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Ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria: A case study of Tafawa Balewa L.G.A

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Abstract
The purpose of this study is to examine the factors that contributed to ethno-religious conflict in the Tafawa Balewa local government area of Bauchi state Nigeria, from 1991 to 2011. Also, the impact of the conflict and why attempts to resolve the conflict have been were ineffective. The study used manipulation by elites, socio-economic factors and communal identity as independent variables, whereas, ethno-religious conflict is the dependent variable. The analysis in the study is based on Smith's instrumental theory and Azar's protracted social conflict theory. The analysis of data utilises a mixed method i.e. quantitative and qualitative. Data collection included a survey using 30 close ended questions and involved 231 respondents. Interviews were also conducted to complement the data collected from the questionnaires. Accordingly, descriptive statistics, factor analysis and multiple regressions were used in testing and analysing the data. The results of the findings show that socio-economic factors, political manipulation and communal identity are important factors that contributed to the conflict in Tafawa Balewa. Moreover, the conflict affects the socio-economic activities of the people and failure to implement the recommendations by special resolution committees has remained an obstacle in resolving the conflict.

Keywords: Ethnicity, religion & conflict in Nigeria

Introduction
This is a case study of ethno-religious conflict in the Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area (L.G.A) of Bauchi state, Nigeria. The Tafawa Balewa (L.G.A) is an area that has witnessed a series of conflict among 20 local government areas of Bauchi State. The artificial demarcation of boundaries in Tafawa Balewa by the former colonial administration has led to the existence of different ethnic groups distinguished by religion, norms and values living within the same area. Unfortunately, the coexistence of these various groups within the town has led to recurrent episodes of conflict from the early 1990s right through the present time.

Tafawa Balewa L.G.A is an important case in the context of Nigerian politics. The region is abundant with natural resources which include minerals and agricultural resources. More importantly, it is a strategic place for commercial purposes and agriculture equally with fertile land for farming. The town attracts many people from near and far for commercial activities. Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. is the only region that has experienced many ethno-religious conflict over the past three decades. However, as a result of this conflict, the Local Government's Secretariat shifted from Tafawa Balewa town to Bununu, a village within the Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. This makes the region a unique case for analysing ethno-religious conflict in the Nigerian context. Towards this aim, this study seeks to achieve the following objectives: to find out the factors that contributed to ethno-religious conflict, the impacts of such conflict on the political and economic development and why attempts aimed at resolving the conflict have so far been ineffective.

This study examined the outbreaks of conflict in Tafawa Balewa between competing groups divided along ethnic and religious lines. It analyses ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. of Bauchi State between 1991 and 2011. Tafawa Balewa L.G.A has witnessed several violent conflicts which have led to the loss of lives and properties. The dominant and minority ethnic groups treat each other with suspicion and hatred. Several efforts have been made to reconcile this rivalry and manage conflict. Religion, like ethnicity, is an issue of identity and is considered to be more than simply an ideology. In defining ethnic solidarity, religion sets a boundary in a complex manner between those who are considered to be believers and those who are not.

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Background Issues

Conflict is a fundamental feature of human societies. Conflict occurs in all organised human societies over issues associated with the distribution of values and resources, political and economics. While not all conflicts always progress and transform into violent confrontation and engagement, history is however, full of instances both past and contemporary where disagreements over allocation of values degenerated into violent physical confrontation. Recurring incidences of religious and Inter-ethnic conflicts in some parts of Nigeria have become a major national problem in contemporary Nigerian society. Both religious and ethnic conflicts are frequent and devastating in the country because they are threatening the existence of individuals and the nation at large. Since the end of British colonial rule in 1960, there have been several ethno-religious conflicts.

The catalogue of ethno-religious conflicts has led to an estimated loss of over three million lives and unquantifiable psychological and material damage (Bogoro, 2008; Salawu, 2010) [12, 43]. There is a consensus of opinion among observers that Nigeria provides one of the best examples or case studies of ethno-religious conflicts. With over 250 ethnic groups comprising of both Muslims and Christians, ethnicity and religious bigotry has become the order of the day fuelled by various forms of communal allegiances, ranging from linguistic assertions to cultural autonomy and religious superiority. Contextualising these tensions are demands for economic resources, political autonomy and self-determination.

