universität wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit /Title of the master thesis

Ethno-Religious conflicts/Violence in Northern Nigeria

Verfasser /Author

Bashir Alhaji-shehu

angestrebter akademischer Grad / acadamic degree aspired

Master (MA)

Wien, 2012

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT ENGLISH

The contemporary Nigerian society is characterized by violent conflicts over ethnicity and religion, most especially in the Northern states of the country. Widespread violence and simultaneous sporadic and reprisal attacks have culminated into high level of insecurity and uncertainty to the core continued existence of Nigeria as a federal state. The recurring violent attacks have become a major phenomenon in day to day socio-political discourse in Nigeria. Many scholars opined, that, the major causes of the upheaval is a result of continues government neglect to address key issues at the point of incubation and as well lack of good governance. And to a larger extent, some scholars are already predicting civil war and the eventual disintegration of Nigerian society. The nature and composition of Nigerian state is both vital and central to the nature of various relationships that exist within it. The primary objective of this thesis is to show the multi-ethnic and multi-religious complexity and diversity of Nigerian society with the aim of establishing the possible advantages and the needless domination or contradictory co-existence among its various groups. This thesis is divided into five chapters, with each section focusing on a different subject in relation to ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. Chapter one provides a general introduction about the topic and the content of the thesis as a whole. Chapter Two reviews the existing literatures, while chapter three deals with various cases of ethno-religious violence in Nigeria. Following on from this, chapter four highlights the different phases of the conflicts, the actors involved and the overall impact of the conflict. The final chapter is dedicated to offering some possible solutions and examining what a way forward through the conflicts would look like. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the ethno-religious crises that have, despite all democratization efforts, become a major setback in an attempt to nation building and to demystify their causes and offer possible solutions.

ABSTRACT GERMAN

Die gegenwärtige Gesellschaft Nigerias ist charakterisiert durch gewaltsame Konflikte um Ethnizität und Religion, vor allem in den nördlichen Staaten des Landes. Weitverbreitete Gewalt und gleichzeitige gegenseitige Übergriffe kulminierten in einem hohen Grad an Unsicherheit und gefährden die Existenz des Bundesstaates Nigeria. Die sich wiederholenden gewalttätigen Angriffe wurden ein großes Phänomen in dem täglichen sozio-politischen Diskurs in Nigeria. Viele Forscher sind der Meinung, dass der Hauptgrund für diesen Umbruch das Resultat der Vernachlässigung von Kernfragen am Beginn dieser Entwicklung durch die Regierung war, und auch vom Fehlen einer „good governance". Im weiteren Sinne prognostizieren einige Forscher einen

Bürgerkrieg und die etwaige Desintegration der nigerianischen Gesellschaft. Die Natur und Zusammensetzung des nigerianischen Staates ist vital und zentral für die Natur der verschiedenen Verbindungen, die innerhalb des Staates existieren. Die primäre Aufgabe dieser Arbeit ist es, die multi-ethnische und multi-religiöse Komplexität und Diversität der nigerianischen Gesellschaft darzustellen, mit dem Ziel mögliche Vorteile, und die unnötige Dominanz oder kontradiktorische Ko-existenz unter ihren verschiedenen Gruppen aufzuzeigen. Diese Arbeit ist in fünf Kapitel unterteilt, jede Sektion legt ein Augenmerk auf verschiedene Themen in Relation zu den ethno-religiösen Konflikten in Nigeria. Das erste Kapitel gibt eine generelle Einführung in das Thema und den Inhalt der Thesis als Ganzes. Kapitel Zwei gibt einen Überblick über die bestehende Literatur, während Kapitel drei verschiedenen Fällen von ethno-religiöser Gewalt in Nigeria behandelt. Kapitel vier beleuchtet die verschiedenen Phasen der Konflikte, die involvierten Akteure und den allgemeinen Impakt des Konflikts. Das Abschlusskapitel ist möglichen Auswegen gewidmet und untersucht wie ein Ausweg aus den Konflikten aussehen könnte. Daher fokussiert diese Arbeit auf ethno-religiöse Krisen die, trotz aller Bemühungen um Demokratisierung, ein starker Rückschritt im Versuch der Formung einer Nation darstellen und versucht die Gründe dafür zu entmystifizieren und mögliche Lösungen anzubieten.

Chapter One

Introduction

Since the 1980s, both ethnic and religious crises have bedeviled Nigerian society, most especially the Northern part. Of the 19 states that constitute Northern Nigeria there is virtually no state that has not witnessed one form of crisis or another. Since the middle of 1980s the deluge of violence has continued to increase, and consequently has led to many losses of lives and properties. This violence has continued to illustrate ethnic and religious colorations, and delineate clear manifestation of criminality and frustration. This results from poor governance, resultant lack of hope and sociological and economical alienation, linked to wide spread poverty and unemployment. However, there are also others factors whose identity and character are somehow difficult to define.

This factor has resulted in lost lives and loss of properties, some people sustained injuries of various degrees, some lost all they had and properties worth millions of Naira[1] were either destroyed or looted. Others were permanently displaced and psychologically depressed. These crises have created enormous tension and a general threat to security among citizens and as well resulted to violation of the rights of citizens. Many people feel disgruntled or unjustly treated as a result of lack of justice or failure of the state to prosecute perpetrators and agitators of these crises[2].

It is known fact that ethno-religious conflicts has become a common feature of the Nigerian society, despite the enormous human and financial resources committed to judicial, extra-judicial and administrative panels of enquiry and investigation into remote and immediate causes of the conflicts. Yet, ethno-religious conflicts

---

[1] Naira is a name for Nigerian currency.
[2] Yau, 1997 p. 149

have become a mainstay within the Nigerian polity. Some notable studies[3] among others have attributed the root causes of ethno-religious conflicts among groups in Nigeria to numerous factors, such as: the ways and manners of propagating religions; mistrust and suspicions between various religious and ethnic groups; and ignorance and intolerance due to self-centeredness among the various groups[4]. Other scholars opined the blame to be on Nigeria's colonial history and as well on the pluralistic nature of Nigerian state, claiming that the country's deepening ethno-religious conflicts are fallout of a continued feeling of distrust between the various units of the country.

Some of the contending issues that generate fierce confrontations include those that are fundamental to the existence and legitimacy of the state, upon which contending groups tend to apply repudiation in a, "winner takes all strategy", which includes the absolute control of state power, resource allocation and citizenship[5]. This, as a result, deeply divides the most fragile states and makes them unstable; by all ramifications, there are fewer points of convergence and consensus among various groups than are required to effectively mitigate or contain the centrifugal forces that can tear the society apart[6].

The major defect of all the factors identified as responsible for ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria is that they merely cover the root causes and as a result they recur with a higher level of sophistication than they hitherto occurred[7]. Therefore, it is important to mention at this juncture that most conflicts that are assumed to be religious are fundamentally linked to causes other than religion. The propensity of identifying some ethnic groups with a particular religion easily gives credence for the use of religion for the manipulation of other differences.

---

[3] Nnoli, 1994, Maguballc, 1969, and Ochoche, 2002
[4] Olukoju, 1997
[5] E. Eghosa, 2011
[6] Ibid.
[7] Abdullateef

Though there are conflicts that are distinguished as religious in Northern Nigeria most scholars accentuated the conflict situation from the point of view of conflict assessment, thereby focusing mainly on the structures, actors and dynamics thereof. This undoubtedly explains why it was easy to identify the conflict at the superficial point, which, however attempts to mostly define the relationships of the actors either by ethno-religious affiliation or the principal character of the leading actors[8].

This conflict context served as a motivation for the author of this thesis to identify and analyze the ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria. This research will also critically examine the various factors responsible for ethno-religious conflicts/violence in Northern Nigeria and suggest ways as to how they can be effectively managed and subsequently averted in the future. To achieve its main task, this research will use case studies of ethno-religious conflicts/violence in Northern Nigeria, these cases will include: the Jos crises, Kaduna, Kano, Maitastine disturbances (Kano, Borno, Adamawa), and Boko Haram (Borno, Bauchi). These incidences in various states across the North are selected because of their peculiarities, and intensity of violence that occurred within them, and also in relation to how strategic and important these states are in Nigeria as a whole.

For better understanding of what constitutes the area of this research, the following map shows Northern Nigeria and the focal points of the research.

---

[8] Ochoche, 2002

STATES AND CAPITALS OF NIGERIA
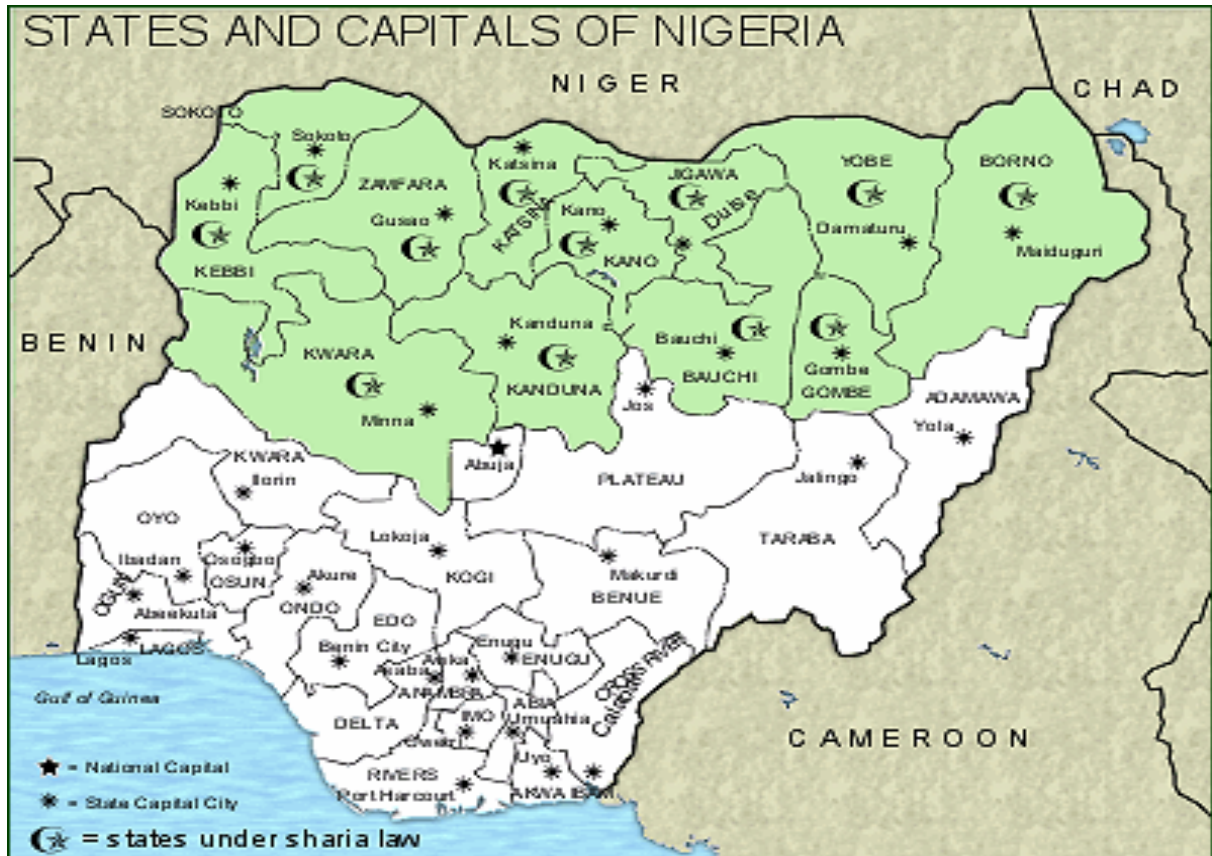
This is map of Nigerian showing the Muslim states where *shari'ah* law has been adopted (that are profiled in the thesis).

Source: http://www.nairaland.com/383418_shariah-nigeria-map. Sited 06/06/2011

1:1. Understanding Roots Causes of Conflicts in Nigeria

Ethno-religious conflicts and violence in Nigeria dates back to British colonial rule after the conquest and partitioning of what would later become the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Nigeria was born out of the amalgamation of the two protectorates in 1914 with little or no regard at all for the ethnic groupings. The partitioning, however paved the way for separate developments among various ethnic units. This form of division was mainly for

the interest of the colonial masters[9]. They ignored the interest of the indigenous people and as such failed to pay attention to the religious, cultural, political differences and inequalities that existed among people long before the colonizers arrived. Instead, they resorted to the employment of the callous and infamous principle of "divide and rule" which wholly served and killed the aspirations of other people. Evidently, this can be seen even in the formation of the security agencies, including the armed forces, which served as a standing force for the protection of the interests of the colonial trading companies[10].

The post-independence governments did very little despite the concerted effort of the nationalists to propagate the concept of oneness or "unity in diversity"[11]. But instead, tribalism, nepotism, and corruption become their trademark. Tribalism and regional interest became primary to national interest among the elitist political class as national issues where pushed to the background for the interest of the politicians. Disunity and constant disagreement in the Federal House and the insolent disregards for the unity of the nation by the political elites provided an awaited opportunity for some military officers to take over in a coup d'état in January 1966.

The emergence of the military in the Nigerian politics paved the way for more conflicts rather than solving the hitherto described problems; this resulted in mistrust and misunderstanding of the intents of the then head of military who was also the president, Aguiyi Ironsi[12]. Ironsi's regime was marked by high level tensions and suspicions due the circumstances that surrounded the 1966 military coup which brought Ironsi into power. Ironsi had tried in many ways, most especially at the federal level, to legislate against the divisive tendencies in the country in bringing about the expected national unity and co-existence in the

---

[9] Nwolise, 1992
[10] Imoghe, 2003
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

entity called Nigeria[13]. Aguiyi Ironsi was killed in what is referred as the counter coup in 1966 and series of combined political, economic and ethnic factors led to the Nigerian civil war (Biafra war), which put the unity of the nation to a test[14].

Since the end of the Civil War in 1970, Nigeria has experienced conflicts of varying proportions and origins of both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic respectively. However, the focus of this research is narrowed to the ethno-religious conflicts in the Northern part of Nigeria. There are many of cases ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, but the introduction of *sharia*[15] legal system across the Northern states has introduced a new dimension to the prevalent impending religious violence in Nigeria. The Muslims justify its introduction as part of the dividend of democracy, while Christians see it as a contrary to the spirit of secularism as provided in section 10 of the 1979 and 1999 constitutions, which states that 'the government of the federation or of a state shall not adopt any religion as a state religion'. The above highlights the fact the real problem in Nigeria is not so much of ethnic differences, secularity or religiosity, but fear of political dominance of one ethnic or religious group by another.

1:2. The concept of religion

The term religion derived its name from the Latin word *religare* (which implies to read or pursue together; the same origin goes to legible and intelligent), or rather more like and generally accepted from the term *religare* (to tie back, to find fast). But modern scholars like Tom Harpur and Joseph Cambell favor the derivation from *ligare* "bind, connect", probably from a prefixed re-*ligare*, that is (again) + ligare or "to reconnect", which was made prominent by St. Augustine, following the interpretation of *Lactantius*[16]. Religion is value-based; as such, people are

---

[13] Ibid.
[14] Oluleye, 1985
[15] Sharia is an Islamic legal system.
[16] Harpur, 2000

usually emotionally attached to it and less tolerant of any unwelcome criticism upon it.

Religion has evoked man since time immemorial to attempt to work out their relationship with supernatural beings or powers often regarded as God(s). Absolute to this regard is the interaction between religion and the society within which it functions. Subsequently, this has changed due to the divisions that existed among various human groups, and as such religion has become a major influence in politics and crises, thereby playing a significant role in the entire societal process, especially in religious societies. For the Romans, religion meant being tied back, staying connected with ancestral customs and beliefs, a kind of loyalty; among Christians, the word would originally stand for being tied back, connected to God. On the other hand, religion in Arabic and Islamic literature is referred to '*din*'. In is literal meaning, *din* means obedient, being in debt, restoring ones rights, adopting as a habit, forcing, calling to account, managing, rewarding or punishing, serving, lending and so on. Muslim theologians have described din as the set of principles reveal by God through prophets for mankind to follow by free will in order to acquire happiness in both worlds (here and the hereafter)[17]. It can also be seen as a community of persons united by faith, united by a search for "the divine", and defined by its manner of confronting the problems of human existence.

It is imperative to mentioned that, the definitions and perceptions accorded to religion by people have not only differed from one historical epoch to another, but have also varied from one conventional wisdom to another. It is against this background that Marx perceived religion as the "opium of the mass" or in other term as the "sigh of the oppressed". According to Marx religion is not only a mental obstruction but also an immaterial object of drowsiness. He further

---

[16] Lactantius is Latin-speaking native of North Africa; he was a pupil of Arnobius and taught rhetoric in various cities of the Eastern Roman Empire.
[17] http://www.islamanswers.net/religion/west.htm

buttressed that religion not only blurs the true class consciousness and rational ability of masses but further injects them an aura and ecstasy[18].

