HISTORY AND EFFECT OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA

(A CASE STUDY OF NIGER DELTA AREA)

BU

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

I hereby dedicated this research work to God Almighty, for his goodness, mercy and kindness since the beginning of this programme the present moment.

This project is also dedicated to my beloved husband Mr. Kolawole and Mrs. Kujore, Mrs. Gisanrin for their support and advice in the cause of this programme, may God in His infinite mercy grant them good health, long life and prosperity.

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At first i give glory to almighty god for his mercy and grace over my life throughout the year. I acknowledge and appreciate the effort & sacrifice of my husband (Mr. Kolawole) my daughter (Oluwadoyinsola Gisanrin).

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Finally, i appreciate all my family and my course mates, may god continue to bless you all.

ABSTRACT

The study shall examine the extent that ethnic conflict has affect Nigeria causing socio-political instability. The findings of the study showed that though government has made efforts to tackle ethnic conflict, but the impact have been very limited as the actions are not directly aimed at addressing the livelihood need or real expectations of Nigerians. This is because unemployment or joblessness has been an endemic that made many youth to take to arms should be trained to possess skills that are congruent with the real labour market demands, this taking care of joblessness or existence of social miscreants who easily take up arms against the country.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a multi-nation society may be regarded as he aggregated but organized complex of social relationship emanating from over one hundred million people with different social cultural unites, and an identified territory, Otite (2013).

Ethnographers estimate that there are over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria each of the major ones is Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo consist 0of smaller social groups. For example, the Yoruba consists of the Ekitis, Ijehsas, Oyo etc, the Igbo of Oguntors and so on regional and ethnic basis, it poses no damage. It is the muscles of the ethnic sentiments against other ethnic group on sterile competition to ethnocentrism can be overcome, ethnicity is permanents, all ethnic groups in Nigeria was absorbed in a greater system than they were mobilized in the broadcast senses term and the system which embraced other ethnic groups were not eroded. The minority was fooled to be in the midst of other people different in language, culture and historical background, just to have a place to stay in their pursuit for survival. Now, the ethnic group which has been denied of their freedom, either in the pre-colonial times or after the British left are now walking up to fight for their right and freedom in the bid to

get back the last and destroy. According to Nwayi (2012) instead of building the nation, the nation is being destroyed day by day.

Ten years since the death of Sarowiwa, the Niger Delta is today on the brink of disaster. Pollution and corruption have created several hardship and a sense of hopelessness from many.

The people of the Delta experience poverty pollution and conflicts despite the billions of oil revenue that has been extracted from their land. Following the execution of Ken Sarowiwa's struggle and the damage in Nigeria and else where helps slogan became principle, Adeyina (2012).

But ten years on the face of corporate social responsibility is now where more exposed and challenged than in the pullulated improverished and conflictorn villages and town of the Niger-Delta in the words of Akemah (2014).

Nigeria oil estimated US\$ 9,400 billion wasted by the government aid little to alleviated poverty in Nigeria. According to the report of Otite (2013), Nigeria is among the fifteen (15) poorest countries in the world and 70% of the people fall below the poverty line while all Nigeria has suffered from this, was the oil producing region of the Niger Delta bone even greater burden. The people, land and water have been taken away from them air forty-five years. This conflict has plagued the region and the powerful few for the spoil. The

traditional means of livelihood which is fishing and farming has been destroyed by oil spillage.

