An Overview of the Kaduna Preaching Bill 2016: Advocacy for Human Right and Educational Training

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Abstract

The subtle restriction of the right to freedom of religion and worship by the Kaduna State government in Nigeria has been widely opposed by citizens nationwide. This study aimed to reduce the marginalization of specific religious groups and to create an atmosphere that upholds citizens' right to freedom of religion. Utilizing a descriptive survey method, 100 questionnaires were administered to northern Christians from Kaduna and other northern states. Sixty questionnaires were retrieved, yielding a 60% response rate. The research was grounded in

classic deviance and identity formation theory. The findings revealed a high rate of killings due to religious intolerance, highlighting the need for the government to curb the excesses of certain religious factions while adhering to the supremacy of the constitution. A detailed examination of the Kaduna preaching bill identified numerous provisions that conflict with the 1999 Constitution, rendering the bill constitutionally flawed. To prevent future religious conflicts, it is crucial to avoid appointing narrow-minded religious fanatics to leadership positions in a pluralistic state. The study proposes that the government must always justify its actions in "balancing" rights and should implement educational policies that integrate Human Rights Education throughout the educational system.

Keywords: Religious Discrimination, Religious Tolerance, Religious Intolerance, Religious Conflicts, Conflicts Resolution

Introduction

The Kaduna State government's indirect restriction on religious freedom and worship has faced significant criticism across Nigeria. Leaders from key religious organizations, including the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), and various Islamic groups, have voiced their opposition. While there are valid concerns about security threats posed by groups like Boko Haram, public health risks, and violations of other citizens' rights, the government's role should be to mediate between religious groups to ensure peace and stability. Any limitations on religious rights must follow legal guidelines.

This study critically examines the Kaduna Preaching Bill of 2016, focusing on human rights advocacy and educational perspectives. Notably, religious scholars are divided on the issue. For instance, Tarwase supports government restrictions on preaching to prevent religious conflicts, while Sam Amadi and Inibehe Effiong oppose state regulation of religious activities, even though Section 45 of the Nigerian Constitution allows the state to limit such rights to maintain public order, morality, or protect others' rights. Tibbitts and Fernekes argue that everyone should have the same rights they wish for themselves.

A bill is proposed legislation that becomes law only after being passed by the legislature and approved by the executive. The Kaduna State preaching bill, introduced by the state governor, has sparked widespread controversy. The original bill, introduced by Governor Nasir El-Rufai in 1984, aimed to regulate religious activities but faced strong opposition. It was amended in 1987 but remained largely unenforced. El-Rufai's current proposal seeks to replace the 1984 law with an updated version.

Kaduna State has experienced several religious crises, including the Kafanchan crisis in 1987, the 1988 conflict at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, and the Sharia riots in 2000. The 1980s bill aimed to prevent religious violence. Both Islamic and Christian organizations in Kaduna have criticized the current bill as unfair. However, the government insists the bill does not target any specific group and only regulates Christianity and Islam. The proposed law would require religious bodies to issue licenses, approved by a Ministerial Committee, for a maximum of one year. Other restrictions include banning the public playing of cassettes and inciting media messages.

Violating these rules could result in up to two years in prison, a fine of N200,000, or both, along with license revocation.

Statement of The Problem: The Kaduna State Regulation of Religious Preaching Edict, No. 7 of 1984, faced strong opposition from religious leaders and citizens, both within and outside Kaduna State. Many saw it as a violation of their constitutional right to freedom of religion and worship. As a result, the law has never been enforced, despite an amendment in 1987, making it largely irrelevant. In recent times, the rapid growth of religious centers in Nigeria has led to increased noise pollution. In a diverse society like Nigeria, what one group considers worship can be seen as environmental pollution by others, even infringing on their rights. This situation highlights the need for fair and unbiased government intervention. Governor El-Rufai's new bill aims to repeal the outdated 1984 law and replace it with an updated version that better addresses these issues.

