts.³⁴

Unemployment and poverty have been named also, as remote; and at times the immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts. Sani further asserted that: The unemployment of our willing and able youths has a translate security implication for the country.³⁵ These jobless youths have on several occasions been manipulated by the economic and some political elites.

The Socio-Political and Economic Implication of the Conflict

The crises impacted negatively almost in every aspect of the people of Kaduna State. That is why Sani stated that: The conflicts have impacted negatively on political, social and economic development of the state.³⁶ Religious fanaticism affects social interaction and harmony. These have also affected the social components of associations as exemplified by the situation in

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

Social Implications of the Crises

The social impact of the conflict cannot be overemphasize, this is because many persons lost their lives. Some were displaced to another state within the country. The crises that engulfed Kaduna town on the 21st of February, 2000, led to the death of more than 3000 persons, aside properties worth billions of naira that were lost.³⁷ According to Ibrahim, the year 2000, Sharia crises in Kaduna created acute insecurity among Christian's minority groups in the State.³⁸ They feared that the new legal regime would affect them adversely, despite claims to the contrary by the Muslim supporters. Indeed, many voices on both sides called for partitioning of Nigeria rather than the adoption or abandonment of Sharia legal system. From the observation and opinions of many, ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in the destruction of property and death of several of hundreds of thousands of people, men and women. The conflicts have resulted in the irreparable loss of human resources that could have been used for developmental purposes. The sad elimination of the breadwinners of such families led to increase in begging, prostitution and unemployment. Sadly still, where both parents were eliminated, the children (boys or girls) were forced to assume parental roles at tender ages which also have its negative social implication. In most cases the wounds left in the psyche of these people might not be obvious, but are

often said to be mentally, psychologically and emotionally far reaching. These children may grow up with their minds fixed on hatred and set for revenge. No meaningful social development can thrive under the circumstances of religious crises. An accurate, total death toll has never been ascertained, and as is typical in these situations, government and police officials were keen to play down the figures. A judicial commission of inquiry set up by the Kaduna state government reported that at least 1,295 people had been killed, while an unspecified additional number were buried unidentified, and others were declared missing.³⁹ All the people Human Rights Watch interviewed in connection with the 2002 riots believed that the number of people killed in the 2000 riots far exceeded the figure of 2,000 and was likely to be closer to 5,000.⁴⁰ The 2000 violence in Kaduna had repercussions elsewhere in the country, particularly in the southeast, as predominantly Christian ethnic groups, such as the Igbos, took revenge for the killings of Christians in Kaduna and turned against Muslim populations in their areas.⁴¹

The 2000 violence left long-lasting scars on the people and the state of Kaduna; the memories were still fresh when violence struck again two years later, and many communities feel that their grievances have still not been addressed. In particular, many of those interviewed by Human Rights Watch in December 2002 were still bitter about the fact that there had been no justice following the massive violence in 2000; they therefore expressed little hope that the organisers or perpetrators of the 2002 violence

would be prosecuted. None of the people interviewed by Human Rights Watch were able to cite any cases of leading actors in the 2000 violence who had been brought to trial. It is widely believed that at that time, government authorities decided to avoid what they perceived as a risk of further escalating the violence by charging and trying the individuals responsible. Many Muslims and Christians alike also attributed the lack of prosecutions for the 2000 violence to significant political pressure from leaders of both communities, and feared that a similar absence of action would characterize the government's response to the 2002 violence. As described in this report, their predictions have turned out to be true.

Apart from the trauma that individuals and families have suffered, and the ever-deepening divisions in the society, the physical effects of the violence of 2000 are still visible in the widespread destruction of houses and other buildings.⁴² When Human Rights Watch visited the state capital in December 2002, local residents pointed out destruction in the year 2000, separately from the more recent destruction caused in 2002.⁴³ In some cases, the same neighbourhoods or buildings had been hit twice, first in 2000, then again in 2002, and many had not been rebuilt or repaired since 2000. The violence also caused large-scale population displacement, leading to a sharp segregation of communities in some areas. By 2002, residents were describing particular areas of Kaduna town as “100 per cent Christian” or “100 per cent Muslim.”⁴⁴ This was largely as a result of the crises, and to a lesser extent the clashes of previous years. Christians and

Muslims increasingly moved to areas dominated by people of their own faith in the hope of finding safety there; many of them did not return to their original areas of residence.⁴⁵

Furthermore school activities were restricted as a result of the curfew the government imposed on the people. According Margaret Stephen she observed that parent stopped their children from going to school because of fear of being killed by the protesters.⁴⁶ The crises led to a strain relationship between Christians and Muslims. After the crises some Muslims and Christians that are staying in the same compound no longer greet each other. According to Elizabeth Yakubu she noted that the crises created sheer enmity between Muslims and Christians.⁴⁷ Some Christians relocated to another compound because of fear of being killed, while some Muslim follow suit by also relocating to another vicinity by separating themselves from the Christians.

