EFFECT OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN KADUNA STATE (A STUDY OF ZANGON KATAF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE)

BY

Mohammad Mustapha, UMAR

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, NIGERIA

AUGUST, 2015.

TITLE PAGE

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BY

Mohammad Mustapha, UMAR Bsc. Political Science (MAIDUGURI)
P13ADLG8001

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POST GRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER DEGREE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, KADUNA STATE

AUGUST, 2015.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare this research work has been conducted by me under the guidance of Dr. Usman Abubakar and Dr. Bashir Jumare of the Department of Local and Development Studies, A.B.U. Zaria Researchers or a writer whose works has been consulted or referred to in this Thesis has been acknowledging.

Muhammed Mustapha UMAR _____
P13ADLG8001 **Signature/Date**

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled **EFFECT OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN KADUNA STATE** by Muhammad Mustapha UMAR, meets the regulations governing the award of the Degree of Maser of Public Administration (Local Government) of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

_____	_____	_____
Dr. Usman Abubakar **Project Supervisor**	**Signature**	**Date**
_____	_____	_____
Dr. Omar Massoud **Project Supervisor**	**Signature**	**Date**
_____	_____	_____
Dr. M.K. Isa **Head of Department**	**Signature**	**Date**
_____	_____	_____
Prof. A.Z. Hassan **Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies.**	**Signature**	**Date**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I am most grateful to Almighty Allah (S.W.A) who in His infinite Mercies and abundant blessing made it possible for me in undertaking this study.

Secondly my most sincere appreciation goes to my able supervisors; Dr Usman Abubakar, Dr Omar Moshood. External Supervisors;Dr. Musa Idris and Dr. Bashir Jumare for their effort, advice, encouragement, corrections and suggestions which have made this thesis a reality despite their pressing academic and research engagements.

Special appreciation goes to my institution, Kaduna Polytechnic for sponsoring me to undertake these studies. I am grateful. Also my appreciation goes to my parents wife and children for their patience, support and encouragement while undertaking this study.

I also wish to thank the rest of my lecturer- Professor Adejo Udoh,, Professor Haladu Abubakar, Dr. Bello Ohiani and my able and distinguish Head of Department, Dr Mohammed Kabir Isa. Once again we are really grateful and highly indebted for your concern and care to ensure that we defended and graduate with honour. May Allah (SWA) continue to guide, protect and bless you and the entire staff of the Department.

Finally, my appreciation goes to my friends and course mates who helped me in carrying out my research either directly or indirectly my Allah (S.W.A) reward you abundantly.

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ABSTRACT

The series of ethnic and religious conflict in Kaduna State necessitated the research topic "Effect of ethno-religious conflict on the development of Local Government in Kaduna State with the aim and objective to examine the effect of ethnic and religious conflict; and to find out how these conflicts at the Local Government level can be abated against continuous occurrence. Both the primary and secondary sources of data collections were used, while Chi-square and SPSS 13 were instruments of data analysis. The research found out that ethno-religious conflict is caused by ignorance, poverty and dearth of infrastructural facilities. Therefore it recommends that government should ensure peace and security through trainings and retraining of security personnel giving the traditional rulers and community leaders functional roles in promoting and ensuring unity and peace among the citizens. The research will be utmost importance to policy makers, researchers and students of conflict management especially at the grassroots level.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Societies accommodate various tendencies, interests and identities which often result to conflict. Conflict is a global phenomenon which is not peculiar to Nigeria. The results of violent conflicts in many parts of Nigeria hitherto known to be peaceful have degenerated to a worrisome phenomenon. The emergences of ethnic militant group such as the Odua People Congress (OPC), Arewa Peoples Congress (APC), the Bakkassi Boys, etc have added a new dimension to the nature of these conflicts. The Zango Kataf religious riots and those that occurred in other parts of Kaduna State in March 1992, the conflicts in the Kaduna metropolis in 2000, etc. have at least left all well meaning Nigerians restless. The socio-political and economic problems associated with inter and intra-group conflict is immediately evident and has far reaching consequences on the security, properties and social co-existence of the people.

A survey by International Institute for Democracy and Election Assistance (International IDEA, 1999) revealed that there were about 102 simmering conflicts in different parts of the country. These conflicts are mostly local ones, fueled by disagreement over sharing of resources. They often have religious or ethnic coloration. The seasonal clash between farmers and cattle rearers, border skirmishes over land, protest over Sharia law and perceived marginalization of some groups in power sharing was obvious. These conflicts resulted in loss of lives, property and means of livelihood, thus creating humanitarian emergency situations with the internally displaced population trooping to rehabilitation centers. The trauma to which people in conflict prone areas are subjected to, and the huge costs of post-conflict reconstruction of the society take a heavy toll on the resources that would otherwise have been invested in development projects.

Moreover, conflicts have consequential effects especially on local governments. This is because whenever and wherever there are violent conflicts there will be senseless destruction of lives and properties, arson, looting and vandalization of public buildings,

structures and properties hence retarding development and other government programmes.

This perception of ethnic mobilization has further strengthened a negative force in all efforts at national cohesion. As noted earlier it has left a trail of destructive violence. International IDEA (2000:94) identified the following ethnic violence:

- The Jos riots of 1945.
- The Kano riots of 1953.
- The Tiv uprising of 1959-1960 and 1964.
- The violence in Western Nigeria that led to the imposition of a state of emergency in the region in 1962.
- The ethnic massacres within the army and in the north, which preceded the civil war in 1967.
- The carnage of the 30 months civil war, 1967-1970.

According to Usman (2000:2), others are;

- The Kasuwar Magani conflict between the Adara and Hausas, Kaduna State in 1980.
- The Ife-Modakeke conflicts, in April 1981.

- The Bachama-Hausa/Fulani conflict in Numan Adamawa State in 1986-1988.
- The conflict in Kafanchan between the Kataf/Hausa and other parts of Kaduna State in March 1987.
- The Kuteb-Jukun, Jukun-Tiv, Pansho-Mambilla at Wukari, Takum, Gembu and other part of Taraba and Benue States, in 1990-1992 and 1999-2002.
- The conflict in Obi and Toto LGA's and neighbouring areas of Nassarawa State in 1995-1999.
- The conflict in the Andoni and Ogoni area of Rivers State in 1993-1994.
- The conflict in Karim Lamido Local Government Area, Taraba State, in 1996-1997.
- The conflict in the Ogoni and Okrika area of Rivers State in 1994-1996.
- The conflicts in Nembe and Kalabari area of Bayelsa State in 1996-1999.
- The conflict in the Bassambiri and Ogbolombiri of Bayelsa State in the 1990s.
- The conflict in the Okpona Brass area of Bayelsa State in the 1990s.

- The conflict in the Sangama, Soku and Oluasiri area of Rivers and Bayelsa States between 1993 and 2001.
- The conflict in the Burutu Local Government Area of Delta State in 2000-2001.
- The conflicts in Warri and its environs 1997-2002.
- The conflicts in the Okiti Pupa area of Ondo State in 1998-2000.
- The conflict in Mushin, Ajegunle, Ketu and Agege and other parts of Lagos State, 1999-2000.
- The conflict of the Quan-pan Local Government Area of Plateau State, and the Azara district of the Awe Local Government Area of Nassarawa State in 2001 and 2006.
- The conflict in Awe Local Government Area and other areas of Nassarawa State in 2001 and 2002.
- The conflict in Ife and Modakeke areas of Osun State in 2000-2001.
- The Fulani-Mambilla conflict on the Mambilla Plateau in 2001-2002.
- The conflict in Shagamu and other part of Ogun State in 1999-2000.
- The conflict in Aguleri and Omuleri areas of Anambra State in 2002.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Ethnic conflict are no longer confined to the urban centres which was earlier identify as the cradle site of the antagonistic ethnicity. Rather we have the ruralization of ethnic conflict as different ethnic group that have shared century and decades of more or less peaceful co-existence have been pitched against one another as mortal enemy from Zango-Kataf and other places in the southern Kaduna and Manbila plateau of Taraba state to Tigno-Waduku in Adamawa state and Wukari (where the Tiv and the Jukuns are locked in the most protracted conflicts) as well as the Jukuns and Kuteb in Taraba state, evidences abound that the rural area have been turned into killing fields.

In seeking to come to terms with the phenomenon of the resurgence of these identities, it is important to take into cognizance the different forces at work, at both the domestic and global levels. Some of these forces, either acting alone or in combination, have been sharpened the crisis of the nation-state project in post-colonial African. they include the accelerating process of globalization and democratization, they deeping economic crisis and social inequality, the resuvergence of

liberal ideology seeking to enforce market reforms, and the consequent whittling down of state legitimacy and capacity, all of which have led to the emergency of different individual groups redefining and reinventing their identities.

A major incentive to ethnic and religious conflict is the unevenness generated by the modernization process. In Nigeria, this becomes a crucial issue, because of ethnicity and religion, on the politics of resources allocation.

Two consequences of these for development processes are of immediate concern. The force has to do with the unevenness it generated various ethnic home land. and these make meaning in situation where ethnic and religious boundaries tend to concern. The significance of the ethnic factor in the distribution of resources and amenities has created a situation in which certain ethnic groups are précised to have enjoyed certain advantages. The emergences of new ethnic /territorial movement, especially among the minority ethnic nationality, are largely a response to this. The second has to do with the anarchy associated with the development process. Since ethnic religious and political consideration, dictate the manner in which

resources are allocated, duplication and waste characterize allocation of resources, with minimal consideration for cost and efficiency in the operation of the federal system.

The problem of order and stability; are bound to arise where inequality and inequity resulting from this tend to occur along ethnic and religious line. In some other societies it has to lead to religious and ethnic groups, perceiving them as been disadvantage, demanding political autonomy. The way in which feelings of alienation and injustice at national, state and local levels enter into discourses has had a snowballing effect on what has appear as ethnic communal and religious conflicts in various part of the country.

