

**CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GHANA AND NIGERIA**

EMMANUEL OBENG-MIREKU
Bachelor of Arts, University of Ghana, 2012

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
of the University of Lethbridge
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology
University of Lethbridge
LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA, CANADA

© Emmanuel Obeng-Mireku, 2017

CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GHANA AND NIGERIA

EMMANUEL OBENG-MIREKU

Date of Defence: April 26, 2017

Dr. Reginald Bibby
Supervisor

Professor

Ph.D.

Dr. Abdie Kazemipur
Thesis Examination Committee Member

Professor

Ph.D.

Dr. Glenda Bonifacio
Thesis Examination Committee Member

Associate Professor

Ph.D.

Dr. James Linville
Thesis Examination Committee Chair

Associate Professor

Ph.D.

Abstract

Contrary to the claims of secularization proponents, religion's influence remains pervasive today. However, it is frequently associated with conflict around the world, with that conflict often involving Christians and Muslims. Hence, there is reason to ask if religion itself is actually the cause of such conflict. Building on the thinking of Kazemipur (2014), Putnam and Campbell (2012), and Huntington (1993), this research investigates the role of structural factors in understanding the relatively peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims in Ghana versus conflict in Nigeria. An examination of national survey data and interviews with Christians and Muslims from both countries underlines the importance of social, economic institutional, and media factors in accounting for the dominant kind of relations that characterize Christian-Muslims relations in the two settings. The findings have potentially important implications for religious harmony and conflict well beyond only Ghana and Nigeria.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my genuine and heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Reginald Bibby, and his family for their overwhelming and invaluable support in my life and throughout my graduate studies. This thesis echoes his advice, input and dedication to see me complete my program successfully. Space would not allow me to list all other important items such as laptop, pen drives, money, gift cards, and clothing – to name but a few things – which he provided me. I thank God for making him a blessing to me.

I also submit my sincere gratitude to Professor Abdie Kazemipur for being a great mind behind this thesis. His work on Muslims in Canada gave me a better understanding of my project. His thoughtful questions and attention to details contributed to a clearer focus and enhanced structure for this thesis. I am also immensely grateful to Dr. Glenda Bonifacio for her input and her massive editorial and structural work on this project.

I wish to thank my family for their love and support, especially my mother – Christine Owusu, my father – Emmanuel Obeng-Mireku, and my three beautiful sisters, Rachel Obeng-Mireku, Ellen Obeng-Mireku and Mavis Obeng-Mireku. To my cousins, Eric Agyemang and Reindolf Asante-Manu, and also to Nana Esi Botwe, I am overly thankful for your support throughout my graduate studies. I wish to also thank Pastor Sylvester Kwabena Oduro, Pastor Isaac Amokwandoh, Ekow Botwe, Richard Nana Bonsu, Solomon Akowuah and all my friends for their unwavering love and support. God bless you.

Finally, having completed this thesis represents a significant achievement for me, and I give all the praise and glory to God for the gift of life, good health, sound mind and protection throughout this journey.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
The Historical Background	8
Islam	9
Islam in Nigeria	9
Islam in Ghana	11
Christianity.....	14
Christianity in Nigeria.....	14
Christianity in Ghana.....	16
Chapter Two: The Literature and Framework	19
Review of Literature	19
Religion and Conflict.....	20
Religion and Peace.....	23
The Conceptual Framework	25
Kazemipur (Structural-Relational Approach).....	26
Putnam and Campbell (Social Contact/ Capital Theory)	29
Huntington (The Clash of Civilizations Theory)	31
The Social Domain	33
The Economic Domain	35
The Institutional Domain	38
The Media Domain	39
Chapter Three: Methodology	43
The Research Design	43
Phase 1: The Survey Data	45
Sample.....	46
Data Analysis	46
Phase 2: The Interview Data	47
Interview Schedule	47
Sampling	48
The Interviews	49
A Note on Ethical Issues	51
Chapter Four: Findings	53
The Social Domain	53
The Economic Domain	69
The Institutional Domain	75
The Media Domain	83

Chapter Five: Discussion	87
The Social Factor	87
The Economic Factor	92
The Institutional Factor	93
The Media Factor	97
Chapter Six: Conclusion	100
Appendix.....	104
References.....	105

List of Tables

1.1.	Global Peace Index.....	7
4.1.	In-Faith Marriages.....	54
4.2.	Christian-Muslim Family Ties.....	55
4.3.	Christian-Muslim Commonalities.....	58
4.4.	Christian-Muslim Cooperation.....	61
4.5.	Perception of Christian-Muslim Conflict in Ghana and Nigeria.....	66
4.6.	Perceptions Christians and Muslims Have of Each Other: Ghana and Nigeria....	67
4.7.	Christian and Muslim Views of the Economic Situation in Ghana and Nigeria...	70
4.8.	View that Men Should Receive Employment Preferential Treatment.....	74
4.9.	Belief Political Leaders Are Corrupt: Ghana and Nigeria.....	77
4.10.	Government’s Role in Looking after the Poor.....	79

List of Figures

1.1.	Map Showing the Location of Ghana and Nigeria.....	3
1.2.	Historical Map of Kanem-Bornu Empire Shown in Red.....	10
3.1.	Research Design.....	45
4.1.	Christians and Muslims in Ghana Who Are Knowledgeable about Each Other's Faith.....	59
4.2.	Christians and Muslims in Nigeria Who Are Knowledgeable about Each Other's Faith.....	60
4.3.	Respect for Women.....	68
4.4.	Respect for Women by Women.....	68
4.5.	Location of Oneself on the Best Possible Life Ladder.....	75
4.6.	Support for Democratic Rule.....	78

List of Abbreviations

ISIS – Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

PRI – Public Radio International

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USCIRF – United States Commission on International Religious Freedom

Chapter One – Introduction

On January 29, 2017, a masked gunman entered a Quebec City mosque where evening prayers had just begun. Men were praying on the ground floor of the building while women and children were upstairs. The gunman opened fire and killed six people and injured another eighteen – five critically. The immediate response of many was “that something like this doesn’t happen in Canada.” What took place in New York City and Washington on September 11, 2001 remains firmly in the memories of everyone, where the violence was directed toward non-Muslims.¹ Across the world, violence involving religious fanatics – frequently Christians and Muslims – has been particularly common in recent years. Locales have included Pakistan, Turkey, Burma, Indonesia, Bali, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, the Philippines, and the Central African Republic (Juergensmeyer, 2001). Yet, in some settings, including the sub-Saharan country of Ghana, Muslims and Christians seem to co-exist relatively peacefully. The situation stands in sharp contrast to neighboring Nigeria, where highly-publicized conflict between the two groups has been intense (Langer, Mustafa, & Stewart, 2007).

There consequently is much value in getting a clearer understanding of why Christian-Muslim relations are highly positive in one setting and negative in the other and this is the focus of this thesis. “The Ghana-Nigeria Case” would serve as helpful resource

¹ On the morning of 9th of September 2001, a group of 19 terrorists affiliated with Osama bin Laden’s terrorist group *al Qaeda* hijacked 4 commercial aircrafts and carried out a series of separate but calculated attacks in the United States causing the death of over 3,000 persons. Two of the aircraft were flown into the twin towers of the World Trade Center reducing it to ruins. The third crashed into the Pentagon in Washington D.C, and the fourth crashed into a field in Somerset County, Pennsylvania (“Terror attacks hit U.S.”, 2001).

for policy makers in both countries to get new insights into the pattern of relations between Christians and Muslims, and to learn from the strengths and shortcomings in both contexts. Further to that, this research could further our understanding of the relationship between religion, violence and peace which can be extrapolated to any number of other settings across the world where such knowledge is of the essence.

The world we live in is home to innumerable religious traditions with billions of adherents. According to the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion and Public life, 84% of the world's population of 6.9 billion in 2010 were affiliated with a religious group. Globally, Christianity and Islam have the largest number of followers. As of 2010, 2.2 billion of the world's population were Christian and 1.6 billion were Muslims – 32% and 23% of the world's population, respectively (Pew Research Center, 2015). Christianity and Islam have often served to ensure the moral integrity of societies and enhance peaceful co-existence. Both religions have had a major place in the organization of social interactions in different countries all over the world. However, in some parts of the world, they have been strong catalysts for war and conflict.

Certain periods in history have seen harmonious coexistence between Christians and Muslims. Even though there were times of conflict over issues such as territories and religious sites, the period between the 7th century and the beginning of the 10th century in Islamic Spain, otherwise, known as *Al-Andalus*, epitomised the golden-age of peaceful cohabitation. This period saw improved cordial relationships between Christians and their Islamic rulers which was beneficial to all involved (Vaughan, 2003). However, if we fast forward to the 20th and 21st century, violent encounters between Christians and Muslims

have taken place in countries such as Indonesia, Egypt, and Lebanon (Juergensmeyer, 2001). In parts of Syria and Iraq, members of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria have persecuted Christians, burnt down their churches and threatened to sell their Christian girls into slavery (“Syria War: Isis”, 2016).² Thus, it seems certain that Christian-Muslim relations has been one of the most persistent threat to world peace in recent times.

In Africa, Christian-Muslim relations over time have ranged from tolerance to deadly clashes (Frederiks, 2010). These two extreme scenarios have characterized at least two countries in West Africa –Ghana and Nigeria. These mixed kinds of relations have taken place, despite the fact that the two countries – without directly sharing borders – seem to share so many things in common, ranging from ancestral ties to culture (see Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1. Map Showing the Location of Ghana and Nigeria

Source: BBC, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8141870.stm>, 2009

² Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known as Islamic State (IS) or Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), is a terrorist group founded by Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and headed currently by Abu-Baker al-Baghdadi. It is domiciled in Iraq and operates extensively in Syria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Yemen and others, with the aim of establishing a global Islamic caliphate (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017; Gulmohamad, 2014).

Nonetheless, sharing the same colonial masters brought with it a shared lingua franca which increased the relationship between the two Anglophone countries in West Africa (Otoghile and Obakhedo, 2011).

In terms of population, Ghana's overall population could fit into five (out of 36) of the most populous States in Nigeria with room to spare. According to Pew Research Center (2015) estimates, Ghana's population of over 24 million people is about 75% Christian and 16% Muslim. In Nigeria, the National Population commission estimates that the population of Nigeria stood at 182 million in 2016 ("Nigeria's Population Now," 2016). The Pew Research Centre estimates that some 49% of the population is Muslim, and 49% is Christian. Reflecting the religious landscape in Africa, the geographical north of both Ghana and Nigeria has a Muslim majority and the south has a Christian majority.

Conflicts between Christians and Muslims have been nothing new to Nigerians. However, since Nigeria's independence in 1960, clashes between Christians and Muslims have become almost monthly occurrences, resulting in the loss of over 3 million lives and the extensive destruction of properties (Salawu, 2010). Examples can readily be cited as follows:

- On December 20, 1999 extremist groups destroyed 14 churches in Ilorin. It was reported that some 3,000 youths were involved with their motive unknown ("Nigeria Police Move," 1999).
- In 2000, thousands were killed in fighting between Muslims and Christians following the introduction of *shari'a* in some northern Nigerian states ("Analysis: Nigeria's Sharia Split," 2003).

- In 2001, dozens died as a result of Muslim-Christian clashes in Kano over the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in search for Osama bin Laden (“Dozen die in Nigeria;” 2001).
- In 2008, a clash between Muslims and Christians over the result of a local election in Jos resulted in the death of over 700 people (“Riots Kill Hundreds in Nigeria,” 2008).
- *Boko Haram* insurgent group has likewise unleashed on liberal Muslims and Christians, series of brutal attacks that have caused the death of many. Most recent attacks include a suicide bombing at the gates of a church in Gombe on January 1, 2015 in Nigeria, and, similarly, on the July 5, 2015, 32 churches were burned down in wave of attacks on several villages in Borno, Nigeria (United States Commission on International Religious Freedom [USCIRF], 2016).³

In the light of these lingering conflicts, the Pew Research Centre (2009) has found that 82% of Christians and 83% of Muslims in Nigeria are understandably concerned about the rise and high levels of religious conflicts, mostly involving Christian and Muslims. There has been widespread mistrust, fear, hatred and mutual suspicion among the citizenry. In 2009, the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF, 2010) recommended that the U.S. government designate the government of Nigeria as a “country of particular concern”. Regardless of Nigeria’s government efforts in ensuring peace between Christians and Muslims and its military gains against *Boko Haram*, the Institute of Economics and Peace (2016) report noted that Nigeria ranked among the less

³ *Boko Haram*, meaning “western education is forbidden”, is an extremist Islamic terrorist group based in Nigeria with the aim of establishing an Islamic State primarily in Nigeria. In March 2015, ISIS accepted *Boko Haram*’s allegiance pledge and became its ally in West Africa (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017; “Islamic State ‘accepts’ Boko”, 2015).

peaceful countries in world, ranking among the last five in sub-Saharan Africa and last 15 in 162 countries assessed worldwide with a national cost of violence of over \$70 billion in the 2016 Global Peace Index. Hence, it is apparent that not only has Nigerians lost family and friends to religious conflicts, but, also, has suffered economically.

Ghana, on the other hand, was named among the most peaceful countries in the world, ranking 6th in sub-Saharan Africa and 44th in the world (Institute of Economics and Peace, 2016), leaving the firm impression that in the wake of conflict and insecurity in some African countries, Ghana is virtually safe—if these rankings are anything to go by (see Table 1.1). However, a different picture was put out there in the media when false claim of asylum in Brazil was made by some Ghanaians over religious persecution, nonetheless, the Prophets and Spiritual Council of Ghana, in cooperation with the National Chief Imam and the Muslim council, came out to refute such claims and affirmed the peaceful relations that exist between Christians and Muslims in Ghana (“Brazil Asylum-Seeking Saga,” 2014). The U.S. State Department’s International Freedom Report (2015) inadvertently affirmed this with the statement that there were no reports of social actions upsetting religious freedom in Ghana, and lauded the government for its swift response to a report of discrimination against Muslim students.

Table 1.1. Global Peace Index

Ranking in Sub-Saharan Africa and the World		
	Sub-Saharan Africa	World
Ghana	6th	44 th
Nigeria	40th	149 th

Source: Institute of Economics and Peace, 2016.

Praise for Ghana’s progress in promoting peaceful intergroup relations comes from many sources. In late 2014, the Ruler of the State of Qatar commended Ghana as “a wonderful model of religious tolerance where Muslims and Christians live and work together in peace and harmony,” and urged Ghana’s President “to uphold and maintain this valuable attribute” (“Ghana’s Christian-Muslim coexistence”, 2014). Such platitudes about Ghana’s religious pluralism and tolerance are fairly common.

One scholar with an Islamic Institute in Ghana has recently commented that Ghanaians coexist regardless of their beliefs. In an interview with a media outlet, Sheikh Mohammed Hussen Bagnya stated that “it has indeed become an example a prototype for other countries with the sub region to emulate Ghana” (Adu, 2016). The cordial relationship that exists between Christians and Muslims, he noted, “cannot be said about countries like Nigeria, the Central African Republic and Mali, where there have been reports of major violence between Christians and Muslims.” Summing up Christian-Muslims relations in Ghana, Bagnya noted, “Ours is so beautiful” (Adu, 2016). In early February of 2015, The Christian Council of Ghana commended Muslim leaders for “their relentless commitment and contributions toward religious harmony, peace and national building.” The Council

reiterated its desire “to work closely with our fellow Muslim brothers and sisters to promote interfaith harmony” and indicated it is planning an Interfaith Harmony Week in September to strengthen interfaith relations” (“Christian Council Congratulates”, 2015).

In the light of these experiences, Ghana and Nigeria serve as potentially helpful examples of how Christians and Muslims can co-exist in some instances, but experience severe conflict in others. In short, the central research question that I want to address in this thesis is: What structural conditions contribute to the harmonious co-existence of Christians and Muslims versus conflict? It is hoped that such an examination will shed light on Christian-Muslim relations well beyond these two specific national settings. As such, the research has the potential to have considerable substantive and theoretical value.

The Historical Background

In Ghana, Christians and Muslims have coexisted peacefully since the introduction of both religions in the 15th century (Campbell, 2013), reflected in a relationship that is characterised by mutual respect and tolerance. Nigeria, on the other hand, is greatly divided along religious fault lines (Chris, 2009). With virtually an evenly divided Christian and Muslim population, Nigeria has been more prone to sectarian and interfaith violence than Ghana, which has a slightly higher population of Christians than Muslims. Many factors have contributed to these distinct patterns of relations between Christians and Muslims in the two countries.

In setting the stage for addressing the research question in the contexts of both Ghana and Nigeria, I want to begin by providing a brief historical overview of Islam and

Christianity in the two settings. By way of providing context and background, I will (1) describe the history of social relations in Africa before and after the introduction of Islam and Christianity, and (2) assess the extent to which their various social institutions have facilitated positive versus negative relations between these two religious faith groups in both countries.

Islam

Islam in Nigeria

Islam was introduced to sub-Saharan West Africa (known in Arabic as *bilad as-Sudan*) between the 10th and the end of the 11th century by the Berbers of the Maghreb (North Africa), who travelled to the region for the purposes of trading, missionary evangelism and exploration, to mention but a few (Iwuchukwu, 2013; Rasmussen, 1993). The land of the Berbers had earlier been conquered by the Arabs around the 8th century and as such, a larger number of the Berbers had progressively embraced Islam and became Muslims. Like in any faith, the most devout Muslims among the Berbers took the role of proselytising at any given ideal situation they found themselves in. In view of this, most traders and explorers took the additional role as *Imams* and preached to their trading partners in West Africa. Through this, sizeable Muslim converts and settlements were established in Ghana, Nigeria, Mali and other West African countries by the end of the 10th century (Rasmussen, 1993).

In what is today's northern Nigeria, indigenous traditional religion was the established organised religion among the people before the arrival of Islam. According to Iwuchukwu (2013), the people of the Kanem-Bornu Empire (part of today's northern Nigeria) were the first to make contact with the Berbers from North Africa (see Figure 5.2). Iwuchukwu (2013) explains that, given their close links to the aristocrats in Tripoli and other Berber Muslim clerics and traders, most Kanem-Bornu leaders were, over time, converted from their traditional beliefs to Islam. Significantly, these leaders began to incorporate Islamic principles into their rules of governance. However, when efforts were made to convert the general population, Islam was met with firm rejection. With the passage of time, leaders knew increasing success in spreading Islam to their neighbours and family members.



Figure 1.2. Historical Map of Kanem-Bornu Empire, Shown in Red

Source: Epic World History, 2012.

In 1804, Usuman Dan Fodio, an Islamic preacher declared a *jihad* as a way of religious purification from what he deemed as filthy religious practices in northern Nigeria. By 1810, Usuman Dan Fodio had conducted the most successful *jihad* in the history of sub-Saharan Africa, creating a *caliphate* which covered “over 180,000 square miles that influenced the lives of over 10 million people” (Iwuchukwu, 2013, p.8). His influence extended beyond the borders of today’s northern Nigeria to the northwestern part of Cameroon, creating what was known as the Sokoto *caliphate* which was the first Islamic State in West Africa. Iwuchukwu (2013) observes that, Dan Fodio’s “*jihad* is symptomatic of the religious intolerance and the bigotry, which are at the heart of both Muslim-Muslim and Muslim-Christian conflicts in Northern Nigeria until this date” (p.21). After the British colonial government took total control of the area that is now Nigeria and amalgamated the Southern Protectorate and the Northern Protectorate of Nigeria into a single polity in 1914, Islam began to grow exponentially. This growth in new converts was facilitated by the protection offered by the colonial government through the then High Commissioner Lord Frederick Lugard, in terms of the restriction of Christian Missionary activities in the north of Nigeria (Crowder, 1964). Currently, Nigeria is the country with the largest Muslim population in Africa with 48% of its 186 million population being Muslims (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2015).

