

Proposal for Ph.D. studies in cultural anthropology;
Prospecting the ethno political conflict between the
Hausa/Fulani and minority Middle Belt tribes in northern Nigeria:
An anthropological perspective (2013)

by Elias Nankap Lamle

INTRODUCTION:

As an enthusiastic observer of the democratic development in Nigeria, the researcher came to realise that the movement of the nation from dictatorial military regime to the democratic theatre should facilitate development in the nation. However, there have been certain developments that seem to be militating against the democratic process. The most threatening of these developments is ethno political prejudice. The centre stage in the theatre of ethno political prejudice in Nigeria is the Hausa/Fulani versus the Middle Belt minority tribe's conflict. The conflict has reached a dimension that if not properly managed, will definitely lead to continuous civil unrest culminating into war in the nation as observed elsewhere in the world. Thus, pushed by the affection for global peace and sustainable development in Africa and the implication of a war in Nigeria to the international community, the researcher is spurred to look at this cardinal issue in the survival of the nation. This ethno political conflict manifests itself in religious undertones. This undertone has a historical dimension that needs to be properly understood to be able to give the proposal a concrete base.

A HISTORY OF THE ETHNO POLITICAL CONFLICT: THE HAUSA/FULANI TRIBES AND THE "ISLAMISED" DIMENSION Nigeria, like other colonised African countries, came into existence as a result of the amalgamation of three protectorates - the North, South East and South West. The

influx of Islam into Northern Africa led to it being brought down through the desert to Northern Nigeria. North African traders who first of all arrived in North Western Nigeria through the Kanem-Borno Empire in the eleventh century enhanced the spread of Islam. In the fourteenth century Islam came to North Eastern Nigeria through Sokoto. The combined efforts of the two influxes were able to make a very drastic impact on the Northern Nigerian's socio-religious life. At first Islam in Northern Nigeria initially concentrated on the Kanem Borno Empire, which has the Kanuri as the dominant tribe. Then in the fourteenth century Islamic traders from North African states helped to spread Islam to North Eastern Nigeria and it remained among the Fulani, which is a nomadic tribe. Later the Hausas a section of the Fulani tribe also was influenced by Islam

At first, Islam made impact on the far Northern states but had little or no influence on the mountainous terrain of the Sub-Sahel regions which for the purpose of this proposal will be called the Middle Belt. This is because the initial propagators of the faith were lukewarm as such most of the proselytising was tepid until there arose an Islamic revivalist by name of Usman Dan Fodio. Dan Fodio a Fulani teacher asserted he had a revelation that Islam should be purified. So arose from Gusau (Zamfara) and fought using his tribal clique the Fulani. With the help of the Fulani he was able to subjugate other tribes that he felt were not practising Islam as expected. Due to the fact that he was also seeking pasture for his kin the Fulani, he always imposed a Fulani leader in whatever protectorate he conquered. Dan Fodio as a person did not overcome the whole land he was asserted to have conquered, but did give his blessings to those that sought his permission to wage Jihad against their neighbours.

The Dan Fodio led Jihad did not end with Hausa-Fulani oriented states only, for they to sought overcame the none-Hausa states also. In the Jihadist quest to overcome the non-Hausa states, the jihadists encountered a traditionally oriented people who lived on a mountainous terrain. The mountainous terrain occupies the present central states of the present Nigeria, which as indicated before for the purpose of this proposal will be called Middle Belt. This region was inhabited by traditional religionists tribes (idol worshipers) who sought to maintain the status quo. Thus, the traditional religionists were greatly oppressed by the Fulani Jihadist. The

traditional religionist resisted the onslaught of the Islamic invaders from the eighteenth century till the twentieth century when Christianity arrived in the region. The traditional oriented tribes are a consortium of tribes that total up to between 200-300 tribes. These tribes included the Kebbawa, Zamfarawa, Nupe, Ilorin, Adamawa, Zaria, Kebbi, Maraba, Kpanti, Mandara, Marghi, Bagele, Batta, Fali, Biu, Balewa, Fika, Buhum, Muri, Tangale-Waja, Seyawa, Angas, Pyem, Tarok, Montol. Others are Jukuns, Kutebs, Tiv, Idoma, Kangoro, Kagoma, Yelkwa, Zango Kataf, Kataf and the Kuje, just to mention a few. These tribes are small as such did not have the needed impetus to defeat the Islamic invaders. However they did not surrender to Islam but continued to wage war against the Hausa/Fulani Islamic invaders until the arrival of Colonial Governance and Christianity.

A HISTORY OF THE ETHNO POLITICAL CONFLICT: THE MIDDLE BELT TRIBES AND THE “CHRISTIANISED” DIMENSION. Before the advent of Colonisation and Christianity to the region, the Middle Belt tribes were able to resist the Hausa/Fulani Islamic invaders due to the mountainous terrains that they lived in and also the resilience of the people. However, the advent of Colonial rule and Christianity changed the political sphere. Before we delve into this it will be pertinent for us to look further into how Christianity was introduced to the Middle Belt States.

Christianity was first of all introduced into Nigeria at the coastal regions of the Southern states by the activities of Portuguese traders. Even though the Portuguese introduced the faith into the region by the sixteenth century yet no much work of evangelisation was done upstream as the traders were only interested in their business. This trend changed with the end of slavery and the repatriation of slaves from the region of America to Sierra Leon and Liberia. These ex-slaves who were already Christians did spread their Christian dragnets to the coastal regions of West Africa, which Nigeria was included. The work of evangelisation by the ex-slaves did go up stream to the Mountainous regions of the Middle Belt. Nevertheless, their impact was felt however it was very minimal up stream in contrast with what would happen later on the mountainous traditional people.

What would be described as the explosive move of mission work on the traditional mountainous people of the Middle Belt were the activities of two visionaries from America and Britain. The American visionaries came as a result of a vision of Africa perishing. They settled at the mountainous region of the Middle Belt of Nigeria. They concentrated their activities on the Western side of the mountainous region under the name of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM). Through the activities of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), they were able to create a very distinctive impact on the Western side of the Middle Belt region and sought to reach the far North but had resistance from colonial Governance who were comfortable with the Islamic socialisation and system of Government they saw in North. Today, SIM under the indigenised name of Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA) had a national impact as it has not only reached Middle Belt states but could be found in many parts of Nigeria and the West African region.

On the other hand a young German by the name of Karl Kumm visited Egypt and saw a vision of Africa as threatened by Islamic religion decided to bring the Christian faith to the people of Africa. He went back to Germany and later on came down to England from where he launched a mission organisation called the Sudan Pioneer Mission (SPM). SPM was latter renamed Sudan United Mission (SUM) due to its composition. Karl Kumm through the influence of the colonial regime then settled on the Eastern side of the mountainous regions of the Middle Belt. The SUM was able to make a conscientious and lasting impact on the region. Today the SUM under the name of TEKAN could be described as the largest mission body North of Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon.

Also the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) of the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Mission also spread their dragnet to many of these regions in the Middle Belt. The combined work of the SUM, SIM, CMS and Catholic Mission was so dramatic that in less than a century they were able to, not only reach out to these tribes that rejected Islam but also gave some Western education. Thus, with the availability of education as a liberating force, these once subjugated mountainous tribes became desirous of freedom from the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy.

