

RELIGIOUS LITERACY, PLURALISM, AND MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ALLIANCES IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This chapter analyzes the causes of Muslim-Christian conflicts and why alliances between the two groups are difficult in Nigeria. It applies a modified form of social cubism theory as tool of analysis and finds that fear of insecurity among Muslim and Christians in Nigeria is the main cause of the rift between them, and that all other “causes” are actually consequences of this main cause. The chapter concludes that unless this fear is removed, cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism norms will not succeed in Nigeria.

Key words: Covenantal, Pluralism, Alliances

INTRODUCTION

“He who knows one religion knows nothing” (Olupona, 1992). Attempts at forming Muslim-Christian Alliances in Nigeria have remained at the vertical level with the most recent attempt, being the joint statement of the Muslim and Christian Youth of Nigeria under the umbrella of the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC) on the End-SARS protests across some states of Nigeria. Such attempts at alliances have remained low at the horizontal level because of conflicts that have claimed the lives of thousands, traumatized millions, and caused massive destruction to property. For example, Boko Haram alone has killed and displaced thousands of innocent Muslims and Christians. The Islamic Movement of Nigeria’s several confrontations with security forces has resulted in the loss of lives of hundreds of its members. Adding insult to injury, acrimonious accusations and counter-accusations by Muslims and

Christians of government practices of religious discrimination and favoritism have strained the trust and peaceful coexistence among people in the country.

This chapter identifies the different arguments scholars have made to explain the causes of Muslim-Christian conflicts in Nigeria. First are advocates of primordialism, who believed that differences in religion and religious tradition is a cause of conflict between the adherents of Islam and Christianity (Hasenclever and Rettberger, 2000, Huntington, 1993). Second are supporters of instrumentalism, who believe that religion in itself is not a cause but may aggravate conflict due to other factors such as politics (Hasenclever and Rettberger, 2000). Third are the promoters of fanaticism who believe that religious conflicts are caused by overzealous and misguided adherents of religions (Tamuno, 1993, Gwamna, 2007). Fourth are backers of political economy and deprivation who believe that economic deprivation is a cause conflict (Obateru, 1999, Muhammed and Adeoye, 2006, Bashir, 2005, Kwaneshie, 2005). Fifth are the advocates of action-reaction theories who proposed that religion can cause conflict when adherents engage in competition for new souls, prominence and access to national resources. In this regard, when the activities of one group become suspicious to the other group, a similar reaction will ensue based on the assumption that the gains of one amounts to losses for the other group (Jan Boer, 2004, Igwara, 1995, Osaghae and Suberu, 2005, Barkindo, 1993, Marshall, 1995).

Sixth are the promoters of a theory of religious manipulation who have argued that the elites in the society manipulate religion for their selfish interests. These scholars identified historical animosity and competition for space as reasons for the manipulation and cause of conflict between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria (Olupona, 1997, Kuka, 1993, Usman, 1987, Kastfelt, 1994 and Abdu, 2010). It is worthy of note that some Muslim and Christian organizations in Nigeria have been influenced by this argument in their various attempts to understand the causes of conflict between the adherents of the two religions (Orire, 2005, Jatau, 2005). Seventh are those arguing that misconception of the message of the two religions by their adherents is the cause of rift between them (Makarfi, 2005). Eight are those that apply the social cubism theory; an all-inclusive approach built on a cube's image of six sides for the study of social conflicts in societies. The theory's proposition is that a good understanding of

the causes of social conflict in societies cannot be achieved unless the combination of these six elements are taken into account (Okoye, 2013).

No doubt, these approaches are good ways of explaining the causes of Muslim-Christian conflicts in Nigeria. However, the approaches have not raised and addressed the “why” question to ascertain the reason for the fanaticism, historical animosity, the competition between Muslims and Christians, and manipulation of religion to mention but a few. This chapter analyzes these perspectives using the social cubism theory in a modified way, as a means of understanding, explaining and applying the concepts of cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism. This is because of the interplay of religion and politics in Nigeria which has given rise to incessant conflicts between Muslims and Christians in country. The theory’s historical perspective relies on past events such as ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria which is traceable from Nigeria’s colonial past in the form of amalgamation that allows for the superimposition of some ethnic nationalities over others, which created ethnic hostilities in the country with over 250 ethnic groups. (MacFarlane, 1984, Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). Hence, the prevalence of conflicts in northern Nigeria can be linked to ethnicity factors and colonialism’s amalgamation of various ethnic groups, the implication of which, is politics based on ethnicity (Anthony, 2002; Osaghae, 1998a).