Objectives of the Study: The objective of this study is as follows

1. To create a system that is capable of tracking religious regulation that will be acceptable to all religious groups and every citizen of the state.
2. To reduce the rate of religious marginalization as perceived by some particular religious bodies.
3. To create an atmosphere of unity and sanity that promotes every citizen's right to freedom ofreligion and how it is to be practiced`

The Paper answers the following questions:

1. Can there be a better religious regulation law that will be generally acceptable to all religiousgroups and all citizens of the State?
2. Can there be a religious regulation law that will reduce the fear of religious marginalization asperceived by some particular religious bodies?
3. What can be done to promote religious tolerance and peace among people living in apluralistic society?

The Significance of the Study: This study critically examines the Kaduna Preaching Bill of 2016, aiming to develop a system for religious regulation that all citizens can accept. Achieving this will lead to peace and benefit everyone, including the government, by fostering growth and development. The research findings will inform Kaduna State citizens about the importance of living together in love, regardless of religious differences, and provide a foundation for peaceful coexistence in Nigeria' s diverse society. The study encourages religious leaders and followers to fulfill their social responsibilities by rejecting religious violence, discrimination, and the abuse of fundamental rights. It calls for a commitment to building a strong, cohesive nation through religious peace and tolerance. Additionally, the study serves as a resource for future research, offering recommendations that may inspire further exploration from various religious perspectives. It contributes to the body of knowledge and enhances academic scholarship.

Scope of the Study: The primary objective of this study is to conduct a critical analysis of the Kaduna preaching bill of 2016. The scope of the study is limited to Christians who either hail from Kaduna State or have resided in Kaduna or other

northern states but currently reside in various parts of Lagos State. Many of these individuals have experienced firsthand the religious crises or banditry incidents in the northern states, leading them to flee or relocate. This group of Christians forms the population for this study, comprising escapists, survivors, and those displaced due to religious conflicts. To support the analysis, relevant literature on topics such as the Kaduna Religious or Assembly bill, the Nigerian constitution regarding the human right to religion and worship, Kaduna State Sharia Crisis, and the intersection of religion and human rights was reviewed. The study adopts a Christian perspective in its examination. Data collection will be facilitated through the use of a structured questionnaire administered to the respondents.

Definition of Terms / Variables Used

1. **Religious Discrimination**: Unfair treatment based on an individual's religious beliefs or practices.
2. **Religious Tolerance**: Acceptance and respect for different religious beliefs and practices.
3. **Religious Intolerance**: Lack of acceptance and hostility towards different religious beliefs and practices.
4. **Religious Conflicts**: Disputes and violence arising from religious differences and beliefs.
5. **Conflict Resolution**: Methods and processes to resolve disputes and achieve peaceful solutions.

Theoretical Frameworks

1.Deviance Theory: Deviance Theory explores how individuals adopt deviant behaviors as a result of societal labeling. It sheds light on how people's actions are reinterpreted in light of the labels imposed on them throughout their lives. Deviance is classified into two categories: formal deviance, which encompasses criminal acts that violate established laws, and informal deviance, which comprises minor transgressions against unwritten social norms.

2.Social Identity Theory Social Identity Theory delves into how individuals construct their identities within society. Central to this theory are three

psychological processes: social categorization, social comparison, and social identification. It posits that group membership plays a pivotal role in shaping individuals' understanding of themselves and their interactions with others. Originally focused on intergroup conflict and relations, Social Identity Theory aimed to bridge cognitive processes and behavioral motivations. Initially termed the Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Relations, its integrative approach sought to elucidate the complexities of group dynamics and social interactions.

Empirical Review of Literature

Religious Tolerance: Religious tolerance is vital for maintaining peace and unity in societies with diverse cultures and beliefs. It involves respecting and valuing spiritual practices that differ from our own. Without it, conflicts can easily arise, threatening social harmony and often leading to violence. In Nigeria, the lack of religious tolerance has caused many conflicts, especially in the Northern and Middle Belt regions. The rise of religious extremism, such as Boko Haram, has led to widespread violence, loss of lives, and violations of human rights, undermining the country's secular foundation. Religious intolerance, marked by hostility and prejudice against other beliefs, often results in conflicts like the Boko Haram insurgency and violence between Christians and Muslims. These issues highlight the urgent need for greater understanding and tolerance among different religious groups in Nigeria (Ekanem, 2013).