Islam in Ghana

Known to the British before its independence as the Gold Coast, Ghana is a country with varied religious traditions. Christians and Muslims together constitute over 80 % of

Ghana's population (Samwini, 2006). Islam was the first foreign religion to arrive in Ghana, appearing around the 14th century (Sarbah, 2010). It arrived via the main routes of trade in the West of the Sahara.

Different stories surround the details of the introduction of Islam to Ghana. The most well-known account comes from Hackett (1999) who argues that the history of Islam in Ghana began in the northern region known as Gonja. According to Hackett (1999), Dyula Muslims brought Islam to the Gonja territory. With origins in Mali and northern Nigeria, they travelled to the region to engage in the booming trade of gold. Upon their arrival, they settled in the northern territories of Ghana and became powerful politically and economically.

Dyula Muslims were black people and as such, they easily identified with the people. They were less strict Muslims who did not have a sophisticated knowledge of theological features of Islam. According to Wilks (1996), these Dyula Muslims were regarded as humble and assimilationists who had no difficulties whatsoever with adopting the local traditions of the people.

Over time, they became very influential in the Gonja community by way of participating in all spheres of social life. Their importance to the community became more apparent as they took on roles in the royal court. According to Sarbah (2010), "at Gonja royal court, the Muslims' support ranged from administration and military warfare to recording of history that eventually helped to consolidate the position of the Chiefs" (p. 33).

Underscoring their administrative roles, Samwini (2006) writes that “Muslims among the Gonjas played a major function by keeping formal lists of chiefs and *Imams*. The reason for this exercise was to forestall problems and conflicts arising from succession disputes” (p.27). From Gonja, Islam spread to neighbouring towns in the northern part of Ghana. The flexibility of the version of Islam which the Dyula Muslims introduced to the northern Kingdoms was appealing to many traditional religious believers. As time went on, most northern territories were Islamised.

Upon invitation from the Chiefs in southern Ghana, large numbers of Dyula Muslims moved southwards to states such as Bono and Ashanti. Upon arrival in the southern Kingdoms, they spatially segregated and formed their own communities commonly known as *Zongo*. Still, the Dyula Muslims became very influential in the host communities. They served as advisors to the Kings of most of the southern kingdoms in Ghana. In Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Kingdom, the Dyula Muslims increasingly associated themselves with the royal family. They began to control the trade of gold, kola, cattles, salt and slaves (Sarbah, 2010).

Despite their early success, the Dyula Muslims’ accommodating attitude was less evident in the south than the north. This was due to their desire to change some of the traditional customs of the indigenous people. Regardless, Islam was not expelled. Dyula Muslims were allowed to live and preach freely. Overtime, the economic bourgeoning in the south of Ghana attracted rural-urban migration from the north, mainly in search for jobs. Hence, pockets of Muslims communities were established mostly in commercial towns across the southern part of Ghana. Islam today in Ghana continue to see steady

increase in numbers; to a larger extent through procreation and, much less through new converts (Sarbah, 2010). Even though they are not the majority, Muslims continue to contribute to all aspects of life in Ghana.

Christianity

Christianity in Nigeria

The arrival of Christianity in Africa, and Nigeria in particular, around the 1840s' reflected the clear intent of Christian missionaries to convert the indigenous Africans in southern and eastern Nigeria, where European merchants had already settled since the 15th century. These missionaries, writes Okpalanozie (2011), employed various techniques and strategies in proselytising "which gave their hearers no room for questions and doubts" (p.21). In addition, they also helped address the most pressing needs of the people by offering various humanitarian and medical services to the afflicted. They further built formal, technical and vocational schools to educate the local converts. According to Okpalanozie (2011), these schools were academically structured to teach the pupils the tenets of the new faith, all in an effort to have them baptised. According to Iwuchukwu (2013), throughout the time of Lord Lugard's office, most Christian missionaries had fervent desire to convert Muslims in the north. Edward Wilmot Bliden, a Christian missionary, is reported as saying that "Muslims are half- Christians" and it will be much easier to convert them than the traditional African believers in the North of Nigeria" (p.21). Off the back of these ideas, Christian missionaries began preparation to Christianise the

North, by encouraging a formal study of the Hausa language (the mother tongue of most northern Nigerians), the aim of which was to translate the English Bible to Hausa.

This, they envisaged, could expand their reach to most of the Hausi- Fulani commoners who could not read the English version of the Bible. In spite of the strict rejection they met from the colonial administrators in northern Nigeria, in a twist, their assistance was needed for the establishment of schools and hospitals. For, as it became evident, Sir Lugard consulted and relied on the assistance of the missionaries to establish and manage these schools due to lack of financial support from London. As expected, these schools were then established on the terms and conditions of the missionaries. Initially, most people in the north were adamant in sending their wards to these schools.

However, over time, the northern aristocrats approved western education for their wards as they began to understand its importance in modern societies. Between 1915 and 1960, Christianity enjoyed considerable growth in Nigeria. It gained significant numbers of new converts through establishment of Western education and the provision of health care services both in the south, east and north of Nigeria and made enrolment into these schools' contingent upon being baptized thereafter.

The period between 1960 and 1980 became critical in the history of Nigeria. Grappling with the challenges of self-rule after independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria began to face the trials of amalgamating both the southern and northern protectorates. The achievement of independence broke the fetters which restricted Christianity's advancement in the north. And, of course, the achievement of independence meant that the indirect rule, which gave much authority to rulers and aristocrats in the north, was to come to an end.

Even though Sir Lugard had abolished the Sokoto *Caliphate*, the great grandson of Usuman Dan Fodio, Sir Ahmadu Bello, who became the Saraduna of Sokoto, took it upon himself, as a counter strategy, to embark on the unfinished quest of his relative and to Islamise the north of Nigeria, with an eye towards eventual Islamising the whole of Nigeria. Hence, this brought about a clash between Christians and Muslim (Iwuchukwu, 2013). Christianity in Nigeria today has grown through procreation of members and new converts. Nigeria currently has the largest Christian population in West Africa (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Christianity in Ghana

The arrival of Christianity is often associated with the arrival of Portuguese merchants and traders at the Gulf of Guinea in 1482 (Sarbah, 2010; Samwini, 2006). The Roman Catholic Augustinian missionaries accompanied the Portuguese merchants and built a church close to the Elmina castle in 1529 (Sarbah, 2010). According to Sarbah (2010), in 1503 the chief of Efutu (a town at the coast of Ghana) along with 1,300 subjects were baptised by the Roman Catholic missionary.

However, there was not much Christian missionary activity in Ghana until 1828 (Samwini, 2006). This was due to the early departure of the Portuguese in 1637 (Sarbah, 2010). Unlike the case with Islam, which arrived by land through the north and thereafter moved to the south, Christianity arrived at the south by sea and worked its way to the north of Ghana. This explains the spatial distribution of Muslims and Christians in the north and south of Ghana respectively.

The year 1828 saw sustained Christian missionary activities in Ghana due to the arrival of British merchants along with Basel missionaries. Following a political upheaval in 1854 involving the British and the indigenous people, more Basel missionaries headed to the north of Ghana. By 1869, the Basel missionaries had opened eight mission stations with 24 congregations and a total of 1,851 members (Samwini 2006, p.44). One significant legacy of the Basel mission was the act of ensuring peace between the British merchants and the indigenous population.

In 1835, the Wesleyan mission – a British Methodist missionary society – started work in the Gold Coast. Their first achievement was the translation of the English Bible into the local language (Fante) of the people along the coast. In 1839, the Wesleyan missionary further extended their work to the north, where they came into contact with the Ashantis (Samwini, 2006). The move to extend their activities up north was precipitated by word which had reach the Methodist Church in Cape Coast that James Hayford had succeeded in starting a Christian fellowship in Kumasi, and had held a church service at the Ashanti king’s palace.⁴ Led by Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman, the Wesleyan Missionary was given the nod to establish its first church in Kumasi in 1842 (Nkansah, 2012).

It is worth noting that Islam was already in the Ashanti region before Christianity arrived. James Hayford is credited with advancing the work of the Methodist Church in the

⁴ James Hayford was a member of the Methodist church from Cape Coast, Ghana—formerly Gold Coast) and worked as the representative of the British Merchant Company Administration in Kumasi during the 1830’s (Samwini, 2006; Nkansah, 2012)

Ashanti Kingdom through his extensive connections in Ghana. He managed to lobby the King of Ashanti to hold Christian services alongside the Muslim services in the palace during the 1830's (Samwini, 2006). The Basel, alongside the Wesleyan missionaries, built schools and hospitals across Ghana. With the missionaries firmly established, the indigenes began to establish their own charismatic and Pentecostal Churches. As a result of these developments, Christianity grew mightily in Ghana.

~

This chapter has provided an overview of the introduction of Islam and Christianity to both Nigeria and Ghana from the precolonial times to the present. The crux of this endeavour was to revisit the foundations upon which recent relationship between Muslims and Christians were built.

As is readily evident, Christianity and Islam presented themselves differently to their adherents from the time they appeared on the West African continent. Having provided a brief historical overview of the introduction of Islam and Christianity in both countries, the next chapter presents the review of literature which will lead to the development of the conceptual framework of this study.

Chapter Two – The Literature and Framework

With the universal upheavals and conflicts within and between groups, it is not surprising that the relations between Christians and Muslims have dominated the world's attention in the past several decades, and as such, attracted extensive attention among scholars in recent years. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to cover the voluminous works in this field of studies, hence, in this chapter the review of literature will focus on the relationship between religion and conflict and religion and peace.

Review of Literature

Not too long ago, many observers were predicting the progressive attenuation of religion. At its best, the argument goes, religion would only have an influence in the private sphere with little to no influence in the public sphere (Dobbelaere, 1999; Lambert, 1999). Nonetheless, these predictions about religion's demise by most secularization and modernization theorists have, overtime, proven to be false—if current religious conflicts and religious resurgence in most countries are anything to go by (Bibby, 2011). Beyer (1999) contends that even though the role of religion in society has changed, its influence has not. Bibby (2011) likewise argues that there are questions about life, and life after death that transcend scientific answers, guaranteeing the permanence of the gods.

Thus, contrary to the prediction of religions demise, faith continues to be important to many people around the world (Pew Research Center, 2015). While Bibby (2012) acknowledges a shift in denominational growth and decline, he is optimistic that many people around the world will continually embrace religion. He writes that “the reality in Canada and elsewhere is that religion is not going to go away... specific religious suppliers

come and go. But the ongoing demand for religion itself means only that the specific “firms” that provide it will change. Religion itself will continue” (p.12). In fact, most of the events around today including formulation of policies are being affected by religion.

The study of the relationship between religion, peace and violence has a lengthy history. However, the events of 9/11 precipitated the influx of voluminous and varied contributions on the topic. On one hand, the Osama Bin Laden led terrorist attack opened the floodgates for intellectual activities which served as a melting pot for different worldviews as scholars attempted to make sense of the whole chilling event in New York. Interest in religion and the Arabic language soared even among the general public, however, for the reason of security, prevention of future attacks and the crackdown on terrorist networks (Watchtel, 2005; McAuley, 2005). On the other hand, much of the literature focused on the Middle East with the aim of understanding Islam and how it poses as a threat to the West. Scholars such as Sageman (2008) and Aboul-Enein (2010), for example, have written comprehensively on Islam and its impact on social life. Hence, it is hardly surprising that catalogues of publishers have been “religion-conflict and peace-rich”. In the following, I discuss succinctly a few works published under the theme of religion and conflict, and religion and peace.

Religion and Conflict

As contradictory as it may seem, religion has in many ways contributed to a number of conflicts. Tales have been told of the many wars that have been waged in the name of religion. To many believers, their commitment, loyalty and obedience to their focus of worship comes first before anything else. To the extent that their obedience to their faith

translates to a glorified status in afterlife, some believers are willing to defend their faith by any means. Hence, to say that the fate of the world today in terms of peace and safety could largely depend on the relationship between religious fanatics would not be hyperbole. As it stands, predictions about the future of our planet relative to peace and stability could only be received with a glimmer of hope as evidence around us suggests otherwise. Our television sets have been flooded with pictures of violence, many of which are related to religion. Whilst the world stood in solidarity with France after Paris attack on November 13th 2015, especially on social media with posts like “Pray for Paris”, Facebook activated its “safety check service” for its users in France to mark themselves safe (Boult, 2017). Since then, many of such activations have followed, majority of which have been activated for users in areas of religiously motivated attacks.

As I asked a colleague at work about whether he had received the news of the attack near the United Kingdom’s parliament in Westminster on March 22, 2017 during the early hours of the attack, he quickly replied yes—in response to the question, and shouted “by a Muslim” as further information—even when the identity of the attacker was not officially confirmed. What is evident from his response is that the first suspect that comes to mind today whenever there is a violent attack is “a Muslim”. Today, what baffles the minds of many is whether religion and violence is inextricably linked.

The subject of whether religion generally and Islam specifically drives conflict has been addressed by many observers. In his book, *War, Terror & Peace*, for example, T.P. Schwartz-Barcott (2004) claims to identify a link between terror, war and peace in Quran and in Islam. He quotes portions of the Quran which justify the use of heart, tongue, hand

and sword in proselytising the belief in Allah over the Christian West. Similarly, Anne-Marie Delcambre, in her book, *Inside Islam* (2005), maintains radicalism is at the heart of Islam. She writes, “anyone who wishes to be faithful to the letter of the text, to follow the literal reading of the Qur’an, can find therein justification for military, indeed, even terrorist actions. The problem is posed by the very nature of Islam, because it is absolutely impossible for it to distance itself from its own fundamental texts” (p.8).

A number of scholars (e.g., Patai, 2002; Motah-Hary, 1980) have also found fault with Islam. However, many others have asserted that violence is neither inherent nor particular to Islam (Halliday, 1996; Hunter, 1998). To underscore this point, some writers have focused on Christianity and its propensity for the rise of fundamentalism and terrorism. A number of which point to passages in the Bible and Christian hymns that justify terrorism (Collins, 2004; Tarlow, 2015).

Various scholars have also drawn attention to the fact that the rise of conflict often involves the complex interplay of religion, economic, social, political, and other institutional factors, rather than having sources which are exclusively religious (Omeje, 2005; Kim, 2009). Jenkins (2002), for example, reminds us that not only is religion an individual practice in the Nigerian society but a collective one. Hence, communities and or ethnic groups in the north and east take on religious identities reflecting the regional polarisation of religion in the country, with the Muslim predominance in the north and Christian concentration in the east. This, he says, makes it more likely for ethnic conflicts which are very often driven by economic and other structural factors than religion as such.

Religion and Peace

The relationship between religion and peace has also been well documented by scholars. This is hardly surprising since peace is an ideal advocated by both Islam and Christianity. Akama (1998), for example, goes even further in stating that peace is the central message of all religions. Thomas (as cited in Silvestri & Mayal, 2015) similarly writes that religious virtues have the tendency of promoting peace reminds readers that the theme of reconciliation is inherent in the Christian faith, citing the significance of the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ as the model for emulation in conflictual situations. Raphael Susewind (2013) in his book *Being Muslim and Working for Peace: Ambivalence and Ambiguity in Gujarat*, maintains that Muslim peace activists in Gujarat, India viewed their role as peace negotiators as a natural role since being a Muslim simply means to be a peace activist. Abu-Nimer (2003) argues that social justice is an inherent virtue in Islam and for a nation to function properly, justice must be upheld. He maintains that Islamic values, when upheld, will lead to peaceful coexistence in any setting.

In the case of Christianity, various scholars have written extensively on efforts to promote peace and wellbeing. Christian communities such as Sant'Egidio in Rome helped to end the civil war in Mozambique in 1992 (Smock, 2004). Leustean (as cited in Silvestri & Mayal, 2015) likewise acknowledges the work of Christian missionaries in the promotion of peace after World War II and writes about the role of missionaries in promoting reconciliation following the end of the apartheid in South Africa. In examining reconciliation in Christianity, Islam and Judaism, he further acknowledges their similarities which he deems as a platform for interfaith dialogue. Further, Barnett and Stein (as cited in

Silvestri & Mayal, 2015) are of the view that faith organisations and missionaries are very effective and devoted to their work in the course of relying on volunteers who offer to work “for free” in bringing about peace.

In Nigeria, the story of Pastor James Wuye and Imam Mohammed Ashafa well reflects the efforts by Christians and Muslims to co-exist. In the article “The Imam and the Pastor: Attempts at Peace in Nigeria using Interfaith Dialogue” (2014), Piereder tells a story of how Pastor Wuye and Imam Ashafa fought on different fronts in a Muslim-Christian conflict in 1992. Wuye lost his right hand as a result of the conflict and Ashafa lost his spiritual father and other family members. Counting their losses, they both came to terms in 1995 and established the Inter Faith Mediation Centre, where they have been training others in conflict resolution strategies. In their book, they dwell heavily on verses from the Bible and the Koran which highlight the similarities between both faiths and emphasize the need for peace. These two religious leaders have been instrumental in resolving various conflicts in Nigeria ever since they partnered and pledged to do so.

What is clear from the literature review is that religion continues to play a major role in the world in contributing to both conflict and peace. Research have been rich on its effects in instigating conflict and, on the other hand, resolving it. I intend to add to the literature on religion, conflict and peace by taking into account historical and many other structural factors that influence Christian and Muslim relations in Ghana and Nigeria. What makes the analysis potentially valuable is that it involves a comparison of two countries with similar histories and social structures, but where the outcomes are predominantly peaceful relations in one case and conflictual relations in the other.

The Conceptual Framework

In an effort to go beyond identifying the specific causes of specific religious conflicts and identify more general sources, various scholars have adopted a variety of models, conceptual frameworks and theories such as the socio-theological approach (Juergensmeyer and Sheikh, 2013) and the social-interactionist theory (Felson and Tedeschi, 1993), that tackles the motivation for violent acts. In the African context, a number of scholars have proposed varying theories to the study of relationship between religion, conflict and peace. Harris (2013), for example, suggests a theory which basically accesses the effects of disparate citizenship rights on social cohesion among religious groups. The “dialogue of life approach,” as championed by Akinade (2002), also explains the kind of fruitful dialogue that develops spontaneously and naturally in a pluralistic context through day-to-day interactions in shared public spaces. This dialogue, writes Abdul-Hamid (2011), has proven to be far more effective in improving the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Ghana than formal and professional conferences where handshakes are nothing but a civilized act.

In this study, the conceptual framework rests heavily on a structural-relational approach developed by Kazemipur (2014) and in part, supported by the social contact/capital theory by Putnam and Campbell (2012), and the clash of civilization theory developed by Huntington (1993). Invaluable as their conceptual frameworks are, they only deal with some aspects of the of the problem. Hence, combining their ideas serves to supplement each other to give a better insight into Christian and Muslim relations in Ghana

and Nigeria. The very nature of this study cuts across many spheres of social organization and life, hence, a combination of these conceptual frameworks offers a holistic approach to this research. In what follows, I will expound on the conceptual frameworks developed by each of the three authors in their respective works under the themes of religion, conflict and peace.

Kazemipur (Structural-Relational Approach)

In his book, *The Muslim Question in Canada* (2014), Kazemipur (2014) thrust into spotlight the seen and unseen issues Muslims face in Canada. He addresses the contrasting places Canada and Muslim hold in the discourse of multiculturalism to test the notion that Canada epitomizes multiculturalism, while Muslims are exception to the success story. To do so, he journeys through the historical terrain of Muslims relationship with non-Muslims, especially in the West, and to a more general understanding of the problems Muslims face in liberal democratic countries like Canada.

