

Review

Identity Crises and National Development in Africa: An Exploratory Example of Nigeria and Sudan

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Many African countries are made up of multiethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual, and multi-cultural groups who have failed to exploit their diversity to further the interest of the State. Instead, these States have been characterized by conflict, violence, violent conflict, ethnic cleansing, communal clashes, ethnic militia, separatists, rebels and insurgent groups exhibiting anti-State activities that have repeatedly thwarted efforts made at development. Nigeria is a volatile State that is highly responsive to primordial identities which has seen the politics of the country played along the same line, i.e. the major ethnic groups are Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba who are majorly distributed according to religious alignments and each struggling for dominance, albeit at the expense of national cohesion or development while Sudan is a country widely partitioned by racial, religious and regional sentiments. Sudan is torn on regional North-South divide, racial African-Arab divide and subnational Northern and Southern nationalism-divide. Of course, this has strained development in these States because protracted and widespread violent conflicts leads to devastating economic crisis just as identity-related crises leads to interruption of economic transactions, alteration of resource allocation by the state, pulling down of human and physical capital as well as amplified cost of carrying out transactions. This paper sought to explore how identity crises has become exacerbated to the detriment of national development in Africa, with particular reference to Nigeria and Sudan whilst concluding that the antagonistic nature of interaction in these states does not allow for development to thrive.

Keywords: Nigeria, Sudan, Identity, Crises, development

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INTRODUCTION

More than ever, African nations today are faced with the test of dealing with their multi-social, lingual, ethnic and religious groups even with strict demands for improvement both in the economic and sociopolitical

circles. The post-colonial clashes experienced in Somalia, Rwanda, Chad, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, DR Congo, including, but not restricted to Nigeria has uncovered the degree of division among the existing groups in these nations in the continent as emerging from their distinctive identities. The political

organizations of these nations have in this way moved toward becoming highly susceptible to identity-superiority-contests leading to the failure of at least one of the earlier mentioned states. Without a doubt, crises, coups, counter-coups, destruction, public conflicts, riots, clashes, brutality, ethnic purifying, civil war, ethnic militia, and recently, insurgency, have been the consequences of these ethno-religious cum linguistico-cultural fragmentations with the consistently expanding danger of supplanting the drive for development with increased dependence, underdevelopment and high levels of poverty.

Therefore, it is relevant to assess these primordial identities in accordance to present realities and how profoundly they have entrenched [or retrenched] national development in Africa. Primordial identities in this context comprises of ethnic, religious, lingual, and cultural peculiarities or selves which are not only enduring in existence, but have become integral components to be considered in the drive towards development in Africa. To be sure, the most decisive of these characters in the case of Nigeria and Sudan are ethnic and religious identities. As confirmed by Osaghae and Suberu (2005), ethnicity and religion are some of the many forms of identity politics to which large academic literatures attach in Nigeria. They are also the most critical identities in the country.

Sudan on the other hand is no better than Nigeria. More explicitly, the belligerent relationship between the Arab and Africans; Muslim North and Christian cum Traditionalist South as well as language differences which is further complicated by the bout to control the oil resources has put Sudan on the radar of ethnic-politics-infested countries in Africa. Seeing what is obtainable in Sudan, it is clear that there are sharp divisions in the country along racial, ethnic, and religious lines pitching the North against the South, Arabs against Africans and Northern nationality against Southern nationality.

As observed by International Crisis Group (2002:3), separated by geography, culture, race, ethnicity and religion, Sudan is the world's foremost example of an apparently intractable and endless civil war. Torn between racial, religious and provincial divisions, literature on the Sudan places emphasis on the territorial North-South partition, the racial gap among Arabs and Africans, and the numerous religious divisions made as an outcome of the encounter between Islam, Christianity and traditional religions. It is these divisions that lay at the crux of the conflict. Vale (2011), presumed that it is both the enormous diversity inside Sudan in combination with absence of an explicitly and considerable "Sudanese" personality that accounts for the intense pervasiveness of conflict; the absence of a solitary strand of state identity which runs through each person and group in Sudan implies that these various people and gatherings can view themselves remotely. In Sudan, several groups

particularly in the South, share a number of commonalities and relationships of varying closeness. However, the fact remains that the many differences and idiosyncrasies existing between the Sudan's diverse population have been exacerbated to the point of intra-state conflict because there is no single conception of state identity to establish even the slightest semblance of unity and likeness among Sudan's population; the different religious, racial and regional groups within the Sudan fear and fight one another because there is no plane of existence on which everyone recognizes everyone else as a member of the same state and an equal. It might even be contested that the Sudan is hardly a state at all and is, in fact, a series of muddled groups thrown together in an attempt to mould the Afro-Arab region into the Western, state-centric conception of statehood (Vale, 2011).

As noted by Smyth and Robinson (2001), Nigeria is generally portrayed as a profoundly divided state in which major political issues are vigorously – some would say violently – challenged along the lines of the mind-boggling ethnic, religious, and territorial divisions in the country. This is a view upheld by Adamu and Ocheni (2016) who argued that Nigeria is a country consisting of different ethnic groups existing one next to the other, battling for survival, identification and recognition in the country. Feelings of suspicion of one ethnic group's control over another become inescapable. The relentless fomentation and battle to have control of the country's assets remain the bone of contention and sources of threat to peaceful coexistence, national unity and national integration in the country. This competition for ethnic control has over the years, assumed varying forms in the politics of Nigeria. At one time or the other, the ethnic assemblages that are burdened in this game have either endeavored severance or had taken steps to secede from the country. For example, the attempt of the Igbo dominated former Eastern Region to change into the Republic of Biafra somewhere in the circa of 1967 and 1970 was squashed by the Federal government, hence relegating that wish to history; albeit, until recently. But, since the end of that war, the Igbo who used to be a piece of the tripod on which the Nigerian state was established has cried of marginalization and exclusion from full integration into the Nigerian society (Nnoli, 2008).

