



Multiculturalism as a Driven Force in Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy

Bashir Aliyu Bawuro¹, Isiyaka Abdullahi², Sani Mustapha Kura³

¹Department of Social Studies, College of Education, Zing, Taraba State Tel.+2348135154046, Email: -aliyubashiru@coezing.edu.ng

²Department of Social Studies, College of Education, Zing, Tel. +23436796626, Email: - isiyakaabdullahi51@gmail.com

³Department of Social Work, Ramat Polytechnic, Maiduguri, Tel N0: +2348028734842, Email: sanimkura1973@gmail.com

Doi: <https://doi.org/10.55248/gengpi.5.0624.1569>

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the application of multiculturalism as a solution to the Nigerian problem of underdevelopment since independence to date. The paper tried to link the current underdevelopment of the country to the British divide and rule tactics which left the people of Nigeria divided and never trusted each other since the amalgamation of the country in 1914 by the British Colonial government. The effects of the division of the country based on ethnicity could be seen on how political parties were formed base on ethnicity and regional bases since independence to date. The paper further revealed out how government policies and programs failed in Nigeria as a result of ethnicity and selfish interest portrayed by the major ethnic groups who control the major sectors of the economy of the country. Lastly, the paper suggested some possible solutions to the problems of ethnicity by applying the real principles of multiculturalism on the Nigerian economy.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Economy and Underdevelopment

Introduction

The concept of multiculturalism as it is widely used by different people can be defined as the process of bringing people who are from different cultures, races and ethnicities together more especially those from the minorities groups to live among the majority ethnic groups and have their cultures, races, and ethnicities being acknowledged by the dominant political culture.

Lord porekh (2000) viewed multiculturalism as a concept which basically explained that no culture is perfect or represents the best life and that can benefit from a critical dialogue with other cultures. According to Lord, multiculturalism requires that all cultures should be open, self-critical and interactive in their relation with each other.

Jennifer Eagan (2015) said multiculturalism is both a response to the fact of cultural pluralism in modern democracies and way of compensating cultural groups for past exclusion, discrimination, and oppression.

Going by the above views of scholars and explanation on the concept multiculturalism and what it preaches, it would be very pertinent to note that the application of the principles of multiculturalism into the Nigerian state would go a long way in solving ethnic problems or crisis and at the end facilitate development in the country.

Back Ground History of Nigeria

Nigeria was formerly a British colony from 19th to 20th century. The British occupation of the area presently known as Nigeria begun in 1800 and subsequent occupation of Lagos in 1851, Lagos was later crowned the colony of Lagos by the British colonial masters in 1861. The consolidation of the British rule in the Niger area was possible in the 19th centuries when the northern part of the present Nigeria came under the British rule in 1885. Between 1889 and 1899 all the major part of northern part of the present-day Nigeria was already under the control of the Britain. In 1906 the colony of Lagos and the protectorate of southern present Nigeria were merged together under one administrative unit. Moreover, in 1914, the northern protectorate and the southern protectorate were merged together under one administrative unit with Sir Lugard as the first Governor General of Nigeria. British colonial rule in Nigeria lasted till 1960 when the country gained independence from the Britain. Although, Nigeria was granted independence in 1960 but the country remained a common wealth realm with the Queen of England as still the titular head of state until 1963 when Nigeria had a constitution which declared Nigeria as Republic and an independent nation from Britain.

Furthermore, Nigeria occupied a total land mass of 923,768 square kilometers bound to the west by Benin republic, to the north by the Niger Republic and Chad, east by the republic of Cameroon, and south by Gulf of Guinea. The country has population of over 200 million people which makes it the most populous black race in the world. Nigeria has thirty-six states and seven hundred and seventy-four local government areas.

Multi-culturalism and the Nigerian State

The country called Nigeria was a colony under the British rule from 19th centuries to 20th centuries, Lagos, one of the Nigerian major cities today was annexed by the British and became a crown colony in 1861 and established the oil River protectorate in 1884. The influence of British colonialist in the Niger area has increased in the 19th century when British occupied the northern part of Nigeria in 1885 after the Berlin conference. In the period between 1889 and 1899, major part of the present Nigeria was under the Royal Niger Company governed by George Goldie. In 1906 the southern protectorate and the colony of Lagos came under one administrative head as the southern protectorate. Subsequently, the northern and the southern protectorates were amalgamated in 1914 to become one country known as Nigeria, the name which was coined from the name of a river known as river Niger. The division of the country into protectorates and its subsequent amalgamation in 1914 left an indelible mark in the history of Nigeria as a country, this is because, the divide and tactics of Lord Lugard succeeded in dividing not only the country but also the people of Nigeria into different ethnicities and geo political zones who are today very hostile to each other and never in the history belong to the same political party since first republic in 1960 till date.