On religion, followers of Traditional religion exist in Nigeria, but, Islam and Christianity are the two dominant religions, with Islam, dominant in most of the northern region and Christianity in the south, including the Ibos of the east and the Yorubas of the west. Adherents of Christianity in particular consider Islam as threatening to the secular nature of the country (Noble, 1992c, para. 16), which claim, continued to generate controversy between the two religions with devastating consequences on the polity (Ibrahim, 1989, 1991; Osaghae, 1998a; Suberu, 2009; Williams, 2011). In Nigeria for instance, Islam and Christianity have been in perpetual competition for space with each progressively trying to assert authority over and above the other especially in politics with Christians calling for a Christian president and vice versa (Haberson & Rothschild, 1991). In terms of demography, the theory looks at Nigeria as a country that is unevenly divided into a Muslim north and a predominantly Christian south,

with the Middle Belt, which, has a near balance of Christians and Muslims. And there are religious minorities in each of these regions (ICG, 2010, p. 1).

This explains the Political Factor in the country in the form of Muslims and Christians, each struggling for hegemony with conflicts between the two units exacerbating the ethno-religious conflict in northern Nigeria (Ukiwo, 2000). Economically, the theory believes that economic inequities breed dissatisfaction, which may raise tensions capable of triggering riots and violent protests in societies. It is based on this understanding that the theory sees factors such as resource allocation inequity, indigene-settler issues, unemployment, poverty as contributory factors to ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria (Anthony, 2002, p. 7). A good example is the conflict in the Nigeria's Oil and Gas industry which is largely as a result of alleged inequitable resource distribution.

The Psycho-cultural factors refer to the psychological orientation and dispositions of matters which relates to factors such as emotions and tensions that occur because of conflict that increases with social change in the society. In Nigeria for example, on the one hand, Muslims believe that the Islamic culture will rid Nigeria of corruption, and psychologically, they see an Islamic culture solving the problem of corruption and nepotism in the country and vice versa. In addition, however, Christians, on the other hand, have strong feelings and believe that the constitution will provide democracy and freedom of expression to all Nigerians—Muslims, Christians, and traditionalists alike—though the Nigerian Constitution being secular is neither Christian nor Muslim. The summary of it is that social cubism theory explains the conflict from a six-dimensional framework of history (religious, demography, psycho-cultural, political, and economic factors), all of which interlinked (Byrne & Carter, 1996).

This chapter asserts that there is a relationship among all the factors identified by scholars as causes of Muslim-Christian rifts such that one factor is identified as the main cause and all others as products. In other words, this chapter concedes that these scholars are right in their approaches and that Muslim-Christian conflict in Nigeria is inextricably connected to all the factors they mentioned; but, not in the way they presented it. The finding of the chapter is that contrary to the claims by scholars, an incessant feeling of insecurity and by extension fear of the unknown between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria is the cause of conflict between them and other factors such as manipulation of religion, fanaticism, competition for space,

hatred and the resulting killings and maiming are all consequences of this feeling of insecurity. Fear which leads to mutual distrust among people is not a new phenomenon or something that is unique between Muslims and Christians. Even at the international level, it does happen, especially considering ideas of anarchy and distrust in the world's internal system, which has contributed to security dilemma for countries (Eric Patterson, 2013). At the same time however, it is an established fact that theories of international relations show that despite such anarchies and distrusts at the vertical among countries, at the horizontal level, countries that are democratic for example, do form alliances as an aspect of trust-building because of democratic norms, which, they have in common for which they easily interact with one another in numerous ways, leading to greater trust/security in the democratic peace (Eric Patterson, 2013).

It is on the basis of this finding that, the chapter argues that, universal acceptance of the norms of cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism depends on two things. First, educating people through a 'permeable membrane' on the teaching of the two religions; which both Muslims and Christians accept, with a view to obliterating this feeling of insecurity such that people will begin to see the conflict as the insidious effect of their obsession with feeling of insecurity and lack of trust for one another, which has encouraged competition for space between them for societal control and influence on national issues. Second, an implementable policy must be developed for implementation.