Political Implication of the Conflict

The political implication of the crises left a mark in the political history of Kaduna state. As the waves of the violence continued, some groups intensified their campaign for the creation of a separate Southern Kaduna state. These demand was mostly voiced by Christians who have repeatedly complained of marginalisation, the assumption being that any newly-created state would be dominated by Christians, while most Muslims would continue to live in the northern part of the state. However, several

Muslims told Human Rights Watch that they too were beginning to despair of the population's ability to live together in the state's current configuration, and that perhaps the only solution was to create separate states. However, it was pointed out that in many areas, the populations are still intermingled and believe that ethnic and religious diversity remains one of the strengths of Kaduna State.⁴⁸

Ethno-religious crises have serious consequences on the nation's political development. It affects our democratic values and norms and also delays viable political transition and consequently decimates the aspiration of producing a nation state. The Nigerian political evaluation has been characterized by periodic instability instigated mostly by the elitist manipulation of religion as a survival strategy. Religious membership and association rather than the political parties selected these candidates for elections. These have also contributed to the electoral violence that we have witnessed in the past and in these recent years. For instance, in the 1964 general elections, the violence instigated led to the 1966 military coup and political instability, which culminated in the civil war.⁴⁹ Yet, the violence occurred in, 2003 and even in the 2007 general elections. These are obvious indications that politicians have not learnt any lesson from their mistakes of the past. Most politicians are particular about the issue of who takes what, rather than how democratic norms and values would be entrenched in the nation. The political future of the country depends on the level of which the various religious

components can tolerate themselves. The religious polarization of Muslims and Christians poses serious challenges to democratization in Nigeria. It is the obvious instability and deficiency in the democratic process that prompted religious and ethnic nationalism. This has prompted Muslim fundamentalists craving to convert Nigeria into a theocratic state governed by Sharia and also prompted Christian fanatics craving to convert Nigeria into a theocratic state.

Furthermore, the crises affected political gatherings and activities. According to Aliyu Alex he vividly observed that the crises affected political gathering and political activities.⁵⁰ People melt secretly because of fear during the era of the crisis.

Economic Implication of the Conflict

Ethno-religious crises have also contributed to the weakening of the nation's economic development. The statistical breakdown of personnel and material resources wasted in Kaduna State alone can in a glance give insight into what Nigeria has lost to ethno-religious crises. In Ahamdu Bello Way, in Kaduna state by all standards is one of the most beautiful streets in Northern Nigeria that houses business shops and political offices. Car Malls and financial institutions equally jostle for accommodation along the road. A peaceful protest match by Christians against plans to adopt Sharia ignited violence which turned out to be the worse in the history of the State and the nation in general. The material and human resources wasted from February 20th to 24th, 2000,

include, many shops, which were burnt down by the rioters. About 300 houses and shops at the Abuja junction Garage, Charity Hotel and Rakiya Memorial hospital as well as Magistrate Court were destroyed.⁵¹ Forty-five fuel tankers were burnt down. Not less than 200 houses were burnt in Barnawa located in the South Eastern part of Kaduna.⁵² Fifty business shops between Leventis roundabout and Katsina road were burnt down. Fifty million naira worth of goods in Labaran Ali Electronics Store were burnt down and about sixty million naira Electronics and building material shops on the same Ahmadu Bello road were destroyed. Vehicles worth millions of naira and constituting means of livelihood to some people were also destroyed during the crises. For example, Ikara Motors lost about fifty assorted fairly used cars, buses and trucks each valuing not less than N350,000. In Television Garage in Kaduna, 18 vehicles were destroyed and at Abuja junction Garage, 51 vehicles were also destroyed.⁵³

The crises in Kaduna did not allow some foreign investors who came into the state to invest in the Agricultural sector to do so. Instead, they were abruptly ferried out of the State by security agents. The same crises led to the shifting of that year's Kaduna Trade Fair a week further. Despite the shifting of several foreign participants who had earlier indicated their interest to be at the fair hurriedly cancelled their participation. Kaduna State that was fast becoming an industrial centre suddenly lost that status during the period in question. Also, to that effect, several direct air flight to Kaduna State and other States in the northern part of the country

were cancelled.⁵⁴ These crises made both local and foreign investors see Nigeria as no-go-area that is full of risk and uncertainties in doing business. Ethno-religious crises discourage growth in the sense of industrialization. This is because; no businessman would want to invest where the safety of their investment is not guaranteed.

