Transforming Ethnic Divide: Comparative Analysis of India and Nigeria

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Abstract

Democratic countries in developing world are going through transition. There are plethora and myriad issues related to governance problems and asymmetry in federal domain. Nigeria and India both are considered two major democracies one in African continent and one in Asian continent. Both have federal model of polity. The ethnic division and polarization in the name of religion, culture, caste, and tribe in these two nations gave birth to severe ethnic conflicts and further it has many bad repercussions and implications for the entire nation. For transforming ethnic conflict and ethnic polarization in Nigeria and India we found federal balancing, shaping and sharing of powers and segmental autonomy as better devices that can be used to transform and manage the ethnic balkanization and compartmentalization. We found that for two major democracies such as Nigeria and India federal balancing is imperative for successful functioning of democracy. We found through our research data that ethnic minorities are marginalized in both nations and therefore, we used 'ethnic power sharing approach' of 'Donald Horowitz' for managing the ethnic balkanization and ethnic division where our main emphasis is on 'guarantees 'for minorities in majority dominated democracies. The research data also shows extensively about the systematic and well organized killings of minorities in majority dominated democracies such as in India and Nigeria. A true democracy can be successful in practice only when it will work for both majority and minority communities on equal grounds but truth is always bitter when we say that in severely divided democracies minorities are always at risk. And we can say it based on our scholarly research data that communalism and religious hatred is too dangerous for multicultural democracies and diverse nations.

Keywords: Ethnic Conflict, Democracies, Devolution of Power and Power Sharing

1. Introduction

India and Nigeria both are major democracies one is major democracy in Asian continent and second one is major democracy in African continent. It is said that democratic system of governance are better systems as compared to any other system of governance. We supported this argument that democracy is better system of governance due to its major characteristics which democracy entails and indeed, it is these characteristics which differentiates democracy from other forms of governance. According to *Alex deTocqueville:*

> *"Democracy does not provide a people with the most skillful governments, but it does that which the most skillful governments often cannot do. It spreads throughout the social body, a restless activity, super abundant force, and energy never found elsewhere, which, however little favored by circumstances can do wonders. These are it true advantages."*[1]

It is true that democratic governments are far better than any other system of governance. Democracy as a system of governance is based on principle of rule of law, justice, liberty, egalitarianism, and inclusion. However, it has to be accepted also that many times democracies in developing world are not running democratically which paves a way to crisis and instability. Since, Independence both the countries were facing a long series of communal riots and other conflicts which are more or less related to issues of autonomy and shaping and sharing of powers. Although, India had been more successful in coping with communal tensions and other ethnic conflicts from last one or two decade due to changing of policies and programs by the Indian government towards minorities but still it cannot be said that country is conflict free society. The main problem in almost majority of democratic societies is the problem between majority vs minority.

In the Indian case, it has been proved through research reports that minorities are marginalized and among the minorities the most backward and marginalized minority community is Muslim minority. And this fact has been established through the recommendations of *Schar Commission and Ranganath Mishra Commission* reports, who were appointed by the Government of India to look at conditions of the minorities in India after completion of this government research project over minorities reflected the unknown fact that the Muslims in India are socially, educationally and economically backward community as compared to other minority communities in India.

Similarly, Nigeria is also facing plethora of ethnic conflicts which had affected the country badly by one way or other. Nigeria is ethnically divided nation consisted upon more than 250 ethnic and linguistic groups. The group identity in Nigeria is very strong. It is said the ethnic group is more inclined towards group interests rather than national interests. There has always been tug between North and South on the issues related to sources, economy, polity, and culture. And it is also mentioned that in both Nigeria and India the sentiments of the people have been exploited in the name of culture, religion, community, family and group. However, the perpetuation of ethnic identity by political parties during election times made situations more worst and it destroyed unity and diversity principle in both India and Nigeria. According to Malesevic, Sinisa

> *"Ethnic identity and differences is created and become culturally and politically meaningful in terms of how it inter-relates with other groups and to broader social, political and economic processes. Ethnic boundaries, for both sociology and anthropology, tend to be the outcome of the social action."*[2]

The main assumption is how groups are formed in the name of religion, culture; caste and community for instance, Hindu and Muslims in Ahmadabad are two ethnic groups as Yoruba and Hausa in Nigeria. These groups can be referred ethnic groups or ethnic identity based groups. The group identity is often being used by political parties as their party slogans during the times of elections in both India and Nigeria, this politicization of group identity give birth to communalism and the world community have seen many experiences of vicious communal riots in both countries, in India it is mostly between Hindu vs Muslims and in Nigeria it is between Muslims vs Christians. Marta Reynal *says* *"religious nature of conflict is worst example of ethnic conflict as compared to language or resource based ethnic tensions because in the religious based ethnic conflict it is hard to reach on negotiation."*[3] Looking into the history of ethnic conflict in the context of both India and Nigeria, we have established the fact that most of the ethnic conflicts are the outcomes of politicization and perpetuation of religion, and it had severely affected both the nations since independence. The main question here is that 'how ethnic conflict takes birth? What are the main causes which motivate ethnic communities to go ethnic conflict? And the question arises how we are going to manage ethnic conflict what methods and mechanisms are needed

