



Bridging Ethnicity and Religious Divide for Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to examine the various cases of ethnicity and religious violence that have divided Nigerians as a nation and how it can be abridged for a peaceful co-existence using historical methods. It traces reasons for such crises as the merging together of the northern and southern protectorates without taking cognisance of the African people's similarities and dissimilarities in terms of structural constitutions, cultures, language, values system and ethnic make-up, which has been the major cause of the incessant ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. Nigeria, like any multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation, is bound to experience such changes depending on how the inter-faith-based organisations at both local and international levels handle the responsibilities of mediating and reconciling warring groups. If those saddled with such responsibilities are adequately equipped with the knowledge of others' religious traditions, proper interpretation and education of the Books (Bible & Quran) and apply conflict prevention techniques whenever issues of ethno-religious crises arise, it will not always lead to crises. Since all religions preach peace, it is expected that we become more tolerant of each other and see ourselves as God's creation. This work examines the causes of ethnic and religious conflicts as well as their effects on Nigeria as a nation. The recommendations made include embracing the philosophy of inclusiveness as commanded in the scriptures and in the wording of our national anthem, which states, "Thou tribe and tongue may differ, in brotherhood we stand."

Keywords Ethnicity, religious crises, ethnocentrism, co-existence

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Introduction

There has been a phenomenal re-occurrence of ethno-religious conflict across the nation since independence and, to a considerable extent, shaken the bounds of its unity and development, thereby increasing insecurity in Nigeria for a peaceful co-existence. Mbogun (2014), explained that, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country, which is a product of the amalgamation of Nigeria as a nation in 1914. Sowunmi (2017) stated that Nigeria has 36 states with a federal capital in Abuja and about 774 Local Government Areas consisting of 371 ethnic groups in Nigeria, which are Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba speakers with other minority groups. Among these groups, there is the belief that some are superior to others, which results in crises among the various different ethnic groups. The mega-ethnic groups always feel that the minority group should not be seen or heard; hence, Gotan (2004), in support, stated that the major groups exploit the minority groups and use them for their power game.

In any multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society like Nigeria, with different eschatological views and modes of worship, ethno-religious crises are inevitable, depending on how it is managed. Ethno-religious divides are a form of conflict produced on the basis of real or imagined distinction rooted in ethnic and religious identities, lines and lenses. Most political problems take on a religious dimension, manipulated by poverty, illiteracy and ignorance in carrying out their hidden agenda, while some conflicts that are ethnic by nature are often disguised as religious crises. Hence, Umezinwa (2012) succinctly declares that “Nigeria is a mishmash of different ethnic groups, each of which is jostling for recognition and relevance in the political arena.” Each ethnic group has a terrible fear of being dominated by others, and each is crying about political marginalisation and self-government. Despite the fact that the two major religions in Nigeria preach peace (Islam and Christianity), at the slightest violation of our mores or codes, violence erupts. Most crises usually take the form of riots, sabotage,

assassination, armed struggles, guerilla warfare, and secession, among others.

The Christian Holy Bible states in Galatians 3:28-29 that “there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then ye are Abraham's seed...” Also, the Muslim Quran Chapter 49, verse 13 says, “O mankind; we have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another...” The implication of the above quotation is that we are all from one source (God), hence from one father, Abraham, and as a result, brothers and sisters, but unfortunately, ethno-religious polarisation and conflict in Nigeria has divided us from these ethnic values. The rise in ferocity and scope of destruction of lives and poverty due to ethnic division is increasing; there is tension between different ethnic and religious groups. There is an increase in arms proliferation by various groups, armed banditry, and kidnapping, among others, remain a matter of concern that requires urgent attention from concerned Nigerians. Even though we differ in our thinking and understanding of this concept, since God has placed us in a unique religious topography as a nation, there is the need to initiate a social engineering programme that will propagate the principles of tolerance for a peaceful co-existence instead of engaging in ethnoreligious crises which are gradually turning Nigeria into a failed country. Therefore, there is an urgent need to look at the factors that are responsible for such crises and proffer immediate solutions.

