IJAAR PUBLISHING®

Scholarly Journal of Social Sciences Research | ISSN: 2955-0785
Vol. 3, Issue 4 (April, 2024) | www.ijaar.org/sjssr

TOWARDS EXAMINING ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT USING AN ISLAMIC LENS

BY

GANIYU, MOJEED ADEMOLA
DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC STUDIES,
SCHOOL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
(ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES PROGRAMMES),
OYO STATE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, LANLATE.

ABSTRACT

This paper reviewed literatures on ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. The review showed that Nigeria is blessed with diverse ethnic groups. However, over the years, "this blessing has turned to a wound eating deep into the flesh of the national unity of the country". It might be said that the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates by the colonial administration is the root course of the ethnic conflicts experienced all over the country till this day. However, the entrenchment of the democratic rule in 1999 brought a ray of hope for the citizens. Sadly democracy has failed to completely unite the people of Nigeria and this is evident in the scores of conflicts in different parts of the country. Therefore, in this paper the writer blamed the incessant conflicts on the marginalization of different ethnic groups in the country. It is against this background that the writer explored views on various ethnic conflicts in Nigeria and cited the Islamic perspective on ethnic peaceful living as the solution to ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. It is recommended among others that for the nation to be developed we should not support the ethnicity spirit. In Islam the Almighty Allah orders mankind to love, honour and treat each other as equal.

Keywords: Ethnic, Conflict, Islamic Perspective

Ganiyu, M. A. (2024). Towards Examining Ethnic Conflicts in National Development Using an Islamic Lens. *Scholarly Journal of Social Sciences Research*. 3(4), 1-10.

Introduction

The Nigeria nation is the brain child of amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates by the British colonial administration under the watch of Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard in 1914. This process brought about the merging of people of diverse belief and culture into a single entity. The amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates was done in the "wisdom" of the Colonial power masters to promote national unity and integration. However, the decision to amalgamate the two protectorates has been criticized by authors, commentators and researchers as being ill advised and self-serving of the British. It is believed that members of the protectorates were not consulted on the planned merger. Afigbo (1989) view is echoed in the comment of Awolowo (1947) who said that:

> *This proclamation goes a long way to portray the frustration of person of divergent cultural and religious beliefs who are forcefully and unwillingly joined in an unholy union.*

According to Ojo (2004):

> *The result of this unholy union have resulted in the continuous state of disunity, political instability, general insecurity of lives and property, mutual suspicion and distrust among the diverse ethnic nationalities that make up the geographical entity called Nigeria.*

In line with Ojo's submission, (Abah,2009) observed that:

> *Nigeria is not a nation. It is mere geographical expression. There are no Nigerians "in the same sense as there are "English", "Welsh" or "French". The word Nigeria is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not, the systematic forcefully unappealing catastrophic and uncongenial institutionalized querulous cementation of divergences caste artificially or chestrated and certificated by the British colonialism mainly to ease the challenge of onerous task in socio political milieu of Nigeria has underscored some Achilles heel engraved with irrevocable creation of indelible pauperization of Nigerian political web consequent in a state of passivity and fait accompli. The ethnic configuration has fuelled the acidulous ember manifestations of rigmarole, cataleptic, catatonic and chaotic political arrangement of Nigeria while identity politics becomes a prodigious threat to the sustenance of Nigerian.*

The lack of cohesiveness in the nation's polity has been demonstrated by the trenchant call for sovereign national conference in some parts of the country resource control as well as persistent wave of political, inter-ethnic and sectional violence. Some groups saw the return to democracy as an opportunity to express grievances. These expressions of grievances have led to the occurrence and reoccurrence of ethnic conflicts. The unjust and unequal sharing of social-political and geographical landscape intentionally manufactured by British administration that called for Northern region domination, leaving the southern region in lassitude in political investment of Nigeria has generated a longstanding debate. It is observed

also that the southern region has lagged behind in the cringe worthy political representation which called for cautionary tale in the political processes of Nigeria. This has recently led to the increased agitation of the Biafran state through the broadcast of radio Biafra. The subsequent arrest of Nnamdi Kanu who is adjudged to be the operator of Radio Biafra heightened the political protest in most towns in the South East and South-South geo-political zones of Nigeria. In the North-East geo-political zones of Nigeria. Boko-Haram has continuously and persistently slaughtered and killed thousands of Nigerian citizens in cities and villages in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe state (Ganiyu, 2016). Despite the December deadline given to the Nigerian military by President Muhammadu Buhari, the insurgent group have continuously attacked the populace in the Nigeria especially state in the North-Eastern region. The most disheartening is the use of innocent and young females as suicide bombers in their mindless and senseless actions.