The aforementioned discourse has portrayed religion as a concept or an ideology that belonged to the past phase of human development. In reality, however, despite man's supersonic advancement in science and technology, religion still plays a very vital role to existence of some societies. People are converting to various religions and religious tension is rising to unprecedented level. The collapse of the Soviet Union for example necessitated the return to religion among many former communist societies. All of these explained why Western theories antagonistic towards religion are flawed, as the perceived value of religion is once again on the rise and more people are turning to it in mass every day. Religion is understood in this research as the search inherent in man for the unfulfilled desire for infinity.

1:3. The concept of violence

The word "violence" comes from the Latin verb *violare*. It comprises a range of meanings, including "to force", "to injure", "to dishonor", and "to violate". For the purpose of this research, it is imperative to highlight the importance of this definition to human interaction and not to the broad applicability of the term "violence" to occurrences to other natural disasters like storms, earthquakes or the predatory behavior of animals. As humans, we engage in violence when we use force to injure or dishonor an individual of group of persons intentionally. There is another possible derivation, from the Latin adjective '*violentus*', which means 'forcible, vehement, violent, impetuous and boisterous'[19]. The Princeton Cognitive Science laboratory defines violence as 'an act of aggression (as one against another who resist); a turbulent state resulting in injuries and destructions;

---

[18] Raines, 2002
[19] Aliyu, 2009

ferocity: the property of being wild or turbulent"[20]. However, many opined that, violence is an integral part of man's existence and a common occurrence in human societies.

Since time immemorial, man has learned to intimidate, dominate, exploit, coerce and terrorize his fellow men through means of violence or the threat of violence; all in the pursuit of power, material gain, or in order to impose a particular doctrine, ideology or worldview, what the Germans call '*weltanschauung*'[21]. Violence has been used in many ways with different names, intentions and justifications in order to establish a sacred order, in the name of justice and righteousness, and in the name of fear, anguish, despair, and indignation. Human institutions have been founded, built, consolidated and destroyed by means of violence. The present political and socioeconomic state of the world has been significantly shaped by war.

The comprehensive and preferred definition is that of Galtung, who defines violence beyond physical and psychological dimension but also as an "avoidable insult to basic human needs"[22]. Galtung emphasizes the hidden or in his own term "structural" dimension of violence caused by political or economic structures of exploitation and inequality[23]. However, while violence may be physical or non-physical its immediate target may be either humans or material structures, and its ultimate goal is usually to destroy the existence or degrade the dignity of persons of group of persons. This definition is considered to be more comprehensive and relevant to this research.

---

[20] Peters, 1994

[21] *Weltanschauung* is a German word for philosophy of life, something which people hold dear to their life or existence.

[22] Steger, 2003

[23] Ibid.

1:4. The concept of religious conflict

Religious conflicts and violence implies disputes or disagreement based on differences in faith. However, religious conflicts in the Nigerian context are much more than that as they are mostly associated with ethnicity or ethnic differences. And also to a larger extent, ethnic conflict usually revolves around resource control as most conflicting parties have different distinct cultural identities. Interestingly, this form of conflict is not restricted to any specific geo-political region of Nigeria or any part of the world[24]. Religious violence is a term that covers all areas religion, either as the subject or object of individual or collective violent behavior. Significantly, it covers both violence by religiously motivated individuals or religious groups and institutions of all kinds, be it different sects or secular targets[25]. Religious violence like any other type of violence is inherently a cultural driven (?) whose aim entirely depended on contextual beliefs. More often than not, religious violence places more emphasis on symbolic representation of beliefs.

Religious conflicts are a recurring phenomena thereby not only affecting the security but also the well-being of many countries across the globe. Recent studies show that, societies that are divided along religious lines are more prone to intense and prolonged conflict than societies facing problems of political, territorial and ethnic divisions[26]. This explains the beliefs among many believers that it is only through strict adherence to the ethics of religion that one can attain self-purification and achieve divine acceptance in the life beyond[27]. Religious beliefs and convictions are mostly held very strongly by its followers, in fact, to many, it's a matter of life and death. Religion also serves as a convenient way of dividing and differentiating people most especially in regards to resource control.

---

[24] Aliyu, 2009
[25] Ibid.
[26] Reynal-Querol, 2002
[27] Ibid.

The world is characterized by many flash points of religious tensions and conflicts, most especially in recent times. In India for example, constant clashes between Hindus and Muslims and have frequently led to insecurity not only in the country but in the sub-region as well, mostly especially in Pakistan and Bangladesh. The horrors of religious violence can also be seen in countries like Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Sudan and the former Yugoslavia. The occurrence of religious violence does not only manifest among different religious groups but also the followers of the same religion. This for example is notable in Northern Ireland between Christian denomination of Catholics and Anglicans. Similarly, there also exists a rivalry between the Muslims sects of Sunni and Shi'a in Iraq, Yemen and Saudi Arabia where there have also been tense and bloody sometimes[28].

It is no doubt that Nigeria is one of the largest and most influential country in the third world, but sadly Nigeria has been in the news in the last 20 years as the major arena of religious violence and aggression, some even termed it worse than Sudan and Somalia. Religion has played a significant role in dividing Nigerians between Christians and Muslims, most especially in the Northern part and also contributes immensely to the long standing inter-religious conflict that has bedeviled the entity called Nigeria. The religious violence was fuelled by the ethnic tension that previously existed among the various tribal groups. This tension was fuelled by mistrust and suspicion which was a by-product or marginalization and the tussle for power among the various groups. The religious crisis in various parts of Nigeria has continued to pose serious threats to its national security[29]. Apart from the huge loss of lives, property and the displacement of citizens, the problem has taken on a dimension with regards to the choice of targets, sophistication of weaponry and high level form of asymmetric strategies[30].

---

[28] Aliyu, 2009
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ja'afaru, 2001

The availability and usage of weapons during such crises "encourages reprisal killings, which spark off new rounds of violence between warring groups"[31]. This situation has over time gone beyond the control of Nigerian security agencies, and as such the restoration of law and other has become a major challenge of both state and the federal governments. This however, resulted in a rapid escalation of the conflict in various parts of the country and as well exposes the weakness of the government in handling the situation. Apart from loss of lives and property, businesses are also struggling to survive due to lack of investment directly resulting from lack of security.

Nigeria is characterized by a number of conflicts arising mostly from religious crises which has been affecting many parts of the country since 1980s. But the irony of it was that, these conflicts become prone to the Nigerian entity during the democratic dispensations. It has been estimated that since the transition to civilian rule in May 1999, no fewer than ten thousand lives have been lost to religious violence[32]. In 1999, when the country came out of 15 years of long military dictatorship, the hopes and aspirations of the majority of Nigerians were high that democracy would restore political instability, print-jump the economy and ultimately improve the wellbeing of Nigerians. But at 2004, it was estimated that some 10,000 people had been killed in clashes between rival ethnic and religious across the country while 800,000 others were displaced from their homes[33]. Yet the number has quadrupled over recent times. Many of these conflicts were mainly between Christians and Muslims, even though, there are instances of same sects engaging in violent conflict due to different interpretations of the holy books. Notably, the conflict between Christians and Muslims are the most frequent, for example, the crisis in Shagamu in Ogun state, Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Plateau, Bauchi, Yobe and Borno states by different groups, and most notorious is the Boko Haram. This conflict has hugely shaken the unity of Nigeria and raises

---

[31] National War College, 2006. This is report from War College of the Nigerian Army.. This situation
[32] Presidential Committee, 2002
[33] Collier, 2008

many questions about the oneness of Nigeria. The violence has also led to people calling for disintegration of Nigeria.

The recent religious crises were highly motivated by the introduction of *Shari'ah* system in some Northern states of Nigeria. Kaduna state for example has witnessed several religious crises in the last two decades, few among them are Zango Kataf (1992), Kafanchan (1999), Shari'ah crises (2000). Also there were numerous violent clashes in Kano and the dreaded *Boko Haram* between Borno, Yobe and Bauchi which will be discuss extensively in the coming chapters.

1:5 Research Question

The primary research question for this thesis is: why is Nigeria so prone to ethno-religious violence and how it can be stopped or managed?.

Other sub-questions or secondary questions of the research are:

1. In what ways does religious violence affect Nigeria as a whole?

2. What are the main factors that necessitated religious violence in Nigeria?

3. What are the associated securities challenges facing the Nigerian government?

4. What strategies could be adopted to minimize or neutralize the impact of this instability on Nigeria's national security?

5. What role does religion play in Nigerian polity?

1:6 Research Method

This research on ethno-religious violence in Northern Nigeria shall be based on a literature review and the study and analysis of related documents. To compliment this thesis, documents from government establishment, agencies and parastatals, media house, archive and periodicals will be consulted. In addition, both print and

electronic materials related to ethno-religious violence in Nigeria will be consulted. (Does the author have any personal experience of the situation, if so mention this.)

1:7 Significance of the study

The significance of this thesis is to highlight the ethno-religious violence in Northern Nigeria and to educate people on it.. This thesis can thus serve as guide to understanding the religious violence in Nigeria and as well can potentially be a useful guidebook for the policymakers on how to approach and tackle religious violence not only in Nigeria but also in other part of the world. Finally, (by expanding the body of knowledge and analysis on ethno-religious violence?) it can be a resource to other researchers and scholars for future research on similar issues.

1:8 Scope and Limitations

This thesis will cover the period from 1980 to 2011. This period was chosen in order to have clear understanding of the dynamics of ethno-religious violence in Nigeria. Special emphases will be given to the most recent conflicts in Northern Nigeria, most notably, the Boko Haram sect.

Chapter Two

2.1: Literature Review

This chapter will mainly review and discuss the most vital and relevant literature written in relevance to research question of this thesis. The relationship between religion and violence and as well the factors responsible for ethno religious violence in Nigeria will be dealt with in this chapter. Discourses on these vital topics have become not only necessary, but essential for better understanding of religious violence not only in Nigeria but in the world at large.

This chapter will use mainly secondary sources of literature like articles, books and contemporary journals related to the thesis theme. Numerous books and articles have been written on these particular topics and as such critical reviews of these sources are also available for further studies. In order to achieve this, all efforts will be concentrated on conceptualizing the various aspects of the thesis for the enhancement and better understanding of the issues that will be raised in this research. This chapter will also explore all variables of the subject matter with a view to establishing the relationship between them. And lastly, this chapter will provide an overview of other research works relevant to this field in order to clarify and fill the gap between them.

2.2: Violence and Religion

Violence caused by religious and ethnic differences is often referred to as ethno-religious violence. The act of violence perpetrated by groups and movements has inevitably brought into focus the need to critically study and understand what really constitutes ethno-religious conflicts. Numerous groups are linked to one religious organization or another for attention.

For example, in his books: *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State (1993)* and *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State (2008),* Mark Juergensmeyer painted a provocative picture of the emerging religious revolutionaries altering the political landscape of the Middle-East, South Asia, Central Asia and, to an extent, Eastern Europe. The impassioned leaders in Maghreb regions and of Palestine, political rabbis in Israel, militant Sikhs in India and the triumphant Catholic clergy in Eastern Europe are all actors in Juergensmeyer's area study of explosive growth of religious movements that opposed Western values and ideas of secular nationalism[34]. He asserted that,

Groups such as Hamas, Khaliatan Movement, Christian Identity, and Jewish Right Wing have used violence to draw attention to them and also articulate the concerns of those within their wider cultures[35].

This type of violent act is often considered by its adherents as extreme but yet understandable and ultimately justifiable.

The World Council of Churches' Conference, Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, Florida, February, 8-12-2002 was a conference organized by international fellowship of Christian Churches built on the foundation of encounter, dialogue and collaboration.

The discourse of the conference was centered on how some religious groups on one hand condemn violence and other on the other encourages and even justifies its usage. In further discourse, the conference suggest that,

Religious traditions can be resources for building peace and the same time, religious communities often play a role of advocating and justifying violence. In the face of structural violence, religious traditions should help us to overcome the

---

[34] Aliyu, S. 2009
[35] Juergensmeyer, 1993
Mark Juergensmeyer, a renowned Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara

lust for power, control and possession of material goods that are the driving impulses of violence and violent systems[36]

The conference further highlights key elements that characterize the relationship between violence and religion. These elements are:

Silence: Religious communities often maintain silence in the face of violence and off-course there are many reasons for doing so. Some of these reasons include: the concern for their own communities and its structures, and the role of helping their followers to feel satisfied in the status quo and in their own material prosperity without a concern for the marginalized[37].

Sanctification: More often religious communities justify the use of violence by the state or extra state entities or by objectives of the state and the textual/canonical legitimization of violence against women.

Expansion: Almost in all cases, religious communities use violence solely for the purpose of spreading themselves or expanding their growth. For example, the crusade campaign, Islamic holy wars, Hindu riots just to mention a few.

Image of God: Some religions portray a violent image of God just like the *Sango*[38] the God of thunder and other deities in various religions. This violent image of the divine has created problems and implication for the self-understanding of believers[39].

Image of self: A religious tradition has no doubt promoted violence through framing of their followers in terms of the 'lesser worth' of others.

---

[36] Ananymous, 2002
[37] Ananymous, 2002
[38] *Shango or Sango* is the god of thunder and lightning which was next to *Obatala*, the most powerful god of the Yorubas; he was the second to spring of *Yemaja*. His name appeared from to be derived from *Shan*, 'to strike violently', and go 'to be bewilder', and to have reference to peals of thunder which are supposed to be produced by violent blows. For more details read the history of the Yoruba.
[39] Ananymous, 2002

The above list exposes some of the problematic aspects of the relationship between religion and violence, while the following point to constructive forms of engagement.

Unmasking/opposing: Religious communities have played a role in opposing violence both within their community and others most especially when others are injured.

Models of Non-violence: Every religion in this world claimed to be peaceful and in earnest preaches the gospel of peace and non-violence[40].

Limiting Violence: Religions have often played a significant role in checking the levels of violence or 'humanizing it'. In most cases of our traditions, limited use of violence is permitted for the defense of good but with the understanding that we are falling short of the ideal and thus need forgiveness[41].

It is interesting to note that, the perpetrators of this violent act are rarely different from the orthodox and Islamic groups or mainstream religious groups. However, it's not their spirituality that is unusual but their religious ideas, cultural context and world views. The contemporary emergences of new religious movements are in reality, religious responses to social situation and the expression deeply held convictions.

Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, authored by Mark Juergensmeyer is noted here. This book strongly affirmed that, analyzing the connection between religion and violence involves examining a variety of distinct issues and relationships. However, violence is not a direct result of religious individuals or groups but in another dimension, religion creates more room and avenue for bloodshed. Furthermore, the notion, ideas and justification for violence are also not a

---

[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

18

monopoly of one religion but all religions in one way or another[42]. Most of the recent violent religious assaults on public, national or international scene are attributed to the following reasons:

1. Perception of an anti-religious international political conspiracy.

2. Enthronement of an oppressive global economic order mentioned by Bin Laden, Shimkyo and some Christian Militias[43].

These trends have further fuelled the growth and emancipation of various groups of violent religious sects which continue to threaten the peace and security of not only Nigeria but the world at large.

Still in his book, Juergensmeyer explore the use of violence by marginal groups within five major religious traditions: Christianity (reconstruction theology and the Christian identity movement, abortion clinics attacks, the Oklahoma city bombing, and Northern Ireland); Judaism (Baruch Goldstein, the assassination of Rabin and Kahane); Islam (World Trade Center bombing, Hamas, and Al-Qaida); Sikhism (the assassination of Indira Gandhi and Beant Singh) and Buddhism (Aun Shinrikyo and the Tokyo subway gas attack). Juergensmeyer had interviewed many participant and advocates of violence notably among are; Mike Bray, Yoel Lerner, Mahmud Abouhalima, Simranjit Singh Mann and many more, but he is more concern and interested in 'culture of violence' rather than individual psychology.

The second part of the book discusses the common themes and patterns in the cultures of violence described above. One of the main themes of violence as performance, with symbolism often taking precedence over more strategic considerations in such matters as choice of targets and dates; and off-course there are connections with religious ritual. Another theme is the planning of violence within the context of a cosmic war, a symbolic and transcendent conflict; this is

---

[42] Aliyu, S. 2009
[43] Juergensmeyer, 2001

further buttress by the movement's casualties become martyrs and their opponents demonized[44]. Religious violence is consolidated by the nature of the religious imagination, which has always had the propensity to project images of comic wars. The social tension has also contributed to historical movements that seek absolute solutions, and the sense of personal humiliation experienced by men who longed to restore integrity that they perceive as lost in the wake of virtually global social and political shifts.

Juergensmeyer concludes *Terror in the Mind of God* with suggestions, predicting that religious violence will become more controversial in the future. He argues that 'the cure for religious violence may ultimately lie in a renewed appreciation for religion itself' and in acknowledgement of in public life[45].

2.3: Religious violence in Nigeria

This heading will extensively analyze various scholarly works and most especially on those literatures that dwell on the factors responsible for religious violence in Nigeria.