COLONIAL RULE AND THE MARGINALISATION OF THE MIDDLE BELT TRIBES One undoubted factor that seems to polarise the rising of conflict between the Hausa/Fulani oligarchy and the Middle Belt tribes was Colonial rule. At the advent of Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century, the shape of the ethno political sphere changed. This is more so that British Colonial Government encouraged the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy to perpetuate itself as against the other tribes. This they did by introducing the indirect rule. For the sake of political convenience the British Colonial Governance used a system known as the indirect rule to perpetuate itself in Northern Nigeria. By indirect rule they used the existing political structure of the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy to rule the whole of the Northern States of Nigeria without regard to the socio-political structures of the other tribes. Thus, the political rulers (Emirs and Chiefs) of the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy were superimposed on the other tribes. Therefore, the traditional rulers of the other tribes were forced to subject themselves under the rulers of the Oligarchy. Consequently, the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy felt a form of superiority over the other tribes. This did not go well with the other tribes who revolted in one way or another. However, they were powerless under the heavy arm of the Crown and its Military structures; these tribes superficially subjected themselves under the monarch of the Oligarchy. This was the prevailing situation under which Christianity was introduced in the Northern states of Nigeria.

Christian Missions did not do anything to address this anomaly even when the Missionaries knew that their members did not see the system as healthy. The missionaries however, urged their members to be faithful to the Crown since it was seeking to introduce a "civilisation" which was higher than that of the primitive traditional idol rulers of the tribes. To get protection from the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy most of these traditional political systems gave up to Christianity with the conviction that the European Missionaries have a rapport with their fellow European Colonisers as such will save them in the face of aggression by the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy.

CRISIS FACTORS IN ETHNO POLITICAL SPHERE AS MANIFESTED IN CHRISTIAN/MUSLIM RELATIONS IN NIGERIA.

We observed that the introduction of the indirect rule forced the traditional leaders of the Middle Belt states to convert to Christianity so as to get some degree of protection from the onslaughts of the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy. This made Christianity to be their front in all socio-political relationship. On the other hand the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy continued to uphold Islam as its progenitor since it ensures their continuum as found in the oligarchy. Thus the battleground shifted from the Hausa/Fulani verses the Middle Belt tribe's intertribal wars to Christianity versus Islam. ***Thus the religious dimension was added superficially to give it a better sphere for waging the war. The religious sphere is only superficial and is used as cards when the need arises. However, when all deeds has been done the real agenda is then manifested which is the tribal conflict that has existed all theses while.*** For the purpose of this proposal we will use Christianity to represent the Minority tribes of the Middle Belt, while Islam of the other hand stands for the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy. For us to go further it will be cardinal for us to look at how these two religions representing these tribal interests interact in Nigeria.

Apart from suspicion, which has been the main stay of ethno political conflict which has polarised the adherents of the two religion as observed above, the Nigerian situation had some peculiarities that need to be examined in the light of the prevailing situation.

First of all it should be remembered that the jihadist conflict with the traditional religionist left an indelible scare that no efforts have been made to heal. It should also be remembered that the jihadist left an oligarchy under the name of the Sokoto caliphate. The Sokoto caliphate has sought to propagate itself under the Hausa-Fulani hegemony. The oligarchy in seeking to propagate itself in the governance of the Northern Nigeria and has had to trample under feet the aspirations of these traditionally liberated tribes of the Middle Belt region. These tribes who were liberated by western education under a Christian umbrella turned to use same as weapons. As such remembering the ills meted to their grand parents by the Jihadist in the name of slavery as observed in the Trans-Sahara Slave trade seek for revenge. To this extent, they seek theological backings to justify their cause. One of the most widely used works in the prosecution of the ethno political war in the minds of the Middle Belt "Christianised" tribes is the writings of Augustine who justified Christian war.

If it is supposed that God could not enjoin warfare because in the after times it was said by the Lord Jesus Christ 'I say unto you, resist not evil...' the answer is that what is here required is not a bodily action but an inward disposition. Moses in putting to death sinner was not moved by cruelty but by love so also Paul when he committed the offender to Satan for the destruction of his flesh. Love does not preclude benevolent severity nor that correction which compassion itself dictates. No one indeed is fit to inflict punishment save the one who has first overcome hate in his heart. The love of enemies admits no dispensation.. but love does not exclude war of mercy waged by the good.[\[1\]](#)

With such an empowered theology of war as promulgated by theologians of war such as Saint Ambrose and nurtured by Saint Augustine in the light of the writings of philosophers as Aristotle, Plato, Cicerone etc., Nigerian Middle Belt Christians are seeking revenge. This is more so that in the slightest provocation they tend to become reactionary which lead to crisis as experienced in the nation.

One of the predisposing factors that have contributed to the growth and development of aggression was the attitudes of colonialism. Both the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy and the Middle Belt tribes put a share of blame on colonialism. First and foremost, Middle Belt tribes assert that colonial leaders either covertly or overtly encouraged Islam to the detriment of traditional religions, which was inherently transferred to Christianity in the face of the conversions of the traditionalists. Colonial leaders were said to have seen an organised government in the North as such decided to use it in the administration of the protectorate. The most prevailing mistake as asserted by Middle Belt tribes was the amalgamation of the Middle Belt to the North. As conditionality for the acceptance of colonial governance over the Sokoto Caliphate, missionaries were permitted to settle only in the so-called pagan areas. With such suppression, the traditionalists were seen as inferior to the organised Moslem society. Actually colonialists only encouraged missionaries in areas of the traditionalists to suppress it and make them governable. Thus, Middle Belt tribes assert that colonial leaders created the complex problem. As it is in human experience, when a complex problem is created it becomes a wound that had to be identified and healed before peace will be restored.

Another factor that brought about crisis in the ethno political relationship is suspicions from Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy. The Oligarchy indicated that the Missionaries and the colonial leaders have the same skin colour and speak the same language. Islam in Nigeria has Hausa as its lingua franca; hence saw English spoken by the colonial leaders/missionaries as a threat. The Oligarchy in the nation viewed the arrival of Christianity, English Language and culture as a threat to the Islam, Hausa language and its culture. Thus a stigma was allotted Christianity as it was viewed with great suspicion and tagged 'white man's religion'. Since colonialism used weapons of war to subjugate the North and ruled with the same weapons. At times the weapons were used to save European prestige. The most prevailing case is the Hausa's disgrace of a CMS missionary Miller in which the colonialist punished the Mohammadians for disgracing an English man. Moslems in the North saw such as a support for Christianity by the colonialist. Moslems in the nation viewed Christianity as a religion engrossed in war and has the might of the white man behind her. This has so much heightened suspicions against Christianity as a religion.

These and many other factors that had brought crisis in the ethno political relationship in Nigeria will be unveiled by this research.

DEMOCRACY IN THE LIGHT OF ETHNO POLITICAL RELATION IN NIGERIA xxxx

Democracy by simple definition is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. Nigeria since independence has sought to be democratised. However, there had been difference of viewpoint as to the type of democracy that the nation is to be engulfed in. This is more so that the preservation of human rights in democracy has been viewed by Oligarchy as a Christian concept. To the Oligarchy democracy has to be practised along the line of Islamic injunction as specified in Sharia. Thus in the 1979 draft constitution the entrenchment of Islamic laws into the Nigerian constitution was advocated. This was so controversial that at a point the then military rule of Obasanjo has to bring in the army to install metal detectors at the entrance of the constitution-drafting hall to avert violence.