Clarification of Concept

Ethnicity: Ethnicity could simply be defined as an ethnic group which held to itself a common ancestry. Umezinwa (2012) defines ethnicity as a social group of people who identify with each other based on a common ancestral homeland. The membership of any ethnic group tends to be associated with shared cultural heritage ancestry,

history, language (dialect) or ideology of the group. The symbolic systems such as religion, attire, and mythology, among others, are what the government use to implement their desired interest. Ethnicity entails the recognition and affinity of a particular group of people with considerable differences, but the fact remains that the elites oftentimes employ ethnic identity as a mechanism to achieve their political and economic agenda, which is detrimental to the gullible and unwary followers. Ethnicity has become so pervasive in Nigeria that it serves as a way of attracting federal resources to suit the interest of a particular region at the expense of the common good of others; hence, ethnicity has become a cog in the wheel of nation-building.

The 2024 Army recruitment exercise has records of some impostors, as reported in the Vanguard Newspaper of January 5 2024, concerning two persons who are Northern seeking recruitment into the Army but with certificates showing they are from Kosofe and Oshodi Local Government Area of Lagos State while in actual fact these persons cannot or understand the Yoruba Language but just wanted to secure a slot under Lagos State because the president is from Lagos State and in some cases some have changed their names to get appointments in the north.

Religious violence: The term religious violence is used to describe a phenomenon where religion is either the subject or object of violent behaviour that is motivated by or in reaction to religious precepts, texts, or doctrines. They often evolve in a way where religion is an integral part of social and cultural life, and in most cases, create sharp distinctions between parties and increase group mobilisation. In the opinion of Wendy (2017), religious violence results when a group of people with a belief or dogma finds it difficult to accommodate the belief and dogma of another group of people, which often results in physical and vocal assaults or cold war but in some cases, religious crises can become a complex phenomenon that engages a combination of contested domains including power, personality, space or place, and group identity.

It is expected that in any human interaction, there is bound to be disagreement, controversy or quarrel between two or more people or groups of people, and when such a disagreement is not resolved or managed, it escalates into hostility and violent action manifest. Also, the intermingling of ethnic and religious identities amidst the primordial idea of common ancestry heritage often sparks off division, segregation, discrimination and conflict. To this extent, religious conflicts can be defined as any disagreement that occurs between adherents of the same or different religious group(s) over incompatible religious interests or contradictory doctrinal issues or values, which is often interpreted in religious terms.

In like manner, Amara (2017) stated that Muslims and Christians have frequently and persistently clashed in Nigeria while the African Traditional religion has lesser records of clashes, but the increasing rate of ethno-religious crises is becoming alarming and making a mockery of the security position of Nigeria despite the huge sum spent on security especially in the Northern Nigeria and middle belt with few cases in the western part of the country.

Ethnocentrism: Ethnocentrism, in simple terms, is the claim that one's own culture is superior to all others, and therefore, it is expected to be the standard by which all other cultures should be measured. The implication of this opinion is that other groups should be evaluated in accordance with the standards and values of one's own ethnic group, especially with the conviction that one's ethnic group is superior to other groups. Ethnocentrism applies to the cultural or ethnic bias in which an individual view the world from the perspective of his or her own group.

Ethnocentrism is also the inability to adequately understand other people's cultures that are different from one's own and therefore judge others by their preferred culture and assert its inherent superiority, thus linking the concept of ethnocentrism to multiple forms of chauvinism

and prejudice, including nationalism, tribalism, racism and even sexism and discrimination. The act of ethnocentrism is becoming a norm in Nigeria, and as a result, whenever there is violence or denial of rights, either political, economic or socio-religious, it can be easily linked to tribal sentiments.

Causes of ethnoreligious conflict: Several reasons have been given by scholars as factors responsible for the re-occurrence of ethnoreligious crises/conflicts in Nigeria, which can be summarised as political, economic, social or ethnic and legal issues but with government undertone. However, these factors are not immune to religious conflicts alone, but they cut across other forms of violence. In 2012, when a joint delegation of both Christians and Muslims met in Abuja, it was generally agreed that “religion, politics and ethnicity are intertwined in Nigeria, and all beclouded with corruption, poverty and insecurity”. The body was an inter-faith-based established institution saddled with the responsibility of reconciliation and mediating among divergent religious groups. One of the conveners, in person of Ajibola George, reported that other causes of religious conflict are marginalisation, poverty, oppression, government influence, uneven distribution of wealth and resources, division in government, nepotism and socio-religious bigotry. As a result, it becomes difficult to solve one without considering all other underpinning factors, and of course, when values, norms, beliefs and ideologies are tempered, conflict is bound to erupt.