Islam in Nigeria: Its Concept, Manifestation and Role in Nation Building is a chapter written by Umar, S. M in a book titled *Nigeria Since Independence: The First Twenty Five Years,* by Ashiwaju G. and Abubakar Y. (Published in Ibadan by Heinemann in 1989). In this book, Umar pointed out that, there was a crack in the edifice of confidence among the Islamic elites by their fellow Muslims[46]. The Islamic elites are deeply engrossed in material acquisition, they coined to their whims for example the prohibition of usury to suits their economic gain. He also opined that the legal manifestation of Islam was destroyed because the so called elites could not enforce *shariah* (Islamic law). Despite the abundance of mosque, yet, there was little observance of moral precepts. The Islamic scholars engaged in primitive distractions and obstructions.

---

[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Umar, 1989

Educational and or intellectual manifestation appears so helpless and important that they could not control deviations. In spite of the formation of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, richly endowed by the Pakistani, Yusuf Fardi, and the Council failed to be effective in instilling sufficient authority in influence over their followers. Thus, the baton was passed to students, the unemployed youth and exploitative Islamic scholars to protect Islam in the way they knew best[47]. This however, coincided with the charismatic Pentecostals who dared further into the Muslim North with greater confidence and acquired followers which in turn exacerbated worse the matters. This however, brought Christians in the North and South together and this mass ecumenical unification raised alarms of immense political importance.

Ethno-Religious Conflicts and The Travails of National Integration in Nigerian's Fourth Republic, is a book written by Lanre Olu-Adeyemi of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Adekunle Ajasin University, in Ondo state of Nigeria. This author ascertained that, the character of the Nigerian state is primarily responsible for the deepening ethno-religious violence in Nigeria. The plurality of Nigeria incubates constant feeling of distrust and hatred between various component units and as well the fear of one group subjugating another. It is this pattern of largely discernible ethnic suspicious and intrigues that existed prior to independence that consequently let to Nigeria's first military coup d'état of 1966 and the traumatic civil war between 1967 and 1970. This mutual distrust also led to the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election thereby intensifying the never ending problem of ethno-religious violence is presently threatening the very fabric of Nigeria's nascent democracy and to a larger extent national existence[48].

The so called Nigerian elites have over the years sacrificed stunning opportunities for initiating national integration on the altar of short-term whims and caprices thereby compounding the problem to magnitude. Consequently, in spite of the

---

[47] Aliyu, 2009
[48] Olu-Adeyemi, 2006

creation of more states and local governments, a new constitution and forms of governments, yet, the state continue to remain in plague with conflicting interest that poses the threat of national disintegration. At the epitome of this discussion is the problem of intolerant ethnic diversities and religious view which are commonly expressed in the series of violent crises that disorient Nigerian politics[49].

Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria, Jos: African Center for Democratic Governance (AFRGOV) 2001, written by S.G Egwu. He harangued (could be an alternate word as you seem to use opined a lot?) in his writing that;

The constant political, ethnic and religious violence that characterized the Nigerian state is attributable to the history and processes inherent in the state formation during the colonial and postcolonial era. The Colonial state was the foundation upon which the post colonial state was built; therefore, the process of ethnic identity formation and the political use to which such identity is put were determined by this process. Presently, the Nigerian state, he argues, is a violent institution and to a larger extent a crisis generating mechanism because the development of a bourgeois nation-state based on respect for human rights, the rule of law and the institutionalization of democratic order and governance was not the priority of the colonialist in building the Nigerian state[50].

Ethnic Nationalities and the Nigeria State: The Dynamics and Challenges of Governance in a Plural Nigeria (2002) is a special annual lecture delivered at the National institute for Policy and strategic Studies by the former President, retired General Ibrahim Babangida. While delivering this lecture, Babangida argued that, "While in Nigeria we have been lucky enough to avoid a major conflict between the major religious communities, the fact remains that religion and cultural diversity is enough justification to see religion and ethnicity as a potential threat". He further asserts that the events within the last half decade have shown that

---

[49] Aliyu, 2009
[50] Egwu, 2001

religious and ethnic tensions have been to an unprecedented level of intensity. There is no doubt that, the disputes between religion and ethnicity are mostly been instigated and manipulated by partisan and electoral interest. However, this interrelationship is a key to a better management strategy of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria[51].

The question of Islamic law (*shariah*) has been lingering since 1978 and over the years become a major bone of contention in Nigerian politics. It has become an important factor and avenue in which various actors must especially; the politicians and sub-religious groups carry out their whims and their so called struggle. The situation climaxed into a major struggle and outcry in 1999 when Zamfara and other 11 states in the North adopted Islamic law (*shariah),* to include criminal law from its personal law. The Christians however, opposed and protested against its implementation and this resulted to mass demonstrations in various cities and towns across Nigeria most notable the volatile states like Kaduna and Bauchi.

The implication of these conflicts in Nigeria is no doubt a result of multi-religious and cultural differences among various societies. As such, Nigerians should accept the differences among its people since there is consensus of agreeing to live together. It is only through mutual understanding that the full realization of democracy and federalism can be achieved.

Religion: The Secret Weapon in Resolving Religious-based Conflicts: By Stephan D. Hayes. Hayes operates a consultancy firm, he provides clients with public relations and business development advice. Until 2005, Hayes worked as a senior Vice President of Business Development at Gannon International. Hayes in this publication sees religion as central to most of the strife in the contemporary world of today. Yet traditional diplomacy's neglect of religious factors has left most especially the West ill-equipped to deal with dimensions of religious conflicts. He states that,

---

[51] Babangida, 2002

"Nor have we the ability to counter demagogues like bin Laden or Milosevic who manipulate religion for their own purpose"[52]. He further buttressed that, *"In Chechnya, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Kosovo, Nigeria, Indonesia and most visible of course, the Middle East, religion is fueling armed conflict. At the same time, it is religion itself that holds the best hope for enhanced understanding and reconciliation*[53].

Several studies have been carried out on Ethno-religious violence in Nigeria. In this study, I will like to specifically dwell on the Part of Nigeria (role of Nigeria?). Previous studies emphasized mostly on the general assumption without going deep into the lives of the ordinary citizens in the Northern part of Nigeria. They also failed to point out the relationship between deprivation, marginalization, exclusion and ethnic and religious crises and how they emanated from each other.

This study will therefore try to fill the gap by identifying the missing links not yet studied in ethnic and religious crisis in Northern Nigeria. This research will also analyse the long standing domination of Northern Muslims over the Southern and Northern Christians which has led stockpiling of arms and weapons on both sides.

Chapter Three

3.1: Cases of Ethno-Religious violence in Northern Nigeria

Ethno-religious conflicts and violence in Northern Nigeria dates back to the pre-colonial era. The manifestation of (kingdoms like the Kororofa kingdom, the Emirate of Kano, the Sokoto Caliphate, and the kanem Borno Empire) had severally in one way or the other involved subjugating their neighboring communities or ethnic minority groups. The Islamization of most part of Northern Nigeria and some part of the South came with a price of waging holy wars on the

---

[52] Hayes, 2005
[53] Ibid.

communities or ethnic minority groups to be converted to Islam. The 1804 Jihad of Usman B. Fodio was responsible for Islamization of the whole of the Northern part except Kanem Borno Empire where Islam flourished since 9th Century and to a larger extends to some part of Southern Nigeria[54]. Besides, boundary disputes between adjacent communities or ethnic groups are as old as the history of man. Also, the intra-communal and inter ethnic violence and conflicts were intensified by the introduction of the slave trade by the callous European Merchants.

The Establishment of British Administration brought an end to slave trade but paved ways to further problems. By its policy of 'divide and rule' it deliberately and purposely set one ethnic group against another under the guise of securing the right of each group to maintain its identity, individuality and chosen form of government. Under the policy of indirect rule, minority ethnic groups, particularly in the Northern areas, were subjected to the rule of powerful emirs, and to a large extent, to their religion with unavoidable resultant resentment. In an effort to quench the agitation of Sothern elites against colonial rule, the imperialist considered it necessary to incline the power equation in favour of the more accommodating Northern political operators. This further led to adoption of different system of electoral laws between the North and the Southern part[55].

The establishment of a federal form of government in 1954 gave rise to the emergence three major dominant groups (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo), one in each of the three geo-political regions. This however, emanated into a new phase of ethno-religious violence in the country. This trend transformed into power politics among the three regions and as well created ethnic minorities among each of the region. Under the policy of Indirect Rule, minority ethnic groups, particularly in the Northern areas, were subjected under the powerful emirs and to a larger extend, to their religions with unavoidable resultant resentment. To undo or oust the other major ethnic groups in the power, each of the regional majority groups' support if not excites minority agitation against the majority groups while

---

[54] Ikime, 1980
[55] AGBEDE, 2004

blissfully ignoring the same agitation within its own region. The overwhelming support of the government in power in the Western Region for the creation of Midwest state in 1964 has been categorized by some scholars as an act of political maneuver. Besides, there was intense rivalry between the three major political groups to capture power in the center[56].

3.2: Kano

Kano has, since colonial times, remained a center of ethnic and religious tension which was sometimes aggravated by violence. Most of this violence was between Hausa/Fulani Muslims against their Christian counterparts from the Southern part of Nigeria. Kano is no doubt the largest industrial and commercial city in Northern Nigeria and has remained the center of attractions for migrants of various ethnic, religious and national groups since colonial times. It is interesting to note that, pre-colonial migrants have physically and culturally integrated and assimilated, while modern migrants are finding it difficult or almost impossible to integrate. The explanation for this is not far fetched, as the situation was encouraged by colonial government's discrimination and segregation for easy implementation of divide and rule policy[57].

The establishment of *Sabon Gari* ward in 1913 further served the racial segregation policy of the colonialist. Most migrants settled in *Sabon Gari* and as such both Muslim and Christian settlers were attracted. This settlement was. however, the third colonial settlement after *Bompai* which is a mainly European residential and administrative settlement with Asian/Lebanese quarters, located in the Western part of the railway station. Sabon Gari settlement was created in order for the colonial government to directly administer, within British rule, those African-Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe, Hausa, Chadian and other numerous ethnic migrants to Kano during the colonial period. This is primarily and intentionally created to

---

[56] Ibid.
[57] Abdu, 2011

serve the divide and rule policy which was based on white racial ascendency[58]. This type of settlement further strengthened the powers of the traditional rulers (Emirs) and the traditional institutions thereby increased the influence of the traditional rulers which led to a greater cohesion among the local population and between the traditional bureaucracy and authority of the chiefs. This, however, helped in strengthening the importance of local ties, norms, values and customs thereby contributing in solidifying the feeling of exclusiveness of the indigenous communities.[59] Migrants therefore find it difficult to get integrated. Consequently, these settlements and its surroundings have become flash points and crises prone areas since colonial period.

The first crisis in Kano was a result of colonial manipulation of ethnic and regional sentiments to suppress anti-colonial actors. In 1953, the Igbo people were attacked in *Sabon Gari* area I, Kano, however, the crisis was fuelled by a political disagreement between the members of Northern People's Congress NPC (Northern political party) and members of Action Group AG (Western-based political party). The disagreement rose from a motion moved by a member of Action Congress Party, for Nigeria's independence in 1956 to which the NPC bluntly objected, preferring to have it 'as soon as practicable'[60]. This disagreement however, resulted to a mass protest in Kano against the tour of Action Group leaders to Northern Nigeria, Kano in particular. The protest led to the killing of 21 Southerners, most of whom were Igbo, also leaving 163 injured[61].

The second crisis came after the fallout of the January 15th, 1966 military coup d'état led by an Igbo, Major Chukwuemeka Kaduna Nzeogwu, as a result of which many prominent Northern politician were killed. The subsequent appointment of Major general Agunyi Ironsi on 29 March, 1966 (as the new head

---

[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid
[60] Ibid
[61] Albert, 1999

of state) was greeted with a large demonstration in Kano. It was estimated that, between 100 and 200 Igbos lost their lives in *Sabon Gari*[62].

Numerous crises followed in Kano and it is pertinent at this junction to categorise them into specifics.

3:2.1 Maitatsine Crisis, 1980

The *Maitastine* crisis erupted in 1980 and it was a bloody clash between the militant followers of Mohammadu Marwa (a.k.a Maitastine) and the Nigerian Police Force. The crisis was a result of different interpretation of Islamic teachings and an injunction between *Maitastine* and the orthodox sect. The *Maitastine* group was an unorthodox sect of Islam that rejects acquisition of worldly materialism of the main stream sects of *Tijanniya/Quadiriya* while assigning the divine power and authority to its spiritual leader Mohammed Marwa, *Maitastine*[63]. This is considered blasphemy in mainstream Islam. The *Maitastine or Yan Tastine*, were anti-establishment crusaders who challenged both Islamic and political authorities. They believed that they were the only true and righteous servants of God and dismissed other Muslims as those who had gone astray. Their belief revolved around the notion of "Quran only" to the exclusion of the Hadith, Sunnah and other universally agreed secondary sources of Islamic law, conducts and norms[64]. *Maitastine* was accused of condemning the principles and ethics of Islam as laid down by the *Quran* and *Sunnah* and as well denouncing the prophethood of Prophet Mohammed[65].

The *Maitastine* disturbances did not start in the 1980s; his fundamental views and actions led to his deportation in 1962 by the then Emir of Kano Alhaji Mohammed Sanusi. He was later arrested and put to preventive detention in

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] Yau, 2000
[64] (Ibrahim, 2010)
[65] Abdu, 2011

1975[66]. Long before the outbreak of the disturbances, the activities of Maitastine had become wary for the people of Kano must especially among the Muslims. It was a tale of one incident against another, of one clash against another, one form of breach of law and other, peace and tranquility in Kano and its surroundings[67]. He was said to have arrested and detained people illegally and indiscriminately; some even said that, he had slaughterhouse where he made meat out of people[68]. Many women and children were kidnapped and force to work for the group under duress. The main adherents of *Maitastine* are the *almajirai* children whom he easily indoctrinated through his teachings and fake promises made to them. It is a known fact that, the *almajirai* were considered lowest in the society and as such, joining *Maitastine* gave them a sense of belonging[69]. This impetus gave them the motivation wage a war against the people of Kano in order to uplift their status and to gain recognition among society. *Maitastine* was also accused of intimidation and molestation of innocent people, particularly his neighbors in *Yan Awaki* Quarters. He forcefully ejected people from their houses and handed over the houses to his fanatic followers, he also seized public places like primary schools, markets and so on[70].

However, the main disturbances started on the 18th December 1980. It broke out in *Shahuchi* playground and later spread to *Yan Awaki, Fagge, Koki, Kofar Wambai,* and later to the entire city. It took a huge effort and intervention from the Nigerian Army to restore normalcy after eight days of blood bath. Many lives and properties were lost including members of the police and the Army[71].

The *Maitastine* disturbances emerged at a time when Kano was going through political upheavals. The internal crisis of the then People's Redemption Party (PRP), the conflict between the state governor, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi and the

---

[66] FGN, 1981
[67] Abdu, 2011
[68] Ibid
[69] Ibid
[70] FGN, 1981
[71] Ibid

Emir of Kano, Alhaji-Ado Bayero, and the political disagreement between the state and the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) were among the major crises that engulfed Kano at that time.

The *Maitastine* disturbances however, led to trading of blame between PRP-controlled state and the NPN-controlled central government. The federal government, through its Tribunal of Inquiry on the crisis, accused the Kano state government and in particular the state governor (Alhaji Abubakar Rimi) as well as Alhaji Sule Hamma, the secretary to the state government of Kano state, Alhaji Aminu Yusuf, the Commissioner of special duties and a host of other officials for negligence and to some extend collaboration[72]. The federal tribunal report on *Maitastine* disturbances explicitly reported that: "for Abubakar Rimi to have chosen to dine as he himself admitted in evidence, with the emissaries of Maitastine-a criminal and a felon-was suggestive of accommodation of *Maitastine* in circumstances unbecoming of a Chief executive"[73].

On her defense, the Kano state government accused and held the federal government responsible. It accused the federal government of sponsoring the crisis in order to destabilize the state and create room for a declaration of state of emergency on the state. "*The state government maintained that… the federal government was fully aware of the activities of Maitastine and refused to take preemptive majors*"[74]. The non cooperation of the Nigerian Police before the outbreak of the crisis was attributed to the deliberate negligence by the federal government to destabilized the PRP government that has been in opposition to the NPN when he said; "There is no doubt that the Police was very much hand in gloves with the ruling party and *Maitastine* must have been seen as a welcome irritant for Abubakar Rimi who was giving the NPN a very bloody nose in Kano

---

[72] FGN, 1981
[73] Ibid.
[74] KNSG, 1981

and beyond"[75]. These, crises, however provide a picture of state complicity towards religious violence.

