

# A Review of Ethnic Conflict in Kaduna State, Nigeria

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**Abstract:** The objective of this paper is to review the ethnic conflicts in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The study adopts desk/literature review. Social Identity Theory and Political Ecology Theory have been adopted in the study. According to Social Identity Theory, groups and not individuals are the main engine of social conflict, because people tend to identify themselves with the group they belong to and, in group, they show resentment towards other groups they are not identified with. The political ecology situates the ethnic conflict in Kaduna State revolving around access to and control over resources.

The paper assumes that conflict is necessary, but it should not be escalated to destructive point against people's lives and properties, irrespective of their tribal and religious differences. The paper discovered that ethnic conflict in Kaduna State is associated with myriad of factors, including fight for supremacy over land, hate speeches, growing economic, social and political inequalities between ethnic groups etc. The consequences of conflict include stress and anxiety on the individuals; breakdown in communities; additional demands on government services and degradation of the local environment. To provide solutions to ethnic conflict in Kaduna State, the paper suggests that focus should be placed on conflict prevention, Government should check proliferation of fire arms in the hands of unauthorized persons, and it should also partner with civil society organizations. The paper concluded that there is the need for unity between the various sub-populations within Kaduna State, despite their differences.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Ethnic, Ethnicity, Kaduna State.

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## Introduction

Nigeria is the Africa's largest population and one of the most diverse countries in the world. It is characterized by immense heterogeneity in terms of ethno-religious and cultural composition. That is why the country is regarded as a typically poly-ethnic society, hosting a multiplicity of ethnic, religious, linguistic, and sectional formations with over two hundred and fifty nationalities (Nlewem, 2018). The ethnic groups that make up Nigeria as a political entity are not monolithic in themselves. In effect, each of the ethnic nationality is as well characterized by marked divergences in terms of religion, language, and other aspects of culture (Nlewem, 2018). Instead of it being the driver for peaceful co-existence as witnessed in other countries like the United State of America, ethnicity has become the major role player for conflict in Nigeria (Sani, Mukhtar & Isah, 2015). As noted by Marizu (1998: 39):

the major social and political problem the country faces in this century and will continue to face in the twenty-first century is ethnicity. This may be described as ethnic nationalism, ethnocentrism, ethnic separatism or primordialism. All these point to the fact that various ethnic groups do not get along easily with each other.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the reality behind the various violent confrontations and conflicts in different parts of Nigeria is division and disunity along ethnic and religious lines. This reality is also evident in Kaduna State- a State that has been experiencing different episodes of ethnic conflict for many decades now. WANEP (2018) also reported that Kaduna State has been a major flashpoint to various dimensions of communal clashes, ethnic agitations, ethno-religious violence, kidnapping, gang-related violence, armed banditry and farmer-herders conflict that have led to huge humanitarian crisis, weakened social capital and breakdown of democratic norms and values. As pointed out by Adamu, Ben, & Gloria (2017), Kaduna State has been experiencing various forms of conflict since the early 1970s, with the Southern part of the State being the threshold for such conflict. The outcome of each conflict in the State is usually massive killings especially in the years 1987, 1992, 2000, 2011 (Adamu *et al.* 2017) and more recently in this year (2019).

The ethnic conflict in Kaduna State is associated with myriad of factors, including fight for supremacy over land, hate Speeches, claims and counterclaims, growing economic, social and political inequalities between ethnic groups, etc. (Uroko, 2018; Williams, 2018). Like the causes, conflict has many negative impacts, which include stress and anxiety on the individuals; breakdown in communities; additional demands on government services; degradation of the local environment, which can have flow-on effects for communities and businesses; and loss of culture and identity within communities (Alawode, 2013). The occurrence of these conflicts has resulted in the loss of many lives and destruction of many public and private properties.

In view of these attendant consequences of ethnic conflict it is important for the benefit of academics, researchers and above all policymakers to be able to develop comprehensive measures in terms of policy formulation and implementation with a view to address the lingering problem of ethnic conflict in the study area-Kaduna State. The paper is anchored on the argument that conflict is normal in terms of occurrence and functional in terms of consequences, but it should not be escalated to become so destructive to the lives and properties of the people of Kaduna State irrespective their tribal and religious difference. In other words, there is need for unity between the various sub-populations within Kaduna State, despite their differences.