In Southern Nigeria, the elitist “Christianised” tribes seek to protect human rights as exemplified in democratisation found in Western cultures. On the other hand in Northern Nigeria, the “Islamised” oriented tribes seek to protect democracy in the light of Islamic law and order. Thus, the Northern Nigerian “Islamic” oriented Oligarchy view democracy as advocated by the Southern “Christianised” tribes as “un-Islamic” and should be rejected in its totality. The Northern “Islamic” oriented tribes seek to superimpose Islamic teaching in the constitution. To a large extent, this feat has been achieved by the penal law codes of Northern Nigeria as engrafted by Sir Ahmadu Bello. To this end, even the definition of democracy as per the Nigerian experience cannot be seen in the light of the Government of the people by the people and for the people. This is more so that the people have no common front as to what should be the rule of the day. This research will seek to examine the concept of democracy in the light of the Nigerian “Christianised” tribes and “Islamic” experiences before finally coming to grasp with how it could be practised in the nation.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNO POLITICAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA ON OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

It is within context to indicate that the SUM, SIM, CMS and Catholic Missions have churches not only among the tribes in Nigeria but all of West African countries. In other words Christianity under the name of these organisations have churches in all West African countries and even Central African countries. The churches in West and Central African countries look to their headquarters in Nigeria for leadership. As such whatever that happens to the churches in Nigeria will definitely spill over to all West and Central African countries as the latter sympathises with their compatriots.

On the other hand, Islam through the dragnet of the Hausa/Fulani tribes is spread all over West and Central African countries. The most widely acknowledged Islamic culture and language group prevalent in Western and Central Africa is Hausa/Fulani folk form of Islam. The Hausa/Fulfulde (Fulani language) speaking Muslims in West Africa are looking unto Nigerian Muslims for guidance.

Thus, with the confluence of Islam and Christianity in all Western and Central African countries, there are in- eminent dangers in these countries looking up to Nigeria the so-called giant of Africa. That is to say that if the inter tribal conflicts manifested in the Christian Muslim crisis in Nigeria is not managed properly managed it has a very high tendency of rippling in almost all of the countries of Central and Western Africa. In other words the Nigerian result will be the litmus test that will trigger whatever effect it will have on the countries of both Western and Central States of Africa. This precludes serious consideration for a proper management of the Nigerian case if Africa south of the Sahara is to have stable governance.

THE HYPOTHESIS xxxx

The above and many other factors have brought down the wrath of the “Islamised and Christianised” tribes on each other and this will resolve into a full fledged war. This has made it hard for both to view each other with a positive eye. So, each side is seeing the other as a threat and thus need to be destroyed. Thus, with the arrival of democracy and the introduction of Sharia, the nation is witnessing the full manifestation of the existing fears as exhibited in the mayhems in some Northern and Middle Belt States of Nigeria.

Thus, as already indicated in the introduction, for democracy to develop in Nigeria a critical analysis of the aforementioned issues have to be achieved. Also the intended researcher came to realise that the movement of the nation from the dictatorial military regime to the democratic theatre will facilitate development to all and sundry in the nation. However, the democratic theatre is threatened by the ethno political bigotry that is currently plaguing the nation. The centre stage is, we will seek to examine the Hausa/Fulani versus the Middle Belt tribes conflict as manifested in the ethno religious clash. The conflict has reached such a dimension that if not properly examined and dealt with will lead to continuous civil unrest in the nation thereby destroying the gains of democracy. It could even lead to political retardation, as the military will once again intrude into governance in the nation. Worst of all it could also lead to the splitting of the nation as it is with the case of Sudan.

The second hypothesis of the researcher has to do with the Christian call. The main crux of the Christian call or faith is peace with God. Peace with God is attained through the Christian relationship with Jesus Christ and other fellow humans. Jesus urged Christians to be at peace with all men. Thus he desires that Christians are supposed to shine the light as the instruments of peace. The centre stage for this peace is to learn to relate with others outside the Christian's immediate confines. This research will seek to answer that call by seeking avenues for peaceful coexistence between the religions and the tribes.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM xxxx

Having appropriated that Christianised "Middle Belt Tribes" are supposed to pursue peace with their neighbours the Islamised "Hausa/Fulani Tribes", the question that arises then is, in what ways could the tribes be able to arrive at a peaceful resolution in Nigeria? Maybe the words of a philosopher would give us a clue, "if you know yourself, your needs, your strength and your weaknesses, try also to know the needs, strength problem of others in life" [\[2\]](#) From the perspective shown by the above philosopher, it is cardinal that a careful and meticulous study of the situation is very necessary. By implication when the situation is studied and solutions proffered, then and only then can an amicable solution be reached between tribes in Nigeria. Then can democracy prevail.

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH xxxx

The researcher will seek to undertake a full study of the ethno political conflict and how it became a Christian/Muslim conflict in the country and elsewhere. The approach is to look at both the immediate and remote causes of the clash and proffer solutions for peaceful coexistence between the tribes in the country. The underlying factor is that without peace democracy cannot thrive in the nation. This study will seek for avenues of understanding

between Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy and the tribes that inhabit the Middle Belt states of Nigeria, thereby identifying the colliding factors that seem to bring about the ethno political clash with the hope to proffer enduring response for peace.

Thus the research will seek to discuss questions like:

1. Is the Christian/Moslem relationship in Nigeria a political, regional or religious agitation?
2. What is the implication of the ethno religious and ethno political development of the concerned tribes in research?
3. What are the implications of the relationship to the corporate existence of Nigeria as an entity?
4. Do the tribes concern have a plan for peaceful resolutions of the ethno political crisis?
5. Are there better alternatives to the present ethno political relations in Nigeria?
6. Does the Nigerian Government have any plan for the future than the reactionary status?
7. Could Northern Nigerian and the Middle Belt tribes learn from elsewhere in the world?
8. Are there dialogues for peace between the tribes involved in Nigeria so as to promote not only coexistence but also democracy?

The researcher at this point indicate that he has undertaken research in various areas of the clash between the ethno political and ethno religious perspective in Nigeria as such published books titled below:

1. Cultural Revival and Church Planting.
2. The socio-political influence of Christianity on Nigeria - A Biographical study.
3. The Essentials of Traditional Education in Nigeria - A Synthetic Model
4. The Light Shines in their Hearts: COCIN and the gospel in Tarokland.

5. Sharia - The Sokoto Caliphate's Agenda.

It is interesting to note that the first and second books are a by-product of the researcher's first degree and Masters degree respectively. The second book is a study of one of the key participators on the Nigerian political scene in the Middle Belt in the middle of the twentieth century. The researcher has many more books published in other aspects not relevant to this research proposal. It should be further noted that in the process of writing the above books the researcher have gathered a large source of historical materials that will be very relevant to this research proposal.

Also there are two other sources of historical materials that will be relevant to this research. The first source is the locally available data in Nigeria, which the researcher will call his primary sources. The second source is the available sources that will be gleaned from the experience of other countries in the world.

In preparation for the research the researcher has, through the years, gathered a large fortress of primary resources, which the researcher have used in the books so far published. These sources were gleaned from the national archives. Also a resource centre called Arewa House in Nigeria has a good residue of materials on ethno political relations in Nigeria. The researchers intend to glean all these materials and use so as to give room for an extensive research work.

Also oral interviews and questionnaires will be administered to relevant persons and organisations so as to supply needed data for the research. It should be noted that the researcher will as much gather most of the relevant data before leaving the shores of Nigeria. With the Nigerian data the researcher will correlate with other data available on research a broad-spectrum base.

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In the light of the above herewith is a proposed table of contents for the research.

