A DISCOURSE ON AMARTYA SEN'S CONCEPTION OF NITI AND NYAYA AS A PANACEA TO THE ETHNIC CRISES IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA

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Abstract
There has been discussion over the matter of peaceful coexistence between Nigeria's various ethnic groups ever since the nation was created. Numerous ethnic, political, and economic crises have split the country and caused differences in the lives of its citizens along racial lines. Due to the unequal distribution of the nation's resources and the elite group's manipulation of power, these imbalances have stoked rivalries. This study used a critical analysis tool and an analytical approach. This analyzes political unrest and ethnic conflicts in modern-day Nigeria. When considering the numerous instances of unfairness and unfair treatment that the ruling elite in Nigeria has inflicted upon the marginalized, disadvantaged, and vulnerable ethnic groups, the ethnic crises become even more compelling. The results showed that one of the issues threatening Nigeria's national stability is ethnic crises. This research is predicated on this idea. By following Amartya Sen's concept of justice, ethnic crises will come to an end. Human reason may distinguish between fairness and injustice through the realization process thanks to Amartya Sen's Niti and Nyaya. The study came to the conclusion that ethnic conflicts have caused economic hardship and rivalry between different ethnic groups; modern Nigeria can put an end to ethnic conflicts by implementing Amarya Sen's Niti and Nyaya; furthermore, injustice between different ethnic groups can be resolved through public reasoning.

Keywords: Ethnic crises, injustice, ethnic, Amartya Sen.

Introduction

Ethnic crises are one of the challenges confronting Africa. For instance, citing Nigeria as a case study with an estimate of around 250 ethnic groups, injustice, and inequalities exist among the various ethnic groups starting from the period of colonial administration up to the contemporary political dispensation. Ethnic relations in Nigeria are being marred by divisions, unhealthy rivalries, and pronounced disparities amongst the ethnic groups. The origin of ethnicity and ethnic crises in Nigeria started back from the colonial administration by cajoling the ethnic groups of the Northern and Southern provinces to become an entity called Nigeria in 1914 by amalgamation. The means of addressing the problem of ethnicity and ethnic crises created by the British colonial administration has been very difficult. After the succession of the former diverse kingdoms, empires, e.t.c. through direct and indirect rule, the country called Nigeria now emerged. The system of government in Nigeria has always been in turmoil since the inception of the country and most of these challenges are products of ethnic politics and propaganda. The continuous struggle from the various ethnic groups for political position and power to control and dominate economic wealth and other resources of

the nation is a threat to the democratic process, mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, unity, and political stability. The problems and challenges of finding a common ground of fair treatment and social justice raises the question of sustaining peaceful coexistence, unity, and political stability within society. How should we maintain peaceful coexistence, political stability, and unity in a society constituted by different ethnic groups and sometimes conflicting views and understanding? In dealing with the idea of inequality and social justice, Sen's *Idea of Justice* introduces a workable formula of fair equal distribution of rights, liberties of individuals and the method of distributing socio-economic benefits that will cover income, health, education, and other political rights.

The word "justice" may refer to "just conduct", "fair treatment" towards one another. It is the quality of being right and fair to one another. It means that when we talk of justice or "just society" we should be treated with justice. It means that there should be fairness in our treatment towards one another. For instance, Aristotle's discussion of the virtue of justice has been the starting point for almost all Western accounts. For him, the key element of justice is treating cases alike, an idea that has set later thinkers the task of working out which similarities (need, desert, talent) are relevant. Aristotle distinguishes between justice in the distribution of wealth or other goods (distributive justice) and justice in reparation, for example, in punishing someone for a wrong he has done (retributive justice). The notion of justice is also essential in that of the "just" state, a central concept in political philosophy (Britannica, 2021).

