AIPGG Journal of Humanities and Peace Studies Vol. 3. NO 2.2022
ISSN: 2756-5831 (ONLINE)

Ethnic Relations and Ethno-Religious Crises in Jos Plateau : Implications for Economic Development

Comfort Kamimi Gemade
Department of Religion and Cultural Studies
Benue State University, Makurdi, Nigeria.

Dorothy Nguemo Afaor
Department of Religion and Cultural Studies
Benue State University, Makurdi, Nigeria.

Thaddeus T. Ityonzughul
Department of International Studies and
Diplomacy Benson Idahosa University, Benin City,
Nigeria.

Abstract:

There is a proliferation of literature on religious conflicts the world over. This is because religion has become a frontline of the challenges ravaging human societies globally, including Jos Plateau in Nigeria. A lot has been documented on Jos religious crises but attention has been sparsely given to the economic dimensions. This study intends to close the gap accentuated by extant literature. To achieve this, the study with the use of extant and oral sources in alignment with interdisciplinary methods examines the causes of religious violence. It further explains how ethno- religious crises have negatively affected the economy and society of the people. Ethnic and religious tolerance are recommended *inter- alia* as the best options for stemming the rising tide of this unsavoury act.

Keywords: Ethnic Relations; Religious Crises; Jos; Implications; Economic Development

Introduction

Religion has become a significant phenomenon in the lives of Nigerians since pre-colonial times. Religion and the state were inextricably linked together in pre-colonial Nigerian societies. To a very large extent, religion serves as an integrating mechanism because it influences the worldview of people that share a common religion, while at the same time, it is a source of potential conflict with those whose belief systems are not the same.[1] Despite this, we all need one another for our survival and well-being irrespective of our ethnic/tribal, religious, and economic status or differences. Before the modern era and

[1] Danmole, H.O. *Perspectives on History of Islam in Southwestern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Connel Publication, 2019), 169.

precisely during the pre-colonial era the diverse ethnic nationalities in Nigeria co-existed peacefully thereby justifying the acclamation of "unity in diversity". However, the situation has changed with the imposition of imperialism and colonialism. Imperialism and colonialism were largely responsible for laying the foundation of division among Nigerians. This was largely through the use of various divisive methods and policies. This situation was further aggravated by the activities and attitude of Nigeria's political and ruling elite that most often culminated in due antagonism and rivalries between the various ethnic groups. This elite uses ethnicity, ethnic politics, and religious bigotry as weapons purposely to create disunity to achieve selfish ends.[2] It is however ironical that Nigeria and Nigerians are continuously being polarized among ethnic and religious divides despite the resurgence of democracy in Nigeria on May 29, 1999. The manifestation of rivalries could be seen in persistent ethno-religious and communal conflicts across the country with all their attendant repercussions on the nation and its people. The crises being witnessed appears to be some of the leading factors that could easily truncate the Nigerian economy when left unchecked. It is therefore how ethnic relations and Ethno-religious crises negatively affected the Nigerian economy with a specific focus on the Jos Plateaus that this paper intends to explore. To have a logical argument the paper is sequentially structured. It conceptualized the key concepts that form the core aspect of the phenomena under investigation, it approaches Jos from the ethno-religious perspective and delves into the historical background of ethnic crises in Jos. The study further examines the causes of ethno-religious conflict in Jos Plateau and attempts a description of Jos Plateau; portraying ethnicity, ethnocentricism, and religion. It proceeds to review some related literature emphasizing the gaps which in turn justifies the present study. The work argues that ethno-religious crises is an albatross to the economy of Jos Plateau, recapitulated the core argument, and advances some proposals for stemming the rising tide of religious violence in the focal area and even beyond.

Ethnic Relations and Ethno-Religious Crises Conceptualized

This section of the paper deals with the conceptual definitions of ethnic relations, ethnocentrism, and ethno-religious violence. Relations refer to how one thing is associated with or connected with the other.[3] Ethnic relations refer to the way different ethnic groups with diverse cultures relate to one another. This relation can be in the area of religion, politics trade, commerce, marriage, education, and culture, amongst others. Ethnic relations can be peaceful, acrimonious, suspecting, cooperating and complex. The outcome of ethnic relations depends largely on its management, if well managed it breeds peace and development but if poorly managed or antagonistically conducted it leads

[2] Danmole, H.O. *Perspectives on History*,
[3] Nwabueze, N." Towards a Wider Understanding of Inter-Group Relations", R.T. Akinyele (ed.) *Race, Ethnicity, and Nation Building in Africa* (Lagos: Rex Charles Publications, 2003), 3.

to violence, conflicts, and consequently death and destruction paving the way to economic destructing and underdevelopment of societies involved. However, in any case, ethnic relations cannot be avoided because no ethnic group is self-satisfactory and an Islam therefore all ethnic groups need one another for their development. When cross-examined, the benefits and merits of ethnic relations surpass the defects.

Ethnocentrism is another key to understanding religious unrest in Jos, Plateau, or Nigeria at large. G.W. Summer conceives ethnocentrism as that "…view of things in which one's group is the centre of everything and all others are sealed and rated with it".[4] The trouble with ethnocentrism is that an assumption (unverified belief) usually becomes a conviction that the values and culture of one's group are superior to those of others while those of others are looked down upon with disapproval, scorn, and even contempt.[5] In this connection, there are two sets of more, one for comrades inside and another for strangers outside. When the outsiders are involved, it is more meritorious to kill, plunder, practice blood revenge, and steal women and slaves, but inside, none of this will be allowed. Strangers are considered unrefined crude and savage and stupid. Giddings describes ethnocentrism as "consciousness of kind" which Gumplowicz in turn referred to as "synergerns synergies". Ethnocentrism in its positive sides keeps a group together. Negatively, it is the root for antagonism and prejudices. A group over exaggerates its good qualities and derides other groups. This attitude works against mutual understanding and harmony between groups.[6]