CHAPTER ONE Historical analysis of the Hausa /Fulani in Northern Nigeria

Historical analysis of the Middle belt tribes in Northern Nigeria

Historical Development of Islam in Nigeria

Historical Development of Christianity in Nigeria

CHAPTER TWO Colonialism and the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy in Northern Nigeria

Colonialism and the Middle Belt tribes in Northern Nigeria

Colonialism and Islam in Nigeria

Colonialism and Christianity in Nigeria

CHAPTER THREE Democracy and the Christian perspective in Nigeria

Democracy and the Islamic perspective in Nigeria

Democracy and human rights perspective in a secular Nigeria

CHAPTER FOUR Crisis factors in the ethno political Relationship in Nigeria.

Manifestations of the Ethno political sentiments in Islam. Manifestations of the Ethno political sentiments in Christianity.

CHAPTER FIVE Data Collection and Analysis

CHAPTER SIX Conclusion and Recommendations

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As a Nigerian living in the Middle Belt, the researcher is living in the centre of ethno political conflict. To this end the researcher is constantly at the forefront of the conflict that arise in the relationship. The sight of the conflict is so devastating that it seems to be deepening the wound each time it occurs.

Secondly, living at the confluence of the ethno political conflict, the researcher has had to loose friends and relatives to the menace of the clash. Also properties worth millions of dollars have

been lost to the clash, which is very devastating to the individuals and the Nigerian economy at large.

Also the menace has also threatened the co-operate existence of Nigeria as a country. This is more so that the conflict is interpreted along the lines of tribalism as such the unfavoured tribes seem to relocate to greener pastures for their tribes. Thus, at the end of the day the nation is getting divided along the lines of tribal inclinations.

The study is significant to the ailing Nigerian democracy because since the return to democracy in the dispensation, Nigeria has not known peace. This is further heightened by the growing desire for religious states North of the Niger, through the introduction of Sharia laws. Extensive research will indicate to the way out as we seek for peace in the democratic Nigeria.

THE RESEARCHER'S PROFESSIONAL GOALS AND IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY ON SOCIAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA, AFRICA AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. Xxx

As a research fellow the peaceful co-existence of the Hausa/Fulani and the Middle Belt tribes in Nigeria is cardinal to his professional goal, this is more so that it is cardinal to the survival of the nation Nigeria. It is a reality that political bigotry is a cankerworm that seeks to destroy the very fabric of Nigeria as a nation. Hence the introduction of Sharia as a political card in Northern Nigeria was preceded by riots and claimed the lives of very many a people, thereby leaving the nation to be divided along the line of religious fundamentalism. Hence the North is aligned with the Islamic jihadist who hold Islamic fundamentalism. On the other hand, the South is aligned with excessive materialism as seen in the so-called Christianised West. Thus if the problem of religious bigotry is not solved then there is a very high tendency of the nation undergoing a religious war as experienced in the Sudan. The prevention of the war is very cardinal to the socio-political and socio-religious survival of the nation. Thus, the researcher's professional goal will, to a very large extend, is determined by the socio-political and socio-religious survival of Nigerian as a co-operate entity.

Also acknowledging the importance of Nigeria to the socio-political and socio-economic survival of Africa, the researcher is spurred by the desire of moving Africa from a once devastated

continent to a politically and economically viable continent. To the extent, the study will help to analyse the problem of the Nigeria's political instability in the light of ethno political conflict as a case study. However due to the fact that Nigeria does not exist in isolation in Africa, the research will to a very large extent consider other cases in Africa that will be relevant to the study. Thus, at the end of the day the principles that will be derived will have a universal application due to the diversity of the African culture and tradition. In the light of the above the research will have relevance to the whole of Africa as a region.

HOW THE RESEARCHER WILL APPLY HIS EDUCATION TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN HIS COUNTRY OR REGION

If awarded the fellowship, the researcher will use his education to influence the socio-political and socio-religious direction of his country. In his course of work as a researcher on ethno political conflict, the researcher have had intercourse with people at the corridors of power in Nigeria, for example, in the present democratic government of Nigeria, the researcher have access to Governors, Ministers, Senators, members of the House of Representatives, and other key policy makers in the country. In addition, his influence on thousands of the Ministers and Millions of the members of the tribes and the two religions - Christianity and Islam makes it easy for him to disseminate his ideologies with the slightest efforts thereby influencing the direction of his country and region enormously.

Even though in his little capacity the researcher has had to influence these people, yet his understanding of the subject is still myopic in contrast to national and international application. As such if granted the scholarship, the researcher will be exposed to a very wide range of scholars, information super high way, experiences, books, journals, etc. Also in the course of the study the researcher will be able, not only to polish his writing skill, but also expose his work to international scholars for proper analysis.

On the completion of the course, the researcher will use the skills acquired to intensify his approach in seminars, books writing, contribution to magazines and journals etc. Also the researcher will adopt and modify approaches he see elsewhere that had been used and apply

same in Nigeria. He will use his understanding to enhance his approach on the ethno political dialogue and make it international.

It is also in the researcher's vision to start an NGO that will solidly face the ethno political crisis in Nigeria. From the NGO research resources will be harnessed and made available to all who need it in the nation and elsewhere. It should be noted that the researcher is a consultant to five other NGOs involved in the ethno political and ethno religious conflict in Nigeria.

Also the University of Jos in Nigeria has approached the researcher to serve as a lecturer to the school on completion of his course. The researcher intends to pursue that call after the completion of his study. This is more so that the researcher acknowledges the significant role of developing minds in the University towards solving the socio-political problem of any nation vis-à-vis Nigeria. Justice Peace and Reconciliation (JPRM) the parent body of the researcher is seeking for avenue to share its wealth of experience on the educational platter so sees the researcher's desire to work with the University as an avenue for boosting her initiative.

Certainly the researcher's dissertation

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As an enthusiastic observer of the democratic development in Nigeria, the researcher came to realise that the movement of the nation from dictatorial military regime to the democratic theatre should facilitate development in the nation. However, there have been certain developments that seem to be militating against the democratic process. The most threatening of these developments is ethno political prejudice. The centre stage in the theatre of ethno political prejudice in Nigeria is the Hausa/Fulani versus the Middle Belt minority tribe's conflict. The conflict has reached a dimension that if not properly managed, will definitely lead to continuous civil unrest culminating into war in the nation as observed elsewhere in the world. Thus, pushed by the affection for global peace and sustainable development in Africa and the implication of a war in Nigeria to the international community, the researcher is spurred to look at this cardinal issue in the survival of the nation. This ethno political conflict manifests itself in religious undertones. This undertone has a historical dimension that needs to be properly understood to be able to give the proposal a concrete base.

A HISTORY OF THE ETHNO POLITICAL CONFLICT: THE HAUSA/FULANI TRIBES AND THE "ISLAMISED" DIMENSION Nigeria, like other colonised African countries, came into existence as a result of the amalgamation of three protectorates - the North, South East and South West. The influx of Islam into Northern Africa led to it being brought down through the desert to Northern Nigeria. North African traders who first of all arrived in North Western Nigeria through the Kanem-Borno Empire in the eleventh century enhanced the spread of Islam. In the fourteenth century Islam came to North Eastern Nigeria through Sokoto. The combined efforts of the two influxes were able to make a very drastic impact on the Northern Nigerian's socio-religious life. At first Islam in Northern Nigeria initially concentrated on the Kanem Borno Empire, which has the Kanuri as the dominant tribe. Then in the fourteenth century Islamic traders from North African states helped to spread Islam to North Eastern Nigeria and it remained among the Fulani, which is a nomadic tribe. Later the Hausas a section of the Fulani tribe also was influenced by Islam

At first, Islam made impact on the far Northern states but had little or no influence on the mountainous terrain of the Sub-Sahel regions which for the purpose of this proposal will be called the Middle Belt. This is because the initial propagators of the faith were lukewarm as such most of the proselytising was tepid until there arose an Islamic revivalist by name of Usman Dan Fodio. Dan Fodio a Fulani teacher asserted he had a revelation that Islam should be purified. So arose from Gusau (Zamfara) and fought using his tribal clique the Fulani. With the help of the Fulani he was able to subjugate other tribes that he felt were not practising Islam as expected. Due to the fact that he was also seeking pasture for his kin the Fulani, he always imposed a Fulani leader in whatever protectorate he conquered. Dan Fodio as a person did not overcome the whole land he was asserted to have conquered, but did give his blessings to those that sought his permission to wage Jihad against their neighbours.

