Communal Violence among Competing Groups in Kaduna State: A Content Analysis of State White Papers and Reports of Commissions of Inquiry

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Abstract

Since the creation of Kaduna State in 1976, there has been a persistent occurrence of communal violence in the state. Several commissions of inquiries were set up to look into the issues and many white papers were developed but the violence persists. Also, each time this violence occurred, many lives would be lost and property worth millions of Naira destroyed. Therefore, this study tries to answer the question, what are the factor responsible for the persistent occurence of communal violence despite the reports of the various commissions of inquiry and the development of white papers by the state government.To achieve this, the theory of Relative Deprivation was employed as a theoretical framework. The study also relies on both primary and secondary data while content analysis was used to analyse the data. The study reveals that reports and white papers of the various commissions of inquiry are usually not published, so people do not know in detail what findings and recommendations the Commissions or Committees have made, or which recommendations made have been formally accepted, merely noted, or rejected by the government. Also, the government does not implement even the recommendations it accepts. It was also found that the communal conflict in the state is not only between the northern and southern communities as portrayed by the northern groups, but cuts across all parts of the state. This is evident in the Gure-Kahugu, Baju-Ikulu and the Numana chiefdom succession crises among others.

Introduction

Kaduna state is located in the northern part of Nigeria's high plains. The 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 Provinces in 1917, and it retained this status until 1967. In 1967 this was split up into six states, one of which was the North-Central State, whose name was changed to Kaduna State in 1976. In 1987, Katsina State was carved out of the state. The name Kaduna was taken up by Lord Fredrick Lugard and his colonial colleagues when they moved the capital of the then northern region from Zungeru to Kaduna (Kaduna State Government, 2017). The state is politically classified as belonging to the North-Western part of Nigeria with a projected population of 7, 102,88 million people

(National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Furthermore, the state is diverse with many ethnic groups.

The state has been troubled with communal violence for many years and several commissions of inquiries were set up to look into the issues. Since 1984, eleven of such Commissions of Inquiry had been appointed and submitted reports on specific outbreaks. Besides, a Leaders of Thought Forum (LTF) was appointed in 2000, after the Sharia implementation-related violence of that year, and two other special Committees were appointed, in 2012 and 2015, to inquire more generally into the causes of communal violence in the state and how to stop it, and all submitted reports. Despite these efforts, communal conflicts persist in the state.

Many groups in the state believe that the only solution to communal violence is splitting the state into two. In 1994, the Committee for the Creation of New Kaduna State submitted a proposal for the creation of "New Kaduna". Its major argument was on "social discord and disharmony" among the various group and communal violence, most especially between the southern and northern groups. According to its proposal, it states that the creation of Katsina State in 1987 brought joy to both the people of the present southern and northern parts of Kaduna State. They expected that the diverse communities of the state would come together and provide and accelerate the development of their state and the people. The group argues that the reverse was the case. As such, it further argues that "It can safely be argued that Kaduna State is today the most socially unstable state in the Nigeria Federation. There is so much mistrust, resentment and intolerance at all levels of our official and social interaction" (Memorandum for the creation of New Kaduna State, 1995. p.2). The committee concludes that the only way forward to end social discord and disharmony is to split the state into two.

Also, the Movement for the Creation of Zazzau State (1996) contends that Kaduna State is a crisis-ridden state which can be described as volatile and a time bomb in the social, economic and political dispensation in Nigeria. Due to the frequent occurrence of conflict, a battle line is always drawn between the Northern and Southern parts of the state.The movement adds that to have permanent peace and stability in the state, Zazzau State should be created to separate southern Kaduna from northern Kaduna.

To understand the problem of intergroup relations and why violence and killings are persistent in the state, most especially, from the 1980s, the paper content analysed the white papers and reports of commissions of inquiry. Therefore, the

study is divided into five sections. Section one is the introduction, section two covers the theoretical framework and section three discusses the methodology. Section four outlines the factors responsible for the persistent communal violence in the state and section five concludes the study.