Justice in a distributive sense means that every citizen has the right to wealth without hurting one another; no citizen should be deprived of means of livelihood in his or her "just" cause of acquiring wealth. Every citizen is entitled to fair treatment, the rich should not exploit the poor nor should the poor exploit the rich in their just cause or in discharge of duties. Every citizen is worthy of his or her reward towards the economic growth of the state, fairness and equal treatment of citizens in the state will promote unity and peace. There should be equality in the distribution of wealth, money, honour, welfare, etc. Justice and equality can promote unity, peace and stability in contemporary Nigeria among the various ethnic groups. From up-to-date, no fewer than four constitutional frameworks have been adopted at different historical periods in Nigeria. The first in the 1940s through the 1957/58 Willink Commission was the result of a series of debates held in Nigeria and Britain. It involved recognition of the major ethnic groups which are the Hausa/Fulani of the North, the Igbo of the East, and the Yoruba of the West through the three political regions and constitutional arrangements for a federal system, but denied recognition and domination of several other smaller ethnic groups.

A second connotational framework came up from the early 1960s through 1969, which paid attention to ethnic differences. A quota system was adopted for appointment into national bodies and the creation of twelve states in the country to take account of smaller ethnic groups that were previously denied recognition. Marginalization, inequality, and injustice of the minority groups lead to the Biafra's civil war. After the Civil War, another set of constitutional debates and government inquiries produced another approach. This approach started from the 1970s to the early 1980s and introduced the adoption of a "federal character" strategy. It consisted of two elements. One was the creation of more states to take account of ethnic ties without acknowledging ethnic recognition which was the purpose for further creation and the division of the country into a greater number of states. The second was a

requirement that the composition of national bodies reflect constituent states of the federation which were assumed to be synonymous with ethnicity, the election to the highest offices of state is based on a plurality of votes. The beginning of the mid-1980s marked the beginning of yet another set of debates and negotiations that have continued to the present which yielded a fourth approach that led to a revision of the "federal character" strategy of the 1970s. The review of the "federal character" strategy led to a further division of the country into a greater number of states and local government units to reflect ethnic recognition and representation more adequately. It also involved an agreement on the proportional representation of parties that was assumed to reflect ethno-regional interest in the executive cabinet and on the rotation of the highest offices of state among ethnic regions. This assumption was to give a lasting solution to ethnic inequality and crisis but these innovations seemed to have been compromised during the military rule era.

Ethnic Crises in Nigeria: An Overview

The Nigerian nation has faced a series of ethnic, political, and economic crises. As a result of this, the nation has been divided along ethnic lines which brought disparities among the people. These disparities have raised rivalries due to the unequal distribution of the nation's resources. Also, there are tensions arising from marginalisation of one ethnic group at the expense of other ethnic groups, especially minority ethnic groups. The marginalisation and dominance of a particular ethnic group in relation to governance and leadership are daunting and challenging. And this has generated misunderstanding and mistrust among the people. As a result of this, the problem of ethnic relations is also affected due to a large number of ethnic groups in Nigeria. This brought ill feelings, hatred, injustice, imbalance, and intolerance among the people. It is in this regard that this thesis adopts Sen's *Idea of Justice* to curb the challenges of ethnic crises in contemporary Nigeria.

The Amartya Sen's Conception of *Niti* and *Nyaya*

Amartya Sen's Conception of *Niti* refers to organizational relevance and behavioral correctness and focuses on regulations and institutions. Thus, according to Sen, *Niti* replaces the idea of a perfect just world, and in the modern world, it fits with the transcendental institutionalism approach that attempts to answer the question 'what do competent just institutions look like?' Despite that, the concept of *Nyaya*, on the other hand, is about emerging. In other words, *Nyaya* is a comprehensive vision or design of realized justice. That is, while *Niti* is the procedural sense of justice and the instrument of codification, *Nyaya* represents the more realistic and holistic sense of justice and focuses attention on detailed results. Besides, especially *Nyaya* guides people's lives in an actual way. But the establishment of reasonable, understandable justice is a prayer of both *Niti* and *Nyaya*. According to Sen, when justice is evaluated from the more inclusive and expanded perspective of *Nyaya,* the roles of institutions, rules and organizations are of course important, but they are inevitably linked to the actual world. In this respect, he states that the concept of *Nyaya* fits the realization-oriented comparative justice approach. "In this approach to justice represented by *Nyaya*, the central question is not 'how perfect just institutions look like 'but' how justice can be developed?' (Sen, 2009:21). Emphasizing that in the ancient Indian tradition, there is a view to justice not as *Niti* but as *Nyaya*. Sen (2009:411) likens "the difference between transcendental institutionalism and social realization approaches regarding justice to the difference that exists between *Niti* and *Nyaya*".

