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**ETHNO-RELIGIOUS RIVALRY IN NIGERIA:  
CAUSES AND EFFECTS (1993-2015)**



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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA  
2020**

**ETHNO-RELIGIOUS RIVALRY IN NIGERIA:  
CAUSES AND EFFECTS (1993-2015)**



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**A thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government in  
fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy  
Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
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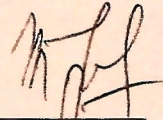
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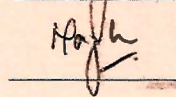
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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my deceased aunty, Hajiya Amina (Baban Buzaye) who lived a long life of devoted worship to Allah (SWT) and service to humanity, but could not live to see the actualisation of my PhD programme. May Allah (SWT) forgive and reward her with Jannatul Firdaus, Amin.



## ABSTRACT

Ethno-religious rivalry has crept into the heterogeneous, major and minority groups and every part of Nigerian system, but overshadowed by related conflicts among others. Despite the Constitution and other policy checks being enforced, rivalry has been escalating among the groups. Therefore, Nigeria with a population of over 193 million people is embroiled in the rivalry which often leads to many negative trends. This study explored the ethno-religious rivalry in Nigeria from 1993-2015 with objectives of exploring the causes; the effects on Nigeria; and the ways to lessen it. A qualitative study method was used with in-depth and open ended interviews using non-probability sampling. The study used the system and pluralism theories. In-depth interviews were conducted with experts and stakeholders on the central phenomenon in all the 6 geo-political zones of Nigeria. The findings revealed that colonialism, poverty, imbalanced socio-economic development, resource competition and conflict, historical heterogeneities, manipulation of religion and ethnicity by the elites, the role of military, non-adherence with the rule of law have been responsible for the ethno-religious rivalry in Nigeria; ethno-religious rivalry has impacted in both positive and negative ways, and become entrenched among the majority groups of Nigeria; that it cannot be completely stopped, but lessened. In order to lessen it, the study recommended that the traditional, political religious and social institutions would have to rise up and enlighten the people, uphold values of justice, good brother and neighbourhood, tolerance, dialogue and accommodation of one another; while the Nigerian state authorities must ensure adherence with the rule of law, controlled preaching, balanced distribution of socio-economic resources and functional education to citizens, good governance, and strict implementation of the federal character principles and provisions. The study contributed in expanding the methodologies of studying the central phenomenon, analysis and the reported findings; and in addition, explored other latent issues in ethno-religious set up in Nigerian. The Nigerian populace and authorities would benefit from the findings of this study in further strengthening the forces of unity among Nigerian, especially at this critical moment of multi-dimensioned threats to the corporate existence and sustenance of the united Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Ethno-Religious Rivalry, Nigeria, Unity, North, South, Colonialism, Heterogeneity.



## ABSTRAK

Persaingan etnik-agama di antara *heterogenous* dan kumpulan-kumpulan yang besar telah menyusup masuk ke dalam setiap bahagian di dalam sistem di Nigeria, namun ianya dibayangi dengan konflik yang saling berkaitan antara satu sama lain. Namun begitu, walaupun langkah-langkah dasar telah termaktub di dalam Perlembagaan dan dikuatkuasakan, namun persaingan menjadi semakin meningkat di antara rakyat Nigeria melalui dimensi yang berbeza. Nigeria dengan penduduk yang melebihi 193 juta orang terlibat di dalam persaingan yang selalunya menjurus lebih banyak kepada trend yang bersifat negatif. Kajian ini meneroka persaingan etnik-agama di Nigeria dari 1993-2015 dengan objektif untuk meneroka punca persaingan Etnik-Agama berlaku di Nigeria; mengkaji kesan-kesannya ke atas rakyat serta negara Nigeria itu sendiri; dan mengenalpasti kaedah-kaedah untuk mengurangkannya. Kaedah kajian kualitatif telah digunakan dengan menggunakan kaedah temuduga-terbuka mendalam yang menggunakan sampel bebas-kebarangkalian. Kajian ini menggunakan sistem dan teori-teori kemajmukan untuk menyokong kajian ini. Sejumlah 31 temubual yang mendalam telah dijalankan dengan pakar-pakar dan pihak yang berkepentingan terhadap fenomena utama. Temubual telah dijalankan di kesemua 6 zon geo-politik. Penemuan ini telah mendedahkan bahawa penjajahan; kemiskinan; pembangunan sosio-ekonomi yang tidak seimbang; persaingan dan konflik; sejarah Heterogenous; manipulasi agama serta etnik oleh golongan elit; peranan tentera; ketidak patuhan dengan paraturan undang-undang telah bertanggungjawab bagi persaingan etnik-agama di Nigeria. Kajian ini juga mendapati bahawa persaingan etnik-agama telah memberikan kedua-dua kesan iaitu positif dan negatif, yang mana telah berakar-umbi di Nigeria dan tidak mampu untuk diberhentikan sepenuhnya, tetapi dikurangkan. Bagi mengurangkan masalah ini, kajian ini telah mengesyorkan bahawa institusi tradisional, politik agama dan sosial harus bangkit dan menyedarkan rakyat; mendukung nilai-nilai keadilan; nilai persaudaraan dan kejiranan; toleransi; dialog dan penerimaan, sementara, manakala pihak berkuasa Nigeria perlu memastikan pematuhan peraturan undang-undang; kegiatan dakwah yang terkawal; pengagihan sumber sosio-ekonomi yang seimbang; sistem pendidikan yang berfungsi terhadap rakyat; tadbir urus yang baik dan pelaksanaan prinsip-prinsip Persekutuan yang tegas. Kajian ini menyumbang di dalam mengembangkan kaedah pengkajian fenomena utama; menganalisa dan melaporkan hasil dapatan kajian. Kajian ini juga meninjau isu-isu terpendam lain di dalam ruang lingkup etnik-agama Nigeria. Rakyat Nigeria serta pihak berkuasa berpeluang untuk menikmati faedah daripada dapatan kajian ini di dalam mengukuhkan kuasa-kuasa perpaduan di antara rakyat Nigeria, terutamanya pada saat-saat kritikal ketika ini dengan ancaman yang bersifat pelbagai-dimensi ke atas kewujudan korporat dan pengekal projek Nigeria bersatu.