Relative Deprivation and Communal Violence

The paper employs Relative Deprivation (RD) Theory as a framework of analysis. The theory is propounded by scholars such as Ted Gurr, Walter Garrison Runciman, and Crosby F. J. among others. Gurr (1970) describes relative deprivation as actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are those conditions of life which people believe they are rightfully entitled to. Value capabilities are those conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping. He further identifies three types of values which are welfare values, power values and interpersonal values. Examples of welfare values are physical goods of life: food, shelter, health services, and physical comforts and the development and use of physical and mental abilities while power values are the desire to participate in the collective decision-making-to vote, to take part in political competition, to become a member of the political elite- and the related desires for self-determination and security. Interpersonal values are "occupancy of a generally recognised role by which people are granted some measure of prestige by those with whom they interact with and the related need to participate in stable, supportive groups - family, community, associations that provide companionship and affection" (Gurr, 1970, pp. 25-26).

Furthermore, relative deprivation exists when an individual or group perceives that their value expectations and capabilities are denied. Relative deprivation emphasizes the individual experience of dissatisfaction when being deprived of something to which one believes oneself to be entitled. Also, groups may resort to violence by citing grievances of their people who feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled. There are four preconditions of relative deprivation. (of object X by person A): "A is relatively deprived of X when (i) he does not have X, (ii) he sees some other person or persons, which may include himself at some previous or expected time, as having X (whether or not this is or will be the case), (iii) he wants X, and (iv) he sees it as feasible that he should have X" (Runciman, 1966, p.10).

This means people usually join social movements with the hope of redressing their grievances, most especially when they feel deprived of justice, money, status or privilege. To overcome their perceived deprivation and grievances, in many cases, they believe that joining social movements would make them have access to what they think they should have by comparing with what others have. The use of violence in a social movement is a major strategy of overcoming their perceived deprivation (Walker & Smith, 2002).

The theory explains the causes of political and social movements and collective actions, leading to communal violence in Kaduna State. It is also used in understanding the responses to a perceived marginalisation and domination by disadvantaged and minority groups which in many cases leads to violence. As such, communal violence can be explained in terms of minority and disadvantaged groups using violence as a solution to their perceived domination and marginalisation.

Methodology

The study is majorly a qualitative research which relies on both primary and secondary data. The primary data was sourced from Key Informant Interviews (KII) with key political and social actors while the secondary data was generated from the relevant literature, memos, official documents, minutes of meetings and other related relevant materials. Coding sheets were used as instruments for data collection. Furthermore, to understand the problem of intergroup relations and why violence and killings are persistent in the state, most especially, from the 1980s, the work content analysed ten (10) white papers and reports of commissions of inquiry. They are:

i. Report of The Commission of Inquiry into the Gure/Kahugu Disturbance in Lere Local Government Area-1984.
ii. The Report of the Committee to Investigate the Causes of Riots and Disturbances in Kaduna State 6th -12th March 1987 (the Kafanchan Religious Crisis).
iii. Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry– June 1992.
iv. Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots and Subsequent Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–September 1992.
v. Report of the Committee for Reconciliation and Search for Lasting Peace in Zangon Kataf 1995.

vi. White Paper on the Report of the Jema'a Emirateship Staff of Office Riots Judicial Commission 9th August 1999.
vii. White Paper on the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Kaduna State Religious Disturbances of February 2000.
viii. White Paper on the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Crisis between Bajju and Ikulu Communities at Kamuru in Ikulu Chiefdom --August 2001.
ix. White Paper on Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Post Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State -April 2011.
x. Report of the Committee to Stamp Out Attacks on Southern Kaduna Communities – July 2015.

