Exploring Ethno-Religious Identity and its Impact on the Struggles of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Mahmud IDREES Gana

Department of Political Science

Federal University of Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State

E-Mail: Mahmud.idrees@gmail.com

+2348064064787

Abstract

This paper explores ethno-religious identity and its impact on the struggles for democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. This study delves into the intricate dynamics of ethno-religious identity and its profound influence on the arduous path of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Nigeria, characterized by its rich diversity of ethnic and religious groups, has grappled with the complexities of harnessing this diversity for democratic growth. Theoretically, the paper adopted the conflict trap. The paper employed a secondary method of data collection and analysis based on the collection of data from books, journals, and web-based materials, among others. The results revealed that ethno-religious identities contribute to the nation's unique character by providing a source of cultural richness and diversity. They also give people a sense of belonging and identity. When these identities, however, become politicized and instrumentalized, they can pose serious threats to democratic consolidation. The study concludes that ethno-religious identity is an integral part of Nigeria's social fabric and that its politicization can pose significant challenges to democratic consolidation. Addressing these challenges requires a multifaceted approach that promotes inclusive governance, civic education, and responsible leadership. Ultimately, a united and democratic Nigeria can thrive by embracing its diversity while transcending the divisive aspects of ethno-religious identity politics.

Keywords: Democratic consolidation, ethnicity, identity, politics, religion.

Introduction

Ethno-religious identity has been a major challenge to democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The country is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, with over 250 ethnic groups. This diversity has often been a source of conflict as different groups compete for power and resources. Nigeria exhibits a complex of individual, overlapping, and recursive identities, the most prominent of which are ethnic, religious, regional, and sub-ethnic (communal) identities. These identities serve as the main catalysts for violent conflicts

in Nigeria. This is true from the perspectives of the identities that citizens most frequently adopt, particularly for political reasons, as well as the identities that are frequently associated with daily disputes over citizenship as well as rivalries and battles over resources and privileges. They are occasionally combined or hyphenated as ethno-regional and ethno-religious to highlight the interdependence of ethnic, regional, and religious identities as well as how frequently they reinforce one another (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005).

The multiethnic makeup of the Nigerian state forms a firm cornerstone of the country's structural politics. The main ethos for gauging contributions to national growth and as a tool for distributing and allocating power and resources at the national level is now ethnocentrism. The Federal Republic of Nigeria's 1999 Constitution, as modified in Section 153 (1c), captures the ethnic outlook of the Nigerian state after independence.

The Federal Character Principle seeks to ensure that the ethnic, linguistic, religious, and geographic diversity of Nigeria is fairly represented in all public service organizations. The Federal Character Principle was formerly thought to be the answer to maintaining unity in the face of diversity, but because of the influence of ethnicity in Nigeria's body politic, the idea now works against the nation's progress.

In modern Nigeria, both the north and the south are home to diverse populations in terms of ethnicity and religion. Muslims and Christians have coexisted harmoniously across the nation for many years, especially in the southwest, where identity is mostly determined by local culture and values. They intermarry (Hoffmann, 2014). Yet, Nigeria's ruling class frequently takes advantage of identity group mobilization and weak institutions for their own self-serving gain. In Nigeria, religion has worsened tensions and rifts and become a source of growing division. Although it is widely accepted that ethnic identity is assumed to be the most prominent and consistent source of social identity in Nigeria (Lewis, cited in Okpanachi, 2010).

Nigeria commemorated 23 years since the restoration of democracy on May 29, 2022. 62 years after independence, this is the longest period of civilian rule; in comparison to the three preceding republics, it is a significant achievement. The First Republic lasted six years, the Second Republic four years and three months, and the Third Republic was shortened after the military called off the presidential election on June 12, 1993.

Democracy has been put to the test over the course of these 23 years, with different degrees of success and increasing difficulties. The People's Democratic Party (PDP), the previous ruling party, was viewed as chaotic and conflict-ridden until recently. The AllProgressives Congress (APC), founded in 2013, gained momentum from the factionalization of the PDP and went on to win the 2015 national elections. Yet, the APC has demonstrated that it differs from the party it replaced only in name, nine years after its founding and after almost eight years in power. Nearly all the problems that prompted Nigerians to criticize the PDP administration and eventually force it from office now affect the ruling APC (Ayoade, 2019).

