

INDIGENE/SETTLER AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: CAUSES AND DIMENSIONS

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Abstract

This study examined the recurring indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria which have now characterized the hitherto peaceful co-existence among the various ethno-religious and communal groups across Nigeria, made average Nigerians to identify themselves with this tribe, that clan, these chiefs/chiefdoms, this religion or that cult et cetera and have also placed ascriptions above achievements in our societies. The study used secondary source (books, journals, newspapers, magazines and reports) to obtain data and also used pluralist's theory in the theoretical framework. Divide and rule politics, religious inclinations, poverty and unemployment, land dispute, fear of domination, marginalization and failure of constituted authorities to bring past perpetrators of such conflicts to book, poor development control and proliferation of small arms among local people are found to be the major causes of these conflicts in Nigeria. The study also found that indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts are on the increase in Nigeria and it is to the detriment of peaceful togetherness hitherto enjoyed by Nigerians wherever they were, corporate existence of Nigerian state as a united single political entity, national development, economic well being and prosperity of the groupings and the nation at large and loss of social bond among Nigerians. The study recommends strict enforcement of all constitutional rights and provisions of citizens especially those on residency, movement, discrimination, social justice, introduction of special national education and orientation, promotion of inter-ethnic and religious marriages, de-emphasizing tribal and regional tendencies especially in state matters, and resuscitation of the nation's economy through employment creation, deliberate policy on economic transfer, generally fair and acceptable land tenure system and implementation of recommendations of various commissions, panels of inquiries into various past disturbances and conflicts and involvement of communities in development planning and control and enacting of special constitutional laws to protect the perceived indigenes and settlers from one another.

Keywords: *Conflicts, Ethnicity, Indigene, Religion and Settler*

Background to the Study

Most people want to have social identity, respect and association with others which are in turn is acquired through several ways such as individual's family status, region, village, tribe, socio-economic status, religious affiliations and or linguistic relations. This is a dominant character of developing societies including Nigeria where much importance, recognition and pride are given to individuals' ascriptions at the expense of one can achieve no matter how useful and contributive. The actions of man are also guided and influenced by the desire to get optimum benefit and minimal pain and as maintained by Utilitarians that what men do and call 'good' are necessary functions of their calculations derived from the pleasure-pain principle (Lijphart

1968). Despite the fact that men were created with differences of race, colour, geography and biology, men are all equal to one another and the ground on which equality is claimed for all men is of equal force and proportion. Nature has also made man different from and above all other animals with reasoning, conscience and rationality and to settle on different continents, nationalities, islands with (villages, hamlets, wards, cities and states in the case of Nigeria).

The distribution of human population above makes man to settle, migrate, move from one place to another and those situations are largely influenced by search for better life. Settlement on one area or the other by man enabled him to make claims over the one land or the other and the entire history of man is characterized by settling and migrating from one place to another in search of better life (arable and fertile land), forced migration because of wars, population explosion et cetera. However, Rodee (1975:217) warned that where several cleavage lines reinforce one another, marking out in each case the same group in terms of its social identity, the chances of violence and political stability are extremely high.

Claims of land ownership (being the second most important resource apart from human) mostly tied to circumstances of birth, has over time been in the growth and development of humanity across the world. It however manifests in different dimensions sometimes resulting into migration, resettlement or conflicting such as the recent denial of citizenship, expulsion and state killing of Rohingya Muslims minority tribe in Myanmar, Burma, which became conflict in the name of indigene/settler/natives/immigrants. In Nigeria like many other developing states, many tribal groupings and communities across the length and breadth of the country find it convenient to initiate or pursue indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts usually for gains associated with few individuals and groups to the detriment of the general populace, unity and corporate existence of the whole country. Nigerians have become so much attached to and influenced by their tribal nationalities and loyalties to the detriment of national unity and although our tribal identities are our indigenous identities, most Nigerians are most comfortable with the tribal rather than the national/citizenship identity (Hagher, 2002:59). Indigene/settler and ethno-religious issues have taken a monstrous dimension by enveloping religion, poverty, unemployment, hatred and other hidden agenda.