Three units of analysis were identified which are: terms of reference, findings and recommendations of the reports and white papers. Also, in the priori-design, two categories were identified, which are: claims of marginalisation and exclusion in the state governance structure. In the emergent design, five categories were also identified which are land dispute/ownership, mutual suspicion/mistrust, religious intolerance, traditional leadership crisis and settler-indigene dichotomy. The narrative technique was used to report the outcome. The technique involves reorganisation of the collected data and related accounts, such as time, place, ideas, context and themes of the collected information, and the rewriting of the information to place them in chronological order.

Factors Responsible for Communal Conflicts: The Review of Reports and White papers of the Commission of Inquiry into the Various Communal Violence in Kaduna State

To answer the question on what are the factors responsible for the persistent communal violence and frosty intergroup relation in Kaduna State, this section reviews various reports and white papers that looked into intergroup communal violence in the state. Five major causes of the conflicts were identified. These are the land disputes/ownership, mutual suspicion and mistrust, religious intolerance, traditional leadership crisis and settler-indigene dichotomy.

Land Disputes/Ownership: One of the key factors for economic growth and development of every nation and the foundation for shelter in the urban areas as well as the source of livelihood in the rural areas is the land resources. The struggle for the available land resources has often resulted in land disputes and conflicts. A land dispute is a disagreement over the control or possession of land

between two or more entities or the possession or control of land, usually between a new state and the occupying power.

Conflict over land ownership has been a major source of violence in Kaduna State. It is a common phenomenon and can happen at any time and in any place. Land conflicts occur in the form of boundary conflicts between neighbours, inheritance conflicts between siblings and disputes over the use of a given piece of land. These conflicts are comparably easy to solve. Those that include several parties though - such as group invasions or evictions of entire settlements – are more difficult to deal with (Wehrmann, 2008). In Nigeria, the Land Use Decree No 6 of 1978 stipulates that all powers over lands comprising the territory of each state in the Federation are vested in the Governor of the State. This, therefore, means that the burden of solving the land problems lies squarely on the government.

Claim over the ownership of lands in Kaduna State is one of the major factors responsible for communal violence in the state. For instance, the findings of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Gure/Kahugu Disturbance in Lere Local Government Area reveals that the major causes of the conflict between the Gure and Kahugu communities are the issue of ownership and control of the land. The Commission established that the root cause of the conflict was a land dispute which was exercebated by the decision of some communities to take ownership of their claimed land (Report of The Commission of Inquiry into the Gure/Kahugu Disturbance in Lere Local Government Area, 1984).

Furthermore, the moving of the market to a new site without complying with constitutional requirements is one of the remote causes of the conflict between the Kataf and Hausa communities in Zango Kataf in June 1992. Furthermore, the decision of the Local Government Chairman, Mr. Juri Babang Ayok, to move the Zango weekly market from its old site in the heart of Zango town to a new site along Magamiya road without first complying with all constitutional requirements led to the riot between the two communities. There is also the issue of *Hurumi*-land within the protection and control of the Emir of Zazzau. The Kataf claims that Mallam Ja'afaru, the late Emir of Zazzau, in 1920, when he was the District Head of Zangon Kataf, appropriated Kataf farmlands within a four-kilometre radius around Zango as *Hurumi* (Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–June 1992).

Consequently, on the 21 April 1992, eight Kataf Village Heads wrote a letter stating that they have decided with immediate effect to take back the ownership of their farmlands which they claim were confiscated by the Emirate Council through the then Hausa District Head of Zangon Kataf and shared out to their kith and kin. This led to the riots of the 15th and 16th May, 1992 in Zangon Kataf as a result of the uprooting of crops on Hausa farmlands which eventually, the Hausas retaliated against by uprooting crops on some Kataf farmlands. For the Katafs, the issue was ownership of the land. The Commission found in its first report that no Kataf has proved before the Commission his title to any piece of land now occupied by the Hausas (Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots and Subsequent Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–September 1992).