3:2.2 Fagge Crisis 1982

Prior to 1982, religious crisis was a rare phenomenon in Northern Nigeria until Kano erupted. The crisis was sparked by the decision of the Anglican Hausa Church in Fagge Quarters to build a bigger church within its walled premises[76]. The Muslim community around the area objected on the ground that the proposed church area was too close to the Fagge Central Mosque. They fought aggressively to ensure that the state government did not approve the building, and as expected, the state government acted in favor of the Muslims. Despite this effort, the Christians felt marginalized and decided to carry on with the construction, and the failures of the state government to intervene on the issue provoked a violent reaction. This resulted to the burning of three churches in downtown *Sabon Gari* and several other churches were vandalized and destroyed[77].

3:2.3 Proposed Visit of Rev. Reinhard Bonnke 1991

The year 1991, saw again another violent reaction from the Muslim youths against the government decision of given permission to the Charismatic Movement in Kano to organize a crusade to be chaired by the renowned German Evangelist Reinhard Bonnke and some American preachers[78]. This violent reaction was necessitated by an earlier government decision, refusing entry of a South African Muslim preacher into the country.

The crusade and the coming of the international Evangelist were massively publicized and this attracted the attention of the Muslims who opposed against the crusade taking place in Kano. They accused the government of a double standard

---

[75] Kuka, 1993
[76] Ibrahim, 2010
[77] Abdu, 2011
[78] Ibid

for failing to grant permission to Sheikh Ahmed Deedat, the South African preacher who had wanted to visit Kano[79][80]. One preacher was quoted saying "It is injustice allowing the German preacher"[81]. The crusade was only seen as provocative to the people of Kano whom consider Kano as a Muslims state but an attempt to Christianized the Islamic city or portray is as Christian city. They furiously resented the messages in the media advert, that, the Evangelist will make the deaf hear, the blind see, cripple walk and the most unsettling to the people was the slogan " Jesus for all by the year 2000"[82].

The Muslims aired their reprisals by sending delegates to the government in order to withdraw and provoke the permission granted to the Christians for the crusade. On the 13th October, 1991, the proposed day of the crusade, the Muslims held a peaceful demonstration in the Emirs palace and later had an emergency prayer at the *Kofar Mata* Eid praying ground. Suddenly, the scenery changed into violence. Kano youths went on a rampage thereby destroying churches, looting shops, burning of car, hotels, beer parlors and night clubs. The Igbo as usual are the most affected as their shops are the most targeted. In retaliation, some Igbo groups attacked some Muslims/Hausa houses and Mosque and killed many Hausa found in *Sabon Gari.* This incident was accompanied by mass exodus of people from Kano most of whom were the Christian Southerners (Igbo, Yoruba and other Christian groups). In one week a considerable number of people fled the city of Kano and most of these people viewed themselves as Kano citizens, because they had been living there for years. It was unofficially reported that more than five hundred lost their lives in places like *Sabon Gari, Kofar Mata, Rimin Kebe, Tudun wada, Konar Jaba, Kofar Nassarawa, Brigade, Tudun Wada* and other fringe areas. Almost all the Christians/Southerners took refuge in Military and Police barracks[83].

---

[79] Albert, 1999
[80] Abdu, 2011
[81] Ibid
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

3:2.4: Beheading of the Kafir (non-believer)

Another terrible incident happened in December 1994 when a fundamentalist *Shiite* Muslim group brutally beheaded Gideon Akaluka, an Igbo trader who allegedly defamed the Holy *Quran*. Akaluka was accused of using a page of the Holy Quran to clean himself after using a restroom. This act however, provoked the Muslims and most especially the Shiite group who took the law into their own hands by declaring and legitimizing Akaluka's blood as lawful which means he should be killed at all costs[84]. The police interfered when the tension arose thereby arresting Akaluka and keeping him in protective custody. But trust the Kano people when it comes to this. They were disgruntled and dissatisfied by the slow progress of the court proceedings and thereafter; they defied all security arrangements and went to the *Doron Duste* prison, pulled Akaluka out and brutally beheaded him. They took the head and paraded it around the city chanting '*Allah Akbar'* (Allah is Great)[85]. The Igbo people maintained their peace by not retaliating, however, tension rocked the city and this led to closure of shops, businesses were halt to stand still. Many of the non-indigenes fled the city with some seeking shelter in police and military barracks.

In an effort to restore confidence among the non-indigenes, the then Kano state government went on manhunt of the *Shiite* groups. It was alleged that many of the Shiite members were secretly and extra-judicially killed. The group claimed that about a hundred of its' own were killed[86].

3:2.5 Sabon Gari Carnage 1995

Sabo Gari has become a major flashpoint when it comes to ethnic and religious violence in Kano. Another crisis erupted in June 1995 between an Igbo trader (Arthur Nwankwo) and a Hausa Man (Abubakar Abdu) along Russed Avenue in

---

[84] Usman, 2009
[85] Ibid
[86] Yau, 2000

Sabon Gari[87]. The fight erupted when an Igbo man pushed a Hausa man into a hot pot of vegetable oil. A massive clash occurred among the two tribes, which later escalated into ethnic and religious clashes. Official reports put the death toll at five but it was widely believed that between 15 to 20 people lost their lives during the clashes. Ninety-three persons were seriously injured[88]. Also a total of 32 vehicles, 81 motorcycles and 49 shops were vandalized. Many Churches and Mosques were burnt to ashes.

3:2.6 Counter-Attack of Shagamu violence

This incident started in the far away Western part of Nigeria (Yoruba land) in August 1999, when the '*Area Boys*'[89] hijacked the annual '*Oro*' festival in *Shagamu*, Osun State, which spark up virtually avoidable conflict between the Yoruba and the Hausa. At the aftermath of the clash which sparked on the night of 17 July, 1999, Moses Ogunlana, the Lisa of Shagamu and Chairman, reported during a press conference that one hundred Shagamu indigenes were killed and over 120 vehicles belonging to them were burnt by the Hausas at the Sabo, a Hausa inhabitant in Shagamu. He also stated that over 130 indigenes were in critical condition in various hospitals across the town[90]. On the other hand, the Hausas were said to have lost not less than 50 people. Ogunlana went further stated that, over 2000 Shagamu indigenes had also fled the town[91]. Subsequently, in August 1999, a serious clash erupted between the Hausas and the Yorubas, this time around in Northern city of Kano. The clash was a reprisal of the earlier clash between the two ethnic groups in Shagamu, July 15. The clash saw the exodus of large number of Hausa to the Northern part where they came from. Some reports gathered that two trailer loads of corpses and survivors and the clash, arrived Kano on 25 July and were paraded at *Kantin Kwari*, the most populated

---

[87] Albert, 1999
[88] Abdu, 2011
[89] Area Boys refer to unemployed and jobless youths who extort money from innocent citizens. They are mostly found in Car Parks and Bus stops. More than nine-five percent of them are stark illiterates and can be brutal.
[90] Newswatch, 1999
[91] Ibid.

commercial area in Kano. The tale of the survivors' violent experiences at the hands of the Yorubas in Shagamu further infuriated the youths of Kano. Angered by the horrific tale, the youths went on rampage, thereby attacking and killing the Yoruba residents in Kano. The aftermath resulted in the loss of lives, 50 houses and shops were torched and about 30 vehicles belonging to Yorubas were destroyed[92].

3:2.7 Supporting of Afghanistan 2001

On Friday 12 October 2001, a planned peaceful demonstration to protest against the US strikes in Afghanistan turned into horrifying ethno-religious killings. The government was widely criticized for this uprising due to negligence and lack of concern. The press and the government had initially attributed the crisis to Muslim fundamentalist; however, later findings showed that, the city was for sometime before the incident under tension and at almost point of eruption. Government negligence to take preemptive measures paved way for this uprising[93].

The bombing of Afghanistan by the combined forces of the United States and Britain had resulted in worldwide anti-American and pro-Afghanistan across the globe and Kano was no exception. Many countries threw their support behind the US due to President Bush's statement: "if you are not with us, you are with terrorists" and Nigeria, through its foreign minister, supported America's war on terror.[94] Unfortunately, the foreign minister Sule Lamido is from Jigawa State, one of states that strongly condemned US air raid on Afghanistan. His comments were further aired on local and international media, provoking many Muslims and paved way for demonstrations in Kano and Jigawa States. Muslims viewed and interpreted his comments as follows:

---

[92] Ojo, 2010
[93] Abdu, 2011
[94] Ibid

Seen as a full-blooded Muslim, representing his Muslim dominated constituency in Jigawa state, Lamido's statement that Nigeria supports the attacked on fellow Muslims in Afghanistan was seen by many people in Kano and Jigawa states as a betrayal of their trust. All sorts of attacks were made on the minister to the extent of attacking his residence in Jigawa State[95].

The official report said that, 32 people were killed including one Policeman, 51 injured; about 35 houses and 30 shops were burnt. It also reported one Mosque and 4 Churches were also burnt. About 286 people were arrested in connection with the violence. But on the contrary, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Kano branch declared 600 Christian went missing[96].

3:3.1 The Plateau/Jos Mayhem

In September 2001, Jos the capital of Plateau state in the central Northern Nigeria witnessed devastating mayhem which resulted in many lost lives and properties of its citizenry. Like any other ethno-religious violence in Northern Nigeria, the conflict erupted between the indigenous Christians communities of Biron, Afizere, Anaguta and Jarawa on one side and the Hausa and Fulani Muslims on the other. The incident shocked many Nigerians as Jos was known as home of "peace and tourism"; nobody expected such a carnage would manifest itself in this peaceful state, where Christians and Muslims lived side by side in peace and harmony. This also made people to be asking question like "If this could happen in Jos, then nowhere is safe in Nigeria"[97].

Plateau state, or Jos town in particular, has witnessed several outbreaks of communal violence, most especially between 1991 and 2007. But to a larger extent, Jos has been a center of deep-seated animosities and rivalry between the Hausa/Fulani who were considered as "settlers" and the indigenous communities. Sometimes, tension between them escalates into overt crisis. This situation has

---

[95] Weekly Trust, 2001
[96] Abdu, 2011
[97] Ibid

existed since the colonial period; however, despite the disaffection and rivalry, there are the questions of disproportionate access to socio-economic resources, power and land. The state and ruling class manipulation of these differences and "partisan handling of situation in the past" exacerbated the differences of the past[98]. The state has witnessed ethnic violence in the past, which later manifested into religious conflicts but not as terrible and horrific as the Muslim-Christian confrontation in Kafanchan, Bauchi, Zangon-Kataf and Kaduna among others[99].

At this juncture, it is very important to briefly trace how Jos and its surroundings became multi-cultural. The emergence of different ethnic groups can be traced back to the 18th and 19th centuries when migration took place with the establishment of tin mining industry in plateau and the need to mobilize large labor force. For reasons of labor rate, taxation and forced labor migration, people migrated to Plateau from Niger Republic, Borno, Chad, Kano and other areas[100]. It was reported that, in the early 1940s, the colonial state forcefully recruited workers from Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Katsina, Sokoto and Zaria province. The majority of the labor migrants are from the Northern part of Nigeria. However, irrespective of their ethnic origins, but for being Muslims, they were all regarded as Hausa-Fulani. There are other settlers from the Southern part of the country including Yoruba and the Igbo peoples.

The colonial political policies empowered the Hausa-Fulani traditional political system due to indirect rule and the consequent placement of Jos under the Bauchi emirate, a position that gave the Hausa-Fulani the political, economic and social advantage over the indigenous Christian population[101]. This situation further created tension between the two groups most especially in the 1930s. It was reported that in 1932, this tense political situation almost erupted into violent confrontation between the Hausa-Fulani and the indigenes.

[98] Sha, 1998
[99] Abdu, 2011
[100] Sha, 1998
[101] Ibid

After the collapse of the mining industry in Plateau state, the relationship between these two communities degenerated, as many of the migrant miners shifted to agriculture thereby incubating land conflict. According to Nnoli, Jos has witnessed 76 % rural-urban migration between 1952 and 1963 and was one of the major cradles of ethnicity as was Kano, Zaria and Kaduna[102]. The land, however, became a serious issue and the ownership of Jos becomes a serious political issue. Biron and other indigenous ethnic groups claimed the ownership of Jos along with the Hausa-Fulani settlers who had been producing traditional rulers until 1950s when Sardauna, Ahmadu Bello, for political reasons decided to appoint Mr. Rwang Pam as the head of the traditional institution. The hitherto situation since then had continue to create tension between the two contending forces who uses religion and ethnicity to mobilize support. The post colonial period was greeted by forming of several ethnic and religious associations (for example, Berom Youth Movement, Jassawa Development Association, Berom Elders Council, to name a few)[103].

The 1990s was a period characterized be identity politics and for many; this is demonstrated by the creation of Jos North Local Government or splitting of Jos into South and North during the local government creation of 1991. These actions by the federal government worsened the already existing tension in Jos, as the Hausa-Fulani were seen to be given impetus to control Jos over the native indigenes. The indigenes protest was in line with hitherto Hausa dominance, according to Egwu: "the British appointed 12 successive persons as *Sarkin Jos* who was of Hausa-Fulani origins[104].

In April, 1994, the growing tension further escalated into violent clashes. The immediate cause of the conflict started with the appointment of members of Jos North Local Government Management Committee. The appointment of Sanusi

---

[102] Nnoli, 1987
[103] Abdu, 2011
[104] Egwu, 2009

Mato, a Hausa-Fulani man, as chairman was greeted with large protest and resentment. The indigenes reacted accordingly, as Sha noted:

The indigenes interpreted this action as a confirmation of the fear that the Federal Government wanted to provide basis for the Hausa/Fulani to assume political hegemony in Jos. They also interpreted this action supportive of the claims that Jos belongs to the Hausa/Fulani[105].

On the 5th April, the indigenous youths staged a protest and on the 8th April, went on rampage by storming the venue of the swearing in ceremony chanting war songs, they stoned the governor's entourage and burnt government properties and this let to halting of Mato's appointment by Governor Col. Mana. On the other hand, the halting of Sanusi Mato's appointment was considered unacceptable by the Hausa-Fulani. They justified his appointment on the basis that the 'Hausa-Fulani were numerically superior in the local government council, a notion the indigenes vehemently rejected"[106]. The situation generated into chaos and violence in the city of Jos, resulting to the destruction of properties and the death of four people. Part of Jos Ultra-Modern market, The Gada Biyu market and an Islamic school and Mosque along Rukuba Road was destroyed[107].

March 16th, 1996, again saw more violence in Anguwar Rogo, a predominantly Hausa settlement, that almost escalated to ethno-religious violence. The indigenes allegedly accused the Hausa-Fulani of trying to rig an election by smuggling into the pulling station "Shagari voters" form other part of the country. The electoral officer's decision to screen out the alleged "unknown faces" was protested by the Hausa-Fulani residents of the area[108]. It was this incident that transformed into violence in which dangerous weapons were openly and freely used. In the aftermath, one man, an ethnic of Anaguta was killed instantly while two others died later at the Jos Teaching Hospital. The burial of the first victim on the 22nd of

---

[105] Sha, 1998
[106] Abdu, 2011
[107]Best, 2007
[108] Ibid

March, 1996 was used for political mobilization, but the situation was somehow contained. Many analysts maintained that, the September 7th violence took its roots from the following historical accounts[109].

The September 7th Violence came as no surprise following the activities that preceded it but the crisis is solely related to the blocking of roads during worship periods. Human Rights Watch graphically described how it happened[110]:

On September 7th, a young Christian woman tried to cross the road through a congregation of Muslims outside the Mosque (in an area known as Congo-Russia) she was asked to wait until prayers had finished or to choose another route, but she refused and an argument developed between her and some members of the congregation. Within minutes, the argument had unleashed a violent battle between groups of Christians who appeared at the scene of the Mosque and the Muslims who had been praying in the Mosque or who had happened to be in the neighborhood[111] [112].

The ravaging chaos spread to another part of the city and the violence lasted from 7th to 10th September. The proposed ceasefire failed and the fighting continued until the early hours of 13th when it eventually stopped. At the end of the crisis, hundreds of people had been killed: Human Rights Watch reported 1,000 deaths and as usual, the state government provided a lower figure. Thousands of homes, buildings, shops and worships places were destroyed[113].

Sadly also on the early hours of Sunday, March 7, 2010, was another day of immense horror in the history of Jos when suspected Fulani herdsmen invaded Dogo-Nahawa and three other neighboring villages en masse, killing hundreds of people. Other communities attacked were Zot, Reput and Kutgot, all in Shen district of Jos South Local Government Area, populated by Birom people. Dogo-

---

[109] Abdu, 2011
[110] Ibid
[111] Human Rights Watch, 2001
[112] Abdu, 2011
[113] Ibid.

Nahawa was ruined and the people were in grief for their losses. On March 8, 400 corpses of the victims were arraigned for mass burial amidst uncontrollable tears form family members and sympathizers[114]. This incident aggrieved the youths and took to the streets despite government appeal. People protested with banners and placards with carried signs like "Genocide: Hausa-Fulani killed 400 Christians in Dogo-Nahawa"[115].