Also considered here is ethno-religious crisis which is also known as ethno-religious violence. Religious violence is an amalgam of two words, that is religion and violence. A lucid understanding of religious violence must begin with an understanding of what is meant by religion. According to Adeniyi, religion is the consciousness of one's dependence on a transcendent being and the tendency to worship him.[7] Gbenda in his understanding explains that religion denotes man's experience, awareness, attitude to religion, and conception and understanding of the existence of the supernatural or the multiplicity of supernatural beings and his worship or interaction with them.[8]

Religion could also be understood from two perspectives, namely in the material and spiritual sense. Materially it refers to religious establishments, institutions, and officials as well as social groups and movements whose primary interests are found within religious concerns. Spiritually, religion deals with models of individual and social behaviour that helps believer organize

[4] Summer, G.W. *Folkways* (London: Penguin Books, 1995).
[5]Nwabueze, N." Towards a Wider Understanding,
[6] Nwabueze, N." Towards a Wider Understanding,
[7]Adeniyi, M.O. "Religion and Politics: A Bird's Eye View of Development in Nigeria", Akanmidu, R.A. et al (eds.) *Religion and Politics in Nigeria* (Ilorin: Nigerian Association for the Study of Religion, 1983).
[8] Adeniyi, M.O. "Religion and Politics: A Bird's Eye View,

their everyday lives.[9] In this regard, religion has to do with the idea of transcendence, supernatural realities, and practice that organizes the world in terms of what is deemed holy and the ultimate condition of existence.[10]

Deducing from the above religious violence implies the use of force or threat against persons or property for religious objectives[11] expatiating on this threat, Ayinla espouses that the actual implementation of acts, which have the potential capacity to inflict physical, emotional and physiological injury on a person or property for a religious objective.[12] Dogo demonstrates that the drivers of religious violence can be viewed from the lenses of gaining recognition and freedom of worship and expression, conversion of non-believers, and reverse of justice done to members of a certain religious tradition.[13] Contextually, religious violence is the application of humiliation, killing, matelicting, maiming, and cremation of human bodies in the name of defending God. It usually takes a dimension of destroying livelihood so that the surviving victims would suffer the consequences of lack of livelihood.

Understanding Jos from Ethno-Religious Perspective

Jos is the present capital headquarters for Plateau state. Plateau state is one of the Nigerian states, it is located in central Nigeria, also known as the middle belt region. The city of Jos has a projected population of about 900,000 residents.[14] It is also known as J-Town, it is an administrative capital and also the largest city in Plateau state. The city is located on the Jos plateau about 1,238 metres or 4,062 feet above sea level.[15] The city of Jos is divided into three local government areas Jos north, Jos south, and Jos east. Jos is a heterogenous state with about forty ethnic groups.[16] Jos possess impressive geological rock configurations, which seem to surround the city like walls, as well as beautiful scene plains populated with savannah vegetation. The geographical elevation of Jos makes it one of the coolest places in the entire country. This temperate climate was among the significant features that attracted the city, especially before the incessant ethno-religious conflicts.

---

[9] Hynes, J. R. *Religion in Third World Politics* (Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1996).
[10]Alaanu,A.S., Muhammed, A.Y. and Adeoye, M.N. "Ethnic Discrimination and Religious Intolerance: An Overview of Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria" in Akinwumi, O., Okpeh, O.O. and Gwamna,J.D. (eds.) *Inter- Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries (*Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 605- 617.
[11]Alaanu,A.S., Muhammed, A.Y. and Adeoye, M.N. "Ethnic Discrimination and Religious,
[12] Ayinla, S.A.K. "Managing Religious Intolerance and Violence in Nigeria: Problems and Solutions"(Paper Presented at the National Conference Organized by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology on the theme Social Problems, Development and Challenges of Globalization", June 16 – 17, 2004).
[13] Dogo, Y.G. "The Morality of Religious Terrorism: The Christian Perspective", *Religion and Terrorism* (Journal of National Association for the Study of Religions and Education, 2003).
[14] National Population Census Commission, 2006.
[15] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022, available at http//www.britannica.com/place/jos
[16] http://www.britannca.com,place

Historically, Jos emerged as a centre of tin mining in the early colonial period. Located in the middle belt, in a previously rural area populated by independence groups of Afizere, Anaguta, and Berom, it became part of northern Nigeria in 1900. Initially established in Naraguta, a village, six kilometres from Jos, the headquarters of the Tin mining industry was relocated in 1914 when the tin deposits were found to be more abundant at the Dilimi river and beyond. The town was divided into three, namely, the government Residential area (GRA) for Europeans and colonial administrators, the native town (mostly inhabited and run by Hausa in-migrant), and the township (mostly occupied by the migrants from the south). The economic opportunities offered by the tin mining and the railway connections to Zaria and Bauchi, in 1915 and Port Harcourt in 1927 attracted numerous migrants. This was because those farmers were reluctant to work in tin mining, and the colonial administration encouraged migration from the north.[17] Previously the aforementioned ethno-religious groups enjoyed relative peace after the Jihad. There were no indigene/seller phenomena. It was in this connection that W. Soyinka recollected his childhood memories of the city saying:

> Jos was the ecumenical heart of Nigerian humanity… There were no strangers in Jos: that was the summative, unstated ethos… this was the city of open arms. Jos was the pre-eminent choice for extended school excursions and casual retreats, its lush hills, its temperature weather shimmering plateau, but above all; its benign, neighborhood humanity drew all towards her like a mystic magnet.[18]

This has been continued by different scholars. For example, Fwatshak asserts that the plateau state, (including Jos, the capital), the much-celebrated home of peace and tourism became a tourist and citizens' nightmare.[19] The much-needed peace was elusive as continuous violence reigned. The problem started in Jos the state capital but spread to other outlying areas in the northern and central senatorial zone. Religious differences were employed for identity fixtures and mobilization in crises. However, the real causes lay in a multiplicity of factors including indigene/settler questions, ethnic rivalries, feelings of political marginalization laud ownership, et cetera. Omotola insists that, until recently, Jos was quiet and peaceful such that it prides itself as the "home of peace".[20] The peaceful atmosphere has long been associated with "tin city"

---

[17] Best, S.G. and Rakodi, C., *Violent Conflicts and its Aftermath in Jos and Kano, Nigeria: What is the Role of Religion?* (A Publication of the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies).