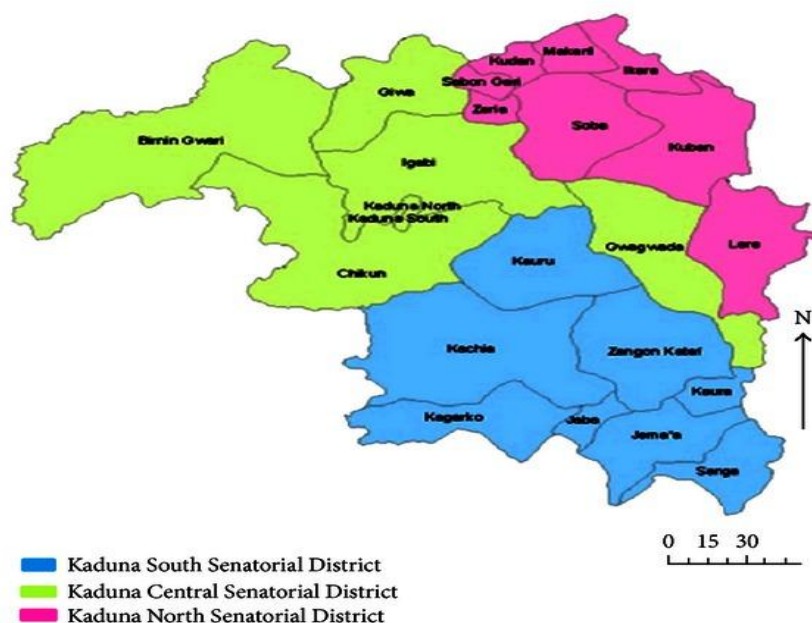
The objective of the study is therefore to review the ethnic conflicts in Kaduna State, Nigeria. To this end, the study will adopt literature/desk review to generate the data from secondary sources. Structurally, the paper is divided into five sections: section one is the introduction; section two conceptualizes the key terms (ethnic and conflict); section three deals with literature review, under which subsections exist (review on ethnic conflict in Kaduna State and theoretical framework); section four provides solutions to ethnic conflict in Kaduna State; and section five concludes the paper.

### **Brief History of Kaduna State**

Located at the northern part of Nigeria's high plains, Kaduna state is covered by the vegetation of Sudan savannah which is characterized by dispersed short trees, shrubs and grasses. The State derived its name kaduna from the Hausa word *Kada* which is translated as

Crocodile inhabiting the river within the area being contested by the Gbagyi people as their ancestral dwell. Thus, the word 'kaduna' is said to be regarded as a Gbagyi term for a river. However, irrespective of the contestation on the originality of the term, relevant literature revealed that the name kaduna was adopted by the British colonialists headed by Lord Fredrick Lugard when they transferred the capital of the then Northern region to kaduna.

Historically, Kaduna state was founded by the British in 1913 and became the capital of Nigeria's former northern region which was made up of Zaria and Katsina in 1917. However, in 1967, Kaduna became the capital of the north central state and was subsequently renamed as kaduna state in 1976. Administratively, Kaduna state is today divided into 23 local government areas and it covers an area of 44,408.3 square kilometers. The local governments are: Birnin Gwari, Chikun, Giwa, Igabi, Ikara, Jaba, Jema'a, Kachia, Kaduna North, Kaduna South, Kagarko, Kajuru, Kaura, Kuru, Kubau, Kudan, Lere, Makarfi, sabon Gari, Sanga, Soba, Zangon Kataf, and Zaria. Demographically, the state according to 2006 census has 6,066,562 people, which translate to a density of about 137 persons per square kilometer as shown in the map below.



As a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic state, Kaduna state is populated by over 60 different ethnic groups with Hausa/Fulani and Gbagyi as the dominant ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups comprise of: Adara ( Kadara), Akurmi (labelled Kurama by the Hausa), Anghan ( Kamanton by the Hausa), Amo, Aruruma (named Ruruma by the Hausa) Atachaat ( Kachechere) Atyab (dubbed Kataf by the Hausa) Ayu Bajju (dubbed Kaje by the Hausa) Bakulu (Ikulu by the Hausa), Ham (Jaba in Hausa), etc. (Iniobong, 2016).

Kaduna state is also home to a number of notable educational institutions. These are: Nigerian Defence Academy, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nuhu Bamalli Polytechnic, Zaria, Kaduna State University, Kaduna Polytechnic, Kaduna, Nigerian College of Aviation, Zaria, College of Education Gidan Waya-Kafanchan, Shehu Idris College of Health Health Sciences and Technology-Makarfi, and College of Nursing-Kafanchan. Others include:  
Institute of Leather Research-Zaria  
Federal College of Education-Zaria  
National Open University of Nigeria

National Water Resources Institute, Kaduna  
Nigeria college of aviation technology, Zaria; and  
Nigerian Institute of transport technology, Zaria.