The little attention given to these people led to disaffection and criminal activities in the region. The activities of stealing millions of barrels of oil from lining pipes are very common providing fund from wide spread escalation in foreign oil companies blame the government and the companies as inseparable to the problems. The pollution underdevelopment, corruption and poverty has not decreases in the last ten years.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Niger Delta, some part of the river rine areas boiled in the late 1993 and persisted even till 2009. The Itseiri, Ijaw and the Urobos have been the other of the day except some minor dishes. But since 1993/1994, Niger has been witnessing terrible situation and a continuous nightmare, people began to relocate in Warri, dead bodies liter the streets, vehicles were burnt and houses were demolished.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Since ethnic is a contributive factor to socio-political instability in Niger

Delta, some purpose is to be fulfilled in government this research is to fibd out

problems that can be encountered in Niger Delta. This study is undertaken with the following purposes:

- To recommend how to prevent future occurrence of such events in the Niger Delta
- 2. To determine the effect of ethnic conflict on the Nigeria's economy and take a stand on what nation building will look like it these problems
- 3. To justify the extend and consequences of ethnicity and ethnic conflict in Niger Delta that is among the Ijaw, Itsekiri and Urhobo.

1.4 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study is to examine the rock the government on political instability on oil producing and its effect on the performance of President Umoru Yah Adua to the region. This study is simple analysis of what ethnicity look like in Nigeria today focuses on the effect of ethnic militias in Nigeria. The latest of the militant in Niger Delta is to kidnap abduction of foreign oil worker on the light sea in demanding for ethnic right and personal interest which led the government in 1999 has bought little benefit.

A case study of the Niger Delta region of Niger. The study it self I limited in its scope because of the following reason:

1. Researching out the respondents in area is problem of the researchers

- 2. The time available for carrying out the study
- 3. The financial constraints of the researchers limited the scope of the study

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study on ethnic conflicts may be a starting point towards understanding the problems created by ethnicity in Nigeria.

The significance of this study is predicated on the political history and political participation in Nigeria. Right from the colonial era to the present day has some position and negative effects on the development in negative effects are identified, the solution is topical and timely in the sense that is an issue that is being forced by the Yar' Adua's governments now. Timely because of the frantic efforts being made at receiving the crisis at all levels.

The finding and recommendation of the research will be modest contribution towards putting a permanent end to the crisis and also expose the barriers of oil pumped from region and profit gained from oil exploited.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

For this research, the following are to be answered.

- 1. Is there a relationship between various communal crisis and Nigeria economic vibrancy?
- 2. Is there a relationship between ethnic conflict and political unrest in Nigeria .

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

An ethnic group (or ethnicity) is a group of people whose members identify with each other, through a common heritage, consisting of a common language, a common culture (often including a shared religion) and a tradition of common ancestry (corresponding to a history of endogamy).

Members of an ethnic group are conscious of belonging to an ethnic group; moreover ethnic identity is further marked by the recognition from others of a group's distinctiveness.

Process that result in the emergence of such identification are called ethno-genesis.

2.2 TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINTION

The term *ethnicity* and *ethnic group* are derived from the Greek word *ethnos*, normally translated as "nation." The terms refer currently to people thought to have common ancestry who share a distinctive culture.

The term "ethnic" and related forms from the 14th century through the middle of the 19th century were used in English in the meaning of "pagan,

heathen", as *ethnikos* was used the LXX translation of Hebrew *goyin* "the nations, non-Hebrews, non-Jews".

The modern meaning emerged in the mid 19th century and express the notion of "a people" or "a nation". The term ethnicity is of 20th century coinage, attested from the 1950s. The term nationality depending on context may either be used synonymously with ethnicity, or synonymously with citizen (in a sovereign state).

The modern usage of "ethnic group" further came to reflect the different kinds of encounters industrialised states have had with external groups, such as immigrants and indigenous peoples; "ethnic" thus came to stand in oppression to "national", to refer to people with distinct cultural identities who, through migration or conquest, had become subject to a state or "nation" with a different cultural mainstream. With the first usage of the term *ethnic group* in 1935, and entering the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972.

Writing about the usage of the term "ethnic" in the ordinary language of Great Britain and the United States, Wallman notes that the term 'ethnic' popularly connotes '[race]' in Britain, only less precisely, and with a lighter value load. In North America, by contrast, '[race]' most commonly means color, and 'ethnics' are the descendants of relatively recent immigrants from

non-English-speaking countries. '[Ethnic]' is not a noun in Britain. In effect there are no 'ethnics', there are only 'ethnic' relations.