To establish this thesis, the chapter relied on historical sources to analyze the following questions: How religiously diverse is Nigeria? How have authorities protected this religiously diverse society? And what is the relevance of cross-cultural religious literacy and norms of covenantal pluralism to Muslim-Christian Alliance in Nigeria? The aim of the chapter is to provide a framework based on cross-cultural religious literacy principles and covenantal pluralism for a better Muslim-Christian Alliance in Nigeria and the world at large.

RELIGIOUS DEMOGRAPHY AND THE RELEVANCE OF RELIGIOUS LITERACY AND COVENANTAL PLURALISM

Religious Demography in Nigeria

Nigeria is a religiously diverse country. And, neither Islam nor Christianity can claim predominance over the other in the country (Oloyede, Egbewe and Oloyede, 2016). As of July 2017, Nigeria's population was estimated at 190.6 million; with 52% Muslims, 48% Christians and 2% other faiths (USCIRF, 2018). In contrast however, a survey by the Pew Research Center's forum on Religion and Public Life in 2012 indicates that 49.3% of the country's population are Christians and 48.8% Muslims while the remaining 2% represent other faiths or no religion at all (Pew Forum, 2012). Another report states that Nigeria's population was about 140 million out of which, Muslims were estimated to be 50%, Christians 40% and traditional religionists 10% (CIA World Fact Book).

In an attempt to manage these different religions and ideas and to ensure the neutrality of the state, Nigeria's Constitution first, prohibit the adoption of any religion as the official religion of the state.¹ However, the section has remained controversial and had been described as '...Nigeria's constitutional contrivance' to show that the provision was cleverly and deceitfully designed by some people to outwit others (Yadudu, 1994, Vishgh, 1998). In the Nigerian context, this may mean Christians trying to outwit Muslims or the other way round (Garba, 2016). Nevertheless, by-and-large, the Constitution protects, theoretically, at least, freedom of conscience or belief, within the context of public order even though it gets interpreted differently by different groups. Management of religion such as what is found in Nigeria is called pluralism, which in a legal parlance, means the application of an accepted blueprint that authorities apply to control; religious, social and political diversity among people in a given society (Bandar, 2010, Beckford, 2014, Giordan, 2014, Yang, 2014).

Nevertheless, fear of the unknown which created lack of mutual trust between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria contributed to several violent conflicts along religious line in the country such that Muslim-Christian alliances have been prevented (John Campbell, 2013). And because of the fear, the two groups have increasingly been in a state of competition for space

and influence. It is always Muslims or Christians wanting to be in control over all others (John Campbell, 2013). For example, consider, March, 23, 1986, Ilorin religious disturbance between Muslims and Christians caused by the Palm Sunday processionⁱⁱ. In this case, each group was aimed at showing that Ilorin belongs to them or they in the majority and the University of Ibadan cross controversy which was also a clash between Muslims and Christians over a cross erected at the University of Ibadan since inception to mention fewⁱⁱⁱ. In fact, excluding conflicts between 1995-April, 1999, Professor J. Isawa Elaigwu estimates that between 1980 and 2005 there were more than 50 violent inter-group conflicts in Nigeria, resulting in the loss of lives and property (Elaigwu, 2005).

Professor Ogoh Alubo too states that over 80 major eruptions of violence took place between May 1999 and December 2003 in Nigeria, which, he notes, was three-fold the number that occurred during the eight-year rule of General Babangida regime between 1985 and 1993 (Alubo, 2005). The increasing occurrences of Muslim-Christian conflicts in Nigeria calls for a paradigm shift in the authorities manage the religiously diverse country. It shows that Government needs to do more to minimize these conflicts for peace and tranquility in the country.

It is on this basis that his chapter argues that there is one main cause of conflict, with all other factors resulting from it. This can be illustrated this way: if X is the main cause (though remote) or the antecedent and Y stands for other factors, then the relationship can be expressed in this way:



In this case, X represents the main cause which is the feeling of insecurity by the adherents of the two religions against one another which gives rise to such other factors as competition between members of the two groups in which process, hatred for one another ensued, manipulation of religion, ethnicity, killings and maiming in an attempt by one group to gain control over the other group in the society. Using this approach, the social cubism theory could be modified to mean one cause being responsible for the existence of other causes. That is the Cube itself taking as one solid factor as the main cause and its sides as the consequences which could be elites' competition, hatred, killings, just to mention few.