Perceived Religion Persecution: Nwaomah highlighted that violent conflict is a significant issue in society, often foreseeable. While history shows that conflict is a common part of human relationships, it rarely yields positive outcomes when it turns violent. In Nigeria, one ongoing form of violent conflict arises from religious differences, particularly between Christians and Muslims in the northern region. Religious persecution occurs when people are mistreated because of their religious beliefs or lack thereof. Societies often alienate or oppress those with different beliefs, a pattern seen throughout history. Religion shapes a person's morals, worldview, and identity, making religious differences potent sources of conflict.

Persecution may come from religious bigotry, where dominant groups look down on other religions, or from the state, which might see certain religious groups as

threats. When a society dehumanizes a religious group, it can lead to violence or other forms of persecution. Religious persecution can escalate to violence so severe that it becomes a human rights issue. It includes actions like discrimination, violence against minorities, and attempts to force them to assimilate or live as second-class citizens. State policies may infringe on freedom of thought and belief, leading to harassment and violence against targeted groups.

Religious persecution differs from intolerance, which is often driven by public opinion. Denial of rights based on religion is better described as discrimination. Persecution includes property destruction, hate incitement, arrests, torture, and even murder. It is the opposite of religious freedom. Some religious groups view the proposed religious bill in Kaduna State as an attempt to limit their practices, sparking conflict between religious groups and the government. Notable religious organizations warn that the law could restrict religious activities in the state if it goes unchecked.

Religious and societal cohesion: Religion is often blamed for causing problems in society due to historical events like the crusades and holy wars, which give religious practices a bad reputation. To understand how religion affects society, we need to look at it sociologically, focusing on how it brings people together and promotes helping others. Although some believe that religion causes division, it actually creates unity through shared traditions like Christmas and Ramadan. Many religious groups also support charity and social justice, such as the organization Focus: HOPE. However, conflicts related to religion often happen because of misunderstandings or misusing religious teachings, leading to prejudice and violence. While religion itself isn' t the issue, it' s the way some leaders exploit it for personal gain that harms its image. Laws that address these problems can help people embrace religious diversity and reduce conflicts. In America, religion can both divide and unite, playing a significant role in social cohesion.

***Kaduna Preaching Bill: Resolving the Constitutional Controversy by Inibehe* Effiong** In the case of Inspector General of Police v. All Nigeria Peoples Party and Ors, the Court of Appeal declared it unconstitutional for the Public Order Act to require Nigerians to obtain police permits for protests. This ruling highlighted

citizens' basic rights to freedom of expression and association, making it clear that permits are not needed for public safety. Given this, it raises the question: if citizens don't need permits for rallies, why should state governments require religious preachers to have licenses? In today's Nigeria, where constitutional freedoms are respected, licensing preachers seems to contradict the principles of freedom of expression and association.

The Preaching Bill in Kaduna has caused heated debates about its constitutionality. Lawyer Effiong argues that the bill favors Christianity and Islam, which violates constitutional rights and discriminates against other religions. He believes the bill restricts religious freedom by requiring preachers to be licensed, which goes against constitutional guarantees and limits personal liberties. Effiong stresses that the state should not control religious practices, emphasizing the right to religious expression. The Inspector General of Police v. All Nigeria Peoples Party and Ors case serves as a reminder to protect constitutional rights, including the right to religious expression without unnecessary interference.

Toward Judicial Review of Section 45 of The Constitution in Nigeria

Ahmed S. Garba argues that certain parts of Kaduna State's religious preaching laws clash with the Nigerian Constitution and international norms on religious freedom. He points out that Nigerian courts lack proper methods to balance the state's right to regulate with citizens' religious freedoms, suggesting the need for legal changes to match constitutional and international standards. Garba recommends a harmonized proportionality test that considers Nigeria's unique religious-state dynamics, which could guide courts, lawmakers, and officials.

The Kaduna State Government introduced social control measures in response to conflicts between the Islamic Movement of Nigeria and the Nigerian Army. These measures have significantly impacted the Shi’ a community's religious freedoms and raise important constitutional and human rights concerns in Nigeria's democratic setting.

The Nigerian Constitution guarantees religious freedom, but these rights are not without limits. Section 45(1) allows the state to restrict these freedoms for reasons

such as defense, public safety, order, morality, health, or to protect others' rights. This provision gives the state significant power to impose restrictions through laws. However, the Constitution does not clearly define what makes a law "reasonably justifiable" or how to assess this in a democracy, making it difficult to evaluate state actions like those in Kaduna.

