

THE ROLE OF STATE IN CURBING ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS CRISES IN NIGERIA AS A FEDERATION

¹Duke, Otu O., ²Odey Ogbinyi Jr.. & ³Etim, Emmanuel Eyo

^{1&3}Department of Public Administration, University of Calabar

²Department of Political Science, University of Calabar

Abstract

This study examines the roles of State in curbing ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria, using the group theory, with emphasis on addressing the causal factors of the disharmony and intolerance. Secondary data was analyzed to identify major causes of ethnic and religious intolerance in the country. Three states from three geopolitical zones were selected as case studies. Findings indicate that ethnic and religious disharmonies have been a clog on the wheels of Nigeria's federalism. Based on these findings, some policy recommendations were offered to State and Local Governments, which includes: encouraging religious and ethnic tolerance among citizens. There should be quick identification and adequate attention should be given to majority needs. Committee of Elders should be established in every local government to intervene during crises at early stages and prevent their escalation.

Keywords: *Nigeria's Federalism, ethnicity, religious crises, terrorism.*

Corresponding Author: Duke, Otu O.

Background to the Study

It has been a century since the emergence of Nigeria as an entity and over fifty-six years of post-colonial governance. Yet, the country is still grappling with the recurrent issue of ethnic and religious disharmonies resulting majorly from British colonial policies during the colonial era, minority problem, religious and ethnic sentiments, ideological differences, education and poverty. Of recent, the heterogeneous society has witnessed several cases of violence, ranging from bombing, shooting, kidnapping, armed robbery and senseless killing from groups which include but not limited to Boko Haram, Militants, Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). This has posed serious threat to the peaceful co-existence of the people of Nigeria; introduce abject poverty and economic stagnation. Although insecurity and ethnic conflagration affects many parts of the world today, the dimension it assumes in Nigeria is worrisome and alarming. According to Akhakpe, Fatile and Igbokwe-Ibeto (2012), no nation can really boast of having achieved development if a large percentage of its inhabitants are wallowing under abject poverty, want, insecurity and adept in socio-economic penury.

Several terrorist groups in Nigeria have been linked to religious and ethnic sentiments. This view is supported by Omipidan (2013) when he noted that Boko Haram is traceable to the preaching of Mallam Abubakar Kilakam who is strongly against non-Muslim worshippers and Western education. According to Saheed and Alofun (2010), cited in Saheed and Egwaikhide (2012:177), the United Nations Human Right Commission (2008) posited that since 1999, more than 10,000 Nigerian have been killed in sectarian and communal attacks and reprisals between Muslims and Christians. The most serious of these clashes occurred in Kaduna State (February and May 2000, and November, 2001); Jos, Plateau State (September 2001); Kano State and Yelwa, Plateau State (February – May, 2004); and in Northern and Southeastern Nigeria, in the wake of the controversy over depiction of Prophet Muhammed in Danish press in February 2006.

The paper therefore examines the role of state governments in curbing ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria with emphasis on addressing the causal factors including ethnic apathy, education, unemployment, poverty, attitude of religious leaders, among others.

Objectives of the Study

Aims and objectives of study indicate direction of research and what the study intends to achieve. Eze and Agbo (2005:26) noted that once the research objectives are achieved, the research problem would have been solved. This study is aimed at curbing ethnic and religious disharmonies at regional levels and the sustenance of Nigeria's democracy with the following specific objectives:

1. To evaluate the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on Nigeria's federalism
2. To identify the factors responsible for ethno-religious crises in Nigeria
3. To establish the role of ethnic and religious groups on Nigeria's federalism
4. To ascertain the role of state governments in curbing ethno-religious conflicts
5. To make recommendations on the way forward.

Literature Review

Here, we are going to examine the works of various scholars who have contributed to the subject matter and their efforts will be adequately credited.

Federalism

The subject of federalism has multiple definitions. Although these definitions have some common characteristics, it disparity has misled the judgment of various scholars of social and behavioral sciences. Burgess (2000:24; 2006:47) noted that certain authors have drawn a distinction between 'federalism' as a normative ideology and 'federalism' as a political institution, which some consider a helpful dichotomy but others, such as Forsyth, regards as simply 'pretentious and a red herring'(cited in Law, J. 2013).

