



ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CRISIS, EDUCATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: A HISTORICAL INSIGHT

Submission Date: July 11, 2022, **Accepted Date:** July 18, 2022,

Published Date: July 24, 2022

Crossref doi: <https://doi.org/10.37547/history-crjh-03-07-03>

Journal Website:
<https://masterjournals.com/index.php/crjh>

Copyright: Original content from this work may be used under the terms of the creative commons attributes 4.0 licence.

Ikaonaworio Eferebo

PhD, Department of History & International Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Federal University Otuoke, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

Ibubeleye Desire Eferebo

PhD, Department of History & International Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Federal University Otuoke, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Ethno-religious forces are very potent in the world, they engage the society as a double edge sword. This is perhaps why they can cause conflict or abate it depending on which of the edges being used. This study addresses the serious issues of ethno-religious crisis and their adverse effect on education and good governance in Nigeria. The paper contends that ethno-religious conflicts are twin evils that always bedevils Nigeria, which tends to stretch the bounds of unity to a potentially snapping point. The paper however posits that from about the beginning of the 21st century, the once centers of African civilizations slides into ethno-religious crisis. What principally accounts for this unsavory state of affairs is the strong prejudice of the parallel forces of ethnicity and religion. The kernel of the paper rests on the fact that for Nigeria to experience an appreciable and sustainable level of educational development with regard to the attainment of national unity, integration and sustainable democracy especially good governance, there must be a paradigm shift in emphasis through adequate encouragement of ethno-religious education to achieve good governance. The paper adopts chiefly the thematic, critical and analytical methodology, as well as secondary source of data collection for analysis.

KEYWORDS

Ethno-Religious, Crisis, Conflict, Education, Good Governance, Nigeria.



INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has the highest population of blacks on the face of the planet Earth and is also the most diverse country of the world. She is perhaps the only “country in the world with over 300 ethnic groups” (Mahadi, 1994, p.435), with diverse cultural, religious and social background which are ever always tending to pull the nation apart in frequent narratives of violent conflicts. The recurring incidences of violent ethno-religious conflicts in several parts of the country have become a major unending volcanic eruption in contemporary Nigerian history. This is so much so that both ethnic and religious crises are so endemic and devastating in Nigeria that they are already threatening the corporate existence of the Nigerian nation at large.

This is mostly expressed in ethno-religious sentiments and these elements remain as yet the two most significant balancing poles of power equation between the ethnic majors of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. And in between these are the ethnic minorities which are perpetually sandwiched (Odey, 2013, p.25), this situation calls for education as a measure to facilitate democratic dividend especially good governance. There is therefore right of citizens to be ensured for all Nigerians wherever they reside with appropriate privileges attached (Obaje, 2002). Ethno-religious conflicts are indeed extreme manifestation of crisis of identity that has made it alarmingly dreaded in the Nigerian society. It is against this backdrop this paper sets out to investigate the issues responsible for frequent outbreak of these crises in Nigeria, and evaluates their impact on education and good governance. Thus, the paper attempts to appraise the causes of these malaise that threatens the very foundation of the Nigerian nation, since the return to democratic governance in 1999.

Conceptual Clarification

There are terms that need to be defined contextually for purpose of understanding and usage in this paper such as ethno-religious, education and good governance. Naturally we begin with ethno-religious concept. The ethno is a Greek word which simply means culture. The Cambridge dictionary says ethno is related to the study of different societies as well as cultures. It has to do with ethnicity. Osaghae (1992) defined ethnicity as a social formation resting upon culturally specific practices and a unique set of symbols and cosmology. The viewpoint expresses that ethnicity denotes a group of individuals who consider themselves, or are considered by others, to share common characteristics which differentiate them from other collectivities within a society. In a more simplistic note Despress (1975) argued that ethnicity is largely a subjective process of self-identification. While Achebe (1982) highlights malaise of this hydra-headed monster called ethnicity has proved a large fertile world around us and will stay around as there is work for everyone. He further adduced that, a Nigerian child seeking admission, employment and applying passport will have fill a form to declare his or her state of origin as well as participation of politics are defined by tribal or ethnic affiliation.