[18] Elabo, A."Fading Boundaries: Religion and Spatial Mapping of Nigeria's Jos North Urban Centre", *Journal of World Christianity* (Vol.10, No.1), 68-83.

[19] Fwatshak, S.U. "Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Jos- Plateau Region in the 19th and 21st Centuries: In Search of a Comparative Framework", Okpeh, O.O., Okau, A., and Fwatshak, S.U. (eds.) *The Middle Belt in the Shadow of Nigeria* (Makurdi: Oracle Business Limited, 2007), 54- 77.

[20] Omotola, J.S. "Citizenship, Ethnic Violence and Governmental Response: The Declaration of State of Emergency in Plateau State, Nigeria", O. Akinwumi, O.O. Okpeh, and J.D.

suddenly gave way to violence, among the inhabitants of that city were the traditional owners of Jos/Christians -namely Berom, Anaguta (Jarawa), and their neighbors the Buji, Irigwe,(Nango) Bache (Rukuba), and so forth. Others were non-indigenes/Muslims (settlers) such as Hausa/Fulani immigrants from Sokoto, Kastina, Lere, Zaria, and Bauchi to carry out work in the tin mines for meager pay.[21] Now, these ethno-religious relations have become acrimonious generating violent conflicts thereby affecting the economy and society of Jos.

Historical Background of Ethno-Religious Crises in Jos

Historically, Jos had long been recognized as the capital of the state of peace. However, the situation has changed since the area has also been caught with ethno-religious crises that ravage the economy and society of the people. The indigene (Christians) have lived comparatively peacefully with large groups of non-indigenous Muslim northerners but that situation was put in jeopardy in April 1994. A peaceful demonstration of indigenous people, comprising of Christians and traditionalists, was followed a few days later by a violent riot on the part of the so-called "jesawa". These were Hausa-Fulani Muslims settlers from Bauchi State, just to the north of Plateau State, who had moved to Jos earlier in the century.

During the early colonial period, Jos was placed under the rule of the Muslim Emir of Bauchi; that Emir appointed a Hausa man chief of Jos. In 1926, the Jos area was separated from Bauchi, also by the colonialists, and the chieftaincy returned to the indigenous people. In 1987, a Hausa Muslim politician, Alhaji Saleh Hassan, reportedly called upon *jesawa* youths to recover the chieftaincy of Jos as their right. This call set into motion a set of dynamics that reached its climax in 1994 with the appointment of a *jesawa* member as chairman of the Jos north local government by the Muslim military administrator of the Plateau State. Strong, though non-violent protests on the part of the indigenes prompted the suspension of the appointment. A few days later, the suspension order led to a violent riot initiated by the *jesawa.* They made havoc on the town and caused significant burning, looting, and killing. Only by police and military efforts was "peace" restored, but the tension remained. Neither group gave up its claim.

On September 7, 2001, a few weeks after my wife and I had completed an extended stay there, Jos erupted once again. Several incidents contributed to this situation. In 1994, a Muslim, Alhaji Mohammed Muktar Usman, was appointed Jos north chairman as well as co-coordinator of the national poverty eradication programme. The appointment was once again unacceptable to the indigenes, who regarded Usman as a settler. Another part of the story is that of a chairman woman who allegedly passed right through a crowd of Muslim worshipers who has spilled over from the mosque onto the streets, as is the

---

Gwamna, (eds.) Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 748-773

[21] Omotola, J.S. "Citizenship, Ethnic Violence,

custom on Fridays. Muslim vigilantes beat her up for her audacity. Christians retaliated by burning the mosque. The atmosphere was further heated up by pamphlets distributed by the *jesuwa* in which they continued to claim Jos as theirs. All of these factors prepared the city for yet another round of violence. "Weapons were surprisingly and freely used." Both lives and properties were lost with churches and mosques especially bearing the brunt of the anger. I have in my files many e-mail reports about this conflagration from my two sons who were caught in this frenzy, and from both Nigerian and expatriate friends. According to Boer, the following are excerpts of anonymous e-mails from a Nigerian Christian which reads:

> The trouble started after the Muslim usual Friday prayers. They rose from their prayers and began attacking innocent unsuspecting people on the road. They were killing, looting, and burning houses and businesses along the way. For the Muslim to come to Jos, a Christian city, and kill a pastor, an ongoing unending nation-wide revenge and counter-revenge is imminent.[22]

While the above describes Muslim violence, the next day he described Christian revenge against Muslims. Boer cite one of his friend's email reports revealing that these Christians were:

> Ransacking cars and killing anyone suspected to be Muslim. They said they were tired of being killed over and over by Muslims. They were determined to revenge the present and the past killings inflicted on them by Muslims. If you wore the traditional dress (usually hausa's), you're toast. I saw between 15 and 20 men killed and burnt. About two and a half dozen cars/trucks were also burnt. It is the most dangerous, life-threatening thing I ever experienced.[23]

Plateau state has not been able to restore its former quiet atmosphere at the time of this paragraph 2003. The previous riots in response to government actions destroyed the thin fabric of peace between Christians and Muslims in the state. The succeeding riots and violence were the results of the destruction of that fabric and have now taken on a more openly religious character. The state's reputation as the "home of peace and tourism" is fast being replaced, according to African historian Wiebe Boer, by one as the "home of pieces and terrorism".

In May 2002, more killings took place in Jos between the two religions. The fatality figures in one report range from twenty to fifty. The violence could not be contained in Jos. There has been widespread violence in various localities in

[22] Boer, J.H., *Nigeria's Decades of Blood: Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations* (Vol.1. Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2003), 93-94.
[23] Boer, J.H., *Nigeria's Decades of Blood*,

the Plateau State, but there has been a concentration of it in the Langtang-Wase area. Minchakpu reports violence in Wase Local Government area during July 2002. Some 500 persons died in riots between Christians and Muslims, a figure that grew to "more than 5000," according to Selcan Miner, a prominent clergyman, businessman, and politician in the state. The estimate of more than 10,000 persons displaced subsequently grew to "more than 100,000", according to Miner. And while Minchakpu reports the destruction of "more than ten Christian communities," Miner puts that figure at eighty-eight. Given the entire population of the area standing at 102,491, Miners' figure of displaced persons appears inflated.

