An Assessment of Inter-Faith Religious Opinions on Sharia Implementation in Kaduna State Between 1999 and 2012

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Abstract
It is the basic assumptions of this article that implementation of sharia in a multi-cultural, multi-religious society like Kaduna State is a source of permanent conflicts. Muslims are agitating for the adoption of sharia in the state, while Christians are opposing it on the basis that Kaduna State is a multi-religious entity. This study adopts the theory of conflict to link the manipulation of religion by the elites for political control and preservation of the status quo for the purpose of domination. The plural nature of the State might have provided a convenient ground for the adoption of religious divide as a tool for achieving the tactical balkanization of the different religious groups. The empirical findings of this study show that Muslims of Kaduna State still yearn for sharia implementation despite its destabilizing effects.

Keywords: Sharia, Comprehensive, Implementation, Agitation, Islam, politics.

Introduction

The agitation for the implementation of comprehensive Sharia Law in the Northern States of Nigeria underscores the salience of Islam in the politics and governmentality of the region. Islamic concepts have strong resonance in the government and party Politics of Northern Nigeria. Moreover, since 1977,Sharia has been one of the most controversially debated aspects of Islam in Nigeria. In the same vein, the launching of Islamic Sharia Legal System in Zamfara State by Governor Ahmed Sani Yerima in 1999 opened yet another chapter in the Sharia Politics of Northern States and Nigeria as a whole. This development was accompanied by serious controversies, debate and intrigues in the country and reactions from the international community.

Muslims consider that comprehensive Sharia implementation is a legitimate and an inalienable right. Therefore, they have the right to demand for its implementation. More so, Sharia is part and parcel of Islam and that there cannot be Islam without Sharia implementation in place. As the Comprehensive Sharia agitations intensified and gathered momentum, the individual northern States had to grapple with the ominous threat of civil unrest from the overzealous Muslims on one hand, and on another hand, pressure from the Christians who were alleged to perceive the Sharia agitations as a tactical manipulation for Muslim domination. Sharia controversies created mutual mistrust and tense situations. Aggression and the desire to unleash violence and chaos became the order of the day in some northern States like Kaduna.

More often than not, Comprehensive Sharia implementation is still a problematic and controversial issue with obvious acrimonies. There is the need to go beyond simplistic

explanation of the controversy and frictions that left Kaduna city and its suburbs divided along religious lines and segmented Muslim and Christian settlements with attendant dangers of disunity and mistrust. For intent and practical purposes, mutual collaboration of political and religious interests play significant role in the Sharia politics. Masses were hoodwinked into believing that the revised Sharia Law presupposes actual compliance to comprehensive Sharia implementation. The underlining Politics remained unclear and concealed. In the light of the foregoing, Muslims are still hopeful that Comprehensive implementation may be achieved in the near future. The challenges are still enormous and daunting in Kaduna State. This study is a departure from previous studies where emphasis were based on group relations rather than the inter play of the divergent vested interests and surrounding intrigues that continue to make the Comprehensive Sharia agitations more challenging and explosive in Nigeria.

The Concept of Sharia

Sharia refers to the way Muslims should live and conduct themselves in accordance with the teachings and revelations of Allah which are enshrined inthe Holy Quran and Hadith teachings of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) as a divine Law for Muslims (Aliyu, 2009: 11-13).

Sharia deals with, and encompasses a lot of things: as it touches aspects of routine day-to-day life, such as, Politics, economy, banking, business, family life, sexuality, hygiene and social issues. As Sharia represents divine ordained Laws, it was therefore understood as a blue print for societal balance and individual mutual sense of accountability (Bako, 2008:1 l-12).The word Sharia connotes what Allah had legislated to mankind through the Prophet. Sharia was therefore, a resemblance to a watering place, (Philip, 2000). Sharia regulates the conduct of the individual, group and societal aspects of Muslims human life. Sharia is among other things, aimed at the cleansing of mankind of vices (Aliyu, 2009:11).

The dispensation of justice in the Islamic Courts of Law recognizes and takes cognizance of the above stated sources. The Islamic Sharia Legal System or Law possesses certain features as:

a) The system is aimed at attaining excellence and social standard of societies by virtue of content and consideration.
b) The system is characterized by its unique universality and comprehensiveness to families, tribes, communities, states and nations.
c) The system had the advantage of perfection over other Laws. As it entails all that a perfect and complete legislation may require in the way of judicial decisions.
d) The provisions of the Islamic Sharia Legal System were divinely revealed from Allah to the noble Prophet for onward deliverance to mankind.
e) All Laws issued from Islamic Legal Systems were indivisible and inseparable not merely because their separation vitiates the objective of Islam, but also because there was explicit provision that prohibits people from adopting some Laws or believing in them.
f) The revelations to mankind were meant to serve certain purpose to take care of their spiritual, moral, economic, social and Political, ethical needs to enable mankind to attain the highest State of satisfaction and fulfillment. (Dio,1984:47)