The concept of ethnicity in its broadest sense consist of discriminatory relationships between peoples and groups based on the promotion or rejection of ethnic-based symbols and cultural forms. It is in this sphere of thinking that Otite (1983, p.8) described ethnicity as a process and instrument for social mobilization. He asserts further that ethnicity deals with those attitudes, opinions, stereotypes, and prejudices which members of different ethnic groups have about themselves, and on the basis of which they identify and classify other people. Kano (1983, p.93) gives the most relevant conceptualization of ethnicity that satisfies



the concerns of this paper that “ethnicity is a manipulative tool in the hands of certain class of the society who wish to gain control of the social structure”.

On the other hand, religion as the situation of being adept to the fundamental tenets of a religion. Thus, the significance of religious formation has to be fully appreciated. How much collaboration and antagonism do religious affiliations and perspectives encourage or discourage among Nigerian ethnic communities? Clearly, this is best manifested in the differing perceptions their recipients and adherents have shown on issues that determine religious, socioeconomic and political relations in the country. This is particularly the case in Christian and Moslem dominated communities. Due to its pervasive characterization of force in the world; it shapes how people behave and how they think about and engage the social environment in which they live (Eferebo&Eferebo, 2021, p.58). No wonder Egwu (2001) argued that religion defies simplicity as a complex web that is difficult to quarry.

But the American cultural anthropologist, Spiro (1996, p.98) sees religion as “an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings”. Although for Connelly (1946) submitted that religion is a sacred and the spiritual. He however adduced religion to have evolved through beliefs, feelings, imaginations and actions from experience with the sacred and the spiritual. This is perhaps what informed Adeniyi (1993), to see religion as a body of truths, laws and rules by which man is subordinated to the transcendent being. This is saying that religion deals with sets of norms, values and rules, a behavior, process or structure whose orientation is supernatural. Indeed religion is a set of symbolic forms and actions that connect humanity to the ultimate being of their existence; which, in most cases, determine their actions or inactions has

facilitated the country’s slide to religious crises. These crises usually threatened the enthronement of democratic governance or its sustainability where it is already put in place. Reflecting on the harm done by incidences of “crises arising from the phenomenon of religious pluralism, has remained with us for so long now that one wonders whether there will ever be an end to it” (Okwueze, 2017, p.107).

The concept of education has quite a significant number of conceptualizations been one of the oldest discipline in human history. Education is essentially key to the overall development of any society; hence conceived as the vehicle for social and economic transformation. Education is the centrality of human existence. It is the bedrock of both individuals and for national development index. Adebayo (1997) posits education as the total process human training by which knowledge is imparted, facilitated, trained and skills developed. Education as a science, is based on facts and observations, which should be ranged in a positive science instead of being ruled by narrow and limited opinions, by whims and arbitrary decisions of administrators, to be turned away from direct line which it should analytical tables easily compared, in order to deduce principles and definite rules (Hans, 1978). In a more simplified note Gofwen (2004) views education as the imparting of knowledge through instruction to effect discipline and maturity of the mind.

While Encarta Microsoft (2007) defines education as the acquisition of knowledge or abilities gained through being educated. As a vehicle of good governance, Kalu (2009, p.25) submits that education prepares and equip the individual to develop the right personality, knowledge, skills and values required to be an effective and functional member of society. This implies that the importance of education in equipping individuals with the right values needed to turn around



society in a positive direction, is a possibility. This is in light of Plato (1988, p.190) states that, education is an instrument of moral reform, molding and transforming human souls. He further stressed that education, as a prerequisite for good governance, inculcated the right values of selfless duty towards all, as well as assisted in the performance of one's function in the society, for a sound moral education cures the ills inherent in society. The lack of education is the genesis of social vices and the evident result of the lack of good governance, among others, is a function of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, ethno-religious crises, and high crime rate in the country.

Good governance as a concept have divergent views, but John (1991, p.393) reduces it to simplification as efficiency and rationality in allocating resources, curbing corruption which inhibits development and investment, guarantee of civil and human right accountability to the citizenry. In fact, good governance is the ability to apply public resources effectively to generate public good and benefit for society at large. It essentially borders on dedicated leadership, transparency and accountability, rule of law, mechanisms of participatory and dialoguing in policy formulation and implementation (Diamond, 2004, p.222), which requires international best practices such as democracy, economic diversification and democratization, transparency, accountability and respect for international order as anchors of good governance.