The political elites in Nigeria's fourth republic, who mostly rely on the force of their morally motivated paramilitary organization to shoot them to power, have been fighting for control of the highest political offices in the country's democratic environment. With the end of the Abiola struggle, the creation of the O'odua People's Congress, which was partially used to the Yorubas' advantage with the election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999, and the Niger Delta militants who shot themselves and the region to prominence when Dr. Goodluck Jonathan was chosen for the position of Vice President instead of the more well-liked Dr. Peter Odi, the decoy of power play for the soul of Nigeria using ethnically based militia groups (Benjamin and Godwin, 2021).

Despite being portrayed as a religious organization, Boko Haram has been successful in persuading influential people to side with the north. The Ibos are the only significant ethnic group whose militia organization has been unsuccessful in securing the heavily transformed seat of presidency, despite the fact that they have greatly profited from the center's ethno-linguistic power sharing. With the constant barrage of ethnic militia under the current remote control of democratic flow, the fourth republic's democratic experience is at risk of completely collapsing in terms of what democracy should entail. Many people are now torn between obedience and loyalty to the Nigerian state as parts of their civic duties include obedience to ethnically based militia groups, while political parties are always torn between choosing a good candidate and a candidate for office. Political activists take advantage of religion, understanding that it is the most powerful and pervasive motivator. It elicits strong emotions because it contains powerful images or symbols, values, and convictions (Agu, 2010). In the Fourth Republic, ethno-religious identity

has been used to mobilize support for political parties and candidates. This has led to the rise of ethnic and religious demagogues who have exploited these divisions for their own gain. It has also made it difficult to build consensus on important national issues.

It is against this backdrop this study exploresethno-religious identity and its impact on the struggles of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The paper is divided into six sections.

Conceptual Clarifications

Ethnicity

Ethnicism, like many other notions in the social science field, is difficult to define, according to Salawu and Hassan (2011). It is necessary to first define terms and concepts linked to ethnicism, such as ethnic group and ethnicity, in order to understand it properly. According to Nnoli (1978), ethnicity is a social phenomenon linked to interactions between people from various ethnic groups. He also maintained that ethnic groupings are social formations that may be identified by the communal nature of their borders (i.e., language and culture). In addition, Otite (1990) described ethnicity as groups of individuals whose members are rooted in a specific region of the new state's territory and who share culturally distinctive characteristics of symbols, including language, value systems, and normative conduct. These distinctive characteristics often contribute to a sense of belonging and identity within the ethnic group. Otite further emphasized that ethnicity is not a fixed or static concept but rather a dynamic and evolving aspect of social life. He argued that interactions between different ethnic groups can lead to cultural exchange and the formation of new identities, challenging the notion of rigid borders between groups.

Having perceived ethnicity as an interaction between and among different ethnic groups, which is unrelated to development on its own, but ethnicism, which is the extreme of ethnicity, carries a negative connotation and shows an antagonistic attitude toward those who are not of the same ethnic background. Ethnicity existed in Nigerian society prior to the arrival of colonialism, and ethnicism developed as a result of the battle for those resources. Conflict has been cited by Nnoli (1978) as a key component of ethnicism. He felt that interactions and competition between ethnic groups over a few resources would inevitably lead to violence. This violence can

manifest in various forms, such as discrimination, prejudice, and even ethnic cleansing. Ethnicism not only deepens divisions between different ethnic groups but also hinders social cohesion and national unity. Therefore, addressing the root causes of ethnicism and promoting inclusivity are crucial for fostering peace and harmony within a diverse society like Nigeria.

Akubo (2014) stated that the ethnic militia movement, which resulted from the June 12, 1993, election annulment, was formed primarily to defend a "cause" that was frequently related to ethnic interest. Having access to coercive instruments is made more difficult by their daily confrontation with security agencies, other communities, and/or ethnic groups. He quickly added that the ethnic militia's activities may never be regarded as rebellion, as their ultimate goal is not to overthrow the government. The OPC's operations prompted other ethnic groups to start militia movements.