Recent research (Jinadu, 1986; Suberu, 1996; Iyoha and Oriokhi, 2008) shows that, the British policy of divide and rule tactics has not only divided the country but also succeeded in dividing the people into different ethnic groups who have never trusted each other and never belong to the same political parties, all their political parties are regionally formed and dominated.

Moreover, in the first republic, the three political parties formed were regionally formed, the Yoruba ethnic group of the southwest Nigeria formed the Action Group (AG) which was very strong in the southwest and headed by their leader chief Obafemi Awolowo; the southeastern Nigeria also formed their political party called National council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) headed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe after so many years of military rule, political parties were formed by the government under the military rule but the parties later took the style like the previous political parties that were formed, the All Nigerian people's party (ANPP) was dominated by the mostly northern people with no supporter from either southeast nor south west, though the strongest political party was the peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) was dominated by the people of the Eastern part of Nigeria and has influence only in the Eastern part of the country, while the people of the western part of Nigeria dominated the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the party had influence throughout the southwestern Nigeria.

Nevertheless, in the fourth republic, the scenario was different because there was a coalition or merging of political parties which was an agreement reached by the northern dominated political party, Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) a party that has dominated and controlled the south western Nigerian people mainly the Yoruba ethnic group. The merging of the parties resulted to the formation of one mega political party known as the All Progressive Change which eventually became very strong and took over power from the main ruling party, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) which has been ruling the country since the returned of the country to democratic rule in 1999. While the people of the eastern Nigeria mainly the Igbo still maintain in their regional party the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)

Going by the above historical analysis of the Nigerian political history, it would be right to say that the British policy of divide and rule tactics introduced by Lord Lugard to rule the country after the amalgamation of 1914 has done more harm than good to the sovereignty of Nigeria as a Nation. The system succeeded in dividing the people of Nigeria base on ethnicity and regional basis and finally it installed mistrust among the people of the same country.

Thomson, (2000) notes that, in the long run no powerful nationwide political party or constituency emerged. Instead, local considerations dominated, and issues of ethnicity became increasingly politicized. Each region was governed by a political party that identified with one ethnic group. Hausa - Fulani governed the northern part of Nigeria and the Yoruba governed the west while the Igbo ruled the eastern Nigeria.

In addition, the syndromes of the British divide and rule tactics and the policy of indirect rule system adopted by the British colonialist in Nigeria, has played a vital role in dividing the people of Nigeria based on ethnicity. The ethnic differences installed by the British colonial masters through their policies that was designed only to suit their interest in the country, has contributed tremendously in dividing the people of Nigeria into different ethnic and religious groups.

Jinadu, (1989) Noted that, there are three major ethnic groups in Nigeria; Igbo in the southeast, Yoruba in the southwest and the Hausa/Fulani in the north. These three ethnic groups have dominated the political affairs of the country since independence in 1960, the Hausa/Fulani consist of thirty percent (30%), the Yoruba twenty percent (20%), while Igbo seventeen percent (17%) with the rest being so called minorities.

Going by the above explanation therefore, it may interest you to know that because of the division of the country into regions based on ethnicity and religious differences, almost everything in the country is been done base on the formula of ethnicity and religion differences design by the colonialist in their policy of divide and rule tactics. Employments, government projects and other essential basic amenities are being sited and done only in those areas dominated by the major ethnic groups, the minority ethnic group can only survive by the mercy of God because even when contesting for elective positions if you are not from the major ethnic group no matter your vast experience and knowledge no one will vote for you, they may prefer to vote for their kinsman who has little or no experience than to vote for the person who is not their kinsman. In terms of performance in office by the people who are either not among the major ethnic groups or from different ethnic group or religion, people may tend not to appreciate what ever achievements you

have recorded. Subsequently, as a result of the division of the country by the British colonial masters as mentioned above, ethno religious crisis became the order of the day in the country.