A possible explanation to support this thesis is that there has been competition between the two religions since crusades, the origin of which was fear of the other (Takaya, 1992). And this should not be surprising as Thomas Hobbes had for long observed in *Leviathan*, that “in the nature of man, we find three principal causes of quarrel. First, competition; second, diffidence (fear); third, glory (Hobbes [1651] (1985). Using the action-reaction theory however, Takaya explained that, where such competition takes on political configuration, the end result is deep hatred, anguish and even civil strife that might lead to painful disintegration of a nation (Takaya, 1992). The justification for the fear is that, neither Muslims nor Christians want to live as minorities in any arrangement with the other as majority. As has been true throughout history, and according to the human condition, each group feels safer and more protected if they are in the majority and in charge of affairs.

The British colonialists’ encounters with emirs in Northern Nigeria could provide evidence of the operation of this fear of insecurity. For instance, in his work, E.P.T. Crampton (Crampton, 2004) recorded many encounters few of which will be mentioned here. First, when some Missionaries visited Kano and went to meet with Emir Aliyu of Kano, they were humiliated and sent away. The Emir was quoted to have said:

We do not want you: you can go. I give three days to prepare: a hundred donkeys to carry your loads back to Zaria, and we never want to see you here again!

Also in an interview with Morel; a historian, the Emir of Kano was reported to have said that (Crampton, 2004):

Know that as regards the preaching [of Christianity] which we discuss here, my opinion is that it is better to stop it altogether, from the first – because, if our people are disturbed about their religion they will become suspicion and afraid. Hence the country will become unsettled. Neither you nor we desire the country to become unsettled for that would be harmful. On the other hand, as regards secular matters and the affairs of the world, we can do anything.

But this fear of the other, before it is Christian or Muslim, is human, and humans, historically, have sought to associate with their own kind, and in fact, treat others worse than

themselves. Situating this scenario to Nigeria, it can be stated that Nigerian Muslims and Christians have acted as humans do, out of fear, and thus seeking to do something about/to the other before it is done to them. Despite this human factor, attempt at forming alliances have continued even though with little success, possibly because of the approach which has always been top-bottom instead of bottom-top. A good example is the 1219 encounter between St. Francis and Sultan al-Kamil. Even though, nothing resulted, but it was an attempt at peace, an association or alliance, despite failing, sets a precedent or an aspiration or both.

The obsession with this fear of insecurity has also characterized scholarly writings by both Muslim and non-Muslims. In discussing the cause of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, Kastfel, Kuka and Abdu have argued among other things that historical hostility between Muslims and Christians contributed to the occurrence of conflicts between them in Northern Nigeria. Kastfelt in particular, stated that, since independence, Nigerians remained emotionally attached to their religions in a way that the religion guides their political interests and schemes such that, in places like the middle-belt in Northern Nigeria, ethnic minorities, who are mostly Christians kept on struggling to protect themselves against domination by the Muslim-Hausa-Fulani ethnic majorities (Kastfelt, 1994).

In other words, because of fear of the unknown when Muslims are in charge, Christians in the middle-belt of Nigeria strove to protect themselves against Hausa-Fulani Muslim control hence the killings in the North. This is a possible explanation for the competition between the adherents of the two religions in which process, they manipulate religion to gain prominence and influence in the society. The question remains, however: why are they competing? Why are they manipulating religion? The answer is they are obsessed with fear of insecurity if for instance, Muslims and not Christians or the other way round are left to be in charge of affairs.