The former United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan sees good governance as the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development. To him, lack of good governance will continue to promote hunger and underdevelopment. It is in this sense of relevance that, Kofi Annan further states that through good governance the impact of governmental activities are felt particularly in the area

of economic growth and development (Annan, 1998). While this is the whole truth, it is also opine that good governance is about how power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Conventionally, good governance is constitutive of aggregated elements, among others, political leadership, bureaucratic capacity, representation and accountability, transparency and non-corrupt judiciary enforcing the rule of law, and participation. In every sense of it, therefore, good governance is the management in the process of development and the keys to good governance best practices are leadership's political will and political action.

This is so because people talk about political will and not of political action. In fact, political will is not enough to curb the excesses of ethno-religious, banditry and insurgency in the Nigerian space. Unless there are some measures of diplomacy and peace-building mechanisms to mitigate the process for peaceful engagement, the problem would continue for a long period, if all Nigerian state could offer is the "stick" or "military action." This is saying that the problem could only be suppress for a while, but the government have to engage the situation with "carrot and stick" together to effectively tackle the menace of ethno-religious crisis in the country; as it was the case with the Niger Delta resource wars as President Yar'Dua demonstrable leadership did brought relative peace in the region and Nigeria at large. This is an exemplary good governance, peace-building and leadership squaring up for the citizenry.

This is because good governance have to do with a democratically elected leader that have the vision and carriage to improve the quality of the wellbeing of the standard of living of her citizens. This affords her the opportunity and the support of her citizens to contribute meaningfully to policy decisions that are



sincerely and effectively implemented to bring forth national development of the country. It is through good governance (Engel, 2020, p.195) submit that, visionary leaders in Asia were able to defy World Bank prerequisites for development but invested in Education... which made their economies and people to improve and earned them the sobriquet “Asian Tigers” and “Newly Industrializing Countries” globally that is absent in the leadership carriage of third world countries, especially African countries.

Theoretical Framework for Analysis

A theory is a guide or idea about something which can be a reality, assumption, and principle which are related to a particular phenomenon to be explained or analyzed with a view to solving problems which arose or may arise as a result. This paper is anchored on relative deprivation theory to analyze the root causes of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. Gurr (1971, p.23) defined relative deprivation as “the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ‘ought’ and the ‘is’ of collective value satisfaction, and this disposes men to violence.” The theorists are of the strong view that when individuals or groups feel relatively deprived when there exists a discrepancy between their expectations and outcome, they contest their interests.

Clearly this happens when individuals or groups can identify the discrepancy due to the availability of a reference point for comparison. As a result, they experience cognitive dissonance and apply all arsenals at their disposal to remove the barrier to their expectations (Offiong, 1980). Arguably, the central thesis is that other individuals or groups have what they are entitled to and they know getting what they want is realistic and this can only be gotten with the employment of maximum force of violence. Relative deprivation is essentially of the viewpoint that, the feeling of being deprived of something one feels

entitled to, according to Duke et al (2020, p.16), “which can be synthesized into a broad understanding of the emergence and sustenance of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria by different radical groups who claim to fight for their entitlements.” And to fight for and acquire these privileges, the resources the group musters is their youthful energy and the use of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) to perpetrate violence, robbery, kidnapping, bombing, banditry, terrorism, and so forth.

The Reality and Dynamics of Ethno-Religious Crises

The existence of socioeconomic and political discriminations and persecutions or mere threats to peoples’ means of livelihood and roots that lead to organize to resist such oppressions. This is fundamentally the basis of the dynamics and reality of ethno-religious crises and this is not something to whisk away but to grapple with. And indeed for the obvious fact that the issues relating to the causes of the phenomenon called ethno-religious crises in Nigeria are numerous and this usually in many cases misconstrued by some scholars, and public commentators. This is so much so that scholars without first understanding the nature of the problem and its sustenance join the chorus, for this lack of knowledge of the song being sang by the many crises. The distinction between what is a myth or reality is the centrality to any form of rational knowledge especially historical discourse. Thus, the historical antecedents that have led into these crises are highly fundamental and imperative at this in the present analysis.

However, one of the anathemas confronting Nigeria today is the preponderance of ethno-religious conflicts, which have become the albatross of peace and national development. The contention is that ethno-religious conflict is “a situation in which relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-



ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion, fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontations” (Salawu, 2010). This is significant as ethno-religious conflicts have infected the system as a recurring decimal because of this mutual suspicion and lack of cordiality among the various ethnic groups of Nigeria in decades, which have turned many regions or states of the country into theatre of war while leaving a permanent scar on the fragile country (Adeyemi&Emmanuel, 2021, p.257), is indicative of the lack of any strong sense of unity of the country.