Maitasine Revolt: Ethno-religious divides in Nigeria can be traced to the Maitasine revolt, which started in Kano in 1980 when the leader made an attempt to force his kind of strict religious ideas on other Muslim groups, which resulted in several deaths and destruction of properties. The leader of the group, in the person of Mohamad Marwa, was a controversial Muslim cleric who inspired a religious divide with the aim of expelling Western influence from Nigeria and replacing it with an Islamic state in its

operation. Initially, it was just seen as intra-religious violence in some parts of Kano and Maiduguri, which are majorly Muslim-dominated states, until it became a regular occurrence in areas like Jimeta in Yola, Kaitungo, Kala-Kato in Bauchi State, the Madala burning of churches in Niger state with each occurrence resulting into loss of lives and properties between Christian and Muslim.

Kafanchan Crises: On March 6 1987, another sect of religious violence broke out in Kanfanchan, and as usual, it spread to other parts of Kaduna. The crisis actually started in Kanfanchan College of Education during the hosting of an annual event of the Christian Students Movement. Trouble started when one of the invited speakers in person of Abubakar Bako, in the process of trying to convey his Christian message, quoted some passages of the Holy Quran which was offensive to the Muslims. This singular act resulted in massive destruction of lives and properties between the Muslims and Christians. According to the Muslims, whenever there is a misrepresentation or distortion of the Quran, it is regarded as a derogatory remark or blasphemy against the prophet, which warrants the death penalty; hence, since 1980 religious squabbles and turbulence have become a regular occurrence such as the Kaduna Polytechnic crises in 1981/82, the University of Ibadan crises in 1981, Usman Danfodio University Sokoto in 1982, Muslim/Christian clash during Easter procession in 1986 at Ilorin and among others. These crises usually spread to other parts of the federation, including Lagos and Abuja, through religious fundamentalist and the activities of the Boko Haram sects and Islamic State for West African Province (ISWAP), whose agenda is to replace the secular nature of Nigerian from being a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and a secular country as stated in the constitution into an Islamic State.

Proper interpretation of the Books: The Quran was written in Arabic, while the Bible was written in Hebrew and Greek, which, therefore, requires proper interpretation from the original text by professionals in order to avoid quoting out of context. If the Quran is well understood by the Boko Haram sect, why should they kill someone who has declared himself a Muslim? Why would they want to kill all non-Muslims, forgetting that the prophet lived peacefully with the Jews and non-Muslims both in Medina and Mecca, respectively? In respect to interpretation, there was a video that went viral of a particular cleric by the name Idris Tenshi from the north saying the first lady in person of Remi Tinubu, being a Christian, should be killed because she is not a Muslim like the husband. According to the Sahara reporter of February 2 2024, he stated that the Quran calls any non-Muslim an infidel, and she is also leading other infidels as a pastor. Although he apologised later, however, assuming she was not a government figure, maybe she would have been killed like several other Christians that have been killed by Muslims in the name of blasphemy or infidel.

The case of Deborah Samuel, a Nigerian Christian student of Shehu Shagari College of Education Sokoto who was stoned to death and burnt by her Muslim classmate for blasphemy, cannot be forgotten in a hurry just because she posted a voice message in a group Whatsapp among her colleagues that “Jesus Christ is the greatest, He help me pass my exams.” That was her offence, and since May 12 2022, nothing has been done to the killers till date. Also, in 2016, a 74-year-old Christian trader, Bridget Agbahime, was beaten to death by a Muslim mob outside her shop in Kano on the pretence that she insulted the prophet. Leah could not be rescued from the Boko Haram sect because she refused to deny her faith. What about a Christian teacher who was murdered for collecting a Quran from a student she was supervising during an examination? Are there no Muslims that have touched the Bible yet have not been killed? I wonder why only Muslims have fundamentalist that go about

