# How Religious and Ethnic Identities Affected the Nature And Dynamics of Politics in African Countries

Mohammed Kachalla[1*] and Umar Mustapha[2]

[1]Department of Social Studies

[2]Department of Public Administration

College of Education and Legal Studies, Nguru

[*]Corresponding author: [mohammedkachalla3785@gmail.com](mailto:mohammedkachalla3785@gmail.com)  08037855509

**Abstract**

There has been growing global sensitivity and concern with regards to the resurgence of identity politics which has affected ethnic identities in African politics. The paper stresses the need to identify ways in which religious and ethnic identities affected the nature and dynamic of politics in African countries with impact and consequences. The paper uses documentary view and analysis in explaining the influence of religious and ethnic identities on politics in Africa. The paper concluded by arguing that, the main analytical problem involving an understanding of the relation between religion and politics in Africa is the region's astonishing multifariousness of religious beliefs, ethnic divisions, cultural distinctions, and political modes. Africa is marked by a high degree of political and religious heterogeneity, making a study of politics and religion in the region complex but rewarding. To ascertain the nature of the contemporary relation between religion and politics in Africa, it is necessary to take into account the impact of European colonialism, especially from the 1880s. The paper recommended that, church and other religious institutions should continue to joint other civil society groups operating in the continent to nurture responsible leadership.

**Keywords:** *Religious Identity, Ethnic Identity, Dynamic, Politics*

**Introduction**

There has been growing global sensitivity and concern with regards to the resurgence of identity politics, especially negative forms of identity politics, in many countries in the contemporary international system. The promise and prospects of the so called new world order which came in the wake of the collapse of Soviet communism in the late 1980s seem to have been swiftly replaced in the 1990s with anxiety about the rising tide of ethnic conflicts in Eastern Europe, especially in the former Yugoslavia, and the phenomenon of genocide and ethnocide, especially in Rwanda and Burundi on the African continent (Jega, 2000).

The concept of identity has long been used in social anthropology and psychology, especially by structuralists and post-structuralists, and has gained particular currency in the post-modernist literature (Jega, 2000). As a socio-political concept, identity has both an individualist and a collective meaning. In any case, it can simply be defined as "a person's sense of belonging to a group if it influences his political behavior. It is said to be always anchored both in physiological givens and in social roles (Erickson, 1968 in Jega, 2000). Commitment to a cause, love and trust for a group, emotional tie to a group, obligations and responsibilities in one's identified group are classified as essential attributes of identity. Ordinarily, identities serve as rallying and organizing principles of social action within the civil society, and in state-civil society relations. They inform and guide political behavior, and they add dynamism to political conduct in the context of plural societies (Parry and Moran, 1994 in Jega, 2000).

All over the world, there has been a massive resurgence in the politics of identity, including especially those forms of identity which, for a long time, were considered as negative and inimical to national unity. Today, ethnicity and religion have become major rallying points for political agitation, resulting in violent intra and inter-state conflicts and posing direct challenges to national and regional stability as well as the post-1945 nation-state project across the world (Jega, 2000).

Thus, this work is devoted to study the nature and dynamics of politics in African countries, as they are largely influence by religious and ethnic identities, with impact and consequences.

**The Influence of Religious and Ethnic Identities on Politics in Africa**

The root of ethnic identity and religious affiliation emanated from the European colonial policies and subsequent politicization of ethnicity in some African countries' polity. Such categorization, numbering and mapping of African peoples provided the basis for creation of administrative units to facilitate political control and institutional integration into the colonial state (Berman 1990).

The social construction of African ethnicity was and is the outcome of contributions from many hands, European and African, rather than the deliberate creation of any single individual or group and, for that reason, is always incomplete and a matter of controversy. So saying, however, the key actor in the process was the colonial state, which was acutely conscious of Africans living in 'tribes' and used the instruments of modern state power to define and classify them through scientific instruments like maps and censuses that assigned individuals and communities to what were believed, often erroneously, to be ancient primordial identities (Kertzer and Arel 2002).