Fatima, (2014) identified the following as notable ethno religious conflicts that occurred in various part of Nigeria, the crisis include the following; Maitatsine riot in Kano, Kano state in (1980, 1982); Maitatsine crisis in Bulumkutu in Borno state in (1982); Maitatsine crisis in Jimeta Adamawa state (1984); Maitatsine Gombe, Gombe state (1985, 1991); Ilorin, Kwara state religious conflict (1986); Jalingo, Taraba state religious crisis (1992, 2009); Shagamu, Lagos state crisis (1999); Kafanchan, Kaduna state ethno religious crisis (1987); Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi state ethno religious crisis (1991,1995, and 2001); Zango Kataf, Kaduna state ethno religious crisis(1992); Tiv-Jukun and Tiv- Kuteb crisis(1992,1993); potiskum, Yobe state ethno religious crisis (1994, 2009); Chamba-Kuteb crisis in Takum, Taraba state (1997,1998); Igbira-Bassa crisis Kogi state (1986, 2000); Tiv and other tribes crisis in Nassarawa (2001); Moon eclipse crisis in Borno state (1996); Jos ethno religious crisis (1994,2000,2001,2003,2008,2009,2010); Ikilu-Bajju (2001); Yeiba –Shandam crisis (2002,2004); Mangu-Bokkos crisis (1992,1995);Bukuru-Gyero crisis (1997); Maiduguri ethno religious crisis (2006,2009); Iggah-Oyikwa crisis (2002); Kano religious crisis (2004); Numan religious crisis (2004); Azare religious crisis (2001); Bauchi religious crisis (2010); Ibadan religious crisis (2010); Wukari religious crisis (2010,2011,2012,2013,2014,2015,2016). Suberu, (1996) insist that minority problem are deeply rooted in complex historical and structural processes of pre-colonial and colonial in corporation and consolidation of diverse ethnic segments, federal territorial evolution and re organization, revenue, political competition and representation.

Furthermore, sectionalism and sectional differences among Nigerians was so pronounced immediately after the first military coup that took place on the 15th January 1966, a group of military officers predominantly Igbo ethnic group of the eastern Nigeria planned and executed the first military coup and those killed during the coup were predominantly people from the northern region of the country and only few from the western part of the country. Those killed in the military coup include the prime minister sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, defense minister Mohammadu Ribadu, Premier of northern region Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of the western region Samuel Akintola but no one was killed among the people of eastern Nigeria who were serving under the same government. The president by then Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was an Igbo from the eastern Nigeria but he was not killed. The northern people and their allies from the western Nigeria then planned a counter coup on 28th July 1966 in that counter coup, the military head of state Johnson Ironsi was killed and his government was overthrown, Lt col. Yakubu Gowon from the northern part of the country was installed as the military head of state, the Igbo ethnic group of the eastern Nigeria were not happy with the manner at which the counter coup was carried out more especially with the installation of Lt col. Gowon who was a junior officer to Ojukwu who was from the eastern region. Ojukwu felt dissatisfied with his junior as the commander in chief of the arm forces of the country, he then mobilized some ethnic groups from the eastern Nigeria to break away and form their own country a declaration that resulted to the first Nigerian civil war that lasted for thirty months (30 months) from 1967 to 1970. The civil war ended with a declaration by the Nigerian government that there was “no victor no vanquish” meaning, no winner no loser, since then there are series of agitations and protests by the people of the Igbo ethnic group agitating for self government by bodies known as the “movement for the emancipation of the sovereign nation of Biafra and another group called the “Indigenous people of Biafra” under the leadership of their leader Nnamdi Kanu who is currently facing a trial in Nigeria for instituting protest against the Nigerian state.

Bevan et al, (1992) noted that, after six years of independence (1960-1966), regional tensions pushed the country into chaos; political stability was eroded when the federal government dominated by the numerical superior north formed an alliance with the west in elections which later resulted to the first military coup and subsequently the civil war that lasted for about thirty months.

Nigerian National Development in the 20th And 21st Centuries

One of the priorities of any nation is to attain or achieve a reasonable level of development that would be beneficial to its citizens and attract foreign investors into the country. However, the concept “development” is a relative word, the definition of it depends largely on the individual perception and understanding of what the concept really means.

Therefore, Gboyega, (2003) sees development as the process of improving the living standard of the people. The process must cover the entire social life of the people ranging from transforming their living condition, health and all infrastructural development of the entire society. However, according to him for any sustainable development to take place power and inequality must be reduced at least to its minimal to allow individuals have access to quality wellbeing.