Ever since, Plateau state has become a flashpoint and a conflict zone in the Northern part of Nigeria. Violence has become the order of the day in this once peace and tourism state, where a series of clashes and counter-attacks are now mainstays of the state.

3:4.1 The Kaduna Crisis

Kaduna State is one of the volatile states in Northern Nigeria. Kaduna State occupies part of the central position of the Northern part of Nigeria and shares common borders with Zamfara, Kastina, Niger, Kano, Bauchi, Plateau states and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja in the South-West.

Kaduna state had experience series of complex violent conflicts which mostly assumed ethnic and religious character. The recent conflicts includes: Kasuwar Magani 1980, Zangon Kataf 1984, Kafanchan 1987 Zangon Kataf and its splits over to Kaduna and Zaria 1992, Kaduna and Kachiya 2000, Gwandu 2001 and other pockets of violence across the state. The conflict had always been between the Hausa-Fulani Muslims and the Christians minorities from Southern Kaduna. History has recorded long animosities between the two communities arising from pre-colonial political structure of Hausa land and the character of the colonial and post-colonial Nigerian states. The conflicts have been reinforced by the economic imbalance between the two communities right from the colonial era. The Southern Kaduna people strongly argued that the underdevelopment of their communities is

---

[114] Ibid

[115] Newswatch, 2010

a result of deliberate and persistent neglect by the emirate officials who until 1976 local government reform dominated the system of native administration[116]. On the other hand, the officials attributed the underdevelopment to the sparse population of the area and their lack of viable internal sources of revenue.

These socio-cultural differences have often escalated into violence since the colonial period. C.S Whitaker Suberu maintained that at different times during the 1946-66, riots were staged by the Kataf and other related communities in Southern Zaria province over certain oppressive features of the emirate system, most especially of Fulani ruling families over predominantly districts. By the year 1942, the Kaje ethnic group of Zangon Kataf district protested over perceived ascendency and discrimination by the native authority who favored the Hausa/Fulani over the Christian minorities. Another similar protest also took place in 1948, and this time it involved the Zangon Kataf ethnic tribe. Yahaya opined that, these protests were the beginning of what become a continuous demand for political recognition and participation by the Southern Zaria ethnic minorities[117].

The 1980s saw the rise of religious fundamentalism, with influx of foreign influence, ideological and material, on Muslims and equally on the Christians[118]. The patronage of sectarian ethnic and religious organizations further escalated the division among people. Also the regime of both Babangida and Sani Abacha worsened the situation by supporting or favoring one group over another in order to gain support and legitimacy for their regimes. The regimes had also made ethno-religious bases very relevant in the recruitment of their agents. The Babangida regime for instance had witnessed a growing ethno-religious tension, and conflicts[119].

---

[116] Suberu, 1996
[117] Suberu, 1996
[118] Toure, 2004
[119] Ibid

3:4.2. Kaduna Crisis (1987)

The Kafanchan Riot of March 1987 was another crisis which started as a result of disagreement between the Christian and Muslim students of the Kafanchan Teachers Collage of Education in Southern Kaduna[120]

Toure opined that, the 1980s, the Kaduna conflict took a different dimension of Muslims versus Christian dichotomy which escalated into violent conflict[121]. The conflict of May, 1987 was a watershed in the history of ethno-religious violence in Northern Nigeria. It was these conflicts that transmogrify from ethnic to religious based conflict. For the first time a conflict which arose from religion, spread to other predominantly Muslim and Christian areas of influence. The conflict resulted in many losses of lives and properties, burning of religious places and as well created high level of insecurity over who lived where and what one's neighbor is. The Nigerian press did not help matters as most of their information was distorted, thereby creating more tension among the general population[122]. This disagreement commenced as a result of a quarrel between the Fellowship of Christian Student (FCS) and the Muslim Student Society (MSS) over an evangelical campaign organized by the former and tagged "Mission 87 in Jesus Campus". The latter group protested and asked for the removal of the banner from the college gate. It took the intervention of the school authority to calm down the situation[123].

Ibrahim Bako, a covert, and leading member and activist of the 'Born Again" group was accused by a Muslim woman, Aishatu Garba and a member MSS of deliberately misinterpreting the *'Quran'*. The following day, the Muslims staged a protest which unfortunately turn into violence and later transformed into religious conflict. The confrontation was between the Hausa/Fulani Muslim "*settlers*" and the indigenous ethnic minority groups who were Christians. Subsequently, the

---

[120] Suberu, 1996
[121] Toure, 2004
[122] Mu'azzam and Ibrahim, 2000
[123] Ibid

violence sprawled to neighboring Zaria, Funtua, Kankia, Daura and other areas around Kaduna[124]. The conflict claimed over 19 lives and 61 injured. Also 152 Churches, 5 Mosques were destroyed and 169 hotels and beer parlors were burnt to ashes. A total of 95 vehicles and 152 private buildings were severely damaged[125].

3:4.3. Kaduna/Zangon Kataf

In the town of *Zangon Kataf*, a dispute over land between the predominantly Christian Kataf and Muslims Hausa ethnic groups erupted into "widespread killings"[126]. The conflict started in phases, first at *Unguwa-Rohongo*, when Katafs were allegedly accused of destroying Yam plants belonging to the Hausas. Then another incident followed months after again between the Hausas and the Katafs over the location of market in the same town[127]. Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, a Muslim scholar and the leader of the Izala sec and Peter Jatau the archbishop of Kaduna Roman Catholic maintained that the violence sprawled when the army brought Muslim bodies from Zangon Kataf[128]. The violence spread to Zaria and Kaduna, it is reported that up to 400 people were killed and 247 people were arrested in connection with the violence. As usual, it is still unclear how many of the dead were Muslims and how many were Christians[129]. The violence of Zangon Kataf was widely described by analysts as a clash of a struggle for political power as who is to gain an upper hand in the presidential election during the transition period under the military[130]. It is uncertain but people believed that the violence broke out during the voters' registration which is conducted by National Electoral Commission[131]. To further complicate issues and increase the growing hatred of Northern Muslims against the West, Western diplomats

---

[124] Abdu, 2011
[125] Enwerem, 1995
[126] Meier, 1992
[127] UNHCR, 1993
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid
[131] Meier, 1992

evinced that despite the manifestation of religious conflicts, the primary issue was power. They further highlighted that despite the fact that Zangon Kataf is predominantly Christian community but the political decision-making is made and dominated by the Hausa-Muslims[132].

3:4.4. The Shariah Crisis

In 1999 by the Governor of Zamfara State, Alhaji-Ahmed Sani Yerima, introduced shariah[133] law and elevated it above the status of English Common law, which formed and shaped the bedrock of the Nigerian Judiciary. This transformed into a genesis of chaos and violence across the Northern part of Nigeria[134]. The implementation of Shariah had received a tremendous support among Northern Muslims population, and to a larger extent majority assumed that it will eradicate corruption and as well help create a more secure society. Governor Sani Yerima of Zamfara became popular figure, in the North he was considered, a true Muslim and a Jihadist while at the national level he is a rebel and controversialist. Yerima's sudden popularity took a new turn by putting the Northern governors under intense pressure to implement Shariah in their respective states so as to boost their legitimacy and to further maintain their position within the power elites[135].

Many states in Northern Nigeria had little or no option than to adopt the implementation of *Sharia* in their various states. Notable among states that followed suit are Kano, Sokoto, Kebbi, Yobe and Niger while other constituted various committees to look into the matter before taking action[136].

---

[132] UNHCR, 1993

[133]*Shariah* is a system of Islamic law based on four fundamental sources: the Qur'an which is God's revelation to prophet Mohammed; the Hadith or *Sunnah* is the sayings, teaching and deeds of prophet Mohammed and to some extent that of his companions as well; Qiyas is a process of analogical reasoning based understanding of the principles and ethics of the Qur'an; *Ijma* is the consensus opinion of the learned (*Ulamas*)

[134] Ibid

[135] Angerbrandt, 2001

[136] Ibid

Ahmed Makarfi, the then governor of Kaduna state, decided to weight the issue carefully before adopting *Shariah*. In doing so, he forwarded the matter to Kaduna State House of Assembly who later established an eleven member committee to deliberate on the applicability or otherwise of *Shariah* in Kaduna State. The Legislative House was divided along religious lines thereby creating tension and suspicion among members of the House[137].

Series of arguments and counter arguments swept across the Kaduna State House of Assembly. The Christians argued that, the motion on was not adequately passed in line with the House regulations. They maintained that all the committee members were Muslims and will only serve the interest of the Muslims. On the other hand, the Muslims countered that, *Shariah* is a Muslim affair and it should be dealt with by the Muslims only. This fuss later led to the inclusion of two Christians into the committee which the Christians said was a foul play. This incident led to protest by Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) Kaduna branch on the fears of the *Islamization* of the State[138].

On February 21, 200 Christian groups protested against the planned implementation of *Shariah* law in the State. The proposed peaceful protests turned into violence when protesters and hoodlums clashed. This sparked off series of unprecedented violence across Kaduna town and later to its surroundings in areas like: Birnin Gwari, Katchia and many more.

The violence was so bad that: "the senseless destruction of lives and property could not have ordinary abate" despite indefinite notice of restriction imposed on the Kano metropolis[139]. The Nigerian police reported in its 2000 report, that 609 deaths and over 1944 buildings inclusive business areas, residential houses and Hotels, were destroyed. A total number of 746 vehicles and about 123 churches and 55 Mosques were bunt to ashes[140]. The Kaduna State Government

---

[137] Abdu, 2011
[138] ABDU, 2005
[139] The News, 2000
[140] Ibid

Commission of Enquiry, highlighted in its report that, 1295 people were killed and lots of unidentified bodies were also found. The report also estimates individual financial losses at N4, 927,306,603.00 while organization suffered an all together loss of N1, 44,881,115.00[141].

3:5.1 The Religious Crisis in North-Eastern Nigeria

This is a region that is comprised Borno, Bauchi, Adamawa, Gombe and Yobe states. I decided to unite these 5 states under one heading because they are unlike Kaduna, Kano and Plateau where most of the violence was between ethnicity and religion. But the crisis or violence in the North-East has gone far beyond the boundaries of ethnicity and even religion itself to some extent. Ideological extremism and Islamic fundamentalism in my observation is what characterized this new wave of upheaval. This is something new, not only to other fellow Nigerians but to Muslims as well. Its forms and methods has assumed not only national borders but international character and had also opened a new chapter in Nigerian history. The activities of Nigerian Taliban and Boko Haram go hand in hand with the manifestos of International extremist and fundamentalist groups like the Taliban and Al-Qaida.

3:5.2 Nigerian Taliban

The so called Nigerian Taliban came to the limelight in December 2003 when they launched short-lived pockets of rebellion in the semi-desert areas along the Nigeria-Niger Republic border and seized a couple of farmlands announcing their arrival. They are believed to be affiliated with the Afghan Taliban; they attacked several Muslims and the Non-Muslim community. They fought security forces on three occasions between 2003 and 2004. On 31st December 2003, about 200 Taliban members clashed with Police in Geidam and Kanamma towns killing a police officer and stole sizeable number of A-47 assault rifles[142]. To further

---

[141] KDSG, 2001
[142] International Crisis Group, 2010

announce their arrival, the group attacked three police stations in Damaturu, Yobe state capital and other stations near Maiduguri, the capital of Borno. The group insurgence was curtailed after four days of fighting with the Nigerian security armed forces.

In June 2004, four of the accused members were shot dead when trying to jail-brake the Damaturu prison and in retaliation; the group attacked police stations in the town of Bama and Gwoza - all in Borno state killing six people and abducting four security personnel. In responding to the attack, the combined forces of police and the army were deployed to contain the insurgence and most of the group members fled to Mandara Mountains, neighboring Cameroon and Niger republic[143]. During this operation, 28 members of the Taliban including two women and a child were killed and 5 others were injured; 13 suspected members were arrested in one of their camp. A total of 50 assault rifles and hundreds of round ammunitions were recovered by the security forces[144].

On 8th October, the Taliban group launched an offensive ambush, attacking on patrol men of the Nigerian Police in Kala Balge, near Lake Chad. They instantly killed three officers and captured twelve whom they killed later[145].

The activity of Borno Taliban was short-lived as they did not enjoy popular support from the Muslim communities. I can remember vividly during my under graduate studies at the University of Maiduguri, when lots of us were discouraged from Islamic duties that might lead us to joining the so called Taliban. It was rumored that some Taliban members were said to infiltrate the University Campus and some of the students had abandoned their studies to join the Taliban. However, their violent activities did not provoke any generalized breakdown of relations between Christians and Muslims.

---

[143] Ibid.
[144] YSG, 2004
[145] Ibid.

3:5.3 Boko Haram

Between 2006 and 2009, a group believed to be remnants of the previous Taliban group re-emerged; primarily under a new banner called '*Boko Haram*' (Western Education is a Sin). Its leader under Mohammed Yusuf showed clearly that it is a continuation of the Taliban. The groups official name is *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati wal-jihad*, an Arabic phrases which means "People Committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad" but popularly known as *Boko Haram*[146]. On *25th July, 2009*, the police arrested several members of the alleged Boko Haram in Bauchi as a preemptive strike based on intelligence, the report showed the members preparing a major assault in the state. The group clashed with the police in Borno, protesting the arrest while some of them attacked the Dusten Tashi police station in Bauchi but they were repelled by the police and lost about 50 men in the struggle[147].

Between 26th and 30th July, the group launched a heavy assault on the security forces in Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe States. The worse violence was in Maiduguri town, which was the headquarters of the sects. On 30th July, the combined forces of police and the army stormed the headquarters and captured its leader Mohammed Yusuf who was later executed while police custody, hours after his arrest. Over 780 bodies were buried in mass graves according to a Red Cross report[148]. About 29 churches were burnt; three pastors and 28 police officers were killed.

This event marked the beginning of a new wave of insurgence in Northern Nigerian history and the nation at large. Unlike other forms of violence in Nigeria, the Boko Haram since then has continued tormenting the entire population of Nigeria. The following is the chronology the activities of the Boko Haram according to Sun News Paper:

---

[146] The News, 2011
[147] Internation Crisis Group, 2010
[148] Ibid.

- 26 July, 2009, first clash with the police and other security agencies in Bauchi state. 50 members, 2 policemen and one soldier killed.

- 27 July, 2009, first attack in Yobe state during an invasion of Potiskum police Divisional headquarters killing three policemen and one fire service officer.

- 29 July, 2009, confrontation with the security forces in Mamudo village along Potiskum-Damaturu Road. 33 Boko Haram members were killed.

- September 8, 2010, set ablaze Bauchi central prison and freed its jailed members and 700 others.

- 28 January, 2011, killed governorship candidate of the Borno state chapter of the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), Modu Fannami Gubio and six others.

- 2 March, 2011, killed two policemen attached to the residence of a Divisional Police Officer (DPO) in Kaduna.

- 9 April, 2011, Polling station center was bombed and on 15 April, they bombed the office of the Independent national Electorate Commission, several people were shot at close range.

- 22 April 2011, Boko Haram freed 14 prisoners from Yola prison in Adamawa state.

- 29 may 2011, killed 15 people across the Northern part in separate attacks.

- 17 June, 2011, a suspected Boko Haram suicide bomber detonated himself inside the Police headquarters in the Federal Capital Abuja. This mission was said o the first suicide bombing in Nigeria.

- 26 June, 2011, about 25 people were killed in Wulari area of Maiduguri town as a result of bomb attacked.

➢ 26 August, 2011, The United Nation head office in Abuja was bombed killing 21 of its staff[149].

This is however, not the full list of attacks and killings of Boko Haram.

The ideology of Boko Haram is based on eradication of Western education, culture and modern science. The group rejects secularism, which is seen as incompatible with Islamic ideology, and as such vow to Islamize the Northern part of Nigeria.

---

[149] The Sun Online News, 2011

Chapter Four

4:1 Phases of Ethno-Religious Conflicts/Violence in Northern Nigeria

To properly understand the complex nature of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, it is imperative at this juncture for the writer to divide or classify the conflicting groups into different categories based on a number of factors. These categories are:

- Intra-ethnic and religion: This refers to misunderstanding and disagreement within the same ethnic or religious affiliation which sometimes leads to violent clashes. A good example of this is the continual communal clash between Fulani farmers and the cattle hearers or between the Izala and Tijjaniyya sects and between liberals and fundamentalists.

- Inter-ethnic: This refers to tensions between two separate ethnic groups like Hausa vs Igbos

- Inter-religious: This mainly between two religious groups for instance Christianity against the Islam

- Minority Vs Majority: This refers to the tension between the dominant groups and the minority group e.g. Hausa/Fulani vs. kataf, tiv, jukun and many more across the Northern part of Nigeria.

- Other group Vs State; This involves the tension between the state and the various groups within the state.