**Katakunci:** Persaingan Etnik-Agama; Nigeria; Perpaduan; Utara; Selatan; Pejajahan; *Heterogeneity*.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACF</b>	Arewa Consultative Forum
<b>AG</b>	Action Group
<b>BPU</b>	Berom Progressive Union
<b>CAN</b>	Christian Association of Nigeria
<b>COCIN</b>	Church of Christ in Nigeria
<b>COMA</b>	Coalition of Militant Actions
<b>EBA</b>	Egbesu Boys of Africa
<b>ECWA</b>	Evangelical Church Winning All
<b>EOO</b>	Egbe Omo Odudua
<b>ENC</b>	Egi National Congress
<b>EWM</b>	Egi Women's Movement
<b>EE</b>	Ethno-Religious
<b>ERR</b>	Ethno-Religious Rivalry
<b>FRN</b>	Federal Republic of Nigeria
<b>HF</b>	Hausa/Fulani
<b>ICPC</b>	Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission
<b>IDU</b>	Isoko Development Union
<b>INYM</b>	Itsekiri National Youth Movement
<b>IPM</b>	Ijaw Peace Movement
<b>IYM</b>	Ijaw Youth Movement
<b>JNI</b>	Jama'atul Nasril Islam
<b>MACBAN</b>	Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria
<b>MASSOB</b>	Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra
<b>MBF</b>	Middle Belt Forum
<b>MCAN</b>	Muslim Corpers Association of Nigeria
<b>MEND</b>	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
<b>MORETO</b>	Movement for Reparations to Ogbia
<b>MOSOP</b>	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
<b>NA</b>	Nigerian Army
<b>NAF</b>	Nigerian Air Force
<b>NCCF</b>	Nigerian Christian Corpers Fellowship
<b>NCEF</b>	National Christian Elders Forum
<b>NCNC</b>	National Council of Nigerian Citizens

<b>NDVF</b>	Niger Delta Volunteer Force
<b>NEC</b>	National Executive Committee
<b>NEITI</b>	Nigeria Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative
<b>NEPU</b>	Northern Elements Progressive Union
<b>NLSA</b>	Northern Leaders and Stakeholders Assembly
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisations
<b>NPC</b>	Northern People's Congress
<b>NPF</b>	Nigeria Police Force
<b>NR</b>	Northern Region
<b>NHRC</b>	National Human Rights Commission
<b>NSCDC</b>	Nigeria Security and Civil Defence
<b>NSCIA</b>	Nigeria Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs
<b>OPC</b>	Odua People's Congress
<b>PDP</b>	People's Democratic Party
<b>RMAFC</b>	Revenue Mobilisation, Allocation and Fiscal Commission
<b>SAP</b>	Structural Adjustment Programme
<b>SMM</b>	Southern Minorities Movement
<b>SMM</b>	Southern Minorities Movement
<b>TROPCON</b>	Traditional Rulers of Oil Mineral Producing Communities
<b>UMBC</b>	United Middle Belt Congress
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>YCE</b>	Yoruba Council of Elders

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the general introduction to the study and comprises of the statement of the research problem, research questions, research objectives, significance and scope of the study. It also comprises the research methodology - research design, population for the study, unit for analysis, sampling frame, sample size and sampling technique; location/site for the study; method of collection and data analysis; method, structure and timing of the interview, and interview protocol.

States and societies are from the early history of humankind historically characterised by the continuous search for and attempt to evolve in organised manners; foster unity, good leadership, life and neighbourhoods based on their socio-historical, political-economic, cultural and environmental structures and influences (Obiakor, 2016). In this search process, competition, disagreements, and conflicts among others, are bound to occur, especially in social settings with heterogeneities (Mascareño & Ruz, 2016). This has been the trend all over the world from the former Roman, Byzantine, Persian, British Empires among others, to the present modern states and nations.

All the states around the world have and or are undergoing this, but at different levels and phases of civilization, socio-cultural, political, economic and geo-religious factors and environments. This has also been the same fate for both developed, developing

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## APPENDICES

### *Appendix A: Interview Protocols*

**The study used the following interview protocols.**

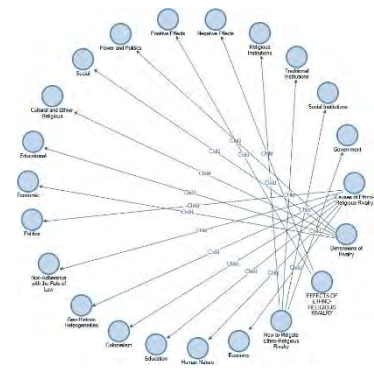
**QR 1. One: What are the causes of ethno-religious rivalry in Nigeria?**

