Political Leadership, Religion and National Security in Nigeria

Political Leadership, Religion and National Security in Nigeria:

Examining Ethno-Religious Conflicts

By

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and Julius Onwuemeusa Ogbobe

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This research is dedicated to God Almighty who has seen me through the period of this programme.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

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The connection between political leadership, religion and national security is well emphasized, in this book. In *Political Leadership, Religion, and National Security in Nigeria: An Examination of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis 1980–2016*, the authors tackle one of the complexities of Nigeria, namely, non-religious conflict. In this book, through a close analysis of the Kaduna Metropolis, the authors try to bring out the interconnectivity of leadership systems, religious beliefs, and the quest for national security. Analysis of this multifaceted interaction offers a timely and critical perspective to the overall investigation of the origins of violence and strategies for enduring peace.

Margaret Aladi Shaibu, PhD, a scholar of military history, and Julius Onwuemeusa Ogbobe, an expert in leadership and strategic studies, lend their well-seasoned academic and practical scholarship to this exploration. Both authors work at Nigeria's premier learning institution, the Nigerian Defence Academy; their efforts in the study of leadership and management and conflict transformation have placed them in the spotlight. It is clear from this book that both authors have dedicated most of their efforts towards enhancing knowledge and proffering solutions to the insecurity within Nigeria. From years of work and research based on the topic, their insights should provide readers with a nuanced understanding of the subject and foster productive discussion on how human beings can unite for a better tomorrow.

Ethno-religious crises have strongly characterized Nigeria's socio-political landscape, especially in the Kaduna Metropolis. The ethnic and religious conflicts within this region, which have been recurring for a long time, not only bring loss of lives and property but harm to the unity and stability of the nation. These conflicts, rooted in a system of colonialism with a policy of divide and rule, are a result of socioeconomic factors and the politicization of religion. The combination of these circumstances puts society in a volatile state where religious and political affiliations are instrumentalized for the profiteering of specific individuals or groups, aggravating existing cleavages.

Thus, the conflicts in Kaduna, primarily a microcosm of Nigeria's social relations, are even more critical. Since the pre-independent period up to the present, the region has experienced phases of conflict because of political stakes, accommodation and supremacy struggles, and ethnic and social marginalizations. These tensions have eroded governance, created friction between different faiths, and posed significant problems for sustainable national stability and growth.

For this purpose, there is no better example than the contribution of this scholarly research. By studying the ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna Metropolis between 1980 and 2016, the authors do something good regarding the nature of separation and reconciliation. Researching specific cases provides a historical and practical understanding of political and religious leaders and their mediating functions in conflicts and reconciliation processes.

In its current form, this book is a must-read for policymakers, researchers, and practitioners in peacebuilding. In so doing, it emphasizes the importance of making efforts that are both original and consistently informed and directly applied in practice as required by the underlying conditions of conflict. With this line of reasoning, underscoring equity, tolerance, and cooperation as the essence of dialogue, this work ushers in an upbeat track for finding a way out of the formidable issues around ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria and other parts of the world.

This book reflects that the authors deeply understand the dynamics of political leadership, religion, and national security. In six coherent chapters, the authors lead the audience through an informative discovery of the background, consequences, and solutions to the ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis, an area emblematic of the Nigerian state.

Chapter One lays down the premise by defining the primary purpose and focus of the study, alongside the research approach and clear definitions of religion, ethnicity, and national security. The amount of coverage and the detail used in this chapter is a testament to the authors' dedication to comprehensively exploring the topic. Hence, by locating the research within Nigeria's socio-political context, the chapter encourages the reader to ponder why these perennial issues have defined Nigeria.

Thus, the second chapter provides a broad literature review and theoretical framework to advance an understanding of ethno-religious conflicts. Drawing from a conflict theory perspective that links political, economic, and religious aspects, the authors provide a balanced approach to leadership for constructing peace. This enriches the work theoretically and adds to its significance as a critical source for addressing these emerging concerns.

In the third chapter of the book, the authors go straight to the main subject of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna. Analyzing historical and contemporary examples, the authors define the main precursors, such as socioeconomic injustice, political exclusion, and cultural differences. The authors review the actions taken by political and religious figures to regulate these clashes and evaluate the suitability of these approaches. It would be fair to say that this analysis is comprehensive and balanced and that its conclusions seem applicable on almost any level far beyond Kaduna.