Over the years, Nigeria has witnessed one form of conflict or another. Ethnic and religious crises have become more frequent and the phenomenon that readily come to one's mind are; what are the effects of such conflicts on development at the local government level? and how can these conflicts be abated against continuous occurrence? This study was undertaken in order to answer these vital questions as they affect the development of the local governments in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular.

1.3 Research Questions

i. What are the consequences of the ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state?

ii. How can ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state be abated against continuous occurrence?

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aim and objectives of this study are to examine the effect of ethno-religious conflicts on the development of local governments. Other specific objectives include the following:-

i. To examine the effect of ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state.

ii. To find out how ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state can be abated against continuous occurrence.

1.5 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be tested at 95% confidence level.

Ha. Ethno-Religious conflicts retard the development of socio-economic development at the Local Government level.

Ho. Ethno-Religious conflict does not retard the development of socio- economic infrastructures at the Local Government level.

1.6 Justification/Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is rooted on the fact that similar researches and studies have been undertaken with different aims and specialty. However, this is not an exception. It is, but to add more to the existing researches. Consequently the Zangon Kataf crisis of 1992 was a conflict between two ethnic groups (Atyap and Hausas) that were hitherto leaving peacefully together. The conflict assumed ethno-religious dimension because the Atyaps were predominantly traditionalists and Christians while the Hausas were Muslims. The conflict witness the destruction of socio-economic infrastructures that were meant for both sides and as well the lost of lives and valuable properties. Moreover, the study is set to examine both the negative and positive aspects of such conflicts as they affect development at the local government level. For some time, conflicts including ethnic and religious, conflict have been given considerable attention by the

media, academics and policy makers. In this study, the focus is on how ethnic and religious conflicts especially in Kaduna state have some effects on the development of the local governments. This is because life (both human and livestock) were wasted, properties, infrastructural facilities like public buildings, markets, schools, motor parks were attacked and destroyed. Social co-existence and cohesion is destabilized with resultant consequences of relocation and resettlement along ethnic and religious divide.

Therefore, it is of utmost significance to further unearth it effects on the development of local governments Meanwhile, the study will be of immense importance to the researcher and as well those in charge of peace, policy-making, security agencies, researchers, and local government functionaries.

1.7 Scope and limitations of the Research

The scope of this study is on ethnic and religious conflict and how these conflicts affect the development of local governments in Kaduna State. The Zango Kataf crisis of 1992 in Kaduna state is the case study. This is because it was one of the crisis in the state that

witnessed the most tumultuous and volatile ethno-religious conflict with heavy toll on both human and material resources.

The major limitation and delimitations of this research is that, it does not cover all aspects of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria. This is because the issue of ethno-religious conflicts is very broad to be dealt with. The focus of this research is on the understanding of the problems that have impacted negatively and perhaps positively on the peace and unity of the people of Kaduna State.

However, efforts to have access to some important documents at the Kaduna State Ministry of Justice and the Kaduna State Police Headquarters was to no avail as either they are not available from the source or they are classified as 'confidential', thus they cannot be released for whatever purpose. Likewise information that are needed from some personalities were difficult to come by as they are difficult to be reached due to their tight schedules or the protocol involved.

1.8 **Definition of Concepts**

In this research, the following concepts are defined; ethno-religious conflict and development,

Ethno -Religious Conflict:

Ethno-religious conflict is a conflict that is inspired by ethnic and religious factors. The word ethnic in this research is conceptually define as those group of people that shares a common and distinctive features of language, heritage and religion. This include the major ethnic groups such as the Hausa, Fulani,Yoruba, Igbos etc and also the minority ethnic groups such as the Atyab,Bajju,Gwari, Jaba, Kaninkon etc. while religion in this context are the three constitutionally recognized religion in the country i.e. Islam, Christianity and the traditional religions. On the other hand, conflict according to the Heidelberg institute for international conflict research (HIIK 2005), is the "clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, organization) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their cases".

Therefore, Ethno-Religious Conflict in this study are those ethnic and religious groups that are found in Kaduna state that co-habits before and after the colonial era. These include the Hausa/Fulani Muslims and the Atyap (Kataf), Kaninko, Jaba etc Christians/Traditionalists.

From the above observations, we can operationally define ethno-religious conflict as the violent conflicts that ensured among and between the various ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna state that often leads to the destruction of lives (both human and animals), properties and basic infrastructural facilities and places of worship.

Development: The definition of development will reflect the social and economic changes as it affects the upliftment of the standard of living at the local government level. This research addresses the link between development and conflict as it affects the local government level in Kaduna state. It can be understood that conflicts breeds underdevelopment and it impoverishes the society to the extent that basic existence of food, shelter, clothing, healthcare services and infrastructural facilities such as roads, water supply, schools, markets and motor parks etc are threatened and sometimes destroyed.

Operationally, therefore, development means the availability and existence of basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, security of life and properties, infrastructural facilities such as roads, water, markets, motor parks etc.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The research topic is "The Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflict on the Development of Local Government Areas in Nigeria: A study of Zangon Kataf Local Government Area conflict of 1992 in Kaduna State. Accordingly, the review takes the under-listed format, i.e. discussion or review on (a) conflict (b) ethnic conflict (c) religious conflicts and its consequences on the social fabric of local governments in Kaduna state and (d) development and ethno-religious conflicts. .

2.1 **Conflict**

At the mention of conflict, the picture that appears to most people's mind is that of war, fighting, argument, misunderstanding and the like. All these are negative tendencies which are undesirable. However, conflict has positive impact in the society as it can increase clarity about existing problems, and eventually lead to innovative break-through or new approaches to solving social problems.

Conflict involves struggle over values and claims, power and resources in which the aim of the opponents are to neutralize or engage in outright elimination of rivals. The condition of objective incompatibility between values or goals as the behaviour of deliberately interfering with another goals achievement emotionally in terms of hostility. In this case, conflict is perceived as divergence of interest or belief that common objective cannot be actualized, hence clashing of values, views and interest.

Akande (1998) is of the view that "there is no society without conflict; it is inherent to societal relation and management. The ability to manage conflict makes a good society or state, because conflict cannot be eradicated." It can be noted that conflict varies and is of

different dimension. In most cases they are confrontational, violent and sometimes may lead to a state of anarchy. For instance, it can be social conflict like the topic under investigation i.e. ethnic and religious. It can be economic like the struggle on resource control, establishment of markets and the location of some viable economic organisations like banks, industries, etc. Likewise conflict can be political like the aftermath of the January, 1966 military coup d'etat, the political impasse after the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election in Nigeria, and of recent the 2011 post election political violence and killing of innocent people and bombardment of security outlet by a group allegedly known as Boko Haram.

Consequently, conflicts arise out of mistrust, hostility and polarization of relations among groups at times in a competitive setting. One fact is that there are many causes of conflict.

As stated earlier, conflicts know no bound as it happens in most countries of the world. And such conflicts cut across both developed and the developing countries. However, the nature and dynamics of the conflicts depends on the conflict management techniques that are

put in place to take care of the situation. Osaghae (1994) observed that;

> *"There is a tendency to assume that these conflicts are more rampant and devastating in African countries where alternative action-bases like class, activity organizations and party identities have not become deep rooted enough to challenge the primacy of ethnicity. But they have been no less destructive in advanced industrialized states where alternative action-bases and management strategies are arguably better developed. Examples are Scottish and Irish separatism in the United Kingdom, the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, the Quebec question in Canada and diverse ethnic problems in the USA."*

Therefore, conflicts abound in both industrialized and non-industrialized countries.

2.2 **Ethnic Conflict**

Nigeria is a pluralist society with multitude of ethnic groups that abound in the country. According to Elaigwu (2000), 'Nigeria has about 300 ethnic groups and over 400 lingo-cultural groups'. He further stressed that, "an ethnic-group is a group of people linked by common bonds of kinship and communal relationship. In some cases, it has identifiable language, social, economic and cultural traits as

well as a distinct territory". On the other hand, he observed that, "ethnicity is ethnic consciousness transformed into a weapon of offence or defense in a competitive process in relation with other groups over desired scarce resources. Ethnicity often creates problems of integration, especially in a multinational state". Basically, ethnic conflicts in the modern setting are not unlike pre-colonial struggles and wars of subordination, rebellion and hegemony. They tend to be centered in struggle for autonomy and freedom from exploitation by small groups from larger groups or by large groups under the thumb of powerful minorities.

Ethnic consciousness is a factor that propels ethnic conflict. Ethnic consciousness implies the loyalty or attachment to an ethnic group either as a social, political and economic entity, or a cultural community. So it is based on the promotion of one's ethnic group interest as opposed to other groups. Although ethnic consciousness cannot be said to oppose the process of nation building but it is an instrument through which an individual need for his own identity.

Moreover, ethnic conflict and ethnic consciousness existed in both the pre-colonial era and the colonial period, though the colonialist

promotes it to suit their interest. For instance, in northern Nigeria, the colonialist pursued an active policy of segregating northerners from southerners. Initially, the indigenous residents of a town in the North got along very well with migrants from the other parts of the North and also from the south. This was an embarrassment to the colonialist who later invented the policy of 'Sabongari'. Migrants were forced to live apart from the indigenous populations in areas designated as sabon-gari or "strangers' quarters". It is in this regard that Nnoli (1978) observed that, "contrary to Euro-American propaganda, contemporary ethnicity in Nigeria is not the result of some primitive mystique of the African causing one linguistic group to fight another, but the result of the need for the local population to adapt to the colonial and neo-colonial society".