**QR 2. One: How does ethno-religious rivalry affect Nigeria?**

**QR 3: What are the strategies to lessen ethno-religious rivalry in Nigeria?**

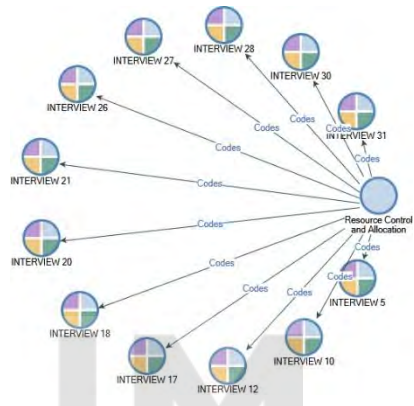


Appendix B: Nvivo Generated Answers from the Interviewees

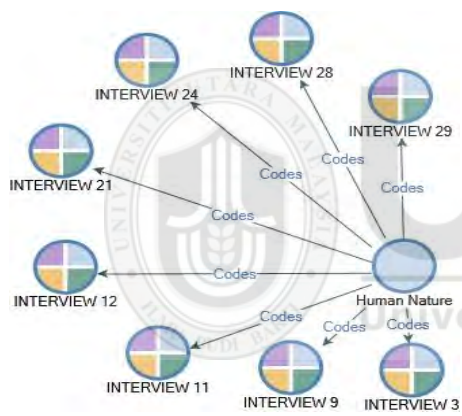


**Political and Economic Interest**

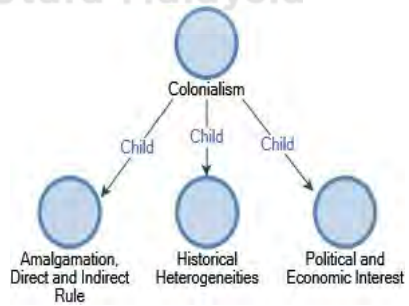
**Why is there Ethno-religious Rivalry?**



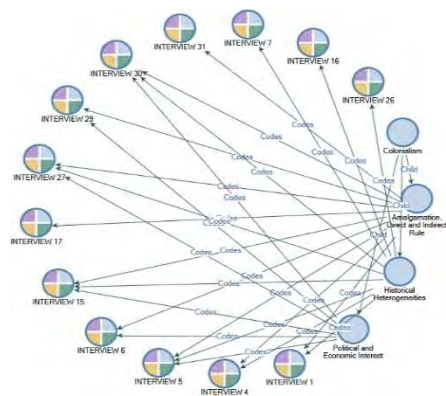
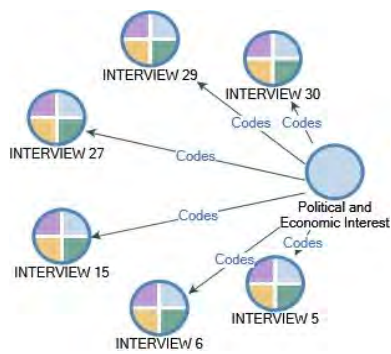
**Resource Control and Allocation**



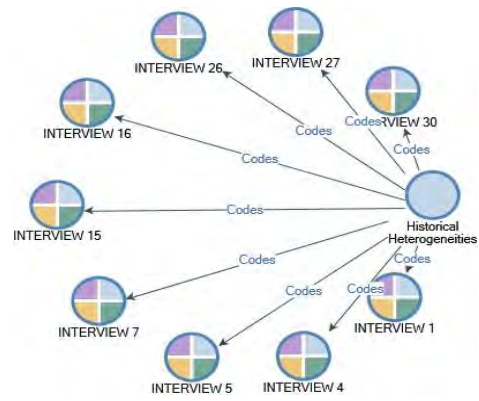
**Human Nature Interviewees**



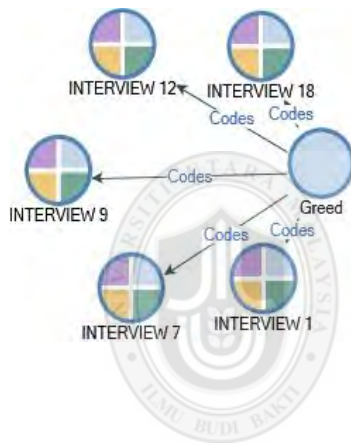
**Colonialism**



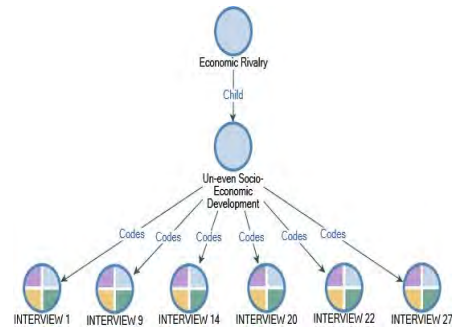
## Colonialism, Direct and Indirect Rule