Nigerian -The Plural Composition

Nigeria occupies a total land of 923,766 square kilometers and operates federal system of government with one Federal (central) Government, 36 States, 768 Local Governments and 6 Area Councils (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999) and it is the largest in Africa population wise. Nigeria is heterogeneous in terms of ethnic groups/languages composition. The three (3) main regions that made up Nigeria after the 1914 amalgamation are also composed of several nationalities themselves with majority and minority groups co-habiting the areas as observed by Sklar & Whitaker (1970:597): "It has been observed that each of the three regions has a dual cultural make-up: a preponderant majority of culturally related tribes speaking the same language, and a heterogeneous group of culturally linguistic minorities ...". Usman (2006:151) stated that in 1976, Linguists identified 394 distinct groups within Nigeria. Some of these languages had distinct dialects, of which 125 were identified and further maintained that: "unlike almost any other country in Africa, Nigeria has within its territory, a substantial number of speakers of three out of the five families of languages found in Africa, namely Afro-Asiatic, Niger Congo and Nilo-Saharan...".

Obikeze & Anthony (2003:1) asserted that "Nigeria as it is presently constituted is in all honesty the creation of the British" and before 1914, the entity now known as Nigeria comprised of many independent ethnic groups which had little in common except in trade and commerce. There are many autonomous

communities that cherish their identity and had their individual, political, social and economic lives prior to the coming of Europeans. This presents the complex nature and composition of the Nigerian state prior to and even after the British Colonial conquest. For Usman (2005:149) the ethnic nationalities and sub-nationalities of present day Nigeria have been formed and are being formed, within the same historical process which over the last one hundred years has been creating a Nigerian nationality, even though some of the major dimensions of these nationalities, like the languages and dialects, have roots which go back thousands of years. Describing the Northern Region of Nigeria and its people, Hoben & Greens (1966:3) stated that the area belongs to the Sudan South of Sahara with features of the people and their cultures largely influenced by contact with neighbors especially from the North and West and the large land locked island and on the peoples, they submitted that:

Today's Northern Nigerians carry the chromosomes of variety of ancient peoples, including the Berber, Jewish and Arab immigrants from the north, deriving their civilization and traditions from the Mediterranean regimes of Carthage and Rome, Greece and Byzantium, as from the Islamic empire of Spain and the Magrib, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. Mixed in varying degree with these heredity stains are those of the indigenous peoples of the Sudan, who later absorbed the lighter skinned immigrants from the North and intermarried with them.

This assertion reiterates the mixture of Northern Nigerians with other peoples and debunks the notion and feeling or claim of indigeneship by one or the other on other grounds and proves that factors of contact, trade, intermarriages, migration, wars, search for water and fertile land have significantly determined the population and habitation of lands in northern Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of pluralism is used for this study as Nigeria is large and heterogeneous with more than 140m (NPC, 2006) and has more than 394 different languages as provided by Usman (2006). The Pluralists theory asserts that power, in state, is shared among heterogeneous groups while at the same time varied ideas, opinions and expressions on social issues arise in the process. As more interests, ideas and opinions arise, there is the need for aggregation of these varied interests together with representation of all the groups for peace, order and stability to reign and almost all smaller groups within the larger society aim to maintain their unique identities, values and practices (Wikipedia 2013). Representation of the varied groups is only possibly done by few individuals (elites). These few elites bear the conduct of societal responsibilities of establishing peace, security, stability in addition to provision of other essential services. The assertion of this theory is typical of Nigeria-plural nature with the existence of many small/sub groups within the larger Nigerian state and society in which each strives to maintain its unique cultural and regional identities. These groups with differences in ethno-religious and cultural backgrounds within the same supra borders. These groups' coexistence are however, more often associated and prone to tensions based on the heterogeneous nature. This plural and heterogeneous structure of the Nigerian state has remained the major background of politico-religious, socio-economic and ethno-regional conflicts that have been negatively affecting the entire parts and systems of Nigeria.