The fourth chapter analyses these conflicts' effects on Kaduna's socioeconomic and political life. The authors show how these conflicts interrupt service delivery, worsen poverty, and compromise governance systems. The study does not stop at stressing material effects; it also surveys psychological damage and the decay of community trust, emphasizing the long-term implications for national cohesion and security. These outcomes compel readers to recognize the urgent need to seek lasting and practical solutions to such problems.

Hope is seen in the fifth chapter, which provides an account of the creation of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kaduna. Driven by visionary leaders and seeking the cooperation of other stakeholders, this exemplifies the concept of dialogue and cooperation. The authors describe how the centre has adopted new strategies in the field, including interfaith dialogues and grassroots peacebuilding. This primarily concerns the roles of Rev. James Movel Wuye and Imam Mohammed Ashafa, where their leadership is recognized as significant in understanding the change agenda, given

proactivity and inclusion. This chapter also provides a model for repeating such practices in other areas experiencing similar issues.

The book ends with a chapter that integrates the research study conclusions and proposes directions for future research. The authors promote inclusive leadership, equitable governance, and sustained investment in education alongside interfaith dialogue. Their proposals are practical and visionary, indicating that they comprehend the structural causes of hostility. This conclusion is a solid appeal for action by current and future leaders, decision-makers, voters, and taxpayers to create a society in which peace and prosperity prevail.

What sets this work apart is the method used: the combination of primary research through interviews and questionnaires with extensive secondary research. As might be expected, the authors have done well in presenting several dynamics to readers in terms that are easy to understand and apply. The book bridges theory and practice by discussing capacity development needs among religious leaders and the necessity of mediation training, offering practical recommendations alongside critical analysis.

The IMC, therefore, stands as a perfect example of interfaith peacebuilding, as inter-religious conflicts continue to occur frequently. The centre was started in 2015 in Kaduna City, Nigeria; its founding is a symbol of political and socio-religious leaders' commitment to depart from the history of mutually destructive hatred among the groups in the region. Aimed at initiating dialogue, strengthening trust, addressing the actual conflicts, and working to eliminate them, the IMC has become a significant agent of reconciled peace.

The soul of the centre is the hardworking Reverend James Movel Wuye and Imam Mohammed Ashafa. These people were once enemies to one another, especially in Kaduna's religiously sensitive environment; their coming together as advocates of peace is inspiring. To this end, the IMC has led efforts to implement activities such as dialogue forums, training community elders in mediation, and village-based change-making projects. They have been able to mobilize several groups of people and build trust among the communities, thus helping to reduce hostility between different groups.

From the successes of the IMC, it is clear that cooperation and the ability to put aside differences in pursuit of a common goal led to positive change. This supports the belief that when a society chooses visionary leadership

supported by the people's determination, lasting peace can be achieved and sustained.

This book is, therefore, a very significant work in making sense of political leadership, religion, and national security in Nigeria. Being a detailed investigation of the ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis, it not only provides a historical perspective on the modern Nigerian state but also offers a way forward for reconciling divided societies. In its entirety, the authors let the readers examine the difficulties and possibilities of a pluralistic country in search of unity and diversity.

Looking at the value of this work, I am impressed by the approach combining rigorous academic inquiry with practical relevance. That is why it makes people think about pressing problems while simultaneously provoking a desire for change. The themes of resilience, collaboration, and visionary leadership presented herein also provide us with the notion that peace and reconciliation are not flawless flights of thought but products of purposeful resolution and inclusive dialogue.

Without any reservations, I recommend the book to all academics, policymakers, as well as practitioners in the field of peacebuilding. Knowledge from the analysis will interest those who want to know why conflict occurs, and its suggestions will provide a map for action. I truly pray that this work generates discussion, informs planning, and promotes actions toward a better-integrated Nigeria.