The other perspectives of scholars such as *Ted Robert Gurr* assumptions after his statistical analysis of 227 ethnic groups across the globe, for understanding the phenomenon of ethnic conflict and understanding the main fact why ethnic groups want to defend their interests he found there are myriad factors such as cultural identity, inequalities and disparities, historical loss of autonomy and power contribute to group grievances' He further mentioned that democracy, state power and institutional change determine the form in which the conflict manifests.[4] Another scholar, Neilson argues that industrialization and development affect social trends in a way that facilitates mobilization along ethnic lines. For understanding the broader point of view regarding violent ethnic conflict phenomenon (inter-group).According to *Bojana Blagojevic*

> *"Ethnic conflict occurs when a particular set of factors and conditions converge; a major structural crisis, presence of historical memories of inter-ethnic grievances; institutional factors that promote inter-ethnic intolerance; manipulation of historical memories by political entrepreneurs to evoke emotions such as fear, resentment, and hate toward the ''other'' and inter-ethnic competition over resources."*[5] Richard Paul has pointed out that the *"notion of situational ethnicity amounts to a claim that ethnicity is an epiphenomenon. They believe that situational ethnicity is a symptom not a cause of any social mobilization."*[6]

Looking into perspective of ethnic division and ethnic polarization in both Nigeria and India it can be said the ethnic division is connected with the above mentioned factors which pave a way to ethnic conflict. After analyzing and assessing the main factors which contribute ethnic polarization in India and Nigeria is the method of politicization of religion, caste, culture, and community. Through scholarly point of view, it has been established and proved that ethnic conflict caused by many ways such as major structural crisis, historical memories of inter-ethnic grievances, fear, resentment, historical loss of autonomy and other myriad disparities. In research, we are more concerned about the cause and effect theory. Conflict does not emerge without any basis.

Every conflict has it causes and effects. So resolution of ethnic conflict is possible when the government will try to listen the grievances of minorities. Security is another important issue in the context of both Nigeria and India, often you it can be found that minorities do not enjoy the same privileges as enjoyed by the majority community. Minorities are socially, educationally, and economically backward in India as proved through government reports. Therefore, resolution can be found when conditions of minorities will be changed through many developmental packages. It will include security measures, full protection of minority rights, educational scholarships and special treatment, and development etc. And minorities must have also political representation at local, state and national level. Political representation of minorities is very less in India and similar results could be found in the Nigerian context. However, we mentioned that in India change is taking place whereas Nigeria does not show any positive change so far as the rights of the different ethnic groups are concerned. They still lack the basic rights and opportunities'

2. Understanding Ethnic Conflict: Case of Nigeria and India

Ashutosh Varshney states "term ethnic/ethnicity broadly refers to a collective group of individuals who share a common purpose, descriptive labels, common ancestry, place of origin, religion, language or culture.[7]"According to Michael E. Brown, he defines ethnic conflict "a dispute about important political, economic, cultural, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities.[8]"Nigeria and India both are comprised on different cultures, languages, religions, and tribes. People in both the countries are well organized and connected on these factors.[9] In India, for example there are many religions, languages, tribes, and different identities these factors remained always as focal point in the politics of India. Recently people became much more aware that we have to come above ethnic interests and put forward our efforts for the nation building in India. Its best example are the recent examples of national elections in India the congress party was defeated after long family rule and BJP candidate has been elected as new Prime Minister of India not on the basis of caste, religion and culture but because of his personality and development model approach.[10] Although, Narendra Modi the new Prime Minister is the very contentious personality due the Gujarat pogrom against Muslims of Gujarat during his rule when he was the Chief Minister of Gujarat. It is noteworthy to mention that this 2014 national election in India was not fought on religious and lingual grounds rather it was fought against corruption and scams in which the Congress party who has been ruling over Indian people from last so many decades especially from last ten years constantly was in power a paradigm shift took place where power was shifted from family rule to *Bhartia Janta Party* (BJP). This changing of political regime in India context shows that people of India are becoming day by day mature and they are trying to put religious and cultural issues aside and talk about one Indian nation.

And presently the majority of the people of India are costing votes looking at the performance of the candidate. And the people of India are raising many important issues such as, jobs, development, foreign direct invest, prevention of corruption, protection of human rights and above all interests of Indian nation. And it can be understood by the changing dynamics of power from Congress party to Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) in 2014 elections.

Giving power to non-congress party shows that people of India became matured and because they are fed up with the performance of Congress party due to long list of corruptions and scams. In New York Times mentions about Narendra Modi "He has been inspired by China's model of high-growth, top-down development. But the country he will govern is India: messy, diffuse and democratic."[11]In case of Nigeria people are not so much politically aware and mature as people in India. Its main reasons could be the Indian leadership and the role of civil society and other political institutions and role of higher education. In case of Nigeria there are crisis of charismatic leadership and lack of vibrant and active civil society.