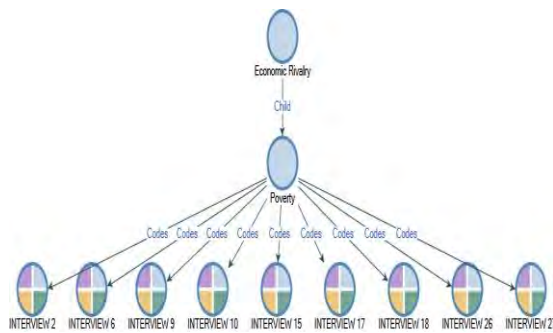
## Historical Heterogeneities



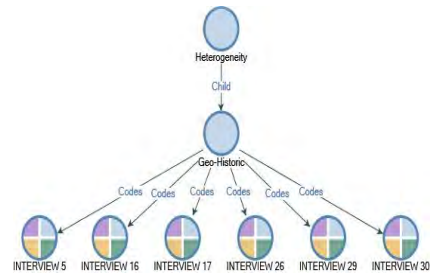
**Greed**



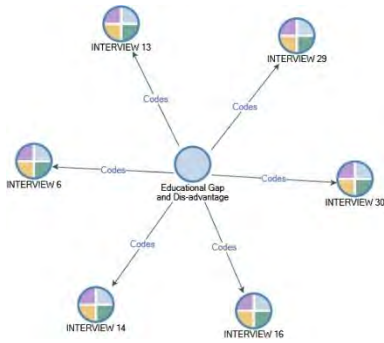
**Un-even Socio-Econ. Devt.**



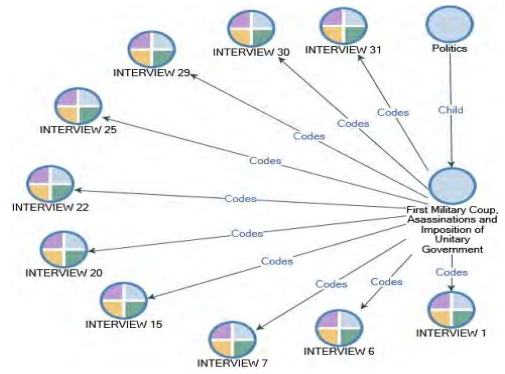
**Poverty**



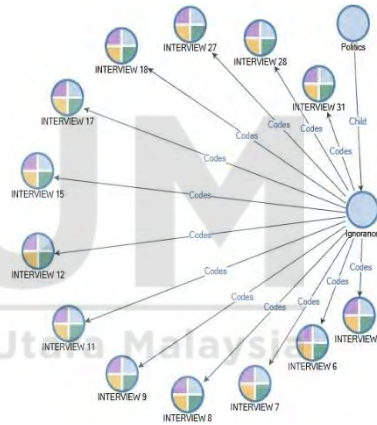
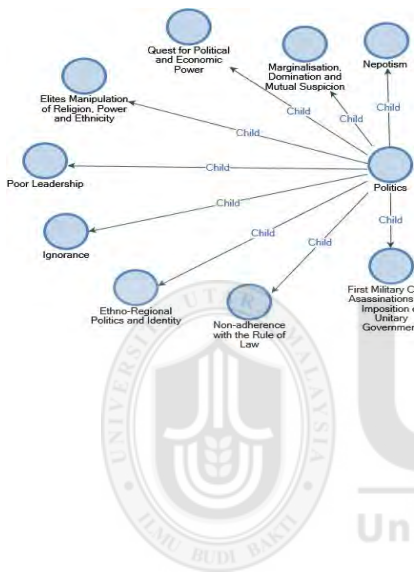
**Geo-Historic**



**Educational Dis-advantage**

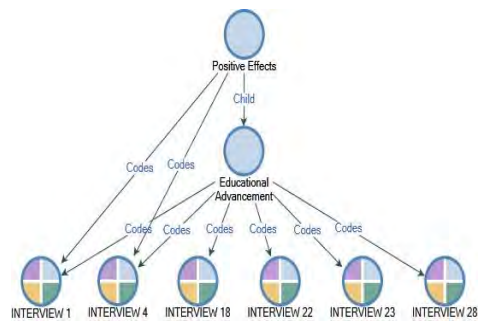
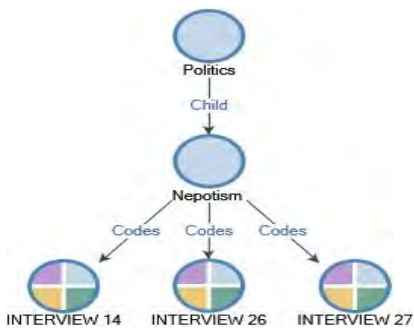


**First Military Coup, Assassinations and Imposition of Unitary Government**

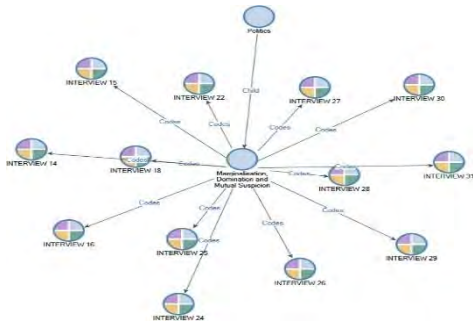


**Ignorance**

**Nepotism**



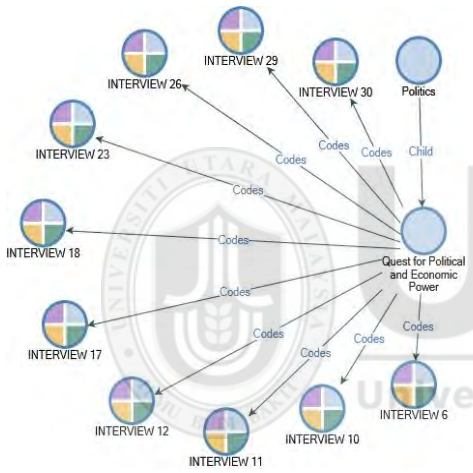
**Educational Advancement**



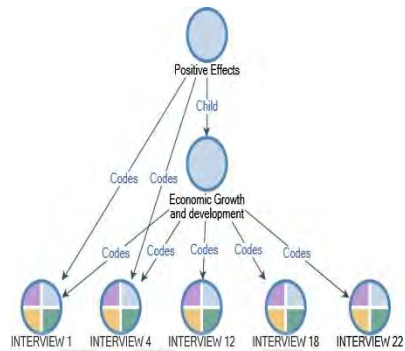
**Marginalisation, Domination and Mutual Suspicion**