Ethnic conflict is a conflict that is inspired by ethnic factors. Onigu and Isaac (1999) have identified seven main factors as sources of conflict. These are:

a. The land space and the resources available which consequently degenerate into the question of "settlers" and "indigenes".

b. Secondly, is the jurisdiction of certain traditional rulers and chiefs. E.g. when a king of one ethnic group or sub-ethnic group claims ruler ship over people belonging to another ethnic group, his action often generates conflict.

c. The creation of local government councils and the location of their headquarters is the third factor generating conflicts.

d. The fourth factor is the competition over access to scarce political and economic resources for instance. The creation of states and local government councils means the availability of more political and administrative positions in the localities. Contestants mobilize members of their ethnic and religious group for support in the competition to hold such positions.

e. The fifth factor derives from the micro and macro-social structures in Nigeria as can be seen in the conflicting cultural interest, values and preferences. So, the exploited coexistence of cultural, ethnic, and religious differences amongst people in the same polity is itself inherently conflictual.

f. The sixth factor is the population growth and expansion tendencies to sustain ethnic bound occupations. This occupation

has to do with land and other available resources. A resource in this sense may be seen as an opportunity in the environment that has been identified and appraised by a population of potential users.

g. The seventh sphere of conflict is the perception of disregard for cultural symbols and the "pollution" of cultural practices which if goes unchecked will lead to violent conflict. It is noteworthy that, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country.

Fundamentally, the colonial economic policies led to the formation of ethnic associations while the period of depression of 1928-1934 corresponding to the period of the government's most extensive withdrawal from social welfare services, witnessed the unrivaled growth in the number and membership of these associations. In order to emancipate their members from this socio-economic and the adverse effects of the system of inequality imposed by the colonial order, the various ethnic groups engaged in vicious competition with one another which severely strained the social fabric of the nation.

Consequently, the inter-ethnic suspicion and subsequent feud that accompanied the formation and activities of the political class resulted

in various crises such as the Kano riot of 1953 which was ethnic conflict in nature between the Hausas and the Igbos, Census crises of 1962/63, the Action group crises in the West in 1962, the 1964 Federal election crisis and the Western Nigerian election crisis of 1965. All these prompted the military intervention into the nation's body politics.

The military coup of January 1966 had ethnic colouration as majority of those that were killed were the leaders of the Northern and Western regions. Based on this, Nnoli (1978) observed that, the coup was:

> "an atte*mpt to limit ethnic competition through the use of pre-emptive violence. Six of the seven majors and eighteen out of the other twenty-three who actively participated in plotting and executing the coup came from the same ethnic group."*

Consequently, Usman (2002:3) further observed that, "there were of course, many other cases of violent communal conflicts which did not get prominent treatment in the media or, by the government and opinion leaders and politicians". In this regard one can observe that ethnic conflicts are no longer confined to urban centers, which was earlier identified as the cradle site of antagonistic ethnicity, where prompt attention is given to any violent eruption by both the press and the government. Thus, we have the ruralization of ethnic conflicts as

different ethnic groups that have shared centuries and decades of more or less peaceful co-existence have been pitched against one another as mortal enemies. In essence, this means that ethnic conflict not only take place in urban centers but also in rural areas. Also, from the various expositions made, it is understood that, ethnic conflicts does not only happen between the major ethnic groups in the country, i.e. Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo but also in-between them, e.g. between the Hausas and Fulani over farm and grazing land, between the Yorubas like the Ife and Modakeke conflicts, etc. likewise there is intra-minority ethnic conflict like the Tiv-Jukun, Jukun-Kuteb, Bajju-Ikulu, etc.

Consequently, violent conflicts lead to lost of lives, properties and distrust among the conflicting group. It is in this view that Usman (2002:) observed that,

> *"One of the widespread attitudes towards these violent communal conflicts especially in the immediate aftermath of blooshed, the arson and other devastations, is that they are just the result of madness by those involved. The perpetrators of this violence, on both sides and even the actual planners do not appear to gain anything tangible beyond the satisfaction of eliminating an Enemy."*

Meanwhile, it is due to the persistent ethnic conflicts which in most cases are violent in nature that the principle of Federal Character and other national policies such as the National Youth Service Corp Scheme, unity schools, intermarriages, etc. were introduced in order to allay the fear of minorities, promotes unity in diversity and as well enhances even development. Also the Federal Character principle that is enshrined as part of our national laws was meant to ensure the adoption of the quota system and equity in appointments, provision of social amenities and infrastructures, etc. across all ethnic groups in the country. Despite this, ethnic groups are alleging bias in favour of the other making allegations and counter allegations against each other.

Meanwhile, Sako (1998) concludes that "at this age, ethnic conflict should not be a factor that would take us back into the dark ages".

2.3 **Religious Conflict**

A large number of religious belief systems and practices thrive in Nigeria. They include ancient eastern religions such as Buddhism and newer philosophical beliefs such as the Grail Movement. Most religious space is however, covered by numerous Islamic and Christian sects and movements. The fact that the two main religions

have sacred texts that are accepted by virtually all sects and groups has not prevented the growth of serious conflicts caused by different theological interpretations. Nonetheless, factional and sectarian differences and struggles linked to ideological, political and leadership variables seem to play a more important role than theological differences.

Gofwen (2000) observed that religious intolerance has been identified as the major source of religious conflict in all societies existing as long as the history of mankind, and permeating all forms of human civilizations with attendance destructive tendencies. He further stressed that no system could be found to be impervious to it wherever it existed, because deeper cleavages are created in society by it more than any other factors. Meanwhile, Balogun (1998) defines religious intolerance as "hostility towards other religious as well as the inability of religious adherents, to harmonize between the theories and the practical aspect of religion".

From this definition, one can understand that religious conflict is not only common between different religions but as well between and among the same religious. It is in this regard that Yau (1998)

classified religious conflict into three categories. These are "intra-religious conflicts, inter-religious and state versus religious groups conflicts". One thing to note here is that, a particular conflict could degenerate to another conflict or from one type to another. An example is, a state versus religious groups conflict can degenerate into an inter-religious conflict or vice versa.

Inter-religious conflicts: The inter-religious conflict began as socio-ethnic conflicts, but articulated and fought out under the idiom of inter-religious conflicts. Examples are the Bauchi riots of 1991 and the Zangon Kataf riots of May 1992 (Metuh, 1994). While offering explanation of this spate of religious conflict in Nigeria, Usman (1987) established that religious and ethnic conflicts are part of the inevitable competition for scarce resources by modernizing ethnic elites. He further stated that the real basis of the manipulation of religion in Nigeria today is the need to observe from the people of Nigeria a fundamental aspect of our reality. that is the domination of our political economy by a class of intermediaries who are being increasingly exposed. And this is to enable this class to cover themselves with religious and ethnic disguise in order to further

entrench division among people, slow down their awakening, (Usman, 1987).

Also commenting on the influence of the political economy on religious conflicts in Nigeria, Yau (1998:18) opined that;

> *With the collapse of the living conditions of the majority of the citizens due to worsening economic crises engendered by the Structural Adjustment Programmed (SAP), living became a precarious endeavour for the majority… this created communal tension across neighbouring communities, which exploded in religious conflicts where the communities were divided both ethnically and religiously. This was the case with the Kafanchan, Zangon-Kataf and Tafawa-Balewa conflicts which although were sparked-off by religious misunderstanding, they centered on the questions of land ownership, means of the economic sustenance and local traditional institution. In these cases, the "indigenous" Christian people believed that the Hausa/Fulani Muslims "Settlers" have usurped their land in addition, to a deep-seated resentment against the Hausa/Fulani traditional rule in their domains.*

The **state-versus religious group conflicts** is when security forces and law enforcement agencies are pitted against religious groups, which seem to either reject the authority of the state or contest it legitimacy. For example, the Kaduna 1996 conflict was because of the demonstration staged by the Shites demanding the release of their leaders inspite of the banned on demonstrations as imposed by the

State Governor. This resulted in confrontation, which spread to Zaria town where the Shites beat a retreat.

Other issues that prompt religious conflict were perceived hidden agenda between the adherents of both Islam and Christianity. For instance, Muslim activists continuously express concern and fears over what they consider to be the dominance of Christians in Nigeria such as having Saturday and Sunday as work-free days while the Islamic holy day, Friday is a normal working day, the use of the Gregorian Christian calendar for official business, Christian melody in the national anthem, the curriculum in most of Nigeria's educational institutions which they claim reflect and/or draw inspiration from Christian belief and the Christian cross as the symbol for health institution. On the other hand, Christian activists are concerned mainly with what they regard as the threat of the Islamization of the country and the imposition of the Sharia on Non-Muslims. The use of state resources to subsidize Islamic activities, in particular the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and the government take-over of missionary schools. Linked to these concerns is the tradition of Muslim political hegemony in the country and in the army. Christians worry that most regimes in the country's post-independence history have been

dominated and led by northern Muslim politicians or military officers, (International IDEA, 2000). Also Elaigwu (1999) have outlined the series of violent religious incidents in the country. (see appendix ii)

The aforementioned chain of violent religious events in the country have much hampered social integration, economic and political development and above all nation building. Moreover, the local governments which is basically the grassroot level and where most of these violent crises do emanate and then transcend to the urban centers are mostly affected devastatingly as all ingredients needed for socio-economic and political development are dampened and vandalized, while confidence and mutual trust among people is eroded.

2.4 Ethno-Religious Conflict and Development

Development is a socio-economic process that was adopted after 1945 by developing countries in order to overcome their economic and institutional backwardness. A key component of development is the improvement of the material condition of the populace and equitable distribution of resources and the elimination of poverty. Consequently, development is a multi-faceted phenomenon

encompassing economic, social and political dimensions. Thus, in order to achieve meaningful development, it is pertinent to integrate the local government areas where majority of the population lives. This is important because the existence of high Gross National Product (GNP) where majority of the populace remain unemployed and or poor, is not a reflection of development, even though it is one of the indicators. Hence, there is the need to have strong local government development programmes as bedrock of integrated development that will enhance ethno-religious harmony at the local level where the beneficiaries live.

According to Olympio (2004) the concept of development cuts across many levels. It refers to macro issues (such as patterns of a nation's growth), as much as it refers to macro problems (such as river-basin problems) or to micro problems (such as local community development). All three levels-macro, meso, and micro are interwoven. And at all levels, many different diversion - economic, cultural, religious and gender affect and are affected by development. Development should be understood as a process as societies are always changing. Some improve, while others fail. Development practice intends to provide fools that can be applied to entire societies

or specific communities. Such interventions are intended to more communities or societies from a situation in which they are believed to be worse off to a in which they are assumed to be better off.