Federalism refers to the advocacy of multi-tiered government combining elements of shared-rule and regional self-rule... within the genus of federal political systems, federations represent a particular species in which neither the federal nor the constituent units of government are constitutionally subordinate to the other. i.e. each has sovereign powers derived from the constitution rather than another level government, each is empowered to deal directly with its citizens in the exercise of legislative, executive and taxing powers and each is directly elected by its citizens (Watts 1996; cited in Law, 2013:95).

Federalism has never been a modern designed ideology of autonomy, decentralization, independence; federalism may not be equalized with decentralization or separatism. If a tendency towards particularism, ambivalence, egoism or even to the idea of secession exists, then one does not think in a federal way. Federalism presumes the will to a unity in diversity (Bataveljic, 2012:27). Therefore, from the aforementioned, federalism is a system that creates room for division of powers and authority between the national and subordinate levels of government.

Ethnicity and Religious Conflicts

There are three diverse religious believes in Nigeria: Christianity, Islam and Traditionalists. Among these three Christianity and Islamic religion are more popular. The two major religious groups are not ready to accept each other. Muslim fanatics, especially in the Northern part of the country believe that Nigeria should be declared a Muslim Country. Also, the multiplicity of ethnic groups and tribes in the country has form a strong altercation in the social life of the people.

Ejizu (1993) sees religion as man's intuition of the sacred and awareness in concrete life. Durkheim in his view noted that religion involves a set of beliefs and practices that are uniquely the other of social institutions and ways of thinking (Durkheim, cited in Fawole and Bello, 2011). Also, ethnicity can be said to be the introduction of ethnic disagreements in an attempt to be favoured at a point in time or place. According to Osaghae (1992), ethnicity refers to a cultural formation resting upon cultural specific practices and unique set of symbols and cosmology.

Theoretical Framework

As a country, Nigeria is a heterogeneous society with diverse languages, cultures, tribes, religious and political groups. There is a constant pursuit of interest between these groups at every point concerning the distribution of the nation's resources while Nigeria strives for democracy and nation building. Hence, this paper adopts group theory. According to Babatunde (2015), group theory owes its origin to the theoretical postulation of Arthur Bentley, a major player in the Behaviouralist school of thought in political science. Bentley felt that the societies are made up of groups who struggle with each other on the basis of interest articulation and pursuit.

“The phenomena of political life which we study will always divide the society in which they occur, along lines which are very real, though out of varying degree of definiteness. The society, itself is nothing other than the complex of groups that compose it (Bentley, Quoted in Babatunde, 2015:2).

In Nigeria, there have been several issues of ethnic and religious disagreements that have climbed to the political strata. The multiplier effects of these have led to ethnic militias, most of which have developed into deadly terrorist groups whose activities have claimed the lives of not less than 20 million Nigerians and non-Nigerians and have destroyed millions of properties around the country. According to Garson (1978);

the origin of group theory is really the acknowledgement that “the state” is composed of actors, both institutional and non-institutional, who are products of diverse historical, socio-economic and political backgrounds, with diverse interests.

This implies that there is a set of conflictions by these groups and the state is supposed to act as a control mechanism to harmonize these interests, redefine and shape national policies in the order at which it can address ethnic and group differences.

Practically, it is rare to have a group speak in the interest of society as a whole. Rather, every group pursues its interest and that of its members. Hence, these private agitations are translated into public domains. As Cahn (1995) noted, the tendency of groups in a democracy to factionalize in order to maximize their influence as they exercise their rights to press freedom. Here, it becomes necessary for the state to carefully highlight these differences and come up with reasonable policies and programmes that address the agitation of the majority in situations where it is difficult to address every problem. In the words of Berry (1989), policy making becomes about compromise, or about finding solutions that are best for a majority of groups.

Societies experience group conflict at one point or the other. These conflicts can be used as an indication of the present and a predictor of the future of a society. In Nigeria, the level at which group conflict has endangered the peaceful co-existence of the people is much to be concerned about because marginalization and secession threats is unhealthy for Nigeria's federalism.