The Dan Fodio led Jihad did not end with Hausa-Fulani oriented states only, for they sought overcome the none-Hausa states also. In the Jihadist quest to overcome the non-Hausa states, the jihadists encountered a traditionally oriented people who lived on a mountainous terrain. The mountainous terrain occupies the present central states of the present Nigeria, which as indicated before for the purpose of this proposal will be called Middle Belt. This region was inhabited by traditional religionists tribes (idol worshipers) who sought to maintain the status quo. Thus, the traditional religionists were greatly oppressed by the Fulani Jihadist. The traditional religionist resisted the onslaught of the Islamic invaders from the eighteenth century till the twentieth century when Christianity arrived in the region. The traditional oriented tribes are a consortium of tribes that total up to between 200-300 tribes. These tribes included the Kebbawa, Zamfarawa, Nupe, Ilorin, Adamawa, Zaria, Kebbi, Maraba, Kpanti, Mandara, Marghi, Bagele, Batta, Fali, Biu, Balewa, Fika, Buhum, Muri, Tangale-Waja, Seyawa, Angas, Pyem, Tarok, Montol. Others are Jukuns, Kutebs, Tiv, Idoma, Kangoro, Kagoma, Yelkwa, Zango Kataf, Kataf and the Kuje, just to mention a few These tribes are small as such did not have the needed impetus to defeat the Islamic invaders. However they did not surrender to Islam but continued to wage war against the Hausa/Fulani Islamic invaders until the arrival of Colonial Governance and

Christianity.

A HISTORY OF THE ETHNO POLITICAL CONFLICT: THE MIDDLE BELT TRIBES AND THE “CHRISTIANISED” DIMENSION. Before the advent of Colonisation and Christianity to the region, the Middle Belt tribes were able to resist the Hausa/Fulani Islamic invaders due to the mountainous terrains that they lived in and also the resilience of the people. However, the advent of Colonial rule and Christianity changed the political sphere. Before we delve into this it will be pertinent for us to look further into how Christianity was introduced to the Middle Belt States.

Christianity was first of all introduced into Nigeria at the coastal regions of the Southern states by the activities of Portuguese traders. Even though the Portuguese introduced the faith into the region by the sixteenth century yet no much work of evangelisation was done upstream as the traders were only interested in their business. This trend changed with the end of slavery and the repatriation of slaves from the region of America to Sierra Leon and Liberia. These ex-slaves who were already Christians did spread their Christian dragnets to the coastal regions of West Africa, which Nigeria was included. The work of evangelisation by the ex-slaves did go up stream to the Mountainous regions of the Middle Belt.

Nevertheless, their impact was felt however it was very minimal up stream in contrast with what would happen later on the mountainous traditional people.

What would be described as the explosive move of mission work on the traditional mountainous people of the Middle Belt were the activities of two visionaries from America and Britain. The American visionaries came as a result of a vision of Africa perishing. They settled at the mountainous region of the Middle Belt of Nigeria. They concentrated their activities on the Western side of the mountainous region under the name of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM). Through the activities of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), they were able to create a very distinctive impact on the Western side of the Middle Belt region and sought to reach the far North but had resistance from colonial Governance who were

comfortable with the Islamic socialisation and system of Government they saw in North. Today, SIM under the indigenised name of Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA) had a national impact as it has not only reached Middle Belt states but could be found in many parts of Nigeria and the West African region.

On the other hand a young German by the name of Karl Kumm visited Egypt and saw a vision of Africa as threatened by Islamic religion decided to bring the Christian faith to the people of Africa. He went back to Germany and later on came down to England from where he launched a mission organisation called the Sudan Pioneer Mission (SPM). SPM was later renamed Sudan United Mission (SUM) due to its composition. Karl Kumm through the influence of the colonial regime then settled on the Eastern side of the mountainous regions of the Middle Belt. The SUM was able to make a conscientious and lasting impact on the region. Today the SUM under the name of TEKAN could be described as the largest mission body North of Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon.

Also the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) of the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Mission also spread their dragnet to many of these regions in the Middle Belt. The combined work of the SUM, SIM, CMS and Catholic Mission was so dramatic that in less than a century they were able to, not only reach out to these tribes that rejected Islam but also gave some Western education. Thus, with the availability of education as a liberating force, these once subjugated mountainous tribes became desirous of freedom from the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy.

COLONIAL RULE AND THE MARGINALISATION OF THE MIDDLE BELT TRIBES One undoubted factor that seems to polarise the rising of conflict between the Hausa/Fulani oligarchy and the Middle Belt tribes was Colonial rule. At the advent of Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century, the shape of the ethno political sphere changed. This is more so that British Colonial Government encouraged the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy to perpetuate itself as against the other tribes. This they did by introducing the indirect rule. For the sake of political

convenience the British Colonial Governance used a system known as the indirect rule to perpetuate itself in Northern Nigeria. By indirect rule the used the existing political structure of the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy to rule the whole of the Northern States of Nigeria without regard to the socio-political structures of the other tribes. Thus, the political rulers (Emirs and Chief) of the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy were superimposed on the other tribes. Therefore, the traditional rulers of the other tribes were forced to subject themselves under the rulers of the Oligarchy. Consequently, the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy felt a form of superiority over the other tribes. This did not go well with the other tribes who revolted in one way or another. However been powerless under the heavy arm of the Crown and its Military structures these tribes superficially subjected themselves under the monarch of the Oligarchy. This was the prevailing situation under which Christianity was introduced in the Northern states of Nigeria.

Christian Missions did not do anything to address this anomaly even when the Missionaries knew that their members did not see the system as healthy. The missionaries however, urged their members to be faithful to the Crown since it was seeking to introduce a “civilisation” which was higher than that of the primitive traditional idol rulers of the tribes. To get protection from the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy most of these traditional political systems gave up to Christianity with the conviction the European Missionaries have a rapport with their fellow European Colonisers as such will save them in the face of aggression by the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy.

CRISIS FACTORS IN ETHNO POLITICAL SPHERE AS MANIFESTED IN CHRISTIAN/MUSLIM RELATIONS IN NIGERIA.

We observed that the introduction of the indirect rule forced the traditional leaders of the Middle Belt states to convert to Christianity so as to get some degree of protection from the onslaughts of the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy. This made Christianity to be their front in all socio-political relationship. On the other hand the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy continued to

uphold Islam as its progenitor since it ensures their continuum as found in the oligarchy. Thus the battleground shifted from the Hausa/Fulani verses the Middle Belt tribe's intertribal wars to Christianity versus Islam. ***Thus the religious dimension was added superficially to give it a better sphere for waging the war. The religious sphere is only superficial and is used as cards when the need arises. However, when all deeds has been done the real agenda is then manifested which is the tribal conflict that has existed all theses while.*** For the purpose of this proposal we will use Christianity to represent the Minority tribes of the Middle Belt, while Islam of the other hand stands for the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy. For us to go further it will be cardinal for us to look at how these two religions representing these tribal interests interact in Nigeria.