As contended by Osaghae and Suberu (2005), by virtue of its overwhelming web of politically remarkable identities and history of constant and apparently intractable conflicts and instability, Nigeria can be depicted as one of the most profoundly divided states in Africa. From its inception as a colonial state, Nigeria has confronted a perennial crisis of territorial or state legitimacy, which has often challenged its efforts at national cohesion, democratization and of course, economic transformation. The high point of the

crisis appears to have been the civil war in the late 1960s, which resulted soon after independence in 1960. Be that as it may, instead of abate, clashes have turned out to be pretty much unavoidable and serious in the post-civil war period, and disintegration keeps on being examined by abused sections of society as one of the potential methods for settling the 'National Question'. This implies the outcomes of Nigeria's diversity in a shaky political setting are as critical as ever. This image painted of Nigeria by the duo is obtainable in Sudan as authenticated by Paglia (2008) who recorded that conflicts in Sudan, just as in many other African countries, have regularly been displayed as ethnic or tribal clashes, as they were normally battled by fighting ethnic groups or "tribes". The Rwandan destruction, for example, is a battle between the Hutus and Tutsis; the first and second civil wars in Sudan is a battle between an Arab Muslim North and an African Christian/Animist South; the Darfur crisis presents itself as a battle between Arab state army, the Janjaweed, and African tribes; and Somalia is delineated as a battle ground between various ethnic groups. Absolutely, the ethnic and tribal characters are pertinent in these conflicts.

The choice of Nigeria and Sudan as cases in point of this paper is precipitated on the grounds that Nigeria is immediate to, and is the home country of the researchers. Nigeria presently, is volatile and highly responsive to primordial identities which has seen the politics of the country played along these lines, i.e. the major ethnic groups Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are majorly dispersed according to religious orientations and each striving for dominance, even in the face of national development while Sudan is a country that attracted the researchers' interest due to its partition along racial, religious and regional detachments. Sudan is torn on regional (North-South), racial (African-Arab) and subnational (Northern and Southern nationalism) lines. Sudan, no doubt is affected by identity crises as is Nigeria and this has one or the way affected the development of the two countries.

It is in view of the above, that the paper is targeted at answering fundamental questions on how identity crises impacts national development in the chosen countries. The paper seeks to answer the following:

- i. Can the poor state of national development experienced in Africa be credited to the over bloating of primordial identity in the continent?
- ii. Does government negligence have any link with the festering of identity crises in Africa, especially Nigeria and Sudan?
- iii. Is primordial ethnic and religious identity responsible for incessant instability witnessed in Africa?
- iv. Is the dominant-subordinate relationship

experienced in Nigeria among the Igbos, Yorubas, and Hausas as well as among Arabs and Africans in Sudan as a result of primordial identity?

Concepts Clarification

Identity – It is instinctual for humans to make distinctions between themselves as well as other people. That is the reason people need to build up their own identity. The idea of identity is characterized as a feeling of self that is created as the child separates from parents and gains a place in the society. It alludes to the feeling that individuals have of what their identity is, of what is most significant about them. According to Hicks (2001), people build free and various pictures of the real world (regardless of whether the people be individuals or different elements that create identity and formulate shared substances, for example, working groups, families, ethnic groups, organizations, cultures or nations. Hicks went further to aver that nearly everything that people do builds up and keep up their feeling of identity. Hicks contended that without identity, people would be not able endure mentally and socially.

National development – Along (2011) characterized development as the demonstration, procedure or aftereffect of developing, or condition of being developed, steady advancement or growth through dynamic changes in scientific, technological, economic, social, political, social and religious progression prompting better state of living. Changes happen and can be seen in every single human undertaking. National development includes changes or headway in a country planned for improving the economic, social and political lives of the people. It covers economic, social and political issues. National development hand can be portrayed as the general improvement or a collective political, economic, socioeconomic as well as religious advancement of a nation. It is the capacity of a nation or nations to improve the social welfare of the individuals, in particular, by giving social comforts (Oluwatoyin and Lawal, 2011).

Ethnicity –Stewart (2009) characterized ethnic groups as gatherings which are characterized by ascriptive contrasts, regardless of whether the indicum is language, appearance, colour, religion or some other marker of common descent, or some blend thereof. An ethnic identity is a collectivity of people who are joined by an emotional or cultural bond and are a part bigger populace with whom they go after economic, social and political resources. It is a group of individuals whose members relate to one another, through a typical legacy, regularly comprising of a typical language, culture, religion and belief system through a common heritage.

Religion – The word religion however comes up short on an all-around adequate definition, albeit exceptionally significant in man's life on earth. It is rooted in Latin words: *relegere* (to join together or bind) and *religiosus* (bond or relationship). It along these lines implies a connection being man and a being that exists which is greater than man. Man and religion are indistinguishable in every single human culture (Achunike, 2007). Elaigwu (2004) saw religion as a lot of convictions and practices dependent on confidence, which are profoundly sacrosanct. Along these lines, it can without much of a stretch trigger off emotional responses. Religion may likewise allude to an officially organized network of faith.