Kazemipur writes that the surge in Muslim immigration to Western countries has always been a major concern for the West and even more so after series of terrorist attacks by some individuals with Muslim background. He argues that, underlying such concern is the simplistic idea by some scholars that the values of Muslims by nature, stands in sharp contrast to the democratic values of the West, namely; liberty, freedom of speech, equality, justice—to name but a few. Hence, as their argument goes, Muslims will not be able to integrate into Western societies as a result of the nature of the religion. In other words, to the proponents of such argument, Islam as a religion is not only an individual affair but it

is also intimately linked with all his public life thus, making it difficult for a Muslim to succumb to the secular values of the West. Hence, when compared with other immigrants with religions that give room for secularity, Muslim immigrants are deemed as an exception by some scholars, given their problematic integration into secular and liberal democratic countries.

To test this theory and to determine the extent to which Muslim's integration into the Canadian society is a success or failure, Kazemipur combines structuralist approach with relationalist approach to the study of this phenomena. The structuralist approach, he writes, takes into account "economic, political and social elements, hence offering a much richer understanding" while the relationalist approach allows for "flexibility and change" given its assumption that "the current state of affairs is the outcome of a history of interaction between individuals and groups" (p.10). Working from this perspective, Kazemipur finds that Muslims in Canada are better off in all aspects of their lives than Muslims in other immigrant receiving countries. Yet, surprisingly, Muslims in Canada lag behind other religious groups (with the exception of Jehovah Witnesses') and ethnic minority groups in terms of integration into the broader society. Significantly, his study finds that, perceptions of Muslims by native-born Canadians are frequently shaped by what the media feed the public. He cites the 2007 reasonable accommodation controversy report in Quebec which clearly showed evidence of media incongruity between media reports and facts as an example. He also cites the extensive media coverage which Naheed Nenshi received upon being elected as Canada's first mayor. This, he writes, prompted the mayor to come out on numerous occasions to mitigate the shock of many.

However, regardless of the negative perception of Muslims by native Canadians, surprisingly, 40% of native born Canadians who have negative views of Islam do not automatically have similar views on Muslims. Conversely, Kazemipur (2014) finds that “Muslims have also not developed negative feelings towards Christians and/or Jews” ...Hence, there is no correlation between “the attitudinal aspect and behavioural aspect of intergroup relations” (p.102). However, Kazemipur (2014) finds trust to be a problem for Muslims. “Trust is the backbone of many interactions and associational dynamics,” he writes (p.105). Muslims consistently scored among the lowest on trust. Of considerable importance, Kazemipur finds that Muslims experience high levels of discrimination and unemployment.

In an effort to conceptualize the process of immigrant and minority integration, Kazemipur distinguishes between four basic domains of integration of Muslims in Canadian society. These four domains include: (1) the social, (2) economic, (3) the institutional (4) the media. From this theoretical background, Kazemipur arrives at the proposition that: “depending on the nature of the relationship between the two groups in each of these four domains, one could expect to find either positive or negative, healthy or unhealthy, normal or problematic situations” (p.10). While he finds no major problems in the institutional and media spheres in the Canadian context, the economic and social domains stand out as stumbling blocks to successful integration.

I find Kazemipur’s conceptual framework useful in my examination of Muslim-Christian relations in Ghana and Nigeria. My assumption is that, in both settings, peaceful coexistence will be dependent on the extent to which people of both religious groupings

feel that they are being integrated into the four domains, namely; (1) the social (2) the economic (3) the institutional and (4) the media.

Putnam and Campbell (Social Contact/Capital Theory)

In support of Kazemipur's (2014) conceptual framework, especially the social domain of integration is Putnam and Campbell's (2012) social contact/capital theory. In their book *American Grace*, they examine the myriad ways in which America can be religiously devout, diverse but yet tolerant. In doing so, they draw primary on data from large scale survey of almost 3000 Americans and other relevant data from sources like the National Election Survey and the General Social Survey, to show how growing religious pluralism in America is strengthening interfaith relationships.

They begin by showing how devout Americans are when it comes to weekly religious service attendance. Putnam and Campbell write that, by some margin, America is the most religiously devout country among Western countries and even more religious than Iran. Yet, America is very diverse and polarized religiously. This is supported by findings such as 98% of the most religious persons in America believe that religion is good for America, and that most Americans believe that people of other faiths will go to Heaven. But they also find that 80% of Americans think there are truths in many religions. The findings in their book suggest that America is both highly diverse religiously and highly tolerant.

In their quest to know how people of different faith groups feel towards each other, Putnam and Campbell asked a number of questions of their sample to tap "interfaith

feelings". They found that Muslims are the last to be rated favourably – that they are the least popular in America. This is an alarming finding. The fact that Muslims are least favoured by the general population suggests a general uneasiness between non-Muslims and Muslims. They suggested a number of reasons for the unfavourable ratings in the United States. First, the rise of radical Islamic terrorists as epitomized by the Osama bin Laden-led terrorist attack on the Twin-towers on September 11, 2001 and other attacks especially on the U.S.'s interest abroad. These terrorist acts, perhaps, left in the minds of many Americans that Muslims are against the values and progress of the United States.

Second, Putnam and Campbell suggest that, Americans antipathy towards Muslims may as well stem from their own ignorance of their religion and Muslims for that matter. In spite of these sentiments, they report that Americans are highly tolerant with an overwhelming 80% believing that there is truth in many religions. To give meaning to such a puzzle, Putnam and Campbell propose a conceptual framework that borders around deepened interpersonal relations and changing pattern of religious affiliations in the United States. They claim that a third of all Americans have switched religions over the course of their lifetime. Most parents and their kids in this 21st century do not share common faith anymore in America than it used to be. Hence, it is common to find religiously diverse households in the United States. The tolerance that ensues in such households is then extended beyond the boundaries of their families to the society at large.

Putnam and Campbell, focusing on the value of communal encounters, conclude that inter-faith and inter-ethnic marriages have necessitated a tolerant attitude in the American society. By this they mean that, by virtue of their marriage unions outside their

faith and ethnicity, a lot of people in America today have extended family members in other religious groups. It follows that, as families and friends change as a result of interfaith marriages, everybody ends up with a diverse set of friends and family even if one decides not maintain his homogenous background. This then increases the level of social contact and interaction among those with diverse beliefs which then overshadows religious differences.

The conceptual framework Putnam and Campbell propose to understand the United States' devout, diverse, polarised and yet tolerant religious landscape can be summed up as follows: Increased social contacts by virtue of marriage unions, changing patterns of religious affiliations and other social and personal ties have necessitated tolerating attitudes among Americans.

Huntington (The Clash of Civilizations Theory)

Lastly, the clash of civilisation thesis by Huntington adds a cultural dimension to the amalgam of concepts described above. In the article "A Clash of Civilizations?" (1993), Huntington paints a picture of what the post-Cold War world would be like. He offers a bleak view of the future wherein anarchy and chaos will abound. He hypothesizes that "the fundamental source of conflict will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic", but "the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural" (p.22). He argues that as the world enters into a new phase in conflict evolutions, people will unite and cooperate along cultural lines than the reverse. He argues further that

“it is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their level of economic development but rather in terms of their culture and civilization” (p.23).

Huntington defines civilizations as the “highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people” (p.24). In other words, he writes that even though a country may have different groupings of people with different cultures, they all share a single nationality, which qualifies that nation of different cultures to be termed a civilization. One’s civilization hence becomes his basic and fundamental level of identification which one emotionally identifies with. The fault lines between these civilizational blocks, he argues, will then be the battles of the future.

The major players in world’s civilizational conflicts, he writes, will be Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization, and these conflicts will occur at two levels, namely; at the micro level between in-groups in a single civilization, and at the macro level between states with different civilization. Huntington (1993) magnifies his argument with the assertion that of all the cultural identities, religion will become the most problematic, with the Islamic world being in persistent struggle and conflict with the West— as representing Christianity. Of particular importance to my thesis is his assertion that there has been “great antagonistic interaction of Arab Islamic civilization” with black African Christians “to the south...reflected in the ongoing... political conflicts, recurring riots and communal

violence between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria” (p.33). Even though he gives the situation in Africa a peripheral attention, he proposes six hypotheses that theorizes why these civilizations will clash. In relation to this thesis, his hypotheses are summed up in the following propositions:

- (1) Religious differences are basic, fundamental and divisive.
- (2) Unfruitful interaction between people of different religious backgrounds strengthens differences and causes religious people to be defensive.
- (3) Disparate distribution of economic means of production increases religious group consciousness and serves as a motivation for religious conflicts.
- (4) In a state of competition between dominant religious groups for political and economic power, religion replaces nationality as a primary source of identification.

The three conceptual frameworks discussed above will serve as theoretical basis for this thesis. The four domains of integration proposed by Kazemipur (2014) from here on will function as the basic framework, with support from Putnam and Campbell’s (2012) social contact/capital approach (2012) and Huntington’s (1993) cultural/clash of civilizations approach. I elaborate this framework in the following pages.

1. The Social Domain

Beginning with Huntington’s (1993) assumption, many groups who wage wars against others do so in a way to safeguard their beliefs and maintain their influence. Their belief systems are basic, fundamental and divisive, and in most occasions, oppose the belief

system of other groups, hence hampering fruitful interactions. Kazemipur (2014) shares similar belief. He writes that in order for fruitful interaction to ensure, one party on the other hand should be willing to engage in a conversation when approached. In a context when there is strong rivalry, common grounds are hard to find. However, to hold on to one's belief and not open up for interaction with the other hampers the benefits of fruitful inter group relations.

From the review of conceptual frameworks proposed by Kazemipur (2014) and Putnam and Campbell (2012) it is apparent that social interaction and contact among groups (cultural or religious) is important for social cohesion, fruitful and peaceful coexistence and pursuit of common interest. Putnam (2007) suggests that where social capital is higher people live long and happier lives. According to Kazemipur (2014), social contact and interaction “foster a sense of common identity” (p.63) among people of different cultures and religions. He argues that, “it can shatter their preconceived negative stereotypes towards each other and, hence, generate new and common identities that will set new boundaries for in- and out-groups” (p.63). Moreover, an increase in contact and interaction as such will also increase an individual's sense of belongingness. Similarly, Putnam (2007), suggests that increased contact with people of different cultural backgrounds leads to high levels of tolerance and the development of a vital component called “trust”. Kazemipur (2014) suggests that trust “is fundamental and influences many possible ways in which one could be attached to a society” (p.105). He writes that trust is associated with a high participation in politics, governance and crime control. Where there is no trust, fruitful

social relations and engagement in other aspects of life are hampered as individuals go into any relation expecting the worse.

Following Kazemipur (2014) and Putnam and Campbell (2012), I suggest that, in the face of an increased social contact and relation between Christians and Muslims, they will come to appreciate their similarities and build a working and fruitful relationship. It will further increase the trust of Christians and Muslims in their leaders, the development of a sense of belonging, the formation of common identity and an emotional attachment to their country at large.

2. The Economic Domain

The economic experience of citizens is an important factor in determining the relationship between the citizenry and the level of emotional attachment to their country (Kazemipur, 2014). For when one has nothing to lose, chances are that he or she will indulge in behaviours which halt national development. According to Kazemipur, “Where Muslims face economic difficulties, there is a higher degree of concern about the rise of extremism” (p.119). He amplifies this with the notion that unusually high rate of poverty in some cases results in alienation from the broader society which influences the poor to take extreme measures against the existing order. Stated differently, relatively deprived religious minority are more likely to resort to violence when all other persuasive means prove futile. Paradoxically, the dominant religious group with privileged access to economic means are more likely to defend their interest and privileges which will lead to violent confrontations ultimately (Horowitz, 1985).

Bloomfield and Reiley (1998) write that the two most powerful elements of violence in pluralistic setting stem from the following: “identity, which is defined as the mobilisation of people in communal identity groups based on races, religion, culture, language.... The second, however, is distribution which is explained as “the means of sharing economic, social and political resources within a society” (p.92). Explaining further, he writes that in situations where apparent imbalances coincide with differences in identity, conflict is the only possible outcome.

From a rational choice vantage point, relatively deprived religious group usually indulge in a form of cost and benefit assessment in the face of glaring economic discrimination. Usually, the cost involved for the young uneducated and unemployed youth affiliated to religious groups is relatively lower than the benefits involved. Benefits involved are far more rewarding than the associated cost involved. It offers a unique opportunity for them to loot and share the spoils of war, hence, prolonging conflicts that might have been easily resolved (Collier& Hoeffler, 2000).

Paul Lubeck, in his article “Islamic Protest Under Semi Capitalism” (1985), suggests that sects and Islamic militants in the north of Nigeria are products of incongruities rooted in a semi industrial Nigerian economy, which has failed to fully employ these youths. He explains that the education and training which these youths are offered in the Qur’anic schools are definitely not suitable for present day Nigeria. Lubeck further argues that most Christians from the south have taken over the lucrative trades in the heart of the northern cities. As such, the average Muslim feels overwhelmed as they are unable to compete with these Christians who are equipped with the knowledge of how modern

economies work. Moreover, the problem of unemployment in the north renders most of the youth economically inactive and poor. They roam about daily in search of something meaningful to do. Joining sects and militant groups offers them security and work.

On another front, religious groups are more likely to develop network of connections among in-groups. This facilitates the idea of keeping wealth within a particular faith group. This, as a consequence, invigorates differences which may lead to conflict. Huntington (1993) writes that “as people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an "us" versus "them" relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion” (p.29).

It has also been suggested that scarcity and environmental degradation engenders competition and scramble for resources available (Homer-Dixon, 1994). Even though such instances of competition for scarce resources are mostly ethnically based, they usually take on religious dimension as well. As suggested by Huntington (1993), “the kin-country syndrome” plays a major role here. Ethnic groups usually rally support from their dominant religious affiliation and turn ethnic violence to religious one. The decision solely rest on the victim or aggressor to turn an ethnic conflict to a larger one involving religious groups.

From the above analysis, I will suggest better and equal economic opportunities for both Christians and Muslims will enhance the relationship between them and reduce the feeling of deprivation and or resentment among religious minorities.

3. The Institutional Domain

The role of the various state institutions in fostering inter-religious faith relationship cannot be over emphasized. For a healthy society, all social institutions must function properly. A proper functioning of a nation undoubtedly rests on political institutions. As it is readily apparent in many introductions of Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Nigeria, political leaders have had much to do with the establishment and ongoing presence of Christianity and Islam in Ghana and Nigeria. Social cohesion and stability, as has been argued by proponents of social contract, is based on contract that exist between the government and the governed. Stewart (2002) writes that “people accept state authority so long as the state delivers services and provides reasonable economic conditions” (p.343). When this imaginary contract between the State and its people breaks down, violence ensues. Very often politicians are regarded as putting their interests at forefront and the interest of the people behind.

As Kazemipur (2014) writes, “One factor that could promote one to engage more with the broader society is the general level of one’s satisfaction with life” (p.106). And as it will be discussed later on, in Africa, most people look up to the government to make their lives better. Similarly, when one religious group is favoured in terms of policies regarding the overall running of a state, other religious groups may be resentful and somewhat envious of the opportunities available to other religious groups. Hence, deprived religious groups may seek equal recognition and if their demands are met with opposition, peaceful demonstration could lead to violence. Here, I suggest that differences in access to political

power, education, justice and health among Christians and Muslims could be the bedrock of prolong conflicts.

4. The Media Domain

The media have a special role to play in disseminating events around the world to the public. How we perceive ourselves and the world around us is constantly shaped by what the media feeds into our consciousness. Kazemipur (2014) writes that the media's attention and extensive coverage of issues around the world relating to Muslims shapes the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. The public's perception about Muslims runs parallel with the torrent of Muslim coverage in the media—many of which are vicious. Hence, non-Muslims are increasingly becoming disdainful of Muslims as headlines on Muslims are consistently connected to violence. Kazemipur (2014) describes the effects of such malicious headlines and misrepresentation of Muslims aptly by stating that “the power of the media...cannot be overemphasised as its effects does not remain on TV screens or in movie theatres; rather, it people's thinking and behaviour (p.92). As such, what the media present on their platforms is key to shaping a national identity.

Beyond Muslim misrepresentation in news coverage, poor communication has also been seen as a possible source of violence between Muslims and Christians. Albert and Ozoigwe (1999), in their book *Inter-Ethnic and Religious Conflict Resolution in Nigeria*, distinguishes between the two types of poor communication in the various media platforms which have, on various occasions, produced inter-religious and ethnic conflicts. He refers to the first type as “malevolent communication”. This refers to use of offensive information

to the other party. He cites an example of how a section of southern media houses maliciously reported the issue of Nigerian independence which was being discussed in its embryonic stage between southern and northern politicians. He explains that the malicious message reported by the media sparked a series of deadly clashes between Muslims and Christians in 1953. “Ambivalent communication” is the term he uses to describe his second category of communication. This, he explains, means sending out an unclear and ambiguous message especially in a state of uneasiness or conflict between two groups. He cites messages on Christian crusade banners as an example, and claims they fuelled the 1991 riots in Nigeria.

Following Huntington (1993), increase in social contact among people of different religion reinvigorates religious differences. Today, the social media has connected the world more than ever before. People are able to share information publicly and garner support for a particular cause. It is not uncommon to see religious adherents defending their faith on social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and the rest. Common grounds are not often found on such platforms and debates frequently end with people feeling more resentful and increasingly attached to the faith. The Arab Spring became synonymous with “Facebook revolution” and “Twitter uprising”. It facilitated the spread of civil wars in a number of countries from the Middle East (Shearlaw, 2016). Thus, it is clear from the preceding argument that the media in all its various forms have the ability to shape the relationship between members of religious faiths. If it has the tendency to shape such relationships negatively by portraying violent images of religious groups, then I suggest

that a positive portrayal of Christians and Muslims on media platforms will affect their relationship positively.

Overall, the hypotheses developed from the review of the conceptual frameworks are as follows:

- (1) Religious differences are basic, fundamental and divisive.*
- (2) In the face of an increased social contact and relation between Christians and Muslims, they will come to appreciate their similarities and build a working and fruitful relationship.*
- (3) Better and equal economic opportunities for both Christians and Muslims will enhance the relationship between and reduce the feeling of deprivation and or resentment among religious minorities.*
- (4) Differences in access to political power, education, justice and health among Christians and Muslims could be the bedrock of prolong conflicts.*
- (5) When the social contract between the State and its members is broken, religion replaces nationality as a primary source of identification.*
- (6) Portrayal of Christians and Muslims on media platforms will affect their perception of each other and influence their relationship.*

~

This chapter began with the introduction of the work of Putnam and Campbell (2012) and Kazemipur (2014). Their insights on religion, immigration, peace, conflict, and integration have provided a useful foundation for the generation of the conceptual

framework of this study. This framework guided the methodology that was employed in this study.

Chapter Three – Methodology

In addressing the question of Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Nigeria, I made use of a mixed-method research approach, combining the analysis of a major 2009 Forum data set with in-depth interviews. In this way, the research could combine the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Both the secondary analysis of the Pew data and the interviews of people from Ghana and Nigeria were guided by the conceptual framework derived from the work of Kazemipur (2014), Putnam-Campbell (2012), and Huntington (1993).

The Research Design

Johnson et al. (2007) define mixed methods research as “the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (p.123). The quantitative component of mixed methods research involves the collection and analysis of numerical data to get objective and generalizable results, whereas the qualitative component targets the subjective and personal experiences of research participants. By combining these two methods, the researcher gets a richer understanding of the problem under study than by using either alone. And, as Creswell et al. (2004) put it, “this form of research is more than simply collecting both quantitative and qualitative data; it indicates that data will be integrated, related, or mixed at some stage of the research process” (p.7).

In view of the general goals of the study and the research question posed, this mixed methods approach seemed to be a helpful way of addressing the research question for two reasons:

- (1) Data from the Pew Forum's 2009 Multi-Country Survey of Muslims and Christians – a project entitled, *Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa* – included Ghana and Nigeria. The survey provided a valuable general overview of perceptions and attitudes that Christians and Muslims had of each other, as well as views on an array of topics relevant to this thesis.
- (2) These survey readings could be explored in more detail through in-depth interviews, thereby adding clarity to what was being learned through the survey data and putting “life” on the “statistical bones” (Johnson et al., 2007).