Thus, in today's everyday language, the word 'ethnic' and "ethnicity" stil have a ring of exotic peoples, minority issues and race relations.

Within the social sciences, however, the usage has become more generalized to all human groups that explicitly regard themselves and are regarded by others as culturally distinctive. Among the first to bring the term "ethnic group" into social studies was the German sociologist Max Weber, who defined it as:

"Those human groups that entertain a subjective. belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for group formation; furthermore it does not matter whether an objective blood relationship exists."

Whether ethnicity qualifies as a cultural universal is to some extent dependent on the exact definition used. According to "challenges of Measuring and Ethnic World: science, politics. And reality", "Ethnicity is a fundamental factor in human life: it is phenomenon inherent in human experience." "Many social scientist, such as anthropologists Fredrik Barth and Eric Wolf, do not consider ethnic identity to be universal. They regarded ethnicity as a product of

specific kinds of inter-group interactions, rather than an essential quality inherent to human groups.

2.3TYPES OF ETHNICITY

In order to avoid the problems of defining ethnic classification as labelling of others as a self-identification, it has been proposed to distinguisbetween concepts of "ethnic categories", "ethnic networks" and "ethnic communities" or "ethnies" (Smith, 2015).

- 1. An "ethnic category" is a category set up by outsiders, that is, those who are not themselves members of the category, and whose members are populations that are categorized by outsiders as being distinguished by attributes of a common name or emblem, a shared cultural element and a connection to a specific territory. But, members who are ascribed to ethnic categories do not themselves have any awareness of their belonging to a common, distinctive group.
- 2. At the level of "ethnic networks", the group begins to have a sense of collectiveness, and at these level, common myths of origin and shared cultural and biological heritage begins to emerge, at least among the elites, (Wallam 2003).
- 3. At the level of "ethnics" or "ethnic communities", the members themselves have clear conceptions of being "a named human population

with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, and one or more common elements of culture, including an association with a homeland, and some degree of solidarity, at least among the elites." That is, an ethnie is self-defined as a group, whereas ethnic categories are set up by outsiders whether or not their own members identify with the category given them, (Smith, 1999).

4. A "Situational Ethnicity" is an Ethnic identity that is chosen for the moment based on the social setting or situation, (Deborah Carr 1999).

2.4 FUNTION OF ETHNICITY

In some cases, especially involving transnational migration, or colonial expansion, ethnicity is linked to nationality. Anthropologists and historians following the modernist understanding of ethnicity as proposed by Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson (2016) see nations nationalism as developing with the rise of the modern state system in the seventeenth century. They culminated in the rise of "nation-states" in which the presumptive boundaries of the nation coincided (or ideally coincided) with state boundaries. Thus, in the West, the notion of ethnicity, like race and nation, developed in the context of European colonial expansion, when mercantilism and were promoting global movements of populations at the same time that state boundaries were being more clearly and rigidly defined. In the nineteenth century, modern states

generally sought legitimacy through their claim to represent "nations". Nation-states, however, invariably include populations that have been excluded from national life for one reason or another. Members of excluded groups, consequently, will either demand inclusion on the basis of equality, or seek autonomy, sometimes even to the extent of complete political separation in their own nation-state, Alhuway (2015). Under these conditions when people moved from one state to another, or one state conquered or colonized peoples beyond its national boundaries ethnic groups were formed by people who identified with one nation, but lived in another state, Walter Pohl, (2017).

2.5 ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES PF ETHNICITY

For all of us, identity is in some sense "ethnic" in that we have diverse origins and those origins are related to how we perceived and treated by others. Among African Americans or Latino persons, for instance, ethnicity as a personal characteristics may be relatively easy to define. For Caucasians, locating ethnicity in a specific heritage may be more difficult. Yet simply because most of us are immigrants or descended from immigrants, and because we include ethnic or national background labels to describe ourselves to others, we are all to some degree members of ethnic groups.