Rahim, (1997: 1-2) posited that Sharia was effective in the elimination of crimes and produced far better result than those provided for in the operative modern Criminal Laws. Sharia therefore, covers all aspects of a Muslim's life and as well as their relationship with Allah and fellow human beings and the society in general. Consequently, Sharia is therefore, considered as the

complete universal Code of Conduct drawn by Allah to mankind through His messenger. Sada, (2005:4). One of the goals of Islamic Sharia is to create ahuman life and society on the basis of ma'arufat (virtues) and cleanse it of the vices. Virtues and good qualities are cherished and vices of mankind are equally discourage and rejected. Sharia provides acceptable norms to which the individual and social behaviour should conform.

Sharia is also aimed at realizing and securing the general good and interest of the people by promoting their well being as individuals and as a collective body. Sharia revolves around the welfare, progress, benefits and development of mankind. Sharia Law also aims at spiritual nourishment needed for a good existence and righteousness for man's safety. More so, Sharia ultimately aims at establishing and achieving and ensuring justice, fairness, truth, freedom and peace (Maududi, 1976:18).

Sharia regulates the relationship of man with Allah, and man to man. It is thus inseparable from Islam in totality. It ensures quick dispensation of justice. Judges are expected and enjoined to be upright, sober and calm and not be influenced by anything that is contrary to the Laws of Allah, enshrined in the Quran and teaching of the Prophet (Hadith). The Law encourages quick dispensation of justice in order to avoid inconveniences. Similarly, Sharia ensures mutual consultation in all ramifications, at group level interactions, social, political and commercial matters, (Hammuda, 1982:13, Hambali. 2001:7, Mohammed, 2000).

Sharia hopes to build and enhance a positive culture in accordance with Islam: Through unity and brotherhood of all Muslims, Sharia shows the best way to man and provides ways and means of fulfilling needs in the most successful and beneficial way. Sharia provides benefit, improvement and advancement to mankind. Sharia tries to strike a balance in the rights of man and rights of the society. Repudiation of all forms of impartiality and discrimination that were not in line with the tenets of the Law forms an integral part of the goals of Islamic Sharia (Mohammed, 2003: 128-180).

Sharia seeks to regulate the life of Muslims in a systematic, orderly and perfect manner so that neither contradiction nor confusion could creep into the life of Muslims. The basis of the Sharia is wisdom and welfare of the Muslims both in the world and the hereafter. It requires a level of justice and mercy to achieve it. Anything that departs from justice to oppression, mercy to harshness, welfare to misery and from wisdom to folly has nothing to do with Sharia. Any Legal System other than the Sharia can neither lead to justice nor serve the interest and welfare of the people. Any Legal System other than the Sharia is tantamount to imposing injustice in the place of justice (Mamdudi: 1980:752).

Another goal of Sharia Law is the "removal of difficulty" - the Islamic Law System had been revealed for man's benefit. It provided guidance to mankind in all works of life, in order to enhance righteous lifestyle within a just society committed to the service of God. Sharia is designed to facilitate mankind's individual and societal needs. As such, among the prime goals: the teachings and emphasis of Sharia were for the attainment of universal justice through divine Islamic legislations - Sharia considers human beings equal before Allah and with obligation to submit to the divine Laws . (Doi. 1980).

In addition, Sharia attempted to eradicate evils from their social scheme by prohibiting vices, such as corruption, unjust enrichment from Public treasury by both leadership and ordinary level. This could be achieved, by obviating the cause of its appearance and growth by closing the inlets - through which it creeps into society and adopting different measures to check its occurrences. Therefore, all Legal rules of Allah were , made for the benefit and improvement of man. The Legal rules of the Sharia were based upon the preservation and promotion of man's interests. Allah made man with intellectuality and vested him with the ability to trace out and discover what these interests were. (Muhammad, 2005:168-170)

Sharia and Governance

Tawhid means that Allah alone is the Creator, Sustainer and Master of the Universe and that all exist in it organic or inorganic. He alone has the right to command or forbid. Worship and obedience are due to Him alone. The principle of oneness of Allah made meaning as the concept of the Legal and political sovereignty of human beings made some sense, no race could set Law to themselves to be above Allah. Allah is the Ruler and His commandments constitute the Sharia Law.