Lema (1993) posited that why are sixteen million Igbo in Biafra (Nigeria) and some sixty million Hausa in Northern Nigeria called tribes, ethnic groups and not nations in terms of peoples or socio-cultural groups?

While the Austrian people, the Swedish people and the Danish people under the same period and with populations that were less than ten million are called nations? Why European immigrants in Africa are never called ethnic groups, whereas Africans on their own continent are? The social construction of ethnic difference was also spurred by European missionaries who produced the grammars and dictionaries that turned local dialects into the standardized written language of a whole ethnic group, who promptly began to produce texts of their own articulating their history and culture; and by professional anthropologists, mostly European, who conveyed the concept of culture as a distinct, systematic expression of the social practices and identity of particular group.

However, the relation between politics and religion in Africa cannot be so easily compartmentalized. Not least of the problems is the difficulty in deciding where religion ends and politics begins. For example, during the colonial period, religious movements were often simultaneously anticolonial political movements and fundamentally concerned with both sociocultural and religio-spiritual reform. As such, in looking at Africa's colonial period it is difficult to be clear whether individual religious, political, or social objectives- or a mixture of all three-were paramount when seeking to account for the motivations of certain groups and organizations. Overall, it is more analytically satisfactory to perceive such movements as involving a combination of motivations that often defy easy or precise pigeonholing (Encyclopedia.com, 2019).

Generally, religion relates to politics in Africa in ways that are themselves linked to the particular historical and developmental trajectories of individual societies, whether traditional or modern. In traditional (i.e., precolonial) African societies, the relationship between religion and politics was always a close one, for religious beliefs and practices underpinned political power, while political

concerns permeated to the heart of the religious sphere. Rulers were not only political heads but also religious leaders whose well-being was closely linked to their people's health and welfare.

Clearly, most Africans would regard themselves as religious people, believing in a God (or gods) who looks over them and helps guide what they do. In addition, many believe that religious worship, or involvement with religious organizations, is an important means to try to improve their current earthly positions. In other words, it can be difficult to discern whether an African's individual religious motivations are primarily religious, political, or social.

In case of Nigeria for example, available researches revealed that the average Nigerian is religiously drunk and ethnocentric for the fear of domination or being segregated from his ethnic root foundation. It is on account of this that Nigeria today seems to lack an articulated goal and value system (Okeke, 2018). Olowo, Aladejebi and Kumuyi (2018) argued that Lugards 1914 amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria marked the beginning of religious and political conflicts, because it had fused people of different aspirations and backgrounds together. These conflicts have threatened the unity and peaceful co-existence of the diverse people of Nigeria. Findings from researches disclosed that Richard's constitution of 1946 served as one of the weapons used by the colonial British government to cause divide and rule tactics in dividing Nigeria in ethnic cum religious affiliation which prevented Nigerians in speaking with in one voice (Agara & Tijani 2008). With this division according to Olowo et al (2018), the minority groups felt neglected and as such started clamoring for total control of the resources in their ethnic domains. From the angle of religious affiliation, all is not well with Nigerians as Muslims and Christians often engaged in religious wars and conflict resulting

to loss of lives and valuable property. Religious tension in Nigeria has taken new dimension, leading to suicide bombing, endemic insecurity of lives and property, thereby threatening peaceful co-existence and national sustainable development among the citizenry (Uche, 2015). Between 1960 to date, Nigeria as a nation has recorded countless of conflicts and crises which could be traced to ethnic and religious affiliations which was the fall out of the amalgamation error of 1914. In agreement with the above assertion, Okeke (2018) commented that the colonialist coaxed together small nations into a country called Nigerian with, ethnicity and tribalism still in the minds of Nigerians no matter how educated they are. Nigeria, as a result of ethnic identity and religious affiliation is more polarized and disintegrated today than it was at independence; and the situation is getting unbearable on daily basis. Akanle (2012) submitted that Nigerians see themselves within ethnic and religious prisms rather than within national frameworks. This according to him is at the root of the several ethno-religious crises as well as the intractable massive corruption, as people see national resources as national cake which ethnic nationalities must do everything to corner.