Causes of Ethno-Religious Crises in Jos Plateau

There are a lot of factors that are responsible for the protracted ethno-religious conflict in Jos Plateau. First and foremost are the religious factors. Both Christianity and Islam originated from the Middle East and have Abraham as their ancestor who gave birth to both Isaac and Ishamael.[24] However, especially in contemporary Nigeria, members of the aforementioned faiths hardly agree among themselves effect is the emergence of violent conflict arising from the tendency to dominate religiously and ideologically. For example, the *Sharia* debate of the 1977-1978 Constituent Assembly was the same as that of 1987-1988 during the Babangida military administration. Muslims insisted that *Sharia* is a way of life and they need a *Sharia* Court of Appeal. However, Christians reject the idea it was an act of religious dominance.[25] Commenting on this matter W.S. Sabiya was more forthcoming when he posits that:

> To entrench the *Sharia* Court in the Constitution is to legalize the inferiority of non-Muslims… The claim, therefore, that the court cannot be used as an instrument of evangelism is false. The *Sharia* is Islam and Islam is *Sharia*. *Sharia* is a total way of life, evangelism.[26]

For the Muslims, the common is essentially Christain law and even the spirit of the Constitution is Christian-oriented. Muslims deserve a position in the Constitution. In corroboration, Liman alludes that "a Muslim vigilante group should be formed at the national level to alert the nation when they feel that Islamic interest in any place, at any level is being violated or sacrificed".[27] The *Sharia* debates became more heated as they kept reoccurring, this seemed to have provided a religious threat. The draft Constitution was also seen as an

[24] Dzurgba, A. *Prevention and Resolution of Conflict: Local and International Perspectives* (Ibadan: John Archers, 2010), 83.
[25] Mu'azzam, I. and Ibrahim, "Religious Identity in the Context of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria", in Jega, A. (ed.), *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria* (New Jersey: African Book Centre, 2000), 68.
[26] Sabiya, W.S. "The Sharia Controversy:Sharia or Jihad, in Journal of Centre for Development Studies (Volume 1, December, 1979).
[27] Liman, M.T.A., "Constitution and the Position of Religion in the New DraftConstitution", in Islamic Foundation National Seminar on the Draft Constitution, Kano, 1777.

Islam Manifesto by Michakpu in an article in *Today's Challenge*, a Jos-based Christian Magazine. This is because the Constitution has maintained an earlier provision, which limits *Sharia* Courts of Appeal to states.[28] Ideological issues and debates should as these are capable of igniting Muslim-Christian violence in Jos in particular and Nigeria from the broader perspective.

Politically, autochthony conflicts in Jos also invoke a sense of politics of belonging and attachment to land thereby taking a religious dimension. Nnabuihe argues that between September 7 and 13, 2001, Jos, a multi-ethnic and cultural city on the Northern edge of Plateau State in Central Nigeria was caught up in a deadly and broader confrontation.[29] The aftermath of these events was the rising tension and rumors in connection with the historically and ethno-religious biased distribution of resources such as land, political offices, economic opportunities, educational privileges, and cultural visibility. The violence involves Christian and Muslim groups but mainly Christian Afizare, Anaguta, and Berom; and Muslim Hausa and Fulani who are attached in a different neighborhoods of the City. The cause of the incident locally called "Black Friday" – The first day of the violence – or "Black September", was a struggle for ownership of the City and the distribution of resources between indigenous Christians and the Hausa-Fulani Muslims. Since then, the conflict has remained intractable and continues to reoccur with violent clashes taking place in 2008, 2010, and twice in 2018.[30]

Economically, Jos main Market was ablaze in 2002. It was believed that the fire emanated from explosive devices. An anonymous, interview by Nnabuihe linked the fire to the crisis as excerpts herein:

> Do not forget that… Jos Terminus Market in 2001 is tied to the crisis. The Hausa had accused the indigenous communities to have perpetrated the act, claiming that the natives are jealous of their prosperity and for taking over the control of Jos economy. The slogan then was "*suce mu kwashe ma su kassan su*" (they said we have taken over their land).[31]

A peace conference was organized by stakeholders to reconcile the erring groups that took place in 2004 in Kuru, and brought temporary peace. However, the conflict reoccurred on November 28, 2008. This was an offshoot of a perceived electoral results manipulation in the Jos North Local Government

[28] Mu'azzam, I. and Ibrahim, "Religious Identity in the Context,
[29] Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space in Communal War: Citizenship, Conflicts and Infrastructures Provision in Jos, Central Nigeria", *African Affairs* (2019 Edition), 1-23.
[30] *Vanguard Newspaper,* "Jos: When Mayhem Returned", October 2018, https://www.vangaurdngr.com/2018/10/Jos-when-mayhem-returned/>(Accessed on 25.09.2022).
[31] Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space in Communal War: Citizenship, 7

Area, which led to over 700 fatalities.[32] The outcome of the crisis apart from affecting Jos, demographically, also affected the residents economically.

Poverty and intolerance of religious differences. Poverty is like a disease accompanying hunger, anger, theft, and other immoral act. There is a high level of poverty in Nigeria generally including Northern Nigeria where Jos is situated. Whenever unemployed youth with negative mindsets suffered a lot from poverty, they look for an avenue to vent their anger and in the process get some economic gains. Coupled with the mindset of religious intolerance, ethno-religious conflict in the area under consideration has become a protracted challenge ravaging the economy and society of Jos. These other causative have acted as a synergy for the protracted ethno-religious crises in Jos, irrespective of the efforts of the stakeholders in tackling this unsavoury act.