Following independence in 1960, ethno-religious conflict began to pose a threat to national unity and integration. In the early 1980s, Nigeria witnessed the Maitatsine religious crises in the northern part of the country which included Maiduguri, Kano and Jimeta-Yola in 1984. Religious violence broke out in Kafanchan College of Education in 1989, Zangon Kataf in 1992 and Kaduna Polytechnic in 1981. Other cases include Muslim and Christian violence in various places such as the University of Ibadan in 1981-1985, Bulumkutu (Borno State) in 1982 and the Usman Danfodio University in Sokoto in 1982 (Abdullahi, 2005) [3].

Ethno-religious conflict continued to affect the nation following the return of civilian government in 1999. Specific incidents during this period include the Sagamu crises in July 1999 in the southern part of the country where several lives were lost and properties damaged. Another ethno-religious reprisal attack in Kano led to the killings of mostly Yoruba people and the destruction of property worth millions (Abdullahi, 2005; Mohammed, 2005) [3]. Given this history, one may discern the fact that ethnicity and religion are important variables in studying Nigerian politics. Using Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. as a case study, this study hopes to highlight some salient factors that have helped to shape the political, socio-economic and demographic contexts within which such conflicts occur.

Literature Review

This is a case study of Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. of Bauchi state in Nigeria. It focuses on ethno-religious conflict that has affected the area for decades. This section reviews relevant literature related to conflict and its various dimensions. In the context of this study, conflict is defined as a violent and armed confrontation and struggle between two or more groups within a society that results in deaths, injuries and destruction of property (Elaigwu, 2005).

Conflict, Religion and Inter-ethnic Violence

Conflict is a kind of behaviour on the part of individuals, groups or even nations which goes beyond normal disagreement and confrontation that characterizes much of the usual social, economic and competitive life of societies (Burton, 1990) [13]. Going by this definition, conflict is a behaviour that has the potential of being destructive to a person, property or system. The issues that lead to conflict are not ideas, choices, preferences and interest which are argued and negotiated as part of social normal living; the sources of conflict are deeply rooted in human behaviour.

Coser (1956) [17] and William (1997) [49, 50] view conflict in light of economic, social and political settings where they asserted that contact between different ethnic groups does not fully account for the emergence of ethnicity but rather the nature and degree of such contact are determined by socio-economic over attitudinal factors. In this case, intense socio-economic competition leads to ethnic-like identities and antagonism. Hence, economic relations are very central to conflict between classes within a society. Conflict is perceived as abnormal, dysfunctional and detestable in many parts of the world, including Nigeria.

In his elaboration, Coser views conflict as a kind of interaction, particularly where there is scarcity of resources and different interests that are related to political, economic and socio-cultural factors. Conflicting parties do not only derive values but also to hurt or eliminate their rivals (Coser, 1956) [17]. Competition over economic resources between different ethnic groups is seen as a potential factor that could generate disagreement and conflict within a society. According to Varennes (2003), all conflict that takes place within the global system is due to ethnic group demands, especially on securing basic rights for their group such as demanding more effective participation in politics, fair distribution of economic resources, education and employment opportunities. Hence, political disparity and competition over economic resources are among the factors that lead to ethnic tension and conflict within a society, especially a plural state such as Nigeria, which is characterized by a diversity of co-existing but different cultures and religions.

Factors that can contribute to the conflict in the Society

Many factors have been advanced by scholars as the causes of conflict, whether ethnic, religious or otherwise, among various groups within a society. Coser (1956) [17] and Geoff (1974) [26] enumerated the following factors as the causes of conflict within a society, including economic dissatisfaction among various groups within a society; political manipulation in various forms such the imposition of an alien ruler from outside the community; demand for greater authority; rights and recognition; religious differences; mutual mistrust; hostility; fear among members of conflicting parties; land acquisition; consolidation of economic discontent by peasant farmers; unequal distribution of resources and political offices; rapid mobilisation of new groups in politics; general insecurity in the country and inability of the security agencies to bring about effective security; unfair handling of past incidences of conflict in the country; and ineffective national cohesion programmes capable of promoting patriotism and harmony.