The diagram below show how the different parties involved in the conflict inter-set with one another. The point of intersection served as the flash points that created conflict between two or more parties.
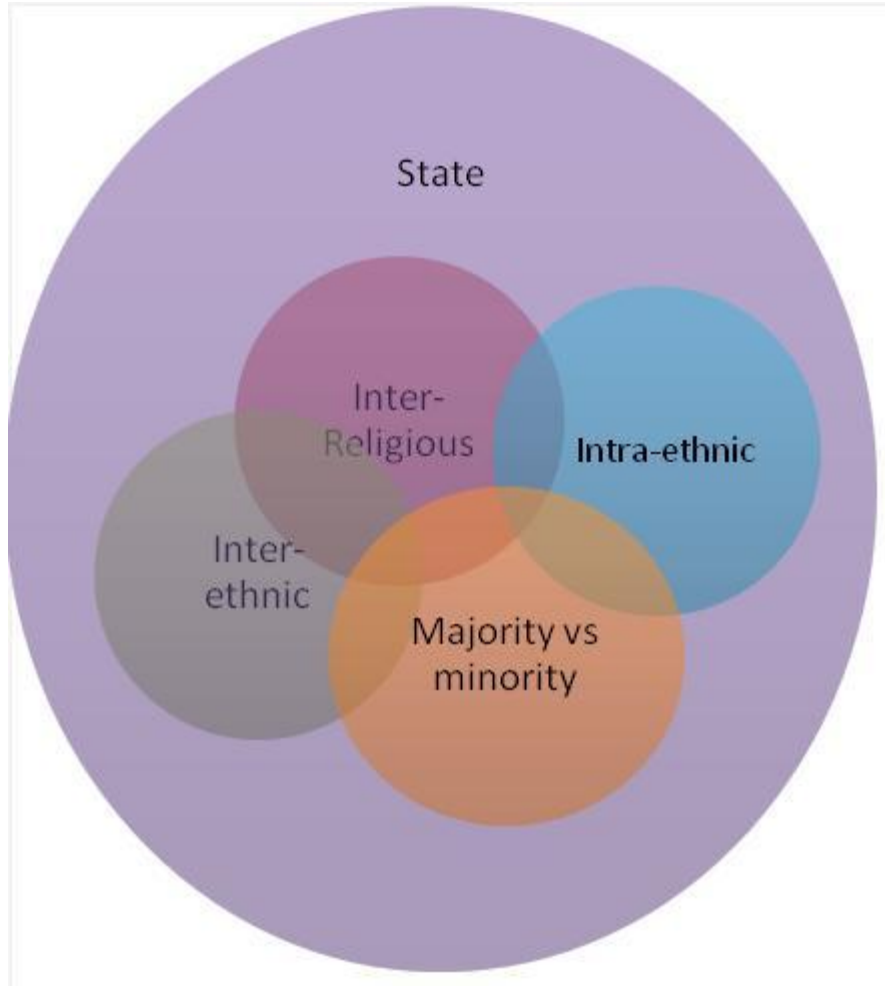
Diagram created by the author.
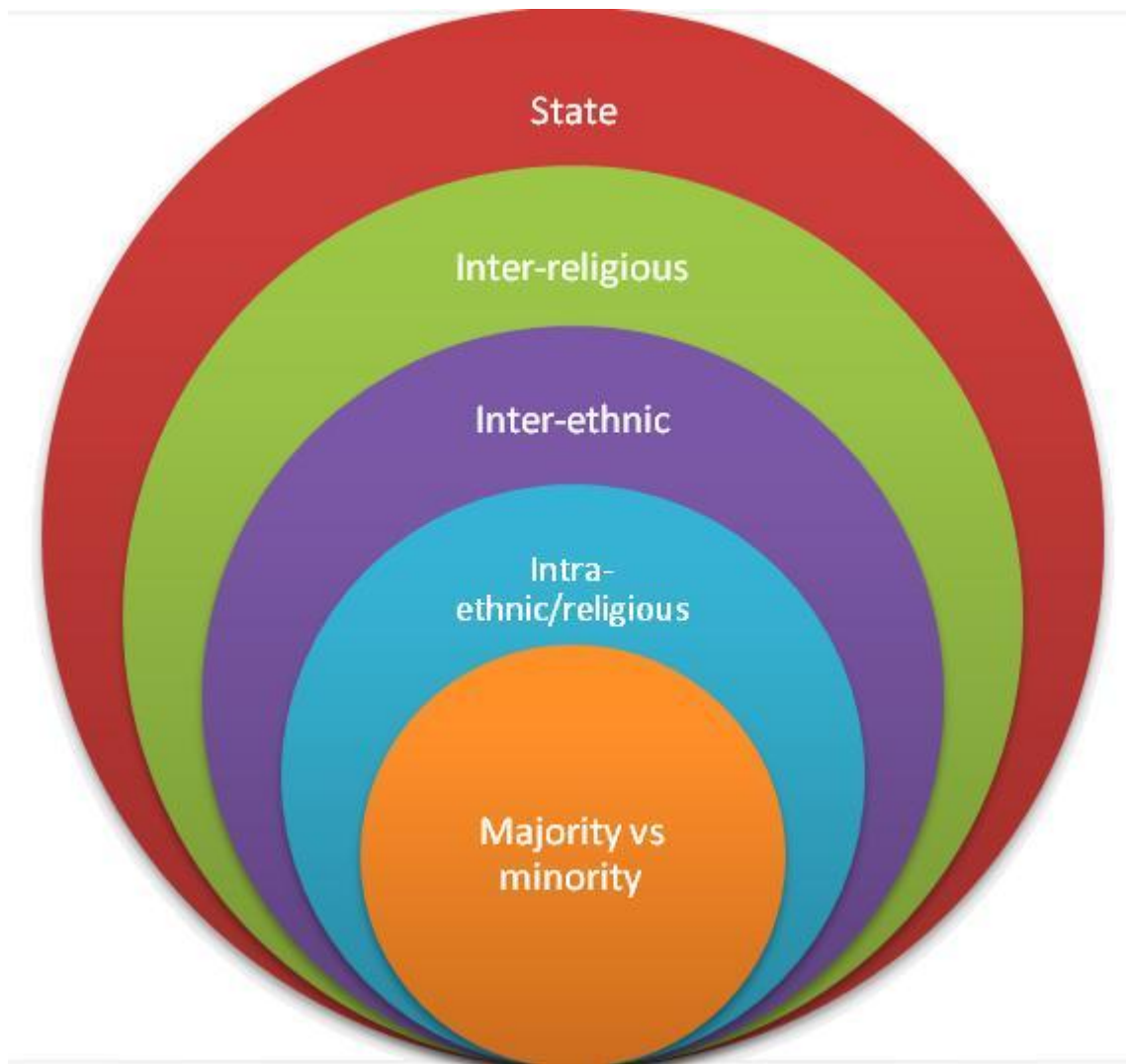
Created by the author:

The above diagram shows the onion like nature of how the various actors involved in the ethno-religious conflicts relate and saddle on each other. This implies that no actor is isolated or independent from one another.

4:2 Actors Involved in the Conflicts

The tension of ethno-religious conflict in Northern Nigeria is ignited by the following actors involved in the conflict:

- The Government of Nigeria

- Religious Bodies and affiliations e.g. CAN and Jama'atu Nasarul Islam

- Ethnic groups and affiliations e.g. Arewa Consultative Forum, Odudua People's congress, Ohameze and many more.

- Student groups like; MSS, CSA, Almajirais.

- International Organizations like *Alshabab* and *Al-Qaida*

4:3 Factors Influencing Ethno-Religious Violence

The factors influencing ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have been attributed by many scholars to the failure of political elites to accept and practice democratic ethics and principles of justice, equity, accountability and the rule of law[150] [151]. Religion and ethnicity has been an integral part of Nigerian society and as such, becomes a critical factor in ethno-religious conflict. Many analysts have attributed the conflicts in the far North to ethnic and religious differences. This difference has to do with, accusations and allegations of neglect, exploitation, oppression, discrimination, victimization, marginalization, bigotry and nepotism. In Nigeria, just like any other nation, there is no fair agreement based on justice and equality on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among individuals and groups.

For better understanding the causes of ethno-religious violence in Northern Nigeria and Nigeria as whole, it will be more appropriate to categorize this vast topic into the following sub headings:

4:3.2 Political Factor

The most intriguing and widely acknowledge factor influencing conflict undoubtedly and unarguably is politics and the role of political elites who invoke ethnicity and religious mobilization to gain political power. Indeed most of the ethno-religious crisis can be traced back or attributed to this cause. The failure of

---

[150] Adejumobi, 2008
[151] Akinwale, 2010

the Nigerian leaders to establish good governance, foster national unity and integration and the will to promote real economic growth through just and well articulated policies, has no doubt led to mass poverty and a high rate of unemployment. It is this failure and negligence that culminated into the communal, religious and ethnic conflict that has now characterized the Nigerian polity. Idealness, despair and loss of hope are the products of absolute poverty and high rate of unemployment have left people with little or no choice other than to indulge in crimes.

The long years of military rule encouraged and legalized the use of force and violence against any group, tribe or its affiliates in order to implement the so-called social change and attainment of set goals and demands. And unfortunately, the return to democracy did not help the situation but instead worsened the situation even more, through power sharing, and election malpractices. Some Nigerians shared the opinion that, there is no religious crisis but access to power and credible system of sharing power. According to Lewis; *"The widespread election irregularities and perception that the vote was manipulated by political elites using patronage and violence to gain office has produced an atmosphere of resignation cynicism"*[152]. Hilary Clinton also highlighted and attributed ethno-religious conflicts to governments neglect; she said that

"The most immediate source of the disconnected between Nigeria's wealth and its poverty is the failure of governance at the federal, state and the local levels…. Lack of transparency and accountability has eroded the legitimacy of the government and contributed to the rise of groups that embrace violence and reject the authority of the state"[153].

 Other scholars like Lake and Rothschild, maintained that, ethnic conflict is one of the major indicator of a weak and failed state that is embroiled in ancient ties or

---

[152] Ojo, 2010
[153] The Nation, 2009

loyalty[154]. They further explained that, any state that acts with bias intention to favor one particular ethnic or region, and as well behaviors like preferential treatment fuel nothing but ethnic conflicts. In a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria, the struggle to control state policy produces competing communal interest, thereby paving way for each ethno-regional group to turn to the state to favor it when distributing public resources or producing it[155]. Claude Ake puts it rightly by saying; "overpoliticization" of social life gravely weakens the state[156].

4:3.3 Economic Factor

The economic factor has been identified by many as a one of the main major causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigerian and even beyond. Many theorists opined that competition over scares resources is always a driving factor that fuel and breeds violence. Northern Nigeria or Nigeria just like any other multi-ethnic societies in Africa, Ethnic and even sometimes religious communities tend to violently compete for property rights, social amenities, health care facilities, jobs, education and most controversial cultural or linguistic dominance. According to J. Furnivall, "the working of economic forces makes for tension between groups with competing interest"[157]. The economic factor, however triggered the explosion of the social starter of traditional African societies which characterized as, the family, religion, education, law and at large, the political system that cared for the well being of all citizens. Certainly, the disintegration and malfunction of all these vital institutions has evidently increased ethnic and religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria. The inability of many families to adequately feed themselves, results in divorce, immorality, drunkenness, idleness and broken homes. This by and large, leads to large reserve of youth who could easily be recruited for the execution of ethnic or religious violence. Lack of proper education and the poor state of Nigerian educational

---

[154] Lake & Rothchild, 1996
[155] Ibid.
[156] Irobi, 2005
[157] Nnoli, 1980

system has enormously contributed to this calamity[158]. The religious institution preached more of hate and disunity messages than love and unity. The culmination of economic and social factors further encourages social vices in the society thereby laying the foundations for violent conflicts.

4:3.4 Colonial Legacy

The growth of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria has its foundation from the activities and legacies of the colonial master. The annexation of Lagos with gunboat in 1861, Yorubaland in 1898, Kanem Borno in 1902 and Sokoto caliphate in 1903 paved way for British full control of what later become Nigeria in 1914. The British colonial rule is no doubt the most important factor for analyzing the contemporary identities and religious conflicts in Nigeria. The colonial masters regrouped Nigerians into a culturally artificial political entity, for example, they encouraged and promoted steady completion and mobilization of power and resources in the newly created states, thereby breeding ethnic and religious conflicts. The colonial urban centers are very fundamental in the creation of ethnic contacts, completion, consciousness and organization/mobilization. These urban centers mainly comprises of colonial cities, mining, commercial and administrative cities, they encourage formation of kingship, lineage and ethnic associations as a means to fight insecurity, instability, alienation and challenges of colonial urban city life[159] [160].

The British through the indirect rule system[161] fostered an uneven socio-economic and political development and mal-integration of the various Nigerian people. For instance, Christian missionaries were barred from any activity in Northern Nigeria; the highly priced missionary schools were not build in the North, This activity undoubtedly created a huge educational imbalance. The British also promoted officially the segregation of residential settlement based on

---

[158] Salawu, 2010
[159] Coleman, 1958
[160] Osaghae and Suberu, 2005
[161] Indirect rule is a British system of colonial rule and which implies ruling indirectly through the indigenous .

ethnicity and religion. The establishment of Federal structure of three units, thereby diving the country into three ethnically dimensional parts (North/Hausas, West/Yoruba's and East/Igbo's), created tensions not only among the three dominant groups but also a system that marginalizes the minorities.

4:3.5 International Influence

Globalization has turned the world into a global village and as such no single event is entirely on its own, so therefore, the ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria is no exception and has connection with a number of politico-religious developments across the globe. Most scholars believed that the religious crisis in Nigeria traces its origin from the Middle-East, according to Albert, religion and matters of religion has become phenomenal since the end of cold war[162]. He shared a similar view with Huntington and in conformity with Fukuyama; Huntington strongly believed that while the age of ideology had ended, the world had only reverted to a normal state of affairs characterized by cultural and religious conflict. In his writings, he argued that the primary flash point of conflict in the future would be along cultural and religious fault lines[163]. He further postulates that the concept of different civilizations, as the highest rank of cultural identity, will become a much more relevant and useful tool for analyzing the potential for conflict. This new or post cold war era has seen the rise of Islamic ideology, Muslims across the globe and particularly those in the Middle-East seemed more determine to deter and resent the socio-economic inequality and psychological alienation that rose from the failed modernization and excessive westernization in the post cold war era[164].

It is very important to note that the problems and tension created by the Islamic ideology are not only limited to the Middle-East but also to the developing world where they share the same feeling of deprivation and alienation. It was this reason

---

[162] Albert, 2001
[163] Huntington, 1997
[164] Salawu, 2010

that bred religious violence in Nigeria with solidarity and help of external fund, forces and connections. The foreign connection is evident in the involvement of non-Nigerians in a number of insurgences across the country. Boko Haram recently claimed that their fighters were trained in Somalia by the dreaded *Alshabab* group. Some foreign preachers also contribute to the escalation of religious violence in Nigeria, a classical example is that of Rev. Richard Bonnke who planned on conducting a crusade tagged "Kano for Jesus" in Kano of all places[165].

4:3.5 Other Influencing Factors

Environmental and demographic factors also play a vital role in fuelling ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria, or I can say Nigeria as a whole. The Sahalian drought of the 1970s and 1980s and coupled with the subsequent desert encroachment and desertification have adversely abated the grazing land and almost if not completely destroyed pastoral livelihood and as well aggravated food, water and insecurity. This trend has led to displacement of many from neighboring Niger Republic, Chad and the far areas of Northern Nigerian into a precarious existence in urban slums across lager cities like Kano, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Kastina, Bauchi, Yola and other towns as well. The population of Northern cities has pranged up, thereby accommodating lots of foreigners. Some of the notorious and adherents of ethno-religious violence in Nigeria are not even Nigerians. For example, Mohammed Marwa Maitastine, who is reported to have, came from Cameroun and Mohammed Yusuf the leader of the Boko Haram sect who many said he came from Niger Republic.

---

[165] Ibid.

4:4 Impacts/Consequences of Ethno-Religious Conflicts

4:4.1 Political Impact

The under-current ethno-religious conflict in Northern Nigeria has severely affected the political stability of not only the region but the country at large. Political stability refers to the ability of any political system to maintain poise all its ramifications. It also implies the ability of an eligible government to preserve and carry out its required duties and retaining the support of its people within the framework of the established system[166]. The ubiquitous nature of ethno-religious crises, which resulted to widespread of breakdown of law and order, reflects clearly the failure of all the three tiers government (local, state and federal). The under-current situation also reflects the inability and ineffectiveness of the governments to put in place effective and viable measure that will guarantee security and well being of the people. And therefore, this prevalence has no doubt remained a major source of political instability in Nigerian history.

It is important to note that, the phenomenon of ethno-religious conflict poses severe threats to the peaceful co-existence, political stability, meaningful development and, ultimately, to the national security of the people and Nigerian polity at large. People no longer have faith in the government; this resulted in people taking law into their own hands by taking up arms in the name of self-defense.