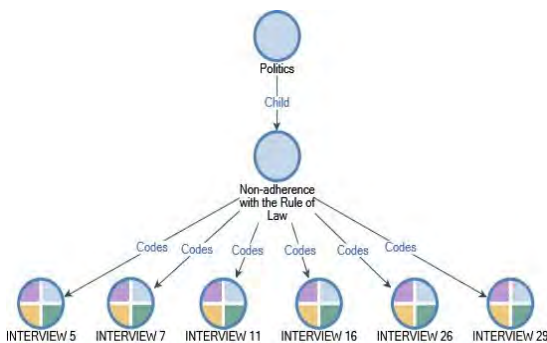
**Effects of ERR**



**Quest for Political and Economic Power**



**Economic Growth and Development**

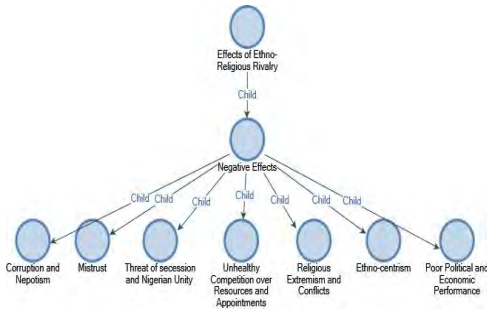


**Non Adherences with the Rule of Law**

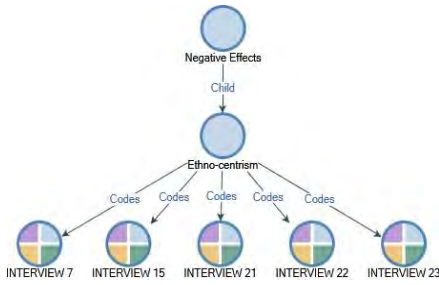
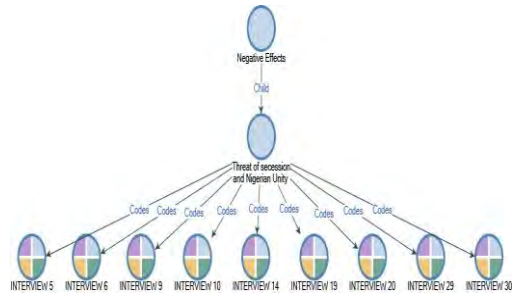


**National unity**

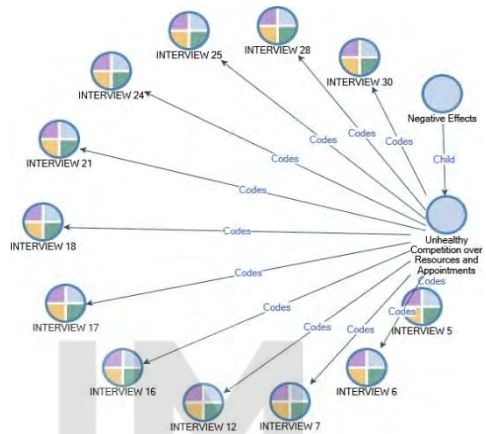




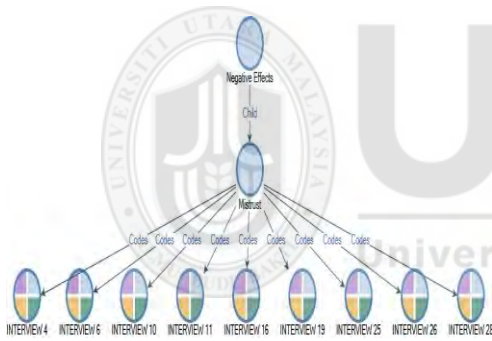
**Effects of Ethno-Religious Rivalry**



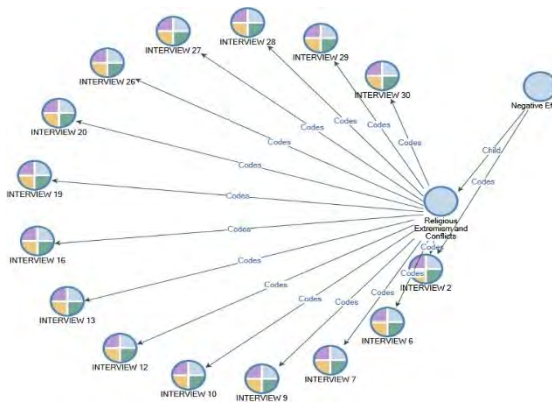
**Ethno-Centrism**



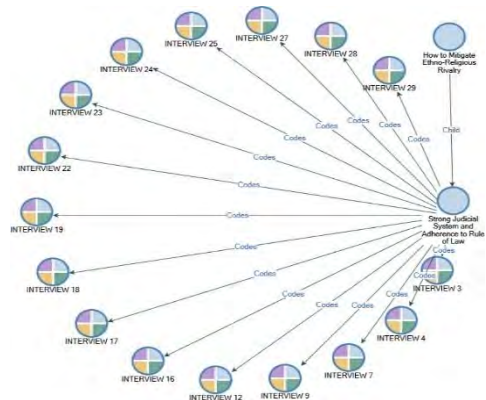
**Unhealthy Competition over Resources and Appointments**