PREFACE

This book has analyzed issues regarding political leadership, religion and national security in Nigeria by examining ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis from 1980-2016. The study was aimed at assessing roles played by political leadership and religion in the resolution of ethno-religious conflicts for national security. The specific objectives were to analyze the remote and immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis and discuss the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on the socio economic and political development of the state. The study analyzed how recurring ethno-religious conflicts had impacted on national security. It examined the role political and religious leaders played in conflict resolution and peace building, identified the capacity gaps religious leaders have in the dispensation of their roles in conflict resolution and peace building, revealed how the training received by religious leaders had enhanced their conflict resolution and peace building skill and unveiled the perception of religious leaders by the followers. This study also pointed out efforts made by Kaduna State Government and Religious Leaders at proffering solution to persistent ethno-religious conflicts by establishing the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kaduna in 2015. The methodology of this study has adopted both primary and secondary sources in form of oral accounts through interviews, official documents, books, journals, unpublished works and conference papers. The study employed survey design of the mixed method research as the research design. Data were collected through the use of questionnaire and interviews from focused groups and communities with vast and in-depth knowledge on the subject matter. Data were generated from both primary and secondary sources and collated, coded and analyzed, using the four Likert interval scale and the descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation. The findings of the study revealed how religious leaders in Kaduna Metropolis carried out the peace-building mandate as a result of moral conviction from their faith, as opposed to a desire for financial gain. They were also involved in outreaches designed to encourage a change in the attitude of their followers towards people from other faith and facilitated inter-faith dialogue that had fostered tolerance among their adherents. That was what informed the establishment of Interfaith Mediation Centre in 2015.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Since the attainment of independence in 1960, Nigeria has experienced crisis of ethnic and religious coloration a common phenomenon across the country especially in the 1980s and 1990s. It is pertinent to note that the economic crisis of the 1980s which led to the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) worsened the socio-economic conditions of the people in Nigeria as the level of poverty increased. According to Ahmed, "the Structural Adjustment Programme of the General Ibrahim Babangida regime (1985-1993) created such a severe socio-economic maladjustment that in Kaduna there were loss of jobs, phenomenal rise in inflation, skyrocketing cost of education and healthcare deliveries and general insecurity that the people as microcosm of the entire country expressed their frustration and anger in conflicts and internal crises".[1] Kaduna Metropolis had witnessed series of ethno-religious conflicts such as the Kafanchan conflicts in 1987 the Zangon Kataf conflicts in 1992, both with devastating consequences on lives and property. Thus, the state became a crisis-prone environment with high level of insecurity.

Abdu points out that,

> the economic crisis of the 1980s which led to the introduction of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) worsened the social conditions of the people in Nigeria as the level of poverty increased. Hence, in order to diffuse the tension created by SAP, people easily take recourse to ethnic and religious conflicts in order to ventilate their heated economic conditions.[2]

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[1] AO Ahmed, Maintenance of Security and Good Governance in Kaduna State: An Assessment of the Period 1999 to 2005, in Ubah C N, Dogo B and Alabi DO (eds), *Studies On Kaduna State*, Kaduna, Pyla-Mak Publishers. 2008:50.

[2] Abdu, H, and Umar, L. 'Hope Betrayed: A report on impunity and state- sponsored violence in Nigeria'. World Organization Against Torture (OMCT) publications. 2002.

Ibrahim asserts that the frequency of these ethnic and religious crises is buttressed by their surging number in different parts of the country as experienced since the 1980s. As a result of the damaging effects of these conflicts on society, political stability has often eluded the firm grip of the polity.[3] Instead, social upheavals have become deep-rooted in the social life of the people, who, apart from distancing themselves from national aspirations, according to Tanko have often "retreated back to their ethnic, religious and sectional enclaves, emphasizing primordial interests and loyalties as the basis for their social and political mobilization and organization".[4] This attitude has deepened suspicion among the Nigerian populace, thus, creating cracks in the efforts of the country towards national integration. The persistence in ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis between 1980s and early 2000, in terms of the frequency of these conflicts in the State posed a lot of concern amongst political and religious leaders in the state and Nigeria at large.

This study has analyzed the problem posed by frequent ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna metropolis with particular reference to the ethno-religious conflicts from 1980-2016. This work provided answers to the following questions: What were the remote and immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis and its impact on socio-economic and political development of the state? How has the recurring ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna metropolis affected state and national security? What roles did Kaduna State government and religious leaders play in resolving ethno-religious conflicts? What modalities have been put in place by political and religious leaders in ensuring harmonious and peaceful coexistence amongst Muslims and Christians? To this end, the book is divided into six chapters. Chapter One is the introduction, Chapter Two reviewed related literature, Chapter Three assessed the remote and immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna metropolis and measures taken by political leaders and religious leaders in resolving the conflicts. Chapter Four analyzed the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on Kaduna metropolis. Chapter Five discussed the establishment of Interfaith Mediation Center and the resolution to ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna

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[3] Ibrahim FO, A Case Study of the 2001 Crises in Kano State, in *Crises and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980, Vol. I, Causes and Dimensions of Conflict*, (eds) A.M. Yakubu, R.T. Adegboye, C.N. Ubah, B. Dogo: Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna, 2005: 317.