The Report of the Committee for Reconciliation and Search for Lasting Peace in Zangon Kataf (1995) reveals that land ownership was identified as one of the remote causes of Zangon Kataf violence. Since 1920, land ownership constituted a major source of rancour between the Kataf and the Hausa/Fulani. The land in contention is four miles radius from the centre of Zangon Kataf town. The pattern of settlement renders Zangon Kataf a uniquely isolated settlement from surrounding villages. Thus, Zangon Kataf does not have the cosmopolitan attributes required of a District Headquarters as obtainable in other towns with similar status. The Kataf and other nationalities, therefore, see Zangon Kataf town as a Hausa/Fulani enclave that has refused to integrate other Nigerians. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the Government should expand Zangon Kataf town to integrate other nationalities.

Also, claim over ownership and control of land is one of the causes of Bajju and Ikulu conflict of 2001. The main issue centred on boundaries. The White Paper on the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Crisis between Bajju and Ikulu Communities at Kamuru in Ikulu Chiefdom in August 2001 shows that there had been much migration of individuals from different ethnic groups. Chiefs attempted to tax members of their ethnic group no matter where they resided. This created friction with the chiefs of the communities in which such individuals lived. To forestall the further crisis, it was decided that cross-boundary taxation should not be permitted. The second dispute was over the name of the settlement – Kamuru Station or Kamuru Ikulu. It was recommended that it should be called Kamuru. (White Paper on the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Communal Crisis between Bajju and Ikulu Communities at Kamuru in Ikulu Chiefdom --August 2001).

The Report of the Committee to Stamp Out Attacks on Southern Kaduna Communities (2015) also shows that land and boundary issues came up in all communities visited during the Committee's interactive sessions; the Committee, therefore, recommends that Government should study land matters more seriously, especially matters of territorial boundaries, and take necessary steps to resolve them. Another major problem revealed by the report is the pastoralism and grazing issues. The conflict between farmers and herdsmen due to encroachment by farmers into cattle routes on the one hand and the trespassing of cattle into farms on the other has been a constant source of conflict between the two groups, often with attendant killings and destruction. The Committee, therefore, recommends that cattle routes should be properly delineated. The Committee also recommends that the government should look into the possibility of restoring gazetted grazing reserves and regulating their use

Mutual Suspicion and Mistrust Among the Various Ethnic and Religious Groups: Another factor that contributed to frequent inter-communal conflicts in the state is mutual suspicion and mistrust among the various ethnic and religious groups. Societal groups that are particularly the target of substantial distrust are power holders, notably politicians, ethnic groups and religious groups. Other societal groups may also be the target of suspicious perceptions among large groups of citizens, such as ethnic minority groups.

Therefore, conflict transcends community. One type of conflict that is being manipulated by political elites is inter-ethnic conflict. Some politicians who have personal stakes have also manipulated this thereby creating mutual suspicion and fear of domination between and among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria. (Okafor, 2007). Since 1984, there had been tension and mutual suspicion between the different ethnic and religious groups in Kaduna State. For instance, mutual suspicion, hostility, tension and the penchant for revenge among the communities was another remote cause of the Gure/Kahugu conflict in Saminaka. (Report of The Commission of Inquiry into the Gure/Kahugu Disturbance in Lere Local Government Area, 1984).

Moreover, it is revealed that there was mistrust between the Hausa and Fulani and other ethnic groups in Southern Kaduna based on allegations of political and cultural domination of the latter by the former. Also, in Zango Kataf, there is the problem of mutual distrust between the Hausa and Kataf communities. The Katafs claim that the Hausas see them as *arna* and *kafiri;* as such the Hausas are suspicious of Kataf living in their midst. There is also the problem of mixed

marriages. Kataf feels very bad about the manner the Hausas marry their daughters but Hausas refuse to allow their daughters to marry Kataf men (Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–June 1992).

One other major remote reason for the conflict was the protracted division/separation of the communities by the colonial, Emirate and District Administrations. This resulted in contempt, mutual suspicion, intolerance and deep-seated animosities between the communities. In addition, the lack of social and religious interaction between the communities did not help matters (Report of the Committee for Reconciliation and Search for Lasting Peace in Zangon Kataf, 1995 & Interview with Musa, 2018).