Nigeria's nascent democracy has badly been affected by the catastrophe of ethnic and religious violence. In 1999, Nigeria return to civilian rule after 15 years of long unbroken military dictatorships, hopes were very high that democracy would restore political stability cum rapid economic growth. But unfortunately, Nigeria's democracy was characterized by high rise in ethnic and religious violence; it was estimated that more than 20,000 had been killed in clashes mainly

---

[166] Powell, 1984

related to ethnic and religious groups across Nigeria and as well displaced over a million people[167].

4:4.2 Economic Impact

There is no doubt that economic activities have been seriously hampered by the scourge of ethno-religious conflicts. Many people have lost their lives and properties, while many completely lost their sources of livelihood, thereby increasing the already saturated labor market and unemployment. Many resources that were meant for developmental projects were diverted to relief services and deployment of security personnel. Most Igbo people have retreated back to their homeland in the South thereby creating a very vast economic vacuum in the North.

4:4.3 Social Impact

I remember growing up in the Northern Nigeria and how peacefully and harmoniously we used to live. There is no hatred or tension between ethnicity and religion among people, Christians and Muslims, Hausa and Igbo celebrate functions together, be it Sallah or Esther and Christmas. We very closely share almost everything around us. But unfortunately, things have now changed drastically, people no longer celebrate things together, neighborhoods are now separated according to religion and ethnicity. The recent ethno-religious conflicts have affected enormously the social strata in Nigeria. People are displaced and many have resorted to going back to their roots and the only few that stayed happened send their families away to other part of Nigeria where tensions are less. Social functions are now restricted to religion and ethnicity.

---

[167] Ojo, 2010

4:4.4 Impact on National Security

The failure of government to effectively perform its primary duty of providing and guaranteeing the security of the lives and property of its people has drastically affected its bargaining power and capacity to deal with ethno-religious conflicts and this severely threatens national security. In lieu of this, loyalty to ethnicity or religion is being placed by the people far and above loyalty to the state.

The volatile nature of ethno-religious violence has also effectively undermined the core duty of the Nigerian Police and other security agencies. For instance, attacks on police stations and outposts have led to the killing of many police officers, vandalizing of security facilities and looting of armories, which often fall into the wrongs hands. Most worrisome is the example of the recent conflict in Libya, where large stocks of arms went missing and certainly, the larger part of it is in the wrong hand[168].

Chapter Five

5:1 The Way Forward

The various cases of ethno-religious violence in Northern Nigeria as studied in this thesis show clearly that the recurrence of ethno-religious conflicts are many and increasing daily in numbers. The prevalence of ethno-religious conflicts and its damaging impact on the socio-economic well being of the Nigerian people have vigorously challenged the government and have thus demanded one form of solution or the other in other to put things under control. The Nigerian government both past and the present have been responding to the challenges using various forms and methods with prove unsuccessful. The Nigerian government over the years adopted two main strategies of conflict management in other to address ethno-religious conflicts in the country. These two methods of

---

[168] Ibid

conflict management according to Omorogbe and Omohan are: coercive and judicial methods[169].

The coercive method suggests the deployment of troops to the conflict areas with the sole aim of controlling the crisis at all costs. In Nigeria, this method of conflict management is considered the most efficient especially during violent ethno-religious clashes. For instance, conventional police officers are the first to be deployed to the conflict area and further to be assisted by mobile-policemen when the corps cannot deal with the situation. However, in an event of severe and highly violent ethno-religious conflicts, the Nigerian government always resorts to deploying combined forces of the army, navy and the air force to handle the situation. This method more often backfires due to the nature of the military and their nonchalant attitude, lack of discipline, negligence and total disregard to human lives. This method is always associated with controversies ranging from severe beatings, rape, disproportionate killings and taking sides in carrying out their duties[170].

Thus, this method of conflict management cum restoring order during and after ethno-religious violence has abruptly failed in bringing peace and stability in the Nigerian society. In buttressing the problem of troop's deployment as a method of managing conflict, Oromareghake and Akpator assert that;

"The problem of with the deployment of security forces that are not backed by intensive mediation effort is that it necessarily prolongs the stay of such security forces deployed in different parts of Nigeria. This is because the units of mobile police or armies frequently deployed to quell disturbances in Nigeria have neither the mandate nor the training to act as conflict facilitator"[171].

The above quote implies that, the deployment of troops by the Nigeria Government to deal with ethno-religious crises creates more problems than what

---

[169] Omorogbe and Omohan 2005

[170] Ibid.

[171] Oromareghake and Akpator, 2005

existed before. The troops lack any method of training of conflict management and instead they become part of the problem thereby broadening the conflict.

The second method of conflict management adopted and practice by the Nigerian government is the establishment of judicial commission or panel for managing ethno-religious crisis[172]. This method involves selection of people from different background to investigate the crisis and submit reports to the government on the basis of the terms of reference giving to the panel. More often than not, this panel/commissions operates largely calling for memoranda, visitation of affected areas and organizing public hearing[173].

The judicial method of conflict management has woefully failed to find a lasting solution or offer meaningful suggestion of resolving ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria. Most selection of the commission members is based on sentiments and interest of a particular group and above all, the reports of the commission/panel hardly look upon by the government. Many widely, believed that, such commissions are another way of siphoning money from the government by corrupt officials[174]. According to Oromareghake and Akpator, this method has done more harm than good in managing crisis. They further assert that:

"*…the main reasons for the poor performance of the often used conflict management mechanism are poor logistics, delay in deployment of troops to the crises areas, lack of cooperation from the parties to the conflicts, non-implementation of a white paper or recommendations submitted to the government by the panel of inquiry"[175]*.

The above reasons suggest that, the two methods of conflict management used constantly by the Nigerian government at different points in conflicts have

---

[172] Salawu, 2010
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid
[175] Oromoreghake and Akpator, 2005

yielded little in the way of meaningful results in solving effectively the menace ethno-religious conflicts.

It is on the bases of the above discussion that I will like to propose some possible, and perhaps suitable solutions to the problems of ethno-religious in Northern part and Nigeria as whole. These possible solutions will include different categories of the society: the government, religious and social groups, civil society organizations and the ordinary people.

The state is the main actor and holds a very critical role to the construction and deconstruction of conflicts in any given society. According to Ibrahim[176], the state system in Nigeria has created an avenue for defining basic terms and structures like identity, goals and interests, which all groups seek to pursue and achieve at the expense of other groups. He also opined that:

"The legitimacy of the modern state is linked to its capacity to present itself as a provider of public goods and more importantly, a neutral arbiter that guarantees the security of all sections of the society. When the state is generally perceived as serving the particularistic interest of one group, it starts losing the legitimacy and indeed, its authority. As state capacity declines, fear of the other rises and people resort to other levels of solidarity-religious, ethnic and regional-in search of security"[177]

So therefore, the bulky part of the burden lies with the Nigerian government because of its legitimacy and capacity as a modern state. For the Nigerian government to avoid state failure like Somalia and Afghanistan and as well to ensure lasting peace, security and stability, I am suggesting the followings:

The Nigerian government must adopt a genuine and systematic political culture that makes adequate provisions to serve the interests of all groups. Nigeria as a democratic state should adhere to the fundamental principles of democracy such

---

[176] Christ, 2009
[177] Ibrahim, 1999

as majority rule and it's complementarity and regards for minority rights. Federalism as a system of government is the most viable and suitable one for Nigeria to achieve that. The quota system must be abolished completely in order for the Nigerian federalism to function effectively. This will prevent domination of government and its resource one or few groups at the detriment of all, thereby guaranteeing every group access to power and resources. In addition, the rights of the ethnic minorities should be acknowledged and respected in the dynamics of power and resource sharing.

Most of the ethnic and religious crises that have plagued Northern Nigeria have their roots in, or are closely linked to, poverty and lack of economic self determination. The government should do more by creating jobs and viable programs for poverty alleviation. Local industries should be supported by loans and protected by good policies so they can create more jobs and keep people socially responsible and away from the streets.

The government should, as a matter of urgency, revamp the educational sector and policies redressing both Western and religious schools across the country. Most especially the issue of the *Almajirai*[178] should be adequately addressed, as most of the followers and the armies of religious violence come from this group. The widening educational gap between the North and Southern Nigeria has to be filled by the government, although the colonialists caused this problem.

The government most but gradually withdraw God from Nigeria's political affairs; that is to say politics must be entirely separated from religion. This will further enhance the spirit of oneness and unity among the general population without sentiments.

There also the need to shift from theory to practice, so many things has been written on ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria but very little has been done at the practical level. There is the need to embark on projects on interethnic and

---

[178] *Almajiri or Almajirai* refers to an individual or group of migrant seekers of knowledge. They are mostly found in Northern Nigeria.
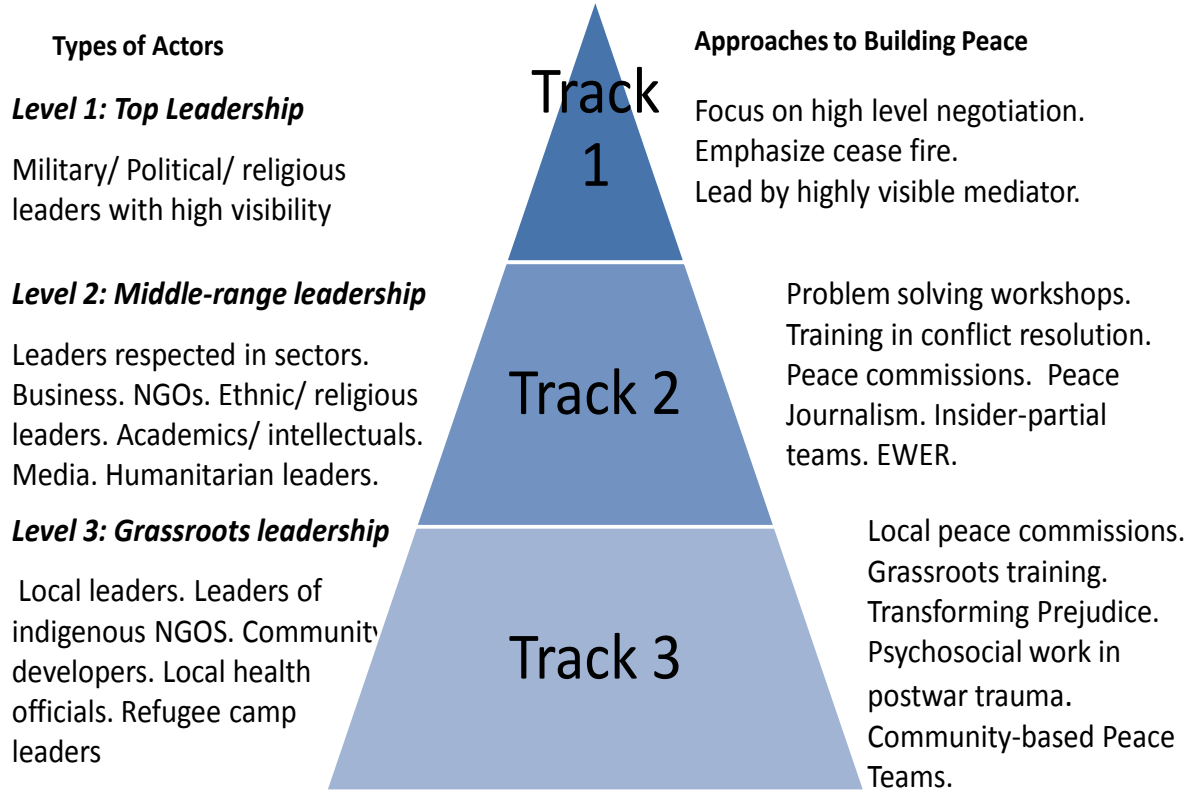
religious conflict resolution, either through seminars, workshops, plays and sports. Government should establish conflict resolution centers and institutions across the country. Peace and conflict resolution courses should be mandatory in schools at all level and scholarships should be awarded to groups and individuals to study and attend conferences and seminar related to conflict management and resolution. Government should also preach the gospel of non-violent means of protest and agitation.

The NGOs, religious bodies of both Christian and Muslim communities, as well the ordinary Nigerians have a bigger role to play in managing and preventing the occurrence of ethno-religious conflicts. The NGOs both local and international should work and implement programs that are geared towards peaceful coexistence between the various ethnic and religious groups. Religious bodies like CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria), ECWA, Jama'atul Nasarul Islam and many more have the sole responsibility to preach the gospel of peace and to remind its followers that people of various faiths and ethnicities had lived peacefully and harmoniously both during the time of Jesus and Mohammed (Peace be unto them).

The press should do more to concentrate mainly on positive rather than negative journalism; negative reports should be avoided and certain potentially inflammatory comments and images should not be aired to the public.

And finally, the ordinary citizens should embrace the culture of peace through peaceful means. The diagram below shows how collective our responsibility is in ensuring lasting peace and stability in our societies.

Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding

Types of Actors

Level 1: Top Leadership

Military/ Political/ religious leaders with high visibility

Level 2: Middle-range leadership

Leaders respected in sectors. Business. NGOs. Ethnic/ religious leaders. Academics/ intellectuals. Media. Humanitarian leaders.

Level 3: Grassroots leadership

 Local leaders. Leaders of indigenous NGOS. Community developers. Local health officials. Refugee camp leaders

Approaches to Building Peace

Focus on high level negotiation.
Emphasize cease fire.
Lead by highly visible mediator.

Problem solving workshops. Training in conflict resolution. Peace commissions. Peace Journalism. Insider-partial teams. EWER.

Local peace commissions. Grassroots training. Transforming Prejudice. Psychosocial work in postwar trauma. Community-based Peace Teams.

Track 1

Track 2

Track 3

Diagram created by the author:

Conclusion

Ethnicity and religion do not necessarily in themselves manifest into conflicts but it is the politicization of these identities that breeds tension and violence. These differences in identities become problematic when equal access to fair participation in political system in terms of power and equitable resource sharing favors one group at the detriment of another in any giving society. The inability of the government to adequately perform its duty of protecting and providing its citizens with basic societal needs results in tension and lack of trust for the state. The Nigerian experience as regards to ethnic and religious conflicts has now become a major factor as politics is defined along religion and ethnicity.

It is argued in this work that some of the major causes of ethno-religious conflict in Northern Nigeria are government negligence, a high level of illiteracy, and the issue of poverty, which was a result of economic deprivation through state policies. Equally, this paper suggested that the best way of resolving this issue is through evolution of dynamic policies and implementation that will address the problems of education, poverty and social relations within the micro and macro society.

Bibliography

Abdu, H. (2011, June 30). *Ethnic and Religious Crises in Northern Nigeria; Issues and Informer Repression.* Retrieved September 01, 2011, from http://hussainiabdu.info/mydocs/Ethno-religious%20Crisis%20in%20Northern%20Nigeria.pdf.

ABDU, H. (2005). *RELIGION AND CITIZENSHIP IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: THE POLITICS OF SHARI'AH*. Retrieved April 19, 2011, from http://www.hussainiabdu.info/mydocs/Religion%20and%20Citizenship%20in%20Northern%20Nigeria.pdf: http://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=Abdu+Religion+and+the+challenges+of+Democratisation&hl=en&as_sdt=0&as_vis=1&oi=scholart

Abdullateef, U. (n.d.). *The Undercurrent of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria, Issues and Challenages.* Retrieved September 17, 2010, from http://www.thefreelibrary.com.

AGBEDE, I. O. (2004, October 27). *DYNAMICS OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA.* Retrieved June 15, 2011, from www.accs.org.uk.

Akinwale, A. A. (2010). *Integrating the traditional and the Modern Conflict Management Strategies in Nigeria.* Retrieved June 17, 2011, from http://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajcr/article/viewFile/63323/51206.

Akpator, P. O. (2005). Managing Inter-ethnic conflicts in the Niger-Delta: The Case of Warri. In A. M. Yakubu, *Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria Since 1980.* Kaduna: Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd.

Albert, I. (2001). *Building Peace, advancing Democracy: Experience with third party interventions in Nigeria's conclicts.* Ibadan: John Archers Ltd.

Albert, I. O. (1999). Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Kano. In I. O. Onigu Otite, *Community Conflicts In Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Alexander, G. M. (1982). *The Prelude to the Truman Doctrine: British Policy in Greece 1944-1947.* Michigan: Clarendon Press.

Aliyu, S. (2009). Retrieved April 19, 2011, from www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.

Ananymous. (2002, 12 8). *http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/interreligious/cd39-08.html*. Retrieved August 04, 20011, from http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/interreligious/cd39-08.html.

Angerbrandt, H. (2001, January 26). *Political decentralisation and conflict: The Sharia crisis in Kaduna, Nigeria.* Retrieved June 20, 2011, from Journal of Contemporary African Studies: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full

Babangida, I. B. (2002). *Ethnic Nationalities and the Nigeria State: The Dynamics and Challenges of Governance in a Plural Nigeria.* Jos: Nigeria National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies.

Best, S. G. (2007). *Conflict and Peace-Building In Plateau State.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Christ, M. K. (2009, September 3). *http://www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no3/3.3Strategies.pdf.* Retrieved June 28, 2011, from The Journal of Pan-African studies.