.

**The Consequences of Religious and Ethnic Identities on Politics in Africa**

The colonial policy of Divide and Rule encouraged communal sentiments among Africans. It seized every available opportunity to spread the myth and propaganda that they were separated from one another by great distance, by differences of history and traditions, and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social, and religious barriers (Nnoli, 1978).

The consequences of the colonial period for the relation between religion and politics in Africa were profound. Consequently, it is appropriate to regard the nature and characteristics of religion's role in politics in contemporary Africa as a result of the multiple changes occasioned by European colonialism. The few territories that did not undergo entrenched and formal foreign control (Liberia, Ethiopia, and several others) nevertheless absorbed European-led modernizing influences almost as though they had. Colonies, where a majority of the population were neither Christian nor Muslim during the period of colonial rule (e.g., Guinea-Bissau, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), and Sierra Leone, where traditional African religions were followed by the great majority of local populations), were nevertheless ruled by Christian Europeans. As a result, the various traditional religious activities had to function within the Europeans' legal jurisdiction. In addition, throughout much of Africa, Muslims had to coexist with and be bound by European power, as they were ultimately under the latter's control (Encyclopedia.com, 2019).

One of the major consequences of religious and ethnic identities on politics in Africa is the reflection on ethnic affiliations and conflict in Nigeria. Ethnic affiliations and conflict have become a bane in the Nigerian society since the civil war of the early 1960s. After independence, there was relapse of ethnic crises before the advent of democracy and long military rule in Nigerian polity (Chiedu & Onovwiona, 2018). Ethnicity has caused serious unhealthy rivalry, tension and division among ethnic groups and this cut across the various regions. According to Udeze (2010) some ethnic groups especially the majority ones are given preferential treatment at the national level while others are marginalized and relegated.

Ethnic politics in Nigeria's political system have come to be a tragic and constant in Nigeria's political system; where one must belong to the mainstream of ethnic politics for

political relevance. It depicts attachments to the subnational ethnic groups which threaten to undermine national integration and therefore divide the nation. On the impact of Religious Affiliations and Security Challenges in Nigeria Adamolekun (2000) asserts that religion covers a wide variably of behavior, practices and beliefs. Hence, religion is not in any way a means of promoting conflicts, rather it is a means of encounter with the Supreme Being and interaction with the supernatural order to cope with life crises. Most religions of the world proclaim peace, love, and harmony and have served the cause of peace. Contrary to the above assertion, religion has been the causes of many wars in Nigeria and other parts of the world. Findings that religion is sometimes one of the major causes of wars is borne out of the fact that some of the current international conflicts have religious undertones. For instance, Arab/Israel conflict, the Iraq/Iran war, the civil war in Sudan, Lebanon and Northern Ireland are all fought under religious affiliation banner. In Nigeria likewise, the Maitatsine disturbance of 1980, 1982, the religious disturbances in Kaduna in 1987 and Boko Haram killing in 2010, 2011 and 2012 were great threats to peace and national unity in Nigeria (Ladan, 2013).

Over the years, Nigerians had been witnessing high rate of ethno religious crises, inter-tribal crises, political crises, kidnapping, killings, insurgency, bombing, human trafficking and hosts of others which claim countless lives and property of the innocent Nigerians. Considering religious affiliation trend in Nigeria, all is not well as religious crises have almost put the entire country apart as religion is used as a political weapon by selfish politicians. With the population size of over 227 Million, Nigeria have three hundred and seventy-one ethnic groups with diverse religion, history, culture, dialects and languages. Of this figure, the major ethnic groups (Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa-Fulani) compose only fifty-seven percent of Nigeria's population. The remaining forty-three percent are the minority groups. These minority groups according to Dada (2016) do not have political voice, nor do they have access to resources or the technology required to develop economically. As a result of this, they often consider themselves being marginalized, neglected, relegated and oppressed in all ramifications. These among other factors usually fuel religious crises in Nigeria as each ethnic groups and religious fundamentalists will usually want to have their ways at all cost.