In addition to this, Sen states that there was a discourse called *matsyanyaya* by the legislators in Ancient India. This discourse means that 'justice in the world of fish is that the big fish can swallow the small fish freely'. According to Sen, we need to consider this humiliating discourse, which legislators call *matsyanyaya*, for a specific application. Because, the main role of justice should be to avoid *matsyanyaya*, and 'justice in the fish world' should not be allowed to invade the human world. According to Sen, here central acceptance is not a matter of judging institutions and rules, but of societies self-reasoning and the realization of justice with the consciousness of *Nyaya.* According to Sen, in order to avoid the *Matsyanyaya* on the issue of justice, transcendental designs for the creation of competent just societies or social arrangements do not produce a solution. Sen states that "the realization-oriented approach makes it easier for us to understand the importance of preventing sharp injustices seen in the example of matsyanyaya and to prevent or correct the injustices that exist in the actual world" (Sen, 2009:21).

In this context, Sen shows, as an example, the revolts of people to abolish slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to Sen, who states that Adam Smith, Condorcet and Mary Wollstonecraft are among those who emphasize that a society with slaves is totally unjust, it is not necessary to seek a consensus on what a just society is competent in the abolition of slavery; instead, slavery was overwhelmingly abolished. The American Civil War led to the abolition of slavery. Sen emphasizes that "the great strike launched for justice in America, the enhancement of justice through the abolition of slavery, cannot be shown within the transcendental institutionalism approach, but within the social realization approach (comparative justice approach or realization-oriented approach)" (Sen, 2009:22). According to Sen, a proper understanding of social realization – the view of justice based on Nyaya- "contains a comprehensive, broad explanation (including process) of the events and situations that occur through the right processes" (Sen, 2009: 24). On the other hand, the global dimension of justice is of great importance in Sen's understanding of justice. Sen (2009:24) argues that "the dominant view of transcendental institutionalism in political philosophy has a restrictive/limiting perspective and this it emphasizes that it will not be possible to realize global justice from this perspective". As Sen, sees that a competent global justice can be created through the establishment of perfectly just institutions, which is put forward within the framework of the regulation-oriented (transcendental institutionalism) justice approach, as a transcendent and unaddressed claim cannot meet the global level needs of our time needed for a just world. Indeed, applying the theory of justice in the Rawlsian approach requires a comprehensive clustering of institutions to determine the basic structure of a just society. When it comes to how to think about global justice, Rawls actually abandons his principles of justice and does not go for fanciful explanations.

Rawls' later work, *The Law of Peoples*, pursues demands for justice as truth, but tries to show how this will happen between countries. However, according to Sen, "this addition, which includes the resolution of the fundamental problems of humanity through negotiations between the delegates of different countries, remains very weak and qualifies justice in a very limited way" (Sen, 2009:26). At this point, Sen asks, "What is the international reform we need in order to create a less unjust world?" (Sen, 2009:25) asks the question. Seeing mass global inequality and poverty as a fundamental problem at the center of globalization, Sen emphasizes that the interests of deprived and oppressed countries should also be taken into account adequately in terms of benefiting from economic connections, technological

advances and the benefits of political opportunities, and that the enormous benefits of globalization should be shared more equitably draws attention to the need. According to Sen (2010:156), "the poor should have a better and fairer arrangement with less economic, social and political inequalities of opportunity. It should be discussed what the international and domestic reorganizations will provide. At this point, the introduction or strengthening of public regulations for social security and other supportive public interventions can have important consequences for Sen. He encourage people to achieve global justice in the world for a competent just society, and argues that this may generate consensus through public debate, although disagreements on other issues persist. In this context, Sen, emphasizes that the institutional structure of today's world should be reformed so that injustice can be much less and existing injustices can be corrected. For example, Sen, sees that the drugs needed by the poor patients suffering from AIDS can be produced more easily, sold cheaply, easily found in the market, and the reorganization of the laws regarding this is a clear-cut problem that has some implications for global justice.