It therefore convolutes the absence of oneness, the process of decolonization created a feeling of suspicion and fear as ethnic groups interacted with one another in a competitive fashion. Emergent identities crystalized around the regional setting as effective representatives of competition. While intra-regional ethnic differences were often driven under carpet to present a homogenous front for competition with other regional groups, and political parties assured regional labels. This is generally traced to and continued to be fueled by the false impression created of homogenous regions and the prospects of independence expose these fallacies, as minorities expressed their fears of discrimination and domination in postcolonial Nigeria (Elaigwu, 2004, p.45), as elsewhere demonstrable in the African continental history evident today.

These fears derived mainly from the configuration of the country with multi-ethnicity, hence, the desire by each group to protect its interest as Nigeria attained independence from the British as well as the military vacation of power in the country, brought to limelight prevailing hate memories with it origin in the past, which is, connected with limitations of the present socioeconomic and political injustices have been exploding in Nigeria. This surviving primordial forces,

according to John Agaba, “people’s fears and entrenched perceptions have not only been surviving but increasingly translated into political action whether in peaceful agitations or in violent uprisings. Once the lid of suppression of grievances was lifted, no matter the units of the new democratic projects, after prolonged military rule, everything begin to burst” (2013, p.53), which corroborates Chinua Achebe’s elegant expression “things fall apart.”What is expressed here is that the mere existence of different groups or multiple party affiliation in anyway automatically translate into tension, suspicion or conflict. There is always the handiwork of some selfish political elites who stand to gain and manipulate the system to score cheap popularity from the flames of discords.

Furthermore, the unfavorable socioeconomic realities on ground create a cliental relationship between the political elites and the citizenry for their personal aggrandizement. This creates room for poor Nigerians to be sponsored for criminal ventures at the slightest provocation. Above all, the prolonged military junta in statecraft, which was characterized by swift and drastic overturning of the existing institutional framework of intergovernmental relations, created some bottled-up anger and agitations that are easily expressed in different climes and volumes violently as shadows of ethno-religious forces. This is the climax of it all as the return to democracy in 1999 and the freer atmosphere it brought seems to provide the incendiary for more expression of challenges to ethno-religious crises and indeed the survival of the Nigerian nation at large by “conflict merchants”. This is what Raimi (2017) as well as Raimi and Boroh (2018) referred to as the commodification of violence.

Many of the various ethnic nationalities are regrouping, and Nigeria seems to be balkanize into its original chiefdoms, like in those precolonial



days. Thus, Ohaneze is campaigning for the Igbo block, the Afenifere is making wave for the Yoruba nation, the Arewa People's Congress and Arewa Consultation Forum mobilizing for the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy and the Middle Belt Forum and the Northern Indigene Interest for the northern minorities (Agaba, 2013, p.56). Similar associations exist for the Southern minorities such as the Ijo National Congress, Pan Niger Delta Forum, South-South People's Assembly, and Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People, among others. This ethnic phenomenon also has para-military wings as the O'dua People's Congress, which is the youth wing of the Afenifere. Other similar para-military ethnic organizations are the Ijo Youth Council, the youth wing of the INC, in the Niger Delta. There are Bakassi Boys, Movement for the Actualization of the State of Biafra, and Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) among the Igbos and Yanbanga in Northern Nigeria play similar para-military functions as IYC to Ijo National Congress as elsewhere in Nigeria, poses great threat to the corporate existence of the country (personal communication with King Alfred Diete Spiff 23/1/2022).

The complexity of this ethno-religious palaver is very endemic in all the regions or states of the federation, several intra-ethnic conflicts have filled the register of History which usually tell the story of ethno-religious sentiments, indigeneship versus "settlers", among others. The beginning of the fourth republic in 1999, some of these include Hausa-Fulani in Lagos, Ogun and Oyo, Igbo-Hausa in Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Aba, and, the Yoruba versus the Ijo in Ajegunle (Lagos). Other examples are Aguleri versus Umuleri in Anambra State (Southeast) and Ijo against Itsekiri in Delta State (South South) of the country, and several other clashes that have ethno-religious flavors. These crises championed by ethnic militia groups in several parts of Nigeria, had resulted in many deaths and destruction of property worth billions of naira.