Moreover, ethnic conflict have affected governments and the people generally and have resulted to political and economic instability, weakened patriotism, breed suspicion, lack of trust and true relationship among different ethnic groups in the continent. Ethnic war lords in Nigeria for example, often benefited from control of state resources and power which are the bases of their patronage networks and they seek to instigate violent ethnic conflict, they get involve into ethnic conflict given reasons on high rate of unemployment, illiteracy, marginalization and an unequal distribution of the national wealth in their areas dominated by their ethnic groups. The violent ethnic conflict in Jos, Plateau state, Zangon-Kataf in Kaduna state, Tiv-Jukun in Taraba state, Tiv-Fulani herdsmen in Benue state always produce vengeance because an attack by an ethnic group, lead to reprisal attack and the ethnic conflict is persistently reemerging from time to time. Further findings and assessment reveal that, ethnic conflict in Nigeria encourages use of illegal arms and ammunitions and also proliferation of bombs, dangerous weapons and explosives by the conflicting ethnic groups. Ethnic groups purchase sophisticated weapons and ammunitions to protect or defend themselves from attacks from other ethnic groups; community members contribute money weekly or monthly to buy weapons before, during and after violent ethnic conflict. In Nigeria people generally perceive themselves as more "ethnic" and less "national" (Ali and

Yahaya, 2019).

Nevertheless, it is not religions per se that are wrong; but the human leaders who misinterpret religious texts and their supposed link with the supernatural through abuse of authority. Usually, the hierarchal structures of religious institutions with God at the top, spiritual agents next, then clergy and finally lay adherents at the bottom, have been inimical to the promotion of democracy. Religious leaders therefore pose as demi gods, usually controlling the minds of their followers and abusing them. While we may not say with certainty that this is the lot of many religious institutions there are some which, if not checked, can degenerate into cults or sects or operate like them. However, religious institutions, especially churches, have spaces that may be utilized for nurturing leadership potential in the young and old. These spaces include youth groups, women's groups and other spiritual movements like the Charismatic Renewal Movement, Fellowships of different age groups and gender and other movements like the Grail, Focolare (in the Catholic Church), Women's Aglow, Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship, Student Christian Fellowship and other para church organizations. In all these spaces, focus is given to nurturing the spiritual lives of the members, empowering them for Christian leadership and equipping them with skills relevant for personal development and transformation of communities. Many Kenyan church leaders were formed and trained in these organizations. What is required is to utilize these spaces to equip citizens for more than leadership, beyond the spiritual level. This should include prophetic leadership that perceives the link between, personal integrity and social, political and economic concerns. Like Jesus Christ whose message and leadership was holistic covering all realms of being from the personal to the communal; so too, modern church leaders and those they nurture should continue seeing the relationship between all realms of being and all sectors of societal life (Njogu, 2007).

To sum it up, consequences of religious and ethnic identities in relation to politics in African countries includes but not limited to underdevelopment, manpower wastage, discrimination, political violence, communal conflict, nepotism, and waste resources.

**The Way Forward**

Scholars have been trying to develop some theoretical approaches to ethnicity and ethnic conflict for a long time. Some, like Donald Horowitz, Ted Gurr, Donald Rothschild and Eward Azar, agree that the ethnic conflicts experienced today, are deep rooted. These conflicts over race, religion, language and identity have become so complex that they are difficult to resolve or manage. Ethnicity has a strong influence on one's status in a community. Ethnic conflicts are therefore often caused by an attempt to secure power or access to more resources (Joseph, undated).