Poverty, and underdevelopment may be the other reasons that's why people in Nigeria are mainly concerned about the daily bread because the nature of the highly corrupt government in power. Although Nigeria is also changing may be its change will take much time because after all it is the people of Nigeria they have to stand up against corrupt government. And they have to follow the legacy of India and look how powerful civil society organizations and political institutions are in India and also look checks and balances in Indian political system and learn lessons from India. However, we are not denying the fact that Nigeria is not a rich country in fact, it is,and it has proved by the research sources that Nigeria is seventh largest oil producing economy in the world. Ishriya Kendrick says "Nigeria has recently eclipsed South Africa as the largest economy in Africa with an estimated Gross Domestic Product of $510 billion.

However despite its economic growth, 70 percent of the population lives in poverty".[12]India's experience of preserving democracy was much better experience as compared to Nigeria. No matter both countries are in transitional democracies but to be very honest in saying this that India has changed a lot and its democratic experience can become the example for Nigeria to learn the past experiences of India and to learn how India was able to grow up very fast. Nigeria is the second richest country in Africa after South Africa and in addition it has many resources on that basis it is called giant in Africa. Despite of all this there are some questions which can be raised. Why Nigerian government is so corrupt that the chosen few of Nigeria are eating major portion of the Nigeria economy? Why it is so that after trillions of dollars are coming through oil and other sectors still the rate of poverty is increasing and it is not going down? Why it is so that there are massive violations of human rights taking place on daily basis by the vicious terrorist groups such as Bokoharam? Why is it that the rate of unemployment is increasing daily despite of trillions of dollars coming through oil and other natural resources? Why people of Nigeria are being always divided and manipulated and exploited on the basis of religion and language and culture? Why Nigeria is lacking a vibrant and effective political institutions and vibrant and credible civil society? These questions need to be answered by every Nigerian especially by the ruling class because the ruling class is mainly responsible for the plight, underdevelopment and insecurity in Nigeria.[13]

It can be said the state is responsible to provide security, education, jobs, and better facilities to the people. We found that the most of the developing democracies are becoming the institutions of scams because democracy only works for the elite and chosen class.[14] And condition of majority of the people in developing democracies had been violated and who benefits mostly these are politicians, corporate and business tycoons, mafias and terrorist groups and quoting it with full proof that majority of the population live in dire poverty and dismal conditions. These types of examples can be found in both Nigeria and India. It is evident from the findings of the Sachar Committee and Ranganath Mishra Commission reports that the Muslims in India are deprived and disempowered. (Sachar Committee Report, & Ranganath Mishra Commission reports, 2006).[15]Once it has been proved through Government made committees who assessed the deprived situations of Muslims in India then they come out with truth. After going through the reports and recommendations of these commissions it shows that in India justice system is not balanced. Therefore, India needs greater attention in order to change the subaltern conditions of Muslims as early as possible otherwise it would be late. Muslim minorities need quality and higher education, they need political representation, and they need developmental packages so that their conditions could be ameliorated. And they can come out from the mess of deprivation and disparities.

India since Independence has a series of communal riots. The communalism in India is the biggest challenge which India as a nation is facing. The violation of minority rights by the some of the fascist forces and extremist organizations is really shocking when we find it in so called democratic India. The data on communal riots shows clearly that it is the minorities who always suffer in India when any communal incident or communal cleansing happens. Mostly the pogrom, genocide and massacre was systematically organized and committed by some extremist groups with support of state sponsored agencies and such as, police, security forces, politicians they often ignored minority community and strengthened majority community against minorities. However, the communal mentality toward minorities is now changing in India, as compared to past people of India are now becoming much more development oriented.

However, a lot of shift has taken among majority of Indians especially the modern youth of India is totally against the sectarianism and communal divide. Its best example can be cited here whenever anybody is affected in any way India, whether Muslim or Hindu, whether Sikh or Buddhist, or whether Christian and Jain, the modern youth and other people of India come on the roads do protest and write columns and pressurize the government to take action and do justice with the person who has been affected whether she is woman or man. Its recent example can be gathered when thousands of the people came on roads in favor of woman who has been gang raped in New Delhi.[16] Other examples are the mass march of Indians against scams and corruption in India.[17] It is all about India which shows clearly that India is changing too fast and the time is going to come when India will get rid-off from sectarianism and ethnic challenges. Nigeria has to learn from India in this context. In India majority of the people are supporting the idea of one nation and development for India.

Communal thinking is reducing day by day. As mentioned if anybody want to judge the sense of cooperation and brotherhood among the Indian people then it would be better for him to analyze the ground level situations especially on the occasion of public rallies which does not stand for Muslim and Hindu but stand as human being and as an Indian this is true nature of secularism but this secularism must be adopted by all the people of India.