Apart from suspicion, which has been the main stay of ethno political conflict which has polarised the adherents of the two religion as observed above, the Nigerian situation had some peculiarities that need to be examined in the light of the prevailing situation.

First of all it should be remembered that the jihadist conflict with the traditional religionist left an indelible scare that no efforts have been made to heal. It should also be remembered that the jihadist left an oligarchy under the name of the Sokoto caliphate. The Sokoto caliphate has sought to propagate itself under the Hausa-Fulani hegemony. The oligarchy in seeking to propagate itself in the governance of the Northern Nigeria and has had to trample under feet the aspirations of these traditionally liberated tribes of the Middle Belt region. These tribes who were liberated by western education under a Christian umbrella turned to use same as weapons. As such remembering the ills meted to their grand parents by the Jihadist in the name of slavery as observed in the Trans-Sahara Slave trade seek for revenge. To this extent, they seek theological backings to justify their cause. One of the most widely used works in the prosecution of the ethno political war in the minds of the Middle Belt "Christianised" tribes is the writings of Augustine who justified Christian war.

If it is supposed that God could not enjoin warfare because in the after times it was said by the Lord Jesus Christ 'I say unto you, resist not evil...' the answer is that what is here required is not a bodily action but an inward disposition. Moses in putting to death sinner

was not moved by cruelty but by love so also Paul when he committed the offender to Satan for the destruction of his flesh. Love does not preclude benevolent severity nor that correction which compassion itself dictates. No one indeed is fit to inflict punishment save the one who has first overcome hate in his heart. The love of enemies admits no dispensation.. but love does not exclude war of mercy waged by the good.[\[1\]](#)

With such an empowered theology of war as promulgated by theologians of war such as Saint Ambrose and nurtured by Saint Augustine in the light of the writings of philosophers as Aristotle, Plato, Cicerone etc., Nigerian Middle Belt Christians are seeking revenge. This is more so that in the slightest provocation they tend to become reactionary which lead to crisis as experienced in the nation.

One of the predisposing factors that have contributed to the growth and development of aggression was the attitudes of colonialism. Both the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy and the Middle Belt tribes put a share of blame on colonialism. First and foremost, Middle Belt tribes assert that colonial leaders either covertly or overtly encouraged Islam to the detriment of traditional religions, which was inherently transferred to Christianity in the face of the conversions of the traditionalists. Colonial leaders were said to have seen an organised government in the North as such decided to use it in the administration of the protectorate. The most prevailing mistake as asserted by Middle Belt tribes was the amalgamation of the Middle Belt to the North. As conditionality for the acceptance of colonial governance over the Sokoto Caliphate, missionaries were permitted to settle only in the so-called pagan areas. With such suppression, the traditionalists were seen as inferior to the organised Moslem society. Actually colonialists only encouraged missionaries in areas of the traditionalists to suppress it and make them governable. Thus, Middle Belt tribes assert that colonial leaders created the complex problem. As it is in human experience, when a complex problem is created it becomes a wound that had to be identified and healed before peace will be restored.

Another factor that brought about crisis in the ethno political relationship is suspicions from Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy. The Oligarchy indicated that the Missionaries and the colonial

leaders have the same skin colour and speak the same language. Islam in Nigeria has Hausa as its lingua franca; hence saw English spoken by the colonial leaders/missionaries as a threat. The Oligarchy in the nation viewed the arrival of Christianity, English Language and culture as a threat to the Islam, Hausa language and its culture. Thus a stigma was allotted Christianity as it was viewed with great suspicion and tagged 'white man's religion'. Since colonialism used weapons of war to subjugate the North and ruled with the same weapons. At times the weapons were used to save European prestige. The most prevailing case is the Hausa's disgrace of a CMS missionary Miller in which the colonialist punished the Mohammadians for disgracing an English man. Moslems in the North saw such as a support for Christianity by the colonialist. Moslems in the nation viewed Christianity as a religion engrossed in war and has the might of the white man behind her. This has so much heightened suspicions against Christianity as a religion.

These and many other factors that had brought crisis in the ethno political relationship in Nigeria will be unveiled by this research.

DEMOCRACY IN THE LIGHT OF ETHNO POLITICAL RELATION IN NIGERIA xxxx

Democracy by simple definition is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. Nigeria since independence has sought to be democratised. However, there had been difference of viewpoint as to the type of democracy that the nation is to be engulfed in. This is more so that the preservation of human rights in democracy has been viewed by Oligarchy as a Christian concept. To the Oligarchy democracy has to be practised along the line of Islamic injunction as specified in Sharia. Thus in the 1979 draft constitution the entrenchment of Islamic laws into the Nigerian constitution was advocated. This was so controversial that at a point the then military rule of Obasanjo has to bring in the army to install metal detectors at the entrance of the constitution-drafting hall to avert violence.

In Southern Nigeria, the elitist "Christianised" tribes seek to protect human rights as exemplified in democratisation found in Western cultures. On the other hand in Northern

Nigeria, the “Islamised” oriented tribes seek to protect democracy in the light of Islamic law and order. Thus, the Northern Nigerian “Islamic” oriented Oligarchy view democracy as advocated by the Southern “Christianised” tribes as “un-Islamic” and should be rejected in its totality. The Northern “Islamic” oriented tribes seek to superimpose Islamic teaching in the constitution. To a large extent, this feat has been achieved by the penal law codes of Northern Nigeria as engrafted by Sir Ahmadu Bello. To this end, even the definition of democracy as per the Nigerian experience cannot be seen in the light of the Government of the people by the people and for the people. This is more so that the people have no common front as to what should be the rule of the day. This research will seek to examine the concept of democracy in the light of the Nigerian “Christianised” tribes and “Islamic” experiences before finally coming to grasp with how it could be practised in the nation.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNO POLITICAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA ON OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

It is within context to indicate that the SUM, SIM, CMS and Catholic Missions have churches not only among the tribes in Nigeria but all of West African countries. In other words Christianity under the name of these organisations have churches in all West African countries and even Central African countries. The churches in West and Central African countries look to their headquarters in Nigeria for leadership. As such whatever that happens to the churches in Nigeria will definitely spill over to all West and Central African countries as the latter sympathises with their compatriots.

On the other hand, Islam through the dragnet of the Hausa/Fulani tribes is spread all over West and Central African countries. The most widely acknowledged Islamic culture and language group prevalent in Western and Central Africa is Hausa/Fulani folk form of Islam. The Hausa/Fulfulde (Fulani language) speaking Muslims in West Africa are looking unto Nigerian Muslims for guidance.

Thus, with the confluence of Islam and Christianity in all Western and Central African

countries, there are in- eminent dangers in these countries looking up to Nigeria the so-called giant of Africa. That is to say that if the inter tribal conflicts manifested in the Christian Muslim crisis in Nigeria is not managed properly managed it has a very high tendency of rippling in almost all of the countries of Central and Western Africa. In other words the Nigerian result will be the litmus test that will trigger whatever effect it will have on the countries of both Western and Central States of Africa. This precludes serious consideration for a proper management of the Nigerian case if Africa south of the Sahara is to have stable governance.