Administration in Islamic States has it that the authority of Khilafa is bestowed on the whole of any community which was ready to fulfill the conditions of representation after subscribing to the principles of Tawhid and Risala. Such a society carried the responsibility of Khilafa as a whole and each one of its individuals shared in it. (Abdulkarim, 2010: 128-136) This is the point where administration began in Islam. Every individual in an Islamic society enjoyed the right and powers of the caliphate of Allah and in this respect, all individuals were equal, no one may take advantage and deprive anyone else of his/her rights, powers and privileges. The agency for running the affairs of the State was to be formed by agreements and the authority of the State represented an extension of the powers of the individuals delegated to it. Individual's opinions were decisive in the formation of government,which should be run with the advice and in accordance with people's wishes and mandate.

Whoever gains the confidence of the people would have to undertake the duties and obligations of the caliphates on their behalf, and when confidence was lost, leaders had to step down. This therefore, replicates what most modern democracies uphold. What distinguishes Islamic administration from western democracy is that the latter is based on the concept of popular sovereignty, while the former rests on the principle of popular Khilafa. In western Democracy/cies people were seemingly sovereign: in Islam sovereignty is vested in Allah and the people made their own Laws. In the latter, people have to follow and obey the Laws (Sharia) given by Allah through His Prophet. Both the Islamic government and the governed undertook to fulfill the will of Allah.

Islamic Government laid down certain rights for both Muslims and non Muslims who may be living within the boundaries of an Islamic State and these rights necessarily formed part of the Islamic Constitution. Islamic State enters into a covenant with non Muslims and guarantees their protection of life, property and honour in exactly the same way as that of Muslim citizens. Moreso, an Islamic State is expected to safeguard the personal rights of non Muslims. Non Muslims could criticize Islamic government within the limit of the Law and decency. These rights are irrevocable unless if covenant were renounced.

In respect of executive and legislative functions for the administration of the government in an Islamic State, powers were entrusted to an 'Amir' -leader, who may be compared to the contemporary president or prime minister Adult men who subscribed to the fundamentals of the Constitution were entitled to vote for leaders of their choice or engage in the selection of an 'Amir'. An 'Amir' is expected to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the Muslim populace on the basis of his adequate Sharia knowledge and firm grasp of Islamic faith and statesmanship - he should possess virtue and ability to steer the affairs of people.

Similarly, A 'Shoora' - Advisory Council, is elected by the people to assist and guide the 'Amir', It was mandatory and necessary for an Amir to administer his country with the advice of a'Shoora' Council. The 'Amir' may retain office so long as he continues to enjoy the confidence of the people and thus must relinquish it when he losses that confidence. People have the right to criticize the Amir and his administration; all reasonable means for the ventilation of Public opinions must be available. Legislation in an Islamic State is to be carried out within the limits prescribed by the Law of theShari'ah. The injunction of Allah and His Prophet were to be accepted and obeyed and no legislative body may alter or modify them or make any Law contrary to them. These commandments which were liable to two or more interpretations were referred to as a sub-committee of the advisory Council comprised of learned men in Islamic Law.

Administration in Islam is aimed at the fulfillment of the collective will of any particular set of people, and Islam also places a high expectation before the State for the achievement of better life. This idea formed a part of the qualities of purity, beauty, goodness, virtue, success and prosperity which Allah wanted to flourish in the life of people. This should be upheld and developed. All kinds of exploitations, injustices and disorderliness were in the sight of Allah ruinous to the world and detrimental to the life of people, and should be suppressed and prevented. Islam provided a clear outline of moral System by stating positively the desired virtues and the disliked evil. Keeping this routine in view, the Islamic State can plan its welfare programme in every age and in any environment. (Khurshid, 1998: 20-49).

It is true that Islam imposes similar obligations on the State and individuals in order to fulfill contracts, so as to have uniform standard in dealings to ensure fairness. In this regard, the State was enjoined to apply coercion and authority for the establishment of justice. Power is regarded as a trust from Allah. To be used in the belief that one had to render account of one's actions and deeds to Allah in the 'Hereafter'.

Fundamental rights in Islamic State may be set up anywhere on earth: Islam did not think that human rights or privileges could be fulfilling outside the boundaries of Shari'ah State. Islam laid down universal fundamental right for humanity which was to be observed and respected in all circumstances. For example, human blood is sacred and may not be spilled without strong justification. It is also not permissible to oppress women, children, elderly people, the sick, degradation of women's honour and frowned against chastity in strong terms. A starving person must be fed, the naked clothed and the wounded given medical attention irrespective of one's faith. These provisions among other things were by and large laid down in the Shari'ah. (Mohammed, 2006: 50-60).