The fear of the unknown also operates among outstanding authors like Kuka and Wakili. In his popular work, "Religion, Power and Politics," Kuka argues that the Hausa-Fulani Muslims in Nigeria have successfully manipulated the religion of Islam, ethnicity, and primordial sentiments to monopolize power and assert their supremacy on non-Muslims in Nigeria (Kuka, 1993). And their ascendancy to power corresponded with the subjugation of

the non-Muslims who they used as “necessary cannon fodder for their ambition” (Kuka, 1993, x and 39). The question to ask here is what is wrong with that? Kuka answered this question in the same work. He stated that it was “the realization of the role of religion in politics and the thread of Islam to Christianity that made Christian leaders in Nigeria recognized the need to unite to halt the spread of Islam” (Kuka, 1993). Meaning Christians were afraid of the spread of Islam and therefore had to strategize to put it to a halt. Kuka set the stage for the writings of Some, like Wakili— (a Hausa-Fulani Muslim scholar in Northern Nigeria), however, call the book controversial and “a challenge to Muslim intellectuals in the continuing encounter between the adherents of the two dominant religions in Nigeria” (Wakili, 2000).

Another area where this fear operates is the area of education. Due to the pervasive fear of the other, which often results in hate, neither Muslims nor Christians are interested in learning one another’s religion. There are however exceptional instances where few Christians and Muslims learn Islam and Christianity for evangelization purposes and no more. Nigeria’s Religion-State pattern as encapsulated in section 10 of the Constitution and its operation is another area where this fear of insecurity by both Muslims and Christians could be ascertained. I argued elsewhere that Nigeria’s Religion-State relationship is hybrid in nature. At the vertical level, it exhibits positive identification regime with Islam and Christianity as the favored religions and at the horizontal, the various states exhibit various regimes depending on which religion is predominant in a state. That is, where Muslims are in the majority, Islam and Muslims are favored the more and vice versa for Christians (Garba, 2016). A possible explanation for this favoritism is the obsession with fear of the unknown if one of the two religions is the majority and in charge of affairs and the other is minority.

Religious Literacy and Covenantal Pluralism

Although some scholars have advocated that religion is both a progressive and dangerous force in world affairs (R. Scott, 2000) and Campbell in particular gave Nigeria an uncertain future (John Campbell, 2013), adoption of religious literacy and norms of covenantal pluralism is vital in the minimization of Muslim-Christian conflicts in Nigeria and replace it with love, mutual trust and positive sense of collectivism. For example, covenantal pluralism refers to a

mutual engagement that seeks to create room mutual respect and protection by one person to the other or by one community to the other, and the things that enable this type of engagement are the competencies and skills of cross-cultural religious literacy. It is important to recall Olupona; a visionary writer, on the importance of cross-cultural religious literacy. Writing in 1992, he anticipated, and helped establish, many of the trends we see today, which are more needed now than ever before.

He emphasized the need to take real steps to develop new curricular and pedagogical tasks to encourage to encourage scholars and students in all institutions of learning to adopt a positive approach to religious scholarship with a view to describing as faithfully as possible the different religious beliefs and practices in Nigeria, the aim of which is to build hope in people to study other religious beliefs (Olupona 1992). He further observes that religious studies programs in Nigerian Universities are designed to encourage narrow-mindedness and proselytization of people's personal religious traditions which encouraged ignorance of the tenets and world views of other religions outside their own. He also lamented that in Nigerian universities, there are people who feel that if one does not belong to a particular religious' tradition, one has no business studying it; a sheer narrow-mindedness! (Olupona, 1992, 6).

The relevance of covenantal pluralism had also been realized in the past even, not success was recorded. There are historical facts to show that attempts had been made by Muslims and Christians in the past to form alliances to build mutual trust and instill love in the minds of one another. For example, as far back as in 1959, attempt had been made to form alliances between Muslims and Christians through the Islam in Africa Project established in Ghana, which in 1987, became the Project for Christian-Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA).^{iv} With head office in Ghana, the project was determined to understand Islam and Christianity from a traditional African worldview, pursuant a better understanding between Muslims and Christians in Africa. Through this project, Muslims and Christians are engaged for dialogue at appropriate times for building mutual trust (Akinade, 2002).

In Nigeria, two different Nigerian presidents have tried to establish a Christian-Muslim council. These governmentally formed bodies have had little success in working vertically, i.e.,

from the top-down. For example, the Military Government of Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida passed a law establishing the Advisory Council for Religious Affairs to help government issues of religion.^v During his regime, President Olushegun Obasanjo also formed the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC.) comprising of 25 persons from each religious divide. Not much success had been recorded possibly because the attempts were all top-bottom. Perhaps the best hope for alliances are the horizontal examples we find from the bottom-up.