Following Creswell and Piano-Clark's (2007) classification of four major types of mixed methods research, I used a “two-phased mixed method design... which starts with the collection and analysis of quantitative data at the first phase... followed by the subsequent collection and analysis of qualitative data.” (Creswell & Piano-Clark, 2007, p.72). Figure 3.1 sums up the research design I employed in this research. In the following, I describe the procedures used in phase 1 and phase 2.

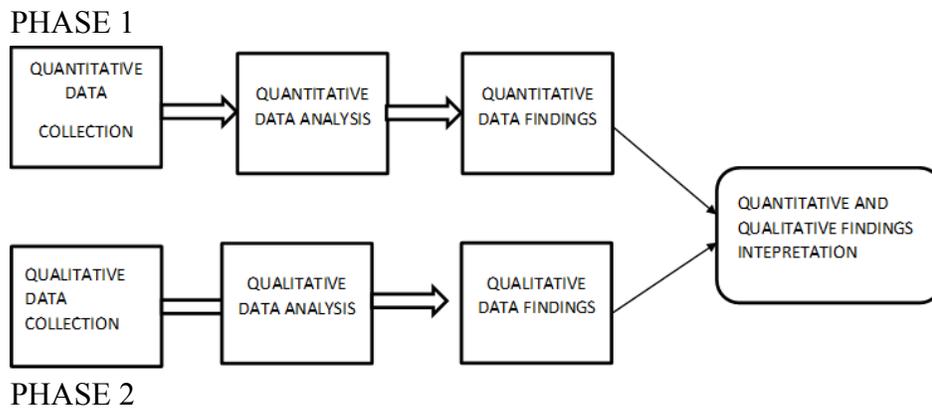


Figure 3.1. Research Design

Phase 1 – Survey Data

This phase involved a secondary analysis of Pew’s 2009 Multi-Country Survey data on Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Nigeria, generated as part of a major survey of Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa. As noted earlier, the Pew Research Center, under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, conducted over 25,000 face-to-face interviews in 19 sub-Saharan African countries in over 60 languages from December 2008 to April 2009. The survey was aimed at ascertaining their opinions on a wide array of topics ranging from their knowledge of their religions and other religions, to their attitudes towards people of other faith, including many other social, economic, media and political questions.

For my purposes, the data on Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Nigeria were extracted with the objective of finding questions pertinent to my study. More specifically,

I hoped to locate questions and responses regarding Christian and Muslim relations in the four domains of integration – social, economic, institutional and media.

Sample

In Ghana, a nationally representative sample of 1,300 people were interviewed by the Pew Research team with an additional oversampling of 200 Muslims adding up to 1,500 respondents. The Muslim oversampling was predominantly male. The sample design was based on a stratified random sampling of all the 10 regions in Ghana, proportional to the population size. The interviews were conducted face-to-face among adults aged 18 years and above in 11 languages, namely: Akan, English, Dagbani, Ewe, Dagaare, Ga, Hausa, Frafra, Talensi, Guruni, Kusaal. The fieldwork and interviews were conducted between January 17-30 in 2009.

In Nigeria, a nationally representative sample of 1,516 participants, 18 years old and over were selected based on a stratified random sampling of all 7 geo-political territories relative to the population size of the country. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in the following languages: English, Hausa, Yoruba, Pidgin and Igbo. The interviews were carried out between February 15-25 in 2009.

Data Analysis

I carried a secondary analysis using the statistics software SPSS. Following an examination of the items, frequencies were run, along with cross-tabulations for a number of potentially pertinent variables such as religion, age, sex, education, and income. This was in an effort to gauge respondents' attitudes towards people of other faiths and how

other factors shape their worldview and impact on their relations. These runs generated an overview of important results which were then further explored with the follow-up interviews in the second phase of the data collection and analysis. Details of the findings from both phases of the study are discussed in Chapter 4.

Phase 2 - Interview Data

The quantitative data analysis provided a helpful overview of Christian and Muslim relations in both settings and offered some illustrative findings of the attitudes each faith group have towards the other. Additionally, the data offered some insights on how these faith groups are faring with respect to integration into their respective social structures in their countries, including their portrayals in mainstream media. The aim of this second qualitative phase was to explore these findings further by way of supplementing and complementing it with qualitative interview data.

The Interview Schedule

To embark on this quest, I, with input from my thesis committee, planned where and how I would carry out the interviews, constructed a preliminary interview schedule, and submitted an application for an ethical review of this phase of the project to the Human Subject Research Committee of the University of Lethbridge. After a series of reviews and revisions, the application was approved.

The interview schedule contained questions that aimed to provide background information on the research participants. The actual interview questions were developed to provide data on each of the four “domain categories” in the conceptual framework. They

covered issues cutting across social, economic, institutional and media domains of integration. The questions were partly informed by the findings from the quantitative data analysis. Each of the four domains were probed – the social, economic, institutional, and media spheres (see Appendix).

Sampling

In June of 2016, I was able to make a trip back to Ghana for about ten weeks, providing me with the opportunity to interview Christians and Muslims living there. For logistical reasons, I chose to interview people from Nigeria who were living in Ghana, rather than trying to complete interviews of Nigerians in Nigeria. In consultation with my supervisor, I made the decision to interview eight people from each of the two countries, divided equally between Christians and Muslims. We felt this would provide a good, introductory sense of Christian and Muslim thinking in the two settings, and would be a number which I could complete during my relatively short time in Ghana. The sixteen individuals were selected using a non-probability, purposive sampling technique. This was consistent with what Bernard (as cited in Tongco, 2007), suggests, that the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience.

My criteria for selecting the sixteen interviews were: (1) country of origin – Ghana or Nigeria, (2) religious identification – Christian or Muslim, (3) sex – male or female, (4) education, and (5) general interest in the research question being raised, which is a basic and important for many Christians and Muslims. Accordingly, the interviewees consisted

of eight people from both Ghana and Nigeria who currently were residing in Ghana. They were equally divided between Christians and Muslims, and – in turn – males and females interviewees were recruited mainly at the University of Ghana campus with the assistance of a friend who had extensive connections to the student body, including ties to Christian and Muslim faith groups. All potential interviewees were contacted and informed about the general aim of the research and purpose of the interview. They were invited to participate, and an appointment scheduled to carry out the interview at a neutral and comfortable venue mutually agreed upon which would ensure privacy and facilitate concentration. Arrangements were made for interested participants who could not be physically available to be interviewed by phone.

The Interviews

The interviews took a semi-structured form. Semi-structured interview allows participants ample time and room to express their varied views which then offers the researcher the opportunity to follow up on participant's emerging ideas and viewpoints (Alshenqeti, 2004). Likewise, it also allows participants to share their personal experiences. Additionally, semi-structured interviews offer the chance to evaluate the validity of respondent's answers by observing non-verbal clues which is particularly useful given the sensitive nature of this research (Gordon, 1969). It also eases the task of comparing respondents' answers since similar questions are asked across all respondents (Alshenqeti, 2004).

As indicated, I used an interview schedule that identified key areas of questioning

and included specific issues and areas that I wanted to discuss with participants. The goal was to probe general and specific areas of interest, while providing both the interviewees and myself with a measure of freedom and flexibility to express a wide range of ideas about select topics under the four identified domains.

I began by briefing participants what the research was about, its aim and why their input were necessary and needed. Interviewees were informed about the opportunity to withdraw from participation in the research at any time, should they wish to do so. Information about the possibility of withdrawing is contained in the letter of informed consent, and this information was reiterated at the start of the interview. They were then informed about my willingness to digitally record the interviews to which none of the interviewees opted not to be recorded. I then proceeded to ask a few background information about participants before we delved into the identified themes.

The interview was informal and conversational, with most of the questions open-ended. Three of the interviews were done by phone as the location of the interviewees did not make it possible for face-to-face interviews. These interviewees were recruited by my assistant. While this offered flexibility in terms of scheduling, it was costly and other cues such as body language and facial expressions that are present in face-to-face interviews were not observable over the phone.

Over a period of about ten weeks, all interviews were completed in English with an average duration of thirty minutes in all the sixteen interviews conducted. The recorded data from the interviews were transcribed verbatim into a word document. All transcribed data were read through to highlight responses which were relevant to answering the

research question posed. Thereafter, the most relevant responses were systematically identified and categorized under each domain identified in the conceptual framework. Finally, these data was merged with the quantitative data findings for interpretative purposes.

A Note on Ethical Issues

In keeping with ethical guidelines approved by the University of Lethbridge's Human Subject Ethical Committee, respondents' anonymity was protected through an alias assigned in identifying the digital recording, and no record was kept that linked the alias to the first name of the original participant. I alone carried out this process with no assistance from anyone. As a result, the interviews could not be traced back to specific individuals. Any subsequent references to the person in the reporting of the data has been and will continue to be in the form of the alias, and care taken not to use the data in any way that would make it possible to link a specific individual by any identifiers in the data.

In the course of pursuing informed consent, participants were assured that their anonymity would be protected. For safekeeping, these data were password protected and (a) sent separately without the password by Dropbox to my supervisor whereas (b) the password to each file was sent to my supervisor by e-mail. Combined with anonymity safeguards, respondents were assured that the information they provide will be strictly confidential. No one, including myself, was able either to identify them or trace the data they provided back to them. Consent forms as well were kept separately from the data. The only people with access to the interview data have been my supervisor and myself.

The anticipated potential harm to participants was minimal as there were no physical risks related to participating in this research and in the interview questions posed. Interviewees were reminded that in the unlikely event of discomfort, they could terminate the interview at any given point. If any acute anxiety became apparent during the interview, individuals were informed of some resources which were available to them. In short, the ethical expectations of the University of Lethbridge were extensive, and satisfied both in theory and practice.

Chapter Four – Findings

The central research question of this research is, “What structural conditions are contributing to the harmonious co-existence of Christians and Muslims in Ghana and not in Nigeria?” To address the question, I employ a conceptual framework derived from the work of Kazemipur (2014), Putnam-Campbell (2012), and Huntington (1993). According to Kazemipur, to ensure a peaceful and collaborative social environment, individuals must be fully integrated into what he identifies as four basic domains of integration. I want to see to what extent such integration of Christian and Muslim relations exist in Ghana and Nigeria. Drawing on the 2009 Pew Multi-Country Survey data and my interviews with sixteen people from the two countries, this chapter presents the findings of the study.

The Social Domain

Putnam and Campbell (2012) claim that the peaceful cohabitation of people of all walks of life and religious affiliation in American society has been enhanced significantly by interfaith marriages. A major result has been changing religious affiliations and diverse sets of friends and family with different religious affiliations. Not only does this increase the level of contact but, as Kazemipur (2014) points out, it “fosters a sense of common identity” among people of different cultures and religions (p. 63). He argues further that, “it can shatter their preconceived negative stereotypes towards each other and, hence, generate new and common identities that will set new boundaries for in- and out-groups” (p.63).

The analysis of the 2009 Pew Survey data on Muslims and Christians in Ghana that I carried out shows that the overwhelming majority of Christians and Muslims are married to spouses who share their own faith (see table 4.1). This finding is not surprising given the importance that both faiths give to sustaining their groups and discouraging “defection” through marriage.

Table 4.1. In-Faith Marriage

Respondent and Spouse/Partner Have Same Religion (%)		
	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	94	98
Nigeria	97	98

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

The finding is also consistent with Huntington’s (1993) claim that religious beliefs are fundamental and dictate the actions and inactions of their followers. Further 2009 Pew data show that, in Ghana, 40% of Christians say they would be comfortable with their children marrying Muslims, compared to 25% in Nigeria. In the case of Muslims, those expressing feelings of comfort comes much lower – 24% in Ghana and a similar level of 28% in Nigeria. This reading suggests that Christians in Ghana hold somewhat more favourable attitudes toward intermarriage than people in “the other three categories” (i.e., Christians in Nigeria, Muslims in both settings).

This is not to say that family life does not know the impact of interracial ties. The 2009 Pew Survey reveals that apart from intermarriage, some 30% of Christians in Nigeria

report that they have other immediate family members (e.g., children, parents, or siblings) who are Muslims; almost the same proportion (29%) of Muslims in Nigeria report they have Christian relatives. Even though it is far from perfect, this finding suggests that Nigerians are more likely to defect from their primary religion or may marry outside their religious faith.

In Ghana, where there is a large Christian majority, only 13% of Christians say they have other immediate family members who are Muslims; but among Ghanaian Muslims, a larger 22% say they have Christian relatives (see Table 4.2). Given the population distribution in Ghana in terms of religious affiliation, this finding is very close to the proportion of Ghana’s Christian population to its Muslim population (75% to 16%). It suggests that Christians in Ghana are more open than their Muslims counterparts to marry outside their religious faith and or defect.

Table 4.2. Christian-Muslim Family Ties

<i>Apart from your spouse or partner: “Do you have any other immediate family members, such as children, siblings, or parents, who are Christian/Muslim?”</i>		
<i>% “Yes”</i>		
	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	13	22
Nigeria	30	29

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

Six of the people I interviewed said that they were open to marrying outside their faith if some issues such as the freedom to practice one’s religion and family acceptance could be resolved. Such was the concern of one female Nigerian Christian who said:

My feeling towards Christians and Muslims marrying are neutral so I don't really mind but I don't know how accepting my family would be. I have met really wonderful people that are Muslims, you know. And they really showed unconditional love. You will be surprised because in my mind I am thinking these people seem so... violent because of what we have heard. But when you get to know some of them, they are really wonderful people, so I don't mind marrying one.

Another Ghanaian male Muslim concurred with the idea of marrying a Christian with an important qualifier: "Yes, but the children should follow my religion". Likewise, a Ghanaian Muslim lady in her late 20's commented that because I wouldn't want to convert, there would be a problem if I should have kids. I would want my kids to be Muslims. Unless you are going to get somebody who understands that, it is a very difficult thing to do." These two comments suggest that religious affiliation is fundamental in one's choice of partner than even the love for each other. For the fear of the future of their offspring's religion and family acceptance, Christians and Muslims in both countries are willing to give up on their potential partners for their religion's sake.

The other 14 people I interviewed did not fancy the idea of marrying outside their religious faith, given the incompatibility of their beliefs. When asked about whether he would marry a Muslim, one Ghanaian Christian pastor expressed that he cannot marry someone who does not share his faith. He continued:

I am a Christian and I believe in Jesus and, two cannot walk together until they agree. I cannot be one with somebody that does not share the same faith with me...I believe Jesus is the only way and I just don't know how I will be looking at my wife every day and be believing that she is going to hell.

Similarly, one Ghanaian Muslim in his late twenties stated,

You see the truth is that, if you have a food that is cooked and the one that is yet to be cooked and you are hungry, obviously you will take the one that is already

cooked. So the simple explanation is that...I won't have problem marrying a Christian but the fact is that there are Muslims all over. And marrying a Christian may also come with its own problems.

In short, it is apparent that there are not many marriages taking place between Christians and Muslims and, going forward, there is little to suggest that the trend is going to change. Apart from intermarriage inclinations, the 2009 Pew Survey indicates that the majority of Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Nigeria do not feel much mutual affinity. In Ghana, only 35% of Christians and 49% of Muslims think that the Christian and Muslim religions have a lot in common; in Nigeria, the figure is slightly higher among Christians (42%) but about the same level for Muslims (48%). Here, there are no clear signs of greater social domain affinities in Ghana rather than Nigeria (see Table 4.3). The implication of this finding is that most Christians and Muslims in both settings, especially in Ghana, in the words of Huntington (1993), are likely to see themselves as “us” versus “them”. In this scenario, religious group consciousness will be deepened on both sides and since the religious beliefs of adherents influence their decisions, the idea of uncommon identity in terms of religious affiliation will make common grounds hard to find. Nonetheless, the good news is that in both settings a significant percentage of Muslims see commonalities in both religions which can facilitate fruitful relations.

Table 4.3. Christian-Muslim Commonalities

<i>“Do you think that the Muslim religion and the Christian religion have a lot in common, or do think that they are very different?”</i>		
% Indicating “Have a Lot in Common”		
	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	35	49
Nigeria	42	48

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

Some of the perceptions about the lack of commonalities may, in fact, be due to the lack of familiarity that Christians and Muslims have with each other’s faiths. When asked pointedly, some 69% of Ghanaian Christians and 53% of Ghanaian Muslims acknowledged that they do not know much about the other faith and its practices. In Nigeria, the respective figures were 57% for Christians and 65% for Muslims. What is striking are not so much comparative variations as much as the fact that some 40-50% of Christians and Muslims in both countries acknowledge they know relatively little about each other’s’ faiths. This could well be explained by the population distribution of Christians and Muslims in both countries. In Nigeria where the population of Christians and Muslims are virtually the same, there are more chances of interaction between Christians and Muslims rather than in Ghana where Muslims are in the minority. Hence, in Nigeria, Muslims and Christians will be more knowledgeable of each other’s faith. In Ghana, on the other hand, Muslims will be more knowledgeable of the Christian religion than Christians would be of Islam; for the simple

reason that, Muslims are more likely to meet and interact with Christians than the other way round.

There could also be some hope for better understanding as educational levels rise. In Ghana, the percentage of Christians who claim they are knowledgeable about Islam increases with education and reaches a high of 60% amongst those most highly educated. However, knowledge of Christianity among Muslims in Ghana does not increase appreciably with post-secondary educational attainment (see Figure 4.1).

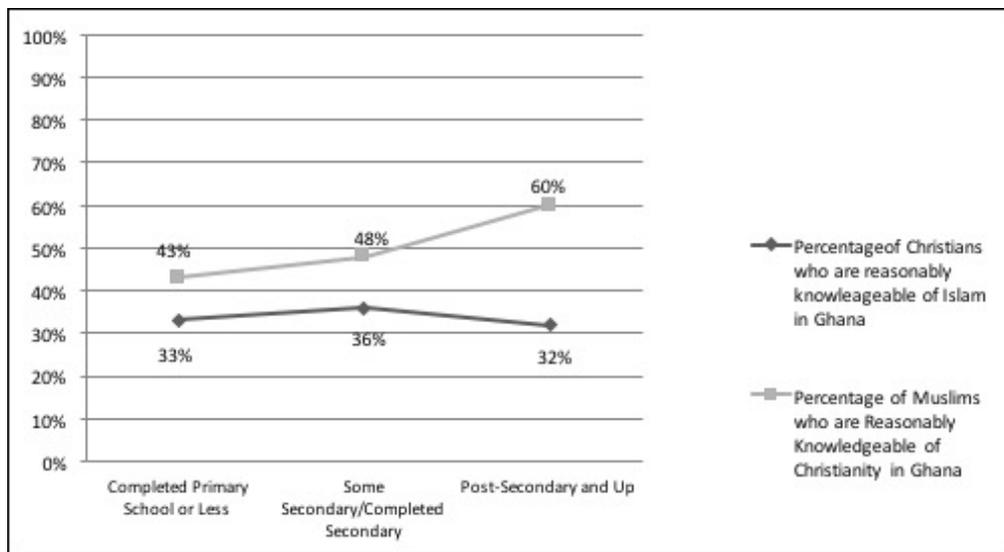


Figure 4.1. Christians and Muslims in Ghana Who Are Knowledgeable about Each Other’s Faith

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009

In Nigeria, knowledge about “the others’ religion” increases markedly in the case of Muslims and Christianity. However, levels of knowledge about both Islam and Christianity do not reach a majority level regardless of education, and do not seem to increase as people move beyond post-secondary levels (see Figure 4.2).