On the other hand, Hobbes, in *Leviathan*, which was published in 1651, drew attention to the fact that people's lives were 'evil, wild and short', which can be called quite exemplary. Sen (2009:412) argues that "this determination of Hobbes unfortunately still constitutes a good starting point for today's theories of justice". Because, according to Sen, despite significant material progress, these terrible features are present in the lives of too many people in the world. As a matter of fact, Sen's approach emphasizes people's lives and capacities, their deprivation, suffering and oppression. In this context, Sen, states that different theories of justice have some common assumptions about the characteristics of human existence: humiliating and embarrassing them, making them suffer, cruel, unable to sympathize, argue, disagree etc. According to Sen, the strong presence of such features in human life does not tell us to choose a particular theory of justice, but indicates that we should pursue justice in general, even though we have different lifestyles, and drive out injustice from human society.

In his argument, Sen states that he puts a lot of emphasis on human capacity/ability and presents it to other theories of justice. According to Sen, understanding, participating in the feelings of others, reconciliation, cooperation and communication are some of the basic human abilities and it should not be inevitable that some people and societies are deprived of these and doomed to isolated lives. Sen considers it very important to avoid isolation in terms of the quality of human life. According to Sen, Hobbes points out the difficulty of being alone by drawing attention to the fact that people's lives are 'bad, wild and short' in Leviathan. In other words, here, Sen's thoughts on the situation of the isolated people and the difficulty of being alone, which Hobbes points out, are the same things (Sen, 2009:415). For Sen we are exposed to a lot of things, from hunger to oppression, in a world that is bad enough, and even worse, he points out that we fight and fight with each other, but we cannot communicate with each other. At this point, Sen calls for the reproduction of real democratic opportunities and spaces for discussion and emphasizes public reason. In the last part of the thought of justice, Sen, deals with the practical problems faced in the last quarter century and argues that justice should have a global dimension today. Sen, who does not propose an ideal of justice in Rawls's way, invites us to a non-local, neutral mind. You look through the eyes of Smith's impartial audience, without assuming that something can only be done in one particular way emphasizes that we need to review our preferences, tendencies and practices (Sen, 2009:394-396). Calling us to depend on public reason unrelated to some kind of ideal in achieving

justice, Sen states that we must consider social arrangements as a whole to evaluate their far-reaching effects without obsessively clinging to formal and procedural rules, comparing the impact of certain policies made in the name of impartiality and integrity. (Sen, 2009: 408-409).

Finally, Sen states that the dominant theory of justice today is under the approach of transcendental institutionalism – even if it is endorsed as well-intentioned rhetoric – many of the problems related to justice are overlooked. At this point, Sen argues that there is a real need for a departure from the restrictive/limiting transcendental institutionalism approach that dominates the theory of justice. (Sen, 2009:26-27). Although *Niti* and *Nyaya* are both translated as justice, he adopt *Nyaya* rather than *Niti*, he adopts Smith rather than Kant. According to Sen, this type of public reason should regulate the spheres of activity of certain societies globally, without limiting their freedom any longer. At this point, Sen sees it as a necessity for especially rich and powerful countries to have the perspective of an impartial audience. Sen argues that rich and powerful countries should compare other lives that are severely limited -malnutrition, poverty, persecution and oppression -with their own, and that they should look after the interests of the poor and powerless (Sen, 2009: 403-407). According to Sen, if we try to see things from the perspective of those around us, we can also look after the interests of those outside of us and form solidarity with them. While admitting that this is not an easy thing at all, Sen proposes a paradigm that "we can start by trying to be a global impartial audience in our own lives and work" (Brown, 2010:11). Because it is to create a human-centred justice paradigm that changes obsessive commitment to the justice approach focused on regulating the structures of institutions and rules, does not put forward the illusory goal of finding a universal definition of a just society, but instead offers a pluralistic perspective to justice by showing sensitivity to behavioral contexts and practical reason.