In a separate development in Benue state and recently in some states in the South West, South -East and South-West, the cattle breeders and farmers have constantly been at logger head. These situations have claimed the life of many hundreds on both side of the divide. It is said to note that the country Nigeria is just the amalgamation of different ethnic groups who are detached in believes and moral. It is just against this background the writer explores the concepts of peace and conflict through the Islamic perspective with a view to ameliorate the conflagration of conflicts that burden the country.

1. CONFLICT: CONFLICT CONCEPUTALIZTION

It is a universal feature of human society. It takes its origins in economic differentiation, social change, cultural formation, psychological development and political organization. All these parameters are inherently conflictual mutually incompatible goals. The conflict entails struggle and rivalry for objects to which individuals and groups attach importance. In their description of components of conflicts; Osagbae and Suberu (2002) opined that the material objects in relation to conflict may include scarce of resources like money, employment, position including political ones, promotion in both the private and public organizations. The non-material objects include culture tradition, religion and language. The identity of the conflict parties, the levels at which the conflict is contested, and the issues fought over (scarce resources, unequal relations, competing values) may vary over time and may themselves be disputed. Conflicts are constituted by a complex interplay of attitudes and behaviours that can assume a reality of their own. Third parties are likely to be involved as the conflict develops may themselves thereby become parties in an extended conflict. In another vein, an influential model of conflict encompasses both symmetric and asymmetric conflicts. He suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle with contradiction. (A) attitude (B) vertices and (C) behaving.

ii. SYMETRIC CONFLICT:

In a symmetric conflict, the contradiction is dined by the parties, their interests and the clash of interest inherent in the relationship. The conflictual attitudes include the parties perceptions and misperceptions of each other and or themselves. This can be positive or negative. In violence conflicts,parties tends to develop demeaning stereotypes of the other and attitudes are influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred.

(iii) ATTITUDES:

Attitudes covers emotive (feeling), cognitive (belief) and conative (desire, will) elements. Behaviour is the third components. It can involve cooperation or coercion, gestures signifying conciliation or hostility. Violent conflict behavior is characterized by threats, coercion and destructive attacks. Analysts who emphasize objective aspects such as structural relationships competing material interests or behaviours are said to have three components

which have to be present together in a full conflict. A conflict structure without conflictual attitudes or behavior is a latent (structural) one. Galtung's *what a year?* saw conflict as a dynamic process in which structure; attitudes and behavior are constantly changing and influencing one another. As the dynamic develops, it becomes a manifest conflict formation as parties' interest clash or the relationship they have becomes oppressive. Parties then organize around this structure to pursue their interest. They develop hostile attitudes and conflictual behavior. And so the conflict formation starts to grow and intensify. As it does so, it may widen, drawing in other parties, deepen and spread, generating secondary conflicts within the main parties or among outsiders who get sucked in. This often considerably complicates the task of addressing the original, core conflict. Eventually, however, resolving the conflict must involve a set of dynamic changes in attitudes and a transformation of the relationships or clashing interests that are at the core of the conflict structure. A related idea due to Jega (2003) is the distinction between direct violence (children are murdered), structural violence (children die through poverty) and cultural violence (whatever blinds us to this or seeks to justify it). We end direct violence by changing conflict behavior structural violence by removing structural contradictions and injustices and cultural violence by changing attitudes.