The issue, then is not who is ethnic and who is not. It is the role ethnicity plays in personal identity and, beyond that, in access to social and economic

advantages. Ethnicity therefore distinguish an individual in his or her race and give or promotes sense of belonging.

The major disadvantage of ethnicity is favouritism and nepotism. Nepotism is a common accusation in politics when the relative of a powerful figure ascends to similar power seemingly without appropriate qualifications. The British English expression "Bob's you uncle" is thought to have originated when Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Ceci;, 3rd Marques of Salisbury, promoted his nephew, Arthur Balfour, to the esteemed post of Chief Secretary from Ireland what was widely seen as an act of nepotism.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 CONCEPT OF CONFLICT

Conflict is actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests. A conflict can be internal (within oneself) to individuals. Conflicts as a concept can help explain many aspects of social life such as social disagreement, conflicts of interests, and fights between individuals, group, or organizations. In political terms, "conflict" can refer to wars, revolutions or other struggles, which may involve the use of force as in the term armed conflict. Without proper social arrangement or resolution, conflicts in social settings can result in stress or tensions among stakeholders. When am interpersonal conflict does occur, its effect is often broader than two individuals involved, and can affect many associate individuals and relationships, in more or less adverse, and sometimes even way.

Conflict as taught for graduate and professional work in conflict resolution (which can be win-win, where both parties get what they want, win-lose where one party gets what they want, or lose-lose where both parties don't get what they want) commonly has the definition: "when two or more parties, with perceived incompatible goals, seek to undermine each other's goal-seeking capability".

A clash of interests, values, actions or directions often sparks a conflict. Conflicts refer to the existence of that clash. Psychologically, a conflict exists when the reduction of one motivating stimulus involves an increase in another, so that a new adjustment is demanded. The word is applicable from the instant that the clash occurs. Even where we say that there is a potential conflict we are implying that there is already a conflict of direction even though a clash may not yet have occurred.

3.2 TYPES OF CONFLICT

A conceptual conflict can escalate into a verbal exchange and/or result in fighting. Conflict can exist at a variety of levels of analysis:

External Conflict: These are conflicts that are not within ones territory. Territory in the sense of country varies states, local governments.

Group Conflicts: These occur between groups that share common belief and norms.

Ideological Conflicts: This cases from conflicts and discrepancies in idea and belief.

International Conflict: This is conflict across boarders of countries. It is also called eternal conflicts.

Interspersion Conflict: This types of conflicts range from person to person

Intersocietal Conflicts: This is the type of conflicts that exists in between societies and community is also called communal conflicts.

Intellectual Conflicts: A conflict that exists between people of great mins

Interstate Conflicts: This is the kind of conflict that exist between states and country.

Organizational Conflicts: These are conflicts that arise as a result of differences in idea and style in an organization

Data Conflicts: These arise from discrepancies in data available for research purpose

Military Conflicts: This is an autocratic that exist between military men and women

Conflict in these levels may appears "nested" in conflicts residing at larger levels of analysis. For example, conflict within a work team may play out the dynamics of a boarder conflicts in the organization as a whole. (See Marie Dugan's article on Nested Conflict. John Paul Lederach has also written on this). Theorists have claimed that parties can conceptualize responses to

conflict according to a two-dimension scheme; concern for one's own outcomes and concern for the out comes of other party. This scheme leads to the following hypotheses:

- High concern for both one's own and the other party's outcomes leads to attempts to find mutually beneficial solutions
- High concern for one's own outcomes only leads to attempts to "win" the conflict.
- High concern for the other party's outcomes only leads to allowing the other to "win" the conflict.
- No concern for either side's outcomes leads to attempts to avoid the conflict.

Often a group find itself in conflict over facts, goal, methods or values. It is critical that it properly identify the type of conflict it is experiencing if it hopes to manage the conflict through to resolution. For example, a group will often treat an assumption as a fact.