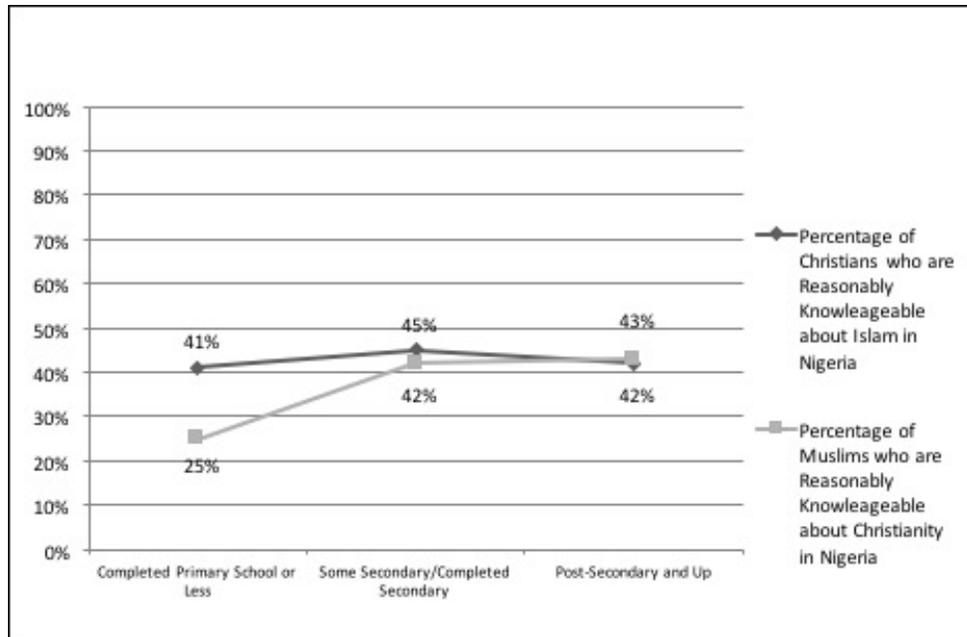


Figure 4.2. Christians and Muslims in Nigeria Who Are Knowledgeable about Each Other's Faith

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009

In both Ghana and Nigeria, perhaps, what is missing among Christians and Muslims at this point in history is the sheer will to learn more about each other's faiths. In the case of Ghana, for example, a World Council of Churches observer, John Azumah, writes that "the Muslim presence has little or no relevance" to Christian leaders. Some see Muslims purely as objects of evangelism. He said, "There is no need for dialogue just for dialogue sake." He adds that there are some who are seriously seeking to promote a better understanding of Islam and the Muslim presence, but that they tend to be limited in numbers" (Azumah 2000). There is little reason to believe that the inclination and enthusiasm for Christians and Muslims in Nigeria to understand each other is higher. The 2009 Pew Survey data also reveal that 65% of Christians in Ghana and 75% of Christians

in Nigeria do not participate in interfaith meetings. For Muslims, the comparable figures are 60% in Nigeria and 83% of in Ghana. The 2009 Pew Survey does find that a measure of cooperation is taking place between Muslims and Christians, particularly in Ghana. Some 35% of Christians and 46% of Muslims report that their places of worship are working with the “other” group – higher than what is occurring in Nigeria, especially among Muslims (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4. Christian-Muslim Cooperation

<i>“Does the mosque, church, or house of worship where you most often attend work together with Christian Churches/Muslim mosques to find solutions to community problems?”</i>		
% “Yes”		
	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	35	46
Nigeria	29	25

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

In spite of relatively few marriages between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Nigeria, Ghana has an edge over Nigeria when social contacts are more generally considered. According to Kazemipur (2014), increased social contact and interactions “fosters a sense of common identity” (p.63) among people of different cultures and religions. He argues further that, “it can shatter their preconceived negative stereotypes towards each other and, hence, generate new and common identities that will set new boundaries for in- and out-groups” (p.63).

Reflecting the religious landscape in Ghana where – as I have been emphasizing – Christians at 75% constitute the majority and Muslims are in a minority (16%), three of the four Ghanaian Muslims I interviewed indicated they have more Christian friends than Muslims. This, in part has also been the result of the predominance of Christian missionary schools in Ghana. When asked about the proportion of Muslim friends to Christians friends he had, a Ghanaian Muslim male in his late twenties replied that “because of the Christians schools I attended I have quite a number (of Christian friends). Similarly, a Ghanaian Muslim female replied to the same question by saying, “Quite frankly I think I have a lot of Christian friends as opposed to Muslim friends through education.”

Further, Christians and Muslims in Ghana reported high reciprocal participation in Christian and Islam festivities. One Ghanaian Muslim woman stated,

Basically my 3 years in high school, I used to go to church every Sunday because it was part of the boarding school rules. Going to church is part of the school activities. I have gone to Church with some friends, and I have gone to weddings in churches.

When asked whether his Christian friends participate in Islamic festivities with him, a Ghanaian Muslim teacher replied, “Yes, obviously for Islamic activities, yes. But usually because of the nature of our religion, where you need to go through certain processes, before you get into the mosque. There have been situations where invited personalities are allowed in the mosque”.

Additionally, Christians and Muslims in Ghana are in contact very often and many see their relationships as a long term one. A Ghanaian Muslim male stated that he gets in contact with his Christian friends “almost every day, at work, in school. Even though I

work in an Islamic school, 60% are Christians and 40% are Muslims.” Likewise, a Ghanaian Muslim woman in her late twenties expressed the future of her relationship with her Christian friends this way: “Yeah, yeah, very long term. My relationships with them has been sustainable throughout all these years so I don’t see them ending anytime soon.” From the interviews I conducted, I find that despite situations where tension exists, most Christians and Muslims in Ghana have positive feelings towards each other with most Muslims maintaining that their Christian friends have never disrespected their identity as Muslims.

In Nigeria, where Muslims make up 50% of the population and Christians 40%, a complex situation exists. Given their relatively large population pools, it is not surprising that most Nigerian Christians and Muslims have more “in-faith friends” than “out-faith friends.” All of the Christians I interviewed had more Christian friends than Muslim friends and the same applied to Muslims as well.

Christians and Muslims in Nigeria get along better in some places than others. In places where Muslims are in the minority—reflecting the religious landscape in Ghana, there seems to be cordial relationships between the two faith groups. One Nigerian Muslim male in his early twenties stated,

Where I stay in Abuja I don’t think there is any problem. We all stay together as one big family... The Muslim and Christian riots do happen especially in Jos and in the northern part of Nigeria.

This sentiment was consistent among Christians and Muslims living in places other than the northern part of Nigeria. One Christian who used to live in a predominantly

Christian community in the west but is now living in the north had this to say about her experience in living in both places:

In the north we see the Muslims every day. It's not really peaceful but we are just forced to coexist with them. But in the southwest like Lagos and all, we don't really see that many Muslims. They usually have their own small communities and that is more peaceful because they know that the majority of people are Christian. But these people are more peaceful, and are not as...should I say...as violent as the northerners.

Commenting on the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the north, she blames the terrorist group *Boko Haram* for exacerbating tensions.

But in the north, because of certain events over the years, sort of like, Boko Haram, different bombing and all that, the relationship between Christians and Muslims is kind of shaky. Most people just pass by and don't say hi and that kind of thing, and people are skeptical being around Muslims in general because you don't know if someone could be a suicide bomber and all that. And even our friends that are Muslims, we kind of over the years just sort of distanced ourselves since a lot of things are happening in the country.

Most Christians in Nigeria see their relationship with Muslims as more short-term than do Muslims. One Nigerian Christian stated that her relationship with Muslims in Nigeria was “most of the time...casual, friends who you meet once in a while, but you don't really have long term relationships with them”. Another Nigerian Christian, when asked if she felt comfortable going into a heavily Muslim populated area, replied, “Not really...I would feel different and isolated from everybody else...I won't want to be in such a situation”. Another Christian woman shared a sentiment similar to the one above. However, she was more concerned about her safety:

I am not comfortable, but I am not scared either because, I am accepting of them. People that are more antagonistic towards them are more afraid. I don't want to be

afraid, I feel they might see my fear and take advantage of it. When I go to public places where I see a lot of Muslims or I am driving in my estate and I see that people are closing from prayer from the Mosque, I drive faster. Because I don't want the situation where I am caught in an explosion or something, so I just drive faster. I don't know – maybe, the kind of crowd coming out of the Mosque – it's scary because I see them all dressed up, a lot of men walking out...maybe they could hit me because I am a woman, and maybe because I am not covering my hair. So I just want to drive away from them, but I am not really afraid.

Unlike most Christians in Nigeria, all four of the Muslims I interviewed were comfortable being around Christians and going to Christian populated areas. Concerning involvement in Christian and Muslim festivities from both side, there has not been balanced reciprocal involvement from both faiths groups, in part because of the activities of *Boko Haram* – a Nigerian Militant Islamic group. One Nigerian Christian woman offered these comments about the way things used to be between Christians and Muslims before *Boko Haram* terrorist activities:

The Christians and Muslims, we don't really mix the way we should anymore. It was never like that. Sometimes Muslims will come to Church. I had Muslim friends that would attend Church with me and Christian friends that would want to, you know, participate with Muslims in their festivities like Ramadan and all those things. But right now it's like, celebrate your Christmas and Easter and we celebrate our Ramadan and whatever. We don't mix anymore. The only time we mix is when we are in our work places and schools. And even now, people are more skeptical about letting their children have Muslim friends.

There are good signs and some signs that are not so good on the interreligious front. In both Nigeria and Ghana, it is clear that conflict between Christians and Muslims is seen as an ongoing serious issue. Such a view is particularly pronounced in Nigeria. But the big difference should not obscure a harsh fact: the differences are relative. Some 4 in 10

Christians and 5 in 10 Muslims maintain that religious group conflict is a significant problem, even in Ghana (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. Perception of Christian-Muslim Conflict in Ghana and Nigeria

<i>Conflict between Religious Groups Seen as "A Very Big" or "A Moderately Big" Problem (%)</i>			
	ALL	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	42	41	49
Nigeria	81	80	82

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

In sum, the social or communal relationship between Christians and Muslims in both Ghana and Nigeria has been far from ideal. There have not been many interfaith marriages and the knowledge of Christianity and Islam among Muslims and Christians, respectively, frequently has been limited. Tension seems lower in Ghana than Nigeria; but things are far from perfect.

Apart from behaviour, the views Christians and Muslims have of each other in the two countries are extremely varied. Muslims in Ghana tend to be more positive about Christians than their counterparts in Nigeria. But Christians in Ghana tend to be less positive about Muslims than their counterparts in Nigeria (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6. Perceptions Christians and Muslims Have of Each Other: Ghana and Nigeria

<i>"Which of these characteristics do you associate with Christians/Muslims?" (%)</i>						
	Honest	Violent	Devout	Arrogant	Tolerant	Respectful of Women
GHANA						
C see M	70	62	66	42	42	64
M see C	88	11	68	19	81	80
NIGERIA						
C see M	72	38	54	26	55	64
M see C	78	13	48	18	62	70

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

Many such negative views, where 62% of Ghanaian Christians, for example, view Muslims as violent, would seem to be at odds with behaviour – where Ghanaians seemingly have more harmonious ties. Here again, demographics may tell part of the story: Christians in Ghana with their large monopoly can act civil while often not necessarily having particularly positive attitudes toward Muslims. In Ghana, where the numerical balance is close to even, Christians have to reign in their negative attitudes – even if, behaviourally – interpersonal relations are not exactly ideal.

Lastly, one interpersonal area perhaps worth highlighting is respect for women – given the concerns about things like workplace appearance and the value placed on equality of women more generally in both religions and both countries. The 2009 Pew Survey finds that Christians in both Ghana and Nigeria are less likely to say that Muslims are respectful of women than the other way around – where far more Muslims in both countries indicate that Christians are respectful of women. Those same patterns hold for the views of both

Christian and Muslim women – except that they are held more intensely by Muslim women in both countries (see Figures 4.3 and Figure 4.4).

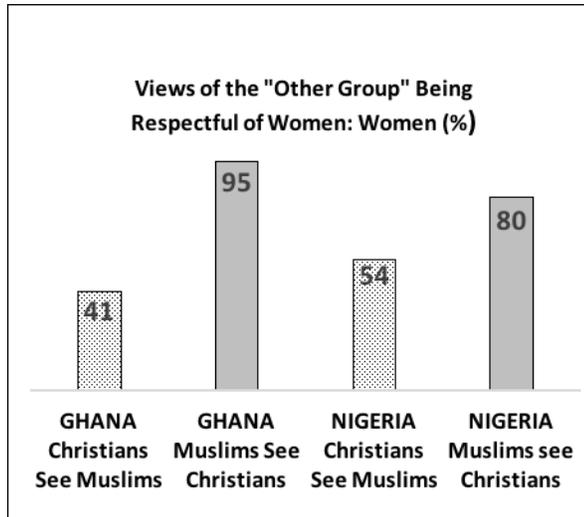


Figure 4.3. Respect for Women

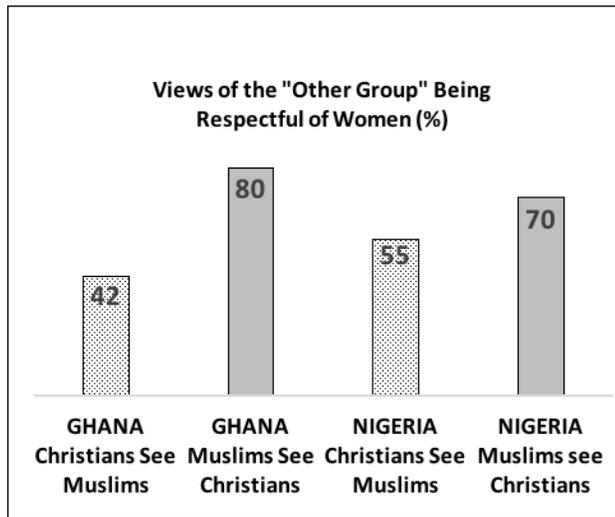


Figure 4.4. Respect for Women by Women

The Economic Domain

Most conflicts between people in Africa are often not necessarily based on their competing truth claims, but on the struggle for scarce resources (Stewart, 2002). Even though there are places where Muslims or Christians are unjustifiably oppressed by the largest religious faith (for example, Muslim oppression in the Philippines and Christians oppression in northern Sudan), there is much more to most religious conflicts in Africa than religion as such. Economic issues such as unemployment, low income, and glaring discrepancies in the allocation of national budgets have often been at the root of conflict between religious groups in sub-Saharan Africa (Langer, Mustafa, and Stewart, 1999).

The 2009 Pew Survey data on Muslims and Christians show that the majority of Christians and Muslims in Ghana are satisfied with the way things are going in their country. This is not to say that all is well with life in Ghana. But relative to the situation in Nigeria, people in Ghana – be they Christian or Muslim – are indicating they are faring well. In contrast, some 80% of Christians and Muslims in Nigeria are dissatisfied with the way things are going. A further probing of this finding shows, that regardless of the level of income and education, life is hard for all.

A closer look at the Pew 2009 Survey data shows that most Ghanaians (65%) view the Ghanaian economic situation favourably – in contrast to Nigerians (45%). Consistent with Ghanaian respondents' favourable view of Ghana's economy, 63% of them described their personal financial situations as "very good" or "somewhat good."

However, in contrast to their view of Nigeria's economy, 61% of Nigerians view the personal financial situation favourably (see Table 4.8). Adding to the complexity of the

national and personal reports, 84% of Ghanaians indicated that unemployment was “a very big problem,” only slightly below the 89% level reported by those in Nigeria. Differences in perception by religion are fairly small (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Christian and Muslim Views of the Economic Situation in Ghana and Nigeria

	(%)		
	Economic Situation		Unemployment
	<i>Good in Country</i>	<i>Good Personally</i>	<i>“A Very big problem”</i>
Ghana	65	63	84
Christians	67	65	83
Muslims	62	58	88
Nigeria	45	61	89
Christians	44	63	91
Muslims	47	60	87

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

The people I interviewed echoed some of the confusion in their economic status in relation to the general economy of Ghana and Nigeria. Despite all participants claiming to be doing reasonably well economically, they were unanimous in viewing the Ghanaian economy as being in a state of crisis. When I asked one Ghanaian Muslim about her view of the Ghanaian economy, she laughed and said,

It’s not an easy thing to be in right now. There are no jobs. Even when you apply, nobody calls you back. Usually they ask for 4-5 years’ experience and I don’t have that. The economy is quite bad. So I hope we get a government which is going to work for the people who elected them, instead of hoarding things for themselves.

In Nigeria, notwithstanding its economy being the largest in Africa, a 56% of Christians and 52% of Muslims see their economy as dysfunctional. This finding resonated with the responses that my eight interviewees gave when asked about the current economic

condition in Nigeria. One Christian stated that, “It is not good! Right now it’s really bad. We can’t afford luxuries the way we used to and all that.” Another Christian remarked that, “Nigeria has always had the problem of unemployment but I think it’s getting better. More people are going into entrepreneurship. But people that have graduated from universities with first classes do not have a job”. One Nigeria Christian lady blamed their leaders for Nigeria’s bad economy and problem of unemployment. When asked further about what she saw as the root causes of unemployment in Nigeria she had this to say:

Bad security, a lot of corruption, long term corruption going on time after time. And the funny thing is a lot of frictions between Christians and Muslims have been going on because most of the leaders of Nigeria have been predominantly Muslims. So sometimes the southerners feel like if there are lot of southerners in there, things will change.

In addition to her concerns stated above, other respondents in both Ghana and Nigeria blame poor governance for the dire situation of unemployment in both countries. One Nigerian Christian made a staggering remark when she said that Christians in Nigeria are blaming Muslims for Nigeria’s bad economy and unemployment. Below is her comment on that:

There are certain things that have affected the economy of Nigeria. For example, the Boko Haram situation has sort of driven away investors and all that. And because it has been happening in the north it has been causing a lot of friction between those in the north and those in the south. And the religion thing too plays a part because Northerners are majority Muslims so we feel the Muslim people are the cause of certain things. And the economic instability is also because of bad security in the country. So people do not want to go to certain parts in the country and invest anymore. People do not want to do business with certain people anymore.

However, in Ghana, regardless of the problem of unemployment and poor economy, Christians and Muslims are getting along very well. Nonetheless, there have been concerns

about discriminatory job recruitment process and practices from both Christians and Muslims alike. When I asked one Ghanaian Christian Pastor whether there was “any discrimination along religious lines when it comes to getting employed?” he replied in the affirmative:

Inasmuch as I hate to admit, it's true. I normally don't see the Christian doing it; but when it comes to the Muslims you have this kind of mindset that you must first help your people... so as a result of that, if you are Christian and you going to apply for a job together with a Muslim with same credentials and the person that is doing the interview (the boss is also a Muslim) you should know that the mere fact that the person applying is a Muslim already gives the person about a 60% chance of getting it.

Likewise, one Ghanaian Muslim female also stated that she sees the Christians as having more advantages in the job market than the Muslims. But she was quick to add that it was based on merit, since the Christians were getting more education:

From my observation, I think the Christians are doing better. I am saying this because even if you take the University, for instance, there are more Christians than Muslims. So this should tell you that they are more likely to get employed. When it comes to education, Muslims are lagging behind. We need to catch up. It is more of a cultural thing than religious. Nonetheless, the Muslims are doing better.

A major concern for the Ghanaian Muslims I interviewed is discrimination against Muslim women in their choice of clothing. Since three of the four Muslim respondents were not working actively, they could only dwell on the accounts of their friends who had encountered such unfortunate situation. One Muslim woman stated, “I have friends telling me that they have been declined employment opportunities for wearing a veil. I have a friend who had to reject a nice job because they asked her not to wear a veil to work”.

Muslim women face a double-barrier in the paid workforce – the problem with being Muslims but also the problem of being women. The 2009 Pew Survey asked participants to respond to the statement, “*When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.*” Some 40% of Ghanaians and close to 70% of Nigerians agreed. Interestingly, Muslims in Ghana were the least likely to agree, perhaps reflectively another hurdle they particularly face as a religious numerical minority.