### **Conceptual Explanation: Ethnic and Conflict**

**Ethnic:** The word ethnic originates from Latin (ethnicus), or Greek (ethnikos), both of which referred to it as “for nation, national” or “people”. It was later adopted by grammarians to be pronounced as “ethnos”, which means “band of people living together, nation, people, tribe, caste,” (Etymology Online, 2019). According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2019), ethnic is an adjective and it is defined as something “related to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background”. In an eloquent style and exhaustive effort at explaining the term “ethnic” within the context of group of people as described by Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2019) above. Horowitz (1985: 53) gave the following statement:

Ethnic groups are defined by ascriptive differences, whether the indicium is color, appearance, language, religion, some other indicator of common origin, or some combination thereof... This is an inclusive concept of ethnicity [which serves as a yardstick for] comparison. Ethnicity “is close to Max Weber’s conception of a ‘subjective belief’ in ‘common descent’... ethnicity embraces groups differentiated by color, language, and religion; it covers ‘tribes,’ ‘races,’ ‘nationalities,’ and castes (quoted in Isah, Dando & Mukhtar, 2018: 121).

Hence, in their own contribution, Isah *et al.* (2018) have agreed with the Horowitz’s definition of ethnic, by drawing a limitation to the meaning of ethnicity, which is the noun form of the term “ethnic”. For Isah *et al.* (2018: 121), it is instructive to suggest that ethnicity is a concept which can best be “understood within the context of people or group”. Therefore, the working definition of “ethnic” in this paper is simply a group of people sharing some common socio-cultural features, such as language, tribe, nationality or religion.

**Conflict:** Conflict is an inherent attribute of human existence which according to Rapoport (1960) is a theme that has occupied the thinking of men more than any other, save only God and love. It takes its origins in economic differentiation, social change, cultural formation, psychological development and political organization. All of which are naturally conflictual and becomes obvious through the formation of conflicting parties, which come to have, or are perceived to have, mutually incompatible goals. The identity of the conflicting parties, the levels at which the conflict is contested, and the issues fought over such as scarce resources, unequal relations, and competing values may vary over time and may themselves be disputed (Ramsbotham et al 2011). Conflict, according to Webster refers either to a violent dispute or to an incompatibility of positions. Conflict is also seen as a psychological state of affairs, a particular situation in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions (Boulding 1962).

Similarly, Conrad (1991) defined it as communicative interactions among people who are interdependent and who perceive that their interests are incompatible, inconsistent, or in tension. Furthermore, Mack and Snyder (1957) elaborated on the definition of conflict by suggesting that the term refers to a range of empirical phenomena which can be identified or characterized by four conditions: the existence of two or more parties, a situation of resource or position scarcity, the presence of behavior that is designed to hurt or injure the other, and mutually opposed goals.

These four conditions which have been identified as the necessary empirical conditions for the existence of conflict provide the basis for generating quite a number of conflict situations. For example, we can say that conflict occur within parties and between parties and also differentiate it in terms of parties involved such as between institutionalized and non-institutionalized, between equal parties, and between asymmetric parties (i.e. subordinate versus super ordinate), (Bercovitch et al 2009).

Although there are different types of conflicts, the Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum Handbook (2007) identified the followings as the most prominent:

- 1) Interpersonal Conflict: This is a type of conflict that occurs within a person. For example, the use of time, choice of partner, moral questions, goals and aspirations;
- 2) Intra personal Conflict: Conflicts between two or more individuals over an issue;
- 3) Intra group Conflict: These are conflicts between groups such as clubs, class versus class, and family versus family;
- 4) Intra national Conflicts: Conflicts within a nation which involves different groups within the nation. This can be interethnic, inter-religious, competition for resources as manifested in the revenue sharing in Nigeria; and
- 5) International Conflicts: These are conflicts between nations and could be for ideological reasons, territorial claims and political competition.

Conflict according to Folarin (2015) can also be seen as a concept that is interchangeably used with other terms. This is where it becomes pertinent to mention words or terms that represent synonyms of conflict. These include contrast, disharmony, discord, struggle, contest, strife, antagonism, controversy, clash, rivalry, contest, contention, brawl, fisticuff, fight, battle, feud, combat and war. In politics, it is not too dissimilar; however, conflict technically means an existing state of disconnect between two or more parties on a prevailing issue.