Naomi, (1995) states that, development is not restricted to only economic growth but rather it involves the provision and distribution of quality health care, education, housing and other essential basic amenities that would improve the wellbeing and the living standard of the citizens.

Nigerian National Development Plan

Nigeria has had series of development plans since the country became independent in 1960. The history of growth and development in Nigeria has passed through different strategies and growth models immediately the country became independent in 1960. For the sake of this research work, the research would concentrate more on the following development plan adopted in the country;

Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)

Vision 20-2020

7-point Agenda

The scenario that necessitated for the introduction of the structural adjustment program by the Babangida's administration in July 1986 could be traced to the economic crisis in the country since 1983. The economic crisis in the country has resulted to a trade of short period which resulted to debts, estimated to be over N4 billion, whereas joblessness in the country has reached its peak and serious balance of payments deficits has forced Shagari's government to apply for three years extension of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan facility of 2.3 billion US dollars. The International Monetary Fund subjected the loan to seventeen conditions which Nigeria must fulfill before the loan will be granted to the country by the lender financial institution. Nigeria was unable to meet the conditions at that time, the negotiations was extended to the Buhari's regime and subsequently to Babangida's regime until 1985 when the loan was finally cast off through public debate. Before the agreement was rejected, Nigeria and the lender financial institution had already agreed on some conditions, while some conditions such as the trade liberalization, the removal of a petroleum subsidy, and the devaluation of the naira were still being debated. (Ogundipe, 1985). Similarly, after the loan was rejected, considering the economic challenges the economy was witnessing before July 1986, Babangida's administration introduced the structural adjustment program (SAP) in July 1986. Structural adjustment program (SAP) was a development plan geared towards providing support to facilitate for the development of an economy that was not controlled and dependent solely on the free market economy that was based on the capitalist ideology while the role of the government in this type of economy was to provide support to the private sector but never to be engaged in the production process. The aim of the policy was to reduce inflation and create job opportunity for the teeming youths in the country. Moreover, instead of checking inflation to its minimum the inflation has gone up from 5.4% to 40.9% in 1989.

Moreover, the economic crisis in the country called for the total change from an economy that solely depend on single source of foreign exchange for the country to the multiple sources. Nigeria has since the explorations of oil begun in the country abandoned agriculture and depends very heavily on oil as the major source of earning for the country. The effect of it was it created in balances in the economy which was caused by massive importation into the economy that further worsened the foreign exchange reserves. Nevertheless, the overvalued naira have stagnated the foreign debt, increase the rate of unemployment, worsen balance of payments crisis and causes fall in the prices of crude oil. The Structural Adjustment Program was planned to fit the normal standard of the International Monetary Policy-World Bank structural adjustment package. The program was designed to restructure the Nigerian economy change the consumption and production patterns of Nigerians, eradicate distortion of price and over dependence on the exportation of crude oil and over importation of consumer and producer goods. The program was designed to encourage economic efficiency and long-term economic growth and the stabilization policies designed to restore balance of payments equilibrium and price stability. The overall aim is to totally revamp the Nigerian economy.

Obadan and Ekuehare (1989) noted, Nigeria's SAP is intended to discourage primitive accumulators, and to encourage capitalist accumulators in the economy. The emerging structure of dependent capitalism envisages only a supportive role for the government in a refurbished economic environment of highly reduced government ownership and control of agricultural and industrial enterprises.

Objectives of Structural Adjustment Program

The following are the objectives of the Structural Adjustment Program;

- To realize fiscal and balance of payments feasibility over the period
- To lay the foundation for a massive disinflationary growth in the country
- To trim down the domination of barren business enterprise in the public sector, improve the effectiveness of the sector and increase the development potentials of the private sector of the economy
- Measures were adopted to encourage indigenous production capacity and increase the supply potentials of the economy
- Realistic exchange rate policy was adopted through a Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM)
- The justification and reorganization of the taxes to stimulate industrialization of the entire economy to improve production
- develop trade and payments liberalization
- Minimize administration controls and foster reliance on market forces
- Exchange policies adoption for public enterprises
- Sale all means of production to individuals

Nigeria Vision 20-20-20 Development Plan

The Nigeria Vision 20:2020 was a future based economic restructuring strategy aimed at setting the Nigeria's economic on the path of growth and development. The economic plan was aimed at targeting changes within the economic sector of the Nigerian economy with the aim of setting the country to be among the twenty most developed economies in the world. The plan utilizes the country's economic growth and development strategies that was adopted for the period of eleven-years from the year the plan was implemented i.e. between 2009 and 2020, and the plan will be executed using different medium-term national development plans to help in the realizing the set objectives.