A Review of Related Literature

This segment of the study reviews some related literature to show the extent of what has been done on the subject under review and what needs to be done. J.H. Boer, *Nigeria's Decades of* Blood discusses the Christian- Muslim relations in the last two decades. It shows that over the last twenty years, rivers of blood have flooded into the abyss.[33] The book describes Nigeria's religious riots stating how it has happened –the killings, the violence, and the arson of Churches and Mosques, homes, and businesses. The book largely focuses on a series of Christian- Muslims religious violence in Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Bauchi, and Plateau states where these crises have become protracted issues. It attempts to enquire about the drivers of this violence, how they emanated, how are the victims, and the role of government and its agencies in containing these crises. The author's analysis is a week in the area of statistics which would have enhanced the ease of understanding the study's argument. However, the present study takes the challenge by providing both analytical and statistical data to pillar the argument of the study.

J.O. Ayodele and F.O. Onu in "Democracy and Conflict and Ethnic in Nigeria" point out that in contemporary Nigerian society, communal and societal clashes/ antagonistic relations are traceable to the new forms of political consciousness and identity are often based on ethnicity and religion.[34] Their study reveals that groups and communities that had hitherto co-existed in peace and harmony now take up arms against each other in the name of religion, ethnicity, and political differences. Using Kaduna as the case in point the authors trace the history and effects of Christian- Muslim violence. In analyzing these effects, the paper mentions the destruction of lives and property in a passing manner. However, this article is relevant to the present study in that it provides a roadmap to the understanding of the subject in question. The present study will deepen the analysis of the causes and economic

[32] *Vanguard Newspaper,* "Jos: When Mayhem Returned",
[33] *Vanguard Newspaper,* "Jos: When Mayhem Returned",
[34] *Vanguard Newspaper,* "Jos: When Mayhem Returned",

implications of the volatile relations between members of the two faiths.

An article by J.D. Gwamna's (2006) article, titled, "Religion and Ethnic Relations in the Middle Belt of Nigeria"[38] reveals the population of the Middle Belt paying attention to the micro-nationalities with their religious affiliations. The article notes that in Kaduna State, Bajju, Kaninkon, Ham. And Atyab (Kataf) are predominantly Christians with Gbagyi population that is Muslims and Christians. The work espouses a good number of Christian- Muslim clashes in the Middle Belt. He discloses the effects of these relations and touches sparsely on the economic aspects by saying that the economy of the affected areas has been devastated physically, emotionally, and otherwise. Though scanty on economic effects, the work is relevant to the understanding of Christians - Muslims in the Middle Belt, including our focal area. The present study would limit itself to Kaduna State and to the economic aspect to give a deeper analysis of the phenomena.

A.S. Alaanu, A.Y. Muhammed, and M.N. Adeoye, "Ethnic Discrimination and Religious Intolerance: An Overview of Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria" is also relevant to the understanding of religion and economy in Kaduna State and even beyond.[35] The work discusses the concept of ethnic discrimination and religious intolerance as causal factors for prompting or fuelling religious crises in Nigeria. It emphasizes that religion and ethnicity created tensions that have led the nation into bloody and destructive crises which in turn seriously threaten the peaceful co-existence and interactions among the various ethnic and religious groups. The study reveals that the continued existence of ethnic hatred and religious intolerance is capable of harming the prospects of unity in diversity or national integration. The study helps in understanding the causes and effects of Christian- Muslim acrimonies, both analytical and statistical.

O.J. Onwe, in his article, "Economic Management of Ethno- Religious Crises in Nigeria: A Strategic Model" opens his study by stating that the total failure of democracy in Nigeria has occasioned ethnoreligious crises in the country.[36] The paper focuses on the critical issues revolving around ethno- religious crises in Nigeria, ranging from the origin to management strategies. He also identifies other causes with emphasis on has focused ranging from political, economic, social, and legal factors and the existing management strategies of the ethnoreligious crises. The study shows that the existences of diverse ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria are difficult to manage. The study discloses that Nigeria lacks effective strategies for the management of ethno-religious crises. Arising from this, the paper his paper commends *inter alia*, religious tolerance, and elimination of existing economic, social and political differences that are capable of reinforcing ethnic and religious differences.

---

[35] Alaanu,A.S., Muhammed, A.Y. and Adeoye, M.N. "Ethnic Discrimination and Religious,
[36] Onwe, O.J. "Economic Management of Ethno- Religious Crises in Nigeria: A Strategic Model", in *Singaporean Journal of Business Economics and Management Studies* (Vol.2, No.1, 2011), 117- 134.

M.W. Barde, "Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno- Religious Conflicts on Christian Muslims Relations in Kaduna State", investigates the relations between members of the two religious faiths under study; it states that the relationship between the two groups has become aggressive.[37] The study posits that peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State is needed for unity and development. The conflict that has occurred in the state in the past years has caused loss of lives, damages to properties, and mutual suspicion between the people within the state. Unfortunately, the media reportage of some of these conflicts left much to be desired. This study investigates the effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflicts on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The investigation was delineated to cover the social effects of media reportage of ethno-religious conflict, economic, psychological, and effects of manipulation of religion and ethnicity in the media on Christians and Muslims in Kaduna State. The work is relevant to the present study because it will enhance the understanding of the economic dimension of these relations and some statistics used in the work would as be adopted for augment. However, the economic effects of these conflicts are scarcely captured but the present Chapter would detail their analysis.