Although majority of the people of Indians are followers of secularism and principles of egalitarianism but unfortunately India has also some fascist forces they are less but they are the real danger to the Indian democracy and secularism. Nigeria has been from the long times facing the crisis of ethnic strife especially between the Muslims and Christian groups. Nigeria is comprised on diverse cultures and traditions. There are more than 450 ethnic groups in Nigeria. And the predominant group in North of Nigeria is Hausa Fulani who are mainly Muslims. There are some main ethnic groups such as Idoma, Birom, Kanuri, Nupe, Tiv etc. Among these minor ethnic groups most of them are living in the predominantly Muslim parts of Northern Nigeria. Another major ethnic group is Yoruba's they mostly live in Western parts of the Nigeria and there is often split between Muslim and Christians. In addition to this Catholic and Evangelical Ibos live in South East Nigeria. From last more than two decades in Nigeria, there has been serious rivalry among the major ethnic groups over issues such as power and resource sharing formula; the status quo is being resisted by the minor ethnic groups especially in the Niger-delta region that produces the bulk of crude oil in the country which Nigeria depends today for most of its foreign exchange, which is affecting oil production in Nigeria. The people of Niger Delta had a claim that their region produces largest oil in India but still they live their lives in sufferings and miseries. These people's lives are being affected due to pollution and poverty.[18]There water is also contaminated by oil factories' and fish is also contaminated because of the wastage produced by the Oil factories. And the worst case is that people of this region are poor. People in large quantity are jobless and unemployed. [19]

There are many conflicts brewing in the country today for control over politics, religion, and revenue sharing formula just to mention but a few. The struggle is in triangular form between the North and South, between the major ethnic nationalities on one hand, and the Nigerian federation against the Niger-delta who desire to control their natural resources. However, it will be pointed out that since independence till date of all the twelve heads of state Nigeria has had, nine have come from the north with only three from the south. Poverty and underdevelopment are prevalent in the north than the south. Group identity is so strong in Nigeria that In Nigeria, most people see and consider themselves first as Igbo, Huasa Fulani, Yurba, Egba, Ijebu, Bini and Kalabari before calling themselves as Nigerians.[20]It is important to mention that Nigeria is multi-faceted nation comprised on many lingual and religious groups be it Muslims. Christians or the people who belong to traditional religions. In most of the times there had been a rivalry going on between the ethnic groups on the issues related to power and resource sharing. The main question is why do people show more concern towards resource sharing its answer could be simple that they want to survive and to have at least basic necessities which is important for everybody life and that is genuine but ironically the poverty level in Nigeria is too much.

Dr. Yemi Kale a statistician states in Punch Newspaper, he said that as per the National Bureau of Nigeria 112.519 million people live under the relative economic poverty conditions. Apart from the relative index, other measurement standard for recognizing poverty says that 99.284 million people live their daily lives on dollar. Among the 36b states in Nigerian federation the poverty level in Sokoto State has been too much than any state in Nigeria the level of poverty 86.4 percent and Jigawa and Ambara states are other Nigerian states which shows highest poverty rate in Nigeria.[21]According to the report, the North-West and North-East recorded the highest poverty rates in the country in 2010with 77.7 per cent and 76.3 per cent respectively. Kale said that the level of poverty in Nigeria has increased as compared to 2004 in 2004 the poverty percentage was 54 percent now in 2010 it has reached to 60.9 per cent or that means 99.284 million Nigerians live in poverty under poverty line in 2010.[22]

The question of poverty is very interesting in the sense that one side Nigeria is one of the largest oil and gas producing country that means a lot of income is coming through this oil sector but the question is does it makes any difference in Nigerian society the answer would be no because the level of corruption is too high and economic benefit is mostly received by chosen few or elite class of Nigeria. The poverty issue, unemployment and underdevelopment can be counted as leading causes of ethnic conflict in Nigeria I think religion may be the secondary one. It can be said undoubtedly after going and understanding the research data that Nigerian state has been not successful in eradicating the level of corruption and ameliorating the conditions the people of Nigeria.

Andrew Kakabadse a professor of international management and development at the UK says that many oil companies have created conflict between one ethnic group with another ethnic group for their economic gain.[23]

Many Nigerians also argue that religion is not the focal of ethnic conflict in Nigerian case the responsible factors which fuel ethnic strife's and clashes the scramble for land, scarce resources and political clout. Poverty, joblessness and corrupt politics drive extremists from both sides to commit horrendous atrocities and to create ethnic conflict. Despite of Nigeria's oil boom, getting trillions of Naira from oil sector still millions of people do not have the basic necessities and living their lives on one dollar a day.