African identity has been endangered by religion; that there is a need to rethink our conceptualization of religion and to move away from the understanding of religion as the basis of identity. This is because our shared lives should and must be the basis of identity. In other words, imported religions have their own origin and this origin cannot be disassociated from the belief inherent in the religions. There is a need to free the mind of its conditionings that give priority to religion and may therefore serve to exclude other sources of identity derived from collective histories and collective experiences. The illusion which religion plunges us into is often the reason for the problems of identity which most African societies struggle with today. An awareness of this illusion and a new understanding of identity as derived from a shared African experience, will go a long way in resolving the problem of identity in Africa (Sanni, 2016).

**Africa's Response to the Challenge**

After independence Africans were eager to disavow tribalism as divisive. Unity

was postulated in a way that assumed a mythical homogeneity amidst diversity. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana outlawed parties organized on tribal or ethnic bases. Houphouet Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire coopted ethnic groups through shrewd distribution of ministerial posts, civil service jobs, social services, and development projects. Julius Nyerere, a scion of tribal chieftaincy, stamped out tribalism by fostering nationalistic pride in Tanganyika and later, Tanzania, born out of the union with Zanzibar. Jommo Kenyatta of Kenya forged a delicate alliance of ethnic groups behind the dominance of his Kenyan African National Union party. In South Africa, apartheid recognized and stratified races and ethnicities to an unsustainable degree. Post-apartheid South Africa, however, remains poised between a racially, ethnically, and tribally blind democratic system and a proud ethnic self-assertiveness, represented and exploited by Zulu nationalists, spearheaded by the emotive leadership of Chief Buthelezi (Francis, 1997).

Throughout Africa, the goal of safeguarding unity within the colonial state has preserved the stability of colonial borders while generating ethnic tensions and violence within those borders. Sudan offers an extreme example. The dominant North, a hybrid of Arab and African racial, cultural, and religious elements, is trying to resolve its identity crisis by being more Arab and Islamic than its prototypes. Worse, this distorted self-perception, heightened by the agendas of political elites, is projected as the framework for unifying and integrating the country, generating a devastating zero-sum conflict between the Arab-Muslim North and the indigenously African South, whose modern leadership is predominantly Christian (Francis, 1997).

The decision of the Founding Fathers of the Organization of African Unity to respect the colonial borders established a normative principle that has been followed with remarkable success. Secession movements have met with strong resistance from the OAU. Katanga tried to break away from the Congo (which became Zaire, now back to the Democratic Republic of the Congo) but failed. The secessionist Biafran war in Nigeria also failed. Somalia's attempt to take the Ogaden from Ethiopia was decisively thwarted. Southern Sudan struggled for 17 years to break away from the North and in the end settled for autonomy in 1972. When the fighting resumed in 1983, the stated goal was and remains the creation of a new Sudan that would be free from any discrimination based on race, ethnicity, culture, or religion (Francis, 1997).

The following recommendations may be considered in an attempt to nurture holistic leadership in Kenya today and in other parts of Africa:

i. The church and other religious institutions should continue to join other civil society groups operating in the country to nurture responsible leadership by making adequate use of the resources she has at her disposal, both human and material.

ii. The organizational structures of some churches and religions are hierarchical. This renders them incapable of operating democratically and could therefore oppress adherents with dogmas and practices that are not challenged due to their appeal to divine authority. The church should therefore make efforts to democratize her structures if she has to be in a position to critique injustice in society, or be a mediator of justice to her adherents.

iii. The church and other religions are in a position to champion

democratic value for they are the channels through which morality is inculcated. They are also agents of socialization. They can utilize these avenues to provide spaces for leadership training at individual and community levels.