Niti and Nyaya and Ethnic Crises in Contemporary Nigeria

Injustice is the major crisis in contemporary Nigeria; this is a result of some Elites hijacking the political system to control power, wealth and resources to emerge wealth for themselves. Most times they are a minority group, and this brings tension and agitation among the marginalized ethnic groups. They dominate the key sectors of the state by appointing their royalist to head those sectors as ministers for instance power sector. The elite claim and retain powers by perpetuation until circumstances eject them from power. "They are either born to rule or made to rule" (Mazi Mbah, 2006:285). Democracy is to them, an easy political nomenclature by given the elite the choice to constitute themselves into a caste. Most times, it is assumed that the masses are disorganised and therefore the interest of small elite are will be normally accepted in society. Mazi Mbah (2006:283) in his definition on elite averts that "In its general sense the elite denotes a group of persons who in any society hold positions of eminence. In politics it denotes specifically those who exercise preponderant political influence. He stressed further that they are political entrepreneurs, the establishment, and the governing minority. The ruling elite are known by high degree of elite consciousness or organisation which they possess. They may be a caste, a ruling class, in aristocracy of some form or they may be lacking in any conscious linkage other than occupation of authority positions. In Nigeria they may go by the designations: Leaders of thought, the V.I.P., the heavy weights, men of timber and calibre, the kingmakers, who in general feature as

prominent in social and political affairs. Nigeria has faced a series of ethnic crises due to the following:

The failure of leadership in Nigeria
The challenge of good leadership in Nigeria right from her independence in 1960 has remained unresolved. It has not been opportune to be governed by a leader who has the country and the people at heart. Most of her leaders usually emerge by accident as most of these leaders because of their ways of emergence usually lack the experience, capacity of leadership, and most of all, they were mostly found to be unprepared for such enormous task. Therefore, this stands as one of the causes of failure of leadership emanating from policies of no vision. The election of 2015 that took president Buhari to power was a wonderful one in which Nigerians made their choice on who was to rule them. The president was handed with the mantle of leadership not on the basis of inexperience or unpreparedness, but on the basis of the choice of Nigerians. Furthermore, Nigeria in this contemporary political dispensation is expected to promote the common good to the people, which can be accomplished through the sustenance of democratic values, such as, fiscal discipline, transparency, leadership accountability, a good conscience, due process, the rule of law, preservation of the constitution among others. However, leaders with credibility have not been found to have the above features accomplished for the common good of the society which is the basis of a democratic dispensation. Therefore, this explains the poor current state of the nation's democracy.

Insurgency and Militancy in Nigeria
The role of the militants in the South and Boko haram in the North stand as a great setback to a democratic dispensation in the Nigeria 21st century of political existence. The activities of these groups have continued to retardate the political and socioeconomic development of the nation. These activities invariably become a great challenge to a democratic dispensation in the country. Therefore, to curtail this setback, there must be a good political will from the political leaders and the security operatives in order to subdue the situation to a stand-still. The political leaders must be able and sincerely support the security agencies in order to ensure victory over the menace as it will invariably lead to the common good of the society. Poverty and underdevelopment must be handled with a great political will for democratic dispensation to thrive.

The State of Corruption in Nigeria
Corruption has been identified as a major challenge to democratic dispensation not only in Nigeria but the world at large. Osimiri (2009), Observed that corruption has caused democratic dispensation and good governance in Nigeria to be in a state of catastrophe. Therefore, in view of this, several governments in Nigeria ventured into anti- corruption campaigns. One of these campaigns was the creation of Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) by Obasanjo's civilian administration in 1999 to curtail corruption so that democratic dispensation could thrive. In addition, these two agencies under the administration of Obasanjo were greatly commended both home and abroad for their great efforts. Although, they were also criticized for being selective in their operation and served as an instrument by the president to silence his political opponents. To promote democratic dispensation in Nigeria, corruption must not be handled softly, anti-corruption agencies must

be empowered by a good political will by the political leaders and those found with cases of corruption should be dealt with accordingly without political interference from the political leaders.