The question arises where this money goes? The answer would be simple that major portion of this money goes into pockets of politicians, corporates, business tycoons and other elite class of the society. It means that chosen few are eating almost more than half of the resources of the Nigerian nation and this exploitation by chosen few has created frustration and deprivation among the majority of the Nigerian population. It is noteworthy to mention that Nigeria has enough resources to feed every Nigerian but problem is corruption, misuse of public resources by the chosen few of Nigerians. Economic factors have been identified major causes of conflict in Africa. For instance, let us cite example of Niger delta a state which has the largest production of oil in Nigeria but when you look at conditions of the people of this region they are really deprived and marginalized. The benefit of oil is received by the political and corporate class of Nigeria and some foreign business corporate. Nigeria Delta has become the region of conflict and its main cause is economic imbalances and injustices with the people of this region. The economic exploitation paved a way to ethnic clashes, and other conflicts in the region.[24]

3. Power Sharing –Guarantees -: Nigerian and Indian Perspective

The democratic societies which are ethnically divided on the basis of religion, language, culture and other affiliations find harder for themselves to co-exist because, they produce ethnic parties and ethnic voting. Ethnic majority domination often creates hindrances to other minorities in severely fragmented societies. How do we manage the severe ethnic divisions in divided societies? Donald Horowitz a profound scholar of ethnic conflict includes two main methods of power sharing one is *Convocational* method and second method is *Centripetal*. And both methods are important for ameliorating the conditions of ethnic minorities in divided societies.

So far the first method of Consociationalism is concerned it mainly talks about the agreed guarantees to ethnic minorities for instance, proportional group participation in government and minority vetoes of ethnically minorities in policies. Consociationalism talks about the majority plus minority grand coalition to mitigate the predicaments and adversaries of democracy.[25]In contrast to Consociational method the centripetal method takes into cognizance majority rule but with cooperation of minorities. For instance giving incentives to minorities especially electoral benefits and incentives it is for the purpose to take into account moderates among the minorities and so that majority government could be formulated. Both the methods support the ethnic parties in divided societies. And the main objective of both is interethnic power sharing.

Horowitz states there are three big problems as an outcome of these methods. The first concern is *adaptability problem*; the second concern is *degradation problem*; and third one is *immobilism problem.* According to Horowitz the severely divided societies are those societies where cleavages are salient in politics. He says that there are many such societies in Asia, Africa, Europe, the Former Soviet Union and Caribbean. In these regions 78 countries have experienced severe ethnic and interethnic clashes and conflicts between 1980 till 2010. And among these 78 countries only 20 countries are such cases where they would have been able to manage ethnic and interethnic conflicts but still this could not work for a long run except few countries which were successful in this process. Mostly the experience of Consociational and Centripetal experience do not work successfully in most of the divided nations across the globe.[26]

Horowitz says that experience of Consociational and centripetal methods for accommodating the interethnic relations have not been so successful. He gave the many examples where this Consociational and Centripetal methods did not work in majority of the countries around the globe, such as, Kenya, Rwanda, Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Sudan, Cyprus, and many other countries in the world. However he mentioned two cases such as Netherland and Austria where they had Consociational regime and managed to become majoritarian democracies. Although Netherland never has grand coalition but were successful to manage the ethnic polarization and compartmentalization.[27]Now the major question can be raised how do we manage the ethnic conflicts in Nigeria and India? Can we use the same methods of Consociational and Centripetal methods for accommodation of ethnic polarization? What can be done in both Nigerian and Indian situations? We do agree with Horowitz, that Consociational regime could be adopted in any democratic country where majority is weak for temporary purpose. Looking from the perspective of Donald Horowitz it can be said that Consociationalism and Centripetal regimes have not been a so successful approach that's why both approaches and methods did not work for a long time. Horowitz has clearly cited the examples of the countries where both types of methods have not been fully successful in managing the majority and minority relationship.[28] Ethnic conflicts in Africa and Asia are deep rooted animosities. Both continents are polarized and divided in the name of language, religion, culture, community and place of birth. Competition over resources and power are regarded as main sources and causes of ethnic conflict by peace and conflict resolution practitioners.

Take the example of Nigeria people are fighting with other people because they need autonomy, self-respect, jobs, security, health care, and other development areas. The government of Nigeria is too corrupt which is the only main reason that they do not take into cognizance the aspirations and demands of the common citizenry. It can be said that Nigerian democracy looks a democracy of chosen few because it is only selected and chosen few who have money, who rule over the people and who exploit the resources of the nation. This is the main reason of large number of unemployment and poverty in Nigeria.

Relative deprivation theory of Robert Gurr, 1970, explains the main causes behind the ethnic conflict are access to power and economic resources. In the words of another scholar, Lake and Rothschild 1996, they assert that ethnic conflict is the outcome of weak state or a state which involves ancient loyalties. In this whole game the state is supporting one particular group or identity at the cost of entire population this is the major cause of fueling violence among different groups and identities inside the country.[29]It is imperative to mention here that the ethnic conflicts which are going on in both Nigeria and India have some sources and causes such as inequality, underdevelopment, insecurity, unemployment, access for power and resources; thrust for equal power sharing and other myriad responsible such as religion, language, culture and caste and community feelings also contributes to ethnic conflict.The Nigerian government from 1960 onwards was going through military leadership there was very few times civilian rule inside Nigeria. The 1965-67 civil wars have really affected Nigerians badly. From 1999 Nigeria tried to start democratic experiences but could not become successful in fully due to corruption, insecurity, ethnic conflict, unemployment, and massive violations of human rights especially of minorities. [30] The Nigerian state is responsible to the greater extent for not creating better jobs, and better conditions for the people of Nigeria. Even the politicization of religion, language and tribe has strengthened communalism in Nigeria. As mentioned in *The New York Times*:

> *"Despite shaking off military rule in 1999, Nigeria has maintained an ambiguous, less-than-democratic status, undermined by large-scale corruption, fraud and an elections agency that appeared to increase rather than combat those flaws."*[31]

For changing the ethnic conflict, dynamics in Nigeria the role of many stakeholders become important to change the nature of ethnic conflict. Among these stakeholders, we can entail role of religious and political leaders, role of media, role of young and modern youth, and civil society organizations.

These all people from different backgrounds have to come together and defeat the forces of communalism and hatred towards others. The Nigeria is Federal state but looking into the practical grounds there is failure when the issue of distribution of powers and allocation of resources comes. Some states are more developed and majority of the state's in Nigeria are those where 70%people live under below poverty line[32] which is really a great set back to Nigerian federalism. *SalihuMoh. Lukman,* he said that the power sharing system and distribution of resources from central government to state and regional government is not balanced. He said that one side Nigeria is earning trillions of Naira but the rate of poverty is also increasing at the same level. He said Centre is giving very less funds to the state governments which is not sufficient to develop the states.

He said 52.68 % of revenue remains under the control of Federal Government of Nigeria whereas only 26.72 % is given to all State's and the Local Government is receiving only 20. 60% revenue.[33]By this way we can understand how much disparity lies so far as the revenue sharing is concerned between the Federal Government, State Governments and Local Governments. This economic disparity paved way to suffocation among the young people of Nigeria who still do not enjoy better job opportunity. Also due to this lack of funding also creates very infra-structure. There are many areas in Nigeria where light and water is the main issue. This all means that Federal Government of Nigeria is not just so far the issue of allocation of services to the people is concerned. We cannot use the term that Nigerian state has failed but we can use the term that Nigerian Federal Government can perform much better than this to transform the entire major necessities and issues of its citizens in Nigeria. Expressing his view point's Salihu Moh. Lukman reiterates the fact about Nigeria. He says:

> *"On the whole however, it can be argued that predominantly our political leaders are more driven by ethnic and religious sentiments and hardly governing our nation and society based on knowledge and commitment to ensure that Nigerian citizens overcome challenges of survival and the quest for improved livelihood."* [34]EyeneOkpanach says, *"How can one implement Sharia Law in multicultural society in Nigeria, where people from different religions are living there?"*[35]

We agreed on the argument, the major problem in developing democracy is the problem of imposition of one religious principles on others even that is also by force, when the opposite parties do not accept the same ideologies and which is right they cannot be guided by one particular ideologies because they do believe their own ideologies. This manifestation of religiosity in multicultural society is really a great danger and threat to the secularity principle. In Nigeria there are some groups which want to impose Sharia Law over non-Muslims which create main rivalry between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria. On the basis of western notion of politics it can be argued in support of western concept of ''separation of state from Religion'' we think this is really a good idea which must be taken into consideration by the policy makers all times once they formulate any policy and programme in multicultural and diverse society. Religious fascism and chauvinism is always dangerous for the multicultural world. Multiculturalism as debate is all about how one can respect all religions, cultures and identities.

Federal balancing system has many problems in both the political systems whether it is Indian Federalism or Nigerian Federalism. Under both the systems it has been proved that majority community always rules and dominates in all major spheres and affairs of the country. Minorities are often being marginalized by the majority community with the direct and indirect support of police and state machinery. And truth is always being hidden. Take the example of Indian democracy where constitution of India gives equal guarantees to the minorities in the constitution of India but when we look in real politics and in real sense it is minorities who always suffer. It is minorities who are educationally and economically weak and downtrodden. It is minorities who always lack security in the so called major democracy of India. There are hundreds of examples and untold stories of human rights violations which have been committed by Hindu Fundamentalist Groups with Muslim minorities. It best case is the genocide of 2002 in the state of Gujrat where Muslim community was deliberately and reluctantly murdered and terrorized. Hundreds of Muslims have been killed; Muslim women were raped; Muslim houses were burnt.