Moreover, one of the objectives of the Vision20:2020 was make sure all Nigerians are united as one family regardless of their socio cultural and religious background to make sure they stand firm towards growth and the development of the country. The development plan was designed to take care of all positive interest of the Nigerians by using a bottom-up approach which was adopted considering the wishes and aspiration of all Nigerian citizens, and the future needs of the country. The vision was tasked by the need to mobilize the resources of the country to improve the lives of its citizens, and to act promptly to the challenges of the nation building.

Furthermore, under the vision 2020 what Nigeria was planning to achieve depends largely on the changing comparative analysis of the country's likely growth rate and economic structure of the Top 40 economies in the world. This means that the rates at which the economy of Nigeria was developing must be at an average of 13.8% during the time horizon, stimulated by the agricultural and industrial sectors within the medium term while a evolution to a service-based economy was proposed to take place from2018. Essentially, the target of this was to utilize both human and natural endowments in the country and translate it into a sustainable development that will put the country to be among the twenty most developed countries so that citizens can benefit from it. The dreams of the vision are under the following headings;

Under the social point, the vision was planned to change the mind set of Nigerians positively so as the set target of developing the country will be actualized. At the social dimension of the vision every citizen will be groomed to have strong feelings of national integration which are backed by a well-designed educational and healthcare system that caters for all, and sustains a life expectancy of up to 70 years.

Moreover, another objective of vision 2020 was to have a very strong economy, the vision hoped to have a very strong economy which can compete with the rest of the developed economies of the world and can contributes not less than25% to Gross Domestic product (GDP) which will boost growth and development of the economy.

Furthermore, another target based on the projection under vision 2020 was a sustainable democracy where a vote of the citizens in the country determines their choice for their leaders. This objective of the Nigerian government under vision 2020 was to also provide adequate infrastructure in the country to support a market-friendly and globally competitive business environment which will help in facilitating the actualization of the dream and aspiration of turning the country be among the twenty (20) most developed economies in the world.

Nevertheless, the environmental dimension of vision 2020 provides a reasonable level of environmental consciousness that enables and supports sustainable management of the nation's natural endowments to ensure their preservation for the benefit of present and future generations and the development of the country to be among the twenty most developed countries in the world.

Challenges of Vision 20:2020

The challenges faced by the vision 2020 in Nigeria which eventually led to its failure was basically on the economic transformation blue print which failed to stimulate economic growth and socio-economic development of the country due to massive and organized corruption which hindered the vision 2020 from achieving its desired target in the country. Even though, there were so many factors such like poor management of the country's economy, poor budgetary policy but the major factor that contributed to the failure was corruption which was at its highest stage in the country at that time.

Seven Point Agenda

The seven-point agenda was an economic development policy introduced by the Umar Musa Yar adua's administration in Nigeria. The policy aimed at setting the country on the pad of development by developing the seven sectors of the economy which include, power and energy, wealth creation, transport sector, food security, land reforms, security and education. The target of the government at that time on the power and energy sector was to develop the sector to be able to supply the country with stable energy and power so as to boost industrial production and make the country among the developed economies of the world by the year 2015.

Furthermore, wealth creation was another point on the seven point agenda of the government that focused on wealth creation through the diversification of the economy more especially in the agricultural and solid mineral sectors so that the sector will expanded in such a way that it can create more jobs opportunities and wealth to the jobless youths of the country.

Nevertheless, under the point agenda the government aimed at developing the country through developing the transport system to be of world or international standard, the government planned to make the road network to be very efficient means of mass transit of people and goods by making sure the rail system is being put in place before the year 2015 so that the movement of goods and services will be more easier.

Moreover, on the food security, the government emphasis was on the development of modern technology, research, financial injection into research, production and development agricultural inputs leading to 5 to 10-fold increase in yields and production thereby providing the Nigerian populace with enough and quality food in the country by the year2015.