Worst still, Nigerians were enmeshed in ethno-religious crises, characterized by a collapse of government policies, as such rural poverty, urban poverty (Ekpenyong, Raimi & Ekpenyong, 2012) and destitution grew in proportion. Thus, this loss of faith in the Nigerian socioeconomic malaise has characterized the period dug deeper grounds for ethno-religious hostilities, animosities, and hatred in the society. By these actions, the Nigerian state was the main victim. It played a dangerous game with a highly emotive issue with the potentials for setting the country ablaze as events in many parts of the country proved these fears to be true. As ethno-religious crises in Kaduna, Kano, Jos and many parts of the country were events that attested to the fear (Yahaya, 2004, p.1-10), are still recurring routinely before our very eyes killing and maiming in the name of ethno-religious fanaticism. Clearly, non-indigenes suffered greatly in these attacks. And to stress further that Muslims who were non-Hausa/Fulani were also brutalized, suggesting that ethno-religion was the only identity which provided "salvation" in the debacle.

Furthermore, in the reprisal attacks from other regions especially in Eastern Nigerian, when bodies of those killed and maimed arrived home several people from the Middle Belt were targets of revenge attacks. They were attacked in the East as elsewhere because they were considered northerners, even though they were non-Muslims. The crises thus revealed in John Agaba's view "the changing nature of identities from religion to geographical space and ethnicities perceived to be associated with such location. This further, created suspicion and tension, which wiped away the euphoria of nationalist feeling that greeted the return to civil rule in 1999" (2013, p.59), the central poser is that these crises have some economic underlying forces wearing ethno-religious toga expressing modes of control over micro or macroeconomic dynamics of the country.



While it is plausible to attribute some of the causes of these crises to the economic inequalities among the diverse Nigerian ethnic nationalities, it is also necessary to state that most of the root causes of these violent conflicts are not unconnected with the lack of adequate mechanism to deal with in the constitution, the inability of leaders to appropriately apply the techniques of dialogue and compromise. Couples with deep-seated problems of economic mismanagement and distributional injustice at the levels of governance, leadership and followership of the society. Above all, corruption and irresponsibility by the leadership as well as collapse of state institutions or lack of it constitutes a wider dimension of ethno-religious problems in the polity. This loss of faith in the Nigerian state has created a mind set in many Nigerian groups that the government can no longer genuinely protect and defend them.

As a result, intergroup violence has been on the increase since people now believe that the onus to defend themselves lies in their own hands, and so, mobilized every arsenal within their reach to fight and defend themselves as the media quoted government officials to have declared thus, in the face of the many atrocities laced on citizens in parts of the country. People are no longer interested or care to know what policies, projects and programs the government has earmarked for their benefits because of the widespread belief that nothing good will ever come out of government. This is in fact the disconnection between the people and the Nigerian government and among the various ethno-religious groups in the country. This is stressing that the ethno-religious plurality, cynicism, and failure of the state to curb the excesses is the driving force behind the high level of disenchantment, disappointment and alienation on the part of the citizenry that government is a fad in this whole saga.

The Nexus between Education and Good Governance

The quality of education and level of educational attainment of a people speak volumes and quality of leaders, the pace of economic growth and development and the country's global competitiveness as well as the wellbeing of its citizenry. Importantly therefore one of the yardsticks to measure a society is, is to appraise its educational system and quality of the leadership in the affairs of the state (Lindsay, 2000, p.3), either elected or appointed to run the business of statecraft. Essentially, this suggests that the development of any nation is remarkably linked to the state of educational advancement; hence if the system of education is bad, then bad governance will be promoted and vice-versa. This is indeed a replica of the computer adage "garbage in garbage out", which also qualifies the biblical expression "whatever you sow, you shall reap", is synthetically systemic in our daily activities as well as in the life of Nations.

Perhaps thinking along this line, the American educationist John Dewey highlighted the relevance of education to good governance when he contends that an effective educational system is an essential necessity for building a productive and responsive democratic society, and by extension, good governance. In his view, "what nutrition and reproduction are to physical life, represents what education is to social life" (Dewey, 2005, p.1). Education remains the intellectual tool or laboratory of any great nation in the sense that it promotes good governance by equipping individuals' capability to x-ray and analyze problems with the intent to make meaningful decisions that will impact positively on society (Itelimo, 2014, p.155). However, education inculcates the ability to develop various methods or tools for solving problems in the society and to be functional in such society. What is more as a viable



educational system will produce good leaders as well as good followers who will be morally conscious of their roles to formulate sound policies that will promote a strong sense of morality and good governance, which is lacking in the governance of the Nigeria.