[4] Tanko P B, Ethnicity, Religion and Survival of Democracy in Nigeria in Alemika EEO and Okoye F (eds)., *Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Democracy in Nigeria*, Kaduna, Human Rights Monitor 2002: 216.

Metropolis. Chapter Six concludes with summary and recommendations. Nigeria is currently dealing with persistent conflicts, insurgency, kidnapping, banditry, corruption, and numerous acts of religious violence. Among other things, religion is one of the primary drivers of the problem in Nigeria. Despite the efforts of governments to put an end to persistent conflicts, violence and intolerance dividing the nation remained unabated. The incessant religious conflicts according to Egbe, have a detrimental impact on inter-religious relations in a pluralistic religious state like Nigeria.[5]

Since the beginning of the 1980s, ethno-religious conflicts have intensified in most parts of Nigeria, the recurring nature of these conflicts have devastating consequences on lives and property in affected states across the country and the nation at large.

According to Imobighe, Nigeria recorded not less than forty violent communal and ethnic conflicts within the first three years of the advent of the present civilian administration. Within this period, the conflicts have manifested in the following ways: ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts (sectarian violence), land disputes, disputes over farmlands and grazing areas, political thuggery, border disputes and Indigene /settler question.[6]

According to Adedeji, the various ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna state have a historical and cultural context which must be fully comprehended in order to appreciate the contemporary developments in the state and that without fully understanding the historical and social processes that gave rise to these conflicts, their management becomes rather extremely difficult if not impossible. This point is stressed in its African context by Adedeji.

> Conflicts can only be mastered if and when they are fully comprehended. This means that we must accept as axiomatic the proposition that until the root causes of conflicts have been fully comprehended and addressed, they cannot be mastered and the mastery of conflict is imperative to achieving lasting peace and good governance in any country.[7]

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[5] Egbe, N, The Role of 'Religious Leaders in Conflict Resolution in Nigeria'. Peace and Change (4) 2011.:556-380.

[6] Imobighe T A Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: An Overview in T A in Imobighe (ed.), *Civil Society and Ethnic Conflicts Management in Nigeria*, Ibadan, Spectrum,2003: 13-35.

[7] Adedeji A, Comprehending African Conflicts' in Adedeji, A.(ed.) Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: A Search for Sustainable Peace and Good Governance, London: Zed Books. 1999: 2.

For the purpose of this research work, the focus of this study is on ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna metropolis and the roles of political and religious leaders in the resolution of these conflicts. Majority of the violence was brought on by theological crises, intolerance between various religious groups or faiths, ignorance, power struggles, and monopolies—the possession of complete knowledge about God. Lawal states that, "One could question why there is religious conflict or violence against one another when all the religions practiced in Nigeria promote peace, harmony, tolerance, patience, understanding, good neighborliness, and even the concept of "live and let others live."[8]

In Kaduna State, religious leaders are crucial in resolving conflicts within communities. As protectors of religious law, they handle the majority of cases involving violence, whether it is from political, domestic, or antisocial behavior. However, as Igbokwe points out, "it appears that they lack the knowledge and experience necessary to put an end to violence and deal with it effectively".[9] The primary objective of the religious ethics system, which is supervised by religious leaders in Kaduna state, Nigeria, and across the nation, is to restore harmony and peace across society. This is achieved through mediating disputes between disputants and their respective supporters. It has been observed that the fundamental tenet of the religious adjudication system is harmony restoration or reconciliation. It is against this background that this study was conducted. Ethno-religious conflicts intensified in Kaduna state from the early 1980s.

In a broader context, several groups in Nigeria have evoked the mobilization of ethno-religious, regional and multiple identities as vital in the struggle.

Ibrahim asserts that, playing the political game this way has now taken center stage in the process of political mobilization as well as marginalization. In recent times conflicts have been assuming an additional dimension of Christian versus Muslim dichotomy to the exclusion of other identities.[10] In reality, the Kafanchan crisis of 1987 was a major departure from previous conflicts. It initially did spring from an angle of ethno-religious clash, but it soon escalated in short period into religious conflict

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[8] Lawal M. 'Religion, Dialogue, and Non-Violent Actions in Palestinian-Israeli Conflict'. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 17(3) 2004: 491–511.