The Electoral System

In the political system of Nigeria, election has been observed as gradually taking shape as a political culture. But these elections are constantly being hijacked and manipulated by the incumbents and those with economic power, who ensure that they hold on to power through all illegal means and just as was attempted recently in Gambia. This act of practice puts the nation's democratic dispensation into question and thereby denying the common man his common good. The free and fair election in the country has always being questionable. Abuse of electoral legitimacy and the electoral process. Electoral malpractice always leads to poor governance, leadership and slow pace of democratic consolidation in the country which will lead to better democratic dispensation. In the same manner, the result of the country's general election in 2023 led the nation into all kinds of electoral violence and a wanton destruction of peoples' lives and their property for alleged fraud emanating from the election. Therefore, in view of the above, for the people to enjoy a fair democratic dispention. The beliefs' of the populace must be renewed towards democracy by the assurance of good governance and the common good in the society. Handle free and fair elections, allow the people to decide their political leader and insecurity tackled as they will not only ensure democratic consolidation but also will ensure the existence of democratic dispensation.

Human Rights

On the country's present democratic dispensation, the citizens' fundamental rights are still questionable as they usually come under attacks irrespective of the advent of democracy. For instance, the protection, respect for human dignity and enjoyment of the right to life is hindered by the unavailability of socioeconomic infrastructures which are necessary for the guarantee of fulfillment and realization of human rights. Human rights reports by Community for the Defence of Human Right, the outdated ways in which peoples' respect for human dignity and the right to life is abused, arbitrary arrest and detention, the death penalty, assassination and extra-judicial killings, avoidable disaster, disappearances, the poor prison system, among others. All these abnormalities above have succeeded in putting democratic dispensation in Nigeria in a questionable state. In order to resolve this, the government of the day and the ones to come must work with all seriousness, transparency, accountability and respect for human rights which will guarantee democratic dispensation for the citizens.

Poverty

Poverty as an outcome of poor democratic dispensation has been identified as one of the greatest factors that stand as a challenge to a democratic dispensation in Nigeria. The country is endowed with both human and natural resources, but poverty is still rampant in the country. Similarly, United Nations Development Program (2007), observed that Nigeria exhibits its ugly look in several homes where an average individual struggle with a life of high poverty. In addition, an average Nigerian is isolated from himself as he suffers the capacity to provide for himself life necessities which include medical facilities and education. Consequentially, poor people are brainwashed easily and their rights toward

choice are terribly manipulated thereby making an objective choice rarely to consideration. However, different forms of gratification and inducements which produce short relief from the plague are usually given chief attention in making democratic choices. Therefore, when people are embedded with a high rate of poverty, it affects their thinking, behavior, communication and even demands their common good in an era of a democratic dispensation. The level of democratic illusion in Nigeria needs to be tackled with all levels of seriousness so that people can think right and demand the common good from their political leaders.

The way forward to put an end to injustice that has led to ethnic crises in the contemporary Nigeria is to adopt Amartya Sen's Niti and Nyaya, the political elites that are controlling the political and economic resources of this great country called Nigeria has to adopt Niti and Nyaya policies. Through Amartya Sen's *Niti* and *Nyaya,* human reason can differentiate between justice and injustice through the realization process. *Niti* according to Sen is an idea of a just world; it is a procedural sense of justice and the instrument of codification. *Nyaya* is a comprehensive vision or design of realized justice. It represents the realistic and holistic sense of justice and focuses attention on the detailed result. The main task of *Nyaya* is preventing *matsanyaya* i.e. big fish-eating small fish which is an injustice. There should be equality and fair treatment in respective of who you are. When all citizens in respective of the ethnic group should be given all necessary benefit that accord a Nigerian citizen without being biased. Ethnicity should be relegated to the background in order to build a society where there is peace and unity.

Consequence of Ethnic crises in Nigeria

The consequences of ethnic crises in Nigeria are numerous, the consequences of ethnic crisis on women, aged and children had the most damaging impact, thousands of women, the aged and children have been compel to desert their homes and seek refuge in neighboring villages, towns and countries due to the ethnic conflict, they are internally displaced persons (IDPs) in their own country.
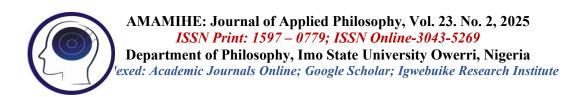
• It reveals that violence against women, the aged and children is devastating which include emotional and physical injuries, rape as a traumatic injury, sexually transmitted diseases, maternal mortality, unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion and the use of child soldiers' to fight in ethnic crisis.