Current links between development and conflict theory stress the provision of aid in cases of violent conflict. Peace building interventions after violent conflicts address the same concerns as development interventions. Clearly, development is at the physical and social landscape has been damaged.

The million development goals (MDGs) illustrate how development is an interdisciplinary field, which implements programs in various areas and deals with innumerable variables such as economic, social, political, gender, cultural, religious and environmental issues. Societal change most often requires structural change. Most development intervention is locally targeted and short term. While much of development thinking and practice has changed, the moral and political dimensions still remain. Crisis of current development theory such as Gonathan crush (1995) and Arturo Escobar (1995) see development as a set of rational managerial prescriptions through which industrialized nations have largely imposed their views and

models onto the beneficiaries of their aid, forcing, to some extent a change in the identities of those who have been benefited. As noted earlier, development interventions are intended to more societies from a situation in which they are believed to be worse off, to situations in which they are assumed to be better off.

While one may agree that the concept of development is a normative concept in the sense that it implies progress from a less desirable state to a more desired one. Hence, the emphasis today in the development literature is on meeting basic needs and redistributing the benefits of growth.

Basically, local government development implies improvement of the standard of living of the people so that most of the people can satisfy not only their economic and social needs adequately, but also save for future investment. The process of development is only tedious, but has socio-economic and political relevance. Thus, it is important to mobilize communities at various levels. This can be achieved by increasing the skills of people through education and mass mobilization. Development then, is the process of harnessing the human resources in order to conquer the environment for the

betterment of the people in line with its values, customs and traditions. Local government development encompasses all the indices found in development but specifically targeted towards rural dwellers. For instance, according to Olympio (2004), the concept of "development" cuts across many levels. It refers to macro issues (such as patterns of a nation's growth), as much as it refers to meso problem (such as river-basin plans), or to micro problems (such as local community development). All three levels-macro, meso, and micro are interwoven. And at all levels, many different dimensions-economic, cultural, religious and gender affect and are affected by development. In this regard development should be understood as a process not a product. Societies are always changing. Some improve, while others fail. According to Dennis Goulet (1971), there are three core values that constitute development and represents "good life." These core values are: sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom. They all relate to fundamental human needs that find their expression in almost all societies and cultures at all times, They can be examine as follows:

i. Life-Sustenance: this refers to the ability to provide basic necessities; all people have certain basic needs without which life would be impossible. These include; food, shelter, health

and protection. When any of these is absent or in critical short supply, it may be stated that a condition of absolute underdevelopment exist. However, rising per capita income, the elimination of absolute poverty, greater employment opportunities, and lessening income inequalities therefore constitute the necessary but not sufficient conditions for development.

ii. Self Esteem: to be a person, is another component of good life. It constitutes a sense of worth and self respect of not being used as a tool by others for their own ends. All people and societies seek some form of self esteem, although, they may call it authenticity, identity, respect, honour or recognition. The nature and form of this self esteem may vary from society to society and from one culture to another.

iii. Freedom from servitude and to be able to choose: this is the final universal core value. Freedom here is to be understood in the more fundamental sense of freedom or emancipation from alienating material conditions of life and from social servitude to nature, other people, misery, oppressive institutions, and of dogmatic beliefs, especially that poverty is predestination,

From the above three core values, it can be concluded that development is both a physical reality and the state of the mind in which society has through some combinations of social, economic and institutional processes, secured the means of this better life. Whatever the specific component of this better life, development in all societies must have at least the following three components; to increase the availability and widen the distribution of (a) basic life, (b) sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and (c) protection to all members of the society.

Moreover, this research addresses the link between development and conflict as it affects the local government level in Kaduna state. It can be understood that conflicts breeds underdevelopment and it impoverishes the society to the extent that basic existence of food, shelter, clothing, healthcare services and infrastructural facilities such as roads, water supply, schools, markets and motor parks etc are threatened and sometimes destroyed.

2.5 **Theoretical Framework**

There are many of theories that have been put forward by scholars in the study of conflict. Hadjipavlou (2000) write that among this large

volume of theories in conflict literature, two broad schools of thought regarding the nature and roots of conflict are identifiable. The first school of thought view social conflict as something "rational, constructive, socially functional" (Simmel,1955, Coser 1968). The second school of thought views it from the perspective of being "irrational, pathological and socially dysfunctional" (Dougherty & Pfalzgraft, 1981). Three major theoretical approaches emerge from each school of thought; the "classical",the "behaviourist" and the "Linkage" (Hadjipavlou, 2002).

The classical approach takes as it unit of analysis, the macro level (nation, institutions, ethnic, religion, class, etc), the behaviourist approach on the other hand, regard the micro level, i.e. the individual as its unit of analysis. However, in both approaches, both the conscious and the unconscious are examined in order to understand hidden motivational factors for the conflict. The Linkage adopting an inter-disciplinary approach, views social conflict as an interactive process, involving a variety of subsystems and factors. Both macro and micro levels as well as rational and irrational processes constitute the level of analysis thus the relationship of the individual to the nation-state is considered (Hadjipavlou, 2002). The conflict identity

theory (Tajfel, 1981) is based on normal psychological processes in the course of developing our social identities whereby we affiliate with our own group (family, ethnicity, community, nation) and this reinforces our human need for self esteem, self worth which we receive from belonging to our group. Several conflicts in Kaduna state can be located in the context of these theories, including the Zangon Kataf crisis. The concepts of in group and outgroup are important here in that we compare ourselves, our group, our community to other groups who we perceived as "inferior". In times of conflict we tend to demonize the other and thus try to project on to them all the "badness" of ourselves which we tend to deny or consciously ignore (Hadjipavlou, 2002, 2004). A study of most conflicts in Nigeria will revealed that the various groups involved in such conflicts were very active, utilizing the concepts of ingroup and outgroup, which accounted for large scale carnage, especially conflicts that were ethnic, religious, or ethno-religious in nature.

The macro theories of conflict focus on the interactions of groups especially at the conscious level and the objective dynamics and conditions that are involved. Some focus on the historical evolution of conflicts such as C. Marx, R. Dahrendorf and more recently J.

Galtung. Marx sees conflict as a product of the capitalist social and economic structure. Dahrendorf sees authority and not class as the prime source of conflict. Another major concept here is the use of power which manifests itself in economic, political, military, and cultural realms of life. Thus emphasis is given on competition over scarce resources such as territory, power, status, etc). the many conflicts across Kaduna state that have arisen as a result of conflicts between different ethno-religious groups on farmlands and issues bordering on markets, infrastructural facilities, political power (elections) fall within this ambit.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This is the procedure that is used in carrying out the study. The following sub-headings are examined: research design, population of the study, sampling techniques, instruments and method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The design for this research is both the primary and the secondary sources of data collection are used. Questionnaires were administered to obtain the desired information on the effects of ethno-religious conflict on the development of local governments in Kaduna State. Also, other sources like textbooks, journals, magazines, newspapers, editorials, and articles are used in order to arrive at the acceptable and cohesive research result.

3.2 Area of Study

The study is designed to examine the effects of ethno-religious conflict on the development of local governments in Kaduna state with Zangon Kataf conflict of 1992 as the case study. Zangon Kataf witnessed a horrendous waste of life and properties with spill over in Kaduna metropolis, Zaria and other local government areas in the state and beyond (Religion and Society, Vol. 4, January-April, 2002).

3.3 Population and Sample Size

The population of the study is the inhabitants of Zangon kataf local government area of Kaduna sate. This is because the inhabitants were severely affected with the ethno-religious crisis that took place in May,1992.

3.4 Sampling Technique

Purposive or judgmental sampling technique is used. This has given the researcher the privilege to hand pick certain groups of people that are considered knowledgeable and important in the conduct of this research. Questionnaires are administered on the following categories of people, namely; local government functionaries, politicians, traders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, and youth leaders. The questionnaire is drawn in a Likert form and is divided into six sections of A, B, C, D, E, F, and G.

In all one hundred and fifty (150) people constitute the respondents from the local government area. For Instance, twenty five (25) people each from the local government functionaries, politicians, traders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, and youth leaders were given the questionnaire to respond.

3.5 Instrument for Data Collection

The instrument for the collection of data for this study is questionnaire; Questionnaires are administered on the following categories of people, namely; local government functionaries, politicians, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, traders

and youth leaders. The questionnaire is drawn in a Likert form and is divided into six sections of A, B, C, D, E, F, and G. Available literatures like books, journals, government publications, white papers, newspapers and magazines were also used to strengthened the data obtained from primary sources. The questionnaire is formed in Likert format and are divided into sections A, B, and C, Section A contains issues on general information of respondents, such as; sex, age, level of education background, and employment status, . Section B is on the effects of Ethno-Religious conflict in Kaduna State. Section C is on conflict management of ethno-religious conflicts.

Questions on general information are drawn in such a way that the respondents answered by ticking the appropriate column and filling the gap. The remaining questions in the questionnaire were structured on a modified Likert rating scale format of Undecided (U), Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree (D), Agree (A) and Strongly Agree (SA). The respondents do respond to the questions by putting a tick (✓) under the alternative columns provided.

The modified Likert rating scale format is as follows:

Undecided (U) = 1 point

Strongly Disagree (SD) = 2 point

Disagree (D) = 3 points

Agree (A) = 4 points

Strongly Agree (SA) = 5 points

According to Nworgu (1991), "this modification is based on the fact that the point "Undecided" (uncertain or neutral) is not located in the middle of the opinion/attitude continuum. Rather, it represents a situation or condition of the mind prior to the formation of any opinion/attitude. It is not a transition stage from one type of opinion/attitude (say, negative) to another (say, positive) as has been misconstrued.