[9] Igbokwe C, quoted in *African Scholar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (JHSS-6) Vol.21 No.6.2021.: 28.

[10] Ibrahim J, quoted in T. K. Toure, *Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State*, Kaduna, Human Rights Monitor, 2003: 74.

engulfing most parts of Kaduna State. Incessant killing and wanton destruction on lives and property, especially the rate at which places of worship were burnt down increased the level of insecurity in Kaduna metropolis. Some sections of the press with so many distortions and incisive statements have aggravated ethno-religious violence in the state.

On 6 March 1987, another case of widespread ethno-religious conflict occurred between Muslim and Christian students of the College of Education, Kafanchan. It was sparked by what was considered denigrated remarks by some of the students that were incisive. It escalated beyond the college into full inter –ethno-religious violent confrontation between the Muslims (largely Hausa) and the Christians (predominantly non-Hausa). According to The Report of The Government of Kaduna State, the conflict spread across Kaduna, Zaria and other parts of the state. Casualties were on both sides as both churches and mosques were set ablaze, hotels and bars were destroyed and there were carnage of private property.[11]

This study has pointed out on government's responses to violent outbursts of ethno-religious discontentment in Southern Kaduna. In the wake of the Kafanchan crisis of March 1987, the Kaduna State Government set up a six –member committee to identify the remote and immediate causes of the crisis, assess the extent of damage engendered by the rioting, identify the key culprits and make appropriate recommendations to the State Government. In similar vein, Government responses to February and May 1992 disturbances in Zango Kataf have followed the pattern of official reactions to the initial Kafanchan crisis. The Kaduna State Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the Zango Kataf conflicts, Headed by Justice Rahila H Cudjoe, the Commission had the following terms of reference: Inquire into, investigate and identify the remote and immediate causes of the conflicts. Details are discussed in subsequent chapters. Also see the appendix.

Almost no war or battle has ever taken place without ramifications for ideology or religion. Acts of religious violence and hatred have become more frequent and intense, which is concerning since it poses a serious threat to world peace and peaceful cooperation. No civilization has been spared the tragedy of intolerance and prejudice based on religion or belief, and these manifestations come in different forms and are not limited to a particular religion or believe. While too often, the concerns is that to leave

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[11] The Report of The Government of Kaduna State stated in T K Toure, *Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna State*, Kaduna, Human Rights Monitor, 2003: 76.

religion or belief unchecked without adequate state control will result in the existence of religions that are dangerous to both state and citizens, history reminds us that the higher the degree to which government and societies ensure religious freedom for all, the less violent religious persecution and conflict along religious lines there will be.

Though sometimes exaggerated, religion has a role in violent conflict in many regions of the world. This is widely acknowledged and well-documented. Usually ignored and not taken seriously, which results in widespread murder and wanton destruction of property. Ethno-religious conflicts have negatively affected the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. These conflicts have negative impacts on the country's national security, stability, and integration. The manipulation of religion and ethnicity by religious and ethnic leaders, have been a significant obstacle to the country's efforts towards attaining greater height. Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have become major boundaries that create divisions among people. Ethnicity and religion have also become tools for mobilization and manipulation in Nigeria. There has been frequent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes which have posed significant security challenges in Nigeria. The long protracted ethno-religious conflict leads to the destruction of lives and properties. Consequently, the conflicts left several people wounded and several thousand people displaced from their homelands. In other words, the ethno-religious conflict has led to the loss of human lives and capital; this is why this study needs attention. The violence between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria over the years has claimed tens of thousands of lives. The recurring ethno-religious conflicts have negative impact on national security

Hence, ethno-religious conflicts have become a common feature in Kaduna. As a result, there have been calls to ascertain the effectiveness of the roles of political and religious leadership in resolving conflicts.

Many community development projects have suffered stagnation or complete failure due to conflict resulting mostly from internal disputes within the rural communities. The cost of inability by communities to manage disputes contributes to underdevelopment and poverty. One key factor that has been associated with successful project implementation and sustained development is peace. Peace building therefore becomes an integral part of development process in any given society and the need for vibrant political and religious leadership in conflict resolution becomes essential. These are the gaps that this study intends to fill by contributing to knowledge on resolution to ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis.