The White Paper on the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Kaduna State Religious Disturbances (2001) and the White Paper on Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Post Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State (2011) reveal that the deep-rooted animosity and suspicion, mistrust and division of settlements along primordial sentiments also contributed to the recurring ethnic, tribal and religious crisis in the state. This brought about intolerance, hatred, suspicion and mistrust among various communities. Furthermore, the government's policies and appointments are viewed by the Southern Kaduna ethnic groups to be in favour of Hausa-Fulani Muslims. This gave room for unhealthy rivalry, competition, antagonism and attendant religious crises in Southern Kaduna.

Religious Intolerance: The inability to recognise and accommodate the views and opinions of others is, therefore, one of the major sources of religious violence in Kaduna State. Nigerian religious adherents, especially the Muslims and the Christians have demonstrated intolerant attitudes which in many cases resulted in violence. For example, religious intolerance on the part of both Hausa and Fulani Muslims and the Southern Kaduna Christian ethnic groups, mutual provocations through vile and inciting statements, mutual suspicion, rivalry and enmity made worse through preaching by narrow-minded and malicious clergy and opportunistic elite helped further escalate the crisis. Take the instance of the 1987 Kafanchan crisis which started as a religious event by Christian Student Fellowship in College of Education, Kafanchan, titled "Mission 87 from February 24th to 6th of March, 1987 which served as a major catalyst in the conflict. The display of the event banner with the inscription "Welcome to Jesus Campus", was regarded by Muslim students as offensive. A preacher named Reverend Bako drew the anger of Muslim students when it was alleged that he misrepresented the

Qur'an. This led to the outbreak of violence leading to the destruction of a mosque and the burning of a church (The Report of the Committee to Investigate the Causes of Riots and Disturbances in Kaduna State of 6th -12th March of the Kafanchan Religious Crisis, 1987).

Another instance is the letter by the Nigerian Aid Group of Izala of Zangon Kataf on 9th May which was an appeal to the Sultan of Sokoto for a solution to the problems of the people of Zango town. The use of the word "jihad" was interpreted by both Muslims and Christians as a call to war. Originally the dispute of 1992 in Zango Kataf started as communal, but by the time it spilled over to Kaduna and other areas it was couched as a religious conflict caused by religious intolerance (Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots and Subsequent Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–September 1992).

Besides, what began as a political crisis between PDP and CPC supporters (protests over the election of Goodluck Jonathan) degenerated into religious and ethnic crisis. As the outcome of the Presidential election on 16th April, 2011 was gradually announced, the outcome in Kaduna State showed that the CPC led other parties in votes cast. But when results from other states were announced, it was declared that the PDP candidate (Jonathan) was the winner. The jubilation of CPC supporters turned to rage and violent disturbances that spread from Kaduna town to most parts of the state, with the burning of properties of PDP supporters, and also killings. Divisive preaching by both Muslim and Christian preachers contributed in turning the conflict into a religious one (White Paper on Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Post Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State -April 2011).

Report of the Committee to Stamp Out Attacks on Southern Kaduna Communities (2015) reveals that religious misconception brings intolerance resulting in crisis, destruction and killings within the communities on several occasions. The Committee, therefore, recommends that religious tolerance should be cultivated and fanaticism should be discouraged.

Traditional Leadership Crisis: The bitterness of the Kataf towards the Emirate system contributed remotely to the Zango Kataf crisis of June 1992. The Kataf, in the 1990s, claim that they have a distinct culture and religion different from the "rulers" of the emirate system. Although the then District Head of Zangon Kataf was a Kataf and a Christian, people feel that he is merely a puppet of the Zaria Emirate Council. The Kataf agitated to be given a graded Chief like in Moro'a,

Kagoro and Jaba (Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–June 1992).