3.6 Procedure for Data Analysis

Tables and simple frequency counts were used in the presentation of data. In the test of hypothesis and data analysis, the statistical tool employed was the chi-square ( ) test of independence. The formular for the chi – square test is given below:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_e - f_o)}{f_0}$$

All analysis for the hypotheses testing was done at the 0.05 level of significance with the aid of the current version of windows Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, 13).

3.7 Decision Rule

The decision rule that was used to adjudge whether to accept or reject any of the hypothesis tested is as follows:

i. If test value < critical value, retain H_o. This implies rejection of H_a

ii. If test value > critical value, reject H_o. This implies retention of H_a

OR

i. If p-value obtained < set alpha Value, reject H_o. This implies retention of H_a

ii. If p-value obtained > set alpha Value, retain H_o. This implies rejection of H_a.

CHAPTER FOUR

OVERVIEW OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN KADUNA STATE

4.1 Introduction

The city of Kaduna, the capital city of Kaduna state, is one of the largest in northern Nigeria and is viewed by some as the symbolic capital of the north. Kaduna has a significant population of Christians, from around thirty ethnic groups based mostly in the south of the state, sometimes referred to as the South Kaduna minority tribes. The majority of the population in the northern part of Kaduna state are Muslims from the Hausa/Fulani ethnic groups. Kaduna differs from other northern states in that although some areas are dominated by particular ethnic groups, these different groups have also lived side by side in the same areas for many years, especially in Kaduna town. Kaduna has a different mix of populations from other northern states as its capital is one of the more developed cities in the north, it has become host to people from many ethnic groups from different parts of the country.

Over several decades, Kaduna, like other states of Nigeria, has experience outbreaks of violence and fighting between different groups. Most often, this has pitted Muslims against Christians, although the fundamental causes can be traced to political and economic rivalries, rather than religious differences. Some of the most

serious outbreaks of violent conflicts in Kaduna state occurred in 1987, 1992, 2000 and 2011. A dispute erupted between students from different ethnic and religious groups in Kafanchan, and the violence spread to several other towns and areas. In February and May 1992, in what became known as the Zangon-Kataf crisis, there were clashes in Zangon-Kataf between the Hausa and the Kataf, initially sparked off by a dispute over the relocation of a market. Killing of Hausa by Kataf were followed by reprisal killings of Christians by Muslims, including in several other parts of the state. Shehu Sani (2007) have outlined the sequence of ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna state as follows:-

1. Kasuwan Magani in Kajuru Local Government Area, 1980, when Hausa traders tried to take over Adara land, claiming that the land belonged to them.

2. Yarkasuwa, then in Lere District in1986, During the contest for the district headship of Lere, when the Kurama were blamed for the crisis who were opposed to the candidature of a Bakurmi Muslim who "dared" to contest for the District Head's office reserved for the Hausa-Fulani of Lere town.

3. Kafanchan in 1987, violent conflict between the muslim students and Christian students of the College of Education. This spread to Zaria, Kaduna, Katsina etc, where places of worship, lives and properties were destroyed.

4. ABU, Zaria in 1988, violent conflict between muslim and Christian students over students' union elections. About 107 students were injured, some seriously with some killed at Gwargwaji.

5. Zangon kataf in 1992, clash between the Hausa community and the Atyaps of Zangon Kataf over the control of the market in the area.

6. 1999, ethno-religious attacks against Southern Kaduna in Kaduna North Local Government Area, and reverberations in Kafanchan and environs

7. 2000, violent sharia riot, when the Kaduna state House of Assembly proceeded to debate on the implementation of Sharia laws in Kaduna state. The riots were in Kaduna, Zaria, Kano , Katsina etc

8. 2001, Sanga –Gwantu, ethno-religious conflict which was on whether 1the Sharia or the customary court should be located in Gwantu. The new legal system, therefore, only served as the immediate cause of the crisis to settle deep-rooted resentment.

9. 2001, Bajju- Ikulu ethno-religious conflict broke out over the change of nomenclature of the town from Kamuru station to Kamuru Ikulu.

10. 2002, Miss world conflict. This was as the result over a THISDAY newspaper blasphemous article on prophet Muhammad (SAW) and a protest against the Miss World pageant. At the end of the protest that assumed a violent dimension, a number of vehicles, 16 churches, 11 hotels, 8 mosques, 189 houses and 3 schools were burnt. Before the conflict was brought under control, about 220 people were killed, 1,500 wounded and over 30,000 displaced.

11. 2011, post election violence. The April presidential election was adjudged to have been rigged in favour of the ruling party which led to a massive protest in most Northern states. Consequently it turned violent especially in Kaduna state

whereby churches, mosques and houses were burnt in Zaria and Kaduna, the Kafanchan market was burnt, lives and properties were lost and wasted.

4.2 The Zangon Kataf Ethno-Religious Crisis

Zagon kataf ethno-religious identity based contestations and conflict were dominant features, the ethnic groups in the area are the Angan (Kamantan), Atyap(Kataf), Bajju (Kaje), Ikulu, fulbe (Fulani), Hausa and Tacherak (Kachecere). According to Toure Kazah Toure(2003), the ethno-religious diversity in the area can be described as a rainbow, with it share of conflict. Until the 1960s the population of the local majorities were largely 'animist', but later converted and is presently predominantly Christians. For the Hausa and Fulbe, who are the local minorities, they have been predominantly Muslims for hundred of years.

For decades, in the 20th century, there were complaints, protests, and revolts- by the communities that perceived themselves as been dominated. Central issues included aristocratic oppression, political exclusion and economic marginalization. Political and other complex conflict, some of which got violent, kept on exploding. Perceived political dominance and the control of economic power by the Hausa

gave rise to the expression of struggles largely in ethno-religious terms. The inter-ethnic rivalry can be better appreciated in the contest of the struggle by the Atyap business interests to break the monopoly of the market by Hausa merchants (Mustapha 1997:212-217). Thus, politics by various dominant ethnic circles was linked to intra-class tussles in terms of commercial and economic interests. That, to an extent, explains why immediately the new council chairman was sworn in, the local government Council moved fast to relocate the market, even without providing necessary facilities. A fast move came from the opposing side, as there was counter-move to stop the realization. A prominent Hausa businessman secured a court injunction restraining the council from going ahead with the relocation (Citizen 1992:11).

The Zango area exploded in a violent ethno-religious conflict. On February 6, 1992, a violent inter-ethnic clash started between the Atyap and the Hausa, even as the authorities had information in relation to the tension surrounding the movement of the market to a new site and the counter action to block it. The first casualties were some people at the new market. There was a swift counter-attack as

Zango town was encircled and attacked by the Atyap militants. Which led to lost of many lives.

In their separate submissions to the Committee for Reconciliation, the representatives of the Hausa community maintained that the Atyap had for a long time nursed a sort of jealousy and hatred towards them, because of their economic prosperity. For their part, the Atyap raised issues of alleged Hausa contempt towards them, exclusion from the market and the neglect of their economic interest.(Report of the committee for reconciliation 1995: 10 & 92). The second violent conflict erupted after accusations and counter accusations were level among the two contending ethnic groups. On May 15, 1992, a vicious and violent armed conflict erupted again between the Hausa and Atyap. For two days the two communities carried some kind of ethnic cleansing. A total of 1,528 people were officially counted dead, in the Hausa community (Report of Zangon kataf Market Riots…1992). Figures for the Atyap casualties have been difficult to come by, because they were instantly picking their and burying. By May 18,1992, the conflict had spread and engulfed Kaduna, Zaria and Ikara. Once it went beyond the area and other parts or Kaduna state, it assumed a religious dimension of Muslims versus Christians and the

meaning of the conflict changed concretely. Thus it became 'ethno-religious conflict'.

These conflicts in Zangon kataf is very significant in the sense that it has woken up the consciousness of economic, social and political rights of 'minority' ethnic groups not only in Southern Kaduna and Kaduna state but Nigeria as whole. This is because it was a local conflict that went beyond the boundaries of the state.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, data obtained and used for analysis is presented. In the presentation, frequency tables and percentages were used to further display vividly the data collected. The analysis of the data was done with the aid of SPSS while the main statistical tools employed were the mean and chi-square. The next two sections give details. The chapter ends with a section on summary of research findings which emanates from the data analyses, focused group discussion and the research hypotheses testing.

5.1 Data Presentation

In this section, the data gathered is presented under two main subsections, viz: demographic data and research question/hypotheses data. This presentation will form the basis for answering the research questions and testing of the research hypotheses in the next section.

5.1.1 Demographic Data

The data employed for this study was obtained via the administration of a researcher – designed questionnaire. A total of 150 questionnaires were administered but 125 were returned. This implies that the response rate is approximately 83%. According to Nworgu (1991) "where all the questionnaires returned are less than 70%, the result

could differ considerably". Therefore a response rate of 83% can be considered adequate for valid statistical analysis. Table 5.1.1 below depicts the percentage response

Table 5.1.1: Response rate of questionnaire administered

No. Administered	150
No. Returned	125
% Response	83

Out of the 125 questionnaires returned, 75 were from male and 50 from female respondents. This means that 60% of the respondents are male while the remaining 40% are female. Table 5.1.2 below shows the distribution of the respondents by gender.

Table 5.1.2: Distribution of the respondents by gender

Respondents Gender	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Male	75	60.0
Female	50	40.0
Total	**125**	**100.0**

Data analysis of the marital status of the respondents shows that 67 of them are married, which constitutes 53.6% while 55 of them are singles, representing 44% of the respondents with the remaining 3

being widows i.e. 2.4% of the respondents. Table 5.1.3 below displays the distribution of the respondents in terms of marital status.

Table 5.1.3: Marital Status Distribution of Respondents

Respondents Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	67	53.6
Single	55	44.0
Widow	3	2.4
Total	**125**	**100.00**

Further data analysis of the age distribution of the respondents revealed that majority of them i.e. 37 are between the ages of 36 years and above, representing (29.6%) of the total. The next are those within the age range of 26 – 30 years old which are 30 in number (24%) of the total. The number within the age group 21 – 25 years old which are 27 (21.6%) of the total; 31 – 35 years old are 25 (20.8%) of the total and 5 of the respondents are between the age of 15-20 years

which is 4% of the respondents. Table 5.1.4 below displays the age group distribution of the respondents.