The proposed preaching law has two main effects: it bans road blockages and requires police protection for processions. While these measures aim to maintain peace under Section 45, they have raised concerns. Unlike the 1996 edict introduced under military rule, this law is being proposed in a democratic era, which may make it unreasonable.

Effiong highlights several issues with the proposed law: it is vague, lacks clear procedures, does not protect against discrimination, and fails to define key terms like "obstruction of public highways." Additionally, it does not specify punishments or the type of evidence required to prove violations, making it unconstitutional under Section 36(8) of the Nigerian Constitution. This vagueness may lead to biased enforcement, particularly against minority groups like the Shiites in a predominantly Sunni Muslim region like Kaduna.

Kaduna's Religious Measures: Implications for Constitutional Rights.

This section discusses the aftermath of the conflict between the Shi' a group and the Nigerian Army, focusing on how the Kaduna State government responded. The measures taken against the Shi' a group raise concerns about religious freedom, which is protected by the Nigerian Constitution. However, there hasn't been a legal interpretation of Section 45 of the Constitution regarding religious freedom, leaving uncertainty that needs to be resolved.

Nigerian courts usually strike down laws that violate the Constitution, exceed legislative powers, or infringe on fundamental rights. The 2016 Religious Preaching Bill lacks constitutional support and doesn't align with international human rights standards. It seems biased towards dominant religions, neglecting diversity.

The bill only recognizes Islam and Christianity, excluding groups like the Shiites, and gives religious bodies like JNI and CAN the power to regulate preaching. Criminalizing unlicensed preaching raises concerns in a democracy where laws should be fair to everyone.

In conclusion, the bill lacks constitutional support, is biased against religious minorities, and threatens religious freedom and diversity. Reform is needed to protect these rights and ensure fairness.

Research Methodology: This study used a descriptive survey approach, including focus groups, document reviews, and observations to explore religious conflicts. Data was collected through structured questionnaires given to Hausa Christians who moved from Kaduna State to Lagos State due to these conflicts. Lagos churches, especially Yaba Baptist Church, were welcoming, which greatly supported the Hausa ministry.

The study applied Deviance Theory and Social Identity Theory. Deviance Theory was used to analyze the Kaduna preaching bill, seeing it as a form of social control that could criminalize religious practices. Social Identity Theory helped explain how Hausa Christians in Lagos sought new identities within supportive church communities. Purposive sampling was used, selecting participants relevant to the study, and 100 questionnaires were distributed at Yaba Baptist Church. A pilot study improved the questionnaire' s clarity. With the help of the pastor and an interpreter, 100 questionnaires were distributed, achieving a 66% response rate. Data was analyzed using simple percentages within two weeks.

Analysis of Data and Results

The Demographic Data of the Respondents

Table on the Composition of Respondents Sampled by Gender (N= 66)

S/N	Sex	No of Respondents	Percentages (%)
1.	Male	46	69.7%
2.	Female	20	30.3%
	Total	66	100

Table indicates the gender distribution of respondents. The majority (69.7%) were male (46), while females constituted the minority (30.3%). This suggests potential differences in responsiveness due to varying literacy levels.

Table on the Composition of Respondents Sampled by Age (N= 66)

Age	No of Respondents	Percentages (%)
Under 20 yrs	8	12.12%
20-30 yrs	26	39.39%
31-40 yrs	18	27.27%
41-50 yrs	12	18.18%
Above 50 years	2	3.03%
Total	66	100

The table presents the age distribution of sampled respondents. Majority, 39.39%, were aged 20-30, followed by 31-40 years, 27.27%. The minority, 3.03%, were aged 50 and above.

Table on the Composition of Respondents Sampled by Marital Status

Age:	No of Respondents (N)	Percentages (%)
SINGLE	34	51.52%
MARRIED	31	46.97%
SINGLE PARENT	1	1.52%
WIDOW OR WIDOWER	0	0
TOTAL	66	100%

The table illustrates respondents' marital status distribution. Majority, 51.52%, are single, followed by 46.97% married, with single parents as the minority, 1.52%...