Women – whether in Ghana or Nigeria or Christian or Muslim – were considerably more likely than men to *disagree* with men receiving preferential treatment when jobs are scarce. However, women in Nigeria were considerably less likely than their counterparts in Ghana to seemingly be troubled about such a pro-male position (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8. View that Men Should Receive Employment Preferential Treatment

<i>“When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women”</i>			
% Agreeing			
	ALL	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	40	42	35
<i>Men</i>		47	47
<i>Women</i>		36	28
Nigeria	68	62	72
<i>Men</i>		72	78
<i>Women</i>		52	67

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

One Ghanaian Muslim in his late twenties who I interviewed was particularly articulate in expressing some of the ongoing economic and educational concerns of Muslims. He was particularly concerned about Christianity’s influence in Ghana’s society. He expressed his concerns this way:

The threat now has to do with the acceptance of Islamic values at the work place and in schools. Even though Ghana is a secular country, we seem to be working with a Christian principle, so that when you are going to school you need to behave like a Christian, when you are going to work you need to behave like a Christian. So for me I think that could be a recipe for disaster in times to come. Right now some Muslims have started vigorous campaigns in that direction. So we need to be careful what Muslims will detest is when you do something to affect their religion.

Despite some of these apprehensive sentiments from Christians and Muslims alike in Ghana and Nigeria, all interviewees hoped for a better future. But they were not all that optimistic about what the future holds for them, given the current state of affairs in their respective countries, but they indicated they are willing to work hard to make life better.

Still, the 2009 Pew Survey data suggest there is considerable resilience and hope in both Ghana and Nigeria among Christians and Muslims alike. Asked to assess where they have been, where they are now, and where they hope to be on “the best possible life ladder,” only a small minority saw themselves as having moved very far up the ladder to date. But as they looked to the future, a solid majority of 70% or more said they would eventually experience the best that is possible in life (see Figure 4.5). Dreams are clearly alive among Christians and Muslims in both countries.

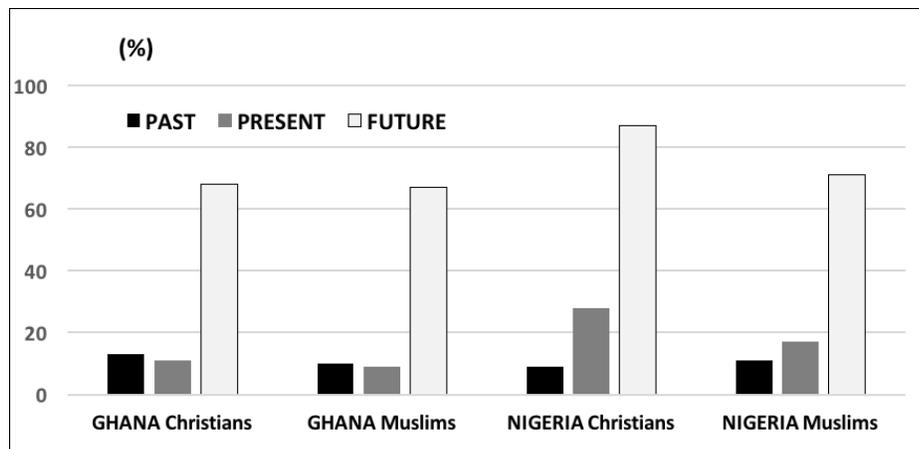


Figure 4.5. Location of Oneself on the Best Possible Life Ladder

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

The Institutional Domain

The role of various social institutions in fostering positive inter-religious relationships cannot be overemphasized. The starting place for the day-to-day management and governance rest in the political sphere.

Political Institutions

In Ghana, politics has long been a key determinant of interfaith relationships. As noted earlier, virtually every President and Vice-President combination has included a Christian and a Muslim. Previous Presidents down to the present, regardless of their faith, have also participated in different religious thanksgiving services. This has served a very good purpose in fostering the relationship between different religious groups.

Politicians in Ghana today are keeping a close watch on the educational system to ensure that Christians, in particular, do not overstep their boundaries and discriminate against Muslims. In February of 2015, President John Mahama issued a stern warning to school heads and institutions that infringe on the religious rights of students “to stop it or face punishment.” He told Parliament that schools that forced Muslim students to worship in churches on Sundays or forced Christians to observe Islamic rites would “be dealt with appropriately.” He also condemned Muslim girls being asked to take off their *hijabs* – a head covering worn by Muslim women – in schools or work places. The President’s warning served as a reminder that under Ghana’s 1992 Constitution, all persons have the right to practice any religion (“Respect Students’ Religious”, 2015). Muslims also continue to call on Christians to respond to such political pressure (“Respect Our Religious”. 2016).

The most marked issue in both Nigeria and Ghana political institutions has been corruption. Widespread corruption affects most state institutions like education, health, and security — to name but a few. Deeply entrenched corruption in both countries has made state institutions virtually ineffective in the lives of the people. As the 2009 Pew Survey

shows, the overwhelming majority of Christians and Muslims in both countries regard their political leaders as corrupt (see Table 4.9).

**Table 4.9. Belief Political Leaders Are Corrupt:
Ghana and Nigeria**

<i>% Who Think Corrupt Political Leadership Is a "Very Big" or "Moderately Big" Problem</i>			
	ALL	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	93	92	95
Nigeria	96	97	95

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

This finding is consistent with the concerns of all interviewees who were asked about factors which have contributed to hardships in their respective economies. A recent Gallup survey in Nigeria found that Nigerian’s approval rating of their newly elected President Buhari had dropped from 67% in 2015 to 44% in 2016, just a little over a year since he was elected as president. Having run his campaign on the promise of combating corruption and terrorism, 85% of survey respondents in the survey saw corruption as widespread in his government. In an interview with the BBC in October of 2015, his wife, the first lady of Nigeria, criticized him based on some appointment he has made and what she saw as a hijack of governance by a few elites close to her husband. She further threatened not to support him in the next election if he doesn’t change his ways (“Nigeria’s President Warned,” 2016).

But it's not just a matter of governments being seen as corrupt. In Ghana in particular, a democratic form of government is endorsed by 9 in 10 Christians and Muslims. In Nigeria, support for democracy is lower, but still the choice of a majority of Christians and Muslims (see Figure 4.6).

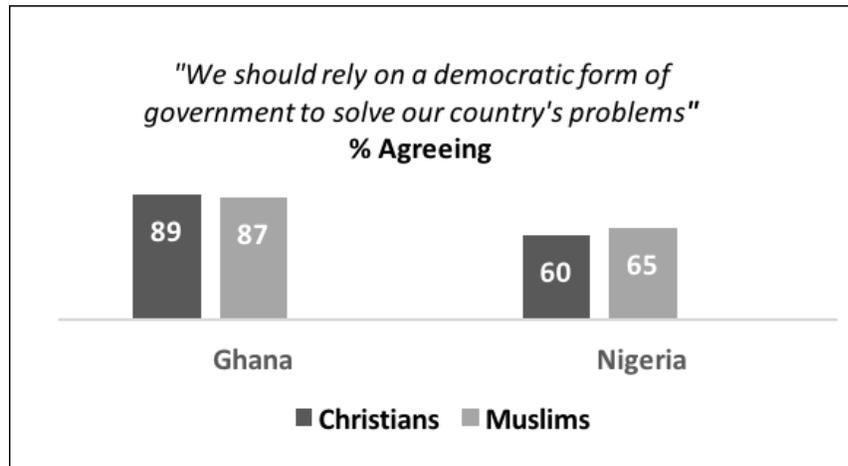


Figure 4.6. Support for Democratic Rule
Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

What is more, Ghanaians and Nigerians have high hopes for their governments. The 2009 Pew Survey found that some 90% of people in Nigeria agreed with the statement, *"It's the responsibility of the government to care of poor people who can't take care of themselves."* The agreement level in Ghana was close to 80%. In both countries, the response levels and Muslims were very similar (see Table 4.10).

TABLE 4.10. Government’s Role in Looking after the Poor

	<i>“It’s the responsibility of the government to take care of poor people who can’t take care of themselves”</i>		
	% Agreeing		
	ALL	Christians	Muslims
Ghana	76	76	75
Nigeria	89	88	89

Source: Pew Forum, Multi-Country Survey, 2009.

The 2009 Pew Survey further found that while, in Ghana, only 9% of Christians felt they were being treated unfairly by the government, the figure rose to 22% for Muslims. In Nigeria, 33% of Christians and 27% of Muslims felt the government was not treating them fairly. Here again, the government in Ghana receives a somewhat higher endorsement than is the case for Nigeria.

Another serious government-related problematic area for Christian-Muslim relations in both Ghana and Nigeria is the justice system. Regardless of the fact that all interviewees did not see any discrimination in judgements depending on one’s religious identity, an undercover journalist found out in 2015 that a sizeable number of judges were taking bribes in cash, goats and all other forms in kind to skew their judgement in Ghana (“Ghana’s Top Undercover,” 2015).

In Nigeria, the legislative and judicial arm of the government have come under intense criticism from the international community for the introduction of *sharia* law in some States, despite the fact that Nigeria is a democratic country. Even though the majority of Nigerians favour democratic rule, the 2009 Pew Survey finds that in Nigeria, *both*

Christians (65%) and Muslims (74%) favour the idea of *sharia* implementation; in Ghana the figure for Christians (22%) was much lower than that for Muslims (64%).

Nonetheless, the application of *sharia* laws is, and has been problematic as it conflicts with the existing democratic rules in place in Nigeria hence, fueling existing tension between Christians and Muslims. The 2009 Pew data show that an overwhelming majority of Christians and a solid majority of Muslims in both Nigeria and Ghana oppose the application of punishments like stoning and the cutting off of hands. Most Muslims and Christians do not favour the application of strict *sharia* laws. Therefore, a step towards peaceful coexistence of *sharia*, particularly in Nigeria, involves determining which aspects of Islamic laws should be incorporated into the judicial system. To the extent this is the case, the finding suggests that the political sphere is still another part of life that is a greater source of social and religious integration in Ghana than in Nigeria.

Educational Institutions

To the extent that Ghana is lauded as a relatively peaceful country in spite of its religious diversity, considerable credit must be given to its educational institution. From 1961 to 2008, free primary and secondary education was offered to the northerners. This ensured that pupils in the three most disadvantaged northern regions got the opportunity to be educated and well trained to compete with their fellow citizens from the south in the job market (UNESCO, 2006).

In addition, regardless of one's religious faith, most secondary schools compel its pupils to participate in the official religious services of the school, while remaining loyal

to their own faiths. As such, most Ghanaian students have knowledge of the basic tenets of various religions which in turn shapes their attitudes toward people of other faith. One Ghanaian Muslim, reflecting on the impact of his education on interfaith relations, sums it this way:

One thing most of us have taken for granted in Ghana is the peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims. Economic activity, especially, made sure there was close interaction between Christians Muslims. But what brought the greatest interaction between the two were the schools that we all attended. [Muslims] never hesitated in attending good Christian mission secondary schools. Since we were all kids not spoiled by any religious hatred, we easily made friends across religious lines (Amenyo 2014).

Nonetheless, there are some gaps and shortcoming that need to be addressed, as seen in the following comments by a Ghanaian Muslim, who raised these concerns of Muslims regarding the educational system:

You see, most of these schools were built by Christians in the olden days. And when the white man left, managing those schools became difficult so they had to hand them over to the government. The buildings are owned by the olden days Christians but today's management is done by the government and that the people's taxes and the people's taxes involves Muslims. So even though they are Christian schools, I think that they should be a little bit liberal. So long as our monies are used in running those schools you cannot impose extraneous rules in it.

His comments reflect some of the on-going debate in the Ghanaian educational system regarding the treatment of Muslim values in some of the missionary schools. Participation in religious services are often compulsory for all students to attend. This matter is currently being debated as some missionary schools refuse to heed to the concerns of some Muslim students. As we saw earlier in some of the comments of those interviewed, there is a strong sense that Nigerians have been lagging behind many countries, including

Ghana, when it comes to education. That, in turn, has obviously had serious implications for employment and income.

Historically, western education in Nigeria can be traced to the 1840s. The early schools were established by Christian missionaries, with limited support provided by the British government. In the northern part of Nigeria, western education was forbidden by Muslim leaders who established Islamic schools with a strong focus on Islamic education. With the country gaining independence in 1960, education was given a higher priority, but progress has been slow. In 1976, education became compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 12, but by the mid-1980s enrollment nonetheless had changed little, with large numbers of children living on the streets. Teacher shortages well into the 1990s made educational advances difficult. As the 20th century came to a close only a very small portion of the population were enrolled in what were still a relatively small number of post-secondary institutions (Hackett, 1999).

In 2012, a Nigerian educational website resource, [Toscany Academy.com](http://ToscanyAcademy.com), offered this sobering assessment of education in the country: “The history of civic education in Nigeria has suffered from severe damages. Graduates from the Nigerian universities today lack the proper knowledge and technical skills and so are unable to secure employment. Something must be done quickly to salvage the image of civic education in Nigeria” (Toscany Academy 2012).

A UNESCO report released in 2010 indicated that the adult literacy rate for Ghana had reached 67%, compared to 61% for Nigeria. Among young people 15 to 24, the literacy rate in Ghana was 81% for males and 79% for females. In Nigeria, the figure for males was

78%, for females 65% (UNESCO 2011). Here Ghana appears to be outdistancing Nigeria with its better educational institutions and opportunities providing the means for economic well-being for its people, to an extent not experienced by its Sub-Saharan neighbour. Education would seem to be another variable that is contributing to a higher level of well-being in Ghana for Christians and Muslims alike.

The Media

The media are tasked with the role of disseminating information, educating and entertaining the public. Unfortunately, the 2009 Pew Survey did not include items dealing explicitly with the media. However, there is literature available – some of which I have already discussed in Chapter 2 – that speaks to the topic. In addition, because I was aware of the survey void, I discussed the role of media in the sixteen interviews I conducted.

In Nigeria, some media platforms are committed to reproducing stereotypic images of Muslims for public awareness. Depending on the intentions of the journalist, some news media allow their platforms to publish what is now infamously referred to as “fake news” by U.S. President Trump. In Nigeria, this is nothing new but has now been more acute after the rise in the deadly activities by the Islamic militant group *Boko Haram*. The reporting on this militant group has not been helpful since most non-Muslims, as mentioned by one of my respondents, have become cautious about being around a Muslim.

There has been a split between Christians and Muslims in Ghana and Nigeria concerning representation and treatment of each group on various media platforms like the news media. The majority of the Christians lauded the media for bringing issues to light

and creating awareness of what some militant individuals were doing. When I asked a Nigerian Muslim whether she sensed “that the media is being biased towards any religious group,” she said “no”. She offered the following comments about the media’s sole role in disseminating information to the public:

No. Obviously, the reason why the media is full of headlines about Islam is because of the events that have happened like the abduction of the school girls by Boko Haram. The media has to bring these things to light to let people see what is going on. The Christians are also in the news but not as often and not as negative. But if there is something negative I am sure it will be headline too. I’m sure there is no bias. I even think Muslims are doing good things but you see when there are lot of negativity going on in a certain religion, it sorts of masks the good you are doing. It is not intentional, it is something that happens all the time.

Her support of the media’s treatment of issues related to terrorism reflects the differences in opinion among Christians and Muslims. This is consistent with the finding that Christians and Muslims in both settings do not see much affinity in their respective religions. As has been argued, differences in religious affiliation in Ghana and Nigeria, Huntington (1993) would say, deepens religious-consciousness which spills over to take on other identities as well. In such environs in which religious affiliation takes precedents over everything else, to know one’s religion is to know one’s political affiliation, his or her stand on social matters and in this case, his perception about the media.

Relatedly, one Christian Pastor in Ghana stated that, “Both Christians and Muslims are treated fairly because I have never heard any religious remark that is tarnishing to another religion, especially Muslims and Christians”. Not everyone is that positive. One Nigerian Muslim told me that “the media are being negative toward the Muslims. As I told you earlier, everything that has to do with terrorist, if it is a Muslim who is involved, they

will say Islam is a religion of terrorism and not a religion of peace.” A Ghanaian Muslim teacher was critical of the dominance of Christians in the Ghanaian media industry which he thinks has affected value free reports. He put things this way:

The media stations in Ghana are all Christians and the presenters are all Christians. And so when the issues come up, objectivity is not felt. When there was a demonstration that sought to complain to the government regarding the dressing of Muslims in the work place and schools, some media stations reported that the Muslims say if they are not allowed to wear Islamic dresses to places, they will turn things around. They just tried to read what happened elsewhere. Even when nobody was hurt and nobody died, we saw pictures on social media and the normal media of people dying and fighting. They just showed pictures of demonstrations elsewhere, trying to paint Muslims black.

Even though in his comments he cites a specific example of Ghanaian media stations being bias, one important nuance here is that most Ghanaian media connect to major news networks like BBC and CNN for the broadcast of their midday news. Hence, most of the issues reported on these platforms, to a layperson, inadvertently comes the report by that particular media.

Focusing on international media stations, I asked the same teacher about his views of the Western media. He was even more critical:

Oh that one is worse. Let's not talk about them. For them they see themselves as so enlightened; meanwhile they are not. They have even failed to give a simple distinction between an Arab and a Muslim, forgetting that there are Arabs who are not even Muslims. As I sit here, one of the people I don't trust is an Arab man. So the international media should be able to distinguish between who is an Arab and who is a Muslim.

Consistent with argument alluded to above, Muslims in both Ghana and Nigeria see the media as being bias in their reportage on Muslims. Most of their concern, as evident in their comments, comes from the media's propensity to accept the claims by terrorist as

carrying attacks in the name of Allah based on their Islamic background. This leaves an impression in their reportage that violence is inherent in Islam.

A Ghanaian Muslim woman offered the following response when asked about both the local and Western media:

When it comes to the media, thankfully for us here in Ghana, there hasn't been any serious religious conflicts, and hopefully it stays that way. As of now, the media is concentrating on Ghana's problems in general. If you look back in history there have been Christian extremist groups, and almost every major religion in this world has had their extremist. And all Christians were not lumped in the same category. Right? So when you portray all Muslims it makes it seem like Islam is the problem, whereas it is not Islam but the actions of a few. So the media has to be responsible.

Clearly, even though this statement suggests that Ghana's media platform is not significantly bias in their reportage towards Muslims, the Western media is. And Muslims in both settings are understandably concerned about their portrayals in the media.

Stated succinctly, the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria is a big problem which is of concern to both Christians and Muslims alike, especially in northern Nigeria. In Ghana, the relationship between Christians have been fairly positive. But to ensure peaceful coexistence continues, most emergent concerns and threats to Christian and Muslim relations must be addressed very quickly.

Chapter Five – Discussion

The primary goal of this research has been to better understand Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana and Nigeria and why there is peaceful coexistence in one setting and conflict in the other. In keeping with my conceptual framework, I have been looking at the extent to which developments in the social, economic, institutional, and media spheres are contributing to Christian-Muslim relations in both settings. What remains is to clarify the findings in light of the framework I have used to address the central research question.