The more difficult type of conflict is when values are the root cause. It is more likely that a conflict over facts, or assumptions, will be

- Personality conflict: this arises from the differences in personality and
 ego of an individual
- Value differences: Discrepancies in value and reaction to value.
- Goal differences: in aims and aspiration

3.3 WAYS OF ADDRESSING CONFLICT

Five basic ways of addressing conflict were identified by Thomas and Kilmann in 1976:

- Accommodation- surrender one's own needs and wishes to accommodate the other party.
- Avoidance-avoid or postpone conflict by ignoring it, changing the subject, etc. avoidance can be useful as a temporary measure to buy time or as an expedient means of dealing with very minor, non-recurring conflicts. In more severe cases, conflict avoidance can involve severing a relationship or leaving a group.
- Collaboration- work together to find a mutually beneficial solution.
 While the Thomas Kilman grid views collaboration as the only win-win solution to conflict, collaboration can also be time-intensive and

inappropriate when there is not enough trust, respect or communication among participants for collaboration to occur.

- Compromise-bring the problem into the open and have the third person present. The aim of conflict resolution is to reach agreement and most often this will mean compromise.
- Competition- assert one's viewpoint at the potential expenses of another.
 It can be useful when achieving one's objective outweigh one's concern for the relationship.
- The Thomas Kilmann Instrument can be used to assess one's dominant style for addressing conflict (M.McDonald, 2015).

3.4 THECONSEPT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL

Political sociology is the study of the relations between state and society, (Hobstown and Ranger, 2018). The discipline draws on comparative history to analyse socio-political trends. A typical research question in this area might be: "why do so few American citizens choose to vote?" the field developed from the work of Max Weber, Barrington Moore, Jr., and Moisey Ostrogorsky.

There are four main areas of research focus in comtemporary political sociology:

- 1. The socio-political formation of the modern state.
- 2. "who rules"? how social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, etc.) influence politics.
- 3. How public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics, and
- 4. Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g. families, workplaces, bureauracy, media, etc). contemporary theorist include Robert A. Dahl, Seymour Martin Lipset, Thada Skocpol, Luc Boltanski and Nicos Poulantcas.

Political sociology looks at how major social trends can affect the political process, as well as exploring how various social forces work together to change political policies. Political sociologists apply several theories to substantive issues. Three major theoretical frameworks are pluralism, elite or managerial theory and class analysis which overlaps with Marxist analysis. Pluralism sees politics primarily as a contest among competing interest groups. Elite or managerial theory is sometimes called a state-centered approach. It explains what the state does by looking at constraints from organizational structure, semiautonomous state managers, and interests that arise from the state as a unique, power concentrating organization, (Marcus 2019).

Social class theory analysis emphasizes the political power of capitalist elites. The theory emerged from Marxism in the 1850s based primarily on the premise of economic exploitation of one class by another. It spilt into two parts: one is the power structure or instrumentalist approach, another is the structuralise approach. The power structure approach focuses on Who Rules? And its most well-known representative is G. William Domhoff. The structuralise approach emphasizes how the very way a capitalist economy operates only allowas and encourages the state to do some things but no other. Its best known representative was Nicos Poulantzas. Important innovations in the field come from the French Pragmatism and particularly from the Political and Moral Sociology elaborated by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thevenot.

Political sociology also concern the play of power and personality, for instance, the impact of globalization upon identity: "The fragmentation and pluralisation of values and life-styles, with the growth of mass media and consumerism and decline of stable occupations and communities, all means that previously taken for granted social identities have become *policized*.