In Islam, the Judiciary supposed to be independent of the executive control. It derived its authority directly from the Sharia, which is a divine Law of Allah. The judges were appointed by

the government but once a judge occupied the bench he has to administer justice impartially and in accordance with the Law of Allah. The organs and functionaries of the government are within the judge's Legal jurisdiction, so that even those in power are liable to be called upon to appear in a Court of Law, as a plaintiff or defendants. Rulers and the ruled are subject to the same Law and no discrimination on the basis of position, power, and status among others. Islamic Law stands for equality and scrupulously adherence to the social, economic and Political realm a like (Khurshid, 1998: 55/60).

Islamic government is essentially constitutional in nature. The constitution represents the agreement of the governed to be governed by a defined and agreed upon framework of rights and duties, principles Laws Code of conducts among other things. An Islamic Political System is participatory, from establishing the institutional structure of governance to operating it. Accountability is essentially corollary to a Constitutional participatory System. The leadership and the holders of authority are supposed to be accountable to the people within an Islamic framework. All Muslims are to be accountable to Allah and His divine guidance (Maleeha, 2003: 20-22).

Shari'ah Agitation in Nigeria

The Politics and agitations for Comprehensive Sharia implementation is not a recent development in Nigeria. Sheikh Usman Danfodio waged a Jihad in 1804 in the Northern part of Nigeria. The motive behind the Jihad was to ensure comprehensive compliance to the tenets of Islam and implementation of Comprehensive Sharia. Danfodio deposed the unpopular and tyrannical rulers of the Hausa land and other parts of the Northern Nigeria respectively. The British colonial government of Nigeria whittled down the status of Sharia in Northern Nigeria to suit their whims and caprices, and at the same time reshaped the future of the Nigerian judicial Systems. Consequently, the Sharia Criminal Law and procedure of Northern Nigeria was abrogated and replaced with Penal Code and Code of Criminal procedure in 1960 (Shehu,2000: 94).

Similarly, the inception of democratic rule paved way for Muslims' agitations for Comprehensive Shari'ah implementation in Kaduna State. Dimensions of social problems and tensions precipitated the rancour in virtually most of the Northern States of Nigeria. This situation was quite the same during the early years of colonial intrusion and eventual domination. It was argued that Section; 38, 275 (1), 240 (1) and 242 (1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guaranteed the implementation of Sharia. It was equally maintained that Muslims had the right to agitate for Comprehensive Sharia Law and its implementation. The launching of Islamic Sharia Legal System in Zamfara State by Senator Ahmed Sani Yerima on the 27th of October, 1999 marked a turning point in the Political history of Northern States and Nigeria as a whole. This developmentwas accompanied by unprecedented intrigues in the country and as well as responses from the international community. The proponents of Sharia implementation were said to be unsatisfied with the existing Penal Code of Northern States that embodied a level of Sharia Legal processes. The Penal Code had been in place and adopted since 1960. The lightening speed of the spread of Sharia Politics in the Northern States of Nigeria lent credence to the fact that, there had been a level of Public disenchantment and despair on the crop of politicians at the helm of affairs, and the performance of the democratic government. The cumulative factors however galvanized the spread and support and struggle from among the rank and file of the under privileged. People were made to belief that Sharia implementation was the

only means of checkmating social vices and addressing fundamental Problems of maladministration and hosts of other socio- economic and Political Problems that enmeshed the individual States and the entity at large.

As the Sharia agitations intensified and gathered momentum, the individual States, particularly in the North, had to grapple with the ominous threat of civil unrest from the overzealous Muslim populace on the one hand, and on the other hand, pressure from the opposition, particularly the Christian community who were alleged to perceive the Sharia agitations for tactical islamization of the States and eventual domination of Christians.

The dynamics of Sharia agitation in the Northern compelled the Religious and Political elites to identify themselves with the course. The controversies were effectively utilized for the mobilization of Public support through manipulative devices and propaganda gimmicks. This therefore, created tense situations and people became vulnerable to dangerous elites incitements of mistrust, intolerance, aggression and the desire to unleash violence and chaos. The Sharia issue created a lot of inconveniences that affected the relative stability of some Northern States of Nigeria. The agitations and corresponding intrigues are revisited more often in the Northern Nigeria.

The Sharia rancourous situations resulted in a lot of frictions in Kaduna State in 2000. The timing of the Sharia Politics may have suggested the fact that, power drunk and over ambitious politicians manipulated the Sharia rancour to score cheap Political goals and defended their so called mandates. The religious elites were accused of collaborating with the Political elites in this aspect. It is unfortunate that the Sharia intrigues and Politics are happening at a time when the entity was rolled back to democratic government, after so many years of Military dictatorship. The challenges of managing the daunting issues were in fact much and thus worth re-examination with a view to exploring more into salient issues and corresponding developments alike.