And truth is that after this pogrom thousands of Muslims just left Gujarat state in 2002 and settles down in other parts of the country because of insecurity and violence which they have seen in their own land. There are other major lessons which we can learn from Indian democracy and secularism. Look at the Kashmir conflict. Where Hindu and Muslim were living with peaceful co-existence from centuries but divide and politics of compartmentalization was created deliberately after 1989 when first time freedom movement started in Kashmir against the barbarism and injustices committed by Indian forces in Kashmir. Kashmir was always a symbol of ''*Kashmiriyat*''[36] the people of Jammu and Kashmir despite of their religious diversity they used to share strong ties with one another. When did process of Kashmiriyat concept came into debate it was the time when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah changed the name of his organization from Muslim National conference to National Conference in 1939, this was first baggiest example of Kashmiri nationalism and Kashmiriyat. It strengthened the relations between people of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiriyat is the common identity of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. And the fact of the matter is that the people of Jammu and Kashmir were sharing cooperative culture which scholars called Kashmiriyat. Ironically, that unity in diversity has been polluted by the so called Indian democrats and the puppets of Indian democracy in Kashmir. Kashmir Hindus (Pundits) were told that they should leave the Kashmir for temporary period by the government authorities. Actually, Indian authorities took this decision in well-organized manner and later on people of Kashmir were blamed that they did it and because of them the Kashmiri non-Muslims left the valley which was absolutely wrong.

So the main question here could be raised that the division and compartmentalization in Indian society its credit goes to those political and religious leaders who easily divide people in the name of religion, culture, caste, language and community. Mostly Indian political leaders and political parties always use these affiliations in order to capture political power. A renowned Indian scholar Rajni Kothari in his book Communalism in Indian Politics, he said:

> "*The political structure that evolved in the first twenty years was very fragile. It was vulnerable in many sports and above all, produced an elite which slowly began to lose ideological discipline and a larger sense of purpose and instead, started conceiving its interests in narrow mechanical terms which ultimately made it liable to fall prey to, or feel tempted to make use of divisive tendencies.*'' [37]

Thus, it means communalization process of Indian politics is bound by democratic system of India where ideological principles and convictions all are sacrificed for the purpose of power politics.

Ashis Nandy an Indian sociologist articulates his view about Hindu Nationalism: He clearly explained how Indian democracy and political system revolves around religion, culture and caste. He mentioned that Hindutva is against the ideals and principles of Hinduism. In the language of Ashis Nandy, *"If we take a pessimistic view, Hindutva will be the end of Hinduism. Hinduism is what most Indians still live by.*

*Hindutva is the response of the mainly Brahmanic, middle-class, urban, westernizing Indians to their uprooting, cultural and geographic."[38]*He further explains that how minorities were tortured and killed during 1984 and 1992.

In 1984 more than 3000 Sikhs were killed within two days. And in 1992 Babri Mosque was martyred by Hindu fundamentalist and fascist forces it was big setback to Indian brand of secularism. And so many Muslims have been killed in Mumbai and other places of India. According to Ashis Nandy mostly in India communal riots are well organized phenomenon. He believes that it's not easy to create riots where most of the people get involved mostly workers, laborers and other rural population. This all is being done by brainwashing the local population and give them some money and muscle power and ignite their religious beliefs and prepared them for riots. He clearly Ashis Nandy asserted *''that death of Hinduism will be celebrated by the votaries of Hindutva.''[39]*Ashish Nandy referred in his article very clearly that those who have been involved in Sikh riots of 1980 and those who were involved in demolition of Babri Mosque and killings of Muslims in Mumbai and other parts of India, these perpetrators and instigators have not been punished and the truth is that they are within the hierarchy of top ministers of India. [40] So by this we can understand that many criminals are in politics that means criminals can become politicians can become criminals in the context of India. And we believe that Indian concept of secularism is contentious concept because it is always there in theory the irony is that Indian secularism was hardly practiced in India in real terms. Secularism is always defined and interpreted according to one's interest mostly it is state sponsored agenda, to work for the state and declare all those downgraded and rustic who believe in traditions and religious values.

The resolution of ethnic conflicts prevailing both in Nigeria and India could be possible when all identities especially minorities will get equal sharing in the affairs of the state. They must enjoy the benefits of federalism and power sharing. The most of the ethnic conflicts in both Nigeria and India were caused by so many responsible factors such as, economic inequality, underdevelopment, poverty, political exclusion, unemployment, insecurity in minorities' areas, role of extremist groups, corporate, and political demagogues in politicization and compartmentalization process.

Mainly it has been proved through the research data that the condition of ethnic minorities is vulnerable in both the countries. Nigerian political democracy and Indian democracy both have many loopholes and lacunas and the biggest lacuna is that both democracies were not successful in taking into consideration the interests of the minorities and deprived segments. This socio, economic, political and educational disparities with minorities in both countries have created backlash and anger which later on gave birth to ethnic conflicts. So, resolution of the ethnic conflict is to take into consideration the demands of the deprived and suppressed groups and do justice with them. Most of the conflict areas in both Nigeria and India are those areas where one can find easily, there is underdevelopment, poverty, no equal power sharing and devolution of power, no security measures, lacking of schools, and myriad other issues. The government of both the countries needs greater attention to improve the conditions of these people. It can be done when government of both countries take into account the basic aspirations and grievances of the people who belong to minorities. So by supporting the point of view of Donald Horowitz which he talked about in his power sharing approach that is 'guarantees' [41] for minorities in divided societies. Thus, providing 'guarantees' to minorities could be the better solutions to ethnic divide in both Nigeria and India. We mean by guarantees that 'special treatment' is required to do justice with minorities.