Conflict - Sani (2007) characterized conflict as a minute or time of threat or extraordinary trouble, defining moment, debacle, crisis, cataclysm or fiasco, as level of contention with tense showdown between mobilized armed force. Conflict the quest for incongruent interests and objectives by various groups. Armed conflict is the resort to the utilization of power and outfitted viciousness in the quest for incompatible goals and interests.

Theoretical Underpinning

This paper adopts the theory of instrumentalism which is a perspective to the study of identity as its theoretical underpinning.

Instrumentalism

This viewpoint sees identity as the means to some particular political end. It underscores the objectives of the ethnic group and that identity is often played up to foster parochial interests instead of general interests of the ethnic group (Joireman, 2003). Instrumentalists accentuate manners by which ethnicity is controlled and utilized by the elites to accomplish political mobilization. As a result, there is acknowledgement of the significance of target markers, for example, language, custom, appearance and symbols. However accentuation is on behaviour, implying that an individual ethnic identity can be controlled by the assessments of his activities and decisions (Joireman, 2003). Instrumentalists consider identity to be as significant in light of the role of elites in controlling identity and that it vanishes once its utility is never again required. This essentially shows ethnicity is both unavoidable and profoundly established on the grounds that it is politically valuable.

According to Hechter (2000), people surrender certain opportunity to an organization so as to secure power, prestige and wealth. This point was also buttressed by Joireman (2003) who contended that circumstances where people join paramilitary outfits that are ethnically based happens in light of the fact that recognizable identification holds some advantage, that sense of

direction and retribution for those growing up in a culture of violence like post-independent Nigeria or Sudan. The decision is made dependent on determined advantages which exceed costs. Instrumentalism point of view to ethnicity hence sees ethnic identity as controlled to accomplish a characterized economic or political gain and that leadership is essential in such manner. Aside from the control of ethnic notions by sub-national elite to progress parochial interests, the state can likewise control ethnicity to assert its own objectives. Joireman (2003) noticed that an effective state is that which can control ethnic identities to its greatest advantage. This helps to battle and diminish the strength of sub-state ethnic characters.

Although, instrumentalism has been condemned as being insufficient to clarify ethnic identification that exists without clear political objective either for a specific individual or elite particularly where individuals attest that they hold a specific ethnic identification since it confers on them a sense of belonging. The theory's deficiency comes to fore because of inability to clarify the determination of ethnic groups over time, all the more so when changes in political goals and agendas are not reflected in changing ethnic identification. Another strand of deficiency of instrumentalism is its inadequacy to clarify circumstances where leadership emerges to pursue the desire of the masses.

These inadequacies regardless, instrumentalism addresses the core of the subject matter of this paper. It addresses the issue of why violence-oriented ethnic identities are emerging in Nigeria and Sudan. Why are these formations that draw membership along ethnic lines springing up in the Nigerian and Sudanese political landscape? Political elites who desire roles that have escaped them in a heterogeneous political framework, control ethnicity to their advantage and benefit. For such elites, feelings, decision and activities induced by their control of ethnic identities, stop when they are never again politically relevant. At the end of the day, those separating lines between people based on ethnicity become obscured when there is no open door for progressing parochial elite objectives obfuscated as a group cause.

Overview of Identity Crises in Nigeria

Since the 1980s, identity clashes have turned into a common decimal in Nigeria, particularly in the country's Northern region (Abdu, 2002). This identity crisis is not peculiar to a State. It has caused similar problems in Modakeke/Ife, Sabongari/Kano, Sabo/Ibadan, Zango/Kataf, Urhobo/Itsekiri, Jukun/Tiv, Kuteb/Jukun-Chamba and Hausa/Shagamu (Danfulani, 2006). Others include the Chamba vs Kuteb, the Ogoni vs Andom in Rivers State, the Sharia crisis in Kaduna State, the Tiv vs other ethnic groups in Azara of Nassarawa State in 2001,

the Tarok vs Hausa/Fulani in Plateau State in 2004, the Geomai vs the Hausa/Fulani in Shendam local government of Plateau State in 2002, the Quan vs Pan in Quan'pan local government of Plateau State in 2006, the Hausa/Fulani and the Beron, Anaguta and Afizare in Jos North local government in 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008, and 2010 and the Boko Haram savagery that has immersed Borno, Yobe, Bauchi and Kano States since July 2009 (Kwaja, 2009). While the foundation of ethno-religious and other identity conflicts have been connected to colonialism and the Cold War, it is likewise irrefutable that such clashes are established in bad governance, politicization of ethnic and religion identities, the challenge and strife for political power by the ethnic and religious communities individually (Machava, referred to by Idahosa and Akov, 2013).

In spite of strong optimism that the adoption of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999 would mitigate or alleviate rough identity clashes, the country has rather seen a resurgence in significant level with reference to ethnic, religious and communal clashes with devastating consequences (Kwaja, 2009). One of the cases for the adoption of democracy, just as democratic consolidation in Nigeria lies in the fact that as a centripetal power, majority rule system is the main institutional game plan that can ensure peaceful resolve or controlling of ethnic, religious and other identity clashes (Olayode, 2007). According to Ibrahim in Idahosa and Akov (2013), ethno-religious and communal clashes in Nigeria, are connected to citizenship within the context of identity, which is rooted in the politics of inclusion or exclusion. These attach to cases and counter-claims over identity as a reason for figuring out who is excluded or included in decision making just as access to benefits and opportunities under the 'we' versus 'them' antique (Kwaja, 2009). These identity clashes have had expansive ramifications for the state. As for Babangida (2002:11), the results have been misuse of human and material resources in ethnically and religiously roused violent encounter, conflicts and even battles, dangers to security of life and properties, the elevating of the fragility of the economy and political process. Hence, the ethnic, religious and communal groups that feel sidelined by the significant ethnic groups (Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo) are compelled to adopt constitution and extra-constitutional ways to challenge the authority of the major ethnic clusters.