CONCLUSION

In summary, it is shown in this paper that the position of scholars on the causes of Muslim-Christian conflicts in Nigeria is in order in terms itemization only and not in the way they relate with one another. The paper established that the causes of Muslim-Christian conflicts are related in an if then manner such that one cause is identified as the main cause and all others as consequences on the basis of which the paper advocates for a bottom-top approach which characterizes cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism as described in this paper. It is on this finding that the paper specifically argued that universal acceptance of the norms of cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism depends on two things.

First, it should be noted that the ignorance of Nigerians about the beliefs and practices of other religions contributed to religious crises in Nigeria and this ignorance itself is a product of the fear in issue. This justifies the need to educate people through a 'permeable membrane' on the teaching of the two religions; which both Muslims and Christians accept, with a view to obliterating this feeling of insecurity such that people will begin to see the conflict as the insidious effect of their obsession with feeling of insecurity and lack of trust for one another, which has encouraged competition for space between them for societal control and influence on national issues. The use of the phrase 'penetrable membrane' is to emphasize that an acceptable medium is needed to educate people to understand the message in the different religions that operate in the country.

The emphasis here is on education to know the tenets of other religious to remove mutual suspicion and minimize the unhealthy competition for space by the different religions. And, success depends on the ability of authorities to develop an implementable policy

framework for implementation. It is stated elsewhere in this paper that the government itself made positive efforts to address the problem through the initiation of good policies and laws. The problem, however, has always been lack of implementation.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the foregoing, the paper recommends the use of education to get the ideas and norms of cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism entrenched in the curriculum of all levels of schools in Nigeria. This will ensure love and mutual trust and respect for one another. This is where cross-cultural religious literacy and conventional pluralism principles are relevant. In particular, this principle, can help encourage students and people generally to focus on the virtue and goodness of other religions. This will no doubt, widen their horizons of sheer information and understanding thereby removing ignorance and ultimately fear of insecurity which this chapter identified as a major cause of Muslim-Christian conflict in Nigeria. Through this approach, the divergences and complexities in the various religions in Nigeria will be studied and taught to students along with the issues of inter-religious dialogue, social justice and peaceful co-existence. As a long-term solution, the comparative religious program in the Nigerian Universities can be developed and strengthened so that youths in Nigeria are taught all the essential components of the religions in Nigeria as advocated in the cultural policy of the country.

In addition to the need for practicable policies for implementation, there is also the need for authorities in Nigeria to resuscitate the Advisory Council for Religious Affairs so that they function well^{vi} This is achievable first, through the establishment and inauguration of the council. Second, the mandate of the council can be expanded to accommodate development of policy on religion including religious education in the country for peaceful co-existence. Third, the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC.) can be brought under the council or even merged so that only one body operates in the Country.

A third recommendation is the need to involve religious leaders for success. In the constructivist security theorization, Copenhagen scholars believe that leaders are essential in proclaiming something to be under threat, thus requiring a security response which may occur

without democratic deliberation (Stacey Gutkowski, 2013). Because of this important role that leaders including religious leaders have in societies, there is need to engage them and where necessary, they should be the first point of engagement so that they can be made to understand the essence of cross-cultural religious literacy and covenantal pluralism in building peace, trust and harmony in our societies.

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ENDNOTES

ⁱ Section 10 of the Constitution of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended)

ⁱⁱ This was a clash between Muslims and Christians in 1984. Different versions of the cause of the clash was written by Muslims and Christians with each supporting its side. It happened on a Sunday when Christians were doing a procession from their Church and suddenly there was a clash.

ⁱⁱⁱ This was a conflict between Muslims and Christians in 1985 which started at the University of Ibadan and nearly escalated in to town. It was on a cross erected at the Chapel of Resurrection in the University of Ibadan since inception of the University. The Muslims insisted on a having a Mosque built for them too or else the cross must be demolished.

^{iv} See J. Crossley, "The Islam in Africa Project," *International Review of Mission*, 61, 150-160.

^v See the Advisory Council on Religious Affairs, Cap. A8, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004.

^{vi} See the Advisory Council on Religious Affairs, Cap. A8, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004.



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