Sharia and the Theory of Conflict

Horowitz, (1985:3-55), propounded the modernization theory of conflict to provide yet another potent approach for the analysis of conflicting situations relating to the Politics of developing nations. This is equally applied to the analysis of the conflicting Sharia project in Kaduna State. The Sharia Politics can hardly be delinked from the hosts of dimensions of ethnic conflict. In some respect, ethnic conflict served a positive function of arousing and consolidating the unity of States. Ethnic and religious conflicts are thus, worldwide phenomenon. This, as a result leads to Possessing of the elements of Universality and uniformity. Trade Unions and Political parties were sometimes formed along ethnic lines as armed forces were equally factionalized along ethnic lines of divide in developing societies. In divided societies, ethnic conflict is at the centre of Politics. In Africa, ethnic groups were frequently divided between adherents of Christianity and Islam, Protestants and Catholics. The cleavages run through many places. Thus, ethnic conflict has been an integral part, even a product of the process of modernization itself.

The dominant concern in studies of developing countries had been the process of change, particularly those interrelated changes. As a byproduct of modernization, societies moved from traditional to modern ways of life. Modernization theory therefore posits that educated urban elites organized collective support to advance their position in the competition for the benefits of

modernity and thus, ensure loyalty of the people. More so, uneven distribution of economic and educational opportunities in the modern sector had been a source of group tension.

Social classes arose, overlapped and reinforced ethnic boundaries and resultant ethnic confrontations became more intense. Apart from class resentment, ethnic groups that were wealthy, better educated, and more urbanized tend to be envied, and feared by others. In this respect, modernization theories placed much of their emphasis on modern elites, the modern stratification system and modern sector of developing societies in general. Elite ambitions ignite conflicts. This therefore buttresses the manner in which elite's manipulation induced mass action and masses support in anticipation for a reward.

The theory is further premised in the understanding that non elites suffer from cases of false consciousness and serve interests other than their own.Similarly, tribal and religious movements were created and instigated to action by the new men in power, in furtherance of their own special interests. In the same vein, elites pursue a policy of deflecting mass confrontation onto other ethnic groups, rooted in sentiments, apprehension, and aspirations in order to succeed. The issues of religious and ethnic contestations are intertwined forces that cannot be separated from one another. In the case of Nigeria, the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group is associated with Islam, as most people from the Southern Nigeria are regarded to be Christian faithful. The dimensions of uprisings and spate of disturbances witnessed in the country were by no means attached to sentimental stratification so that elites found solace at critical situations. Unrealistic projects were by and large pursued with vigour, and the masses subjected to blind folded submission and sometimes used as fronts for the perpetuation of heinous crimes and disturbances in developing societies,

Relative Deprivation Theory

Suffice to say, Conflict theories are somehow related to one another in so many respects. Thus, the combination of numerous approaches by and large, provide better analytical basis for the empirical study of the Sharia project in Kaduna State. To this end, the Relative Deprivation theory is among the numerous approaches that are very much linked to the Politics of Sharia in a society that is plural in nature. Ted Gurr is a leading proponent of this theory. The notion of this theory dated back to the 1970's. Gurry (1970) explained it as the discrepancy between what people thought they deserved and what they comprehensively believed they can get, thus the disparity between aspirations and achievements. Achievements may invariably raise a certain taste in an individual, but that in a situation where the means to attaining the goals were not there, ultimately the resultant consequences may be frustration and some sort of mass political violence. Therefore, the potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of Relative Deprivation among members of a collectivity. Relative Deprivation may, at this juncture be considered to be a strong factor that so much caused civil strife and as well the incessant sectarian bickering respectively.

There was equally the argument that grievances and insecurity produced by the systemic neglect and obscuring of certain groups from Political power and access to economic opportunities and benefits were more pronounced in driving separatist violence. More so, people rebelled over issues of identity on the basis of ethnicity, religion, social class rather than economicsper se. The feeling of deprivation may generate revolt and upheavals with attendant acrimonies. Similarly, horizontal inequalities between groups, classified by ethnicity, religion, linguistic differences,

and tribal affiliations were thought to be important causes of contemporary civil war and sectarian strife. The idea of horizontal inequality may overlap with the notion of relative depravation and polarization. (Garrison 1966, Harowitz, Walker and Smith 2001, Gurr 1970).

Relative Deprivation could also be seen as the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes oneself is entitled. It also relates to discontent people feeling, when they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those around them. It also relates to the conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present Comprehensiveness. The concept of relative deprivation has important consequences for both behavior and attitudes, including feeling of stress, political attitudes and participation in collective action. The approach fails to explain why certain feelings of deprivation are transformed into social movements, whereas in other similar situations there is no collective effort to reshape the society.