Omoregbe (1993, p.150) subscribes that any country which neglects education of its citizenry refuses ipso facto to develop, for ignorance is a formidable barrier to development. This further stresses the viewpoint that the education of Nigerian youths is a panacea to ethno-religious crises because it will definitely bring about attitudinal changes, if they are engaged meaningfully their knowledge is indispensable for good governance, a requisite for peaceful co-existence. In fact, a sound education eliminates corruption, misappropriation, and other social vices that have become “a clog in the wheel of good governance” in the country. But the concern is that good governance can only be achieved if priority is given to the education of the youths, as they are future leaders in their own rights (Dike, 2000, p.9), which professes that lack of quality education and unemployment will contribute to many social vices in Nigeria.

For such negative tendencies to be eliminated, the society must invest more on the youth through a sound moral education. This in no small measure bring to account the current bad value system that hold the country to ransom and create conducive environment that would enable the educational system to engage citizens for healthy competitions. This is good governance brought by moral education. This is so because education provides the skills and knowledge needed to secure the future and to compete favorably in a more or less competitively dynamic globalized world.

CONCLUSION

This paper highlights that the recent ethno-religious conflicts in various parts of Nigeria are potent forces threatening the very foundations of the country as a state. We thus argued that these have manifested ranging from the struggles over the resource control in the Niger Delta region, introduction of sharia justice system in the North, and the insurgency of the ethnic militia groups such as the OPC, IPOB, MASSOB, ACF, IYC, and MEND etc. reared its hydra-head in all the six geopolitical zones of the country. This paper however submits that these crises are being manipulated by the political elites hence their emotive intensity that have cumulatively become a threat to the survival of the Nigerian state. This is so because the problem of recurring violent conflicts in Nigeria is attributed to the plural nature of the country and explain why government have not been able to establish viable peace building strategy to forestall the crises. The realities point to the poor management of public affairs, lack of a sound education and good governance are ingredients of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria.

REFERENCES

1. Achebe, Chinua (1982), “Pattern of Social Conflicts: State, Class and Ethnicity”, Deadalis, Vol.3, No.2
2. Adebayo, A. (1997), Principles and Practice of Public Administration in Nigeria. Lagos: Spectrum Books Ltd.
3. Adeniyi, M. O. (1993), “Religion and Politics: An Eye Bird View of Development in Nigeria”. In R. D. Abubakar (Ed), Religion and Politics in Nigeria. Ilorin: NASR.
4. Adeyemo, B. A. & Emmanuel, B. O. (2021), “Federalism, Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the Restructuring Debate in Nigeria”. Vuna Journal of History and International Relations, Vol.5, No.4, pp.253-261.
5. Agaba, J. (2013), “Ethno-Religious Crises and the Survival of the Nigerian State. In C. B. N. Ogbogbo &