Ethnicity Conflict in Nigeria

Nnoli (1978) defines ethnic conflict groups as 'social formation distinguished by communal character of their boundaries'. To him, the crucial communal factor may be language, culture or both. Conceptualize an ethnic group as a social collectivity whose members not only share such objectives characteristics as language, core territory, ancestral myth, culture, religion and or political organization, but also have some objective consciousness or perception of common descent or identity". This ethnic identity results from contact with other groups. But he argues that ethnic pluralism is necessary but an insufficient condition for ethnicity. Ethnicity therefore is a social phenomenon associated with interactions among members of different ethnic groups, according to Nnoli (1978). Ethnicity according to Alanamu, 2004) who says:

> Ethnicity should be seen as arising in any situation where a group of people, no matter how small, with different cultural and linguistic attributes from those of its neighbors; uses this as the basis of solidarity and interaction with others. In doing so, the group sees itself not only as distinct, but a group in itself and for itself.

In other words, socio-cultural consciousness of oneness develops and forms the basis of interaction with and participation in other socio-cultural processes, especially in power and resource allocation, within a larger social group or state. And this consciousness is most crucial in definition of an ethnic group. Ethnicity implies the fact that the group feels ethnocentric towards others, that is, it sees others as relatively inferior and more or less as rivals. This, feeling brings about certain attitudes which distort reality and breed subjectivity in evaluation and perception of events. Ethnicity is also characterized by a common consciousness of being. And this factor, more than other defines the boundary of the group that is relevant for understanding ethnicity any point in time (Nnoli, 1973). Ethnicity, in addition often contains an obscured class component. Nigeria is undoubtedly a plural society with different ethnic groups, religious, languages, cultural and institutional arrangements. As a heterogeneous society, ethnic groups have been identified each interacting with one another in competition for power and wealth, this has resulted into ethnic conflicts (Salawu & Hassan 2011).

The history of ethnic conflict in Nigeria can be traced back to the colonial and post colonial era. Ojo (2004) posited that the colonial tripartite division of Nigeria prevented a Nigerian nationalistic movement, manipulating geographical boundaries to reinforce separation between ethnic groups and transforming ethnicity into an identity by which to gain political power this structure along with other administrative decisions emphasized ethnic nationalism and regional politics, resulting from significant uneven development within each region. According to Egbabulem (2011), colonial division of Nigeria that reinforced ethnic groups, the rise of ethno -political consciousness and development of ethnic/regional political parties demonstrated that the British administration intentionally prevented the rise and success of Nigeria nationalism instead promoting ethnic nationalism as a means to gain political power. It is believed that Lord Fredrick Lugard's 1914-18 constitutional exercises which resulted in the amalgamation of the separate protectorate of Northern Cameroun with the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, were earned out without any explicit consent from Nigerians. As a result of this action, Otite (1990) opined that provinces and other divisions were created according to the wisdom and convenience of imperial British officers. This influenced the ethnic consciousness of Nigerians. The wave of ethnic crisis in the countries can also be traced to the creation of the three regions by the British government using the two major rivers, the Niger and the Benue rivers to divide the country into three geographical units, namely, the North, East and West. The unjust nature of the divisions is encapsulated into words of Ojo (2014) who averred that:

> *The division exacerbated the country's ethnic problems. Firstly, the regions were not equal; the Northern region was the size of the Eastern and Western region combined. Secondly, the three regions were created without due consideration of minority groups that abound in these regions.*

The division of Nigeria into three regions in 1946 by Richard constitution for administrative convenience was directly associated with the three major ethnic groups- Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. It is not surprising therefore that the first political parties were formed along with ethnic groups. The boundary problem also persists among the Nigerian states even among the same ethnic groups during the first republic and it happens in this third republic. That the Nigeria state as a composition of so many identities is not a coincidence, rather it is as a result of its historical construction by the colonial master.

Although, the Nigerian nationalists were forcefully integrated by the British against their wish and lack of understanding of their identities by the different ethnic groups further confirms tis pessimism. According to Subem (2006):

> *The union of ethnic group in process was conceived and executed without respect to and for social cultural and political differences embedded in the political economic and social structures of the wedded couples.*

In their own words both Osagbae and Subem (2005) opined that:

> *The permission observed was observed by the reality of pre-colonial identity construction where identity was mobilized along ethnic and sub-ethnic line against migrant settlers who were displaced either by natural occurrence war, artificial boundary and lack of resources which*

continue to generate conflict due to the discrimination against the immigrants by the original settlers.