Another work consulted under this segment is F.C. Uroko, "Redressing the Ethno- Religious Conflicts in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria in the Light of Abraham- Lot Narrative (Genesis 13: 1- 18)" which examines ethnoreligious conflict in southern Kaduna and its negative effects on development in that axis of Kaduna State.[38] The article identifies the Middle Belt region as the hotbed of the aforementioned conflicts. The work shows that several efforts have been made by the government and other relevant stakeholders to stop these reoccurring conflicts, however, the conflict continues to aggravate. It is the objective of this article to look Uroko argument that it is really unfortunate that the conflicts in southern Kaduna, which are mainly between Muslims and Christians, have claimed thousands of lives and rendered so many homeless. She emphasizes that the conflicts also paved the way for the destruction of farmlands, provision stores, vehicles, and motorcycles, among others. The data generated for this study were drawn mainly from secondary sources of information, with the adoption of the descriptive phenomenological method of research. The study identifies the fight for political and religious superiority between Muslims and Christians as the sustaining factor of their bellicose relations. The Paper recommends, among others, adherents of religious and ethnic groups should ensure fairness in resolving any conflict situation for peace and economic sustainability of the

[37] Barde, M.W. "Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno- Religious Conflicts on Christian Muslims Relations in Kaduna State" (Dissertation, Department of Arts and Social Science Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2002).
[38] Uroko, F.C. "Redressing the Ethno- Religious Conflicts in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria in the Light of Abraham- Lot Narrative (Genesis 13: 1- 18)", in F.C. Uroko, "Redressing the Ethno- Religious Conflicts in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria in the Light of Abraham- Lot Narrative (Genesis 13: 1- 18)", in *UJAH* (Vol. 19, No.2, 2018), 25- 43.

focal area and Nigeria as a whole. Uroko's would enhance the understanding of the key issues in Christian- Muslim conflicts in Southern Kaduna and even beyond.

In "Religious Urban Violence and Residential Mobility in Nigerian Cities: The Kaduna Experience", S.D. Wapwera and J.K. Gajere assesses the ethnoreligious urban violence and residential mobility in the city of Kaduna to make recommendations for ameliorating its effects by evaluating the causal factors fueling the crisis and examining the pattern and direction of the residential mobility in the city.[39] In doing this the author dwells on both primary and secondary days. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with major stakeholders of both religions. The study reveals that the factors causing the ethnoreligious urban violence and residential mobilities are unemployment, social institutional breakdown, politics, and colonial impact, and the pattern/direction of the residential mobility in the city of Kaduna city towards polarization. The factors and statistical data deployed in this study will provide a leeway for articulating the issues in Christian- Muslim relations in Kaduna State as they affect the economy and society of the people.

From the foregoing review of related literature, it is fairly accurate to state that up to the time of this study, there is the near absence of a vivid historical work that deals basically with the economic implications of ethno-religious religious violent crises on the Jos Plateau. Scholars who have devoted their time and resources to the study of issues of religious violence have done so to the neglected comprehensive documentation of the economic aspect. In a few cases where the authors touched on the economic aspect, it is just sparsely or in a shallow way. This study, therefore, fills the gap accentuated by extant literature by discussing in greater detail the implications of ethno-religious violence on the economy and society of Jos Plateau.

Economic Implications of Ethno-Religious Violence in Jos

The effects of the ethno-religious crises/violence in Jos are multitudinously ranging from social, political, and economic dimensions. However, for critical analysis, this paper continued itself on the economic aspects that scholars of this conflict have neglected. These economic consequences are also multifarious as discussed in the succeeding analysis. First, Jos ethnoreligious crises/violence is usually characterized by the destruction of lives and property. Anytime ethno-religious crises occurred in Jos, many people are counted dead, at times after killing members of a particular tribe and religion by the most powerful group or actors, they would also go ahead to maim, cremate, or mutilate such dead bodies. In support of this argument, Fwatshak cites the *City watch Newspaper* which reported particularly the 2001 Jos crisis that there was:

[39] Wapwera, S.D. and Gajere, J.K. "Religious Urban Violence and Residential Mobility in Nigerian Cities: The Kaduna Experience", in *Urban Studies Research* (Vol.2017), 1- 10.

> Destruction of lives and property, looting, and creation of a huge refugee crisis. Nikki Tobi Commission (report not released) established the losses in the September 7-12 crisis as 915 (as against 2000 Berom lives lost claimed by Berom youths), N 3, 716, 404.95 worth of properties were destroyed.[40]

A similar scenario took place in 2002 during the Angwan Rukuba Political Crisis. On Wednesday, May 4, 2002, there occurred a violent clash at Angwan Rukuba between supporters of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) during their part primary to select the flag bearer for the local polls. The fight took an ethno-religious line similar to the September 2001 event. It spread from (Angwan Rukuba) its originating point to Bauchi road and other parts of the metropolis, all in Jos North Local Government. On that day Muslim-Hausa/Jasewa voters trooped to the venue both on foot and in the truck.[41] This was the beginning and suspicion and trouble as a fight broke out in which many people were killed; many cars, trucks, and buildings were destroyed thereby negatively affecting the economy of the victims. In every society, it is human beings that are agents of economic and other aspects of development. The killing of lives and destruction of property in the name of religion (defending God) has negatively affected the economy and society of the people. These actions have created an atmosphere of terror and also led to the division of Jos town into Christian and Muslim areas, as people live only in the neighborhoods of others sharing the same faith.

Second, the ethno-religious crises in Jos led to the destruction of market centers. Nnabuihe notes that, while Jos and its environs were trying to regain their previously acclaimed 'Home of Peace and Tourism' status after the 2001 outburst, the Jos main market was gutted by fire in February 2002.[42] The fire was believed to have been caused by explosives. The Christian Atizere, Anaguta, Berom, and the Muslim Hausa and Fulani accused each other of perpetrating the act. One of the anonymous interviewees quoted in Nnabuihe emphasized that:

> …. Jos Jermius Market in 2002 to the crisis. The Hausa accused the indigenous communities to have perpetrated the act, claiming that the natives are jealous of their prosperity and taking over control of the Jos economy. The slogan then was 'su cemu kwashe ma su kassan su' (they said we have taken over their land).[43]

---

[40] Fwatshak, S.U. "Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Jos- Plateau Region in the 19th and 21st Centuries: In Search of a Comparative Framework", Okpeh, O.O., Okau, A., and Fwatshak, S.U. (eds.) *The Middle Belt in the Shadow of Nigeria* (Makurdi: Oracle Business Limited, 2007), 54- 77.
[41] Fwatshak, S.U. "Ethno-Religious Conflicts,
[42] Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space,
[43] Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space,

ISSN: 2756-5831 (ONLINE)

In another interview, Polang identified other markets that were affected by the ethno-religious crises including 'Kugiya market in Bukuru, Jos South, Katako market in Jos North were all affected… some completely burnt like the terminus market… some partly burnt and deserted for sometime before traders rebuilt and continued with their trading activities. This has negatively affected traders' financial strengths as well as government revenue for a while.[44]