The primary driver of violent identity conflict in Nigeria is that most minority groups have remained minorities for far too long, while the dominant groups are perpetually dominant, a pattern which has far-reaching ramifications for inter-ethnic and religious relations among the differing ethnic and religious identities in Nigeria. Thusly, the motivations for participation, agreement and bargain have been undermined in this way representing a huge test for the task of peace-building, as diverse ethnic groups are

forced to exist together in an atmosphere of mutual mistrust, indifference and doubt (Idahosa and Akov, 2013).

Overview of Identity Crises in Sudan

One of the focal obstructions to harmony and national consensus in Sudan is the Sudan Muslim ruling elite's quest for a society modelled on an ethno-religious worldview. In particular, for the Sudanese leaders, ethnicity and religion comprise the central determinants for control of the institutions of governance and the eco-political and socio-cultural lifestyles. The Arabic-speaking groups (the Ja'aliyin, Juhayna; Gezirab, Zibaidiya, and the Hawawir Arabs, among others) represent about 40% of 32 million Sudanese. They have used Islam as the main point of control of the State and as a system for the mobilization of the individuals of Sudan. Religion and ethnicity have in this way been politicized at variance by the decision-making elite (Lesch, 1998). The selection of Islamization and Arabization strategies by the Sudanese chiefs is best comprehended in this unique situation (Adar, 2000). The advocates of Islamization in Sudan focus their attention on the premise that religion, Islam, is coterminous and interlaced with Arabic culture and language (Adar 2000). The consolidation of Islamic laws, Sharia, in the institutional structures for governance in Sudan is legitimate and in congruity with this conviction. For instance, Article 65 of the 1998 Constitution of Sudan stipulates that the Islamic Sharia and the national consent through voting, the Constitution and customs are the sources of law and no law will be authorized in opposition to these sources (Sudan 1998: article 65). Accordingly, the execution of Sharia satisfies the desire of God who remains the legislator writ large. Put differently, both the state and Sharia are indistinguishable. It is in this context that the Sudanese organizations have fused Islamization and Arabization agenda. Any leadership that deviates from this standard is bound to failure (Adar 2000).

Sudanese leaders draw attention to what they consider an unmistakable linkage and connection between Islamic laws, Sharia, and Arabic culture and language. In particular, Sharia turns into the operational hub that controls and manages the economic and political policies promoted by the Muslim political elite. It becomes expedient, in their view, for non-Moslems to be acclimatized in the Arabic culture. Subsequently, Arabization – that is, the strategy of joining of non-Moslems and non-Arabs into the Arabic culture - turns into precondition for exercising authority in Sudan. Arabization and Islamization teachings are seen by non-Moslems and non-Arabic-speaking Sudanese as unfair and restrictive (Adar, 2001). Article 3 of the Constitution gives that Arabic is the official language in the Republic of Sudan. The State allows the development of local

dialects and other universal dialects (Sudan, 1998: article 3). At the end of the day, different dialects in Sudan are subordinate to Arabic language. Throughout the years, the attempt by the Sudanese heads to force Arabic culture and language on the non-Muslims and non-Arabs has been met with relentless obstruction. Rather, marginalized people have pushed the foundation of a secular state.

As opposed to the religious state sought after by the leaders in Sudan, the marginalized people of Southern Sudan and the non-Arabized people of Northern Sudan who make up a sum of 34% and 26% of the Sudanese populace respectively, advocate a territorial model of a nation-state –one that is fixated on the lawful fairness of all people regardless of their ethnicity (Adar, 2001). The marginalized people are upholding the establishment of, inter alia, economic and political frameworks that cut across the complex and differing ethno-religious gamut in Sudan. The territorial model supports a pluralist perspective on the political framework where zero-sum political gains by the major ethnic groups are debilitated (Hannum, 1996). Rather, the marginalized people pressure the establishment of, in addition to other things, a pluralist framework where fairness within the law and common interest instead of self-interest would make up the central modus operandi. The promotion of a religious state by the Arabic-speaking ruling elite is seen as a deterrent towards the realization of a secular state. These distinctions have prompted a ceaseless civil war in Sudan and have kept on undermining national consensus.

The succeeding military and civilian administrations in Sudan have utilized the military to accomplish their local target of building up a national consent by military methods. The massive military procurements from \$260 million to \$442 million out of 1981 and 1983 respectively by President Numeiri depended on the reason that the destruction of the renegade developments, especially the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), were the main choice towards the accomplishment of national agreement. Undoubtedly, the Numeiri Administration was likewise at the very edge of breakdown because of interior discontent with his strategies. The presentation of the September laws under the general rubric of Islamic Revolution and the extended military crusades against the SPLA simultaneously filled in as activation apparatuses for this organization (Adar, 2001). The rebuilding of the Sudanese Defense Forces (SDF) into the Sudanese People's Armed Forces (SPAF) just as the presentation of the Popular Defense Force (PDF) declared under the Popular Defense Act of 1989, showed the readiness of the Bashir Administration to seek after a military alternative in Southern Sudan. These progressions inside the structures of the military have been joined in the 1998 Constitution. While Article 122 accommodates the elements of the SPAF, Article 125

stipulates that the Republic of Sudan may set up a volunteer Popular Defense Force from among the Sudanese individuals for national safeguard, to keep up national security, or to help any regular powers (Sudan, 1998: article 125).