Religious Identity

The idea of religion is vague and ill-defined. Because religion is so emotionally charged, it is challenging to characterize it with accuracy and impartiality (Egwu, 2011; Agarwal, 1994). Religion has been variously defined as a body of truths, regulations, and rituals that allow a man to submit to a transcendent being (Adeniyi, 1993). Bellah (1970) defined religion as a collection of symbolic behaviors and forms that connect a person to the fundamental principles governing his life. In response to a similar concern, Peter (1988) conceptualized religion as a system of symbols that act to establish strong, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and cloaking these conceptions in such a veil of factuality that moods and motivations seem uncannily realistic. These definitions highlight the role of symbols in religion, emphasizing their ability to shape a person's worldview and influence their emotions and actions. Symbols in religion serve as a means of connecting individuals to deeper truths and principles that govern their lives, creating a sense of reality and significance.

From a larger viewpoint, there are two distinct yet related perspectives on religion: the material and the spiritual. It is envisioned in the material perspective as social groups, religious concerns, and religious structures (i.e., institutions and officials). On the other hand, from a spiritual standpoint,

religion is concerned with social and personal behavior models that aid believers in structuring their daily lives. Religion is described in this sense as transcendence, supernatural reality, and sacredness (Alanamu, 2004). The material perspective of religion focuses on the tangible aspects such as rituals, ceremonies, and physical symbols that are practiced within a religious community. It also emphasizes the role of religious institutions in organizing and governing these practices. In contrast, the spiritual perspective delves into the intangible aspects of religion, exploring concepts like faith, belief systems, and individual experiences of the divine. It highlights the transformative power of religion in shaping one's worldview and providing guidance for moral and ethical choices.

Mol (1976) coined the phrase "religious identity" to describe a person's affiliation with a particular religious tradition. Seul later developed it in 1999. These academics contend that religions have a significant impact on how people view themselves and the outside world because they are grounded in shared metaphysical and ethical views. According to Seul, religion gives people and groups the strongest kind of identity. Religious writings and rituals convey religious norms and values, which have a stronger impact on people than other types of influences because they appeal to the transcendent. Religious traditions provide individuals and communities with a sense of belonging and purpose, shaping their identity and guiding their behavior. The shared metaphysical and ethical views embedded in religions offer a framework for understanding the world and one's place in it, fostering a deep connection to something greater than oneself. This connection to the transcendent, as conveyed through religious writings and rituals, holds a profound influence on individuals, often surpassing the impact of other external influences.

Christian, Muslim, and traditional religious identities are typically divided into three categories in Nigeria. With hundreds of diverse ethnic groups and subgroups, villages, clans, and kin groups, traditional religions are the least politically engaged of the three. They also involve the worship of a variety of deities. Nonetheless, traditional religious masquerades have been a significant source of strife in some areas of the states of Kogi, Kwara, and Nassarawa. According to Lewis and Bratton referenced in Osaghae and Suberu(2005), Nigerian Muslims are significantly more likely than Christians to express or exhibit a religious identity, making Christian and

Muslim identities the backbone of religious divergence and conflict. This religious divergence and conflict can be attributed to various factors, including historical tensions between different ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria. Additionally, political and socio-economic issues have also played a role in exacerbating these conflicts, as they often intersect with religious identities and exacerbate existing tensions.

Democratic Consolidation

Democracy is often defined as "government by the people," or elected representatives. However, modern states often have a divided population, leading to a government that represents only the majority of the people. This has led to the need for a rethinking of democracy, where a majority of the people's representatives govern. This shift towards majority rule in democracy has sparked debates about the potential exclusion of minority voices and the importance of protecting individual rights. Critics argue that this approach may undermine the principles of inclusivity and equality that are essential for a truly democratic society. Therefore, finding a balance between majority rule and safeguarding minority rights remains a crucial challenge in reimagining democracy.

The tenets of democracy are a set of presumptions upon which democracy as a concept is built. They are equality, freedom, and interests (Graham, 1986). This could be interpreted to suggest that all people are created equal, are equally free, and have interests in which they should be free to pursue them. These principles are founded on natural rules that apply to the natural condition (Barry, 1981). It was further observed by Dahl (1971), that democracy has three components: first, the acceptance of majority rule; second, respect for the rule of law; third, the defense of individual and minority rights; and fourth, the preservation of the interests of the underprivileged groups. These principles of equality and freedom, rooted in natural rules, form the foundation of a just society. However, Dahl argues that for democracy to thrive, it must also include the acceptance of majority rule, respect for the rule of law, defense of individual and minority rights, and protection of the interests of marginalized groups. These components ensure a fair and inclusive system that upholds the principles of equality and freedom for all.