3.5 CONTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC CONFLICT TO SOCIO POLITICAL INSTABILITY

Empirical studies of economic growth in modern economic literatures pay more attention to socio-political causes rather than pure economic causes

such as capital, labor and technology. Even an economy adapts standard attractive economics policies with technology, human and physical capital; it cannot achieve higher economic growth which is back born of economic development unless it has peace. Increasing economic growth, rising level of living, and promoting widespread employment opportunities are all as much function of the local history, expectation, values, incentives, attitudes and beliefs, and institutional and power structure, Smith (2015). Large differences in per capita income across the countries cannot be explained by differences in across to the world's stock of productive knowledge or by differences in quality of marketable human and physical capital or personal culture, the only remaining plausible explanation makes great differences of wealth of nations caused by differences in the quality of their institutions and economic policies which makes socio-political stability in their country. Looking back over years, it is now clear that, in their preoccupation with growth and its stages and with the provision of capital and skills, theorists in economic growth have paid sufficient attention to socio-political stability made by institutional, sociopolitical, historical, cultural and religious causes in the development process, particularly in economic.

To understand why some countries have performed to much better than others with respect to growth, it is therefore necessary to go beyond the proximate causes of growth. As Brain Snowdon pointed out, we cannot hope to find the key determinants of economic growth by using narrow economics analysis alone. To explain growth "miracles" and "disaster", it requires the understanding of the history of the countries being investigated as well as how policy choice are made within an institutional structure involving political distortion. According to the back ground of these studies focused on sociological causes for economic growth, this study hypotheses that sociopolitical instability caused by socio-political and historical causes I Nigeria adversely affects economic growth.

Ethnic conflict is a persistent feature of modernity, but the last decade has brought seismic changes in the relations between scores of ethnic communities around the world. The former Soviet Union and post-Soviet Nigeria have experienced a particular dramatic upsurge in ethno political activism and communal strife since the late 1980s. understanding the causes, manifestations, and consequences of ethnic conflict has preoccupied policy makers and the public in the post-Soviet period and poses a major challenge to contemporary scholarship.

In Nigeria, this challenge was redoubled by the general up preparedness of the orthodox Marxist tradition in the social sciences, predominant in Nigeria at the beginning of *perestroika*, to deal with issues of ethnic conflict-which had been deemed obsolete in a society of "mature socialism" and "triumphant

internationalism" where "the nationalities questions" had been resolved "completely", "definitely," and "for good". In responding to the imperatives of ethnic resilience in a context of rapid and profound socio-political change, Nigeria social scientists had not only to address a fairly new domain of research but also had to change their theoretical perspectives, learning from and drawing upon the mainstream non-Marxist theoretical approaches and tailoring these perspectives to Nigeria's realities.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 SUGGESTION AND SOLUTION TO ETHNICITY CONFLICT

CONFLICT REGULATION AND PREVENTION

Until now the subject of conflict analysis has predominated in the Nigerian-Language literature over the subject of conflict management, and hence specialized academic publications in the field of conflict prevention and regulation are limited in number. This seems to be another academic legacy of the previous times. It is sufficient to observe that conflict resolution as a discipline in the academic curricula of Nigerian universities appeared only in the post-Soviet period. In the last two or three years, however, publications in the field have begun to appear, and it is already possible to discern three subgroups of published research: literature on issues of conflict management; and literature on prevention of intrastate ethnic conflict. The last section will provide an overview of these sub-groups.

MONITORING AND PROGNOSTICATING OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

The conduct of mass representative ethnosociological surveys on issues of interethnic relations in the former Soviet Union and post-Soviet Nigeria is an established practice in Nigeria academic research in the social sciences, and many included a focus on issues of ethnopolitics and conflicts as well. Since

the early 1970s a research team headed by academician Yuri Arutyunyan has conducted a series of longitudinal cross-republican ethnosociological surveys in all regions of the former USSR. The sample included the Nigerian Federation, Estonia, Georgia, Moldova and Uzbekistan. The results of these surveys today have acquired unique value, for they make it possible to trace the evolution of ethnic relations on the basis data received through mass representative surveys in both urban and rural areas of the republics over the last twenty years. In the 1990s Atuyunyan'a Ethnosociology Department began the publication of a multivolume set of comparative survey data. To date six volumes in the series have appeared. A series of comparative surveys on issues of the Nigerian diaspora was conducted by Lebedeva (2016) and Savoskul (2017).