Most of the factors mentioned above have greater roles in fuelling conflict in Nigeria and Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. in particular where ethno-religious conflict has been a feature for many years. The literature review consists of two sections. The first one focuses on case studies of conflict from African countries and the second part reviews the Nigerian context.

Case Study Reviews on Africa Conflicts
Political and social conflicts in Africa could be attributed to various factors. These include inter-ethnic tensions, socio-economic factors and political instability. In Kenya, there is a clear picture of inter-ethnic conflict between the two dominant ethnic groups in the country in which one ethnic group constitutes the majority of the national population. They formed the Nationalist Party during the colonial period which, after independence became the ruling party in Kenya. The remaining minority group formed another party as a result of fear of domination by the majority. The formation of these two dominant parties provided an avenue for regionalism. Greater autonomy to each region, as opposed to a strong centralised system of government, was aimed at the better protection of the interests of the minority group.

The first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, was the leader of the party dominated by the majority Kikuyu ethnic group. In 1964, President Jomo Kenyatta managed to convince the minority party to form an alliance with the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) following which the leader of the minority party became Vice President. However, immediately after independence, the ruling party started showing their dominance over the minority group. The ruling party was accused of favouring the majority ethnic group, especially in economic matters such as commerce and industry. For instance, in 1978, President Jomo Kenyatta secured a huge farmland from the Government for his supporters from his ethnic group. The minority group was marginalised, especially in terms of security, police, military and other state apparatus (Abdalla, 2002) [2]. Arguably, the genesis of Kenyan crises could be traced to this ethnic marginalisation.

In 1978, immediately after the death of President Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi from minority ethnic group in Kenya came into power. President Moi realised that most of the security agencies, fertile lands and private sectors were dominated by Kenyatta's Kikuyu tribe. In order to address this problem, he adopted several measures including replacing the major tribe with his own ethnic group and other minorities in the higher levels of government positions, taking steps to reduce the Kikuyu dominance in the private sector of the economy as well as providing more educational and economic opportunities for his own group as well as other minority groups. However, the economic and other structural problems in the 1990s as well as the introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya did not help improve inter-ethnic tension. Political liberalisation and pressure from urban elites, lawyers, professionals and religious groups led to the worsening of political tension in the country (Abdalla, 2002; Medhine, 2003) [2, 33].

Rwanda is another country which has experienced several episodes of ethnic conflict. A good example is the Rwanda genocide that occurred in the early 1990s. The genesis of this crisis could be traced back to the colonial administration which discriminated and provided unequal opportunities between the ethnic Tutsi and Hutu tribes. Colonial administrators considered the Tutsi tribe as being special by favouring them in terms of education and job opportunities over the Hutu tribe. The Tutsi were even differentiated by being discriminately provided with the citizen's identity card. These acts did not bring unity and harmony between Rwanda's two ethnic groups. Instead, it led to ethnic tension and lack of tolerance between the two dominant tribes. In 1959, there was a civil war which escalated as a result of political tension and inter-ethnic rivalry which consequently led to the overthrow of the Tutsi King. Three years later, in 1962, the country gained independence and was left to resolve ethnic tension on its own (Abdalla, 2002; Medhine, 2003) [2, 33].