The phrase "democratic consolidation" was first understood in terms of overcoming obstacles that prevent the creation of new democracies and securing them in an effort to increase their

lifespan by protecting them from the threats of authoritarian repression (Shadler, 1999). Ojo (2000) has broadened Beetham's (1994) definition of "democratic consolidation" to include terms like "popular legitimacy," "civil supremacy over the military," "systematic eradication of authoritarian enclaves," "party building mechanisms," "stability of electoral rules," "decentralization of state power," "direct democracy," judicial reforms, "poverty alleviation and economic stabilization," and "periodic elections" (Andreas, 1998). According to Whitehead (1989), the best way to describe the consolidation or maintenance of democracy is when it is designed to be able to withstand both internal and external pressure and shock while maintaining tenacious adherence to the fundamental principles of the electoral process, political freedom, and accommodation of dissenting and opposition views. The import of the foregoing would establish democratic consolidation as the creation of strong civil institutions to support the sustenance of democracy against autocratic and tyrannical strong men." Being able to uphold the principles of regularly occurring democratic elections that are free, fair, and credible in order to smoothly usher in the change of one group of government officials to another Democratic consolidation will also require the emergence of political parties with strong ideologies and no racial or religious overtones.

Periodic elections that have resulted in an orderly change of government have been held since democratic rule was restored in 1999. Elections were held in 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, and 2019. A civil transition took place in 2007 with the handover of power from Obasanjo to Yar'adua, again in 2011 with Yaradua-Jonathan to Jonathan, and once more in 2015 with the transfer of power from Jonathan to Buhari. This, however, in no way ensures the survival of democracy as credible, free, and fair elections are still a long way off and the right of the people to choose their representatives has been gravely undermined by politicians' pervasive collusion with state institutions "like the police, the military, and the electoral body to manipulate the electoral process in favor of a particular candidate," and this phenomenon of electoral irregularities has grown (Ogbofinaya, Omoju, and Udefuna, 2012). This erosion of democratic principles not only hampers the legitimacy of elected officials but also undermines public trust in the electoral system. The lack of accountability and transparency further exacerbates the challenges faced by democracy in this context.

Theoretical Foundation

The paper is anchored on conflict trap theory as its theoretical underpinning.

Conflict Trap Theory

The exponents of this theory are Paul Collier, V.L. Elliott, Havard Hegre, Ankle Hoeffler, Marta Reynal-Querol, and Nicholas Sambanis. To them, conflict trap denotes that once a conflict has erupted, it tends to develop momentum of its own. Peace seemingly becomes elusive and hard to restore. Even when peace is restored, it often does not endure (Collier et al., 2003). This theory suggests that conflicts have a tendency to escalate and perpetuate themselves, making it difficult to achieve long-lasting peace. The concept of a conflict trap implies that the underlying causes and dynamics of the conflict continue to persist even after peace agreements are reached, leading to a cycle of violence and instability. Therefore, addressing the root causes and implementing sustainable solutions is crucial in order to break free from the cycle of conflict.

Conflict trap proponents attribute the protracted structure of a typical conflict to a variety of interrelated causes. Disputes persist in multiethnic countries, perhaps because of their openness to being rallied, manipulated, and mobilized by ethnic sentiments for both the warring parties and the government. In addition, violence frequently turns into an efficient political tactic in plural societies, particularly when the populace has serious grievances to pursue. Additionally, even if the holders of power and authority in society are ready to give in to the demands of the groups, it is uncommon for people to have confidence in them or believe that they possess effective ways to bring the rival factions to an understanding. The opposing sides may be concerned that once they extend an olive branch, the holders of power and authority will back out of any agreements (Collier et al. 2003)

Furthermore, it is argued that it is even more challenging for those in positions of power and authority to give in to demands from rival groups because doing so might encourage the emergence, expansion, mushrooming, and radicalization of other groups, many of which frequently have diametrically opposed goals. Additionally, there is a strong correlation between long-lasting conflict, extremely unequal income distribution, and an extremely low average income, possibly because it is less expensive to maintain conflict when there is a

large population of economically disadvantaged people and when institutions like the security agencies are significantly weak and unable to deter and catch lawbreakers. More so, maintaining conflict has gotten simpler as a result of the warring parties' simple access to weapons for waging war (Collier et al., 2003).