THE HYPOTHESIS xxxx

The above and many other factors have brought down the wrath of the “Islamised and Christianised” tribes on each other and this will resolve into a full fledged war. This has made it hard for both to view each other with a positive eye. So, each side is seeing the other as a threat and thus need to be destroyed. Thus, with the arrival of democracy and the introduction of Sharia, the nation is witnessing the full manifestation of the existing fears as exhibited in the mayhems in some Northern and Middle Belt States of Nigeria.

Thus, as already indicated in the introduction, for democracy to develop in Nigeria a critical analysis of the aforementioned issues have to be achieved. Also the intended researcher came to realise that the movement of the nation from the dictatorial military regime to the democratic theatre will facilitate development to all and sundry in the nation. However, the democratic theatre is threatened by the ethno political bigotry that is currently plaguing the nation. The centre stage is, we will seek to examine the Hausa/Fulani versus the Middle Belt tribes conflict as manifested in the ethno religious clash. The conflict has reached such a dimension that if not properly examined and dealt with will lead to continuous civil unrest in the nation thereby destroying the gains of democracy. It could even lead to political retardation, as the military will once again intrude into governance in the nation. Worst of all it could also lead to the splitting of the nation as it is with the case of Sudan.

The second hypothesis of the researcher has to do with the Christian call. The main crux of the Christian call or faith is peace with God. Peace with God is attained through the Christian relationship with Jesus Christ and other fellow humans. Jesus urged Christians to be at peace with all men. Thus he desires that Christians are supposed to shine the light as the instruments of peace. The centre stage for this peace is to learn to relate with others outside the Christian's immediate confines. This research will seek to answer that call by seeking avenues for peaceful coexistence between the religions and the tribes.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM xxxx

Having appropriated that Christianised "Middle Belt Tribes" are supposed to pursue peace with their neighbours the Islamised "Hausa/Fulani Tribes", the question that arises then is, in what ways could the tribes be able to arrive at a peaceful resolution in Nigeria? Maybe the words of a philosopher would give us a clue, "if you know yourself, your needs, your strength and your weaknesses, try also to know the needs, strength problem of others in life"[\[2\]](#) From the perspective shown by the above philosopher, it is cardinal that a careful and meticulous study of the situation is very necessary. By implication when the situation is studied and solutions proffered, then and only then can an amicable solution be reached between tribes in Nigeria. Then can democracy prevail.

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH xxxx

The researcher will seek to undertake a full study of the ethno political conflict and how it became a Christian/Muslim conflict in the country and elsewhere. The approach is to look at both the immediate and remote causes of the clash and proffer solutions for peaceful coexistence between the tribes in the country. The underlying factor is that without peace democracy cannot thrive in the nation. This study will seek for avenues of understanding

between Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy and the tribes that inhabit the Middle Belt states of Nigeria, thereby identifying the colliding factors that seem to bring about the ethno political clash with the hope to proffer enduring response for peace.

Thus the research will seek to discuss questions like:

1. Is the Christian/Moslem relationship in Nigeria a political, regional or religious agitation?
2. What is the implication of the ethno religious and ethno political development of the concerned tribes in research?
3. What are the implications of the relationship to the corporate existence of Nigeria as an entity?
4. Do the tribes concern have a plan for peaceful resolutions of the ethno political crisis?
5. Are there better alternatives to the present ethno political relations in Nigeria?
6. Does the Nigerian Government have any plan for the future than the reactionary status?
7. Could Northern Nigerian and the Middle Belt tribes learn from elsewhere in the world?
8. Are there dialogues for peace between the tribes involved in Nigeria so as to promote not only coexistence but also democracy?

The researcher at this point indicate that he has undertaken research in various areas of the clash between the ethno political and ethno religious perspective in Nigeria as such published books titled below:

1. Cultural Revival and Church Planting.
2. The socio-political influence of Christianity on Nigeria - A Biographical study.
3. The Essentials of Traditional Education in Nigeria - A Synthetic Model
4. The Light Shines in their Hearts: COCIN and the gospel in Tarokland.

5. Sharia - The Sokoto Caliphate's Agenda.

It is interesting to note that the first and second books are a by-product of the researcher's first degree and Masters degree respectively. The second book is a study of one of the key participators on the Nigerian political scene in the Middle Belt in the middle of the twentieth century. The researcher has many more books published in other aspects not relevant to this research proposal. It should be further noted that in the process of writing the above books the researcher have gathered a large source of historical materials that will be very relevant to this research proposal.

Also there are two other sources of historical materials that will be relevant to this research. The first source is the locally available data in Nigeria, which the researcher will call his primary sources. The second source is the available sources that will be gleaned from the experience of other countries in the world.

In preparation for the research the researcher has, through the years, gathered a large fortress of primary resources, which the researcher have used in the books so far published. These sources were gleaned from the national archives. Also a resource centre called Arewa House in Nigeria has a good residue of materials on ethno political relations in Nigeria. The researchers intend to glean all these materials and use so as to give room for an extensive research work.

Also oral interviews and questionnaires will be administered to relevant persons and organisations so as to supply needed data for the research. It should be noted that the researcher will as much gather most of the relevant data before leaving the shores of Nigeria. With the Nigerian data the researcher will correlate with other data available on research a broad-spectrum base.

TABLE OF CONTENTS xxx

In the light of the above herewith is a proposed table of contents for the research.

CHAPTER ONE Historical analysis of the Hausa /Fulani in Northern Nigeria

Historical analysis of the Middle belt tribes in Northern Nigeria

Historical Development of Islam in Nigeria

Historical Development of Christianity in Nigeria

CHAPTER TWO Colonialism and the Hausa/Fulani Oligarchy in Northern Nigeria

Colonialism and the Middle Belt tribes in Northern Nigeria

Colonialism and Islam in Nigeria

Colonialism and Christianity in Nigeria

CHAPTER THREE Democracy and the Christian perspective in Nigeria

Democracy and the Islamic perspective in Nigeria

Democracy and human rights perspective in a secular Nigeria

CHAPTER FOUR Crisis factors in the ethno political Relationship in Nigeria.

Manifestations of the Ethno political sentiments in Islam. Manifestations of the Ethno political sentiments in Christianity.

CHAPTER FIVE Data Collection and Analysis

CHAPTER SIX Conclusion and Recommendations

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As a Nigerian living in the Middle Belt, the researcher is living in the centre of ethno political conflict. To this end the researcher is constantly at the forefront of the conflict that arise in the relationship. The sight of the conflict is so devastating that it seems to be deepening the

wound each time it occurs.

Secondly, living at the confluence of the ethno political conflict, the researcher has had to lose friends and relatives to the menace of the clash. Also properties worth millions of dollars have been lost to the clash, which is very devastating to the individuals and the Nigerian economy at large.

Also the menace has also threatened the co-existence of Nigeria as a country. This is more so that the conflict is interpreted along the lines of tribalism as such the unfavoured tribes seem to relocate to greener pastures for their tribes. Thus, at the end of the day the nation is getting divided along the lines of tribal inclinations.

The study is significant to the ailing Nigerian democracy because since the return to democracy in the dispensation, Nigeria has not known peace. This is further heightened by the growing desire for religious states North of the Niger, through the introduction of Sharia laws. Extensive research will indicate the way out as we seek for peace in the democratic Nigeria.