Therefore, this study has examined the role of both political and religious leaders in promoting harmonious coexistence.

Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated to guide the research effort:

- What were the remote and immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis?
- What were the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on the socio-economic and political development of the state?
- How has the recurring conflicts affected state and national security?
- How can ethno-religious conflicts be decreased on their continuous occurrence
- What roles did political and religious leaders play in conflict resolution and peace building processes?
- What capacity gaps did religious leaders have in the dispensation of their roles in conflict resolution and peace building?
- What training was received by religious leaders to enhance their conflict resolution and peace building skills?
- How were religious leaders perceived by their followers?

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine the role of political leadership on religion and national security in Nigeria: A Study of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis 1980-2016

The main objective of this study is to examine the role of political and religious leaders in promoting harmonious coexistence. The specific objectives are as follows:

- To examine first the remote and immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis.
- To discuss the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on the socio economic and political development of the state?
- To Analyze how recurring ethno-religious conflicts had impacted on national security.
- To examine the role political and religious leaders played in conflict resolution and peace building.

- To identify the capacity gaps religious leaders have in the dispensation of their roles in conflict resolution and peace building.
- To find out how the training received by religious leaders had enhanced their conflict resolution and peace building skills.
- To examine the perception of religious leaders by the followers
- To point out efforts made by Kaduna State Government and Religious Leaders at proffering solution to persistent ethno-religious conflicts by establishing the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kaduna in 2015.

Significance of the Study

The study brought to bear some perspectives on the role of political and religious leaders in promoting harmonious coexistence in Kaduna metropolis. This study has academic, political and social significance.

The social significance of the study captured the role of religious leaders in conflict resolution and peace building in rural communities in Kaduna State as well as identified the capacity gaps religious leaders have in the dispensation of their roles in conflict resolution and peace building and the training received by religious leaders to enhance their conflict resolution and peace building skills.

Hence, the study would be beneficial to indigenes of Kaduna State as well as government. The research is equally significant because it would enhance knowledge in the area of peace building. As such the study will be a good reference material as well as a springboard for further research by incoming students and private researchers.

The content scope of this study involves the analysis of the remote and immediate causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis from 1980 when incessant conflicts occurred to the period when the establishment of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in 2015 provided the avenue and set the stage for peace talks and resolution to conflicts. This was actualized as from 2016 onward. This study examined the roles played by political and religious leaders in promoting harmonious coexistence through conflict resolution and peace building in various communities in Kaduna metropolis. This study has brought to limelight the activities of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in collaboration with the Kaduna State Government at the time. The study equally assessed the influence of the political climate in conflict resolution and peace building processes in rural communities. The study is limited in the subject matter, it is not a study of the history of Nigeria

between 1980 and 2016. Rather, it is limited to that aspect of it which deals with important issues on 'Political Leadership, Religion and National Security in Nigeria: A Study of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis 1980-2016'. This period of study has touched on when there were wanton and incessant ethno- religious conflicts in Kaduna Metropolis that necessitated the establishment of the Interfaith Mediation Centre's intervention and activities for peaceful coexistence between the Muslims and Christians in the State. The non-availability of some key *dramatis personae* have placed limitations on efforts at conducting interviews in certain locations, however interviews were conducted mostly within a few communities in Kaduna Metropolis. In spite of these limitations questionnaires were issued out and we had prompt response from numerous respondents. Relevant primary source archival materials and documents were gathered from National Archives Kaduna and Arewa House Centre for Research, Historical Documentation and Archives added value to the originality of the work. However, the limitations experienced in the course of this research did not alter free flow of analysis of data and conclusions on this Thesis.

Methodology of the Study

This study has adopted both primary and secondary sources. There are three main methods through which primary source materials were collected, they include: archival materials, survey method, interviews, focus interviews amongst others. The data was gathered with care, this was to ensure the validity of the sources. The selection of the method of research was based on the relevance of the methodology and research sample that was applied. Hence, questionnaires were given out in the course of this study.