From the foregoing, we can conclude that, religion has a perspective on leadership. This is not only leadership in terms of organizing and managing religious institutions but also in the secular realm. Because of its function in society, religion is often used to give legitimacy to many activities in society. It is invoked to give legitimacy to individual and communal decisions, an activity or ceremony. Religion has been used by politicians to achieve their narrow interests, especially for purposes of seeking consent and acceptance from constituents. Religion has also been used as a tool for mobilization of the oppressed to dethrone despotic leaders and advocate for human rights, the democratic process and social transformation. In pre-colonial and post-colonial Kenya, this has been spearheaded by the AICs and mainline churches respectively. It has been seen in this chapter that this function has been adopted differently by the various Christian traditions in Kenya. Those who, however, see the religious institutions and individuals having a role in transformation follow in the tradition of African religion and biblical Christianity where there was no demarcation between the sacred and the secular. Religion was part and parcel of the social and cosmic order. Religion should therefore remain in the public discourse on social transformation and leadership provision (Njoku, 2008).

.

At present, most African countries are addressing the racial and ethnic identity issues through a pacifying system of distribution and allocation—a form of ad hoc pragmatic management rather than a strategic approach. What makes the issue of identity particularly acute for the continent is that it touches not only on politics, but also on economics and the organizational capacity for a self-generating and sustainable development from within.

There are four policy options for managing pluralistic identities. One is to create a national framework with which all can identify without any distinction based on race, ethnicity, tribe, or religion. This option, of course, best suits those countries that are highly homogeneous. The second option is to create a pluralistic framework to accommodate nations that are racially, ethnically, culturally, or religiously diverse. Under this option, probably a federal arrangement, groups would accommodate each other on the basis of the principle of live and let live, but with a more uniting commitment to the common purpose of national identification. In the third case, for more seriously divided countries, some form of power sharing combined with decentralization, with identities being geographically defined, may be the answer. In the zero-sum conflict situations, federalism would expand into confederalism, paradoxically trying to reconcile unity with separation. Where even this degree of accommodation is not workable, and where territorial configurations permit, partition ought to be accepted (Francis, 1997).

## Conclusion

In Africa, colonial administrations and imperial occupations carved up boundaries that divided territories inhabited by indigenous societies and brought together a diversity of ethnic communities within unitary administrative structures. Africa is a continent of diversity and division based on religion, culture, ethnicity, language and a wide range of manifestation of the colonial experience. It has predominantly three major religious heritages namely, African traditional religion, Christianity and Islam. Available data shows that most of West Africa is Muslim and that

traditional religion is still a vibrant force. Christianity is dominant in countries like Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Togo, Nigeria, Ghana and South West Cameroon. In East Africa, and especially in Kenya and Uganda, Christians account for 80% of the population, while Islam is 15% and African traditional religion 5%. Central and Southern Africa have predominantly Christian populations. There are large Muslim populations in Tanzania, a few in Malawi and South Africa with still a smaller percentage adhering to African Traditional Religion. Nonetheless, despite the preponderance of Christianity and Islam in different parts of Africa, the influence of African religion is not diminished for it still colors people's imagination and impacts on various aspects of their social life. African spirituality influences people's values, concepts of self-identity and behavior (Njogu, 2007).

Ethnicity has a significant and negative effect on national development in Africa. This is because multi-ethnic states are often prone to conflictual and competitive relationships as different communities struggle to control political power and other economic resources of the state. Similarly, religion do have a significant and negative effect on national development in Africa. That religion in Africa functions as a means for the perpetration of violence, fuelling ethnic consciousness and solidarity, acquisition of political power and socio-economic gains, massive killings and the wanton destruction of lives and vandalizing of property of those considered infidels or who pay allegiance to other religions. Also, religious terrorism in Africa possess a significant threat to national development of most countries in the continent, as it is evident in Northern Nigeria where economic and social activities in some of the highly volatile states (Yobe and Borno) have almost been grounded by the stream of killings, destruction of basic means of livelihood of the people and truncating of foreign and local investment.

## References

Adamolekun, T. (2000). Introduction to the study sociology of religion. In Faberebo S.I.O (ed)
Religious periscope vol. III, Ibadan Revelation Books. 42-422.