The Indigene/Settler and Ethno-Religious Psyche

Social relations, politics and other endeavours of Nigerians lives are partly occupied by the indigene/settler and ethno-religious psyche for no reason other than ethnicity (sharing history, sense of identity and cultural roots) and chauvinism, ignorance of history and attempt to assert dominance, perpetrate hatred, instabilities among people and feeling of superiority/inferiority complex and differences in religious

beliefs. This has among others led to ethnocentrism, superiority and inferiority complex which according to International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (2008:9 and 448) involves mass societal aggression, denial of access to societal opportunities and use of abusive or derogatory statements and that tribalism and its related tendencies are have generated dangerous and divisive tendencies especially in Africa and Asia. It also concluded that such psyche and feelings do not exist in any objective sense. This psyche of marking as indigene or settler has occupied the minds of many Nigerians so much that it has become a major force in spheres of lives of Nigerians although in reality, it does not make any meaning whether one is an indigene or settler but rather what can an individual do or achieve on his own. The psyche is therefore, negatively stereotyped and is only a force to resist societal changes and assert domination and control. Thus the Encyclopaedia maintains that association with such tendencies with primitivism and backwardness in the non-Western world.

Indigene/Settler and Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Although conflict is inevitable among individuals, groups, organizations and in social existence as maintained by Kreitner and Knicki (2001:448) and Mullins (2007:94), some conflicts are dysfunctional as they threaten the survival, peace, prosperity and overall interests of a community, state or nation. Such dysfunctions are in the nature of recurring indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria as many lives and properties are lost on daily basis to one conflict or the other. They also stated that major sources of conflict include among others poor leadership, poor communication, limited resources (especially land), role conflict, differences in or misperceptions, inequitable treatment and individuals' attitudes and such conflicts are one of the dividends of democracy for Nigerians manifesting in rising spate of ethno-religious and communal conflicts since the return to civilian democratic regime in May, 1999 (Jega, 2007:116). These indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts are most pronounced and recur during civilian democratic regimes (Jega, 2007 and Alubo, 2004). Thus, Alubo (2006: 9) provided that between May, 1999 and 2004 there have been more than 89 recorded cases of indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts that were all violent and fatal. More so, more than 50 out of the above conflicts occurred in the northern states of Kano, Benue, Katsina, Borno, Adamawa, Plateau, Nassarawa, Kaduna, Taraba and Kogi states.

A critical look at Nigeria's indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts reveals a causal relationship among all the causes. Mullins (2007: 95) also asserted that conflicts have major negative and damaging effects that include: feeling of defeat and demean by some or those who lose, distanced relationship between and among the conflicting parties, increased mistrust and suspicion among people, concentration on individual rather than collective defense and interests et cetera. Rodee (1975:213) also admitted that heterogeneities such as racial, linguistic, geographical threaten the social and political stability of societies including the advanced ones. This is so because even in the politically and economically advanced states such as Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy, issues related to racism, immigrants are stake, affecting and determining policies issues. Some of the most pronounced and devastating indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts in the recent years include: the Ogoni/Andoni (Rivers), Ife/Modakeke (Osun), Okitipupa (Ondo), Aguleri/Umuleri (Anambra) et cetera and on most prevalent and escalating note are those of the Northern part of Nigeria that include: Zangon-Kataf, Feb/March, 1992 (religious); Jos, 1994 (ethno-religious); Tafawa-Balewa, April, 1991 (ethno-religious); Bauchi town, April, 1991 (ethno-religious); Tafawa-Balewa (ethno-religious); Zangon-Kataf, February/March, 1992 (ethno-religious); Kaduna/Katsina, 1993 (Fun Times Newspaper Blasphemous article riot); Kafanchan, 1996 (Religious); Jos, May, 1997 (ethno-religious Hausa vs Birom); Kaduna, February, 2000 (Religious-Shariah legal

reforms); Kaduna, November, 2002 (Miss World Beauty Pageant); Jos, 2001 to date (ethno-religious/indigene settler (Biom and Hausa/Fulani); Wukari/Ibi, April/May, 2013(ethno-religious). The Jos, Kaduna and Tafawa-Balewa indigene/settler and religious conflict has been the longest in the history of Nigeria for its constant recurrence. More so, Kaduna and Plateau States have the worst records of ethno-religious and or indigene/settler conflicts resulting in deaths of thousands of people and properties worth billions of naira lost over the time.