**Mistrust**



**Religious Extremism and Conflicts**



*Appendix C: Northern Nigerian First Republic Political Parties*

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1 - Afenmai Peoples' Congress (APC)      | 2 - Borno Youth Movement (BYM)       |
| 3 - Habe Peoples' Party (HPP)            | 4 - Ijumu Progressive Union (IPU)    |
| 5 - Ilorin Talaka Parapo                 | 6 - Kalabari Peoples' Congress       |
| 7 - Kano Peoples' Party (KPP)            | 8 - Kano State Movement              |
| 9 - League of Northern Yorubas           | 10 - Middle Belt Congress of Nigeria |
| 11 - Middle Belt Peoples' Party          | 12 - Moslem Peoples' Party           |
| 13 - Muslim United Party                 | 14 - Tarka Youth Pioneers            |
| 15 - Tiv State Party                     | 16 - United Middle Belt Congress     |
| 17 - Northern Elements Women Association |                                      |



*Appendix D: First Republic Political Parties*

1. Action Group (AG)
2. Afenmai Peoples' Congress (APC)
3. Alliance Youth Front
4. Awo National Brigade (ANB)
5. Borno Youth Movement (BYM)
6. Calabar - Ogoja Rivers State Movement
7. Calabar Emancipation League
8. Common Peoples' Party of Nigeria (CPPN)
9. Communist Party of Nigeria
10. Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN)
11. Dynamic Party (DP)
12. Eastern Nigeria Liberation Movement (ENLM)
13. Eastern Peoples' Congress (EPC)
14. Ghana-Nigeria Socialist Group
15. Habe Peoples' Party (HPP)
16. Ibadan Crusaders of Freedom
17. Ijumu Progressive Union (IPU)
18. Ilorin Talaka Parapo
19. Kalabari Peoples' Congress
20. Kano Peoples' Party (KPP)
21. Kano State Movement
22. Lagos and Colony Peoples' Congress
23. Lagos Citizens Rights Protection Council
24. Lagos Separate State Movement
25. League of Northern Yorubas
26. Mabolaje Party
27. Middle Belt Congress of Nigeria
28. Middle Belt Peoples' Party
29. Mid-West Democratic Front
30. Mid-West Youth Association
31. Moslem Peoples' Party
32. Movement for Colonial Freedom
33. Muslim United Party (NCNC)
34. National Convention of Nigerian Citizens
35. National Council for Peace
36. National Emancipation League
37. National Youth Council of Nigeria
38. National Youth Front
39. Niger Delta Congress
40. Niger Delta Volunteer Service
41. Nigerian Communist Party
42. Nigerian Labour Party
43. Nigerian Marxist Group in Germany (GDR)
44. Nigerian National Alliance
45. Nigerian National Democratic Party
46. Nigerian National Youth Brigade
47. Nigerian Peoples' Party – The New Nigeria\*
48. Nigerian Socialist Group
49. Nigerian Workers Liberation Movement
50. Nigerian Youth Congress
51. Northern Elements Freedom Organisation
52. Northern Elements Progressive Union
- 53. Northern Elements Women Association United Party**
- 54. Northern Opposition**
55. Northern Peoples' Congress
56. Northern Peoples' Congress Youth Association

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 57. Northern Progressive Front               | 58. Northern United Party                   |
| 59. Northern Youth Movement                  | 60. Okpara Youth Brigade                    |
| 61. Oshun United Party                       | 62. Oyo United Party                        |
| 63. Peoples' Front                           | 64. Peoples' Progressive Front              |
| 65. Republican Party                         | 66. Rivers State Movement                   |
| 67. Socialist Labour Party                   | 68. Socialist Movement of Nigeria           |
| 69. Socialist Party of Nigeria               | 70. Socialist Workers and Farmers Party     |
| 71. Socialist Youth of Nigeria               | 72. Tarka Youth Pioneers                    |
| 73. Tiv State Party                          | 74. United Action Committee                 |
| 75. United Middle Belt Congress              | 76. United National Independence Party      |
| 77. United Progressive Grand Alliance        | 78. United Progressive Grand Peoples' Party |
| 79. United Working Peoples' Party of Nigeria | 80. Zikist Movement                         |
| 81. Zikist National Vanguard                 |   |

Sources: Mohammed, Aisha & Saidu, (2018:450-454).



*Appendix E: Northern and Southern States of Nigeria (1967-1975)*

Northern States

Divisions

1. Benue-Plateau Akwanga, Idoma, Lafia, Nasarawa, Tiv, Wukari, Jos LowLand, Shendam, Pankshin.
2. Central West Ilorin, Borgu, Kabba, Lafiagi-Pategi, Igala, Kwara Koton Karfe.
3. Kano Kano and all Northern Kano Divisions
4. North-East Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Bedde, Biu, Dikwa, Potisk Numan, Muri, Sardauna North, Sardauna South, Gomb Katagum. Potiskum, Gombe
5. North-West Minna, Kontagora, Bida, Abuja, Sokoto, Argungu, Gwandu.
6. North-Central Kaduna, Zaria, Katsina, Jema'a.