In this paper, conflict can be seen as a disharmony or disagreement between individuals or groups, which can be manifested in scalar modes. In other words, conflict can take place at the level of dispute by exchange of aggressive words, or skirmishes, or even warfare. It can also involve duel or intergroup and international war. This signifies that violent confrontations between different ethnics in Kaduna can take place somewhere within the various scales of conflict explained above, i.e. as either skirmish or inter-group conflict.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The paper is anchored on **Social Identity Theory** and **Political Ecology Theory**. The **Social Identity Theory** was developed by Tajfel (as cited in Isah *et al.* 2018), whose work on inter-group processes focused on the genesis of conflict between social groups, and the factors which influence support for, or attempts to change, established social hierarchies. Tajfel originally defined social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Quoted in Sindic & Condor, 2014: 5).

According to this perspective, group membership provides people with a sense of their distinct place in the social world in relations to others and acts as a practical guide to action by imparting the norms concerning the typical, appropriate or desirable forms of behaviour associated with a particular group membership. More specifically, Tajfel claimed that the processes associated with social (as opposed to personal) identity underpin intergroup (as

opposed to interpersonal) behaviour. That is, to the extent that people see themselves and others in terms of group membership, and to the extent that they personally identify with the social group to which they belong, they will tend to act towards others as group members rather than as unique individuals. By emphasizing the distinctive character of collective behavior, Tajfel's approach differed from existing social psychological perspectives that often sought to explain intergroup behavior with reference to the personality traits of particular individuals. Indeed, one fundamental assumption that underpins Social Identity Theory is that groups and not individuals are the main engine of both social conflict and social change (Sindic & Condor, 2014).

The social identity theory is relevant in explaining ethnic conflict in Kaduna State because ethnicity is seen as the most basic and politically salient feature of identity for Nigerians (Canciopeytemi & Odukoya, 2016). This argument is based on the premise that in their competitive and non-competitive contexts, Nigerians tend to define themselves in terms of ethnic affinities as opposed to other identities, such as social class (Lewis & Bratton, 2000; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005; Canciopeytemi & Odukoya, 2016). Religious and ethnic identities are more important than class identity. Emphasis on such religious and ethnic identity differences can lead to ethnocentrism between the diverse groups within Kaduna State. The psychic definition of other ethnic groups as "they" against "us" can produce intolerance, disharmony and subsequently to conflict. However, unity can serve as a panacea for ethno-religious conflict in Kaduna State.

**Political ecology** is also instrumental in explaining ethnic conflict in Kaduna State. The term political ecology was first coined by Frank Throne (1935, cited in Walker, 2006). Political ecology deals with the study of the relationship between political, economic and social factors with environmental issues and dynamics. It seeks to integrate ecological social sciences with political economy in an attempt to evolve an inter-disciplinary synthesis. As an eclectic theoretical paradigm, political ecology was influenced by the scholarly contributions of development geography and cultural ecology in the 1970s and 1980s. Since its emergence as a theoretical perspective, political ecology has sought primarily to understand the dynamics surrounding material and discursive struggles over the environment in the third world (Okoli, 2016).

The major concern of political ecology constitutes largely issues revolving around access to and control over resources. Hence, Sutton (as cited in Okoli, 2016) sees political ecology as an attempt to come to terms with the day-to-day conflicts, alliances, and negotiations that ultimately result in some sort of definitive behaviors; how politics affects or structures resource use". In effect, political ecology seeks to contextualize political and ecological undercurrents and implications of human behavior in the context of resource contestation. Consequently, Okoli (2016) noted, the inability of the Nigerian state to properly regulate land-use and resource exploitation through effective policies has informed un-moderated struggles between the farmers and herders in the current era of climate change induced environmental scarcities. The struggles have in the recent years become rather fatal as the parties resort to desperate means of self-protection and survival through arms bearing. The political ecology can be used to understand the ethnic conflict in Kaduna State because the problem is not unconnected to resource contestations. Tanimu & Akujuri (2018) pointed out that the crisis of Kaduna State is associated with farmers-pastoralists conflict which transforms into inter-communal conflicts. That is why they acknowledged that the conflict of Kaduna State can only be resolved through sustainable land management practice, otherwise restructuring of the State's political ecology.