Based on the aforementioned premises, the conflict trap theory suggests that countries that have experienced civil war are more likely to experience future conflict. This is because civil war can lead to the proliferation of arms, the development of a culture of violence, and the creation of grievances that can be exploited by conflict entrepreneurs. Nigeria has experienced a number of civil wars and ethno-religious conflicts, which has created a conflict trap that makes it difficult to achieve democratic consolidation.

The conflict trap theory provides a useful framework for understanding the challenges of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. By understanding the factors that contribute to the conflict trap, Nigeria can take steps to break the cycle of violence and build a more peaceful and prosperous future.

Politics of ethnic identity in Nigeria

The politics of ethnic identity in Nigeria is a complex and ever-evolving issue. In recent years, the politics of ethnic identity in Nigeria has become increasingly polarized. This is due in part to the rise of ethnic and religious demagogues who have exploited these divisions for their own gain. According to Adamu and Ocheni (2016), the Fourth Republic in Nigeria is characterized by ongoing political instability and aggravation that are brought on by persisting feelings of marginalization held by various ethnic groups. All things considered, a sense of deprivation and exclusion is triggered when these excluded ethnic groups admit that the language they speak, their religious beliefs, or their cultural practices do not accurately reflect their ethnic identities in the greater society. These excluded ethnic groups may develop deep-seated animosity and a sense of unfairness as a result of their experience of deprivation and exclusion. Due to these groups' potential to use protests, demonstrations, or even violence to demand their rights, it feeds the political instability and aggravation that consistently define the Nigerian Fourth Republic.

In practically all cultures with several ethnic groups, ethnicity is natural. This finding appears to imply that ethnic identity is

produced by interactions between many ethnic groups within a single political structure. A common consciousness of being one in connection to other significant ethnic groups can be created through this type of engagement (Eriksen 1996). In turn, this leads to the development of boundaries between the in-group and out-group, which, over time, become carefully guarded. According to this theory, ethnicity then turns into a mechanism for the politicization of ethnic identities (Eriksen 1996). This politicization of ethnic identities can often result in conflicts and power struggles between different ethnic groups within the political structure. As individuals and groups seek to protect and promote their own ethnic identity, tensions may arise, leading to social divisions and sometimes even violence. Additionally, the politicization of ethnic identities can also have implications for the distribution of resources and political representation within society, as different groups may compete for limited resources and influence in decision-making processes.

In the colonial and post-colonial periods of Nigeria's political history, identities have historically been important. Administrators throughout the colonial era encouraged the development of the "we versus them" mentality, which put Muslims against Christians, Northerners against Southerners, Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo against one another, and so on (Adefemi 2003; Okpanachi 2010). For example, the 2010 Jos crisis in central Nigeria has been fueled by ethnic and religious differences, leading to violence and displacement. These conflicts have deep historical roots, as they are often linked to competition for resources and political power among different ethnic groups. The government has made efforts to address these tensions through initiatives such as interfaith dialogue and community reconciliation programs, but the underlying issues still persist.This strategy of dividing and categorizing the Nigerian population based on religious and regional identities served to maintain control and perpetuate a sense of competition and animosity among different groups. These divisions continue to shape Nigeria's political landscape, with identity politics playing a significant role in elections and policy-making decisions.

Politicians and leaders often mobilize their ethnic groups for political gain, using ethnic identity as a tool to rally support. For instance, the 2023 electoral campaign was observed to be carried out based on the ethno-religious line, which each candidate took advantage of to mobilize voters through

regional or religious lines. This can lead to the manipulation of ethnic sentiments for electoral purposes and can exacerbate ethnic tensions. Furthermore, such manipulation can deepen divisions within a society and hinder efforts towards national unity. It is crucial for politicians and leaders to prioritize inclusive policies that promote diversity and bridge ethnic divides, fostering a more harmonious and cohesive society.