The Politics of Indigene/Settler and Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria

Nigeria and Nigerians have deeply sunk in what is now commonly referred to as politics of ethnicity/indigene/settler/religion. This is so because Nigerians now use and mis-use the indigene/settler/ethnicity/religion syndrome for self-centred gains and inflicting damage, marginalization of others, mis-management and re-allocation/diversion of resources, subversion of government policies to their personal, collective but selfish ends. This is manifested in many states and local governments across Nigeria especially on the northern part such as Kafanchan, Zangon-Kataf, Tafawa Balewa, Yelwan Shendam, Barikin-Ladi, Wukari and Ibi et cetera. The major causes of indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts are inter-related and woven such that one reason hinges on another at a time. But generally, indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts are more associated with civilian democratic regimes as observed by (Jega, 2007 and Alubo, 2007) that within the first three years of Obasanjo's first tenure (1999-2003), there were more than forty ethno-religious clashes and again, between May, 1999 and 2004 there have been more than 89 recorded cases of indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts that were all violent and fatal. Meanwhile, conflicts related to indigeneship and ethnicity is associated with micro-psychological processes, individual and group experience, competition and socialization processes and power relations which may result in hostility, annihilation of a particular tribe e.t.c. (International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, 2008:10). And as maintained by Alubo (2007), more than 50 out of those ethno-religious and indigene/settler conflicts occurred or recurred in the North region especially the North-Central states. The major causes of such conflicts include:

Land Dispute : Whenever there is a land dispute that involves people, communities and among the contenders either happens to be a migrant or have settled at the place later than the others, the conflict is bound to be translated into that of indigene and settler so that one may deprive the other of the original claim/possession of the land. Disputes over land ownership/control are easily turned to ethno/religious conflicts. The other dimension which also turns to ethno-religious is the farmers-herdsmen over destruction of farm products usually by cattle involving Fulani herdsmen and many other communities , this is fuelled by the fact that most Fulani and herdsmen are presumed to be Muslims.

Economy/Poverty/Low Level of Development: Rodee (1975) has lamented that an appeal to particularistic feeling and identities even in homogeneous societies is more likely to arise in times of already existing political instability or in times of relative economic stress and change. Practical experience has shown that most indigene/settler and religious conflicts arise out of economic and related factors. In such cases those seen as settlers are more industrious as they leave their homes and families, they usually work harder to earn. Low level of economic development and poverty also fuel indigene/settler and religious conflicts as when and whenever there is a conflict of such nature, the idle, unemployed and frustrated individuals who usually have nothing to lose apart from their lives because they are poor, unemployed and or socially abandoned by the state and society, are easily involved and they do the most damage within short period and even before the state agencies could make any effort to arrest the situation. On the other hand, most hostilities among ethnic groups in Nigeria are not based on ethnic differences but from competition

between peoples for wealth and political power (P. C. Loyd as cited in Oyediran 1979:6).

Poor Development Planning, Management and Control: Most authorities at federal, states and local levels have failed to ensure strict compliance with development plans and control. In many of such conflicting areas, there are no proper forecast and plans to mix up settlements among the various ethnic groups and religious adherents so as to deemphasize ethno-religious differences among the people. A practical observation shows that in places like Kaduna, Jos, Tafawa-Balewa, Yelwan-Shendam, Wukari et cetera, the settlements have been established and or divided along ethno-religious lines and the authorities have not and are not doing enough to provide the populace with basic social amenities on a balanced manner.

Religious Inclination:

A major cause of indigene/settler conflict is religious inclination. In most of the indigene/settler conflicts around Nigeria especially on the northern part, the conflicts turn religious only as a cover to be hidden under to achieve other ends since neither of the two major religions (Islam and Christianity) accepts discrimination, hatred, or resentment to fellow human beings. The Glorious Qur'an (Chapter 49: V 12) states that: O mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another...". The above verse confirms the Islam's condemnation of ethno-racial differences and or superiority of one tribe, language or people over any others.

Fear of Domination: Many of the indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts arise as a result of feeling by those who have lived longest in a particular place or perceived indigenes that they may be dominated and consequently over powered by those they consider as settlers.