Similarly, land reform was also among the seven-point agenda of the government aimed at setting the country to be among the developed countries of the world. Under this agenda, the government proposes a land reform so as land will be accessible for both agriculture and other business purposes with the aim to boost production and wealth creation in the country.

In addition, the government under the seven-point agenda wants to take the issue of Security very seriously because without adequate security of lives and properties no one will like to invest in such an atmosphere, government want to make security its top priority so that foreign investors may be attracted to invest in the country. Similarly, the Niger Delta security issue will be the primary focus of the government. Government promised to dialogue with the militants to find a lasting solution to the security challenges of the area.

Lastly, the transformation embarks upon by the government under this vision was to bring about changes in the educational system of the country to be in line with the international standard and to equally provide quality and accessible education for all regardless of status in the country. However, the proposed changes in the education was to groom Nigerians to be knowledgeable in science and technology with a view to be self-reliant

Multiculturalism, Challenge to Liberal Democracy

Multiculturalism stands as an obstacle or challenge to the liberal democracy, this is because under liberal democracy all citizens are treated equally base on the provisions of the laws of that particular country or community, in view of that therefore, no one should be treated as either superior or inferior, all individuals should be accorded with the same respect and status as a member of that country or community. Unlike under a multicultural setting where the minorities

are treated differently with the majority ethnic groups .Though under ideal multiculturalism minority ethnic groups supposed to be treated equally because the aim and objective of it is to assimilate all ethnic groups whether majority or minority into an approved societal norms and values though the minority ethnic group will be given the privilege to retain some of their cultural beliefs and practices.

In conclusion all the above mentioned development plan adopted by different administration in Nigeria at different times by different leaders were very good development plan with good aims and objectives but none of the development plan has achieved its desire goal simply because of the massive division of the country based on ethnicity and regional line as it could be seen in my submissions above. Corruption and the embezzlement of public fund may be one of the factors responsible for the poor economy of the country but the major factor as identified by Bashir (2021) is ethnicity and the division of the country based on ethnicity and regional bases by the British colonial masters with the sole motive to achieve their selfish interest of divide and rule.

REFERENCES

- Agbibo E. (2011), *The internationalization of an internal resistance: Ethnic minority conflicts and the politics of exclusion in the Niger Delta* (unpublished masters dissertation) university of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.
- Agbibo E. (2013), "Ethnoreligious conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria," *Journal of Black studies*.
- Bevan D, Collier, P & Gunning J. (1992), *Nigeria ,policy, responses to shocks, 1970- 1990*, Sanfrancisco, C.A; I C S press.
- Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (1999), as amended in 2011.
- Fatimah N. (2014), "Religious conflicts in Nigeria and their Impact on social life," *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and social sciences* Vol. 2 No.4 pp15-19
- Geertz, C. (1973), *The interpretation of cultures*, New York Basic books, Glazer, N & Moynihan D.P(1975) *Ethnicity theory and experience*, Cambridge, M.A Havard university press
- Iyoha M. & Oriakhi, D. (2008), *Explaining African economic growth performance: The case of Nigeria*. In B J .Ndulu (Ed), *the political economic growth in Africa 1960-2000* (pp651-659) Cambridge Uk: Cambridge university press
- Jnadu, A. (1985), "federalism, the consociation state and Ethnic conflict in Nigeria. *Publius*," *the journal of federalism* 15(2),71-100.
- Morgan, J.(1977), "Religion and culture as meaning systems A dialogue between Geetz and Tillich," *The Journal of religion*, 57 (4): 363-375.
- Nigeria vision 20:2020, Abridged version 12 December 2010.
- Osaghae, E (19995), *structural adjustment and ethnicity in Nigeria*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordic Africa institute.
- Suberu, R. (1996), *Ethnic minority conflicts and governance in Nigeria*, spectrum Books.
- Suberu, R. (2001), *federalism and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria*, Washington, DC. United states institute of peace press.
- Suberu, R. (2005), "conflict and accommodation in the Nigerian federation, 1999-2003" in Gana, T.& Omelle, Y. eds.2005.*Democratic Rebirth in Nigeria 1999-2003* Abuja: AFRIGOV.
- Thomson, A. (2000), *An introduction to African politics*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Uzodike, U. and Maiangwa, B. (2012), *Boko Haram in Nigeria: Causal factor and central problematic*, *Africa Renaissance: Terrorism in Africa*, a (1) : 91-118, Research Gate.