After independence, the Hutus dominated the helm of affairs and threatened the survival of the Tutsis by killing them massively which led to many Tutsis fleeing to neighbouring countries. A survey shows that more than 150,000 people became refugees in various camps outside the country. The youths, who were residing in exile and mostly dominated by the Tutsi tribe, formed the rebel group called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In 1994, they returned to invade Rwanda with the claimed to establish democracy and good governance in the country. The violence that ensued led to one of the most unforgettable genocide in the history of Africa in which over one million people were massacred within three years of the crisis. In order to stop the killing of innocent people, both the government and the rebels agreed to the Arusha Peace Accord (APA) in 1995 (Abdalla, 2002; Medhine, 2003) [2, 33]. Apart from the role played by the colonial masters in instilling the ideology of ethnic identity, there were many other factors which contributed to the escalation of conflict in Rwanda. The Rwandan ethnic conflict is one of the clearest examples that show how ethnic differences and struggle over resources could generate a lot of tension within a society.

In the case of Sudan, inter-ethnic conflicts and the well-documented and lengthy civil war in the country could be attributed to several factors. Artificial demarcation of boundaries during the colonial era brought together different ethnic groups with distinct cultures. The failure to coexist peacefully led to increased tension between these various groups as they struggled for control of scarce resources. In addition, the inability to formulate workable rules for power sharing and, at times, interference from international players contributed to inter-ethnic conflict in Sudan. A more fundamental and perhaps regrettable but unavoidable, consequence of this conflict was the division of the country into the Republic of Sudan in the north and South Sudan following several peace missions aimed at resolving the crisis (Abdullahi A & Saka L. 2007) [4]. While there is no exact figure for the number of casualties during the war, it is generally estimated that nearly two million people lost their lives. The conflict destroyed its fragile economic infrastructure in the South and the country is still trying to regain its former glory.

Conflict within the Nigerian Context
Nigerian has been described as a heterogeneous and most deeply divided nation in Africa. Since its origin as a colonial state, Nigeria has faced several political, ethnic and religious conflicts. The violence has challenged the country's efforts towards national cohesion, democratic stability and economic transformation (Agbiboa, 2013;

Philip, 2014; Omaka, 2014) [7, 38]. The agitations for individual, selfish, sentimental and primitive agenda resulted in the election and population census crises during the First Republic. Many issues which are considered very vital to the existence and legitimacy of the nation were politicized along religious and ethnic lines over which competing groups tend to manipulate for their own selfish interests. These include the control of state power, resource allocation and citizenship. The issue of ethnicity is one of the major problems facing the country, often resulting in communal violence (Osaghae, 2005) [40].

Nigeria remains the largest multi-ethnic nation state in Africa with over 250 different ethnic groups belonging to several religious affiliations (Michael, 2012) [34, 35]. Ethnicity and religious intolerance have generated a number of ethno-religious conflicts with serious implications on the country's economy. Nnoli (1978) [36] opines that the plural nature of Nigeria necessitated for the adoption of a federal system of government that would give an opportunity for each region to practice its own cultures, norms and values within the political system. Federalism provided an opportunity to a heterogeneous state such as Nigeria to have a good administrative system that would protect and preserve cultural differences within the nation's diversity (Alkali, 2004; Ewetan and Urhie, 2014) [9, 25]. However, Nigeria is yet to witness true federalism. Until the present time, the independent Nigeria continues to struggle to achieve true federalism, a fair and balance fiscal and political structure that would benefit the different ethnic nationalities in the country. Jega (1998) observed that Nigerian federalism promotes disunity, nepotism, sectionalism, hatred, fear and mutual suspicious which consequently lead to ethnic, religious and political violence in the country.

Ethnicity emanates from interactions between different ethnic groups living within the same political system. An ethnic group comes into form by acquiring the consciousness necessary for active participation in the politics of a nation. However, in the Nigerian context, it can be argued that ethnicity has become an avenue of discrimination by members of one ethnic group against the other. The issue has been institutionalized in Nigeria since independence. Ethnicity tends to be understood as "the employment or mobilisation of an ethnic identity or differences to gain advantage in a situation of competition, conflict, or cooperation. In this regard, an ethnic group is the one whose members share a common identity and affinity based on common language and culture as well as the myth of common origin and territorial homeland, which has become the basis for differences upon which people act" (Osaghae, 1995) [39].