The questionnaire was carefully designed with particular focus on the presentation of the instrument and format. The front page of the questionnaire contained the introduction by the researcher and it consists of the purpose for which the research was carried out. The nature of the questions asked in the questionnaire determines on the entire data gathered. For the purpose of this research and study, close questions also called closed ended questions which were self -generated by the researcher were asked in order to gather necessary information from the respondent. The Approach adopted for this study was the survey research design. This method was used in order to facilitate the effective gathering of data through sampling of a small size of the population and generalizing the findings on the entire population. This method is considered appropriate for an academic study

like this because it help the researcher to easily generalize the findings obtained from the sample size to entire population, thereby saving the time to study larger population before generalizing as obtainable in other method such as descriptive design. Data were presented in tables simply constructed in rows and columns to facilitate the presentation of Frequency percentage and frequency count. This method was used to determine the responses of the respondents on the items in the questionnaire. Tables were used to summarize the frequencies and the percentages. The researcher adopted the simple percentage method to analyze data obtained from the field.

Hence, available data were presented using tables simply constructed in rows and columns to facilitate the presentation of Frequency count and simple percentage. This method was used to determine the responses of the respondents on the items in the questionnaire. Tables were used to summarize the frequencies and the percentages.

Relevant primary source and archival materials and documents in both hard and soft copies were accessed from National Archives Kaduna and Arewa House Centre for Research, Historical Documentation and Archives. Secondary sources in form of books, journals and documents and online sources were accessed and used in the course of this study.

Conceptual Clarification

Some concepts have been used repeatedly in this study. They need to be clarified and shown in the perspectives in which they are used in this study.

Religion

Religion according to Abu-Nimer is an organized system of behaviors, beliefs, and systems that are typically associated with the belief in and worship of a supreme entity, such as a personal deity or another creature.[12] Religion can include a variety of activities, such as sermons, rituals, prayer, meditation, holy locations, symbols, trances, feasts, and cultural ideas, worldviews, scriptures, prophecies, revelations, and morality that have spiritual significance for followers of the particular faith. The four primary principles of religion are belief, mythology, practice, and organization.

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[12] Abu-Nimer, M. 'Conflict Resolution, Culture, and Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peace-building'. *Journal of Peace Research* 38(6)2001: 685–704.

The first item on the list is belief, which is the collection of principles and concept that a particular religion recognizes as true. Religion is therefore a belief system which binds people to a supreme being. It is the service or worship of God or the supernatural. It is the relationship between God and man. Religion is value based. People who believe in a religion are usually emotionally attached to it and less tolerant of any attack upon it.

Iji agrees with this assertion when he wrote that "religion is one of the most emotive phenomenon. It is an issue of identity which is about solidarity and setting of boundaries between those who are considered to be believers and those that are not. This deals also with the "issues of sentiments, feelings and norms that maybe a result of shared experiences".[13]

Nowadays, it is typical to view religion as a taxonomic classification for collections of social behaviors. The so-called "world" religions—Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism— serve as prime instances of this category-concept. Forms of life that are widespread to a region or a population but have not been given names by practitioners or observers may be just as archetypal, if more difficult to categorize. As an illustration, consider the religions of China, ancient Rome, the Yoruba, and the Cherokee people. To put it briefly, the idea is currently applied to a class of multi-member social groupings, of which there are numerous tokens.

However, the term "religion" did not initially apply to a social genus. The concept's extent has changed over time, threatening to become incoherent, since its initial allusions did not refer to social sorts. Paul Griffiths observes that hearing the conversations around the idea of religion.

Religion has been defined in various ways. For instance, it has been described by Abdul as:

> an issue identity which is about solidarity and setting of boundaries between those who are considered to be believers and those that are not. This deals

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[13] Iji, E M. Theoretical Perspectives on Conflicts, in A.M. Yakubu, R.T. Adegboye, C.N, Ubah, B. Dogo, (eds), *Crises and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980, Vol. I, Causes and Dimensions of Conflicts*, Kaduna, published by Nigerian Defence Academy, 2005:83.

with issues of sentiments feelings and norms that may be a result of shared experiences.[14]

Here, religion refers to Islam and Christianity that are professed by the Muslims and the Christians respectively.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity denotes the identification usually attached by a certain group by their peculiar traits such as language, culture, folktales etc. which are summed up into a given nationality. In defining ethnicity, Jakob Rosel sees the term "as groups which see themselves as constituted by the real or imagined bonds of common descent, religion, language, culture or history".[15] Thus, ethnicity implies the perpetuation of nationalism based on language, culture and historical linkages as is obtainable in the present Nigerian state.