Table on the Composition of Respondents Sampled by Religious Affiliation

Religious Status	No of Respondents (N)	Percentages (%)
CHRISTIANS	63	95.45%
CONVERTED MUSLIMS	3	4.55%
CONVERTED FROM ATR	0	0%
TOTAL	66	100%

The table displays the distribution of respondents by religious status. Majority (95.45%) are Christians (63), with Converted Muslims (3) as the minority (4.55%).

The table depicts the occupational status distribution of respondents. Majority (92.42%) are Kaduna Natives, Hausa Christians (61), while Non-Natives, Hausa Christians (5), form the minority (7.58%).

Table on the Composition of Respondents Sampled by Tribal Status

Tribal Status	No of Respondents (N)	Percentages (%)
Kaduna Natives Hausa Christians	61	92.42%
Non-Natives Hausa Christians	5	7.58%
TOTAL	66	100%

Please, tick the option that best describes your response to the following statements.
Key: YES (Y) NO (N) NOT SURE (NS)

Table on Issues on Natures and Contents of The Kaduna Preaching Bill

S/N	STATEMENTS	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1	The bill is essential and not aimed at any specific religion.	**20** (30.3%)	**40** (60.7%)	**6** (9.0%)
2	The bill aimed to curb religiously motivated violence in the state.	**15** (23.2%)	**44** (66.1%)	**7** (10.7%)
3	Opposition to the bill stemmed from distrust in government's intentions.	**29** (44.7%)	**13** (19.6%)	**24** (35.7%)
4	The contents of this religious preaching law offend religious freedom.	**25** (38.6%)	**14** (21.4%)	**26** (40.0%)
5	The bill is a calculated attempt to target other religions.	**32** (48.2%)	**27** (41.1%)	**7** (10.7%)

The table above illustrates the collective sentiments on all five items, leading to the following conclusions:

(i) A majority of 40 respondents, representing 60.7%, disagree that the bill is necessary and not targeted at any religious body. Meanwhile, 20 respondents, or 30.3%, agree with this, while 6 respondents, comprising 9.0%, are uncertain.

(ii) The majority, 44 respondents representing 66.1%, disagree that the bill aims to halt religious violence in the state. Conversely, 15 respondents (23.2%) agree, with 7 respondents (10.7%) expressing uncertainty.

(iii) A majority of 29 respondents (44.7%) attribute opposition to the bill to a lack of trust in the government's genuine intentions. 24 respondents (35.7%) are unsure, while 13 respondents (19.6%) oppose this notion.

(iv) The majority, 26 respondents (40.0%), are uncertain whether the contents of the religious preaching law infringe upon religious freedom. However, 25 respondents (38.6%) affirm that it does, while 14 respondents (21.4%) disagree.

(v) A majority of 32 respondents (48.2%) perceive the bill as a calculated attempt by some in power to target other religions. On the other hand, 27 respondents (41.1%) disagree, and 7 respondents (10.7%) are unsure.

TABLE ON CAUSES OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS

S/N	STATEMENTS	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1	Religious crises often stem from overzealousness among certain religious extremists.	**37 (**55.4%)	**15 (**23.2%)	**14 (**21.4%)
2	Enforcing personal beliefs violates others' constitutional rights and freedom of worship.	**29** (44.6%)	**12** (17.9%)	**25** (37.5%)
3	In a pluralistic society, worship may be noise or pollution.	**39** (59.0%)	**13** (19.6%)	**14** (21.4%)

Table above showed that in all of the items apart from item, majority of the respondents are in agreement. The respondents are in agreement with items 1-3. Therefore, based on people's opinion as expressed in this study, the following conclusions could be reached:

(i) **37** which is the majority of the total respondents representing 55.4% agreed that most of the religious crisis are a product of over-zealousness of some religious bigots, followed by **15** - respondents representing 23.2% disagree with the assertion, while **14** minority of the respondents representing 21.4% claimed not to be sure.

(ii) **29 which** is the majority of the total respondents representing 44.6% agree that enforcement by some, their own believes on others is a violation on other people constitutional right and freedom of worship, followed by **25** - respondents representing 37.5% who are not sure about the assertion, while **12** minority of the respondents representing 17.9% disagree totally with the motion.