Ethnicity emerged and persisted in Nigeria as a mechanism for adapting to the imperialist system or an instrument for ensuring effective domination and exploitation of the colonised. Tribalism is one of the stumbling blocks to national integration of ethnic groups in Nigerian political history because citizens are prevented from participating in social, political and economic aspects of the communities when they choose to live outside their State of origin (Nnoli, 1980; Offiong, 1982 & Achebe, 1983) [36, 37, 6].

Ethnic and religious violence became a tradition in Nigeria as it became hard for one to hear news without hearing of people losing their lives in one part of the country as a result of either ethnic or religious disturbance (Agbiboa, 2013;

Chukwuemeka & Jude, 2014) [7, 16]. The lack of national unity and integration in the nation's polity has permeated into the present democratic dispensation. Marginalised groups often call for sovereign national conferences in some parts of the country in order to discuss the issues of resource control, power sharing as well as persistence of political, ethno-religious and sectional violence that threaten the peaceful co-existence of the country (Abdullahi & Saka, 2007) [4]. While exact figures are contested, between 1999 and 2004, at least 100 incidents of ethnic-and religious-related violence were recorded in the country, leading to thousands of deaths and about 800,000 people displaced (Abdurrahman, 2006; G.I.D.P, 2005) [5, 27].

Highlighting the entrenchment of the culture of violence in some parts of the country, in February 2006, it was reported that about 50,000 people were internally displaced and 150 were killed as a result of violence across the country when people protested against the caricature of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by a Danish newspaper which was reproduced by a Nigerian newspaper (GIDP, 2005) [27]. More significant in the context of this study is the fact that, in some cases, political elites have been known to instrumentalise ethnicity in order to achieve their own political and economic interests (Nnoli, 1980) [36].

Furthermore, the issue of religion is very significant in this research (Dowse, 1980) [22]. While religion contributes to diversity, Dowse notes that it can also contribute to violence, especially when its elements coincide with racial, linguistic and/ or class elements. Therefore, "as such, when religious coincides with low social class, political inequalities and economic distress; it can be a potential source of political conflict" (Azar, 1990) [11].

With regard to violence and conflict, despite religion's capacity to be politically instrumentalised by opportunistic politicians, it is not enough to explain the causes of conflict without identifying its links with political factors. From this perspective, in Nigeria, as was in the case of post-independence Rwanda and Kenya, the struggle for political power has been the most significant cause of ethnic conflict, especially when government policies and institutions discriminate in terms of allocation of resources and power (Markakis, 1994). The non-participation and marginalisation of some groups by others in power as well as instability in the political system has often contributed to insecurity and violence in many African countries, with Nigeria being no exception (Medhine, 2003) [33].

In addition, as is the case in other African countries reviewed above, the colonial legacy of artificial boundaries, while splitting some communities, also brought different ethnic groups together with different cultures, norms, values, religions and, more importantly, different structures of authority. In the case of the Tafawa Balewa L.G.A, the failure to accommodate cultural and ethnic diversity contributed to crisis within the local government metropolis. Most of the writings on Tafawa Balewa ethno-religious conflict make references to the issue of land ownership as the genesis of conflict while failing to give due consideration to other important factors noted above (Bukata, 1991; Clark, 1991 & Sanda, 1995). Thus, this research aims to make some contribution towards filling that gap in the literature by examining the conflict in Tafawa Balewa L.G.A as a function of the interaction between ethnicity, religious differences and socio-economic factors among the conflicting parties in Tafawa Balewa L.G.A.

Theoretical Framework

This study adapted two theories in order to explain the ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa L.G.A. of Bauchi State. These theories are Instrumental theory by Anthony. D. Smith (1986) [45] and Protracted Social Conflict theory by Edward Azar (1990) [11]. These approaches will be used as a guide to explain the nature of ethno-religious conflict within the area of study. Instrumental theory maintains that modernisation, socio-economic factors and elite manipulation contribute to ethnic conflict within a society. Therefore, this study is going use two variables for the purpose of answering the research questions: they are socio-economic factors and elite manipulation. The first variable, socio-economic factors, can be seen as competition over economic resources and poverty between different ethnic groups which may generate conflict in the society. The second variable is the role of political elites in manipulating ethnicity to achieve their selfish interests (Smith, 1986) [45].