Furthermore, members of the Jema'a Emirate felt that since the creation of Jema'a Federation in 1957 there had not been harmonious relationships among the various districts. Consequently, the Jema'a Emirate would like the Federation to be discontinued. In response, The Report of the Committee to Investigate the Causes of Riots and Disturbances in Kaduna of the Kafanchan Religious Crisis (1987) recommended the creation of more local governments. Jaba, Kauru, Kaura, and Zangon Kataf Local Governments were eventually created.

The Report of the Committee for Reconciliation and Search for Lasting Peace in Zangon Kataf (1995) observes that the request for chiefdoms in the area was also one of the remote causes of the crisis. From the Kataf community point of view, the Zazzau Emirate Council in conjunction with the Hausa/Fulani community has thwarted their demands for the creation of new chiefdoms. The Hausa/Fulani community, on their part, also felt that the Kataf have never consulted them in their quest for self-determination, and could in no way place obstacles in their path. Therefore, there was a communication gap between the two communities. After consulting community leaders, religious organisations and traditional rulers, the Committee agreed on the importance and urgent need for self-determination by each community in the area.

Furthermore, following the death of the 10th Emir of Jema'a Alhaji Isah Mohammed on 18th November, 1998 and the appointment of his son Alhaji Muhammadu Isah Muhammadu as the 11th Emir on 23rd November, 1998, there were protests against the successor's appointment by a group known as the Indigenous People's Forum of Jema'a which had earlier written a petition to the Government dated 23rd November 1998. In the petition, the Indigenous People's Forum demanded, among other things, a change of status and restructuring of the Jema'a Emirate, which should be carried out immediately before the investiture of the new Emir. The State Government considered the demands in the petition and decided as follows:

i. Government has accepted the demand by the indigenous people to create a chiefdom. That administrative and legal processes will be set in motion to bring the chiefdom into being.
ii. The staff of the office will be presented to the 11th Emir on the 22nd May, 1999.

iii. The Government will solicit the support and cooperation of the Indigenous People's Forum for the success of the presentation of the staff of the office.

However, the Indigenous People's Forum rejected the decision of the Government, which nonetheless went on with the preparation for the presentation of the staff of office on 22nd May, 1999. On the scheduled day the Military Administrator and other government officials were prevented from entering Kafanchan town to attend and perform the ceremony. Roadblocks were mounted by the Indigenous People's Forum, violent protests, riots and disturbances erupted. As a result, many people were killed and property worth millions of Naira were destroyed (White Paper on the Report of the Jema'a Emirateship Staff of Office Riots Judicial Commission 9th August, 1999).

Another instance of the traditional leadership crisis in the state is controversy over the claims of ruling houses to succession to Numana Chiefdom. There was also the agitation for the name change of Numana Chiefdom. This has been identified as the major cause of the 2nd November 2001 disturbance. The Chief of Numana insisted on changing the name of the Chiefdom and alienated the Numana people to ensure that only one ruling house emerges and from his family. Another remote cause is the controversy over the ruling house and succession pattern of Numana Chiefdom (Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances of 2nd November 2001 in Gwantu Town of Sanga Local Government and the Affairs of the Local Government Councils Indicted by the Kaduna State House of Assembly Committee, May 2002).

Settler-Indigene Dichotomy: The settler-indigene distinction is explosive because it reinforces, and is reinforced by other identity-based divides in Kaduna State. In many cases, differences in ethnicity, language, region and culture among others separate indigenes from the settlers. As such, any analysis of the indigene-settler divide would not ignore the importance of identity in Kaduna social life. In many cases, the result of ethnic minority agitations and the conflict between the "indigene" and "settler" is the quest for the creation of new states. One of the major sources of Zango Kataf conflict is that the Hausa community were not happy about being called settlers (Report of Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry–June (1992) and (White Paper on Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Post Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State -April (2011).