• Ethnic crisis have affected the government and the people generally and have resulted to political and economic instability, weakened patriotism, breed suspicion, lack of trust and true relationship among different ethnic groups in the country, it is believed that responsive and responsible government would restore confidence among the population and promote Ethnicity policy among the competing ethnic groups in Nigeria.

• Ethnic war lords in Nigeria often benefited from control of state resources and power which are the bases of their patronage networks and they seek to instigate violent ethnic crisis, they get involve into ethnic crisis given reasons on high rate of unemployment, illiteracy, marginalization and an unequal distribution of the national wealth in the areas dominated by their ethnic groups.

• The violent ethnic crisis in Jos, Plateau state, Zangon-Kataf in Kaduna state, Tiv-Jukun in Taraba state, Tiv-Fulani herdsmen in Benue state always produce vengeance because an attack by an ethnic group, leads to reprisal attack and the ethnic crisis is persistently re-emerging from time to time.

• Ethnic crisis in Nigeria encourages use of illegal arms and ammunitions and also proliferation of bombs, dangerous weapons and explosives by the conflicting ethnic groups. Ethnic groups purchase sophisticated weapons and ammunitions to protect or defend themselves from attacks from other ethnic groups; community members contribute money weekly or monthly to buy weapons before, during and after violent ethnic conflict.

• Ethnic crisis in Nigeria since independence divert the attention of the government from embarking on meaningful development, because huge amount of money have been wasted in the name of security vote to maintain or peace building in conflict areas.

• Ethnic crisis can result to heavy loss of revenue to the private individuals and the government, ethnic conflict in Nigeria destroys the economy and the imposition of curfew which will affect the economic activities of the conflict areas.

• Ethnic crisis in Nigeria has deterred away foreign investors, damage the reputation of Nigerians abroad and the image of the country at the international community, foreign investors relocate to other peaceful African Countries.

• Ethnic crisis is one of the most dangerous sources of crisis in Nigeria with heavy loss of lives, properties and displacement of people including the aged, women and children with traumatic consequences on the victims of rape, abduction and sex slavery. It has observes that political elites or politicians manipulate ethnic crisis to achieve their personal interest. In Nigeria people generally perceive themselves as more "ethnic" and less "national", it has been observed with keen interest that "Indigenes" versus "Settlers" is one of the sources of ethnic crisis, to address this problem, there is need for the government at all level to entrench "Minority" rights and "Settler" issue into the constitution, so that "Minority" or "Settlers" can be secured from discrimination and hegemonic domination, power should be "shared" or "rotate" between and among the six geo-political zone, ethnic groups, in fact local autonomy for the ethnic groups and inclusive government will tend to prevent ethnic crisis from eruption. Unhealthy rivalry, competition for power and resources among ethnic groups resulted to ethnic crisis and the government failed in its responsibility to give adequate protection to its citizens and huge amount of money was wasted as a security vote to manage the crisis but still persisted due to the fact that the perpetrators were not punished.

Conclusion

Economic hardship and animosity between different ethnic groups are results of the ethnic crises. A philosophical and historical examination of Nigeria's ethnic crises reveals a history of political instability and shifting constitutional approaches to resolving ethnic diversity. Ethnic crises in Nigeria are still ongoing, despite the government's best efforts. Concerns about preserving political stability, peaceful cooperation, and social cohesion are raised by the problem of finding common ground for social fairness and fair treatment. In a society where different ethnic groups occasionally clash with one another, how can we preserve political stability, peaceful cohabitation, and togetherness in light of the ethnic crises and instability that Nigeria is currently experiencing? In Sen's Idea of Justice, the ideas of ethnic crises and social injustice are addressed. A workable formula for the fair allocation of individual rights, liberties, and socioeconomic benefits- such as money, health, education, and other political rights- is proposed. Sen's theory of Niti and Nyaya can put an end to ethnic crises in contemporary Nigeria.

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