fighting for their religion, especially in the north. On November 12 2002, This Day Newspaper reported the Miss World Competition that was supposed to take place in Abuja but abruptly moved to London as a result of some people who were not comfortable with such an idea, hence looking for the slightest opportunity to strike. They thought it was an immoral thing to bring ninety-two women to Nigeria and ask them to revel in vanity during Ramadan. Trouble started when Ms. Isioma Daniels (the pen instigator) wrote, “What would Mohammed think? In all honesty, he would probably have chosen a wife from one of them.” That statement was taken as insulting the prophet, and immediately, the then acting governor of Zamfara state, Mamuda Aliyu Shinkafi, ordered a religious decree upon the journalist that she should be killed. This statement caused bloody violence in Abuja and Kaduna, with loss of lives and properties. My concern is how many marauding Almajiris read this particular article before going to war, which led to several deaths and the loss of properties in Kaduna and Abuja. Ironically, Miss Algeria, a Muslim country, participated in the competition during Ramadan and Miss Turkey of the (Islamic) Republic eventually won the 2002 Miss World contest in London. As of today, almost every state of the federation has witnessed religious crises, including Abuja, the federal capital, and Lagos, with the Abule-Taylor crisis of May 29 1998.

Economic Factor: Despite the country's vast human resources, the gap between the have and have not is on the increase, which has led to frustration and disillusion, especially among the youth and young adults, which has turned them into different criminal activities because there is hunger in the land. Prices of food items have skyrocketed, making many parents unable to take care of their children. Some turn to religion, while others turn to other criminal activities like stealing, yahoo, banditry, kidnapping and ritual killings just to make money by all means.

Political Factor: Ethnicity and religion have become a salient instrument used by politicians to pursue their political and economic agenda, as reflected in the 2023 presidential election between the Christians and the Muslims. Religion, ethnicity and politics are intertwined, and the three are beclouded by corruption, poverty and insecurity. In some cases, when political violence erupts, it is often described erroneously as a religious crisis simply because those involved belong to different religions. A typical example was a fight which started in the Zangan Kataf area of Southern Zaria in 1992, which involved Hausa settlers and non-Hausa people within that community. In April 1994, a Hausa man was appointed as chairman of the caretaker committee of Jos Local Government of Plateau State to the displeasure of the local people who are not Hausas. It led to serious violence, which spread even to Kaduna until the appointment was reversed.

In February 2000, when Governor Mohammed Markarfi of Kaduna state introduced Sharia law in a state that is not predominately a Muslim community, he would have expected that the Christians would revolt against his government. He only wanted to exercise his political power, just like Governor Ahmed Yerima had successfully done in Zamfara, where it was first introduced. When the crises started, the Igbos, who are predominantly Christians, were mostly affected, which made other Igbo cities erupt in violence for vengeance for their slain brothers as law and order collapsed in Kaduna and Enugu.

Religious leaders: Statements and actions of some religious leaders, both Muslim and Christian, could be understood as condoning or encouraging violence or that they have poor knowledge of the religion they are defending. The ordinary Nigerians do not know anything about inter-religious cleavages except incited by their respective doctrinal leaders because most provocation is not caused by laymen, nor does it occur naturally but by religious representatives who want to take revenge or retaliate by organising campaigns of hatred and blackmail.

Revenge/Retaliation: In October 2001, terrorists attacked the Twin tower of the World Trade Centre in the United States of America, which made them launch an offensive attack against the Taliban Government in Afghanistan, but some fundamentalists in Nigeria felt that the United States have no reason to bomb Afghanistan and decided to set Kano on fire by killing southerners who reside in Kano as a way of retaliation.

In like manner, some Oro cultists in Sagamu (Ogun State) accused a Hausa woman of coming out when their cult was outside with their gnome in 1999, which led to some altercations which eventually led to full-blown crises with many deaths between the Yoruba and Hausa tribe until a curfew was imposed. As the infamy was put off in Sagamu, reprisal killings started far away in Kano, a major Hausa city, as a mark of vengeance against the Hausa tribe that was killed in Sagamu. As it is expected, resident who are not Hausas were brutally murdered while those who survived returned to their native land empty. As Kano city was settling down for peace, Lagos erupted with another orgy of violence as a mark of vengeance for the Kano mass killings of the Yoruba tribe by the O'odua People's Congress (OPC) as Mile 12 market which consisted of Hausa/Fulani traders turned to a killer's field. In October 2000, religious crises erupted at Idi-Araba in Lagos over the improper use of convenience by a Hausa resident. The crises later spread to Oko-Oba, which made Hausas come out with their bows, arrows and cutlasses until the OPC came on board to rescue their tribe's men. The violence spread to Kano in retaliation to their tribe men, and as expected, the southerners were severely dealt with.