Table 5.1.4: Age Group Distribution of Respondents

Respondents Age Group	**Frequency**	**Percent**
15-20yrs	5	4.0
21-25yrs	27	21.6
26-30yrs	30	24.0
31-35yrs	26	20.8
36yrs & above	37	29.6
Total	**125**	**100.00**

In terms of educational qualification of the respondents, 61 of them constituting 48.8% of the total are either HND or first degree holders, 42 (33.6%) are Diploma/NCE holders. Those with Post Graduate Qualification are 16 (12.8%) of the respondents while those with either professional qualification or other qualifications not mentioned above are 3 each, representing 2.4% of the respondents respectively. Table 5.1.5 below shows educational qualification distribution of the respondents.

Table 5.1.5: Educational Qualification Distribution of Respondents

Respondents Qualification	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Dip NCE	42	33.6

HND 1st Degree	61	48.8
Postgraduate degree	16	12.8
Professional	3	2.4
Others	3	2.4
Total	**125**	**100.0**

Analysis of the respondents' occupational distribution was done. It was thus discovered that the number of respondents that are local government functionaries/public servants are 45 (36%) of the total. Other respondents fall under the following occupation or categories: Politicians, 19 (15.2%), traditional rulers, 5 (4.0%); community/religious leaders, 10 (8.0%); retired military personnel, 5 (4.0%); youth organization members, 25 (20%); unemployed, 16 (12.8%). Table 4.1.7 below depicts this detail.

Table 5.1.7: Occupational Distribution of Respondents

Respondents Occupation	**Frequency**	**Percent**
LG functionary public servant	45	36.0
Politician	19	15.2
Traditional ruler	5	4.0
Community/religious leader	10	8.0
Retired military personnel	5	4.0
Youth org. member	25	20.0
Unemployed	16	12.8

Total	**125**	**100.0**

5.1.8 Research Questions/Hypotheses Data

Data relating to the first research question and hypotheses was obtained from respondents responses to section B of the questionnaire. Thus Research Question one and the Hypothesis data shown in Table 5.1.8 below depicts the response pattern to items in this section of the questionnaire which solicit for information on the effects of ethno-religious conflicts at the local government level in Kaduna state.

Table 5.1.8: Research Question one and Hypothesis data

S/N	Items	U	SD	D	A	SA
1	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded educational development at the Local Government level in the State.	1	5	19	76	24
2	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has	6	6	17	63	33

	retarded infrastructural development in the State.					
3	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State has negatively affected investment profile at the Local Government level in the State.	2	7	21	68	27
4	The polarization of the State into ethnic and religious divide undermines the much needed unity, peace and progress at the Local Government level in the State.	2	3	16	84	20
5	The series of ethno-religious conflicts at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the State.	3	2	19	86	15
6	The tension, suspicion and marginalization at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has undermine the peaceful and social co – existence among the people of the State.	8	16	21	28	52

Data relating to the second research question and hypotheses was obtained from respondents responses to section C of the questionnaire. Thus Research Question two and Hypothesis data shown in Table 5.1.10 below depicts the response pattern to items in this section of the questionnaire which solicit for information on Conflict

Management Mechanisms at the Local Government Level in Kaduna State.

Table 5.1.9: Research Question three and Hypothesis data

S/N	Items	U	SD	D	A	SA
1	Political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethno-religious groups in Kaduna State.	0	2	7	98	18
2	There should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities and infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State.	1	3	4	94	23
3	Security agencies and apparatus should be equipped, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State.	0	1	1	53	70
4	Recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State.	6	3	4	89	23

5.2 Data Analysis

In this section, analysis of the data gathered is presented. This analysis forms the basis for answering the research questions and testing of the

research hypotheses. Therefore, the next two subsections will be focused on answering the research questions and hypotheses testing.

5.2.1 Research Questions

As stated in section 3.5, the main instrument used to gather data for answering the research questions was a questionnaire structured in line with the Likert rating scale format of Undecided (U), Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree (D), Agree (A) and Strongly Agree (SA). The analysis criteria used was such that Undecided (U) was awarded 1 point, Strongly Disagree (SD), 2 points; Disagree (D), 3 points, Agree (A), 4 points and Strongly Agree (SA), 5 points. For each item, the Mean Score from all the responses was calculated based on the above point – allocation criteria.

Decision Rule for Research Question Answering

In line with the above point – allocation criteria, the decision rule employed was that a Mean Score of:

1. implies that the respondents were undecided about the item
2. implies that the respondents have Strongly Disagreed with the item
3. implies that the respondents Disagreed with the item
4. implies that the respondents Agreed with the item

5. implies that the respondents Strongly Agreed with the item.

As stated in section 1.3, this study sought answers to the following research questions:

1. What are the effects/consequences of the ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state?
2. How can the ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state be abated against continuous occurrence?

Research question one focuses on the effects of ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state. Six items were used to solicit information from respondents and they were analysed item by item. The following are the respondents' reactions to each of these six items.

S/N	Items	N	SS	MS	Decision
1	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded educational development at the Local Government level in the State.	125	492	3.936	Agreed
2	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded infrastructural development in the State.	125	486	3.888	Agreed
3	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna State has negatively affected investment profile at the Local Government level in the State.	125	486	3.888	Agreed

4	The polarization of the State into ethnic and religious divide undermines the much needed unity, peace and progress at the Local Government level in the State.	125	492	3.936	Agreed
5	The series of ethno-religious conflicts at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the State.	125	483	3.864	Agreed
6	The tension, suspicion and marginalization at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has undermine the peaceful and social co –existence among the people of the State.	125	475	3.8	Agreed

Key: N = Number of Respondents

SS = Sum of Scores

MS = Mean Score

The first item seeks respondents' opinion whether the series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded educational development at the Local Government level in the State. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.936, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that one of the effects of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state is the retardation of educational development at the Local Government level in the State.

The second item seeks respondents' opinion whether the series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded infrastructural development in the Local Governments. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.888, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that the series of ethno-religious conflicts in the Local Governments in Kaduna state has retarded infrastructural development in the State.

The third item seek respondents' opinion whether the series of ethno-religious conflicts has negatively affected investment profile in the Local Governments in Kaduna State. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.888, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that the series of ethno-religious conflicts in the Local Governments of Kaduna State has negatively affected investment profile in the State.

The fourth item seeks respondents' opinion whether the polarization of the State into ethnic and religious divide undermines the much needed unity, peace and progress at the Local Government level. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.936, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that the polarization of the State into ethnic and religious divide have

undermined the much needed unity, peace and progress at the Local Government level in the State.

The fifth item seeks respondents' opinion whether the series of ethno-religious conflicts at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the State. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.864, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that the series of ethno-religious conflicts at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the State.

The sixth item seeks respondents' opinion whether the tension, suspicion and marginalization at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has undermined the peaceful and social co –existence among the people of the State. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.8, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that the tension, suspicion and marginalization at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has undermined the peaceful and social co –existence among the people of the State.

In order to analyse data addressing research question four, each of the four items that solicits information on mechanisms for managing

ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state were analysed item by item. The following are the respondents' reactions to each of these four items.

S/N	Items	N	SS	MS	Decision
1	Political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethno-religious groups in Kaduna State.	125	507	4.056	Agreed
2	There should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities and infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State.	125	510	4.08	Agreed
3	Security agencies and apparatus should be equipped, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State.	125	567	4.536	Agreed
4	Recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State.	125	495	3.96	Agreed

Key: N = Number of Respondents

SS = Sum of Scores

MS = Mean Score

The first item seeks respondents' opinion whether political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna State. For this item, a Mean Score of 4.056, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna State.

The second item seeks respondents' opinion whether there should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities as well as infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State. For this item, a Mean Score of 4.08, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that there should be fairness and equity in the

establishment and distribution of social amenities as well as infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State.

The third item seeks respondents' opinion whether security agencies and apparatus should be equipped, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State. For this item, a Mean Score of 4.536, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' strongly agreed that security agencies and apparatus should be equipped, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State.

The fourth item seeks respondents' opinion whether recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State. For this item, a Mean Score of 3.96, which is approximately 4, was obtained. This implies that the respondents' agreed that recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals

at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State.

5.3 Hypotheses Testing

In this section, an attempt will be made to test the hypotheses raised in section 1.4. The data gathered will form the basis for the testing of the research hypotheses. As stated earlier, the hypotheses testing will be done at the 95% confidence level. The decision rule given below will be used to adjudge whether to retain or reject the hypothesis being tested.

Decision Rule

1. If test value < critical value, retain H_o. This implies rejection of Ha
2. If test value > critical value, reject Ho. This implies retention of Ha

OR

1. If p-value obtained < set alpha Value, reject Ho. This implies retention of Ha
2. If p-value obtained > set alpha Value, retain H_o. This implies rejection of Ha.

5.3.1 Hypothesis

Ha. Ethno-Religious conflict retards the development of socio-economic development at the Local Government level.

Ho. Ethno-Religious conflict does not retard the development of socio-economic infrastructures at the Local Government level.

The data for testing this hypothesis, which was obtained from table 4.1.8, is presented in table 4.3.1 below.

5.3.2 Hypothesis

Ha. Ethno-Religious conflict retards the development of socio-economic development at the Local Government level.

The data for testing this hypothesis, which was obtained from table 4.1.9, is presented in table 4.3.4 below.

Table 5.3.2: Data for Testing this Hypothesis and research question one – Effects of Ethno - Religious Conflict

Responses	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Strongly Disagree	4	31.3	-27.3
Disagree	19	31.3	-12.3
Agree	70	31.3	38.8
Strongly Agree	32	31.3	.8
Total	125		

The chi-square statistics obtained for the data in table 4.3.4 above is as presented in table 5.3.2 below.