The example of such migration include the Modakeke migration from Oyo to Ile-Ife (Osun state) due to internecine wars in Yoraba land crisis which later resulted into ethnic war among them and Ile-Ife people and lasted for a long time. The same applies to Urhobo and Ijaw into Warri where the Itsekiri people claimed to have been original settlers and the migration of the Jukunchamba from Cameroun to the present day Taraba state originally settled by the Kuteb and the settlement of Hausa merchants in Zangum-Kataf within a territory occupied by Kataf (Oshita, 2007).

The Effects of Ethnicity in Nigeria

The aggravation of ethnic identity after independence in Nigeria was due to the lopsided federal structure which eventually implicated on the violent ethno-political discontent prevalent during the post-colonial Nigeria. Indeed the incessant disenchantment and frustrations of the ethnic minority under the federal structure accounted for the Tiv riot (1962-1964), the secessionist campaign of Isaac Adako Boro and his Ijaw group. Other ethno-regional conflicts were also expressed through the census crisis of 1963/1964 federal election sectional military intervention and counter 'coup of 1966. Also, the Maitatsine crisis claimed lot of lives in the Northern Nigeria as a result of Kafanchan -Kaduna ethno religious crisis. The military however were not immune from ethno-nationalist aggravation which remained a dominant factor in Nigeria politics (Duruji, 2010). The perception of some section of the society is that during the military rule in Nigeria, the military was then serving the interest of Hausa-Fulani major ethnic group sincethey dominate military institution of Nigeria exercising hegemony over its major institutional structure of the security apparatus of the state (Fatai, 2012).

The impoverish condition due to the neglect and marginalization of Niger Delta region where the country major resources-oil is been generated has also spiraled minority ethnic militant grouping, Ijaw National Congress, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDPVP) and the Federal Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC).

Islamic Perspectives on Ethnicity

The waves of attacks that have permeated the country recently with different groups calling for the head of others based on their ethnicity is quite worrisome. The dangers that this potends involve nepotism, unnecessary suspicions, misunderstanding and mistrust' disharmony, and perhaps bloodshed challenge of this nature needs to be fully addressed by going into the scripture of Islam (the Holy Qur'an) and the traditions of the Prophet (Hadith) which are both legacies left for the Muslims in order to have the true guidance and thus recommend Islamic contexts to correct the human constitution of this country so as to have peace, progressive and cordial existences among the populace.

Ethnicity refers to the feeling that one's tribe is superior to another or to all tribes. It is often accompanied by having disdain for and looking down on people from other tribes; and is often leads to discouraging association with people from other tribes deemed inferior either through work marriage, friendship etc. (Oxford Dictionary). Therefore, Islam categorically forbids all forms of racial, national, tribal or ethnic superiority in the Qur'an and the Sunnah because it causes conflicts, violence, and hatredness among such different ethnics which always result to killings of one another, as we experience in Nigeria ethnic crisis:

> *O mankind, we created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female you intonations and tribes, that you may know each other verily the most honoured of you the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you. (Q49.-13)*

The above Quranic verse tells us that there should not be any discrimination among human beings (Men) irrespective of differences in colour, sex, language, nations, regions, religion or family background. Everybody is expected to respect the natural rights of another and should not maltreat or disrespect him/her. No ethnic members should cheat or kill other by ethnic members. This is also supported another verse:

> *And among His signs is the creation of the heaven and the earth, and the difference of your language and. colours. Verily in that are indeed signs for man of sound knowledge. (Q30:22)*

The verses prove that the distinction in geographical location of some ethnic groups which always result to boundary crisis should not happen at all since Allah is the creator and owner of the lands the people are disputing about and killing themselves. Instead of the powerful ethnic groups oppress the weak ethnic group as we have today and in the past. The Allah orders mankind to love, honour and treat each other as equal in the following verse of the Holy Quran:

> *O you who believes stand out firmly For Allah as just witness; and let not the enmity and hatredness of other make you avoid justice. Be just; that isnearer to piety; and fear Allah. Verily Allah is well-Acquainted with what you do.(Q5:6)*