Methodology

A qualitative method of data analysis was used in this study. According to Matveev, A (2002) qualitative methods gives deeper information concerning the nature of communication process in a research. In tackling the research question, data was analyzed for clarity and variety of secondary data were drawn from extant literature, most of which were online Journals, newspapers, magazines and books, to establish the role of state in curbing ethno-religious conflicts; evaluate the impact of ethno-religious conflicts on Nigeria's federalism; identify the factors responsible for ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria as well as proffer the way forward.

Date	Events	No. of Victims
21–22Feb. 2000	Riots over the introduction of Sharia. Kaduna	3 000 killed
28 Feb.2000	Religious riots in Aba, and minor disturbances in Umuahia. Abia	450 killed
12 Oct. 2001	Religious riot in Kano.	Over 150 killed.
Sept. „01	Violent clashes between Muslim and Christians in Jos	3, 000 killed
16 Nov. 2002	The <i>Miss World</i> crisis in which Muslims attacked Christians and churches. Kaduna	Over 250 killed
March„03	Fighting between Itsekiri and Ijaw ethnic group in Niger Delta	200 people killed
8 Jun. 2004	Religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Numan town. Adamawa	Over 17 persons killed.
Feb. „06	4 days of sectarian violence across Nigeria, particularly in the cities of Onitsha, Maiduguri, Katsina and Bauchi.	150 people killed
18 Feb. 2006	Religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Maiduguri. Borno	Over 50 persons killed
22 Mar. 2007	Muslim pupils killed their Christian teacher, Mrs Oluwatoyin Olusesan. Gombe	1 Person killed
July, „07	Violence between Sunni and Shi’a Muslims over the murder of a Sunni cleric in Sokoto	5 people killed
Dec. „07	3 churches burnt in the Northern State of Bauchi	10 people killed
28 Nov. 2008	Religious violence between Muslims and Christians in the city of Jos. Plateau	Over 700 people killed.
Dec. „08	Violent clashes over disputed election result in Jos	400 people killed
17–20Jan.2009	Resurgence of religious crisis in Jos. Plateau	320 killed.
21 Feb. 2009	Ethno-religious conflict at the Makama New Extension. Bauchi	Over 11 people were killed.
July, „09	2 days battle with radical Islamist in Yobe and Bauchi	150 people killed
Sept.“09	Rioting in the Northern State of Kano	19 people killed
29 Dec. 2009	Religious violence unleashed by the <i>Kala- Kato</i> sect on Christians. Bauchi	Over 38 persons killed.
7 Mar. 2010	Attacks by Fulani Moslems on Christian dominated villages of Dogo Nahawa, Shen and Fan in Jos. Plateau	Over 500 people killed.
17 Mar. 2010	Suspected Fulani militia men attacked residents of Biye and Batem in Jos. Plateau	13 persons killed.
11 Apr. 2010	Attack on a Christian village of Berom stock, some 30 kilometres south of Jos, by suspected Fulani herdsmen. Plateau	150 killed
22 May. 2010	Murder of three (Muslim) Fulani herdsmen at Tusung Village in Barkin Ladi Local Government, Plateau state.	3 Killed

Date	Events	No. of Victims
22 May. 2010	Attack on some Christians, who were returning from their place of worship along Bauchi road in Jos.	1 killed
17 Jul. 2010	Muslim Fulani herdsmen launched an overnight attack on a Christian village, Mazah, north of the city of Jos.	8 killed
Oct. „10	Bomb blast at the Eagle square in Abuja, during the country’s 50th anniversary	19 people killed
April, „11	Bomb blast at the INEC office in Niger state	13 people killed
April, „11	Post election violence in Kaduna, Bauchi, and some states in the northern part of Nigeria.	9 NYSC Members killed
16 Jun. 2011	Suicide bomb attack at the Police Headquarters, Abuja	6 killed
29 Aug. 2011	Clashes between Muslims and Christians at Rukuba road and Farin Gada in Jos during the Ramadan prayers. Plateau	Over 20 persons were killed.
26 Aug. 2011	Suicide bombing at the UN House, Abuja by suspected <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamists.	23 persons were killed.
5 Nov. 2011	Coordinated attacks on churches and police stations by suspected <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamists.	90 persons were reportedly killed,.
25 Dec. 2011	The bombs were alleged to have been planted at the Church's parking lot.	45 persons were killed..
5-6Jan.2012	Gunmen stormed a Deeper life church in Gombe, shooting in discriminately at worshippers. The <i>Boko Haram</i> Islamist sect claimed responsibility for the shooting.	6 persons were reportedly killed.
5-6Jan.2012	Suspected <i>Boko Haram</i> militants stormed a gathering of Igbo Christians and shot sporadically, killing over a dozen and injuring others in apparent execution of an ultimatum given by the <i>BokoHaram</i> Islamist sect to Southern Christians living in the North to leave.	22 persons were reportedly killed.
April 16, 2013	Baga massacre , Maiduguri	187 people killed