Table 5.3.3: Chi-square Statistics for Data on Effects of Ethno Religious Conflict

			Effects of Ethno-ReligiousConflict
Chi-Square(a)			76.632
Df			3
Asymp. Sig.			.000
Monte Carlo Sig.	Sig.		.000(b)
	95% Confidence Interval	Lower Bound	.000
		Upper Bound	.024

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 31.3.

b. Based on 125 sampled tables with starting seed 299883525.

An extract of the relevant information regarding the Chi-square Statistics for data on the identified Effects of Ethno - Religious Conflict in table 4.3.5 above is presented summarily in table 5.3.4below.

Table 5.3.4: Summary of Chi-square Statistics for effects of Ethno-Religious Crisis

Variable	**N**	**Df**	χ^2_{cal}	χ^2_{tab}	$\rho - Value$	$\alpha - Value$

Effects of Ethno-ReligiousConflict	125	3	76.632	0.352	0.00	0.05

From the table above, it can be seen that the calculated Chi – Square value (i.e. 76.632) is greater than the tabulated Chi – Square Value 0.352 at df = 3. Also it can be seen that the obtained p – value (0.00) is less than the adopted alpha level of 0.05. Relating this to the above decision rule, it follows that the null hypothesis has to be rejected. This implies that the corresponding alternative hypothesis is retained. In other words, the rejection of the null hypothesis implies that the agreement amongst the respondents on the identified effects of ethno-religious conflicts at the local government level in Kaduna state is statistically significant. This goes further to imply that those identified effects of ethno-religious conflicts for which the respondents agree can be upheld while those they disagree with should be discarded.

Table 5.3.5: Data for Testing Hypothesis Three – Conflict Management Mechanism

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Disagree	7	41.7	-34.7
Agree	37	41.7	-4.7
Strongly Agree	81	41.7	39.3

Total	125		

The chi-square statistics obtained for the data in table 5.3.5 above is as presented in table 5.3.6 below.

Table 5.3.6: Chi-square Statistics for Data on Conflict Management Mechanism

			Conflict Management Mechanism
Chi-Square(a)			66.496
Df			2
Asymp. Sig.			.000
Monte Carlo Sig.	Sig.		.000(b)
	95% Confidence Interval	Lower Bound	.000
		Upper Bound	.024

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 41.7.

b. Based on 125 sampled tables with starting seed 926214481.

An extract of the relevant information regarding the Chi-square Statistics for data on the identified Conflict Management Mechanism in table 4.3.8 above is presented summarily in table 5.3.7 below.

Table 5.3.7: Summary of Chi-square Statistics for effects of Ethno-Religious Crisis

Variable	**N**	**Df**	χ^2_{cal}	χ^2_{tab}	$\rho - Value$	$\alpha - Value$

Conflict Management Mechanism	125	2	66.496	0.103	0.00	0.05

From the table above, it can be seen that the calculated Chi – Square value (i.e. 66.496) is greater than the tabulated Chi – Square Value 0.103 at df = 2. Also it can be seen that the obtained p – value (0.00) is less than the adopted alpha level of 0.05. Relating this to the above decision rule, it follows that the null hypothesis has to be rejected. This implies that the corresponding alternative hypothesis is retained. In other words, the rejection of the null hypothesis implies that the respondents on the identified conflict management mechanisms at the local government level in Kaduna state is statistically significant. This goes further to imply that those identified conflict management mechanisms for which the respondents agree can be upheld while those they disagree with should be discarded.

5.4 Research Findings

From the analyses of the research questions data and hypotheses testing, the following are the major findings of this study:

5.4.1 Effects of Ethno – Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State Local Governments

The following have been identified as the major effects of ethno – religious conflicts in Kaduna State Local Governments

i. Retardation of educational development at the Local Government level.
ii. Retardation of infrastructural development at the Local Governments level.
iii. Negative impact on the investment profile of the State.
iv. Polarization of the State into ethnic and religious divide.
v. Absence of unity, peace and progress at the Local Government level.
vi. Prevalence of heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the State.
vii Absence of genuine peaceful and social co-existence among the people of the State.

5.4.3 Strategies for the Management of Ethno – Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State Local Governments

The following have been identified as the major strategies for the management of ethno – religious conflicts in Kaduna State Local Governments

i. Political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental

organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna State.

ii. There should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities as well as infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State.

iii. Security agencies and apparatus should be equipped, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State.

iv Recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State.

V The rule of law should be uphold and applied on every citizen irrespective of individual prominence or position in the society.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, which is the concluding chapter of the thesis, the summary of the entire work is presented. Also presented are the conclusions for the study which was derived from the research findings that was arrived at through empirically obtained data. Finally, recommendations on how to manage such conflicts and possibly avoid them are proffered.

6.1 Summary

In this study, an attempt has been made to conduct an empirical research on the effects of ethno – religious conflicts on the development of local governments in Nigeria. Zangon kataf local government area of Kaduna state has been specifically focused on. These local government area was the flash point of these types of conflicts . It was observed in the study that the effects of these conflicts in many parts of Nigeria hitherto known to be peaceful have degenerated to a worrisome phenomenon. The socio-political and economic problems associated with inter and intra-group conflict is immediately evident and has far reaching consequence. The trauma to

which people in conflict prone areas are subjected and the huge costs of post-conflict reconstruction of the society take a heavy toll on the resources that would otherwise have been invested in development projects. In particular, it has been observed that these conflicts have consequential effects especially on local governments. This is because whenever and wherever there are violent conflicts; there will be senseless destruction of lives and properties, arson, looting and vandalization of public buildings, structures and properties. Hence, retarding developments and other government programmes.

Since 1992, these ethnic and religious conflicts have become more frequent, more widespread and more violently destructive. For, whenever it occurred, thousands of lives and properties are lost. The questions that will readily come to one's mind are; what are the causes of such conflicts?, what are its consequences on the local governments? And how can these conflicts be abated against continuous occurrence?

In line with these questions, the study sought to achieve the following objectives:

i. To determine the consequences of the ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state.

ii. To find out how can the ethno - religious conflicts at the local Government level in Kaduna state be abated against continuous occurrence

Two related research questions and same number of hypotheses were raised and formulated respectively to guide the conduct of the study so as to achieve the above objectives.

In the course of literature review for this study, it was realized that related previous studies have not been directed towards a particular environment i.e they were not environment or area – specific. Therefore, recommendations from such research tend to take a more general approach. This study addresses this shortcoming. Herein lies one of its significance. Also, this study will add more to the existing researches and as well strengthen facts and records as to the reasons that often ignite ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular. Moreover, the study examined both the negative and positive aspects of such conflicts as they affect local governments. This is because most write-ups and researches have not dealt with the

impact of ethnic and religious conflicts on the socio-economic and political development of local governments in Nigeria. The findings from this study is of immense importance to the researcher, those in charge of peace, policy-making, security agencies, researchers, local government functionaries and both the leaders and the led.

The design for this research is analytical. Both the primary and the secondary sources of data collection are used. Questionnaires and focus group discussion were administered and conducted to obtained the desired information on the effects of ethno-religious conflict on the development of local governments in Kaduna State. Also, other sources like textbooks, journals, magazines, newspapers, editorials, and articles are critically analyzed in order to arrive at the acceptable and cohesive research result.

The population of the study is the inhabitants of the twenty-three local governments of Kaduna State. For the purpose of the study, Zangon Kataf local government was picked as the study area. The local government was the 'flash points' during ethno-religious conflicts in the state because records have shown that it was a place where violent conflicts takes its toll on people's life and property. For

instance, the 1992 conflict in the Local government witnessed a horrendous waste of life and properties with spill over in Kaduna metropolis, Zaria and other local government areas in the state and beyond (Religion and Society, Vol. 4, January-April, 2002).

Purposive or judgmental sampling techniques were used. This gave the researcher the privilege to hand pick certain groups of people that are considered knowledgeable and important in the conduct of the research. A Questionnaire of the Likert scale form was designed and administered on the following categories of people, namely; local government functionaries, politicians, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, and youth leaders. The questionnaire has three sections with section A addressing issues on general information of respondents, such as; sex, age, level of education background, employment status, and residential area. Section B is on is on effects of ethno-religious conflicts. Section C is on conflict management.

In all, 150 questionnaires were administered but 125 were returned thereby making this number to constitute the respondents from the local government of the study area. The data obtained and used for analysis was presented with the aid of frequency tables, percentages,

mean and the chi-square statistics. The analysis of the data was done with the aid of SPSS13. In the data presentation section, Response rate of questionnaire administered, Distribution of the respondents by gender, Marital Status, Age Group, Educational Qualification and Occupation were addressed by means of the frequency tables and percentages.

Analyses of the data gathered were the basis for answering the research questions and testing of the research hypotheses. While the mean was used for the analysis which made possible the answering of the research questions, the chi – square statistics was deployed to test the research hypotheses. Consequent upon these analyses, the following answers were obtained to the research questions:

1. The major effects of ethno – religious conflicts in Kaduna State Local Governments

   Retardation of educational development at the Local Government level.

   Retardation of infrastructural development at the Local Governments level.

Negatively impact on the investment profile of the State.

Polarization of the State into ethnic and religious divide.

Absence of unity, peace and progress at the Local Government level.

Prevalence of heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the State.

Absence of genuine peaceful and social co –existence among the people of the State

2. The major strategies for the management of ethno – religious conflicts in Kaduna State Local Governments

Political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna State.

There should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities as well as infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State.

Security agencies and apparatus should be well equipped with modern warfare techniques and gadgets, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State.

Recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State.

As for the research hypotheses, it was discovered that:

- Ethno-Religious conflicts retard the development of socio-economic development at the Local Government level.

There is significant difference in the effects of ethno – religious conflicts and development at the local Government level in Kaduna State

There is significant difference in the mechanisms for managing ethno – religious conflicts and development at the local Government level in Kaduna State.