The Social Factor

With respect to the social sphere, I have found that there is little inclination in either country for Christians and Muslims to intermarry. This, apart from the value and importance in maintaining one religious tradition, is facilitated by the spatial segregation in both countries. There is little contact between people of the north and south, especially in Nigeria. As such, most interreligious marriages are likely to happen between people of the same rather than different ethnicities. This has prevented social contacts and bonds resulting from interreligious marriages as Putnam and Campbell (2012) suggest. As a result, most Christians and Muslims do not have family members outside their religious faith, and there is little reason to believe that this trend will change in either country in the foreseeable future given the value placed on keeping one's faith regardless. This confirms the first hypothesis that *religious differences are basic, fundamental and divisive*. The importance placed on religion in both countries is so fundamental to the extent that it overrides any form identity. As Huntington (1993) would argue, a person could only

identify with one or more civilizations. Putting that in perspective, in Ghana and Nigeria, the state has failed to provide the needs of its people, thus its function as a source of identification or civilizational block is waning fast. Hence, as Huntington (1993) suggests, religion has moved in to fill the gap, remaining as the most important form of identification, confirming the fifth hypothesis that *when the social contract between the State and its members is broken, religion replaces nationality as a primary source of identification.*

However, it seems clear that, apart from marriage, in Ghana, Christians and Muslims are relating to each other with more ease than in Nigeria. In large part this may reflect a 75% to 16% Christian numerical majority, where Muslims of necessity often have to relate to Christians particularly in schools. In contrast, the 49% Muslim, 49% Christian situation in Nigeria allows people in both groups to live out life in far more isolation from each other. My interview data in particular suggest that, given a past and present characterized by conflict, Christians and Muslims are wary of each other and are not even particularly knowledgeable about each other.

In lieu of interaction that might contribute to the breaking down of stereotypes and apprehension, as suggested by Kazemipur (2014), good interpersonal life is typically elusive. Hence, conflict continues to erupt in Nigeria between Christians and Muslims since social ties in Nigeria between Christians and Muslims is not very much enhanced. Coupled with the ongoing impact of historical realities cannot be minimized. The routes which missionaries took to introduce both religions to Ghana and Nigeria have contributed to important geographical variations until today. Muslims and Christians in both Ghana and

Nigeria continue to live in spatial segregation wherein the north and south are heavily Muslim and Christian majority respectively.

Ironically, the intensity with which Nigerians, in particular, feel connected to their religion, friends and communities seems to contribute to a measure of social isolation. So it is that almost half of Nigerian Muslims and majority of Nigerian Christians do not think their faiths have anything in common as per the findings of quantitative and qualitative data. It is therefore not surprising that most Nigerian Muslims and Christians do not have many friendships across religious lines. Instead, there is widespread suspicion, mistrust and an increasing withdrawal into their segregated faith group communities. The situation translates into two different “religious nations” with competing truth claims, where misinterpretations, confusion, and suspicion abound.

Nigerian Muslims, for their part, feel the response of Christians and others to the increasing negative feelings and attitudes towards them. A survey by Open Doors International in 2016 found that 80% of respondents from northern Nigeria reported that feelings towards Muslims have become increasingly negative. This, I contend, is the product of negative developments in “the social domain,” a combination of continuous attacks and reprisals in parts of northern Nigeria, coupled with the minimal social contact between Muslims and Christians across the country. As a Nigerian Christian female put it, “People are more skeptical being around Muslims in general... And even our friends who are Muslims, we kind of over the years just sort of distanced ourselves, since a lot of things are happening in the country.” An interesting consequence of what this respondent says confirms that inter-personal ties have been deeply hampered by recent developments in

Nigeria, particularly terrorist attacks by *Boko Haram*.

Some initiatives in proselytizing simply are destructive from an interfaith point of view. On October 14, 1991, German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke decision to hold a crusade in northern Nigeria was met with aggressive resistance by some concerned Muslims, which eventually resulted in the death of about 100 people and loss of properties (“Police Move to Prevent”, 2001). Likewise, some Muslims have chosen to spread their faith by forceful cohesion. Initiatives as such are always met with violent opposition from non-Muslims.

In sum, the growing tensions between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria, have created an atmosphere characterized by fear and paranoia. There have not been sufficient opportunities for Muslims and Christians to share the same space like schools, market places, sports centres and other public places which would help to enhance familiarity and build awareness and trust. In Ghana, on the other hand, the pattern of relationship between Christians and Muslims has become increasingly positive over the years. This is partly influenced by the predominance of Christian missionary schools which are attended by both Christians and Muslims. The result is that a reasonable number of Ghanaian Christians and Muslims, know much about both faiths. Their interaction in school settings has given rise to relationships which often lasts longer. They learn to know what is expected of them as friends and learn to respect their respective religious identities. As indicated, none of the Christians or Muslims I interviewed recalled any incidence of disrespect along religious lines. Hence, in times of misunderstandings, especially on faith matters, they give up their religious differences and put their friendship at the forefront. Additionally, they partake in religious ceremonies of both faiths and celebrate with their friends. Hence it

becomes difficult to have religious conflict with constant social interactions. As Putnam (2012) would put it, they have friends whom they would not want to hurt.

Additionally, there are pockets of Muslim settlements in almost every community in Ghana. These settlements, popularly referred to as *Zongo*, are mostly inhabited by settlers from northern Ghana. These settlements are underdeveloped and lack basic amenities. However, as a matter of urgency and recognition, Ghana's newly elected president, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo- Addo – a Christian and resident of one of Ghana's biggest *Zongo* community – has created a ministry and a fund purposely for the development of the *Zongo* communities across the country (Frimpong, 2017). This has sparked a wave of joy among Muslims and Christians settlers alike in these communities.

As a matter of fact, not only are Muslims the settlers of the *Zongo*'s but also Christians. I was born and raised in such community, and it has always been a community wherein we live in the spirit of oneness. Community football matches are played on almost a daily basis, but there has never been a match organized between Christians and Muslims; rather players are selected on a random basis. This suggests that even though faith is important to the *Zongo* community, we do not see that as a marked difference between us when it comes to social and communal activities. Christian and Muslim communities have offered an opportunity for Christians and Muslims to interact. The net result of such initiatives is that overall, things are far more positive in the social domain in Ghana than in Nigeria. The findings here confirm the second hypothesis that *in the face of an increased social contact and relation between Christians and Muslims, they will come to appreciate their similarities and build a working and fruitful relationship.*

The Economic Factor

The economic situation of every nation obviously has an impact on the relationships between individuals and groups. In a country where economic opportunities are widely available, one could expect to see peaceful relations and individual and collective prosperity. Conversely, where there is a struggle for resources and even survival, personal and social life would be expected to suffer (Stewart, 2002; Kazemipur, 2014).

Many African societies have experienced severe economic difficulties, hence, making the ground fertile for discontent, conflict, and violence. In spite of the rich natural resources in Ghana and Nigeria, the majority of Christians and Muslims view their national economies as broken and dysfunctional. Findings from the 2009 Pew Survey show that there have been alarming rate of unemployment, mismanagement, and corruption — and that is just a shortlist. Hence, in tandem with what rational choice theory suggests, many unemployed youth, both educated and uneducated have resorted to nefarious activities to make ends meet since benefits involved is far more rewarding (Collier& Hoeffler, 2000).

There are other economic problems as well. Homer-Dixon (1994) writes that environmental degradation engenders violent clashes. Increasing environmental degradation and desertification in Nigeria has forced the *hausa-fulani* herdsmen who are mostly Muslims to head south in search for pasture. This wave of migration to the south has very often resulted in a clash between the pastoralists and the farmers, majority of whom are Christians. The farmers have accused the pastoralists of plunging their farms, irrigation system and water bodies with their cattle. Often, an encounter between

individuals on both divides extends to clashes between Christians and Muslims in those communities, even though faith has nothing to do with such encounters (Okoro, 2016). All these unfortunate situations have worsened Christian and Muslim relations in Nigeria which has in turn crippled their economy all the more.

In Ghana, however, irrespective of some similar economic difficulties to that of Nigeria, and concern about discriminatory practices against Muslim women in the work place problems have not resulted in violence. In general, Christians and Muslims in Ghana appear to be considerably more satisfied with the economic situation in general and their economic situations personally than is the case in Nigeria. That reality seems to be a major reason why there is less conflict between the two groupings. The economic situation in Nigeria and Ghana confirms the third hypothesis that *better and equal economic opportunities for both Christians and Muslims will enhance the relationship between and reduce the feeling of deprivation and or resentment among religious minorities.*

The Institutional Factor

Politics. In Nigeria, politics have frequently and perhaps typically been linked to religion and thereby has served to divide Muslims and Christians rather than function to bring them together. On both sides of the political divide, accusations of Islamization and Christianization of the country have been leveled, all in an effort to mobilize the support of a one faith group over the other.

From the data analysis, majority of Christians and Muslims in Nigeria partly blamed

politicians for their part in influencing Christians and Muslims relations negatively. Politicians in Nigeria fuel the existing bickering and bigotry in order to garner support from their faith groups. To continually ensure that their support base is intact for the next election, ruling government often create policies that benefit the religious support base. These politicians, especially in Nigeria, most of whom turn out to be corrupt, do not function to reduce conflict but to encourage tension and violence.

Ghana, on the other hand, has been relatively peaceful regardless of the level of corruption among public servants at the bottom of the social structure and politicians at the top. As indicated earlier, politicians often participate in various religious services to indicate their support for freedom of worship. The current Nana Akufo-Addo administration of Ghana, like many others before it, has a President and Vice-President religious mix – in this case the former is a Christian and the latter a Muslim.

Unquestionably, the 75% Christian, 16% Muslim demographic reality in Ghana has also contributed to the recognition that both segments of the population need to co-exist, rather than attempt to obliterate the other. There appears to be little appetite for unnecessary division. As the data finds, for many Ghanaians, their identity as Ghanaians is important, along with their religion. Co-existence therefore seems to be a more inviting option than conflict. One respected news service, Public Radio International, has summed up some of the differences in politics in Ghana and Nigeria this way:

Ghana is widely hailed as one of Africa's model democracies. Although Ghana's Muslim population in the north tends to be poorer and more socially-marginalized than its Christian counterpart, it been given a voice in the political discourse. [A] former mayor of Accra recalls a parable a friend once told him. "When three

Nigerians need to decide who is chief, they fight. When three Ghanaians must decide, they organize an election” (PRI 2013).

From the above quote, one thing is certain, Ghanaians have found ways to put their national interest at the forefront in issues that have to do with the nation. Religion is important to Ghanaians, however in their respective individual lives. Publicly, it is their common national identity that reigns supreme. Another institutional problem that has affected Christian and Muslim relations in Nigeria is the policy on indigenes and settlers. This policy has led to numerous cases of religious-based discrimination in the employment sector. An International Religious Freedom Report on Nigeria made public in 2010 by the U.S. Department of State stated that “violence, tension, and hostility between Christians and Muslims increased, particularly in the Middle Belt, exacerbated by...discriminatory employment practices, and resource competition” (p.3).

Throughout the country, the legal distinction between indigenes and settlers gives better access to economic means to natives of a land than settlers or immigrants. Indigenes are those who are regarded as natives of a particular land, while settlers are those who originate from other localities different from their current location. According to the International Religious Freedom Report (2010), throughout the country, certain preferences and privileges are given to indigenes rather than settlers. However, to receive such privileges, one must tender a copy of the certificate of indigeneship granted by the local government. The report concludes that, this practice has often resulted in discrimination against minority ethnic and religious groups.

Ghana has likewise seen a fair share of discrimination along religious fault lines, but not to the extent that is the case in the Nigeria or to the point of warranting an outbreak of conflict. Just recently, a Muslim nurse was sacked from the Mamobi Polyclinic for wearing a *hijab* to work. However, the Ministry of Health responded quickly and condemned the act of the polyclinic's officials as unlawful. The public relations manager of the Ministry of Health warned that the ministry will not condone such an unlawful act because we have issued "express directives instructing them to allow people to practice their religion in their own way and not in this manner" (Ibrahim, 2016, p.17).

Education. Formal and informal education is the basic medium through which Christians and Muslims could be taught to respect each other and learn to be tolerant. As we have seen, there is a wide human capital gap between northern and southern Nigerians. The aforementioned 2010 UNESCO analysis found that 70% of Nigerians in the 12 northern *Sharia* states were illiterate. Hence, the Nigerian economy today favours the Southerners, most of whom are equipped with western education versus the northerners who are largely educated in the Islamic schools. Yet, a number of the Muslims I interviewed blamed parents for not taking their wards to schools.

Ghana's superior performance in the area of education has seemingly contributed to relatively better employment opportunities and a higher level of economic well-being compared to Nigeria. As such, it would seem to be contributing to more harmonious ties between Christians and Muslims than is the case in Nigeria.

While Kazemipur (2014) does not find institutional factors to be a major problem for Muslims in Canada, the reverse is the case in Nigeria. The different scenarios in both settings seem to account partially why there is conflict in Nigeria and not in Ghana. This confirms the fourth hypothesis which states that “*differences in access to political power, education, justice and health among Christians and Muslims could be the bedrock of prolong conflicts*”.

The Media Factor

The media, both local and international, is viewed unfavourably by both Ghanaian and Nigerian Muslims. The majority of those I spoke with were of the view that much media reporting does not represent what really is taking place. They unanimously were concerned about the media’s propensity to run negative headlines about Islam, especially in occasions of terrorist attacks.

Christians in Ghana and Nigeria, however, regarded the media as being fair to both Muslims and Christians. What my research suggests is that what the media report about Muslims are actually shaping the perception Christians and other non-Muslims have about Islam and Muslims. The 2009 Pew Survey found that large numbers of Ghanaian Christians had negative perception of Muslims despite the lack of violence in the name of Islam in the country. Hence, their views about Muslims seemed to reflect what they were told by the media.

It is clear that in Ghana, in particular, there is a keen awareness of the important role that the media play in shaping perceptions and influencing interreligious views. In

December of 2016, for example, the Forum of Ghanaian Elders raised concerns about the increasing use of abusive language of the media in the country on the eve of a national election. The Most Rev. Aboagye Mensah, a former General Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana, called on journalists “not to allow their platforms to be used to promote intemperate language” that “could result in civil unrest and chaos.” He added, “The relationship between Christians and Muslims in Ghana is one of the best anywhere in the world” (Christian Council of Ghana, 2016).

While Kazemipur (2014) does not find the Canadian media to be biased toward Muslim immigrants, the interviewees and the literature review suggest a calculated attempt to portray Muslims as violent. Over the years, the international media has been consistent in showing a stereotypic image of Muslims. Kazemipur (2014) writes that “the media’s unusually extensive coverage of issues related to Muslims has played a major role in shaping the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in Canada” (p.88). However, he downplays their power and influence on consumers by suggesting that the media portrayal of Muslims only reflect the ideas of producers but not consumers. He further suggests that the social media have hampered the influence of mass media. Nonetheless, not only does the social media obstruct the influence of the mass media, it makes matters worse. Since, many social media platforms do not place restrictions on what user’s post, many “fake news” have found its way on such platforms and seems to go viral pretty quickly than the reach of mass media. It has been used to radicalize and recruit terrorists and proliferate the internet with bloody images of violence (Taylor, 2016). In Nigeria, the media have frequently been used by Muslims and Christians to spread their ideas and thereby

contribute to division and conflict. From the accounts of my interviewees, the media typically has given attention to the atrocities of one side while minimizing the damage experienced by the other. The media, on balance, have contributed significantly to deep religious divisions. The role of the media in exacerbating religious conflicts in Nigeria has been established in the Nigerian context with various examples being cited by my respondents. The situation in Ghana, while increasingly becoming of a concern to most Muslims, has not given rise to any form of Christian-Muslim conflict. Nonetheless, the role of the media in both countries confirm the sixth hypothesis that the “*portrayal of Christians and Muslims on media platforms will affect their perception of each other and influence their relationship*”.

Chapter Six - Conclusion

The idea that led to this research grew out of my observation that conflict between Christians and Muslims has been escalating in numerous countries around the world. In Africa, Christian-Muslim relations have ranged from tolerance and co-existence to conflict and deadly clashes. These two extreme scenarios can be found in two countries in West Africa with similar ancestral ties and common culture – Ghana and Nigeria.

In Ghana, Christians and Muslims have coexisted peacefully since the introduction of both religions in the 15th century, reflected in a relationship that is characterized by mutual respect and tolerance. Nigeria, on the other hand, is greatly divided along religious fault lines. With virtually an evenly divided Christian and Muslim population, Nigeria has been more prone to sectarian and inter-faith violence than Ghana, which has a higher population of Christians than Muslims. One news organization has summed up this situation, and said:

[Ghana] is considered a model of interfaith tolerance and cooperation. Media reports on West Africa often conjure images of Christian-Muslim conflict. Violent interreligious clashes have long plagued nearby Nigeria. Ghana, like the region as a whole, is not without tensions. Still, Ghana's tolerance shines, though its people struggle to pinpoint what accounts for it (PRI 2013).

Working with a conceptual framework borrowed from Abdie Kazemipur's work, summed up in his book *The Muslim Question*, I employed a mixed method approach utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods to obtain data to better understand this phenomenon. My postulation was that, in Ghana and Nigeria, peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims will be contingent upon the extent to which Christians and Muslims

in both settings feel that they are being integrated into the four domains developed by Kazemipur (2014), namely; (1) the social (2) the economic (3) the institutional and (4) the media.

In sum, the research finds that better relations in Ghana than Nigeria are connected to more extensive and more harmonious ties in the social domain; higher levels of economic well-being; institutional support in the form of political leadership and educational resources functioning to enhance the lives of both Christians and Muslims, and, despite excessively negative media portrayals of Muslims, seemingly having such imagery offset to a large extent by more positive interpersonal experiences.

So it is that, in Ghana, the Christian majority and the Muslim minority are experiencing relative harmony. Interpersonal life is not perfect but it stands in sharp contrast to a setting such as Nigeria. Problems are pervasive in the social, economic, institutional, and media realms in Nigeria. There are not much interfaith marriage and personal ties, coupled with a dysfunctional economy wherein discrimination along religious lines thrive. Its institutional domain, especially, the political sphere and the education institution is deeply troubled, and media coverage of Muslims are usually negative.

Is there any hope for the future in Nigeria? According to my framework, there is some hope. However, there are many obstacles that will have to be overcome before collective life in Nigeria takes a significant turn for the best. Ghana on the other hand needs to uphold the cordial relationship that exist between Christians and Muslims, and find viable measures to address emergent issues that threaten the peaceful relations that exist

between the two faith groups.

This study has not been without several limitations.

First, the Pew survey – invaluable as it is – was carried out in 2009 and some things may well have changed since. A related limitation is that I have obviously only been able to carry out a secondary analysis of existing data, rather than design my own survey. As a result, I can only draw on what items and data are available, leaving me with many information holes. In future studies, I recommend the use of an updated data which resonates with the times we are in. Many issues have ensued since the date this data was collected.

Second, I tried to compensate somewhat my supplementing the quantitative data with a number of in-depth interviews of Ghanaians and Nigerians. However, I clearly have only been able to generate a relatively small sample of sixteen people. Another limitation is that all the interviews were conducted in Ghana with the exception of one which was conducted over the phone with a participant in Nigeria. The fact that they were studying in Ghana means they may not have been representative of students who chose to stay and study in Nigeria. A further problem with the interviews was a technical one: some connection issues hampered the sound quality of the interviews which were conducted over the phone, hence, making transcription a daunting task. In future studies, I recommend that the research expands on the sample size and carry out interviews both in the north and south of Nigeria to ascertain the views of people living in Nigeria.

A *third* limitation of this study was my own potential for bias. My knowledge about the situation in Nigeria and Ghana alike predisposed me to expecting some particular

and consistent response steps to not force a particular answer from respondents. But the potential for bias certainly remained.

A *fourth* concern has to do with the motive behind respondents' agreement to participate in the research. Having dishonest answers from participants can heavily impact the validity and the reliability of the research. During the process of data collection, I realized that some participants gave the nod to participate because they thought a time may come when they also might need participants to participate in their research. However, all participants were generally interested in the research topic and hopefully were not excessively acquiescent with what they had to say.

Future research will undoubtedly continue to explore the important global issue of religious co-existence generally and Christian-Muslim co-existence in particular. The reason is that these two religious groups, according to projections of research organizations like Pew, will only become more prominent numerical giants of the future, numbering as many as some three billion people each by around 2050.

Therefore, ongoing research is needed to address – and hopefully pose informed solutions– as to how “the two global giants” can flourish not only individually, but together. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the world's future will depend on such co-existence being realized.