Source: Adapted from Achumba et al (2013), Onuoha (2010), and Saheed, Z and Egwaikhide, C.I (2012).

Data Collection Method

Data for this research were collected through an extensive review of extant literature which focuses on the subject matter. The literature reviewed in this study are of high standard and reputations. Glass, 1976:3, noted that 'secondary data review is where you re-analyze data in other to answer the original research question in a better way or an entirely new research question with the same data to produce a good and credible research'.

Case Study Analysis

For optimum result, and to meet up with the research objectives, three states were selected from three geo-political zones in Nigeria. The geopolitical zones include: North-Central (Middle belt), North-East, and South-South. Plateau, Borno, and Delta were selected respectively from these zones. The aforementioned states have recorded increasing number of ethnic and religious based attacks and terrorism.

North Central: Plateau

Plateau is the Twelfth largest state in Nigeria, and is located approximately in the centre of the country. Its capital is Jos. It is geographically unique in Nigeria because its boundaries surround the Jos Plateau, having the entire Plateau in its centre and northern part. It has a population of about 3.2 million people as at 2006 (Wikipedia, 2016). According to Nairaland (2015):

For over a century now, the once uniquely serene and peaceful atmosphere of Plateau state has continued to witness seemingly unabated spates of violence and attacks resulting into wanton destruction of lives and properties. Of late, the demonic attacks around the localities of Barkin Ladi and Riyom have assumed a genocidal dimension with horrendous systematic killing of the Berom people and destruction of their means of livelihood. One may ask why these attacks why are innocent people being killed on a daily bases in BarkinLadi-Riyom by the Fulani Marauders and the government seems helpless to arrest the situation, what do these terrorist want with Plateau state. Notably, the quest and battle in Plateau State as been on since the time of Usman Danfolio. It is on record that the dream of Usman, the Jihadist that led Jihad across Northern Niger-area at that time was to spread Islam across the entire regions from North to South.

North-East: Borno

Borno is a state in north-eastern Nigeria. Its capital is Maiduguri. The state was formed in 1976. It shares boundaries with Yobe, Gombe, Adamawa and Chad Republic, with a population of about 6 million people as at 2006 (Wikipedia, 2016). The North-Eastern states of Nigeria have been constantly terrorized by an Islamic terrorist group known as Boko Haram. Attacks by Boko Haram is aimed at converting Nigeria to a Muslim country, taking terrestrial control of large part of North-Eastern Nigeria, the eradication of Western education, and the full enforcement of the Sharia. Their dreaded activities have resulted in the loss of lives, properties and displacement of millions of Nigerians.

South-South: Delta

Delta state is an oil and agricultural producing state of Nigeria, situated in the region known as the South-South geopolitical zone with a population of about 4.1 million people as at 2006 (Wikipedia, 2016). Delta state is surrounded by Ondo, Edo, Anambra, Rivers, and Bayelsa. According to Bassey and Akpan (2012), non-violent protest by youths and civil society organizations in the late 1980s against marginalization and environmental degradation later developed into a fearsome resistance involving heavily armed militant factors of MEND, NDVF, MOSIEND, etc against the Joint Task Force deployed in the Niger Delta. It could, therefore, be argued that one grave dimension of the instrumentalisation of disorder is transformation of immanent social movements into armed militancy, especially following the execution of key leadership of MOSOP: Ken Saro-Wiwa and the "Ogoni 9".