Boundaries: The geographic polarisation of Muslim and Christian-dominated areas along an imaginary North-South 'fault line,' especially in the middle belt, has continually become a battleground or war zone. The North wanted to expand to the South for grazing purposes while the South was not ready to forfeit their father's land for anything, especially around the Kaduna and Jos axis, hence the endless fight, which most

people believe to be religious, but there is more to it than religious. The Southern Kaduna crisis was initially a land dispute but has degenerated into a religious crisis and has continued to date with records of several losses of lives, displaced persons and destruction of properties. Some state governors have declared that their citizenry should arm themselves with whatever weapons they can afford.

On August 28 2021, the Lagos State Government had to go and rescue 64 students from the University of Jos and its environment in Plateau state that are Lagos state indigenes from the crisis hit zone back to Lagos for safety. Sahara reports stated that southern Kaduna has witnessed several mass burial of its citizen as a result of death by both military personnel and bandit.

The Boko Haram Insurgency and Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP):

Tensions arising from the well-funded and organised foreign religious bodies like the Boko Haram and Islamic for West Africa Province have led to many deaths, and in revenge, Christians have retaliated by killing some people for the death caused by Boko Haram members. Boko Haram is still killing on a daily basis, attacking communities, and breaking prisons, among others.

Methodology: The above causes of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria can be summed up under the theoretical framework developed by Ted Rober Gurr in his book titled “Why Men Rebel” with the group mobilisation approach, which he divided into three simple models which are as follows: Firstly, he opined that discrimination against an ethnic or religious minority causes the minority to form grievances. Secondly, these grievances contribute to the mobilisation of ethnic or religious minorities for political action. Thirdly, he said that the more mobilised a minority is, the more likely it is to engage in political action, including protest and rebellion. On these bases, it is therefore instructive to say that religious discrimination and religious grievances based on such

discrimination affect the level of protest or rebellion in Nigeria, which is affected by various ethno-religious grievances engaged in Nigeria.

For example, with the introduction of Sharia in some states in the north, it was the religious framework that caused a group to take action, which affected groups that did not subscribe to the religious framework. Such actions, as we have seen, infringed upon those other groups and provoked a conflictive response. This is true irrespective of whether the group that is infringed upon occupies a dominant or subordinate role in society. This analysis also includes all the ethno-religious conflicts experienced in Nigeria so far.

Cases of ethnic and religious cases: Generally, the issue of insecurity, which is a result of different crises, is alarming in Nigeria. The northern part of Nigeria has been subjected to humanitarian crises lasting over a decade and caused by the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency and Islamic State in West Africa Province, the herders/farmers clashes, banditry, kidnapping, illegal mining and government influence, among others. The Southern part is plagued by militancy, secessionist, ritual killing, environmental agitation, armed robbery, kidnapping, domestic crime, and extrajudicial killings, among others. Even the Western part of Nigeria is plagued by a surge of cybercrime ritual killings, among others. The history of Nigeria has tales of bloodshed from various ethnic and religious clashes; among them are:-

- The Biafra War, where about 2 million people died between 1967-70
- The Ife/Modakeke crises
- The Ijaw/Urobo/Ilaje crises
- The Lantang/Wase crises in Plateau state. Even up till now violence can erupt in this area anytime.
- Fundamentalists like the Boko-Haram, Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP), and Fulani Herdsmen, among others, want to achieve their ethnic game plan.

- The Kaduna religious riot in 2000 was a result of the introduction of Sharia law in Kaduna state.
- The Kafanchan Religious Riot of 2001
- The Kaduna/Abuja religious crises in 2002 as a result of an article published by This Day Newspaper and written by Isioma Daniel on Miss World Competition
- The Southern Kaduna continues to witness incessant killing by both military personnel and bandit terrorists to date. The most recent was on December 3, 2023, on the eve of a festive celebration.
- Sagamu religious riot of 1999, where a Hausa woman was killed by the Oro Masqueraders for violating traditional rites.
- Idi Araba/Oko Oba religious crises in 2000
- Ilorin religious crises in 1999
- Aba 2000 religious crisis
- Kano religious crisis in 2001 in protest to the United States of America's invasion of Afghanistan over Osama bin Laden.
- Numan religious crisis in 2004 over the location of a Central Mosque.
- Maiduguri religious crisis in 2006 over the Danish Cartoon of Prophet Mohammed in Jyllands-Posten newspaper, which was regarded as blasphemy.
- Gombe religious crisis in 2007
- Gombe shooting in 2012 when Boko Haram members stormed Deeper Life Bible Church.
- Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe religious crisis in 2009 by Boko Haram sect on Christians.
- Mubi religious crisis in 2012 over an attack on Igbo Christians.
- Padonagari religious crisis in 2016
- Kakuri killings in 2016 for a Christian not joining the Ramadan Fast.
- Abuja protest by Muslims in 2018 over Law School Hijab controversy.
- Gwoza Local Government Area of Borno State religious crises in June 2014 by Boko Haram sect.
- Southern Kaduna crises in September 2020 by Hausa/Fulani herdsmen.
- Ebonyi Massacre on June 1 2021, by Fulani herdsmen attack over religious differences.
- The Owo massacre on June 5, 2022, by the Islamic State of West African Province