Opinions of Stakeholders on Sharia Implementation

The frequency distribution tables shown below buttress the fundamental issues that characterize comprehensive Sharia implementation politics at different levels. The tables are sub divided into two groups. This arrangement succinctly captured the perceptions and responses of the two major contending forces that anchored the Sharia Politics in respect of the protagonists and antagonists opinions and other related issues that were in one way or the other connected to the Sharia project respectively. Group A tables buttress the responses of the Muslims respondents, while group B equally depicted the positions, perceptions and statistical results from their Christian counterparts.

GROUP A

Comprehensive Sharia Implementation Protagonists Perceptions andPositions

Table 1

How do you consider the present Sharia Law policy of Kaduna State?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Excellent	40	13,1
Clear	32	10.5
Confusing	132	43.3
Misleading	101	33.1
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

Muslims respondents expressed their resentment over the Sharia Penal and Criminal Code of Kaduna State. They were interested in practical implementation rather than paying lip service to application of Comprehensive Sharia as enshrined in the scriptures. In fact, the Sharia policy of Kaduna State is confusing in nature. The haphazard and selective application pre-empt the sincerity and objectiveness of the whole thing. This is evidently clear as 132 respondents representing 43.3% upheld this view. This is depicted in table 1 above.

Table 2
Which among the Islamic organizations do you think should lead theimplementation of Comprehensive Sharia in Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
All Islamic organzns	4	1.3
Shiite organization	10	3.3
Tariqa Organizaton	23	7.5
Salafiya Organization	124	40.7
JIBWIS	144	47.2
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

Unity and cooperation amongst Muslims is a **prerequisite** for ensuring Comprehensive Sharia implementation in **Kaduna** State. In this regard, onlyvery few respondents saw the need for a unified action and collective involvement in the anticipated Comprehensive Sharia implementation. Table 2 above shows that only 1.3 percent of the respondents concurring to the notion of unified action for the implementation of Comprehensive Sharia in Kaduna State in the near foreseeable future. This further portray intricacy and the daunting challenges associated with the Comprehensive Sharia project in Kaduna State

Table 3
How much do you know about the Comprehensive Sharia Law and governance?

	Frequency	Percent
Somehow	46	15.1
Yes	89	29.2
No idea	21	6.9
No	149	48.9
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The desire for Comprehensive Sharia implementation by the Muslims could make much impact if the tenets of the system are understood. Respondents portrayed a level of ignorance about the central issues of Sharia and governance. Out of the total number of the respondent's, 149, (48.9) expressed their ignorance. This could be seen in table 3 above.

Table 4
What do you expect from Comprehensive Sharia Law and implementation in Kaduna State?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
No Response	2	0.7
Richness	14	4.6
Social Balance	55	18.0
Good Governance/ Fairness and peace	217	71.1
Elimination of crime And Criminals	17	5.6
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

71% of the Muslim's respondent expects that the virtues of Comprehensive Shari'ah Law and implementation could by and large, ensure peace, good governance and fairness. This therefore justified the persistent and unrelenting agitations, especially from the masses who felt that their plight might be squarely addressed in the event that Comprehensive Shari'a was implemented in Kaduna State. This is evidently buttressed in table 4 above.

Table 5

Has the transition **to democracy rekindled the Muslims spirit to demandComprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State?**

	Frequency	**Percent**
No	72	23.6
Yes	158	51.8
No idea	75	24.5
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The vehement agitations for Comprehensive Sharia implementation was galvanized by Nigeria's transition to Democracy. 52% of the respondent's in table 5 believed that their spirit was arisen by the Democratic rights and opportunities in Kaduna State. This further suggests that the Sharia demands may by and large, be diverted and politicized by both the religious and Political elites for self aggrandizement

.

Table 6

Are you gainfully employed?

	Frequency	**Percent**
No	128	42.0
Fair	83	27.2
Yes	74	24.3
No idea	20	6.6
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The agitations for Comprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State cannot be divorced from dimensions of Socio-Economic conditions of the Muslim populace. Cumulative factors of unemployment and economic restlessness contributed to the unprecedented socio-political change and corresponding religious movements that aimed at effecting positive changes in Kaduna State. 42% of the Muslim respondents were not gainfully employed. The masses register their support for Comprehensive Sharia implementation with the hope that their living conditions might improve. This is further elaborated in Table 6 above.