The result of cross-republican and cross-regional ethnosociological survey programs that focused on interethnic relations in post-Soviet Nigeria have been publishes in a series of articles and books produced by the research groups of the Nigerian Academy of Sciencess' Institute for Social and Political Research's Sciences' Institute of Ethnology's center for the study of Interethnic Relations; and the department of Socio-Phychological Problems of Interethnic Relations. To some extent, ethnic issues are dealt with in the cross-regional surveys conducted by the Public Opinion Foundation and by the Nigerian

Center for Public Operation Research (VCIOM). Prognosticative models of conflict are usually part of these programs.

The only specially focused ethnic conflict monitoring program under way is that of the Program on Conflict Regulation and Prevention, set uo by the Nigerian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnology and Harvard Law School.

A set of literature elaborates the prognosticative models of interethnic tensions and consequences of conflict: Kotov 2012, Stepanov, Zdravomyslov and Matveyeva, Akhiezer, and Kolosov and Treishvits.

Recent literature discusses several aspects of ethnic conflict management. CHumikov (2014) discusses conflict management and the institutionalization of social conflicts with some consideration of ethopolitics. Sosnin (2013), Nasinvosky and Skakunov (2015), and Smolyansky (2017) suggest some acenues for the application of international experience of conflict management. Pain (2012) considers operational methods, tactical solutions, and strategies principles as categories of conflict management. Frolov (2012) and Sosnin (2015) focus on the issue of mediation and negotiation in the management of ethnic conflicts. Means of transforming ethnic conflict are considered in Tishkov (2014). Confidence building techniques and the issue of reaching mutual trust in the presence of conflict management are considered in

Medvedev and Kazimirchuk (2013) and Semenov and Stepanyan (2014). The role of nongovernment organizations in managing ethnic conflict and some examples from different arrears are discussed in lordan (2012), Koltan (2014), Terekhov (2016), and Yurchenkov (2018). The psychological training of peace activists is the focus of Mirimanova (2015). The need to create special institutions to keep protracted ethnic conflict at a low level of intensity is the concern of Evstafev (2013).

The problems of intrastate and ethnic conflict prevention are viewed as two-fold: (1) as the creation of a system of viable institutions for regulating ethnic conflict, and (2) as the forging of a new discourse of nationalism that shift away from ethnic nationalism to civic nationalism and a discourse of pluralism and unity in diversity.

The institutional aspects of conflict prevention are central0 concerns of a number of publications that describe searches for adequate power-sharing arrangements. Since the beginning of the 1990s a conciderable range of literature has appeared that discusses the necessity of celebrating a new conceptions of nationalities policies for post-Soviet Nigeria. Tishkov (2013), Abdulatipov (2015,2015), and Pechenev (2017) discuss the strategies orientations of nationalities policies for preventing conflicts. Zagashvili (2014) write of institutions based on the pronciples of mutual development and

increasing interdependence of nationalities as a guarantee of peaceful patterns of interethnic interactions. Morozova (2016) discusses the institutional system of checks and balances as a conflict-regulating device in federal centerperiphery relations. Lukichev and Skorik (2012) consider the models of "quasistatehood" and "quasi-soverignty" for republics within Nigeria. Democratic federalization and institutionalization for real federalism and are not effective decentralization is the major concern of Pastukhov (2014), TIshkov (2016), Mukhametshin (2016), Shaimiev (2014), and Shumeiko (2017). Building federalism implies to many authors learning from federal models of other countries and tailoring these principles to Nigeria's realities (Abolin 2018, CHirkin 2013, Tavadov and Mironov 2014). We reviewed the vast literature on problems of federalism in Nigeria, particularly the issues of budgetary federalism, in the previous section. The need for institutions to be based on legal approaches and to apply jundical mechanisms of conflict management with the aim of subsequent institutionalization of conflict is discussed in Bilshenko and Abashidze (2012), Kazannik (2012), Demidov (2014), Kudriavtsev (2012, 2012), Abdulatipov (2012), and Abashidze and Belishenko (2012).