Ethnicity as Pointer to Identity Crises

Joireman (2003:9) holds that ethnicity didn't come into common usage until the latter part of the twentieth century, it is a term that is unequivocally challenged in scholastic writing. Relating the term to nationalism, Joireman avers that: ethnicity is a benevolent sign of identity [while] nationalism (is) a politicized shared identity. For Noyoo (2000), ethnicity can be broken into two parts:

- Instrumental ethnicity - this radiates from material deprivation,
- Symbolic ethnicity - in view of the anxiety to save one's cultural identity.

In extraordinary circumstances the two strands of ethnicity can join and fill in as a motive force for state formation. Such a circumstance embodies the present conflagration of internecine wars in countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Noyoo further contends that ethnicity appears to flourish in disorderly social worlds of politics. Ethnicity isn't just a contemporary phenomenon. It was also rife in the colonial period. In numerous occurrences, African social interaction in urban colonial settings has been epitomized by ethnic contentions. Here, individuals of various ethnic groups and societies met for the first time. Some of these contacts culminated in ethnic clashes which were - incidentally - controlled by the white settlers. White settlers also established bodies, for example, the tribal elders' system to uphold peace as well as manage clashes between the natives.

Hutchinson and Smith (referred to by Osai, 2010) present the qualities of ethnic groups as:

- o An appropriate name, for example, 'Hutu', 'Tutsi', 'Ijaw', 'Hausa', 'Serbian', 'African-American', 'Lebanese' and so forth.
- o A fantasy of regular family line,
- o Common historical recollections. This can allude to occasions and festivities, legends or other common encounters,
- o A widespread culture, characterized by language or religion or traditions or some blend of these three,
- o An association with a geographic country, and
- o A feeling of normal root or shared characteristic among certain individuals from the populace.

Religion as Pointer to Identity Crises

Religion has been an indispensable phenomenon in Africa and has therefore turned into a significant factor in African political discourse. The impact of religion isn't just constrained to political issues, however its capacity impacts for all intents and purposes every single other aspect of life. Political power influences social interaction, economic prosperity, educational progression, and the psych of the general public. For example, there are three predominant religions in Nigeria: African Traditional Religion, Islam and Christianity. Every one of these religions and their belief systems take into account communication among religion and politics. The traditional religion of a people is an orderly impression of their socio-political direction, history and inheritances on elemental forces, which thus produces a belief in a preeminent cosmic power that created heaven and earth. To this power belongs everything in their social psych. In this way, traditional politics of the individuals has a solid linkage to faith in religious government. To the Yorubas, Oba (lord), the political leader of the individuals, is just holding his office in trust for Olodumare (the Supreme Being). All the more in this way, before an Oba is chosen or selected, by and large, the Ifa prophet must be sufficiently counseled for profound endorsement. Subsequently, politics and religion in traditional society are interwoven and have direct effect on one another. This is as yet the circumstance, even till this present age (Laguda, 2008).

All religions have their doctrines and principles, which devotees of the religion must acknowledge and obey undoubtedly. Numerous religions have practically comparable precepts, however then there are religions which are actually something contrary to one another. The way that religions vary from one another prompts conflict, in light of the fact that the devotees of each religion is persuaded that their religion is the "right" and the genuine religion. One of the issues with religion is that the sacred texts are now and again unclear and individuals can translate it contrastingly relying upon the time and setting. In this manner, various understandings of religious sacred text can likewise prompt conflict (Appleby, 2000). Furthermore, there is a plausibility of compelling interaction between religion and politics in a pluralized society (for example Nigeria and Sudan). This relationship will depend to a great extent on some basic conditions in the society. These include secularization of politics, adaptability of religious convictions and regard of the other (where disciples of various beliefs are not fanatical or particularistic) and division of religion from politics. In a similar vein, in homogenous societies, it is conceivable to have pluralized religious belief systems. Be that as it may, where there is a consensus on lessons and practices of such religions, there will undoubtedly be unity of political purpose. As it were, the society will

decide the success of the relationship and this rely upon how they apply their religious principles to each issue identified with the society (Afolabi, 2015).

Language as Pointer to Identity Crises

As noted by Agbedo (2000:196), the thought of linguistic heterogeneity alludes to the presence of differing languages in a society or state. In such state, the choice and appropriation of language or dialects and role assignments either at the national, regional or state level ends up pivotal. In most occasions, whatever decision made is subject to three key factors- the absolute number of various languages in the state, the proportion of L1 users of every language to the total populace, and the geographical and socioeconomic situation of each language. In Nigeria, there exist a few advances trying to take record of the collection of the repertoire of the language situation in Nigeria. Since Nigeria is a multilingual country with more than 500 nationalities, the topic of language decision poses a problem.