Therefore, it is necessary to be fair and just to all and sundry, despite the differences in languages, geographical, socio-cultural background in any countries such as Nigeria, where the ethnic religious conflict is rampant. Similarly, the Prophet unequivocally condemned ethnicity on different occasions. In an authenticated saying of his, he said:

> *He is not of us who proclaim the cause for the cause of tribal partisanship (asabiyyah); and he is not of us who fight in the cause of tribal partisanship (ethnicity) and he is not of us who dies in the cause of tribal partisanship (ethnic conflict). (Rahman, 1990)*

When he was asked to explain the meaning of tribal partisanship the Prophet answered:

> *It means helping your own people in an unjust cause. (Al Dawud, 1985).*

Similarly, Jubair bn. Mutin reported the Messenger of Alia (S.A.W) said:

> *Whoever fights under a banner of folly, supporting tribalism (ethnicity) or getting angry for the sake of tribal ignorance (Jahiliyah). (Rahman, 1990)*

In Hadith transmitted by al-Bukhari thus

> *Jabir bn Abdullah reported that two young men one from Muhajirun (Emigrants) and the other one from the Ansar (helpers) fell into dispute and the Muhaj called his fellow Muhaj and the Ansar (the helper) called the Ansar (for*

help), In the meanwhile, Allahs' messenger came there and said: Allah's messenger, there is nothing serious. The young nj.enfel.1 into dispute and the one struck at the back of the other. There upon, the Holy Prophet said: Well, a person should help his brother whether he is one oppressor or an oppressed. If he is the oppressor he should prevent him from doing it for that is his help and if he is the oppressed he should helped (against oppression).

All these traditions of the Prophet (S.A.W) show that Islam does not support the ethnicity spirit or ethnic group at all. It has no place in Islam. However, Islam allows defending one's rights and helps those who are oppressed. A good Muslim is forbidden to oppress nobody at all.

Conclusion

From the literature reviewed it is clear that Nigeria as a nation is riddled with a lot of ethnic conflicts. These conflicts result because of the religion and cultural diversity in the multi-ethnic groups in Nigeria. This writer opined that these conflicts result because of a feeling of marginalization by some ethnic groups. It is against this background that the writer proffered some listed solutions coupled with the Islamic contexts as the way out towards realization of the peaceful co-existence of the Nigerians. This will actually enhance us the sustainable national development in all spheres of governance. The spirit of ethnicity should be abhorred since Islam is against it but treat one another as brothers in progress and give a due to whomever is entitled to it.

Recommendations

From the literature reviewed in this paper, it is clear that Nigeria as a nation is riddled with a lot of ethnic conflicts. These conflicts results because of inter-boundary cultural, religion and cultural diversity amongst the people. Most author opined that these conflicts result because of a facing a marginalization by some ethnic groups in term of governance of the country Nigeria and infiltrating the border demarcation. Therefore, the following steps should be taken in order to borrow the leaf from Islam, which does not encourages tribal (ethnic) wars or crises at all, as it had happened during the pre-Islamic era, Jahiliyayah (the period of ignorance in Arabia).

In this regards, the following elements should be applied to resolve conflicts whenever there occurs ethnic problems in Nigeria:

-Grass root Community Base Activities: This includes inter-tribal marriage ceremonies and sharing of boundary between the different communities justly. If justice can be applied with the respect of one another, it would prevent conflicts.

-Good Governance: This may be defined as the running of the affairs of government in positive and progressive manner beneficial to the governed and which delivers the public goods. Its attributes include: due process; transparency, responsiveness on the part of government, power sharing, rule of law, competence, separation and devolution of powers a free press and free virile civil society. There are several dictatorial democracies in Africa such regimes do not promote good governance.

-Negotiation: This is the process whereby the parties within the conflict seek to settle or resolve their conflicts. Also, negotiation is a direct process of dialogue and discussions taking place between at least two parties who are faced with a conflict situation or a dispute. The benefits of compromised solution, it is believed, out-weigh the losses arising from refusal to negotiate. The goal of negotiation is to reach agreement through joint decisions between parties. Negotiation is a key approach to peaceful resolution of dispute and conflicts that may arise among parties. It is within the reach and control of parties.

-Communication: This is a process of sharing and exchanging information between individual groups and potential parties in a conflict situation. It is also the process of interacting and relating with others, meaning that parties to a conflict situation still talk.