Besides, the Jos ethno-religious crises gave room for some changes in small-scale businesses such as shoe shining, cobbling, abattoir, cow rearing/fattening, and fruits and kola nuts selling were dominated by the Hausa and Fulani settlers in the pre-ethno-religious era in Jos. This is because of the terror of insecurity, the aforementioned settlers who are also Muslim fled the Christian-dominated areas and now such businesses are taken over by the indigenous people (who are also Christians) to 'service' and meet the needs of people in their areas of the domain.[45]

Additionally, the areas of raw food vending businesses and the like hitherto dominated by Christian women have been taken over by Hausa men and women to provide for the demands of their men. Agreeing with the above position, Polang expounded and expatiated that:

> There was a mini abattoir very close to COCIN Headquarters Church behind CBN in Jos, an area dominated by Christians. The butchers were predominantly Hausa/Fulani Muslims which supply the dietary needs of people (especially Christians). With the incessant ethno-religious crises the Muslims kept the area and the abattoir facility is now being operated by the Christians.[46]

More so, the segregated settlement patterns arising from the ethno-religious cases generated citizenship questions thereby affecting the economy. This gave way to issues of uneven infrastructure which came to define another dimension of the crises in the city. The crises under review led to the resurgence of allegations and counter-allegations of 'intensified oppression and marginalization in the allocation of market stalls, leading to another fire at Jos market in February 2002.[47]

In the same vein, discrimination is associated with segregation. The Hausa/Muslim groups claimed that areas considered indigene neighborhoods had constantly enjoyed government attention since 1999 while those tagged settler neighborhoods were discriminated against.[48] Higazi quoted in Nnabuihe explains that state and local governments in Plateau state allocated resources to

[44] Polang, D. (2022), Personal Conversation.
[45] Polang, D.2022), Personal Conversation.
[46] Polang, D. (2002), Personal Conversation.
[47] (Sembe, Jos Crisis, 2003).
[48] Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space in Communal War: Citizenship, Conflicts…

infrastructure or other development projects to areas where indigenes reside. This argument corroborates the statement of a resident of Bauchi Road, who insisted that the Plateau State Government neglected the Hausa community. This resident was more forthcoming when he noted that:

> Hausa community areas are … neglected. There was a culvert in Bauchi road that was abandoned. It is the only access route linking that community to other areas… It took the sympathetic attention of the Red Cross to … fill that broken culvert and give life to the people again.[49]

Infrastructures are critical to economic development since they enhanced business activities of every kind. Where such is lacking, it constituted a source of economic retardation or progress for the people.

Conclusion: Pathways for Nipping in the Bud the Crises

In this paper, it has been observed that ethno-religious crises in Jos usually emanated from the complexity of factors ranging from political, social, and economic undertones. However, the paper gave priority to the economic dimension of the aforementioned conflict. It discussed how the economy of Jos was destroyed thereby throwing the affected victims into more hardship. To surmount the menace of ethno-religious crises in Jos and to have a stable economy, the paper advances some policy options. First of all, there should be religious tolerance between members of the two faith. Both Christians and Muslims should note that every resident of Jos is constitutionally allowed to practice his faith without being compelled to change. The members of the above-mentioned religion should desist from the un-necessary defense of God that usually resulted in ethno-religious crises in Jos and elsewhere in the country.

Secondly, there should be a proper investigation and prosecution of those members of both religions under consideration who are responsible for the intermittent conflict between Christians and Muslims in Jos and Nigeria from a broader perspective. The previous reports of commissions of inquiries should also be implemented. This would help prevent the continued reoccurrence of these conflicts and the inhabitants of the State will leave in peace and attend to their daily social, religious, and economic activities without terror.

Furthermore, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) should strengthen the Public Complaint Bureau which has been in existence in all states of the Federation, including Plateau; through appropriation legislation. If this is done, parties in dispute will be able to file their complaints for onward transmission to the appropriate government agencies for investigation and necessary actions for ensuring justice in the State. If this is done, the perpetrators of the Christian-Muslim conflicts will be aware of the consequences and would desist from

[49] Anonymous, Personal Conversation..

causing the violent ethno-religious violence and there would be peace, stability, and progress in Jos and even beyond.

More so, both Plateau State Government and the FGN should be pluralistic, representative, and just in their treatment of the indigenes and citizens. They should discourage all forms of discrimination, neglect, nepotism, favoritism, and marginalization in dealing with religious issues. This would help to inculcate a sense of equality among members of both Christianity and Islamic religions. The concept and thought of religious supremacy will be downplayed or reduced to its barest minimum and Plateau State and Nigeria on a broader perspective will achieve religious tolerance. Both Christians and Muslims will not be geographically restricted in pursuance of their economic activities in the State and this will enhance the development of the Plateau State economy.

Additionally, inter-marriages across members of these religious groups should be encouraged as this may help to reduce some of the prejudices between people. It would cement their relationship to the extent that the issue of religious affiliations that usually aggravate the crises under review may become a thing of the past. Relatedly, poverty in the area under review gave impetus to ethno-religious crises in Jos Plateau. In this regard, the paper, recommends that micro-credits should be given to the youth do not a source of livelihood. If this is done, it would enable them to engage in at least small and medium-scale businesses to better their economic lot and as such the high rate of poverty would be reduced. Poverty and unemployment seem to have a symbiotic relationship. In this wise, the study suggests massive employment opportunities for the youths (by both government and the private sectors) who are ever willing to engage in any form of violence for economic gains.

Lastly, compensation should be given to the confirmed victims of these hostilities. This is because some people could find it difficult to forget what they lost during these conflicts and that alone can also prompt them to embark on reprisal attacks. Even though human lives cannot be replaced, the families of those victims should be given a certain amount of money to start a business venture because the deceased victims may have been the breadwinner of their families. Those whose source of their livelihoods was destroyed but are still alive should also be compensated to be legally reengaged in economic activities, this would help prevent them from being idle and having negative thoughts, and embarking on social vices including ethno-religious crises.