Report of the Committee to Stamp Out Attacks on Southern Kaduna Communities – July (2015) argues that the perception of indigene/settler dichotomy brings about rivalry and mistrust among various communities in Southern Kaduna. As such the Committee recommends that the constitutional provisions on the rights of citizens and the provisions of the International Declaration of Human Rights should be respected and implemented by all citizens and the state government.

Discussion of Findings from the Reports and White Papers

Two complaints are frequently made about the Reports and White Papers. One is that they usually are not published, so people do not know in any detail what findings and recommendations the Commissions or Committees have made, or which recommendations made have been formally accepted, merely noted, or rejected by the government From many submissions made, it was felt that the lack of making public the findings of various Committees/Commissions set up to consider religious crisis had tended to encourage rather than discourage such uprisings. (Interview with Anonymous, 2019).

The second complaint is that the government does not implement even the recommendations it accepts. If previous recommendations were implemented, the rate at which communal/religious and or political crises are happening would have reduced to the minimum level.

Furthermore, the reports and white papers above reveal that the non-implementation of the recommendations of judicial commissions of inquiry or committees of investigations had encouraged people to take the law into their own hands. In some cases, government decisions on the reports of judicial commissions of inquiry or committees of the investigation were not made known to members of the public. The study also established that the government was yet to make its views known on the 1996 Kafanchan Religious Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry, Zangon Kataf Market Riot Judicial Commission of Inquiry, February, 1992, Zangon Kataf Market Riots and Subsequent Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry, May 1992 and the Jema'a Emirate Staff of Office Riot Judicial Commission of Inquiry 1999 (Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Kaduna State Religious Disturbances, 2001; White Paper on Report of Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Post Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State, 2011 & Interview with Aliyu Danlami Yahaya,2019).

The study reveals that even if the state is created, as long as these issues (land disputes, mutual suspicion among ethno religious groups, religious intolerance, traditional leadership crisis and settler-indigene dichotomy) are not resolved, inter-communal conflicts will continue to emanate in Kaduna State, most especially in the southern part of the state. The content analysis above also reveals that the communal conflicts in the state is not only between the northern and southern communities as portrayed by the northern groups, but cuts across all parts of the state. This is evident in the Gure-Kahugu, Baju-Ikulu, the Numana chiefdom succession crisis among others. This reveals that the agitation for the splitting of the state into two as a result of persistent ethnic conflict by the Movement for the creation of Zazzau State was just a reaction to the persistent agitation by the southern Kaduna groups. To confirm this, one of the respondents states that "We wanted to get out of the crisis the Kaduna State was faced with and let all those minority groups in Southern Zaria handle their case so that we get out of the problems been confronted by the so-called minority groups on marginalisation, domination and so forth. They put in a stigma that we are doing an unholy thing to them."

Conclusion

Most of the communal conflicts emanate as a result of groups' perception that their value expectations and capabilities are denied. As such, groups resort to political action by citing grievances of their people who feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled. It is important to note that even if the state is splitted into two, as long as these issues (land disputes, mutual suspicion among ethnoreligious groups, religious intolerance, traditional leadership crisis and settler-indigene dichotomy) are not resolved, inter-communal conflicts will continue to emanate in Kaduna state, most especially in the southern part of the state. The study found that reports and white papers of the various commissions of inquiry are usually not published, so people do not know in any detail what findings and recommendations the Commissions or Committees have made, or which recommendations made have been formally accepted, merely noted, or rejected by the government. Also, the government does not implement even the recommendations it accepts. If previous recommendations were implemented, the rate at which communal/religious and or political crises are happening would have reduced to the minimum level.

To resolve the problem of communal violence and have a lasting peace in Kaduna State, the study recommends that government should implement the

recommendations of various reports of the commission of inquiries accepted in the government white paper, most especially the ones that are related to land disputes, mutual suspicion among ethno-religious groups, religious intolerance, traditional leadership crisis and settler-indigene dichotomy. The government should also create an agency that will continue to orient people on the advantages of living with one another in peace.

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