In his assertion, Waya (2008) opines that the position of language turns into a significant variable in the development process. The Nigerian languages becomes the focus because is casually related to its development derives. Each language is methodically not the same as others, with each having a specific method for orchestrating the sign that encode meaning, and communicating the world to its speaker. In that sense, each language is a proficient device for encoding the peculiarities of the specific environment where a people live. The truth is that this present reality is unknowingly developed on the language habits of the groups. Languages identifies with specific societies, every individual language appears to speak to the speakers of the way of life it encode. This is the premise of the solid connection among language and ethnicity in different parts of the world. In this regard, language has the emblematic capacity.

Culture as Pointer to Identity Crises

Accentuating culture means giving members of the community an actual role in directing their very own fates, reestablishing the organization for change to those whom the improvement endeavors are expected to affect, which is critical to manageable and long-term progress. Respecting and advancing cultural diversity encourages intercultural discourse, prevent conflicts and protects the privileges of minority groups inside and between countries, in this way making ideal conditions for accomplishing developmental goals. Advancing cultural activities and traditional knowledge and abilities are extremely viable to fortify environmental sustainability and social capital of communities. Culture adds to the mitigation of poverty, control of illnesses and

improvement of the ways of life of the individuals. Cultural heritage, culture and creative enterprises, sustainable cultural tourism and cultural infrastructure serve as vital apparatuses for revenue generation, especially in countries like Nigeria, giving her rich cultural heritage and significant labour force. United Nations General Assembly Outcomes Document (quoted by Deekor and Maekae, 2015) Millennium Summit, states, cultural and creative industries represent one of the most rapidly expanding sectors in the global economy, and promoting it requires limited capital investment, involves low entry barriers and directly affect the vulnerable populace, including women. Today, numerous urban communities utilize cultural heritage and cultural events to improve their image, invigorate urban development and attract investors to stimulate the economy.

Implications of Identity Crises to National Development in Africa

Violent conflicts, Bassey (2007) argues, produce social division, reverse economic progress, obstruct sustainable development, infringe human rights and compromise the security and work of the people in conflict. According to him, the numerous and constant economic crisis in the African continent has been commonly connected to the protracted and widespread violent conflicts. For Bassey, in existential terms, the impending linkage between conflict and underdevelopment crisis is non-linear, yet dialectical underdevelopment crisis breeds conflict which in turn promotes the entanglement of economic crisis in Africa. The effect of extended violent conflicts on development in Africa, Bassey (2007) further states, has been incessant so much so that development and security have demonstrated contradictory results which can be recognized from their immediate and roundabout effect on the society and the economy. Such effects, extend from devastation of human and physical capital, interruption of economic activities, increased cost of conducting such transactions, to distortion of resource allocation by the state.

King and Sall (2007:11) averred that intense conflicts compromise economic stability, thwarts progress, and retard infrastructural developments. Ceaseless conflicts endangers human life and render people nonessential. Persistent dissension encourages itself. Flares of unrest expend fundamental normal and natural resources. Separations brought about by crime, joblessness and deadly transmittable diseases go unaddressed, devastating the human soul. As indicated by Dumoye (2007), there is no repudiating the way that conflicts have negative effect on political cum economic stability of any country, since ethnic clashes and economic crisis are mutually reinforcing. Poverty, he added, fuels ethnic conflicts, which thus hinders economic development. Dumoye states further that a country where there is

prolonged violent conflicts will not have the option to complete any notable improvement on the grounds that erratic resources intended for development will be occupied to keeping up lawfulness. Likewise the productive segment of population is either dead, battling or are in refugee camps. As indicated by Adetola (referred to by Raphael, 2015), conflicts have the ability to negatively influence developmental programmes by annihilating infrastructure, interfering with the production process and diverting assets from beneficial employments. He contends further that like never before, peace and development are currently more personally connected and are frequently respected by the United Nations and other international actors as indistinguishable objectives. Also, that food security which simply refers to access by all people, at all times, to sufficient food for a healthy and productive life can be disrupted resulting into food insecurity.

Therefore, food security can occur due to disruption or damage to the food production system which might be because of war, starvation, socio-economic/political conditions, dry season and social conflict. In fact, development cannot happen in a tempestuous environment; after all, one of the pillars of development is stability. Once fueled, ethnic pressures can and do bring about mass death. Conflicts between various ethnic groups have undermined development interests in sub-Saharan Africa, again giving way to full-scale civil wars. The ethnic tensions in Nigeria during the 1960s culminating in the Biafra war remain a case in point. Such a circumstance dissuades direct foreign investment into sub-Saharan economies. In numerous instances, potential foreign investors have retired their investment interests reserved for sub-Saharan countries on account of the unsteady and unpredictable social and political conditions brought about by ethnicity. Besides, ethnicity leads productive individuals to channel their energies into ethnic conflicts as opposed to utilizing them to build up their country (Noyoo, 2000).

METHODOLOGY

Adopting descriptive social survey, the target population consists of officials in The Sudanese Embassy, Abuja, Nigeria. The embassy is selected since it consists of both Nigerians and Sudanese, thus making it possible for the researchers to elicit the required information as relating to identity crises and national development in Nigeria and Sudan. The Sudanese embassy is one of 166 foreign representations in Nigeria, and one of 106 foreign representations in Abuja. There are a total of 59 officials; Nigerians and Sudanese in the embassy, with Dr Taj-Asir Mahjoub, as the Ambassador in charge. These officials are spread across nine (9) departments. More explicitly, there are 31 Nigerians and

28 Sudanese in the embassy. More so, there is a total of 42 males and 17 females in the embassy with 7 male departmental heads as against 2 female departmental heads.