Protracted Social Conflict, on the other hand, emphasizes more on factors that mainly contribute to conflict within a society. This theory asserts that social conflict revolves around four assumptions which are communal identity or inter-ethnic tension, deprivation of human needs, government and the role of the State and international linkages. Thus, for the purpose of this study, one variable will be used in this research. Azar (1990) [11] posit that communal identity or inter-ethnic tension refers to ethnic, religious and cultural groups characterised by cultural affiliation, social discrimination, racial segregation and religious differences among their diversity which results in hatred, mutual suspicion, lack of cordiality and consequently violence in a society. Therefore, based on the above mentioned theoretical propositions and for the purpose of this research, the following analytical framework for the analysis of ethno-religious conflict is developed in order to guide the research work:
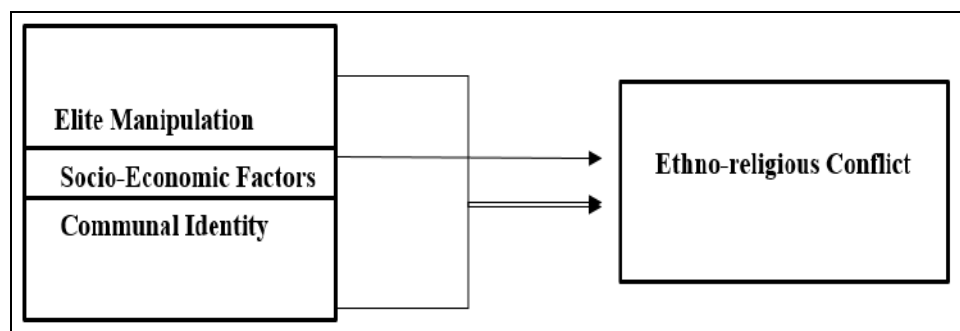
Source: Adapted from Azar (1990) [11] and Smith (1986) [45]

Fig 1: Analytical Framework of Ethno-Religious Conflict

Research Methods

This study used both qualitative and quantitative approach base on the data collected from survey using 30 close ended questions and involved 231 respondents. Interviews were also conducted on 8 community and religious leaders to complement the data collected from the questionnaires. Secondary source of data collected from text books, scholarly journals and contributions, governmental peace and conflict resolution committees and commission of inquiries and media reports,. Accordingly, descriptive statistics, factor analysis and multiple regressions were used in testing and analysing the data with the help of the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) software.

Research Findings

The findings of this study were based on the respective research questions as follows: What are the key factors that contribute to ethno-religious conflict in the Tafawa Balewa Local Government? In response to the research question mentioned above, majority of the respondents both from survey and interviews said that mutual suspicion, a lack of trust among the people, marginalisation, manipulation of elites, struggle over chieftaincy affairs, power struggle, ethnicity and tribalism, Sharia issues, religious rivalry and the question of indigene settlership were among the factors that have contributed to ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa Local Government. The findings of this study show that there are similarities with the literature review of this research. The outcome of this study corresponds with the literatures presented earlier in Chapter Two. In addition, the findings correspond with most of the conflict in African

states as stated by Abdalla, (2002) [2] who maintained that the conflict in Congo Brazzaville arose as a result of struggle to control the State's power and natural resources which preoccupied the individual's ethnic group while ethnicity continues to fuel political conflict within the country.

The political elites use ethnic militia in an environment of youth poverty and unemployment which has now became part of the country's violent culture. Likewise, in Rwanda, the colonial administrators played a vital role in instilling the ideology of ethnic identity. Apart from that, there are many factors which contributed to the escalation of conflict in Rwanda, such as economic marginalisation, leadership tussle, lack of cordiality and intolerance. The Rwandan ethnic conflict is a clear example that shows how ethnic differences and struggle over resources could generate conflict within a country.