(iii) 39 which is the majority of the total respondents representing 59.0% agreed that in a pluralistic society what is worship to adherents of a religion may be noise or pollution to adherents of other religions, followed by **14** -respondents representing 21.4% who claimed not to be sure about the assertion, while **13** minority of the respondents representing 19.6% actually disagree with the motion

Table on Educational Training as a Tool for Curbing Religious Crisis

S/N	STATEMENTS	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1	Human rights education enhances respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.	**55 (**84.0%)	**2 (**3.5%)	**8 (**12.5%)
2	Human rights education fosters personal development and a sense of dignity.	**55 (**84.0%)	**2 (**3.5%)	**8 (**12.5%)

3	Human rights training fosters understanding, tolerance, gender equality, and interfaith friendship.	**58 (**87.5%)	**0 (**0.0%)	**8 (**12.5%)
4	Human rights training enables effective participation in a free society.	**53** (80.4%)	**5** (7.1%)	**8** (12.5%)
5	Religious leaders need human rights training to educate their followers.	**51** (76.7%)	**6** (9.0%)	**9** (14.3%)
6	Government should include Human Rights education in primary, secondary, tertiary curricula.	**51** (76.8%)	**5** (7.1%)	**11** (16.1%)

The table above shows that the majority of respondents agree on most items. Based on the respondents' opinions, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. 55 respondents (84.0%) agree that human rights education strengthens respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. 8 respondents (12.5%) are unsure, while 2 (3.5%) disagree.
2. 55 respondents (84.0%) agree that human rights education enhances the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity. 8 respondents (12.5%) are unsure, while 2 (3.5%) disagree.
3. 58 respondents (87.5%) agree that human rights training promotes understanding, tolerance, gender equality, and friendship among religious groups. 8 respondents (12.5%) disagree.
4. 53 respondents (80.4%) agree that human rights training enables all persons to participate effectively in a free society. 8 respondents (12.5%) are unsure, while 5 respondents (7.1%) disagree.
5. 51 respondents (76.7%) agree that training and retraining religious leaders in human rights education is necessary for them to serve as training agents for their followers. 9 respondents (14.3%) are unsure, while 6 respondents (9.0%) disagree.

6. 51 respondents (76.8%) agree that the government should include human rights educational training in the curricula of primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions. 11 respondents (16.1%) are unsure, while 5 respondents (7.1%) disagree.

Overall, the data indicates strong support for integrating human rights education and training at various levels, suggesting it is seen as crucial for fostering respect, understanding, and effective participation in society.

This Table Showed Goverment as a Tool For Curbing Religious Crisis

S/N	STATEMENTS	YES	NO	NOT SURE
1	Solving religious conflicts requires a sincere, unbiased, responsible government umpire.	**33** (49.7%)	**28** (42.9%)	**5** (7.4%)
2	Government must defend public order, morality, and others' rights.	**39** (58.9%)	**25** (37.5%)	**2** (3.6%)
3	Government should restrict preaching rights to prevent religious disharmony and violence.	**37** (55.4%)	**15 (**23.2%)	**14** (21.4%)
4	Government should not regulate religious preaching at all	**39** (58.9%)	**18** (26.8%)	**9** (14.3%)
5	Government and religious bodies should create policies to guide religious activities.	**31** (46.4%)	**15** (23.2%)	**20** (30.4%)
6	Government and religious bodies should establish policies to control worship proliferation.	**40** (60.8%)	**17** (25.0%)	**9** (14.2%)

The table shows that in most items, the majority of respondents are in agreement.

The respondents largely concurred on items 1-6. Based on the opinions expressed in this study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

(i) A majority of 39 respondents, representing 49.7%, agreed that solving problems of religious conflicts requires a responsible, sincere, and unbiased government to serve as an umpire. This was followed by 25 respondents (42.9%) who disagreed, and 5 respondents (7.4%) who were unsure.

(ii) Similarly, 39 respondents (58.9%) agreed that the government has a responsibility to defend public order, public morality, and protect the rights of others. Meanwhile, 25 respondents (37.5%) disagreed, and 2 respondents (3.6%) were unsure.

(iii) Regarding restricting the right to preach to prevent religious disharmony and violence, 37 respondents (55.4%) agreed, 15 respondents (23.2%) disagreed, and 14 respondents (21.4%) were unsure.