Appendix

This is the interview schedule that was used in carrying out the interviews in Ghana with eight Ghanaians and eight Nigerians – equally divided between Christians and Muslims and, in turn females and males.

INTERVIEWS CARRIED OUT BY EMMANUEL OBENG-MIREKU <i>SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE</i>		
Interview (1) Date _____	(2) Location _____	(3) Time start ____ Time end _____
Background Information		
1. Gender:	1 Female	2 Male
2. Residence:	1 Ghana	2 Nigeria
3. Religion:	1 Christian	2 Muslim
4. Age:	_____	
5. Education:	_____	
6. Occupation:	_____	
SOCIAL		
1. Network of close friends [<i>“Can you tell me a little bit about your closest friends...”</i>] -ask about who they are, what they are like, how many are Christians, Muslims, other -how often have contact...examples of things do together		
2. General contact with Muslims & Christians (explore both) [<i>“Do you have much contact with...Ms & Cs”</i>] -nature of interactions: casual, brief, long-term; involuntary, voluntary -places: e.g., neighbourhood, workplace, schools, etc -attitudes & feelings toward both groups (e.g., positive, negative, trust, wariness) -reasons for the views and sentiments		
ECONOMIC [<i>“Now I’d like to reflect with you on some economic matters...”</i>]		
1. How satisfied are you with economic conditions: generally & personally		
2. History of employment: opportunities, lack thereof; factors involved		
3. View of personal financial situation, relative to others (e.g., average, above, below)		
4. General: employment & economic opportunities/barriers for Christians & Muslims -NB: any discrimination against Muslims, Christians (observed, heard about); nature, sources		
5. Views of the future for self, Christians & Muslims		
INSTITUTIONAL [<i>“Next, I’m interested in how you feel about some key institutions...”</i>]		
1. Is it fairly easy to use services such as Education, Health, Justice, Government		
2. Are you/others treated fairly equally... e.g., by government, police		
3. Are people working in public institutions proportional to Christians/Muslims in population		
4. Trends: Do you see any changes from the past/expect any changes in the future		
MEDIA [<i>“Finally, I’d like to know how you think the media tend to treat Cs & Ms...”</i>]		
1. Do you sense the media are positive/negative/biased toward any groups -e.g., local, regional, national, international -any examples: TV/radio/newspapers/Internet		
2. Trends: past, present, future		
MISC: 1. “You said you were Christian/Muslim: how important is your faith to you?”		
2. “Any other comments that you would like to add?”		
THANK YOU VERY MUCH!		

References

- Abdul-Hamid, M. (2011). Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana: A model for world dialogue and peace. *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies*, 1(1), 21-32.
- Aboul-Enein, Y. (2011). *Militant Islamist ideology: Understanding the global threat*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.
- Abu-Nimer, M. (2003). *Nonviolence and peace building in Islam: Theory and practice*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Adu, A. (2016, July 7). A healthy relationship exists between Christians and Muslims – Sheikh Mohammed Bagnya. *Pulse News*. Retrieved from <http://pulse.com.gh/news/in-ghana-a-healthy-relationship-exists-between-christians-and-muslims-sheikh-mohammed-bagnya-id5236202.html>
- Akama, E. (1998). Religion and religious tolerance as instruments of nation building in contemporary Nigeria. *Religion in Contemporary Nigeria: Some Topical Issues, Owerri: Springfield Publishers*, 3-14.
- Akinade, A.E. (2002). The precarious agenda: Christian-Muslim relations in contemporary Nigeria. *Public Lecture*.
- Albert, I. O., & Uzoigwe, G. (1999). *Inter-ethnic and religious conflict resolution in Nigeria*. (n.p.): Lexington Books.
- Alshenqeeti, H. (2014). Interviewing as a Data Collection Method: A Critical Review. *English Linguistics Research*, 3(1), 39.
- Amenyo, Kofi. (2014, July 16). Ghana's Muslims and the rest of them. *GhanaWeb*. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Ghana-s-Muslims-and-the-rest-of-them-316999>.
- Analysis: Nigeria's Sharia split. (2003, January 7). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2632939.stm>.
- Asare, K. (2013). *Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity in video films: audience reception and appropriation in Ghana and the UK* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Edinburgh).

- Azumah, J. (2000). Muslim-Christian relations in Ghana: Too much meat does not spoil the soup. *Current Dialogue*, 36.
- Beyer, P. (1999). Secularization from the perspective of globalization: a response to Dobbelaere. *Sociology of Religion*, 60(3), 289-301.
- Bibby, R. W. (2011). *Beyond the Gods & back: Religion's demise and rise and why it matters*. Lethbridge, AB: Project Canada Books.
- Bibby, R. W. (2012). *A New Day: The Resilience & Restructuring of Religion in Canada*. Lethbridge, AB: Project Canada Books.
- Bloomfield, D., & Reilly, B. (1998). The Changing Nature of Conflict and Conflict Management. *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators*, 7-28.
- Boult, A., (2017, March 22). Facebook Activates Safety Check Following Attack in Westminster as #PrayForLondon trends. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/22/facebook-activates-safety-check-following-westminster-attack/>.
- Brazil asylum-seeking saga: Christians, Muslims demonstrate Ghana's peaceful coexistence. (2014, July 23). *JoyNews*. Retrieved from <http://www.m.myjoyonline.com/marticles/news/brazil-asylumseeking-saga-christians-muslims-demonstrate-ghanas-peaceful-coexistence>.
- Campbell, J. (2013). *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink* (2nd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2017). *The World Fact Book*. Retrieved on March 09, 2017, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>.
- Chris, M. (2009). Strategies for [re] building state capacity to manage ethnic and religious conflict in Nigeria. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3 (3), 105-125.
- Christian Council Congratulates Muslims on Successful Ramada. (2015, July 17). *Ghana News Agency*. Retrieved from <http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/christian-council-congratulates-muslims-on-successful-ramadan-92034>.

- Christian Council of Ghana. (2016, November 28). *Ghanaian leaders warn against abusive language in media*. Retrieved from <http://www.christiancouncilgh.org/NewsPages/Ghanaian-elders-warn-against-abusive-language-in-media.php>.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2000). Greed and grievance in civil war, world bank policy research working paper 2355. *World Bank* (<http://www.worldbank.org/research/PDF>).
- Collins, J. J. (2004). *Does the Bible justify violence?* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., Fetters, M. D., & Ivankova, N. V. (2004). Designing a mixed methods study in primary care. *The Annals of Family Medicine*, 2(1), 7-12.
- Creswell, W., & Plano Clark, V. (2007). Examining preliminary considerations. In *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Crowder, M. (1964). Indirect rule—French and British style. *Africa*, 34(03), 197- 205.
- De Gruchy, J. W. (2002). *Reconciliation: restoring justice*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Delcambre, A.-M. (2005). *Inside Islam*. Milwaukee, Wisc.: Marquette University Press.
- Dobbelaere, K. (1999). Towards an Integrated Perspective of the Processes Related to the Descriptive Concept of Secularization. *Sociology of Religion*, 60(3), 229-247. doi:10.1080/1057610X.2015.1100010.
- Dozens die in Nigeria. (2001, October 15). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/15/afghanistan.terrorism8>.
- Esteves, J., & Pastor, J. (2004). Using a multimethod approach to research enterprise systems implementations. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 2(2), 69-82.
- Felson, R. B., & Tedeschi, J. T. (1993). *Aggression and violence: Social interactionist perspectives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

- Frederiks, M. T. (2010). Let Us Understand Our Differences: Current Trends in Christian- Muslim Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Transformation*, 27(4),261-274.
- Frimpong, D. E. (2017, January 12). Why I Created a Zongo and Inner City Ministry – Akufo-Addo. *Graphic Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.graphic.com.gh/news/politics/why-i-created-a-zongo-and-inner-cities-ministry-akufo-addo.html>
- Ghana's top undercover journalist masters disguise to expose corruption. (2015, September 24). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/24/anas-aremeya-anas-ghana-corruption>.
- Ghana's Christian-Muslim coexistence commended. (2014, November 30). *JoyNews*. Retrieved from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2014/november-30th/ghanas-christian-muslim-coexistence-commended.php>.
- Gordon, R. L. (1969). *Interviewing: Strategy, techniques, and tactics*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey press.
- Hackett, R. I. (1999). Radical Christian Revivalism in Nigeria and Ghana: Recent Patterns of Conflict and Intolerance. *Proselytization and Communal Self-Determination in Africa*, 246-267.
- Haliday. F. (1996). *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Harris, C. (2013). Violence in a Religiously Divided City: Kaduna, Nigeria—From the Shari'a Riots of 2000 to the Post-election Clashes of 2011. *Space and Polity*, 17(3), 284-299.
- Healy, P., & Barbaro, M. (2015, December 7). Donald Trump Calls for Barring Muslims From Entering U.S. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/12/07/donald-trump-calls-for-banning-muslims-from-entering-u-s/>
- Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1994). Environmental scarcities and violent conflict: evidence from cases. *International security*, 19(1), 5-40.

- Horowitz, D. L. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hunter, S. (1998). *The future of Islam-West relations: a CSIS Islamic studies conference report*.
- Huntington, S. P. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), 22-49.
- Ibrahim, A. (2016, October 18). Public Institutions Implored to Allow Muslim Women Wear Hijab at Work. *JoyNews*. Retrieved from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2016/october-18th/-public-institutions-implored-to-allow-muslim-women-wear-hijab-at-work.php>
- Ibrahim, J. (1989). "Politics of religion in Nigeria." *Review of African Political Economy* 16, 45-46:65-82.
- Ifemesia, C. (1981). The Role of the Humanities in the University and the Nation. In a *Post-graduate Seminar, University of Nigeria, Nsukka*.
- Institute of Economics and Peace. (2016). *Global Peace Index-2016*. Retrieved from http://economicsandpeace.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/GPI-2016-Report_2.pdf
- Islamic State 'accepts' Boko Haram's allegiance pledge. (2015, March 13). *BBC* Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31862992>.
- Iwuchukwu, M. C. (2013). *Muslim-Christian Dialogue in Post-Colonial Northern Nigeria: The Challenges of Inclusive Cultural and Religious Pluralism*. (n.p.): Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jenkins, P. (2002). The next christianity. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 290(3), 53-68.
- Jick, T.D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative science quarterly*, 602-611.
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(2), 112-133.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (2001). *Terror in the name of God*. *Current history* (1941), 357-361.

- Juergensmeyer, M., & Sheikh, M. K. (2012). A Sociotheological Approach to Understanding Religious Violence. In *Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Kazemipur, A. (2014). *The Muslim Question in Canada: A Story of Segmented Integration*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Kim, H. S. (2009). The Complexities of Internal Conflict in the Third World: Beyond Ethnic and Religious Conflict. *Politics & Policy (Estados Unidos)*, 37(02), 395-414.
- Lambert, Y. (1999). Religion in Modernity as a New Axial Age: Secularization or New Religious Forms? *Sociology of Religion*, 60(3), 303-333.
- Langer, A., Mustapha, A. R., & Stewart, F. (2007). Horizontal inequalities in Nigeria, Ghana and Côte d. Ivoire: *Issues and Policies*, CRISE Working Paper, 45.
- Lere, P.M. (2009). The influence of media coverage of religious crises in Nigeria: A case study of the Mohammed cartoon riots." *Lwati: A Journal of Contemporary Research* 6:1.
- Lilla, Mark (2008). *The Stillborn God: Religion, Politics and the Modern West* (New York: Vintage Books. London; New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Lubeck, P. M. (1985). "Islamic Protest Under Semi-Industrial Capitalism: Yan Tatsine Explained." *Africa*, 55(04), 369-389.
- Marsili, M. (2016). The Islamic State: A Clash within the Muslim Civilization for the New Caliphate. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39(2), 85-105.
- McAuley, D. (2005). The ideology of Osama Bin Laden: Nation, tribe and world economy. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 10(3), 269-287.
- Motah-hary, M. (1980). *The martyr*. Houston, Tex.; New York: Free Islamic Literatures; Distributed by Islamic Public Relations.
- Nigeria's population now 182 million –NPC. (2016, November 10). *Vanguard*. Retrieved from 2016, from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/11/nigerias-population-now-182-million-npc/>.

- Nigeria's President Warned by First Lady Aisha Buhari. (2016, October 14). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-37642282>.
- Nigerian Muslims decry 'systematic cleansing'. (2013, November 20). *World Bulletin*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbulletin.net/haber/123309/nigerian-muslims-decry-systematic-cleansing>.
- Nigerian police move to protect churches. (1999, December 21). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/572824.stm>.
- Nkansah, S.N. (2012, February 1). A History of the Methodist Church, Kumasi Diocese [Blog Post]. Retrieved from <http://blaklane.blogspot.ca/2012/02/history-of-methodist-church.html>.
- Okoro, E. (2016, January 14). Nigeria the Most Dangerous Place to be a Christian? Let's Put that in Context. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/14/nigeria-christian-boko-haram-terror>
- Okpalanozie, M. J. (2011). *Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion in Nigeria: Conflicts and Challenges to Peaceful Co-existence*. (n.p.): EOS.
- Omeje, K. (2005). Radical Islam and political conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Renaissance*, 2(5), 111-122.
- Onigu-Otite, K., & Albert, I. O. (Eds.). (1999). *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation*. (n.p.): Spectrum Books Limited.
- Otoghile, A., & Obakhedo, N. O. (2011). Nigeria-Ghana Relations from 1960 to 2010: Roots of Convergence and Points of Departure. *African Research Review*, 5(6), 131-145.
- Patai, R. (2002). *The Arab mind*. New York, NY: Hatherleigh Press.
- Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. (2010). *Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: DC. http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/Islam_and_Christianity.pdf. The related 2009 data set is the Pew survey being used extensively in this thesis.

- Pew Research Center. (2015). *Ten Countries With the Largest Muslim Population 2010 and 2050*. Retrieved on March 09, 2017, from http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/muslims/pf_15-04-02_projectionstables74/.
- Pew Research Center. (2015). *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050*. Retrieved on March 09, 2017 from <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/>.
- Piereder, J. (2014). The Imam and the Pastor: Attempts at Peace in Nigeria using Interfaith Dialogue. *Laurier Undergraduate Journal of the Arts*, 1(1), 71-85.
- PRI (Public Radio International). (2013, March 15). "Ghana: a model of interfaith tolerance." *PRI*. Retrieved from <https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-03-15/ghana-model-interfaith-tolerance>.
- Police Move to Prevent Violence at Crusade. (2001, November 8). *allAfrica*. Retrieved from <http://allafrica.com/stories/200111080017.html>
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian political studies*, 30(2), 137-174.
- Putnam, R. D., & Campbell, D. E. (2012). *American grace: How religion divides and unites us*. (n.p.): Simon and Schuster.
- Rasmussen, L. (1993). *Christian and Muslim Relations: The Cases of Northern Nigeria and Tanzania*. London, UK: I.B. Tauris.
- Reneflot, A. N. N. E. (2006). Combining qualitative and quantitative methods: a case from family demography. W. Ontreng. *Complexity. Interdisciplinary communications*, 2007, 114-117.
- Respect our religious rights – Muslims tell Christians. (2016, April 21). *GhanaMag*. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanamag.com/respect-our-religious-rights-muslims-tell-christians>.
- Respect students' religious rights or face sanctions – Mahama. (2016, February 26). *Ghana Web*. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Respect->

students-religious-rights-or-face-sanctions-Mahama-348259christians-and-muslims-sheikh-mohammed-bagnya-id5236202.html.

Riots 'kill hundreds in Nigeria'. (2008, November 29). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7756695.stm>.

Sageman, M. (2008). A Strategy for Fighting International Islamist Terrorists. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 618(1), 223-231.

Salawu, B. (2010). "Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Causal Analysis and Proposals for New Management Strategies." *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(3), 345-353.

Samwini, N. (2006). *The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana since 1950: Its Effects Upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian Relations*. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Sarbah, C. J. E. (2010). *A Critical Study of Christian-Muslim Relations in the Central Region of Ghana with Special Reference to Traditional Akan Values* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham).

School Principal Attacked as New Education Policy Takes Effect in Osun, Nigeria. (2013, December 13). *Morning Star News*. Retrieved from <http://morningstarnews.org/2013/12/school-principal-attacked-as-new-education-policy-takes-effect-in-osun-nigeria/>.

Schwartz-Barcott, T. P. (2004). *War, terror & peace in the Qur'an and in Islam : insights for military & government leaders*. Carlisle, PA: Army War College Foundation Press.

Shearlaw, M., (2016, January 25). Egypt Five Years on: Was It Ever a 'Social Media Revolution'? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/25/egypt-5-years-on-was-it-ever-a-social-media-revolution>.

Silvestri, S., and Mayall, J. (2015). *The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peacebuilding*. UK: British Academy.

Sivan, E. (2003). *The Clash within Islam*. *Survival*, 45(1), 25-44.

- Smock, D. (2004). Divine intervention: Regional reconciliation through faith. *Harvard International Review*, 25(4), 46.
- Stewart, F. (2002). Root causes of violent conflict in developing countries. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 324(7333), 342.
- Susewind, R. (2013). *Being Muslim and working for peace: ambivalence and ambiguity in Gujarat*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications India.
- Syria war: IS group killed 21 Christians in al-Qaryatain, says patriarch. (2016, April 10). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36011663>.
- Tarlow, P. E. (2015). Religion, Violence and Terrorism. *International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism and Hospitality*, 1(12), 1.
- Taylor, H. (2016, October 5). Most Young Terrorist Recruitment is Linked to Social Media, Said DOJ Official. *CNBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.cnbc.com/2016/10/05/most-young-terrorist-recruitment-is-linked-to-social-media-said-doj-official.html>
- Teddle, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*: Sage.
- Terror attacks hit U.S. (2001, September 11). *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/worldtrade.crash/story.html>.
- Thomas, S. (2005). *The global resurgence of religion and the transformation of international relations: The struggle for the soul of the twenty-first century*: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection. *Ethnobotany Research & Applications*, 5, 147-158.
- Torny, E. (2015, March 4). Mamobi Polyclinic to be Sanctioned for Sacking Nurse Wearing Hijab. *Pulse News*. Retrieved from <http://pulse.com.gh/news/stiff-punishment-mamobi-polyclinic-to-be-sanctioned-for-sacking-nurse-wearing-hijab-id3538715.html>.

- Toscany Academy. (2012). "A concise history of education in Nigeria." [Blog Post]. Retrieved from <http://toscanyacade.my.com/blog/nigeria-education/a-concise-history-of-education-in-nigeria/%20>.
- Trimingham, J. S. (1962). *Islam in East Africa: The Report of a Survey Undertaken in 1961*. London, UK: Edinburgh House Press.
- UNESCO-IBE. (2006, July). *World data on education 2006/2007: Ghana* (6th ed.). Geneva: UNESCO-IBE, Publications Unit.
- UNESCO. (2011). *Global Education Digest*. Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics. http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/global_education_digest_2011_en.pdf.
- United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. (2009). *Annual Report of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom*. Retrieved from <http://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/final%20ar2009%20with%20cover.pdf>.
- USCIRF. (2010). *International Religious Freedom Report-Nigeria*. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010/148713.html>
- USCIRF. (2016). *List of Boko Haram Attacks-2016*. Retrieved from http://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/USCIRF_AR_2016_Appendix3.pf
- USCIRF. (2015). *Ghana 2015 International Freedom Report*. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/256241.pdf>
- Vaughan, L. M. (2003). *Convivencia: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Medieval Spain*. University of Tennessee, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Honors Thesis Projects.
- Wachtel, H. A. (2005). Targeting Osama Bin Laden: Examining the Legality of Assassination as a Tool of US Foreign Policy. *Duke Law Journal*, 55(3), 677-710. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Wilks, I. (1996). *One nation, many histories: Ghana past and present*. Accra, Ghana: Anansesem Publications.