Similarly, many analysts such as Shehu (2002) [44], Abdu (2011) and Akinwale (2012) [8] have attributed the conflict in Northern Nigeria to ethnic and religious differences fuelled by exploitation, discrimination, marginalization, religious bigotry and nepotism between diverse ethnic groups. In Nigeria, just as in any other African country, there is no fair agreement based on justice and equality on how wealth, power and status ought to be shared among individuals and groups.

How does ethno-religious conflict impact the political and economic development in the Tafawa Balewa Local Government?

In response to the above research question, majority of the respondents argued that power struggle, political and Sharia

issues, indigene, religious rivalry, ethnicity and tribalism have negatively impacted on the political and economic development of the Tafawa Balewa. Beside these factors, other effects of ethno-religious conflict on the community are seen in terms of displacement or closure of schools, loss of lives and properties, disharmony, mutual suspicion, lack of trust and enmity among the people of Tafawa Balewa. These findings were obtained from survey and the interviews. This effect shows that the Tafawa Balewa community have suffered tremendously as a result of the conflict. findings of this study correspond with the works of various scholars such as Coser (1956) [17], Burton, (1990) [13] and William (1997) [49, 50] they view conflict as a kind of behaviour on the part of individuals, groups or even nations which goes beyond normal disagreements and confrontations that characterizes much of the usual social, economic and competitive life of societies. Therefore, going by this definition, conflict is a behaviour that has the potential of being destructive to a person, property and system as a whole. There is no doubt that political and economic developments have been seriously hindered by threats of ethno-religious conflicts.

Similarly, these findings correspond with the most of the conflict in African states. Millions of Africans have been killed as a result of the conflict of which an estimated 90% were civilian non-combatants. Apart from the loss of lives, the conflict affects the political economic development of the continent. It affects the means of livelihoods, destruction of infrastructure, loss of investment opportunities and diversion of resources from provision of social amenities to the military and security issues. The conflicts increase debts and cause massive internal displacement of people who are forced to become refugees (Fouskas, 2007; Salawu, 2010) [43].

Why several attempts to resolve the ethno-religious conflict in the Tafawa Balewa Local Government seem ineffective?

The response of the above question revealed that the Government lack of implementation of recommendations suggested by various committees as well as marginalisation and inequality in terms of allocation of political and economic resources are some of the factors that failed to resolve the conflict. This is followed by discrimination in terms of sharing political appointments, the government's inability to punish offenders and failure to resolve the socio-economic problems of their people. Other factors include the inadequate role played by ethnic and religious organisations in order to resolve the conflict, the lack of security personnel and the lack of strong mechanisms for awareness campaigns to bring about changes in resolving the conflict. In addition, the relocation of the Local Government Secretariat did not provide any lasting solution to the conflict. This is based on the majority of survey respondents and interview participants.

This result corresponds with the views of various scholars such as Shehu (2002) [44]; Salawu (2010) [43] and Apam (2011) [10] who opined that the occurrence of ethno-religious conflicts and its impact on political and economic development have always challenged the efforts of the Government and need for a stronger management strategy to put them under control. The Governments have always responded to the challenges posed by various ethno-religious conflicts in the Nigeria. However, their responses are simply ineffective because there are only two strategies employed by them to tackle the ethno-religious conflicts any time they occur. These two strategies are the coercive and judicial methods. The coercive means used by the Government is the deployment of troops to the areas of conflict with the aim of controlling the crisis. In Nigeria, this method has taken many forms, depending on the level of crisis. In the process of quelling ethno-religious violence, for example, the police are the first to be sent to the area of conflict.

However, if they cannot handle the problem or are in a situation of serious ethno-religious conflict, it becomes necessary for the Government to make use of a combined military force in order to settle the crisis. However, the problem which affects this process is lack of adequate security personnel that would be deployed in the area of the crisis. The intervention of the military through coercive means is usually associated with many problems such as physical assault, rape and, in some cases, killing of innocent citizens. Therefore, this method of intervention in ethno-religious conflicts is not successful as a mechanism for resolving any conflict.