(iv) On the issue of government regulation of religious preaching, 39 respondents (58.9%) agreed that it should not be regulated at all, while 18 respondents (26.8%) disagreed, and 9 respondents (14.3%) were unsure.

(v) When asked if the government should not regulate religious preaching at all, 31 respondents (46.4%) agreed, 20 respondents (30.4%) were unsure, and 15 respondents (23.2%) disagreed.

(vi) Finally, 40 respondents (60.8%) agreed that the government, in conjunction with religious bodies, should develop policies to curb the uncensored proliferation of worship houses or centers. This was followed by 17 respondents (25.0%) who disagreed, and 9 respondents (14.2%) who were unsure.

Discussion of Findings

Section B: Nature and Contents of the Kaduna Preaching Bill

This section explores the key findings from five items related to the nature and content of the Kaduna Preaching Bill:

Item 1: The Bill's Necessity and Target: Of the 66 respondents, 40 (60.7%) disagreed that the bill is necessary and not aimed at any religious group, while 20 (30.3%) agreed, and 6 (9.0%) were uncertain. Critics, including Oraegbunam, argue that both Islamic and Christian groups in Kaduna believe the bill is unfair, despite government claims otherwise.

Item 2: The Bill's Purpose to Curb Religious Violence: Most respondents, 44 (66.1%), disagreed that the bill is meant to stop religious violence, with 15 (23.2%) agreeing, and 7 (10.7%) unsure. John Shiklam points out that the bill introduces regulatory bodies for both Muslim and Christian groups, which has led to opposition from both sides.

Item 3: Distrust in Government Intentions: About 29 respondents (44.7%) agreed that a lack of trust in the government's true intentions fuels opposition to the bill. Another 24 (35.7%) were unsure, and 13 (19.6%) disagreed. Ahmed S. Garba highlights inconsistencies between the bill and the Nigerian Constitution, calling for amendments to align the bill with constitutional and international standards.

Item 4: Impact on Religious Freedom: 26 respondents (40.0%) were unsure if the bill offends religious freedom, while 25 (38.6%) believed it does, and 14 (21.4%) disagreed. Inibehe Effiong notes that the bill has led to heated debates, with some religious leaders calling for its withdrawal.

Item 5: The Bill as a Tool for Religious Targeting: 32 respondents (48.2%) agreed that the bill is a means to target other religions, 27 (41.1%) disagreed, and 7 (10.7%) were unsure. Effiong also criticizes the bill for giving Sharia and Customary Courts power over religious matters, which could lead to biased treatment of Christians.

Section on the Roles of Educational Trainings towards Curbing Religious Crisis
Educational training plays a key role in addressing religious conflicts, particularly through human rights education, as shown in six points:

Item 1. Human rights education fosters respect for fundamental freedoms - 84% agree it helps individuals combat prejudice and build better relationships in a

diverse society.

Item 2. It promotes personal development and dignity - 84% also believe it supports the full development of human personality, aligning with respect for human rights and freedoms.

Item 3. It encourages understanding and peace among religious groups - 87.5% support the idea that human rights training is essential for fostering tolerance and stable relations globally.

Item 4. It enhances participation in a free society - 80.4% agree that such training is crucial, reflecting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' goal of promoting peace and understanding among nations and groups.

Item 5. Religious leaders' training in human rights is needed - Although only 46.4% agree, evidence from Southwestern Nigeria shows that church-based education positively impacts religious tolerance.

Item 6. Incorporating human rights education into curricula is essential - 76.8% support its inclusion, highlighting its importance in upholding human rights and freedoms. In summary, educational training is crucial for managing religious conflicts, promoting human rights, and maintaining social cohesion in Nigeria's diverse religious context.

Section on the Roles of Government towards Curbing Religious Crisis

The government's role in addressing religious conflicts involves six key actions: Item 1. Responsible Governance: A fair and sincere government should act as an unbiased referee in religious conflicts. Nearly half (49.7%) agree, suggesting that promoting cross-cultural understanding is essential for peaceful coexistence.

Item 2. Public Order and Rights Protection: The government must maintain public order, uphold morality, and protect individual rights. A majority (58.9%) believe this is crucial for solving social issues.