Southern States

Divisions

1. Central Eastern Udi, Orlu, Owerri, Abakaliki, Aba, Awgu, Afikpo, Bendel, Nsukka, Okigwe, Onitsha, Awka.
2. Lagos the Federal Capital, Badagry, Epe, Ikeja.
3. Mid-West Abohi, Afenmai. Akoko-Edo, Asaba, Benin, Isoko, Ishan, Warri, Urhobo, Western Ijaw.
4. Rivers Ahoada Brass, Degema, Ogoni, Port-Harcourt.
5. South-Eastern Udi, Owerri, Orlu, Obudu, Obubra, Ogoja.
6. Western Egbado, Egba, Ife, Ibadan, Ekiti, Ijebo Remo, Ilesha, Ondo, Osun, Owo, Oyo, Okitipupa.

Source: Paden, (1986: 696-697).

*Appendix F: The 19 States of the FRN, February, 1976*

1 - Anambra    2 – Bauchi    3 – Benue    4 – Bendel    5 - Borno  
6 – Gongola    7 – Imo    8 – Kaduna    9 - Kano    10 - Kwara  
11 - Lagos    12 - Niger    13 - Ogun    14 - Ondo    15 - Oyo  
16 - Plateau    17 – Rivers    18 - Sokoto    19 - Cross-River

Source: Anyanwu & Ocherome, (1994:119).



*Appendix G: The 21 States of the FRN, September, 1987*

1 - Anambra 2 – Bauchi 3 – Benue 4 – Bendel 5 – Borno 6–Gongola  
7 – Imo 8 – Kaduna 9 - Kano 10 – Katsina 11. Kwara 12 - Lagos  
13 - Niger 14 - Ogun 15 - Ondo 16 - Oyo 17 - Plateau 18–Rivers19  
- Sokoto 20 - Cross-River 21 – Akwa-Ibom



*Appendix H: The 30 States of the FRN, August 27, 1991*

- |            |                 |            |               |             |
|------------|-----------------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Anambra | 3. Bauchi       | 4. Bendel  | 5. Benue      | 6. Borno    |
| 7. Adamawa | 8. Imo          | 9. Kaduna  | 10. Kano      | 11. Katsina |
| 12. Kwara  | 13. Lagos       | 14. Niger  | 15. Ogun      | 16. Ondo    |
| 17. Oyo    | 18. Plateau     | 19. Rivers | 20. Sokoto    | 21. Delta   |
| 22. Taraba | 23. Edo         | 24. Kebbi  | 25. Osun      | 26. Enugu   |
| 28. Yobe   | 28. Cross-River | 29. Kogi   | 30. Akwa-Ibom |             |





*Appendix I: The 36 States of the FRN, October 1, 1996*

- |               |             |             |             |                 |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Anambra    | 2. Bauchi   | 3. Bendel   | 4. Benue    | 5. Borno        |
| 6. Adamawa    | 7. Imo      | 8. Kaduna   | 9. Kano     | 10. Katsina     |
| 11. Kwara     | 12. Lagos   | 13. Niger   | 14. Ogun    | 15. Ondo        |
| 16. Oyo       | 17. Plateau | 18. Rivers  | 19. Sokoto  | 20. Delta       |
| 21. Taraba    | 22. Edo     | 23. Kebbi   | 24. Osun    | 25. Enugu       |
| 26. Yobe      | 27. Gombe   | 28. Kogi    | 29. Ebonyi  | 30. Gombe       |
| 31. Nassarawa | 32. Ekiti   | 33. Bayelsa | 34. Zamfara | 35. Cross-River |
| 36. Akwa-Ibom |             |             |             |                 |

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Source: Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999.



*Appendix J: The Six Area Councils of the FCT, Abuja.*

- |               |                    |          |
|---------------|--------------------|----------|
| 1. Abaji      | 2. Abaji Municipal | 3. Bwari |
| 4. Gwagwalada | 5. Kuje            | 6. Kwali |

Source: Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999.



*Appendix K: The 6 Geo-Political Zones of Nigeria*  
Zones States

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| 1. North-East    | Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, Yobe                      |
| 2. North-West    | Jigawa, Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto,<br>Zamfara, Kaduna |
| 2. North-Central | Kogi, Kwara, Nassarawa, Niger, Benue, Plateau                    |
| 3. South –East   | Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo                                |
| 4. South –West   | Ekiti, Lagos, Osun, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun                              |
| 5. South-South   | Bayelsa, Cross-Rivers, Delta, Edo, Rivers                        |



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*Appendix L: List of Nigeria's Ethnic Groups*

Abayon	Banda (Bandawa)	Bunu
Auyoka (Auyokawa)	Banka (Bankalawa)	Bura
Awori	Banso (Panso)	Burak
Ayu	Bara (Barawa)	Burma (Burmawa)
Abua	Barke	Buru
Achipa (Achipawa)	Baruba (Barba)	Buta (Butawa)
Adim	Bashiri (Bashirawa)	Buru
Adun	Bassa	Buta (Butawa)
Affade	Batta	Bwall
Afizere	Baushi	Bwatiye
Afo	Baya	Bwazza
Agbo	Bekwarra	Challa
Akaju-Ndem (Akajuk)	Bele (Bulawa)	Chama (Chamawa)
Akweya-Yachi	Betso (Bete)	Fitilai)
Alago (Arago)	Bette	Chamba
Amo	Bilei	Chamo
Anaguta	Bille	Chibok (Chibbak)
Anang	Bina (Binawa)	Chinine
Andoni	Bini	Chip
Angas	Biom	Chokobo
Ankwei	Bobua	Chukkol
Anyima	Boki (Nki)	Daba
Attakar (ataka)	Bokkos	Dadiya
Babur	Boko (Bussawa,	Daka
Bachama	Bargawa)	Dakarkari
Bachere	Bole (Bolawa)	Danda (Dandawa)
Bada	Botlere	Dangsa
Bade	Boma (Bomawa,	Daza (Derewa)
Bahumono	Burmano)	Degema
Bakulung	Bomboro	Deno (Denawa)
Bali	Buduma	Dghwede
Bambora (Bambarawa)	Buji	Diba
Bambuko	Buli	Doemak (Dumuk)