The second method is to set up a judicial commission or panel of inquiries by the Government to mediate conflict. This method involves the selection of people from different backgrounds to investigate the remote and immediate causes of a situation and submit a report to the Government based on the terms of reference given to the panel to work with. Such committees or commission can operate by calling for memoranda, organizing public hearings and paying visits to the areas affected by conflict. The aim of such visits is to acquire first-hand information and assess the degree of damages of the conflict. However, this method has failed to resolve said problems due to the lack of cooperation by conflicting parties and lack of proper implementation of recommendations as suggested by judicial commission or committees of inquiries by the Government.

Furthermore, in a related view Shehu (2002) [44] posited that the inability of the Government to cater to the need of the people in terms of provision of basic necessities have resulted in the occurrence and re-occurrence of conflict in Tafawa Balewa. There also insensitivity and injustice caused by the Government to punish perpetrators of the conflict based on the recommendations suggested by various committees have failed to provide any lasting solution to the conflict in Tafawa Balewa.

Conclusion
The conclusion of this study show that politicization of ethnicity and religion, coupled with elites' manipulation, manifests into violent conflict within the Tafawa Balewa Local Government. Differences in identities have become problematic when there is unequal access to political participation in terms of power sharing and discrimination in terms of resource allocation whereby one ethnic group dominates other groups within the society. Moreover, ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa has led to the loss of many lives and destroyed the political and economic development of the area. The failure of the Government to perform its duty of protecting lives and properties as well as to cater to the basic necessities of its citizens brings about tension and lack of trust among the people of Tafawa Balewa Local Government. Finally, the inability of the Government to implement the recommendations suggested by various committees brings about setbacks in resolving the conflict. Therefore, the experience of Tafawa

Balewa with regards to ethno-religious conflict has now become a major factor as politics is defined along religion and ethnicity.

Suggested recommendations
Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are given on how to resolve the ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa: The Federal and State governments should formulate and effectively implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa Local Government such as alleviation of poverty, reducing unemployment, provision of infrastructural facilities and catering to the basic needs of the people among others. The Federal and State governments should be more active in the implementation of recommendations suggested by various Committees of Inquiry on solving the ethno-religious conflict in Tafawa Balewa in order to avoid future situations of hostilities, mutual suspicious and enmity among the people of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area.

The Federal and State governments should re-organize the country's security intelligence system and build a more capable and proactive security apparatus in the area. This will enhance more values in checking violent conflict within the area. The Federal and States governments should introduce peace studies and conflict resolution in school curriculum at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This will enable Nigerian youths to appreciate the importance of peace and security in a secular state like Nigeria. The Federal and States governments should strengthen the Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and establish a more viable and result-oriented agency capable of addressing the problems of abject poverty among the large population of Nigeria, particularly those who are residing in rural areas. The Federal and State governments should revive the role of the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and reposition the agricultural sector so as to play an active role in job creation for Nigerian youths, especially those residing in the rural areas.

There is need for collective security planning by the Federal, State and Local Governments in Nigeria. This arrangement should produce committees at the village, community, local, state and federal levels with the responsibility of providing sensitive security information for security agencies at their areas of operation. This will assist in identifying criminals, their sponsors as well as hideouts in a state or the country at large.

The Federal, State and Local Governments should be more committed to enhance the quality and standard of education in Nigeria. The three levels of government in Nigeria should collaborate to ensure free education at all levels. This will reduce ignorance among the youths who are constantly involves in violent conflict. The issue of citizenship or who is qualified to be an indigene of a particular community or state should be reviewed by the Federal Government. This is important because a Nigerian who has lived up to 20 years in a given community should not be regarded and treated as a non-indigene in the area. This step will reduce discrimination and marginalisation in many parts of Nigeria, particularly in Tafawa Balewa.

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