Coleman, J. (1958). *Nigeria: Background to nationalism.* Berkeley: University of Califonia Press.

College, N. W. (2006). *Reports of National Workshop on Ethnic Militias, Democracy and National Security.* Abuja: National War College.

Collier, P. (2008, April 22). Special World Bank Study. *Punch* , p. 3.

Egwu, S. (2001). *Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria.* Abuja: AFRIGOV.

Egwu, S. G. (2009, January 25). The Jos Crisis and the National Question. *The Guardian* .

Elkind, J. B. (1984). *Non-Appearance before the International Court of Justice: Functional and Comparative Analysis.* The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Enwerem, I. M. (1995). *A dangerous Awakening: The Politization of Religion in Nigeria.* Ibadan: IFRA.

FGN, F. G. (1981). *Report of the Tribunal of inquiry on Kano Disturbances (Maitastine).* Kano: FGN.

Group, I. C. (2010, December 20). *NORTHERN NIGERIA: BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT*. Retrieved February 20, 2011, from www.icg.org.

Harpur, T. (2004). *The pagan Christ: recovering the lost light.* Toronto: Alen publishers.

Hayes, D. H. (2005, February 15). *www.icrd.org.* Retrieved August 17, 2011, from http:www.icrd.org/storage/icrd/documents/religion_secret_weapons.pdf.

Hugh, K. (May 19, 2006). *Sunday Times.* The times.

Huntington, S. P. (1997). *Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of world order.* Califonia: Simon & Schuster.

Ibrahim, I. M. (2000). Religious Identity in the Context of Sreuctural Adjustment in nigeria. In A. Jega, *Identity transformation and identuty politics under structural Adjustment in Nigeria.* Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

Ibrahim, J. (1999). Ethno-Religious Mobilisation and Sapping of Democracy in Nigeria. In J. Hyslop, *African Democracy in the Age of Globalisation.* Johannesburg: Wit water-rand University press.

Ibrahim, J. (2008, September 17). *The Politics of Religion in nigeria: The Parameters of the 1987 crisis in Kaduna state.* Retrieved June 30, 2011, from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03056248908703826.

Ibrahim, J. (2010). The Rule of Law and Accountability. In E. O. E.O, *Winning Hearts and Minds: A Community Approach for the Nigerian Military.* Ibadan: John Archers.

Ikime, O. (1980). *Groundwork of Nigerian History.* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.

Il-Yung, C. (1959). *Legal problems involved in the Corfu Channel incident.* E. Droz,.

Imoghe, T. A. (2003). *Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict Management in Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Book Limited.

Irobi, E. G. (2005, May). *Ethnic Conflict Management in Africa: A Comparative Case Study of Nigeria and South Africa.* Retrieved February 19, 2011, from Beyond Intractability.org: http://www.beyondintractability.org/case_studies/nigeria_south-africa.jsp?nid=6720

Ja'afaru, D. (2001). *Police Report and Nigerian Army Report on Kaduna State Crisis.* Kaduna: Federal Republic of Nigeria.

John C. Raines. (2002). *Marx on religion.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Juergensmeyer, M. (2001). *Terror in the Mind of God: Global Rise of Religious violence.* Barkeley: University of California press.

Juergensmeyer, M. (1993). *The New Cold War?* California: Berkeley.

Kazah-Toure. (2004). The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflicts and Governance in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria: [DE] Constructing a Contested Terrain. *Africa Development* .

KDSG. (2001). *White Paper on the Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry in to Kaduna State Religious Disturbances of February 2000.* Kaduna: KDG.

KNSG, K. S. (1981). *Views and Comments of the Kano State Government on the Disturbances Tribunal.* Kano: Government Press.

Kuka, M. H. (1993). *Religious Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Lake, D. A., & Rothchild, D. (1996, Autum). *Containing fear: The Origins and Management Of Ethnic Conflict, International Securoty.* Retrieved May 20, 2011, from www.jstor.org/stable/2539070: www.jstor.org/stable/2539070

Maguballc, B. (1969). "Plurarism and Conniet Situations in Africa:A New Look", in African Social Research. *African Journal Social Development, No 7 (July): 529-554* .

Martin, A. L. (2010). *International Straits: Concept, Classification and Rules of Passage.* New York: Springer.

Meier, K. (1992, May 20). Ethnic Clashes Kills Hundreds in Nigeria. *The Washington Post* .

Nation, T. (2009). *Nigeria: Lack of Good Governanace.* Lagos: The Nation.

Nations, U. (2007). *Division for Oceanic Affairs and the Law of the Sea.* New York: Office and Legal Affairs.

News, T. (2000). Kaduna Massacre: Shariah Will Split Nigeria. *The Nwes* .

News, T. S. (2011, June 17). *Chronicles of Boko Haram*. Retrieved June 17, 2011, from http://sunnewsonline.com.

News, T. (2011). *The Abuja Bomber.* Abuja: The News Magazine.

News, T. (2011). *The Abuja Bomber.* Abuja: The News Magazine.

Newswatch. (1999, July 23). Language Arts & Disciplines / Journalism. *Newswatch: Nigeria's weekly magazine* .

Newswatch. (2010). *The Politics of Jos Killings.* Abuja: Newswatch.

Ngantcha, F. (1990). *The Right of Innocent Passage and the Evolution of the International Law of the Sea: The Current Regime of 'Free' Navigation in Coastal Waters of Third States.* Virginia: Pinter Publishers.

Nnoli, O. (1980). *Ethnic Politics In Nigeria.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Press.

Nnoli, O. (1987). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria.* Enugu: Forth Dimention Publishers.

Nnoli, O. (1994). *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa: Intervening Variables.* Lagos: Malthouse Press .

Nwolise, O. B. (1992). *Military Leadership in Nigeria: Nigeria Political yearbook and Who's Who.* Lagos: Polcrom.

Ochoche, S. (2002). *Strategic Conflict Assessment Nigeria Consolidated Report.* Abuja, Nigeria: Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution. Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Ojo, E. O. (2010). A Survey of Ethno-Religious Crisis And Its Implication For Nigeria's Nascent Democracy. *Journal of Sustainable Development In Africa* .

Ojo, E. O. (201o). A Survey of Ethno-Religious Crisis and its Implications for Nigeria's Nascent Democracy. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* .

Olu-Adeyemi, L. (2006, February 15). *Ethno-Religious Conflicts and The Travails of National Intergration in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.* Retrieved June 17, 2011, from www.dawodu.com/adeyami3.htm.

Olukoshi.A. (1996). Nigeria Revisited, in Nordiska africainstitutet News,. *Journal of Social Development in Africa 2000* , 6.

Olulẹyẹ, J. J. (1985). *Military leadership in Nigeria, 1966-1979.* Michigan: University Press Limited.

Omohan, S. O. (2005). Causes and Management of Ethno-Religious Conflicts: The Nigerian Experience. In A. Yakubu, *Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria Since 1980.* Kaduna: Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd.

Osaghae, E. (n.d.). *History of Identities, Violence,and Stability in Nigeria.* Retrieved November 22, 2010, from http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper6.pdf.

Pearson, O. (2006). *20 Albania as Dictator and Democracy: From Isolation to the Kosovo war 1946-1998.* New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.

Peters, J. (1994). *Ethnic and Religious Conflicts: Europe and Asia.* England: Dartmouth.

Powell, G. B. (1984). *Contemporary Democracies: Partiscipation,Stability and Violence.* US: Harvard University Press.

Presidential Committee. (2002). *Memorandum submitted to the Presidentila Committee on National Security.* Abuja: Federal Government of Nigeria.

Reynal-Querol, M. (n.d.). Retrieved June 2, 2011, from http://www.econ.upf.edu/~reynal/conflict_resolution.pdf.

Reynal-Querol, M. (2002). Retrieved June 2, 2011, from http://www.econ.upf.edu/~reynal/conflict_resolution.pdf.

Rosalli, A. (2006). *Italy and Albania: Financial Relations in the facist Period.* New York: I.B. Tauris & Co.

S.Adejumobi. (2008). Identity, Citizenship and the crisis of Democracy in Nigeria. In W. A. Ukeje, *The crisis of the state & regionalism in West Africa: identity, citizenship and conflict.* Michigan: CODESRIA.

Salawu, B. (2010). Ethno-Religious Conglicts in Nigeria: Casual Analysis and Proposals for New Management Strategies. *European Journal of Social science* .

Sha, D. P. (1998). Ethnicity and Political Conflicts In Jos:Emergence, Dimensions And The Way Forward. In F. Okoye, *Ethnic and religious rights in Nigeria.* Nigeria: Human Rights Monitor (HRM), ,.

Shigeru Oda, N. A. (2002). *Liber amicorum Judge Shigeru Oda, Volume 1.* Hague: BRILL.

Shirley V. Scott, A. B. (2010). *International law and the use of force: a documentary and reference guide.* Califonia: ABC-CLIO.

Steger, M. B. (2003). *Judging Nonviolence: the dispute betweenrealist and idealist.* New York: routledge.

Suberu, E. E. (2005). A History of Identities, Violence and Stability in Nigeria. *CRISES* .

Suberu, R. (1996). *Ethnic Minority Conflict and Governance in Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Trust, W. (2001). Abuja: Weekly trust.

Umar, M. S. (1989). Islam in Nigeria. In G. A. J. A. Atanda, *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years.* Ibadan: Heinemen.

UNHCR. (1993, March 1). *Religion and Conflict*. Retrieved September 15, 2011, from http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,IRBC,COUNTRYREP,NGA,,3ae6a80510,0.html.

Usman, L. M. (2009, June 26). *Adolescent Street Boy Urchins and Vocational Training in Northern Nigeria.* Retrieved March 14, 2011, from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15595690902991097#preview.

Watch, H. R. (2001). *Jos: A City Torn Apart.* Jos: HRW.

What is the concept of religion in the modern West? (n.d.). Retrieved July 25, 2011, from http://www.islamanswers.net/religion/west.htm.

Yau, Y. Z. (2000). The Youth, Economic Crisis and Identity. In A. Jega, *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics Under Structural Adjustment In Nigeria.* Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

YSG, Y. S. (2004). *Yobe Taliban Crises of 2003.* Damaturu: Yobe State Government.

BASHIR ALHAJI-SHEHU

OBJECTIVES
To engage and consult viable international actors as a means of resolving conflict for sustainable development. Also, to partake in the transformation of organisational structures more conducive to peace and justice.

PERSONAL DETAILS

Nationality:	Nigerian
Current Residency:	Austria
Date of Birth:	15-05-1978
Address:	Dörfelstrasse 2/11, 1120 Vienna, Austria
Telephone:	+43 (0) 680 317 2723
Email:	bashirshehu15@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

2009 -2011 **Master of Arts in "Global Studies - A European perspective"** (Erasmus Mundus)
University of Vienna, Austria.

2007 - 2008 **Master of Arts in "Peace and Conflict Resolution",**
European Peace University (EPU), Stadtschlaining, Austria.

2004 - 2006 **Master of Science in "Political Science and International Relations",**
University of Lagos, Nigeria.

1996 - 2000 **Bachelor of Arts in "History",**
University of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

1994 – 1996 **Diploma in "Physical and Health Education",**
University of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

ADVANCED TRAINING

15-21/03/2011 **Youth Voices Against Violence - Using Media as a Tool to Promote Peace**
Crossing Borders and Youth Association DRONI, Bakuriani, Georgia

Improved knowledge on media functions especially for peaceful purposes. Gained communication skills, journalist needs and dealing with media in promotion of peace. Learned difference between positive and negative discourse, press media relations, body language, question anticipation, possible answers, conventional media strategy and "peace media".

11/2010-02/2011 **United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime,**Vienna, Austria
UNODC Advocacy Section Intern

Updating NGO database, making editorial changes   as necessary and liaising with the Information Technology Service Center to discuss technical issues. Contributed in facilitating the Civil Society Organization (CSO) participation in the United Nation Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) "Training on Anti-Corruption" in Laxenburg, Austria. Researched on the works and activities of civil society organizations (CSO) on pressing topics like drug abuse, human trafficking and anti-corruption

15-27/03/2009 **Specialisation Course on "Project Management", International Civilian Peacekeeping and Peace-building Training Program**
Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), Stadtschlaining, Austria

Specialisation Course offering knowledge and preparation skills on becoming involved in design, implementation and evaluation of projects in crisis areas. Familiarises with project management circle, human resource management and concepts and best practices of international project management standards. Well designed to serve as training-of-trainers.

1-14/03/2009 **Core Course International Civilian Peacekeeping & Peace-building Training Program**
Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR), Stadtschlaining, Austria

BASHIR ALHAJI-SHEHU

Qualifications for work in multicultural and conflict-prone settings; toward transformation of conflicts. Essential fieldwork skills and training: conflict management; conflict zone civilian work; NGO cooperation; all-terrain driving; stress management, land mind awareness, and cartography.

1-15/10/2007 **Training for Trainers: "Working for Peace in Conflict Zones"**
European Peace University Stadtschlaining, Austria.

Intensive simulation activities on work conditions in conflict zones through various case studies.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

04/2005-08/2006 **Movement for African Refugees in Nigeria,** Lagos & Ogun State, Nigeria
Program Support Officer

Independently managed soliciting of donations on behalf of refugees for essential items such as food, clothing and educational materials. Organizing free lectures and seminars, including at the UN refugee day, on topics related to health and sanitation, HIV/Aids, Human Rights and Career advice. Conducting regular visits to refugee camps

20/03/05-27/09/07 **SDV Nigeria Limited,** Lagos, Nigeria
Clearing Officer/Deputy Team Leader

Supervision, oversight and monitoring of a 13-member team. Daily tasks writing reports and vouchers for cash, instructing and organizing team members, liaising with Customs and other national agencies. Oversaw coordination of logistics transport departments. Was entrusted with transportation and handling of large amounts of money and sensitive documents and goods.

01/2002-12/2003 **Societe Generale Bank (National Youth Service Corps),** Sokoto, Nigeria
Bulk Teller

Attended to customers; collection and monitoring of bulk cash from customers. Assisted in daily activities under the main bank manager's supervision.

05/2001-12/2002 **Yusufari State Secondary School,** Yobe State, Nigeria
Teacher and Instructor

Teaching Physical and Health Education, while independently serving as the acting school games instructor and coordinator of inter-house and school games.

12/1991, 06/1993 **National Electoral Commission of Nigeria,** Yobe State, Nigeria
Presiding Officer

Regulation of admission of officials and participants to the polling station. Identification confirmation of voters and control of election process in keeping with NEC guidelines.

01/2001-12/2002 **Nigerian National Youth Service Corps,** Sokoto, Nigeria

Primary responsibility educating local populace on community health issues in "Outreach Programme in Sokoto State". Sanitation and interactive education on dangers of HIV/AIDS.

ATTRIBUTES
Languages: Hausa/Fulani (Native speaker), English (Fluent); German (Basic)
Computer Skills: MS Word, MS PowerPoint, MS Excel, Research-based internet and archival research.
Skills: Self-starter, team oriented, excellent orator, negotiator, writer and researcher.

INTERESTS

Conscious healthy living including cooking and sport. Globally-oriented intellectual, enjoying books and new media.

BASHIR ALHAJI-SHEHU

PAPERS & PUBLICATIONS

June 2009	*"State Terrorism: An Obstacle to global Peace and Security"*, MA Dissertation: European Peace University Stadtschlaining, Austria.
Dec 2008	*"Defining Terrorism"*, European Peace University Stadtschlaining, Austria
May 2008	*"Peace and Terrorism",* European Peace University Stadtschlaining, Austria
Dec 2006	*"The Economic and Political Impact of Terrorism - Global Approaches"*, University of Lagos, Nigeria.
Dec 2000	*"Yoruba in Diaspora: Economic Activities of the Yoruba's outside the Yorubaland"*, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria

REFERENCES

Dr. Shambhavi Muthy Gopalkrishna
Department of Political Science
University of Lagos (UNILAG)
Akoka Lagos, Nigeria
Email: sgopalkrishna@unilag.edu.ng, gopalshambhavi@yahoo.com
Tel:+234 8033 652360, +234 1 8703445
Professor at the University of Lagos and founder of MAREN

Prof. Dr. Dietrich Fischer
Academic Director, World Peace Academy www.world-peace-academy.ch
Director, Transcend University Press www.transcend.org/tup
Eidgenossenweg 14a, CH-4052 Basel, Switzerland
Tel +41-61-315-8595 (office),+41763399425(mobile),
Email: dietrich.fischer@gmail.com

Prof. Dr. Margarete Maria Grandner
Deputy Director of the Studies Programme Near Eastern Studies - African Studies - Tibetan Studies and Indology
Department of Development Studies
Room: O1.07
1090 Wien, Sensengasse 3 (Stiege 2)
T: +43-1-4277-239 11
F: +43-1-4277-9 239
E-Mail: margarete.grandner@univie.ac.at