THE RESEARCHER'S PROFESSIONAL GOALS AND IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY ON SOCIAL ISSUES IN NIGERIA, AFRICA AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. Xxxx

As a research fellow the peaceful co-existence of the Hausa/Fulani and the Middle Belt tribes in Nigeria is cardinal to his professional goal, this is more so that it is cardinal to the survival of the nation Nigeria. It is a reality that political bigotry is a cankerworm that seeks to destroy the very fabric of Nigeria as a nation. Hence the introduction of Sharia as a political card in Northern Nigeria was preceded by riots and claimed the lives of very many people, thereby leaving the nation to be divided along the line of religious fundamentalism. Hence the North is aligned with the Islamic jihadist who hold Islamic fundamentalism. On the other hand, the South is aligned with excessive materialism as seen in the so-called Christianised West. Thus if the problem of religious bigotry is not solved then there is a very

high tendency of the nation undergoing a religious war as experienced in the Sudan. The prevention of the war is very cardinal to the socio-political and socio-religious survival of the nation. Thus, the researcher's professional goal will, to a very large extent, be determined by the socio-political and socio-religious survival of Nigeria as a co-operate entity.

Also acknowledging the importance of Nigeria to the socio-political and socio-economic survival of Africa, the researcher is spurred by the desire of moving Africa from a once devastated continent to a politically and economically viable continent. To the extent, the study will help to analyse the problem of the Nigeria's political instability in the light of ethno political conflict as a case study. However due to the fact that Nigeria does not exist in isolation in Africa, the research will to a very large extent consider other cases in Africa that will be relevant to the study. Thus, at the end of the day the principles that will be derived will have a universal application due to the diversity of the African culture and tradition. In the light of the above the research will have relevance to the whole of Africa as a region.

HOW THE RESEARCHER WILL APPLY HIS EDUCATION TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN HIS COUNTRY OR REGION xxx

If awarded the fellowship, the researcher will use his education to influence the socio-political and socio-religious direction of his country. In his course of work as a researcher on ethno political conflict, the researcher has had intercourse with people at the corridors of power in Nigeria, for example, in the present democratic government of Nigeria, the researcher has access to Governors, Ministers, Senators, members of the House of Representatives, and other key policy makers in the country. In addition, his influence on thousands of the Ministers and Millions of the members of the tribes and the two religions - Christianity and Islam makes it easy for him to disseminate his ideologies with the slightest efforts thereby influencing the direction of his country and region enormously.

Even though in his little capacity the researcher has had to influence these people, yet his understanding of the subject is still myopic in contrast to national and international

application. As such if granted the scholarship, the researcher will be exposed to a very wide range of scholars, information super high way, experiences, books, journals, etc. Also in the course of the study the researcher will be able, not only to polish his writing skill, but also expose his work to international scholars for proper analysis.

On the completion of the course, the researcher will use the skills acquired to intensify his approach in seminars, books writing, contribution to magazines and journals etc. Also the researcher will adopt and modify approaches he see elsewhere that had been used and apply same in Nigeria. He will use his understanding to enhance his approach on the ethno political dialogue and make it international.

It is also in the researcher's vision to start an NGO that will solidly face the ethno political crisis in Nigeria. From the NGO research resources will be harnessed and made available to all who need it in the nation and elsewhere. It should be noted that the researcher is a consultant to five other NGOs involved in the ethno political and ethno religious conflict in Nigeria.

Also the University of Jos in Nigeria has approached the researcher to serve as a lecturer to the school on completion of his course. The researcher intends to pursue that call after the completion of his study. This is more so that the researcher acknowledges the significant role of developing minds in the University towards solving the socio-political problem of any nation vis-à-vis Nigeria. Justice Peace and Reconciliation (JPRM) the parent body of the researcher is seeking for avenue to share its wealth of experience on the educational platter so sees the researcher's desire to work with the University as an avenue for boosting her initiative.

Certainly the researcher's dissertation will be converted into books that will contribute in the mending of relationship between the tribes involved in Nigeria.

CONCLUSION

Ethno political conflict has seemed to cast a doubt as to the corporate co-existence of Nigeria. This is more so that many who look at the Nation in the light of the civil war between 1966 – 1970 doubt if the nation could be saved if such a conflict arises again. However the nation has continued to exist and will prosper more when the sources of her conflicts are identified and dealt with. This forms the basis of this research.

ELIAS NANKAP LAMLE

P. O. BOX 6189

JOS, PLATEAU STATE

NIGERIA, WEST AFRICA.

[1] R.H. Bianton "Christian Attitude to War and Peace: Abingdon Press, Nashville 1960, p. 73

[2] Dali, Rebecca. "A Christian understanding of Sharia" Jos. Bukuru Theological Society 2000
p. 1

Jan&Fran Boer <boerjf@hotmail.com> wrote:

Dear Brother Elias

I am so happy to read your letter. I had no idea that just a slip of paper could be so important. I am thrilled that you got yourself a place, even though I am not really familiar with that university.

I wonder why your prof wants you to make contact with profs at other universities. I am not in the academic world, but I could probably send you some references. However, before I do, please do send me a copy of your proposal by email.

So your contact with my friend Gort and the Free University in Amsterdam ran into a deadlock? I was wondering what had happened there. Could they not accommodate you? I am curious.

We are now living in Vancouver, Canada. I am retired and am spending my major time on that same writing project: Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations. I am forwarding you the first volume by attachment. You can either print it out or copy it onto a disk. Brother Kennedy in Jos will publish it in Nigeria while I will also do an edition for the Western world here through a Canadian publisher. In the meantime, it is available on a CD for reading.

Yes, I do remember you very well, including our drinking tea at your house. Let us keep in touch. Isn't email wonderful?

Yours in Christ

Jan H. Boer

Check John's/Jan's Website at www.SocialTheology.com

-----Original Message Follows-----

From: nankap lamle

To: boerjf@hotmail.com

Subject: Greetings

Date: Fri, 8 Nov 2002 10:53:45 +0000 (GMT)

Dr & Mrs. Boer

Greeting Sir.

You may be surprised reading from me after the Long silence. This is because I was persuing the school in KULeuven, Belguim. Now I have been fully engrafted into the school and have been studing very well. Sir I want to express my gratitute to you for giving me the paper clip of the school KULeuven. This is the reason for which I am her now.

All I desrire now in for the Lord to help me grow in grace towards my schooing.

Sir, I did not continue in Philosophy instead I changed to anthropology and have been preparing toward my field in the course. Sir, my PhD proposal has some simlilarities with what you wrote on. The topic is "Prospecting the ethno/political and Ethno/religious conflicts between the Hausa/Fulani tribes versus the Middle Belt minority tribes in Northern Nigeria". I submitted the proposal to my Proffessor in K.U.Leuven who was interested but asked me to also do the same to other Proffessors outside the confines KU, thus I felt that you are in the best position to advice and possibly link me up with other Proffessors that will be intersted in the topic. The Professors could be in Europe, America, or Canada depending upon where I can get him/her as a promoter. Sir I can make the proposal avialible to you on the email if you so desire.

Sir, you stimulated me from the very day I read your book on Nigeria. It was a dream come true for me to be associated with you. I pray that you will continue to be associated with my educational success as you gave me the advise of this school and I am her now increasing in knowledge. One day you

will see there result of not only your work on me but also on the progress it will create in the socio-Political develoment of Nigeria through me. This is because of your visionary attitute today I am focused in trying to alleviate the problem of my country Nigeria

Please extend my geretings to your wife and otther christians around you.

Rev Elias Lamle

NB: Just to remind you, during your short visit to Nigeria I invited you to my house behind NTA Jos and you came togetehr with your wife.