The researchers made use of structured questionnaire to elicit data from all the selected respondents. This instrument was adopted because of its suitability for a large population simultaneously. It also gives respondents freedom to express their views and make

suggestions. The questionnaire entitled "Identity Crises and National Development Questionnaire" (ICNDQ) was used alongside an in-depth interview.

The interview was used to complement the questionnaire and two staff each of Nigerian and Sudanese nationality from the Sudanese embassy were selected for this purpose while analysis of the data was carried out using chi-square statistical verification.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 - Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Dependent Variables (n = 59)

SN	Statement (Dependent Variables)	Response			
		SA	A	D	SD
1	Due to identity consciousness created by African elites, identity differences have become more pronounced in Africa.	36 61	22 37	1 2	-
2	The ruling class engender factions in a bid to further their predatory accumulation process.	11 19	31 53	17 28	-
3	Identity politics is a direct outcome of government's negligence of promoting peace.	21 36	23 39	14 23	1 2
4	Governments in Africa have failed to mobilize identity groups to complement activities of the state.	31 53	16 27	7 12	5 8
5	The feeling of marginalization by an ethnic group has birthed civil unrest as well as political instability in Africa.	26 44	18 31	10 17	5 8
6	Differences in religion and religious beliefs have consistently sparked conflict in African states.	29 49	17 29	12 20	1 2
7	Various ethnic groups in Africa strive for dominance at the expense of collective development.	32 54	14 24	9 15	4 7
8	Inter-ethnic contest for economic relevance has festered divisions among the ethnic groups in Africa.	17 29	31 53	5 8	6 10

Key: Strongly Agree (SA); Agree (A); Disagree (D); Strongly Disagree (SD)

Frequency – up; Percentage – down

Table 2: Due to identity consciousness created by African elites, identity differences have become more pronounced in Africa.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	24	20	44
Disagree	7	8	15
Total	31	28	59

Table 3: The ruling class engender factions in a bid to further their predatory accumulation process.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	23	19	42
Disagree	8	9	17
Total	31	28	59

Table 4: Identity politics is a direct outcome of government's negligence of promoting peace.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	24	20	44
Disagree	7	8	15
Total	31	28	59

Table 5: Governments in Africa have failed to mobilize identity groups to complement activities of the state.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	26	21	47
Disagree	5	7	12
Total	31	28	59

Table 6: The feeling of marginalization by an ethnic group has birthed civil unrest as well as political instability in Africa.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	19	25	44
Disagree	12	3	15
Total	31	28	59

Table 7: Differences in religion and religious beliefs have consistently sparked conflict in African states.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	26	20	46
Disagree	5	8	13
Total	31	28	59

Table 8: Various ethnic groups in Africa strive for dominance at the expense of collective development.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	24	22	46
Disagree	7	6	13
Total	31	28	59

Table 9: Inter-ethnic contest for economic relevance has festered divisions among the ethnic groups in Africa.

Response	Nigerians	Sudanese	Total
Agree	25	23	48
Disagree	6	5	11
Total	31	28	59

Result from the findings shows that there is difference between Nigerians and Sudanese on the issue of identity consciousness. At the same time, Nigerians and Sudanese' opinion differ on the issue of ruling class engendering factions so as to further their predatory accumulation process. More so, there is difference between Nigerians and Sudanese on the issue of identity

politics being an outcome of government's negligence of promoting peace and their view on the issue of governments in Africa failing to mobilize identity groups to complement activities of the state. Furthermore, Nigerians and Sudanese have the same opinion on the issue of the feeling of marginalization by an ethnic group as birthing civil unrest as well as political instability in

Africa but different opinion on the issue of differences in religion and religious beliefs as consistently sparking conflict in African states. There is difference between Nigerians and Sudanese on the issue of various ethnic groups in Africa striving for dominance at the expense of collective development while there is no difference between Nigerians and Sudanese on this issue of inter-ethnic contest for economic relevance festering divisions among the ethnic groups in Africa.

Results obtained from the respondents through in-depth interview further reveals that the respondents agree with the expression that African elites have increased primordial identity at the detriment of national development in Africa and that language, cultural and gender barrier can act as serious doldrums to development of Africans. Formation of caucus group within the political party and society at large. So also, through dominance in power at the expense of national development and through sarcastic favoritism and tribalism. At the same time, the respondents also agree that the persistence of identity crises in Africa be blamed on government negligence of peace. This is they alluded to by submitting that the spirit of oneness and togetherness is just been said but far from been practiced and due to marginalization of some sector in the governing process. Meanwhile, if the government belongs to any of the three tribe it will be in the favour of the tribe and it will bring about nepotism and tribalism.

The respondents also agree that instability in Africa has correlation with ethnic, religious and cultural differences so much so that each ethnic group believe on whatever they have and uses it to suppress the government division which eventually results in several conflicts which have claimed lives and livelihood wantonly. The feeling of misrepresentation of inferiority complex by any ethnic, religious or cultural group mostly cause instability and deter development, making various groups strive for domination. On whether the struggle for dominance among various groups has entrenched division in Africa, the respondents opined that every group struggles for the dominance of their group's interest in other to meet up there target for their group. Through the unscrupulousness of leaders of various existing institutions and groups who further aggravate crises of identity and strata. Through conflicts and crises among the various groups which bring about destruction of lives and properties thereby entrenching division in Africa.