Duguri	Gengle	Idoma
Duka (Dukawa)	Geji	Igala
Duma (Dumawa)	Gere (Gerawa)	Igbo
Ebana (Ebani)	Geruma	Ijumu
Ebirra (Igbirra)	Geruma (Gerumawa)	Ikom
Ebu	Gingwak	Irigwe
Efik	Gira	Isoko
Egbema	Gizigz	Isekiri (Itsekiri)
Egede	Goernai	Iyala (Iyalla)
Eggon	Gokana (Kana)	Izondjo)
Egun (Gu)	Gombi	Jaba
Ejagham	Gornun (Gmun)	Jahuna (Jahunawa)
Ekajuk	Gonia	Jaku
Eket	Gubi (Gubawa)	Jarawa (Jarawan kan
Ekoi	Gude	Dutsi)
Engenni	Gudu	Jere (Jarawa)
Epie	Gure	Jero
Esan	Gurmana	Jibu
Etche	Guruntum	Jidda-Abu
Etolu	Gusu	Jimbin (Jimbinawa)
Etsako	Gwa (Gurawa)	Jirai
Etung	Gwamba	Jonjo (Jenjo)
Etuno	Gwandara	Jukun
Falli	Gwari (Gbayi)	Kaba (Kabawa)
Fuble/Fulani	Gwom	Kadara
Fyam (Fyem)	Gwoza (Waha)	Kafanchan
Fyer(Fer)	Gyem	Kagoro
Ga'anda	Hausa	Kaje (Kache)
Gade	Higi (Hig)	Kajuru (Kajurawa)
Galambi (Galambawa)	Holma	Kaka
Gamergu-Mulgwa	Hona	Kamaku (Karnukawa)
Ganawuri	Ibeno	Kambari
Gavako	Ibibio	Kambu
Gbedde	Ichen	Kamo

Kanakuru (Dera)	Laru	Munga (Mupang)
Kanembu	Lakka	Mushere
Kanikon	Lala	Mwahavul
Kantana	Lama	(Mwaghavul)
Kanufi	Lamja	Ndoro
Karekare (Karaikarai)	Lau	Ngamo
Karimjo	Ubbo	Ngizim
Kariya	Limono	Ngweshe
Katab (Kataf)	Lopawa	(Ndhang.Ngoshe-
Kenem (Koenem)	Lunguda (Lunguda)	Ndhang)
Kenton	Mabo	Ningawa
Kiballo (Kiwollo)	Mada	Ninzam (Ninzo)
Kilba	Mama	Njayi
Kirfi (Kirfawa)	Mambilla	Nkim
Koma	Manchok	Nkum
Kona	Mandara	Nokere
Koro (Kwaro)	Manga (Mangawa)	Nunku
Kubi (Kubawa)	Margi (Marghi)	Nupe
Kudachano (Kudawa)	Matakam	Nyandang
Kugama	Mbembe	Ododop
Kulere	Mbol	Ogori
Kunini	Mbube	Okobo (Okkobor)
Kurama	Mbula	Okpamheri
Kurdul	Mbum	Olulumo
Kushi	Memyang (Meryan)	Oron
Kuteb	Miango	Owan
Kutin	Miligili (Migili)	Owe
Kwalla	Miyawa	Oworo
Kwami (Kwom)	Mobber	Pa'a
Kwanchi	Montol	Pai
Kwanka (Kwankwa)	Moruwa (Morwa)	Panyam
Kwaro	Muchaila	Pero
Kwato	Mumuye	Pire
Kyenga (Kengawa)	Mundang	Pkanzom

Poll	Tera	Yott
Polchi	Teshena	Yumu
Pongo	Tigon	Yungur
Potopo	Tikar	Yuom
Pyapun	Tiv	Zabara
Qua	Tula	Zarandawa
Ribina (Ribinawa)	Tur	Zarma Zarmawa
Reshe	Ufia	Zayam
Rindire (Rendre)	Ukelle	Zul (Zulawa)
Rishuwa	Ukwani (Kwale)	
Ron	Uncinda	
Rubu	Uneme (Ineme)	
Rukuba	Ura (Ula)	
Rumada	Urhobo	
Rumaya	Utonkong	
Sakbe	Uyanga	
Sanga	Vemgo	
Sate	Verre	
Sayawa (Zar)	Vommi	
Segidi (Sigidawa)	Wagga	
Shanga (Shangawa)	Waja	
Shangau	Waka	
Shan-Shan	Warja	
Shira (Shirawa)	Warjawa	
Shomo	Wula	
Shuwa	Wurbo	
Sikdi	Wurkun	
Siri (Sirawa)	Yache	
Surubu	Yagba	
Sukur	Yakurr	
Sura	Yalla	
Tangale	Yandang	
Tarok	Yergam	
Teme	Yoruba	