Table 7
Does the present Penal and Criminal Code Law manifest good Shariaimplementation in Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
No	110	36.1
Yes	35	11.5
No idea	89	29.2
Somehow	71	23.3
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The Muslim respondents lamented that the current Sharia Law did not reflect the desired Comprehensive Sharia implementation. In this situation, resentment and outrage played a significant role in respect of the mass support and Muslims commitment to the Comprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State. It is no surprise that mobilized Muslims were ready to make more sacrifices in order to advance the course of Comprehensive Sharia implementation in the State. The frequency distribution could be seen in table 7 above.

Table 8
How do you consider the recent changes to **the Sharia Law** of **KadunaState?**

	Frequency	Percent
No response	6	2.0
There were significant changes	55	18.0
There were few changes made	47	15.4
There were insignificant changes	99	32.5
No changes noticed	98	31.1
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The Sharia Penal and Criminal Law of Kaduna State are almost similar to the Penal Code of Northern Nigeria. Consequently, the continued agitation for Comprehensive Sharia was informed by the need to put more pressure on the government so that reasonable changes should be brought to bear. Table 8 shows that respondents opinion rests more on the negative responses.

Table 9
Were the Muslim Political elites committed to promoting the cause ofComprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
No response	5	1.6
Yes	54	17.7
No	112	36.7
Some how	93	30.5
Not at all	41	13.4
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The complex nature of the Sharia project was by no means confusing and difficult to be understood. The Comprehensive Sharia project was championed by the religious and Political elites. Now that Muslims seemingly lost hope in the exercise, the elites were so much blamed for the inactiveness of the present Sharia Law. Muslim Political and Religious elites were however perceived as stumbling block to the successes of Comprehensive Sharia implementation in the State. There are indications to believe that the Sharia project was manipulated and politicized for obvious motives. This is empirically presented in table 9 above.

Table 10
Who was the stumbling block to the Comprehensive Sharia Lawimplementation in Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
No response	3	1.0
Traditional rulers	21	6.9
Islamic clerics	31	10.2
Organized Christian opposition	201	65.9
Political elites	49	16.1
Total	**305**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D field work 2012

The elite antics made Muslims to believe that organized Christian opposition had been a stumbling block to the realization of Comprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State. A large percentage of the respondents upheld this position, as empirically depicted in table 10 above.

GROUP B
Christians' Perceptions and Responses on Comprehensive Sharia Implementation and Related Issues in Kaduna State
Table 11
Are you familiar with the Sharia Law policy of Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	54	25.8
No	94	45.0
Some how	50	23.9
No comment	11	5.3
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The reality of the matter is that Christian respondents knew less about Sharia Law. Sharia Law is a technical term and practice that transcend superficial claim and assumptions. Table 11 above depicted that the respondents affirmed their ignorance of the Sharia Principle and its application. This therefore posed a challenging question of how, then Christians register their grievances over what they knew little about in respect of Comprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State.

Table 12
What interest is Comprehensive Sharia Law implementation likely toprotect in Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
Interest of both Christians and Muslims	18	8.
Interest of Muslims only	138	66.0
Interest of few elites n the State	43	20.6
Interest of the masses	10	4.8
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field Work 2012

As far as the Christians were concerned, Comprehensive Sharia implementation represents and promotes the interests of the Muslims rather than carrying all the different interests and groups along in Kaduna State. This was however a serious factor that by and large stimulated opposition and corresponding controversies in Kaduna State. Tablel2 buttressed that a significant percentage of the respondents were against the notion that Comprehensive Sharia implementation might impacted positively on the lives of both Christians and Muslims in a wider perspective in Kaduna State. By this position the challenges of Sharia implementation are still there and requiring a more pragmatic approach.

Table 13
Could you accept Comprehensive Sharia implementation in KadunaState?

	Frequency	Percent
No	142	67.9
No sure	44	21.1
Yes	9	4.3
No idea	14	6.7
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

Christian respondents were by no means unwilling to accept the implementation of Comprehensive Sharia in Kaduna State. This might not be unconnected to the presumed negative perceptions of Sharia across the larger sections of the Christian populace in the State. This further justifies the reasons why Comprehensive Sharia debates and controversies will continue to greet Kaduna State. Table 13 shows that 68% of the respondents unequivocally reject the idea of implementation of Comprehensive Sharia in Kaduna State. The above table provides the empirical statistical figures.

Table 14
CouldComprehensive Sharia guarantee harmony and peacefulcoexistence amongst the people of Kaduna State?

	Frequency	**Percent**
I don't know	26	12.4
Yes	5	2,4
No	131	62.7
May be	47	22.5
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The idea that Comprehensive Sharia will guarantee harmony and a level of harmonious coexistence amongst the various groups in Kaduna State was however rejected by the Christian group. Table 14 indicates that 62% of the respondents upheld this view. To this end, the issue is increasingly becoming more complex and difficult.