6.2 Conclusion

The local government level as an institution of state in Kaduna state has witness tremendous setback arising from the incessant ethnic and religious conflict across the length and breadth of the state. Ethnicity and religion has often been used as a negative force in Kaduna state local governments aimed at gaining power through the manipulation of sectarian sentiments, poverty and ignorance of the down trodden masses at the grassroots level who hitherto were leaving in peace and harmony with each other irrespective of their ethnic and religious divide or differences.

The huge cost of settling the internally displace persons arising from such conflicts on the local governments, the rebuilding and the reconstruction of destroyed public properties, the set back on educational development of the pupils, the lost of investments opportunities due to insecurity and anarchy, the polarization of urban local governments like Kaduna North and Kaduna South local governments into ethnic and religious divide impacts negatively on the much desired peace, unity and progress at the local government level and the state at large.

In view of the above and arising from the findings of this study, it becomes imperative that some incidental beneficiaries of these conflicts like the political elites that are either in or out of power as well as those amongst these elites who are indigenes of the state residing within or outside the state, should guard against negative tendencies that creates divisions among people for their selfish and unpatriotic interests. Also, the economic elites that gain from the patronage of contracts and profits from supplies of goods and services, which have been found to constitute major problem to the peaceful co – existence of the people at the grassroots level should guard against negative tendencies. The religious/community leaders who always clamour for recognition by the government at all levels are part of the major problem in ethnic and religious conflict at the local government level as they are always requested to come out and quell tension and the breakdown of the law and order. The unemployed youths are yet another army that inflamed the embers of violent conflicts across the state. This is because they derive benefit through looting, arson and stealing of individual and public properties.

On the basis of the findings from this study, it becomes imperative that some durable solutions should be recommended on how to foster

a peaceful and harmonious co-existence among the people of Kaduna state in order to promote and bring about the much needed human and infrastructural development at the local government level in the state in particular and Nigeria in general. Consequently, the following recommendations are geared towards this direction.

6.3 Recommendations

Ethno – religious conflict, undoubtedly, constitutes a great impediment to the peace, stability and development of a nation. At the local government level, it brought about underdevelopment and retrogression in human, financial and infrastructural development. Therefore, to manage and prevent the incessant violent ethno – religious conflict at the local government level in Nigeria and Kaduna state in particular, the following suggestions are recommended:

Political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non – governmental organization should be united with the aspirations of promoting peace and development among the various ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna state.

There should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities as well as infrastructural development in the local governments in Kaduna state.

Security agencies and apparatus should be well equipped with modern warfare gadgets, techniques and be given up to date training on how to quell and manage social conflicts of such magnitude and as well to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibility of promoting peace and security in the local governments of Kaduna state.

Recruitments and appointments into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the local governments in the state.

The local governments should build a culture of tolerance, trust and love among it citizens through dialogue, workshops, and conferences in inter – ethnic and inter – religious relations.

Poverty and ignorance should be tackled head on through the creation of job opportunities for the unemployed youths. There should be intense enlightenment campaign on the need to live and let live through tolerance and harmonious co – existence.

The rule of law should be upheld by ensuring that all the perpetrators and those that are adjudge to have flame the embers of violent conflicts are punish accordingly;

Finally, it is also recommended that further studies should be made on the advent and activities of groups like boko haram, Movement for the Actualization of Biafra (MASSOB), Odudua Peoples Congress (OPC) etc

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APPENDIX

Dear Sir/Madam,

QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a Postgraduate Student in the Department of Local Government Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria currently working on a research entitled **" Effect of Ethno-Religious Conflict on the Development of Local Governments : a study of Zangon Kataf local governments in Kaduna State".** Kindly tick the appropriate space representing the answers to each of the items in the questions below you think best describe your idea on ethnic and religious conflict and its effects the development of Local Governments in Kaduna State.

I wish to assure you that all information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for the purpose of the research.

Thank you.

UMAR MOHAMMAD MUSTAPHA
P13ADLG8001

Note: Please tick or fill as appropriate

SECTION A: Personal Date

1. **Sex**
   a. Male [ ]
   b. Female [ ]

2. **Marital Status**
   a. Married [ ]
   b. Single [ ]
   c. Divorce [ ]
   d. Widow [ ]
   e. Separated [ ]

3. **Age Distribution**
   a. 15 – 20 years [ ]
   b. 20 – 25 years [ ]
   c. 25 – 30 year [ ]
   d. 30 – 35 years [ ]
   e. 35 years and above [ ]

4. **Educational Qualification**
   a. Diploma/NCE [ ]
   b. HND/First Degree [ ]
   c. Postgraduate Degree [ ]
   d. Professional [ ]
   e. Others [ ]

5. **Occupation**
   a. Local Government Functionary/Public Servant [ ]
   b. Politician [ ]
   c. Traditional Ruler [ ]
   d. Community/Religious Leader [ ]

e. Retired Military Personnel [ ]
f. member of a youth organization [ ]
g. Unemployed [ ]

6. **LGA**
   a. Kaduna North [ ]
   b. Zaria [ ]
   c. Jamma'a [ ]

Instruction: Kindly tick ( ) in the appropriate space your response to each question.

Key to questions:

U - Undecided
SD - Strongly Disagree
D - Disagree
A - Agree
SA - Strongly Agree

SECTION B: Effects of Ethno-Religious Conflicts at the Local Government Level in Kaduna State

S/N		U	SD	D	A	SA
1.	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded educational development at the Local Government level in the State.					
2.	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has retarded infrastructural development in the state.					
3.	The series of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state has negatively affected investment profile at the Local Government level in the state.					
4.	The polarization of the state into ethnic and religious divide undermines the much needed unity, peace and progress at the Local Government at the Local Government level in the state.					
5.	The series of ethno-religious conflicts at the Local Government Level in Kaduna state has heightened tension, suspicion and marginalization among the people of the state.					
6.	The tension, suspicion and marginalization at the Local Government level in Kaduna State has undermine the peaceful and social co-existence among the people of the state.					

SECTION D: Conflict Management Mechanisms at the Local Government Level in Kaduna State

S/N		U	SD	D	A	SA
1.	Political leaders, traditional rulers, community and religious leaders, youth organizations and non-governmental organizations should be united with the aspiration of promoting peace and development among the various ethno-religious groups in Kaduna State.					
2.	There should be fairness and equity in the establishment and distribution of social amenities and infrastructural development in the Local Governments in Kaduna State.					
3.	Security agencies and apparatus should be equipped, trained and retrained in order to enhance their ability in discharging their duties and responsibilities of promoting peace and security in the Local Governments of Kaduna State.					
4.	Recruitment and appointment into government offices and parastatals at all levels should reflect the geographical spread of the Local Governments in the State.					

APPENDIX II: SERIES OF ETHNO RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN NIGERIA

Date	Location	Principal Actors
May, 1980	Zaria (Kaduna State)	Disturbances in Zaria during which property belonging to mainly Christians were destroyed.
Dec. 18-19, 1980	Yan-Awaki in Kano (Kano State)	Riots by Maitatsine sect, 4,177 people died, extensive destructive of properties.
Oct. 30, 1987	Bullumkutu Maiduguri (Borno State)	KalaKato and Maitatsine sects. 118 people died, extensive damage to property.
Feb. 27-Mar. 5, 1984.	Dobeli ward, Jimeta-Yola (Gongola State)	Maitatsine sect, 586 died, extensive destruction of property.
April 26-28, 1985.	Pantami ward, Gombe (Bauchi State)	Maitatsine sect, 105 died, extensive destruction of property.
March, 1986	Ilorin (Kwara State)	Muslim and Christian clashed during a procession at Easter.
May, 1986	Ibadan, University of Ibadan (Oyo State)	Demonstration by Muslims in which they burnt the figure of the Risen Christ in the Chapel of Resurrection, University of Ibadan.
March, 1987	(a) Kafanchan (Kaduna State)	Clashes between Muslims and Christians at the College of Education, Kafanchan… Loss of some lives and the burning of some Mosques by Christian and Natives Kajes.
	(b) Katsina, Funtua,	Wave of religious riots in which

	Zaria and Kaduna (Kaduna State)	Muslims burnt down numerous Church buildings, and damaged property belong to Christians. Many lives were lost.
Feb., 1988	Kaduna, Kaduna Polytechnic, Kaduna	Religious riots, ostensibly among students, destroyed the foundation walls of Christian chapel.
April, 1991	(a) Katsina (Katsina State)	Religious violence spearheaded by Mallam Yahaya Yakubu leader of the fundamentalist Shiites sect in Katsina. It was to protest over a blasphemous publication in Fun Times. Several lives were lost and property destroyed.
	(b) Tafawa Balewa (Bauchi State)	Started as a quarrel between a Fulani man and a Sayawa meat seller in Tafawa Balewa. Escalated into a full blown violence and later took the colouring of religious war in Bauchi. Several lives were lost and property valued over hundreds of millions of Naira was destroyed.
Oct., 1991	Kano (Kano State)	A peaceful procession initiated by the Izala sect to halt Rev. Reirihard Bonke from having a crusade in Kano, later degenerated into very bloody religious violence. Thousand of lives were lost and property valued at millions of Naira was destroyed.
May, 1992	Zangon Kataf, Zaria, Kaduna, Ikara (Kaduna State)	A communal feud between the Katafs and the Hausas later took the dimension of inter-religious war in cities of Kaduna State. Several lives and property were destroyed.
Jan., 1993	Funtua (Katsina State)	The Kalakato religious sect assassination of the village head and burnt down a police vehicle, lives and properties were also lost.
Feb., 2000	Kaduna	Conflict engulfed the city between

		Christians and Muslims over the implementation of Sharia Law. Thousands of lives and properties worth millions were destroyed.

***Source**: Elaigwu, J.I. (1993). The Shadow of Religion on Nigerian Federalism: 1960-93 (NCIR Monograph Series No. 2, 1993). In Gofwan, R.I. Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building. The Throes of Two Decades, 1980-2000.*