The Australian Department of Foreign affairs in its remarks cautioned travelers who intend to visit Nigeria on the need to avoid visiting some states and regions. According to them, "we advise you to reconsider your need to travel to Nigeria due to high threat of

terrorist attack, the high threat of kidnapping, the unpredictable security situation, the possibility of violent civil unrest and the high level of violent crime ... we strongly advise you not to travel to Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Kano, Kaduna and Yobe... we strongly advise you not to travel to Bayelsa, Delta, Rivers, etc.

Ethnic and Religious Disharmonies: the Role State

Violence in Nigeria in its various forms has evolved over decades, from the use of traditional weapons, charms and amulets. Today, it has taken a sophisticated dimension. Observably, political, electoral, religious, ethnic/tribal, cultism and other violence are now dominant in the Nigerian society at varying degrees (Rotimi, O. (2016). Nigeria has recorded numerous ethnic and religious based terrorist attacks from 1960 till date. Popular among these are the activities of Boko Haram, militant and Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), whose operation took effect between 2009-2010. Nigerians are overwhelmingly obsessed about religious and ethnic identities. Sadly, religious and ethnic identities play more important roles in election, appointments, employment and admission into public institutions in Nigeria. The thick cloud of religious and ethnic sentiments has given birth to violence (Rotimi, 2016). Fatima, N. (2014) submits that:

“if conflicts between Muslims and Christians remains the same then definitely its effect will continue not only on the lives of people but also on the economic growth, country's reputation at international level, political, social and economic instability. This will lead Nigeria to more decline and worst situation. There is need to create awareness among the Muslim and Christians to bear each other and show some responsibility towards their country and they system must also be changed which also create more instability among the lives of people.”

Everyone seems to focus attention on the Federal Government, whereas states have major roles to play in solving the problem of insecurity and ethno-religious crisis in Nigeria. Finding solution to a problem is secondary as compared to eliminating the possible causes of the problem. The later brings lasting solution. Today, Boko Haram is domicile in the North-Eastern and North-Central, militants in the South-South, etc. what have the states done to address this senseless killing of innocent citizens? Although Nigeria needs to go back to true federalism as was seen in the early days of independence, promoting true federalism does not start and end in resource control, state autonomy, supremacy of the constitution and independence of the judiciary. Rather, while all these are necessary elements of true federalism, there is need for states to properly manage and carefully address the minority-majority problem that has been a clog of the wheels of the nation's federalism and unity. Strong ethnocentrism manifested in the belief of superiority of one ethnic group over the other should gain adequate attention from the states.

Notably in the country, ethnic clashes abound to press home the agitation against oppression, and for emancipation by various ethnic groups. For instance, Onuigbo (2001) opines that indications of ethnic clashes date back to the ethnic tension in Jos of 1932, which resulted in the violence of 1945, the cold war between the Igbo and the Yoruba in Lagos in 1948, the Kano riot of 1953, the Tiv of 1960-66, the declaration of the state of emergency in

the former western region in 1952, the census crisis in 1965, the western election crisis in 1965/66 the military coup d'etat of January 1966, the civil war of 1966/1970, the election crisis of various kinds that culminated in the 1993 annulment of the election, the religious crisis of Zango Kataf and the recent ethnic clashes in Shagamu, Kaduna, Aba, Kano and Jos, to mention but a few. The resultant effects are formation of ethnic militias or groups such as Odudua People's Congress (OPC) in the western axis, Bakassi Boys in the Eastern axis and the Arewa Boys in the Northern axis and Youth Congresses of various minority ethnic groups. The results of this ethnocentrism are rancor, crisis, corrupt, ethnic militarism, dispute, discord hatred, intolerance, and unhealthy rivalry, all of which can be summed up as a nation living in disharmony.