In addition, the crises affected government workers. Many could not go to work because of fear of being killed. According to Vuikogry S.Ungbo he vividly observed that many government offices did not open.⁵⁵ In a related development Moses Ayeidu an eye witness of the crises noted that business activities were shut down due to the curfew that was imposed by the government. This resulted in hunger in many families because they could not go to the market.⁵⁶

Similarly, the crises made a lot of businessmen and women to relocate to another vicinity. According to Orji Stephen he noted that the crises made him to relocate from Tudu-Weda to Gonigora.⁵⁷ He was doing business in Tudu-Weda, but unfortunately he was one of the victims who's shop and goods were destroyed.

Conclusion

The problem posed by ethnic and religious crisis is a threat to Nigerians corporate existence and her goal towards national integration. Economic development and societal wellbeing of a state can only be achieved in an environment where multi-

culturalism and multi-religiosity are guaranteed. Religious diversity should not constitute a barrier to human relations and development; rather it should be a tool for national development. The religious faithful in the state should, therefore, realize the fact that religious tolerance and harmony are both legally sanctioned and socially inevitable, as the world can never be composed of one religion or culture.

Furthermore, all religious communities must educate their clergies on the need for harmony and the toleration of other faiths. There is need to strengthen inter-faith dialogue at the national, state and local levels just to prevent future manifestations of religious violence. The Nigerian Inter-Religious Council (NIREC), together with relevant Faith-Based Organisations and Civil Society Organisations should constantly engage in dialogue with the various religious communities, while also serving as a platform for conflict analysis and early warning on religious violence. On the part of government, there is a need for the development of a long-term strategy for the management of religious conflict and violence.

Recommendations

However, if the following recommendations are strictly adhered to, then the state can reduce the incidence of ethno-religious crisis currently threatening the country's national integration for effective development.

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria should be

restructured and reformed to meet up with the challenges and the phenomenon of ethnic and religious intolerance in Nigeria. The security system of the country should be strategically placed to confront such problems anytime they arise.

In stemming the ugly tide of leadership and ethno-religious crisis, the government of Nigeria should imbibe the spirit of democratic federalism and all principles of good governance that includes political and financial transparency, executive and judicial responsiveness and accountability and genuine independence of all the institutions of democracy like the judiciary, the electoral management agency, legislature and anti-graft agencies. The government must also tackle the problems of imbalance in education between the north and the south.

Religious bodies should partner with Kaduna state in the provision of social services, basic healthcare, education, job security among others to all population, not only to reduce threats of ethno-religious crisis but also as a matter of rights for all Nigerians.

Strengthening the Nigeria inter-religious council will also help to checkmate the occurrences of ethno-religious crisis. This can be done by expanding the scope of the council to include ethnic matters as well.

All recovery and development programmes should be oriented to the needs and priorities of the people of the state. This will result in more equitable distribution of public resources just to reduce poverty and as well promote the emergence of a strong private

sector.

High premium should be place on investment on social and physical infrastructures that will help rejuvenate livelihoods lost during the crises and promote economic growth. With this the economic wounds sustained during the crises will be healed and as well turn to a new economic leaf.

Since Kaduna is multiethnic and multi religious. The cultural, religious and developmental differences should be accommodated within the objective of one indivisible state and an integrated development that would ensure the involvement and participation of the people of Kaduna with the aim of fostering social justice and protect fundamental human rights.

In addition, the appointment and recruitment of all government services, in the state should reflect the federal character principle of the nation. This to some extent will solve the problem of marginalization and nepotism which contributed to the crises.

Without an iota of doubt the state had undoubtedly witnessed serious devastation as a result of the conflict. However, the Nigeria government should come to the aid of the state for the reconstruction and socio-economic development, especially in the more neglected and crises ravaged areas of the state.

To ensure lasting political stability and economic development. They should be respect for individual and community rights, justice, fair-play, equity, transparency and high degree of public morality. Also the government of Kaduna state should create a society that would bring about sheer religious tolerance and

democracy which allow freedom of worship, freedom of expression and rights to life etc.

However, the government of Kaduna state should provides socio-economic amenities such as good roads, electricity and pipe-borne water especially in the crises ravaged areas.

As a result of the devastation the state witnessed. The policy of rehabilitation should be place in high premium. This policy will facilitate the renovation of many of these cities and villages that were affected by the crises.

Finally, the two major religious bodies should embrace peaceful means of settling any matter that would arise in the future.

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