## Literature Review

This section reviews some literature on conflict and particularly ethnic conflict in Kaduna State. It also reviews some theoretical explanations on conflict. To begin with, studies on conflict and ways of managing conflict have been the preoccupation of many scholars within social sciences and humanities like (Galtung, 1953; Pondy, 1976; Galtung, 1973; Fearon, 2004; Agbonifo, 2004; Tjosvold, 2006; Buescher, 2013; Caselli & Coleman, 2013) for more than century. For example, Galtung (1973) argued that conflict has different dimensions, taking place either at person's or group's level. At the person's level, it can be inter-personal conflict or intra-personal conflict. The inter-personal conflict can lead to murder, while intra-personal can conflict can lead to suicide. At group level, conflict can be either inter-group or intra-group. The former can lead to war, while the latter can lead to group apathy.

However, Tjosvold (2006) is of the view that there are many definitional flaws many researchers and theorists with regards to what should be regarded as conflict. For Deutsch (1973) and Tjosvold (2006), conflict is not necessarily a state of opposing interests as argued by many writers, because conflict can take the form of cooperation or competition. In addition to obscuring the reality that people with completely compatible goals often do have conflict, conflict as opposing interests is confounded with competition defined as incompatible goals (Tjosvold, 2006). This confounding makes it unclear whether the theorized effects are due to conflict or competition. Consequently, Tjosvold (2006) contended that there is irony in the previous literature given the foregoing un-confounded conception of conflict for several decades.

Deutsch's (1973) theory of cooperation and competition indicated that defining conflict as opposing interests is fundamentally flawed. The implications for Deutsch's definition of conflict have been largely missed. Because Tjosvold (2006) contended that these issues does not appear to have been enough direct, open conflict about definitions to generate questioning of traditional definitions and developing more effective ones. Deutsch saw conflict as incompatible activities; one person's actions interfere, obstruct or in some way get in the way of another's action. Incompatible activities occur in both cooperative and competitive contexts. Whether the protagonists believe their goals are cooperative or competitive very much affects their expectations, interaction, and outcomes. How they negotiate their conflict in turn affects the extent to which they believe they have cooperative or competitive goals with each other. A great deal of evidence from various researchers underlines that cooperative conflict captures many benefits of conflict and is the basis for constructive conflict management whereas assuming goals are incompatible interferences.

Contrary to the views of Alawode, Ohiorhenuan, Isah *et al.* above, who see conflict as destructive, Tjosvold (2006) argued that conflict itself is not destructive and that, when constructively managed, it can help us dig into issues, understand problems, create solutions, and strengthen relationships and that these findings are universally applicable, and therefore not limited to the Western part of the world. There is, according to Tjosvold (2006), progress on understanding and managing conflict, a progress that is potentially invaluable in the contemporary increasingly interdependent, global world. Tjosvold's (2006) view is not something new within the social sciences, because there were some classical (Simmel, 1908, as cited in Ritzer, 2011) and modern (Cosser, 1956, as cited in Ritzer, 2011) sociological scholars who laid the foundation of this positive aspect of conflict in human society. In line with this notion, it is instrumental to revisit Ibn Khaldun's (1332-1406) ideas, which foreshadowed our own time. Not only is Ibn Khaldun (as cited in Mukhtar, 2018) generally recognized as the father of modern cultural history and social science influencing and shaping

these disciplines into our time, but Mukhtar (2018) asserted that his work provides the intellectual point at which other world scholars connect in genuine appreciation. Some of the central formulae of the modern age can be understood in Ibn Khaldun's concept of *assabiyya*. The concept of *assabiyya* is in other words called social solidarity or an idea on unity. Abiding by the rubric of Khaldunian idea of *assabiyya*, government and the diverse ethno-religious groups within Kaduna State should search for solution of their incessant conflict through unity in diversity. In other words, peaceful coexistence is achievable in Kaduna State if the various structures emphasize on their similarities as Nigerians and humans destined to live together in a common geographical location, rather than on their differences Muslims and Christians.

### **A Review of Ethnic Conflict in Kaduna**

Ethnic conflict according to Varshney (2002) can be viewed as a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society. Generally, academic discourse on ethnic conflict revolves around one of three schools of thought i.e. primordialist, instrumentalist or constructivist. For the proponents of primordialist, ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action towards primordial objects such as biological features and especially territorial location. Relying on the basis of strong ties of kinship existing among members of ethnic groups. One of the proponents of primordial school of thought Donald L. Horowitz contends that it is the spirit of kinship that makes it possible for ethnic groups to think in terms of family resemblance. Furthermore, Geertz (1963) opined that individuals have natural link to perceived kinsmen. Therefore, in times of conflict, the ethnic tie will combine with other factors and interfere with civil societal bonds. Consequently, when viewed from the primordial lens, ethnic conflict in multi-ethnic or pluralistic society like Nigeria and Kaduna state in particular becomes inevitable.