In proffering solutions to the primordial crisis in Africa, the respondents submitted that ethno-religious tolerance should be encouraged. Hate instigators should be prosecuted. Stopping the issuance of different state of origin certificates. Everybody should have one identity certificate. Common goals, common identity or division into groups with common goals. Collective interest above personal interest. More so, the public should learn to have confidence in the judiciary. Groups, individuals and

even governments must learn to embrace the tradition of judicial settlement of disputes. Finally, government should charge various agents of socialization with the need to entrench tolerance and embrace ourselves.

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On whether the struggle for dominance among various groups has entrenched division in Africa, the respondents opined that every group struggles for the dominance of their group's interest in other to meet up there target for their group. Through the unscrupulousness of leaders of various existing institutions and groups who further aggravate crises of identity and strata. Through conflicts and crises among the various groups which bring about destruction of lives and properties thereby entrenching division in Africa.

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Solutions to Identity Crises in Nigeria and Sudan

It is obvious that primordial identity has constituted a bane in the development process in Africa and poses a threat to the adoption of a favourable developmental strategy. Left unchecked, this toxic pattern is likely to spread to other areas in Africa. As a result, drastic changes are required to reverse and temper the impetus blowing this malaise.

Crisis Management

This is an extreme situation of contention, conflict and dispute which has arrived at a defining moment, where basic choices must be taken or else the contention may heighten to a point of extraordinary viciousness. Often than not, crisis is a declined condition of conflict, where dangers to human security, extraordinary viciousness described by large scale displacement of humans, intense violence, recurring fighting, threat to human security, death and injury. When crisis happens, it is the duty of the government to de-heighten the circumstance and bring the savagery to a halt. This might be done through different methods, including the utilization of the coercive state device, where necessary. It thus behooves the governments of Nigeria and Sudan to be proactive in nipping crisis in the bud whenever it arises rather than wait till it festers before applying palliative measures.

Communication and Collaboration

Undoubtedly, the various warring groups in Nigeria and Sudan are suffering from disconnect arising from perceived marginalization or otherwise. As such, more should be done in the area of information sharing and trading between people, groups and potential groups in a conflict circumstance in Nigeria and Sudan respectively. They should learn to collaborate and relate more with others, implying that groups to a conflict circumstance must communicate. Collaboration or joint effort procedure is one in which groups cooperate individually to resolve issues through useful exchange or different exercises like joint tasks, sharing of utilities, markets, community and health centres.

Good Governance

This might be characterized as the running of the undertakings of government in positive and dynamic way useful to the represented or governed and which conveys the delivery of social amenities. Its characteristics include: power sharing, rule of law, transparency, virile civil society, free press, devolution of powers, due process, accountability and probity. There are a few authoritarian systems in Africa and such systems do not advance or promote good governance. Instead, they are

conflict stressors that need to be uprooted completely.

Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration

Conciliation is a third party action which spreads intercessory efforts aimed at convincing the parties to a conflict to progress in the direction of a peace. Conciliation includes help. Mediation has been presented by the United Nations University for Peace as the deliberate, non-binding and informal process procedure embraced by an outside group that encourages the settlement of differences between concerned parties. Arbitration is another sort of external intercession that is a stage higher than intervention in the conflict management procedure. The parties to a conflict who settle for arbitration, despite the fact that they pick a peaceful strategy for settling their differences, lose more control over their situation than those who select intercession and other lower levels of mediation.

Grass-root network based activities

This incorporate town celebrations like the new yam celebration among the Igbos, commencement customs and adolescence celebration for youngsters, wedding services, the sharing of town network land. At the point when solidarity/solidarity is lost to brutal clash, just like the case in the contention among Ife the Chamber/Jukun and Kuteb of Taraba State and Africans vs Arabs in Nigeria and Sudan respectively. The significance of such grass root connection can't be over-stressed.

Negotiation

This is the procedure whereby the groups involved in a conflict look to settle or resolve their conflict. It is also an immediate procedure of discourse and dialogs occurring between in any event two groups who are faced with a conflict dispute. The advantages of traded off arrangement, it is believed, out-gauges the misfortunes emerging from refusal to negotiate. The objective of negotiation, is to agree through joint choices between parties. Negotiation is a relevant approach to induce peaceful resolution of conflicts and clashes that may emerge among parties. This is often within the reach of the groups.

Adjudication

Adjudication is another peaceful technique for managing conflict. This includes the utilization of the courts and litigations. Parties to a disagreement may decide not to utilize any of the strategies already outlined. They may select rather to take their case to a law court, under the watchful eye of a judge of competent jurisprudence.

CONCLUSION

It appears as if, the entire Nigerian and Sudanese societies which originated from a single African traditional society has been divided and consolidated into two broad antagonistic societies with very deep divisions in ethnography/ethnicity, geography/land, religion and culture. This divisive nature of the Nigerian and Sudanese societies affects how both rival and antagonistic groups (North versus South) handle the issues of the State and Government, the family, religion and culture. Sudan, once the largest and one of the most geographically diverse states in Africa, split into two countries in July 2011 after the people of the south voted for independence. In spite of becoming independent, both The Sudan and South Sudan still experience conflicts respectively with ethnic differences playing critical roles. By implication, ethnic rivalry portends grave danger for national development not only in Nigeria and Sudan, but around Africa and will, if left unchecked de-consolidate democratic gains around Africa and set the continent stone ages back among the comity of nations. The challenge is therefore for academics, writers, thinkers and policy-makers to transmute the politics of identity along more benign means from violence and exclusion to diplomatic coexistence and accommodation.

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