Proliferation of Arms among civilians: Small arms (both traditional and modern) are in circulation and hands of many people due to the negligent attitude of security agencies and loose nature of our borders as both Nigerians and foreigners find it easy to import arms that are in some cases more sophisticated than the ones used by the law enforcement agents themselves. For example, hardly a day passes without reports of conflicts involving use of arms in Nigeria especially with the common AK-47 Kalashnikov rifle in addition to local and dangerous yet regulated/unregulated weapons in the hands of many Nigerians. Conflicts are thereby fuelled by possession of such arms being resources with which to fight opponents, perceived enemies or rivals.

Failure of State to Regulate the Citizens' Behaviours : Failure of the governments at all levels to effectively regulate the utterances, actions and behaviours of individual citizens and groups especially those who have proved to be a threat to the state powers (such as the Ombaitse cult murder of more than 100 officers and men of the Nigeria Police Force in Lafia, Nassarawa State (see Weekly Trust of May 11, 2013) has overtime increased the tendency to recurrence of indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts. Several recurrences of Tafawa-Balewa, Kaduna, Jos, Barikin-Ladi, Wukari, Ibi et cetera conflicts and each time such recur, new committees, panels or commissions of inquiry are set up but upon submission of reports, everything is buried without punishing anyone or implementing recommendations made.

Divide and Rule Politics: From re-emergence of politics and fourth republic in 1999, there have been losses of thousands of Nigerians lives and properties due to ethno-religious violence (Alubo, 2004; 135-161). In the history of Nigeria, political antagonism between especially Muslims and Christians are in most occasions associated with ethno-cultural and sectional tensions. Nigerian politicians are ever tactful and

always renew their methods, techniques and strategies of votes catching devise and indiscriminately use all possible means available to secure political legitimacy/votes. One major devise now employed among most of them especially in pluralized areas is the use of ethno-religious and regional tendencies to convince and woo people. The April, 2011 elections became heated as politicians used mosques and churches to appeal to voters and as campaign machineries to most candidates especially the presidential election. The politicians use, mis-use religions and their adherents to divide and rule people. Rodee (1975) concluded that politicians, especially those on the margins of political system, identify such divisive, particularistic and conflicts as vehicle for achieving and promoting their political influence. Indigene/settler tied to religious conflicts are ignited or fuelled by politicians to achieve their desired ends. This is observed by Jega (2007:117) that: "...competitive partisan political activities are being used as avenues through which groups are exploited, identities rigidly reinforced, often infused with excessive religiosity. Violent youth gangs militias are formed and armed, and ethnic tensions and conflicts are thereby facilitated".

Clamour for Separate Ethno-Religious and or Regional Identities: Many of the indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts are motivated by the need for separate identity especially by relatively small ethnic groups as the basis for securing relevance, domination and identity. Nigeria like many other developing states is characterised by ascription where social identity is attached to where ones hails from and not what he performs or achieves in or within a society. This ignites the quest for ethno-religious or geographical identity so as to secure identity and achieve some other ends. These quests for separate identity in Nigeria have dated back to pre-colonial days especially on the northern part of Nigeria- Middle-Belt, Borno, Ilorin-Kabba et cetera. In line with this submission, for example, Turaki (1993:145) categorized politics in pre-colonial Northern Nigeria into three (politics of unity and reforms by the Northern establishment, the politics of revolutionary replacement by the radical elements and politics of ethnic separatism by mainly the non-Muslim groups) and Nigeria is again witnessing the rebirth of this pandemonium. The chances violent conflicts especially political ones are increased when a society is fragmented along linguistic, racial, religious or sectional bases (Rodee, 1975:119).

Hatred: Many of the indigene /settler and or ethno-religious conflicts are influenced by hatred i.e. prejudice to one or some by others on the bases of religion, tribe, economic prosperity of or other differences and sometimes turned to such conflicts just to find a justification. This particular prejudice/hatred leads to serious consequences and commission of offenses (including murder) and is mostly committed by Africans (Alubo, 2006:75 and Reid, 1997:237).

Constitutional Provisions on Citizen/ Indigene Status.