Table 15
Are you familiar with the present Sharia Penal and Criminal Code Law, of Kaduna State?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Somehow	42	20.1
No	96	45.9
Yes	25	12.0
No comment	46	22.0
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

Looking at table 15 above, 46% of the Christian respondents portray their ignorance of the current Penal and Criminal Sharia Law of Kaduna State. There is the fear that elites might take advantage of this and further escalate the seeming rift between Christian and Muslim followers. Politicization of the project had by no means subjected the Sharia question to serious scrutiny and challenges as well.

Table 16
Are you satisfied with the present Sharia Law of Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
No	98	46.9
Yes	28	13.4
Somehow	29	13.9
No content	54	25.8
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The fact that the Comprehensive Sharia implementation is debatable and questionable as well, Christian respondents were still not comfortable with the Law in place. About 47% of the Christian respondents attests to this position. Table 16 above shows the frequency distribution,.

Table 17
Did you feel the impact of the present Sharia Penal and Criminal CodeLaw of Kaduna State?

	Frequency	Percent
Not at all	84	40.2
No response	27	12.9
No	67	32.1
I don't know	31	14.8
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D field work 2012

The impact of the acclaimed Comprehensive Sharia implementation is not yet felt by the Christians in Kaduna State. Table 17 depicted this. 40% of the respondents did not feel much of the impact of Sharia implementation in the State. So, the Sharia project has a long way to go. The efficacy of the Sharia Law depends on how well people are informed and as well benefited out of it. Otherwise, the future of the project will be hanging in the balance. Though, Sharia was said to be meant for the Muslims only.

Table 18
Comprehensive sharia implementation could address the problems ofpoverty, injustice, corruption and crisis **of governance in Kaduna State?**

	Frequency	Percent
I don't know	52	24.9
No	81	38.8
No idea	37	17.7
Yes	39	18.7
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Buba, Ph.D Field work 2012

The postulated virtues of Comprehensive Sharia implementation was over looked by the Christians. Table 18 above shows that 39% of the respondent's did not accept the possibility that Comprehensive Sharia implementation might address the crises of governance in Kaduna State.

This shows the extent to which comprehensive Sharia is rejected by the Christian counterparts in the State.

Table 19
What are your fears **about the implementation of Comprehensive ShariaLaw in Kaduna State?**

	Frequency	Percent
Application of capital punishment	32	15.3
Harassment	49	23.4
Injustice	60	28.7
Domination and repression	68	32.5
Total	**209**	**100**

Source: Bub, Ph.D Field work 2012

Christians felt that application of Comprehensive Sharia will lead to their eventual domination and repression by the Muslims. Persistent opposition was thus conceived to be possible option for check- mating the persistent Comprehensive Sharia agitations. Christians felt that they will be treated as second class citizens in the State. This is further elaborated in table 19 above.

Conclusion

The Politics of Sharia implementation has become a permanent feature in Nigeria. The agitations and challenges of implementation in Kaduna State are enormous. The complexities and intrigues of the project led to the trying moments of serious controversies and turmoil. This is a testimony to the unfolding realities of the fact that Sharia Politics manifest Political and religious elites conflicting group interests. This study shows that Muslims of Kaduna State still yearn for Comprehensive Sharia implementation as it is an integral part of Islam. The Muslim and Christian populace remained sharply divided over the implementation of Comprehensive Sharia in Kaduna State. A significant percentage of Muslims and Christians of Kaduna State lacked adequate knowledge of Sharia Penal Code of Northern Nigeria and the current Sharia Penal and Criminal Code, 2002 of Kaduna State and wider application of comprehensive Sharia Law. Similarly, disunity among Muslims and a Federal secular constitution constitute a serious challenge to the implementation of Comprehensive Sharia in the State. The Political and Religious elites successfully manipulated the Comprehensive Sharia Politics for their self-centered Political goals and gains among other things. The grim realities of the Socio-Economic conditions of the masses are antithetical to the realization of Comprehensive Sharia implementation in Kaduna State. A significant percentage of Muslims and Christians were thus, uncomfortable and skeptical of the current Sharia Penal and Criminal Code Law of the State. The bottom line of the issue is the fact that much is at stake as far as Sharia Politics is concerned. There is the need for micro and macro level management of the issue in order to ensure peaceful coexistence, stability and tolerance among people with divergent opinions and perceptions about salient issues. Sharia Project should be objectively approached in order to avoid unnecessary controversies, rancour, political turmoil and restlessness in Kaduna State, Northern Nigeria and the nation as a whole.

Most of the agitations and controversies are carried through the media of mass communication. Hence, the need for the mass media not be used by either group in fuelling social tension which may lead to unforeseen negative consequences.

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