-Collaboration: The collaboration process is one in which parties work together on their own to resolve problems through constructive dialogue or other activities like joint projects, sharing of community schools and health centres, markets bridges and culverts, as well as other utilities (Aghedo and Osuma, 2009).

-Mediation: Mediation has been presented by the United Nations University for Peace as the voluntary, informal, non-binding process undertaken by an external party that fosters the settlement of differences on demands between directly invested parties.

-Conciliation: Conciliation is close to mediation. It is third party activity, which covers intermediary efforts aimed at persuading the parties to a conflict to work towards a peaceful solution. Conciliation involves facilitation.

-Adjudication: Adjudication is another non-violent method of conflicts management. This involves the use of the courts and litigation processes. Parties to a dispute may close not to use any of the methods we have so far discussed. They may opt instead to take their case to a court of law, before a judge of competent jurisdiction, legal counsel may represent them.

-Crisis Management: This is an extreme situation of conflict, which has reached a turning point, where critical decisions have to be taken between or else the conflict may escalate to a point of extreme violence.

Sometimes, a crisis is a degenerating state of conflict, where threats to human security, intense violence characterized by fighting, death, injury, large-scale displacement of populations occur. Once a crisis occurs, it is the responsibility of the government of a state to de-escalate the situation and bring a cessation to violence. This may be done through various means, including the use of the coercive state apparatus, where necessary (Fre-Mensah, 2000).

Politicians should be oriented towards shunning divisive politics and also see the various ethnic groups in the various areas of their jurisdiction as one so as to foster peace.

- The government should embark on mass employment of youth so that they will no longer be tools in the hands of desperate politicians.

References

Afigbo, P. (1989): British Colonial Administration in Nigeria. Heinemann Ltd. Aghemelo,T.A. and Osumah (2009): Nigerian Government and Politics: AnIntroductory Perspectives. Benin City. Mara Mon Bros Ventures Ltd.

Awolowo, O. (1947): Democracy and the Challenge of Ethnicity. London Faber

Publication.Duruji, M.(2010): Democracy and the Challenges of Ethno-religious Crisis inNigeria. Abuja Malthouse Press Ltd.

Ebegbulem, J. (2011): Ethnic Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria: Theoretic

Perspective. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited.

Fatai, A (2012): Democracy and National Identities. The Travails of NationalSecurity in Nigeria. Ibadan Spectrum Ltd.

Fred- Mensah and Benk (2000): Bases of Traditional Conflict ManagementAmong the Burns of the Ghana -Togo Border in I. William Zart man (ed)Traditional Cures for Modern Conflict Medicine Boulder Colorado LynneRienner Publishers.

Ganiyu, M (2016): Boko Haram Insurgence and Its Threat to National Security inthe Journal of National Association for the Study of Religious and Education

Jega, I (2003): Organizing Civil Management in Nigeria in T.A. Imobighe (ed)(NASRED) Vol. 15, Number .

Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict Management in Nigeria. Ibadan Spectrum
Book Ltd.

Micheal, M (2006): Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English: New Editionfor Advanced Learners England. Pearson Education Limited.

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

Ojo, J.S (2014): Prebendalism, Sociolinguistic and Ethnic Politics: The Bane of Nigeria Democracy. Nigeria Dimension Publishers.

Osaghae, E. (2005): Managing Multiple Minority Problems in a Divided Society: The Nigeria Experience in the Journal of Modem African Studies, Vol. 36, No 1. Cambridge University Press.

Oshita, O. (2007): Conflict Management in Nigeria Crisis and Challenges. London Adorns and Abbey Publishers.

Otite, O. (1990): Ethnic Pluralism and Ethnicity in Nigeria. Ibadan Shane son Limited.

Rahman, D. (1990): Shariah: The Islamic Law. London. Iksan Islamic Publishers.

Subera, R (2006): Federalism and Ethnic Conflict The Nigeria Experience D. Turton (ed) Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective Oxford. James Carrey.

Yusuf, A (1985): The Holy Qur'an: Text, Transliteration Translation and Commentary. London. King Fahd Holy Qur'an Complex Publication.X