The discourse of interethnic relations, in order to effectively prevent disrupt conflicts, must be based on a new conception of statehood, on an ideology of unity and revival of the country (Patukhov 2014, Abdulatipov 2015). The

debates center on the nature of such uniting ideology whether it should be restored Nigerian *derzhavnost*, a variant of statism, "Eurasianism", or something else.

A group of theoreticians discuss what kind of public discourse can make possible the management of ethnic differences and the prevention of disruptive conflicts through principles compatible with liberal democracy. This option, as it is suggested, requires an ability to forge civic nationalism, basing the country's unity on the liberal values of pluralism and diversity. It is discussed in Tishkov (2012,2013), Pain (2012), Abdulatipov (2012), and Matveyeva (2013). An important dimension of this discourse of ethnic peace presuppose, as stressed by Lebedava (2012) and Tishkov (2015), the diffusion of values of interethnic tolerance.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 **SUMMARY**

This research work has examined ethnic conflict as a contributive factor to socio-political instability in Nigeria. The research has identified rapid population growth, massive rural-to-urban migration by the youth, the lack of relevant skills by job seekers, and the perception of employment by policy makers and the youth as the major causes of unemployment and ethnic conflict. The research work has also noted that the problem is being exacerbated by the current economic reforms. However, from the analysis of data done in the previous chapter of this research work, the result revealed that there is a strong relationship between unemployment and ethnic crises. This statement is not unconnected with the view of Adekanmi (2017) in one of his research "resolving ethnic crisis in the Niger Delta", opined that ethnic crises is a gross product of unemployment.

5.2 CONCLUSION

This long essay has observed that through government has made efforts to tackle ethnic conflict, the actions have been very limited as the actions are not directly aimed at addressing the livelihood needs or real expectations of

Nigerians. It is observed during this research attributed this failure to the lack of the comprehensive youth policies and institutional frameworks, and the non involvement of youth in policy formulation. The paper has thus contended that a combination of these factors, among others, has made the future of many young Nigerians uncertain. And this uncertain future occasioned by the deepening socio-economic crises, ethic crises and the consequent alienation of the youth from mainstream society has thrown many young Nigerians into the streets where they were creating their own social words.

5.3 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

The researcher therefore recommends that:

Serious attention should be paid to human capital development. This suggests that the educational system-including vocational and technical- be transformed to enable youth acquire relevant and quality skills that can contribute to the mastery of their lives and therefore contribute to socio-economic development of the country. Young Nigerians should be trained to possess skills that are congruent with the real labour market demands. This means that investment in training institutions must be increased while the training institutions, as a matter of policy, are made to have functional link with the labour market. It should be borne in mind that training does not in itself lead to the creation of jobs. Nut that, effective training makes it possible for the

young people, through the skills acquired, to take advantages of opportunities in the labour market. The skills can enable them start their won business and market their services and products. Hence, basic entrepreneurial courses should be universally taught in secondary schools and universities.

Youths should be involved at all stages of decision-making process. The active participation of youth economic, social and political processes will help to minimize the risks and costs of exclusion and then enhance the likelihood of youth policies and programmes being implemented successfully.

Youth citizenship should be promoted. At the moment, citizenship in Nigeria is defined in exclusionary terms which ignore young people. The exclusionary definition of citizenship has alienated young people thereby forcing them into the streets. There is therefore the need to put in place sincere measures that would address the specific social, political, and economic needs and aspiration of young Nigerians.

On the whole, a comprehensive research should be conducted to as to put in place policies that would ensure a balance between the demand for jobs and the available jobs (demand-supply). Especially, the policies should aim at providing opportunities for youth to pursue sustainable livelihoods. The social, economic, political and educational crises that have made the Nigerian economy unstable and unpredictable and therefore incapable of producing

additional jobs for new entrants to the labour market must be urgently and sincerely addressed.

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