Addressing the politics of ethnic identity in Nigeria is a complex and ongoing challenge. It requires fostering a sense of national identity while also respecting and accommodating the diverse ethnic and cultural identities within the country.

Effects of Ethno-Religious Identity on Democratic Consolidation

Ethno-religious identity can have a significant impact on democratic consolidation. In a country with a diverse population, ethno-religious identity can be used to mobilize support for political parties and candidates, and to build alliances and coalitions.However, it can also be used to incite violence and conflict, and to undermine the rule of law and democratic institutions.

It can make it difficult to build consensus on important national issues. When people are divided along ethnic or religious lines, it can be difficult to reach agreement on issues such as resource allocation, economic development, and political reform. This can lead to political instability and gridlock. Furthermore, when divisions based on ethnicity or religion are deep-rooted, they can fuel social tensions and conflicts, hindering the overall progress of a nation. These divisions can also undermine trust and cooperation among different groups, making it even more challenging to find common ground and effectively address pressing societal challenges. Mazuri (2001) noted that ethnic and religious considerations continue to play a significant role in the sociopolitical unrest in the nation, but he also connected the north's support for Sharia with the region's marginal status in Nigeria's politics and balance of power.

In addition to impeding free, fair, and credible elections—the cure for the maintenance of democracy—the existence and support of ethnic militia also encourage electoral fraud because some of these militia act as political thugs during elections. (Oladiran, 2013). These ethnic militias often intimidate voters and disrupt the voting process, leading to a skewed outcome that does not reflect the true will of the people. Furthermore,

the presence of these militias creates a climate of fear and insecurity, discouraging citizens from fully participating in the democratic process.

Chukumerije (2011) noted that operating democracy at the dictation, pleasure, and whims of ethnic militia will continually produce mediocre people who are in the good books of some ethnic war lords to be placed in positions of trust without any proven ability to deliver, ensuring a clog in the wheels of democratic consolidation and progress. This phenomenon not only undermines the principles of meritocracy and fair governance but also perpetuates a cycle of corruption and inefficiency. It is crucial for a functioning democracy to prioritize competence, integrity, and the best interests of the entire nation over ethnic affiliations or personal favors.

Democracies are supposed to protect the rights of minority groups, but ethno-religious identities can pose challenges to these rights when majorities dominate the political landscape. Minority groups may struggle to have their voices heard and their rights protected. This can lead to a lack of representation and the marginalization of minority interests in decision-making processes. Additionally, the dominance of majority groups can perpetuate systemic discrimination and hinder progress towards a more inclusive society. It is crucial for democracies to actively address these challenges and implement policies that ensure equal opportunities and protections for all citizens, regardless of their ethno-religious identities.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Exploring the impact of ethno-religious identity on Nigeria's Fourth Republic's battles for democratic consolidation reveals a complicated and diverse relationship. Ethno-religious identities have shaped Nigeria's political landscape, with both positive and bad implications for democratic consolidation.On the plus side, ethno-religious identities contribute to the nation's unique character by providing a source of cultural richness and diversity. They also provide people a sense of belonging and identity. When these identities, however, become politicized and instrumentalized, they can offer serious threats to democratic consolidation.

Political fragmentation, identity-based voting, conflict and violence, exclusion and marginalization, erosion of trust in institutions, and elite manipulation are all negative repercussions of ethno-religious identity on democratic

consolidation in Nigeria. These difficulties run the risk of undermining democratic ideals, impeding inter-country cooperation, and escalating inequality.

Based on the findings of this study, the following suggestions are made:

i. Supporting intergroup communication and efforts at reconciliation can also aid in bridging gaps and advance a more inclusive and reliable democratic system.
ii. Promoting civic education that prioritizes democratic norms and principles over identity-based politics, protecting minority rights, and engaging in inclusive and transparent governance are crucial.
iii. Promote inclusive governance that takes into account the ethnic and religious diversity of Nigeria. Power-sharing agreements, equitably allocating resources, and encouraging diversity in government appointments can all help achieve this.
iv. Prompt political leaders to place the general good and national unity above specific ethnoreligious agendas.
v. Take into account constitutional amendments that address the problems brought forth by ethnoreligious identity politics.

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