Bibliography

Adeniyi, M.O. “Religion and Politics: A Bird’s Eye View of Development in Nigeria”, Akanmidu, R.A. et al (eds.) *Religion and Politics in Nigeria* (Ilorin: Nigerian Association for the Study of Religion, 1983).

Alaanu,A.S., Muhammed, A.Y. and Adeoye, M.N. “Ethnic Discrimination and Religious Intolerance: An Overview of Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria” in Akinwumi, O., Okpeh, O.O. and Gwamna,J.D. (eds.) *Inter- Group Relations in*

*Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries (*Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 605- 617.

Anonymous, Berom Christian Elder, Hwolshe, Jos South, quoted in Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space in Communal War: Citizenship, Conflicts and Infrastructures Provision in Jos, Central Nigeria", *African Affairs* (2019 Edition), 1-23.

Ayinla, S.A.K. "Managing Religious Intolerance and Violence in Nigeria: Problems and Solutions"(Paper Presented at the National Conference Organized by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology on the theme Social Problems, Development and Challenges of Globalization", June 16 – 17, 2004).

Ayodele, J.O. and Onu, F.O. "Democracy and Conflict and Ethnic in Nigeria" in Akinwumi, O., Okpeh, O.O. and Gwamna, J.D. (eds.) Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 641- 655.

Barde, M.W. "Effects of Media Reportage of Ethno- Religious Conflicts on Christian Muslims Relations in Kaduna State" (Dissertation, Department of Arts and Social Science Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2002).

Best, S.G. and Rakodi, C., *Violent Conflicts and its Aftermath in Jos and Kano, Nigeria: What is the Role of Religion?* (A Publication of the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies).

Boer, J.H., *Nigeria's Decades of Blood: Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations* (Vol.1. Ontario: Essence Publishing, 2003), 93-94.

Dogo, Y.G. "The Morality of Religious Terrorism: The Christian Perspective", *Religion and Terrorism* (Journal of National Association for the Study of Religions and Education, 2003).

Dzurgba, A. *Prevention and Resolution of Conflict: Local and International Perspectives (*Ibadan: John Archers, 2010), 83.

Elabo, A."Fading Boundaries: Religion and Spatial Mapping of Nigeria's Jos North Urban Centre", *Journal of World Christianity* (Vol.10, No.1), 68-83.

Fwatshak, S.U. "Ethno-Religious Conflicts in the Jos- Plateau Region in the 19th and 21st Centuries: In Search of a Comparative Framework", Okpeh, O.O., Okau, A., and Fwatshak, S.U. (eds.) *The Middle Belt in the Shadow of Nigeria* (Makurdi: Oracle Business Limited, 2007), 54- 77.

Gbenda, J.S. *African Religion and Christianity in a Changing World: A Comparative Approach* (Nsukka: Chuka Educational Publishers, 2006), 1.

Gwamna, J.D. "Religion and Ethnic Relations in the Middle Belt", in Akinwumi, O., Okpeh, O.O. and Gwamna, J.D. (eds.) Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 641-655.

http://www.britannca.com.place (Accessed, February 21, 2022).

Hynes, J. R. *Religion in Third World Politics* (Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1996).

Liman, M.T.A., "Constitution and the Position of Religion in the New DraftConstitution", in Islamic Foundation National Seminar on the Draft Constitution, Kano, 1777.

Mu'azzam, I. and Ibrahim, "Religious Identity in the Context of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria", in Jega, A. (ed.), *Identity Transformation and*

Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria (New Jersey: African Book Centre, 2000), 68.

Nnabuihe, O. "Autochthony and Space in Communal War: Citizenship, Conflicts and Infrastructures Provision in Jos, Central Nigeria", *African Affairs* (2019 Edition), 1-23.

Nnabuihe, O.E. "Autochthony and Space in Communal War: Citizenship, Conflicts and Infrastructural Provision in Jos", in *African Affairs* (2019), 1-23.

Nwabueze, N." Towards a Wider Understanding of Inter-Group Relations", R.T. Akinyele (ed.) *Race, Ethnicity, and Nation Building in Africa* (Lagos: Rex Charles Publications, 2003), 3.

Omotola, J.S. "Citizenship, Ethnic Violence and Governmental Response: The Declaration of State of Emergency in Plateau State, Nigeria", O. Akinwumi, O.O. Okpeh, and J.D. Gwamna, (eds.) Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 748-773

Onwe, O.J. "Economic Management of Ethno- Religious Crises in Nigeria: A Strategic Model", in *Singaporean Journal of Business Economics and Management Studies* (Vol.2, No.1, 2011), 117- 134.

Oral interview with Polang, D (An Indigene of Jos, interviewed, February 2, 2022).

Summer, G.W. *Folkways* (London: Penguin Books, 1995).

Uroko, F.C. "Redressing the Ethno- Religious Conflicts in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria in the Light of Abraham- Lot Narrative (Genesis 13: 1- 18)", in F.C. Uroko, "Redressing the Ethno- Religious Conflicts in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria in the Light of Abraham- Lot Narrative (Genesis 13: 1- 18)", in *UJAH* (Vol. 19, No.2, 2018), 25- 43.

Vanguard Newspaper, "Jos: When Mayhem Returned", October 2018, https://www.vangaurdngr.com/2018/10/Jos-when-mayhem-returned/>(Accessed on 25.09.2022).

Vanguard Newspaper, "A Cycle of Reprisals turns into Killing Field", December 2011, https://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/12/a-cycle-of-represals-turns-jos-into-killing-fields> (Accessed 25.09.2022).

Wada, M. " Emerging Trends in Inter-Ethnic Relations and Ethno-Religious Crises: Some Implication for the Survival of Democracy in Nigeria" in Akinwumi, O., Okpeh, O.O and Gwamna, J.D. (eds.) *Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria During the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2006), 641- 655.

Wapwera, S.D. and Gajere, J.K. "Religious Urban Violence and Residential Mobility in Nigerian Cities: The Kaduna Experience", in *Urban Studies Research* (Vol.2017), 1- 10.