Addressing these problems is better done by states in shunning undemocratic actions during elections, creating Elders committee to address the immediate needs groups and preach unity even in the midst of diversity in Nigeria in championing the process of economic diversification. Also, states should invest in agriculture and revamp solid mineral sectors which has been neglected to create more employment opportunities. This does not imply that the Federal Government has no role to play, but a total reliance on the Federal Government by states will slow down the process. Ethno-religious conflicts, if addressed by state, will yield rapid results owing to their closeness to the people. Nigerians must see themselves as one irrespective of tribe, culture and religion. According to Rotimi (2016), the activities of Fulani herdsmen have launched brutal attacks on rural people. Also, amidst the Federal government's war against Boko Haram and Militants, the Shiites Islamic Movement has become a threat to the country. Indigenous People of Igbo (IPOB), a movement led by Nnam diKanu, which is fight for the creation of the Biafran State; ethnic antipathy, attitude of religious leaders, religious and ethnic sentiments, religious education, education, poverty, corruption, poor economy and unemployment, political instability, failure of states to address trigger-factors and early warning signals must receive adequate attention from state and Federal Government. If not, it will graduate into a case of serious violence that may claim lives and properties of innocent citizens of Nigeria.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper is to examine the possible ways of curbing ethnic and religious conflicts by state governments using the group theory. Efforts have been made to x-ray several factors that are responsible for ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria. Attempts have been made to examine how some 'minor' agitations have aggravated into deadly terrorist activities around the country. It has been observed that a century since the emergence of Nigeria as an entity and over fifty-six years of post-colonial governance, the country continue to grapple with the recurrent issue of ethnic and religious disharmonies. Also, that if conflicts between Muslims and Christians remains the same then definitely its effect will continue not only on the lives of people but also on the economic growth, country's reputation at international level, political, social and economic instability, etc. which are unhealthy for the country's federalism.

Recommendations

1. States should champion the process of economic diversification by investing in agriculture and revamping of solid mineral sector which has been neglected.
2. States, especially in the North, should provide and ensure adequate education for its citizens. Citizens should be made to understand the need for education because knowledge and information are keys to sustainable developments.
3. States should engage their youths in economic activities which will redirect their focus and take their minds away from unlawful activities.
4. States should sensitize its citizens on the need for mutual respect and tolerance, irrespective of religion, tribe, culture, language and political affiliation.
5. As the message of change rings at the Federal level, the message of mutual respect should be heard at state level.
6. Committee of Elders should be established to constantly and adequately intervene during minor disputes and prevent its escalation as was practiced in the early Nigeria by some tribes.
7. Trigger-factors and early warning signs should not be ignored.
8. States should ensure equality among citizens. By this, the issue of majority and minority will be a thing of the past.

References

- Achumba, I. C., Ighomercho, O. C. & Akpan-Robert, M. O. M. (2013). Security challenges in Nigeria and implications of business activities and sustainable development. *Journal of Economic Development*, 4(2) 77-99.
- Akhakpe, I, Fatile, O. J. & Igbokwe-Ibeto (2012). Local government and the challenges of community and rural development in Nigeria: the way forward. *International Journal of Asian Social Service II (VII)*. Pp 803-819
- Australian Government: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. www.smartraveller.gov.au Extracted Tuesday 20th August, 2016 at 08:09PM
- Babatunde, O. (2015). Nigeria's federalism, unity and development. *Global Journals Inc. USA.* 15, Issue 2. P3
- Bassey, C. O. & Akpan, F. (2012). Mainstreaming Peace and Security in the Niger Delta: Resource Control, Ethnic Nationalism and Conflict Cessation in a Turbulent System. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*. 12 (6) Version 1.0
- Bataveljic, D. (2012). Federalism: the concept, development and future. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 2, (24). P27
- Berry, J. M. (1989). The advocacy Explosion. In Theodoulou, S. and Cahn, M. (Ed.). *Public policy. The Essential Readings*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. Pp. 317-324.