As for the instrumentalists, ethnic conflict is defined as an instrumental means for accomplishing particular ends (Cornell and Hartmann (1998). In this context, the persistence of ethnic conflict is attributed to the actions of elites or community leaders, "who utilize their leadership of cultural groups for mass mobilization in their constituencies in order to overcome competition for power and resources (Smith, 2001). On the other hand, constructivists argue that ethnic conflict can be understood from the context of socially constructed ethnic groups. For example, Mamdani (2001) explained that the Rwanda conflict was partly facilitated by the colonial construction of Tutsi and Hutu in 1930 on the basis of cattle ownership, physical measurements and church records.

Therefore, the conflict erupted in the country in 1994, these documents were used as means of identification by the dominant ethnic group. However, in the case of Kaduna ethnic conflict, there is multiple literature available on the issue (Lukat, 2016; WANEP, 2018b; Uroko, 2018), with varying degrees of accounts both factual, neutral, and bias as evident in the work of (Adamu *et al.* 2017). For instance, while some of these writings were able to adequately analyze the problem from objective point of view, others could not do justice to the problem as they adopted somewhat value-laden approach in favor of either Muslim or Christian communities of Kaduna State, thereby contaminating their analysis with bias. In political and sociological analysis, value-free approach and objectivity are the watchwords (Henslin, 2009). However, some researchers are violating this ethic even in studying empirical problems like the Kaduna conflict. For instance, in their narrations of the ethnic conflict in Kaduna State, Adamu *et al.* (2017: 3) gave the following account



In 1987, violence erupted in the College of Education Kafanchan where Christians were attacked by Muslims over an alleged misrepresentation and interpretation of the Quran. The violence soon extended to Zaria, Kaduna, Katsina, Ikara and other places. Hundreds of Christians were killed, churches were burnt and property worth millions destroyed. In 1992, Zangon Kataf was twice engulfed in violent clashes where indigenous Christians of Atyap community were attacked by Muslims residents over the relocation and opening of the market on the outskirts of the town in May of 1992... The conflict spread to many cities and towns within the state including Kafanchan. The most recent violent conflict in Southern Kaduna occurred in May 2016 where Christians (mostly farmers) were attacked by Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen.

The above narrative is replete with bias, because it is not only an indicative of interpolation, based on many studies that proved otherwise (Luka, 2016; Uroko, 2018; WANEP, 2018a; WANEP, 2018b); but it is illogical to claim that an ethnic minority can initiate conflict where it is not the dominant ethnic group. In other words, there are two falsifiable statements: first, the crises started in southern Kaduna; second, the conflict extended to other parts of Kaduna, particularly northern part, such as Zaria. Since Kafanchan was the place the conflict first erupted, and it is situated in the southern Kaduna, where the Muslims are the minority, it is illogical to claim that the Muslims were the ones who ignited or initiated the conflict. People are rational actors and they venture into action if they rationalize and perceive that they can gain rather than lose.

It is not conceivable that Muslims can provoke a conflict where they lack strength, just like the Christians cannot provoke conflict in the northern Kaduna, where Muslims are the dominant ethnic. Also, if Adamu *et al.* (2017) stated that the conflict started in Zaria and then extended to Kafanchan, it will sound reasonable to blame Muslims as the culprits for all the conflicts in Kaduna, but they could not turn the story upside down, though they ended up exonerating one group and laying the whole blame on the other. Since the Zaria and other northern Kaduna areas crises followed that of the southern Kaduna, it is very likely that the former is more of a reprisal attack.

Notwithstanding, there are some studies on the Kaduna ethnic conflict which maintain value neutrality. In a more objective tone, for instance, Uroko (2018) stated that:

Religious crises in southern Kaduna came to limelight with the Zango Kataf crisis of May 1992. In May 1992, in what became known as the Zangon-Kataf crisis, there were clashes in Zangon-Kataf between the Hausa and the Kataf (a predominantly Christian ethnic group), initially sparked off by a dispute over the relocation of a market. The Hausa opposed the relocation of the market to the new spacious area, preferring it remained in the cramped town of Zango Kataf. Riots erupted with the burning of churches and mosques, hospitals and educational centres. This conflict divided Kaduna state along religious lines. There became distrust in the state amongst various religious adherents. There arose what became known as Muslim and Christian neighbourhoods in Kaduna. These conflicts have continued to reoccur and hundreds of lives have been lost and are still being lost to the southern Kaduna religious crises (P. 26).