4. Concluding Remarks

Ethnic conflict is the major hindrance these days in nation building problems in almost many divided societies. In almost 78 countries in the world which had gone through ethnic clashes and ethnic conflict. Most of them have adopted the policy of power sharing approach which has two important methods for resolving and managing the majority and minority gap. One is Consociational method and second one is centripetal method. Both the methods have not been so successful in accommodating the interest of the minorities and majorities in divided societies. Very few countries have been successful in resolving and managing the ethnic animosities through consociational and centripetal methods such as Netherland and Austria.

Ted Robert Gurr has used statistical analysis of 227 communal groups across the globe to understand and develop a general explanation for how and why these ethnic groups mobilize to safeguard their interests. He entails many factors such as, historical loss of autonomy, cultural identity, and inequalities, all these factors give birth to group grievances, while democracy, state power, and institutional change determine the form in which the conflict manifests for example protests and rebellions is the outcome of this same phenomenon.[41]

Another scholar Nielsen argues that "development and industrialization are some of the causes which do affect social trends in a way that paves a way to mobilization along ethnic lines."[42]For sustaining Indian model of diverse democracy what Rasheeduddin Khan calls the bouquet approach, necessitates asymmetric federal arrangements which recognize the virtues of 'asymmetrical obligations among unequal's prevalent in Indian society.

However many countries have not a good experience of power sharing approach. Horowitz cites three main problems in managing ethnic conflicts with power sharing approach problem, the first concern is adaptability problem; the second concern is degradation problem; and third one is immobilism problem. However, we accepted his notion of guarantees for minorities in majority dominated divided societies as a solution to ethnic incompatibilities in majorities and minorities. Minorities need guarantees, special packages, protection, security, education, equal participation in overall affairs of the state in divided democracies; this could be the only better solution to minority and majority polarization and compartmentalization. As we have clearly mentioned that ethnic conflict does not emerge in vacuum but it does have causes and sources. Ethnic conflict can be transformed once it will be ensured that minorities who are deprived and vulnerable in many ways in both India and Nigeria need many guarantees and special treatment so that development and other benefits can also reach to them. Federal balancing and power sharing must be adapted for doing justice with all states whether they are small states or big states in both India and Nigeria. In summation, any true democracy can be successful once demands and grievances of all segments of society will be taken into consideration. Just criteria should be for all not for only chosen few.

Ironically, today's democracy works mostly according to the interests of big politicians, corporate, business tycoons and mafias. There should be equal political representation to minorities in the decision-making and decision implementation process of the country.

Even we would say that minorities need very special treatment in both the countries. Autonomy, special packages, job opportunities, security and other many benefits must be received by the minorities so that their conditions could be ameliorated. Indian secularism and Nigerian secularism both gives extreme rights to elite class even if they commit any big crime also you will still find them at top in the hierarchy of Ministers. Research data shows in the context of India that many political leaders they organized, supported, and systematized the pogroms and genocides against minorities in India. And look at the justice system these perpetrators enjoy the highest honor and respect of the country. So, the question of secularism in India is itself a contentious issue because it is meaningless for minorities. For instance systematic killings of Sikh minorities in 1984, and well organized pogroms against Muslim minorities in 1992 by the demolition of 16th century Babri Mosque by some of the Hindu extremists forces and then moving on to the period of 2002 Gujarat genocide against Muslim minorities again by some of the Hindu extremist forces. The perpetrators and instigators of violence who were directly or indirectly involved in these communal riots are enjoying the best honor and respect under Indian democracy and secularism. These are the testimonies and facts which show that Indian democracy and secularism only works according to the interests of some sections and whereas minorities are getting day by day marginalized. And this all is being done very systematically and well organized manner.

India and Nigeria both can be listed as successful democracies if the basic tenants of democracy will be taken into consideration in practice. Without rule of law, justice and tolerance democracies cannot function in real sense. Ameliorating the conditions of the marginalized groups in India and Nigeria is going to create more support to the government and which is good sign of political development. It can be said that fundamentalism or extremism in any form from any side is not good for any country. Whether it is Muslim extremism, Christian Extremism, and Hindu Extremism, or any other extremism it weakens the composite culture and homogeneity of the nation. Therefore, India and Nigeria both could maintain a moderate approach in order to protect and preserve the past ethos and glory of their nations. It is fact that minorities suffer in most of the countries whether it is India or Nigeria it is not happening in these two nations rather it is a global phenomenon. Since, these both countries are major democracies they have to give equal chances and equal opportunities to minorities.

There must be some special treatment with minorities. And minorities must feel secure and safe in both these nations then we can really understand the real meaning of the democracy. When we compare India and Nigeria we found India is much better condition being major democracy however, there is still need we can make Indian democratic system more democratic so that justice will be done with all communities. Similarly, in the Nigerian context same logic can be applied that minorities must be respected so that Nigeria can be true example of secularism and democracy.

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