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, which is the legal framework from which all powers, functions and offices in Nigeria are derived, has made elaborate provisions for Nigerian citizenship, citizens and their fundamental rights. Chapter II of the constitution establishes Nigeria as a state based on Democracy and Social Justice i.e. Nigerians shall all enjoy justice on all relations and affairs irrespective where, when and how they came from; while chapter III defines who citizens are by (Birth, Registration and Naturalisation) and clearly states their duties/obligations to the state and to fellow citizens; Chapter IV states the fundamental rights of Nigerian citizens and the procedure for enforcement of such. Interestingly however, the chapter has provided many rights which include among others residency and movement (to and in every part of Nigeria), acquisition of property anywhere in Nigeria (acquire/purchase lands, buildings anywhere in Nigeria) and freedom from discrimination (no Nigerian shall suffer any subjection or deprivation because of the circumstances of his birth, tribe, religion, community or political affiliation). The other key provisions are: no one shall be refused entry/exit or expelled within Nigeria from one area or the

other or refused entry or exit into or outside Nigeria. Throughout the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, the concept of indigene is overtly mentioned only in (sections 25[1a] and 147 [3]) not to emphasize communal, ethnic, sectional or tribal tendencies but to describe who Nigerians are truly by birth and ensure true application of federal character principles. Similarly, the 1999 constitution allows others who acquire Nigerian citizenship apart from those by birth to occupy positions or offices in Nigeria except those of presidency and governorship so as to ensure full assimilation of the registered and or naturalized citizens and discourage intent on political ends.

Conclusion

The indigene/settler and ethno-religious conflicts are affecting and devastating most parts of Nigeria, especially the North and are manifested through several ways which are inter-related. Authorities have also failed in effective prevention and control of such conflicts. As opined by Hagher (2000:61), the pandemonium of indigene/settler and related conflicts as a result of ethnic nationalities have often affected the management and control of public resources, utilities, contracts, admissions and many others. The constitutional provisions to Nigerian citizens are chained with breakdown of law and order as such conflicts have made life to Nigerians an untenable ideal. To Reid (1991:46) such have led to and manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, disability, or ethnicity, including manslaughter; forcible rape; aggravated assault, simple assault; intimidation; arson and destruction, damage or vandalism of property. It is difficult and perhaps impossible for political institutions and politicians to acquire legitimacy in the minds of citizens where there is little or no economic growth, no major political party to lend stability to government and continuity of public policy and no dominant political leaders, enjoying some measure of charismatic authority, who can collect the loyalties of disparate groups and channel them toward governing institutions (Rodee 1975:239) and if not seriously checked, this assertion will prevail over Nigeria.

Recommendations

In view of the indigene/settler and ethno-religious debacle exposed above, the following recommendations are made for the Nigerian state and the citizenry in order to urgently address the issues which have been decaying our corporate social bonds, neighbour and brotherhood as well as our corporate and united entity (Nigeria).

1. Full enforcement of all rights of citizens especially those of movement, residency and freedom from discrimination wherever they may be.
2. Full implementation of recommendations made by past commissions of inquiries and panels on indigene/settler, religious, social and ethnic conflicts and disturbances to arrest and ensure speedy but just trial of all those indicted.
3. Introduction of special education and national orientation programmes to re-model the psyches of Nigerians towards building a national feeling and conscience.
4. Overhauling the land tenure system to reflect the current realities of Nigerian state.
5. There should be strict implementation of development control plans and policies by the various levels of government.
6. The leadership at all levels must rise up to address the major challenges of unemployment, poverty, inequality, poor level and quality of education through deliberate policies issues of both long and short terms.
7. Resuscitation and promotion of other ways of establishing social bonds among Nigerians through intermarriages, NYSC programmes, military deployments, schools exchange programmes, mixed settlements et cetera.
8. Religious clerics and organizations should intensify positive and functional preaching and

- inculcation of brotherhood, peaceful co-existence and values of religions among their followers.
9. Politicians who use or rely on ethno-regional, religious and other cheap but unpopular means of gaining political acceptability and influence should be exposed and accordingly avoided in the body polity.
 10. Special laws should be created in designated cities like Jos, Kaduna, Onitsha, Lagos, and Maiduguri et cetera to ensure protection of inhabitants as these are areas largely populated by those perceived as non-indigenes.

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