In its report about the Kaduna crises, WANEP (2018b) did not even mention any religion. Instead, it reported the major flash point areas within the State and then described the intensity of the conflict, thus: "the deep-seated mistrust between the different ethnic and religious groups in the State constantly fanned the flames of violent conflicts mainly in

Southern Kaduna. LGAs in Southern Kaduna zone include; Chikun, Kajuru, Kauru, Lere, Kachia, Zangon Kataf, Kaura, Kagarko, Jema'a, Sanga, Jaba" (WANEP, 2018b: 1).

While Uroko's (2018) and WANEP (2018b) accounts provided a relatively balanced picture of the situation, the problem can be better understood based on the root causes of the problem.

### **Causes of Kaduna Ethnic Conflicts**

Generally, establishing causal factors in social science research is a difficult task owing to the fact that causality is very difficult to prove. In fact, some scholars believe that causality can never be demonstrated with finality and that the best researchers can do is to generate increasingly compelling evidence that is consistent with causality. Thus, Brady (2011) asserts that Philosophers and statisticians are better positioned to know something about causality, but it is a daunting enterprise for social scientists because it requires technical skills (e.g. knowledge of modal logic) and technical information (e.g. knowledge of probability theory) that is not easily mastered. However, causal statements are useful that most people cannot let an event go by without asking why it happened and offering their own explanations for the occurrence of events. In addition, causal statements usually enliven discussions on events with counterfactual assertions such as "if the cause had not occurred, then the effect would not have happened." In the same vein, ethnic conflicts in Kaduna state can be attributed to many factors but the most prominent is the issue of indigene/settler dichotomy.

For example, Zangon Kataf located at the Southern part of Kaduna state which has been the major centre of ethnic violence is been the subject of contestation among the dominant ethnic groups (Hausa/Fulani and the Atyap people also known as the Katafs in Hausa). Specifically, the bond of contention is the ownership of the entire enclave. Whereas, the Atyap people who are predominantly Christians lay ancestral claim to Zangon Kataf and consider the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group as settlers, the later who are mostly Muslims contend that the place was established by their fore fathers who made a stopover on their way to the Southern part of Nigeria for trading. Thus, the Kaduna ethnic violence although is mainly between these two ethnic groups has transformed into ethno-religious conflict involving virtually every citizen of the state. To this extent, other causes of the conflict include the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry (Salawu, 2010; Williams, 2018; Apuwabi, 2018). Thus, the factors that produce ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, Kaduna State in particular are largely socio-cultural, political, economic and bad governance (Williams, 2018).

### **Consequences of Kaduna Ethnic Conflict**

One of the major consequence of Conflicts especially ethnic conflict in a pluralistic country like Nigeria is that it can lead to the erosion of national security due to destruction of lives and property of the citizens (Sani *et al.* 2015). For instance, in situations where there is protracted conflict, access to land for agricultural production is reduced thereby leading to shortage in production and availability of food (Alawode, 2013; WFP, 2016; FAO, 2017).

Also, where the conflict escalates to the level of armed confrontation or open warfare, women become widowed and children become orphaned, and many others displaced (Alawode, 2013). As observed by Ohiorhenuan (2011) and Isah *et al.* (2018), conflict almost always affects the rate of growth of a country's economy as a result of the negative impacts on physical and human capital as well as disrupted markets and reduced trust.

The growth impact of conflict differs significantly from country to country, depending in part on the proportion of the population actually fighting, the duration and geographical spread of the conflict, and the extent to which the central government has collapsed. For instance,

### **Recommendations/Solutions to Ethnic Conflict in Kaduna State**

The paper acknowledged that the federal and state governments, civil society, religious groups, and communities have responded to the different manifestations of this conflict in a variety of ways, but solutions to ethnic conflict can be achieved through a variety of efforts. Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehin (2018) have assessed the various responses by the Government at various levels to cushion the inter-ethnic crises bedeviling Kaduna State. Some of those measures taken by the Government and non-governmental actors as mentioned by Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehin (2018) are deployment of security, such as Operation Harbin Kunama (Scorpion Sting), which was then replaced by Special Task Force- Operation Safe Haven (STF-OSH), community-level conflict management and resolution, Great Green Wall Agency (GGWA), Information and Communication Technology (ICT) through the effort of Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD); and some pragmatic interventions by Civil Society Organizations. Notwithstanding the efforts of the government in finding solutions to the various ethnic conflicts Kaduna state and other parts of the country, there is need for developing other strategies to reduce the occurrence of the phenomenon.