- Cahn, M. (1995). The players: Institutional and non-institutional actors in policy process. In Theodoulou, S. and Cahn, M. (Ed.). Public policy. The Essential Readings. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. Pp. 201-211.
- Ejizu, C. J. (1993). Religion and politics in Nigeria: the perspective of the indigenous religions. In Abubakar R. D. et al (eds). Religion and politics in Nigeria Available online at: <http://www.academicjournal.org/INGOJ>
- Eze, O. & Agbo, B. (2005). Research methods: Basic issues and methodology. Enugu: Benalice Publications.
- Fatima, N. (2014). Religious conflicts in Nigeria and their impacts on social life. Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences Vol.2, No.4, pp.15-19. Available online at: www.ea-journals.org
- Garson, G. D. (1978). Group Theories of politics. California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Law, J. (2013). How can we define federalism. Prospective on federalism. 5, (3). Pp 94-95
- Nigerian Pilot (2016). Towards strengthening local government administration in Nigeria. www.nigerianpilot.com. Extracted Tuesday 20th September, 2016 at 06:09AM
- Onuigbo, A. U. (2001). Counseling in a democratic setting for peaceful coexistence. Being a paper presented at the 25th Annual Conference of Counselling Association of Nigeria held at Benue State Makurdi.
- Onuoha, Freedom C. (2010). The state and management of religious violence in Nigeria: A case of the July 2009 Boko Haram revolt. PhD. Seminar paper presented to the department of political science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria.
- Osaghae, E. (1992). Ethnicity and democracy. In Fasoro, A, et al (eds). Understanding Democracy. Ibadan: Book craft Limited
- Rotimi, O. (2016). Violence in Nigeria: Causes, effects and solutions. The paradigm. www.theparadigmng.com/2016/04/26. Extracted Tuesday 20th September, 2016 at 07:09AM
- Royal Times (2016). We need north central unity forum pdp chieftain. www.royaltime.net. Extracted Tuesday 20th September, 2016 at 10:09AM
- Saheed, Z. S & Egwaikhide, C.I (2012). Impact of social crises on economic development: Theoretical Evidence from Nigeria. American International Journal of Contemporary Research Vol. 2 No. 6. P177

Wazis, D. (2016). Environmental changes in Borno State, Nigeria: implication for farming Population, Livelihood and Resilience. Research on Humanities and Social Sciences .6, (16). Also available online at: www.iiste.org

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia (2016). Borno State. Extracted Wednesday September 21, 2016. At 7:20AM

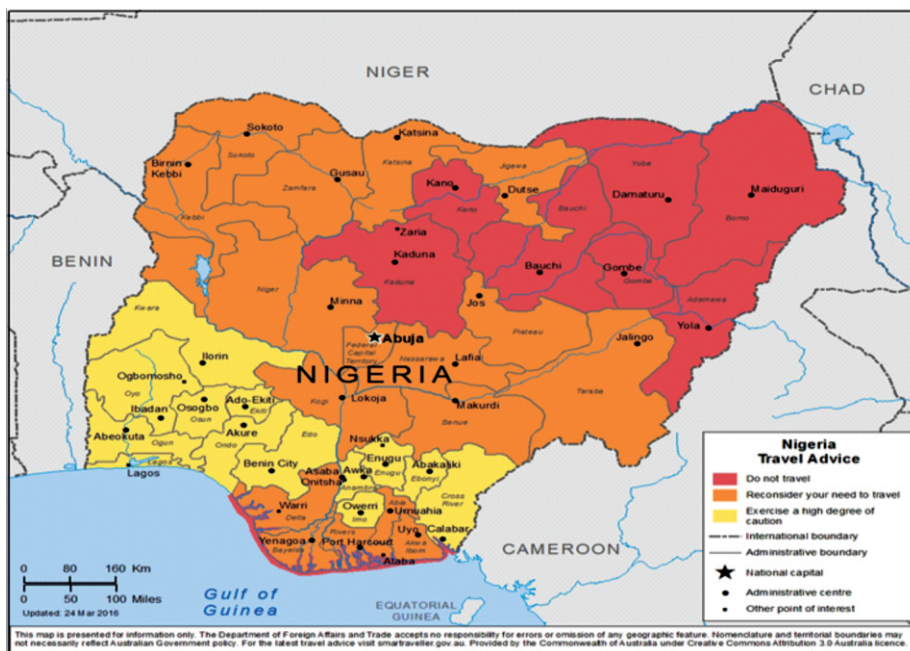
Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia (2016). Delta State. Extracted Wednesday September 21, 2016. At 9:50AM

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia (2016). Plateau State. Extracted Wednesday September 21, 2016. At 5:20 AM

www.nairaland.com. Terrorism: the Secret ongoing battle in Nigeria. Plateau state case study. Extracted Tuesday 20th September, 2016. At 09:13AM.

Appendix

Map of Nigeria showing some areas that have been affected by ethnic and religious groups



Map of Nigeria indicating geopolitical zones