Agara, T. (2008). Ethnic militancy, insurrections and the future of democracy in Africa: The
Nigerian experience. Journal of issues on African Development 1 (1) Alafas Nigeria Company, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Akanle, O. (2012). The Nigerian State. A. S Jegede, O. O Olutayo, O. O. Omololu & S. B. E.
Owumi (Eds.), Peoples and cultures of Nigerian. Ibadan, Dept of Sociology.

Ali, U. D. and Yahaya, G. (2019). Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria: Causes and Consequences.
IJSRMS, Vol.5, Issue 1, pp.70-77, January 2019

Berman, Bruce J. (1990). Control and crisis in colonial Kenya: The dialectic of domination.
London: James Currey and Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Chiedu, R. E & Onovwiona, S. (2018). An X-ray of Niyi Osundare's not my Business: A
reflection of ethnic conflict in present day Nigeria. National Association for the Advancement of Knowledge Journal of Pristine 14 (1) 56-64.

Dada, I. E (2016). Inter-religious curriculum for Peace Education in Nigerian: A philological
intervention for the advance training of religious leaders. Ph.D. thesis Department of Religious studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

Encyclopedia.com (2019). Politics and Religion: Politics and African Religious Traditions.

Francis, M. D. (1997). Ethnicity: An African Predicament. Brookings

Jega, A. M., ed., (2000). Identity Transformation and Identity Politics Under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria, Nordiska Afrika Institute and CRD.

Joseph, C. E. (Undated). Ethnic Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria: Theoretical Perspective. Khazar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Kertzer, David, and Dominique Arel. (2002). Census and identity: The politics of race, Ethnicity and language in national censuses. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koter, D. (2016). Beyond Ethnic Politics in Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 220 pp.

Ladan, D. (2012). Religion and Peace building: A Panacea for National Development: Islamic Prospective. In Ikuejube, G. and Salami E.F.K., (eds) Contemporary Issues in SocioEconomic and Political Development in Nigeria, Ibadan, John Archers Publishers Limited. 41-51

Lema, A. (1993). Africa Divided: The Creation of "Ethnic Groups". Lund University Press, Sweden.

McCauley, J.F. (2016). Ethnicity and religion as sources of political division in Africa. A draft paper prepared for presentation at the Comparative Politics Symposium at UC Berkeley.

Megwalu, J. O. (2020). The Effect of Ethnic Conflicts in Nigerian Politics. IJMSRR, Vol.1-7, Issue11, November 2020

Njogu, K. (2007). Good Governance and Development: Towards Quality Leadership in Kenya. Twaweza Communications Limited, Nairobi, Kenya.

Nnoli, O. (1978). Ethnic Politics in Nigeria. Fourth Dimension, Enugu.

Okeke, M. U. (2018). Role of music for value re-orientation in the Nigerian society. National Association for Advancement of Knowledge Journal of Pristine 14 (1), 223-227.

Olowo, O. O Aladejebi, D.T&Kumuyi, O. O. (2018). Ethnoreligious and political conflicts: A threat to national security in Nigeria. National Research for the Advancement of Knowledge 14(1) 249-259

Sanni, J. S. (2016), Religion: A New Struggle for African Identity. UNISA, Vol.17, no.1

Svetlana, T. et al. (2023). Ethnic Identity Definition, Development and Examples. Study.com

Uche, O. O. C. (2006). The dynamics of religion as a matrix of culture. In N. Ojiakor, & Iyke (Eds.), Readings in Nigeria peoples and culture. Enugu: NGIB Publishers

Udeze, C. V. (2010). Different languages, different cultures the Nigerian experience as an index towards achieving continental unity in Africa. National Research for the Advancement of Knowledge 109-117.

Ushe, M. U. (2015). Religious conflict and education in Nigeria: Implications for national security Journal of Education and Practice 6(2) 117-129

Young, Crawford, ed. (1993). The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay? Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Early delineation of primordial ism, instrumentalism, and constructivism as distinct conceptual approaches.