Item 3. Regulating Religious Preaching: Limiting the right to preach to avoid disharmony and violence is supported by 55.4%, with many advocating for religious education to encourage tolerance and peace.

Item 4. Government-Religious Collaboration: Working together with religious bodies to regulate activities received mixed responses, with 46.4% in favor, highlighting the need for clear laws to ensure fair regulation.

Item 5. Controlling Worship Centers: Developing policies to manage the spread of worship centers is supported by 60.8%, though some worry this might infringe on fundamental rights.

Item 6. Education and Enlightenment: Training and educating religious leaders is seen as crucial for fostering tolerance and reducing conflicts. Educated leaders promote peace through dialogue in summary, the government must play a critical role in managing religious conflicts by ensuring responsible governance, protecting rights, and promoting tolerance through clear policies and education.

Limitation of Study

What legal rationale have Nigerian courts used in cases concerning limitations to freedom of religion or belief? First, the Nigerian Constitution does not define influential terms such as ◎reasonably justifiable,◎ ◎democratic society,◎ or the criteria for determining such a law. It also lacks definitions for phrases like defense, public health, public morality, and the rights of others. This ambiguity allows the government to interpret these terms when derogating from rights. Additionally, the Constitution does not define terms like manifestation, worship, teaching, practice, and observance. Second, the religion-state relationship in Nigeria shows a disparity between theory and practice, with the state often identifying positively with religion in its affairs. This relationship influences the application of limitations, favoring predominant religions in certain areas, which can impact citizens' freedom of religion. The government often cites security and the need to protect others' rights. To prevent abuse, all important phrases should be clearly defined, and the government must justify any limitations.

Summary and Conclusion

In Nigeria, the Lagos State Environmental Protection Agency Law 2012 (as amended) disallows the indiscriminate use of public address systems (PAS) by religious organizations and provides for noise control in both residential and industrial areas. It appears that the Kaduna bill, under Section 45(1) of the 1999 Constitution, aligns with constitutional provisions. The bill' s intent is to ensure that religious preaching and activities in the state do not threaten public order, public safety, and protect the rights and freedoms of others. It does not aim to abolish or derogate the freedom of religion and religious beliefs. However, due to the bill's controversial nature and the prevailing religious tension in Kaduna State, there is a need for the government to consider a referendum and public hearings during the legislative process. Concerns among religious organizations arise as to why a new law is required to replace the existing Kaduna State Religious Preaching Law 1984.

The study investigated the Kaduna preaching bill's impact on religious freedom and social dynamics, employing Deviance Theory and Social Identity Theory. A descriptive survey targeted Hausa Christians displaced to Lagos due to religious conflicts, garnering insights from 100 respondents at Yaba Baptist Church. Results highlighted the bill's discriminatory nature and its potential to criminalize religious practices. The research emphasized the role of educational training in promoting human rights and the government's responsibility in ensuring equitable religious freedoms. In conclusion, the Kaduna preaching bill undermines constitutional rights, necessitating legal reforms to protect religious diversity and individual freedoms. Legislative revisions are essential to uphold constitutional rights and foster inclusive governance, balancing religious regulation with human rights. Effective governance strategies are crucial for promoting social cohesion and safeguarding fundamental freedoms amidst religious diversity.

Recommendation from the Study:

1. In diverse societies like Nigeria, appointees should be tolerant, avoiding religious bias or fanaticism.

2. The Nigerian government must justify any limitations on religious freedom under Section 45 of the Constitution. Such restrictions must not be discriminatory or for political purposes.
3. States should revise Preaching Laws to prevent religious bias and ensure neutrality. Education and judicial training are crucial.
4. Government should prioritize Human Rights Education across all educational levels for societal integration.
5. Religious institutions must integrate courses like Religion and Peace into theological/Quranic school curricula.

Recommendation for future studies:

1. Conduct comparative studies on the impact of similar preaching laws in different regions to understand their effects on religious freedom and social cohesion.
2. Implement longitudinal research to track the long-term effects of religious regulations on community dynamics and interfaith relations over time.
3. Evaluate the effectiveness of educational policies promoting human rights and religious tolerance in various educational systems, focusing on outcomes and best practices.

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