As noted by Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehin (2018), key gaps and opportunities remain to better prevent violence and improve inter-communal relations. This can be done through adoption of such measures as inter-ethnic and interfaith dialogue, promoting and protecting the rights of all citizens irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic class and age; and preventing insecurity and conflict targeting the most vulnerable areas and ethnics (Buesher, 2013). Containing ethicized political violence should also receive external efforts, such the role of international organisations and non-governmental organization (Mukhtar, 2018). The diverse communities of Kaduna State should strive to unite themselves despite their differences because no society can aspire to develop without uniting itself (Mukhtar, 2018). The social group advances because its constituent parts (individual persons) advance in some sort of symbiotic fashion (Roark, 2004).

The federal, state, and local governments should address the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, in order to reduce conflict in Kaduna State. To do that, Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehin (2018) the federal government, in concert with state and local governments and civil society, should design and implement a community-centered program on disarmament that is focused on improving community security. This program should also target local manufacturers of SALWs with a view to ensuring that while they produce weapons that are allowable by law, their activities do not undermine the security of the country and its citizens. The manufacturers and sales of SALWs should be subjected to a certification programme to ensure such persons are properly registered, with specific reference to their identity and locations.

Community protection structures that are deeply embedded in community policing should be established or strengthened, which can be modeled after the existing Neighborhood Watch Group (NWGs). This initiative provided an opportunity for communities to collaborate with security agents in crime prevention and conflict management. The success of this approach would be dependent on a strong collaboration and synergy between the police, other law enforcement agencies and the communities in line with the principles of community-based security.

External assistance strategies must take full account of the political, ethnic and religious dynamics that have emerged from or may have contributed to conflict in the first place. Ohiorhenuan (2011) suggests that any action that could stir up social tensions or increase the likelihood of a relapse into conflict must be avoided. Because it was established that ethnic conflict in Kaduna State is sometimes taking the dimension of farmers-pastoralists confrontation, Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehin (2018) also suggested that governments at all levels should partner with the civil society, the private sector, constituency-based groups such as MACBAN, and other stakeholders, in the use of ICT as a critical enabler in tracking and monitoring the movements of cattle.

### Summary and Conclusion

The study reviewed the ethnic conflicts in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The foregoing suggests that ethnic conflict in Kaduna State is underlined by multiple factors, including struggle for land resource use, primordial view of socio-cultural differences by the vast majority of the Kaduna sub-populations and political and economic injustice as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and other corrupt activities are very common among the power elites in the State. Theoretically, the study adopts desk/literature review. Social Identity and Political Ecology Theories have been adopted in the study. According to Social Identity Theory, groups and not individuals are the main engine of social conflict, because people tend to identify themselves with the group they belong to and, in group, they show resentment towards other groups they are not identified with. The political ecology situates the ethnic conflict in Kaduna State revolving around access to and control over resources. The paper assumes that conflict is necessary, but it should not be escalated to destructive point against people's lives and properties, irrespective of their tribal and religious differences.

Findings of the paper indicate that ethnic conflict in Kaduna State is associated with myriad of factors, including fight for supremacy over land, hate speeches, growing economic, social and political inequalities between ethnic groups etc. The consequences of conflict include stress and anxiety on the individuals; breakdown in communities; additional demands on government services and degradation of the local environment. To provide solutions to ethnic conflict in Kaduna State, the paper suggests that focus should be placed on conflict prevention, Government should check proliferation of fire arms in the hands of unauthorized persons, and it should also partner with civil society organizations. In addition, the paper is of the view that tribal and religious differences should not become barriers for peaceful coexistence between the various sub-populations within Kaduna State. Given the fact that conflict is inevitable, but fierce and antagonistic conflict is destructive and should not be allowed to reign in the Kaduna State. This is because violent conflict as shown in Kaduna always end in the destruction of lives and properties, and ultimately undermine the development of any society. But through tolerance, peaceful co-existence, there is hope that unity can be achieved among the entire people of Kaduna State, despite their differences. The paper concludes that there is the need for unity between the various sub-populations within Kaduna State, despite their differences.

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