Ethnicity explains a group's idea of who they are or how they are perceived by others to be different from others with regards to distinct features in the society. Groups distinguish themselves on the basis of cultural diversity. People are identified by their cultural traits. Ethnicity becomes salient when there is competition for scarce resources, political contest or cooperation

Ethnic group

According to Otite, ethnic groups are categories of people characterized by cultural criteria of symbols including language, value system and normative behavior and whose members are located in a particular part of a new state territory.[16]

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[14] Abdu, H, "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Kaduna: Impact on Women and Children". 20146 Quoted in *African Scholar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (JHSS-6) Vol.21No.6.2021: 280.
[15] Rosel J, "Ethnic Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict" in International Politics and Society, No.2, Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Foundation 1995.p.123. Also quoted in *African Scholar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (JHSS-6) Vol.21No.6.2021: 287.
[16] Otite quoted in Musa M et al., An Appraisal of Ethno-Ethnic Crisis in Nigeria: The Need for Remediation, *African Scholar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (AJHSS -6), Vol.21 No.6, ISSN: 2110-2086, 2021: 287.

Conflict

Conflict according to Mbachu, represents a disharmony, antagonism or hostility in a relation which could arise due to incompatibility of the objectives being pursued or incongruity of the way and means adopted in pursuing the preferred objectives. Conflict is an inevitable fact of social existence.[17] Coser sees conflict as "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources is which the aim of the opponents is to neutralize, injure and eliminate their rivals.[18]

Ethnic Conflict

Ethnic conflict means an instance of dispute based on tribal affiliation or nationalism. Rosel defines ethnic conflicts more concisely when he said:

> Ethnic Conflicts as understood...results from real or perceived ethnic differences, differences which in their turn are enhanced, re- interpreted and politicized with the help of a new and dangerous doctrine - ethnic nationalism.[19]

This nationalism finds expression in ethnic warfare, agitation for ethnic autonomy or recognition and concerted attempt for the preservation of a given ethnic identity.

Ethno-Religious Conflicts

This refers to disputes arising from ethnic and religious differences. Such conflicts are often associated with ethnic or religious sentiments. Thus, the usage of the concept denotes the fact that all crises that have religious and ethnic undertones are ethno-religious conflicts, i.e., either of the two can give way to the other. Ethno-religious conflict according to Salawu, is a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious

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[17] Mbachu O, "Democratization and Conflict in Nigeria", Chapter 4 in Mbachu O and Eze C M (eds.), *Democracy and National Security Issues, Challenges and Prospects*, Kaduna, Medusa Academic Publication.2009.:83-84.
[18] Coser L, *The Functions of Social Conflicts*, New York, Glencoe Hill Press.1956.
[19] Rosel J, "Ethnic Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict" in International Politics and Society, No.2, Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Foundation 1995.p.123. Also quoted in *African Scholar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (JHSS-6) Vol.21No.6. 2021: 287.

society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and the tendency towards violent confrontations.[20]

Instability

Instability connotes a condition of socio-political disequilibrium and dislocation. Instability can appear in the form of civil unrest, war and even disintegration of a political entity. In the context of this chapter, instability manifests itself in form of a condition of fear, uncertainty and violent relations amongst groups resident in a particular location such as a state.

Security

Security is of great concern to all human societies. This is because security impinges on the survival of every human being or society. Without security, the state is bound to experience great difficulty in harnessing its human and material resources towards meaningful development and promotion of general wellbeing of the society.

Security is the state of being secure or free from danger and risk. It is a situation where either an individual, social group or geo-political entity is protected or defended against any form of danger, espionage or attack both internally and externally. In other words, the person or society concerned is provided with safety and protection. It is to Imobighe an absence of those tendencies which could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the state and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people.[21]

While threat to security refers to any act that has the potential of undermining the peace, stability and progress of the state thereby constituting obstacles to the socio-political and material aggregation, the doctrine of security is the articulation of the fundamental principles that govern the management of security which normally flow from the states' ideology or philosophy of public affairs. Although there is a marked difference between national defence doctrines and the management of internal security, the trend is to

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[20] Salawu B, Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Casual Analysis and Proposals for New Management Strat in *European Journal of Social Sciences.* (13)3 2010: 345-353.
[21] Imobighe *Nigeria' s Defence and National Security Linkages: A Framework of Analysis,* Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books Plc. 2003:10.