All these killings in the name of religion, dominance, or supremacy have shockingly tribal sentiments in the background.

Source: Adapted from Sampson, 2018; Sahara Reporter, 2018, with additions and modifications by the Author.

Conclusion: This paper has examined some causes and cases of ethnoreligious crises in which the government has intervened using coercive methods of deploying troops to the affected area to quench the fight or, at times, use judicial methods which have not yielded the desired result. Most cases of ethno-religious crises are accusationso f b i g o t r y, discrimination, neglect, oppression, and nepotism, among others. The government is often accused of using force by the military and the breakdown of traditional vehicles instead of using preventive methods. To achieve preventive measures, there should be provision for effective security personnel in each state that is equipped to respond to religious crises whenever the need arises quickly. There should be a functional and effective religious leader's platform where religious grievances can be discussed before they degenerate. In addition, the government should be pluralistic and just in dealing with religious issues and strive to reduce poverty in the land. Also, the various inter-faiths established institutions saddled with the responsibility of reconciliation and mediating among divergent religious groups should adopt resolution strategies and Conflict Prevention in their mediation.

The perennial religious crises between the major religions (Christianity and Islam) in Nigeria have resulted in dwindled economic fortune as well as social and political instability. In fact, these incessant conflicts

have, to a large extent, ridiculed Nigeria in the comity of nations because it's like the conflict hotbeds' around the country are always steaming and ready to explode at the slightest provocation. Nigeria remains a secular state, which means no one religion is better than the other or would it be acceptable for their adherents to force their views on others? Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state, which means they have different tongues, traditions, cultural modes of dress, and different ways of dying and living, but all under one geographically bound country, one flag, one anthem, one constitution and from one source (God). However, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment demands that people are sensitive to each other's idiosyncrasies and vicissitudes of life but within limits and not all violations should lead to death because nobody wants to live perpetually with another person who expects one to learn all his sensitive points otherwise he turns violent, leading probably to death.

It is important to note that the three major religions in Nigeria advocate peace, and perhaps religion could be exempted from the conflict because if it is true that we all come from one source (God), the creator, why then is it difficult for us to tolerate and relate as a family member before thinking of our religion or ethnic group?

Recommendations: The Nigeria National Anthem at independence says, "Though tribe and tongue may differ, in brotherhood we stand..." Hence, the following should be imbibed.

1. Nigeria remains a secular state; hence, every tribe should de-emphasise religious and tribal sentiment to foster national unity.
2. Inclusive education and cultural awareness should be taught in all educational systems to promote mutual co-existence
3. The National Assembly should implement policies that will address the causes of

4. crises, especially in Kaduna and its axis. The government should sincerely tackle the issue of corruption and demonstrate its commitment to alleviating poverty and youth unemployment in the land.
5. The National Youth Service Scheme should be given the required boost from its philosophy of national integration.
6. The Nigerian media should avoid giving religious and ethnic clashes too much publicity, which often warrants reactions or retaliation.
7. All those who propagate ethnic violence, genocide and ethnic cleansing under the cover of religion, cattle rearing or any other form should be brought to book, and justice must be allowed to take its course.
8. In the socialisation of the Nigerian child, ethics and values for human life and the desire for peaceful co-existence and societal harmony should be impacted in their earliest years.\
9. Religious leaders and their followers should not be used for the sake of fanning the flames of ethnicity causes of crises, especially in Kaduna and its axis.
10. Politicians should be patriotic in nature and not detribalised. During the Mohamadu Buhari administration, most people in place of authority is either Fulani or northern Muslim. The 1993 election of the late Abiola MKO and Tofa should be studied as a case study of true federalism.

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