- O. Okpoh Jr (Eds), Federalism in Historical Perspective. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers Ltd.
6. Annan, K. (1998), "The Causes of Conflict and Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa. A/52? 871-S/998/8. Accessed 28/9/2021.
 7. Connelly, P. (1946), The Treaties on the gods. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
 8. Despress, L. A. (1975), "Towards a Theory in Ethnic and Phenomenon". In A. Heo, & L. A. Despress, (Eds.), Ethnicity and Resource Competition Impair Societies. Hague: Monton Publishers.
 9. Dewey, J. (2005), Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education. New York: Free Press.
 10. Diamond, L. (2004), "Building a System of Comprehensive Accountability and Control Corruption". In A. B. Adigwe, Diamond, L. & Onwudike, E. (Eds), Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance: A Festschrift for Ogeleye Oyediran. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
 11. Dike, V. (2000), The State of Education in Nigeria. Sacramento: Lighting Press, p.9
 12. Duke, O. T., Ekawu, J. E. & Agbaji, D. D. (2020), "Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Nigeria's National Security". IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Social, Vol. 25, No.7, Series 10, July 2020, pp.15-23. Available at (<https://www.iosrjournals.org>), accessed 28/10/2021.
 13. Eferebo, I. & Eferebo, D. I. (2021), "Ogidiga Worship among the Nembe-Ijo of Nigeria: African Culture History in Perspective". Helsinki Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol.4, No.2, pp.53-73. Available at (<https://eduassists.org/hjssh/current-issue.html>), accessed 14/8/2021.
 14. Egwu, S. (2001), Ethnic Religion Violence in Nigeria. Abuja: African Center for Democratic Governance.
 15. Ekpenyong, N.S, Raimi, L. & Ekpenyong, A.S (2012). Urban poverty and juvenile delinquency in Nigeria: Through the lens of Port Harcourt remand home inmates. Research on Humanities and Social Sciences, 2(8), 127-132, 2012.
 16. Elaigwu, I. J. (2004), "The Challenge of Nation-Building in the Twenty-First Century: The Nigerian Experience". In M. L. Mefor & D. Abdullahi (Eds), Lecture Series Vol.1. Abuja: Alumni, p.45
 17. Encarta Microsoft Dictionary, 2007.
 18. Engel, E. N. (2020), "Fighting Security Challenges through Good Governance: North-East in Perspective". Kaduna Journal of Humanities, Vol.4, No.1, pp.190-206.
 19. Gofwen, R. I. (2004), Religious Conflicts in Nigeria and Nation Building. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor.
 20. Gurr, T. R. (1971), Why Men Rebel. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p.23
 21. Hans, E. (1978), "Comparative Education". In A. A. Fafunwa & J. U. Asiku (Eds), Education in Africa. London: Allen & Unwin.
 22. Itelemo, M. (2014), "Education and Good Governance". International Journal of Current Research in the Humanities, Vol. 19, September, pp.153-158.
 23. John, J. (1991), "Aid and Good Governance in Africa". The Round Table.
 24. Kalu, N. (2009), "Sociological Foundations of Education". In Model Essays in Education. Port Harcourt: University Press, p.25
 25. Kano, M. K. (1983), "Ethnicity and Social Cohesion". National Institute Kuru: NIPSS, P.93
 26. Lindsay, S. (2000), The State of Education and Global Competitiveness. London: Macmillan.
 27. Mahadi, A. et al (1994), Nigeria: The State of the Nation and the Way Forward. Kaduna: Arewa House, p.435.
 28. Obaje, A. Y. (2002), Religious Governance and Communal Conflict. Paper Presented at Kuru: NIPPS.



29. Odey, M. O. (2013), "Reflections on the Dynamics of Ethnic Nationalism and the Survival of Nigerian Federalism. In C. B. N. Ogbogbo & O. Okpeh Jr (Eds.), Federalism in Historical Perspective. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, p.25
30. Offiong, D. A. (1980), Organized Labour and Political Development in Nigeria. Calabar: Centour Press.
31. Okwueze, M. C. (2017), Ethics, Religion and Society: Biblical, Tradition and Contemporary Perspectives. Enugu: Timex Publishers, p.107
32. Omoregbe, J. (1993), Ethics: A Systemic Study. Lagos: Joja Publishers, p.150
33. Osaghae, E. E (1992), "Ethnicity and Democracy". In A. Fasoro, (Ed.), Understanding Democracy. Ibadan: Book Craft Ltd.
34. Otite, O. (1983), "On the Concept of Ethnicity in Nigeria". In National Institute Kuru: NIPSS, p.8
35. Plato (1988), Republic, G. M. A. Grube (Ed), New York: Penguin Books, p.190
36. Raimi, L. (2017). Poverty, monetization of conflict and insecurity in the Niger Delta region. International Journal of Operational Research in Management, Social Sciences & Education, 3(2): 42-51, September.
37. Raimi, L. & Boroh, E. S. (2018). Incentivising violent behaviours in the Niger Delta region: The commodification hypothesis. Development Studies Roundtable: A Journal of Development, UNIPORT, 6(2), 53-61.
38. Salawu, B. (2010), "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria: Causal Analysis and Proposals for New Management Strategies". European Journal of Social Sciences, vol.12, No.3.
39. Spiff, A. P. D (2022), Personal Communication with the Amanyabo of Twon-Brass at his Port Harcourt Residence January 23, 2022.
40. Spiro, M. (1996), Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation". In M. Banton (Ed), Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion. London: Tavistock, p.98
41. Yahaya, O. L. (2004), Religious Crises and Social Disruption in North-Eastern Nigeria. Ibadan: Low Books, pp.1-10.