

Ethnicity and Identity in a Globalised World: Implications for Governance in Africa

Chukwu, R. Doris

*Department of Political and Administrative Studies,
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Port Harcourt*

Article DOI: 10.48028/iiprds/ijarppads.v6.i1.23

Abstract

This study was on the implications of ethnicity and identity on governance in Africa. The end of colonialism and the independence of African States have placed so much burden on governance in Africa. The heightened independence and inter-relationship, as part of the globalisation process have also impacted on Africa. These are the thrust of the work. The theory adopted to enhance the understanding of these forces on governance in Africa is, Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations. Globalisation process aimed at sweeping all barriers to national boundaries for universal homogenization of ideas, cultures, values and life styles, strengthened ethnic and identity politics in Africa. As people define their identity in Africa, social, political and cultural anxieties created crises of nationhood, coupled with the colonial baggage of boundary demarcations. This has made political conflicts take up ethnic dimensions in Africa that has remained a threat to governance. Huntington's theory border on cultural identity as the basic force for conflict, because regions, nationalities, groups etc., all have different cultures that when awakened invigorates differences and animosities characterized by violence. As ethnic consciousness increases, the socio-economic and political atmosphere in Africa has remained charged with tension, impacting negatively on governance in Africa. On the bases of all these, the study recommends a sincere accommodation of sub-national identities by African leaders, where All, will have a stake in the national good as a promotion of the basic tenets of democracy.

Keywords: *Ethnicity, Identity, Globalization, Culture, Governance, Africa*

Corresponding Author: Chukwu, R. Doris

Background to the Study

Politics as the authoritative allocation of resources played out in organized States where a few persons or groups exercise dominance over others, such that undue pressure brought on the machinery of government usually prompts the urge to nationhood. Ethnicity is a term specifically identified with a group of people and seen as the political use of ethnic identity. In other words, ethnicity has with it, a political force. Esman (1994) defines an ethnic group as any large group of people who claim together a common origin or common descent or fictive kinship and possesses distinctive and valued cultural markers in the form of customs, dress and especially language, and traces a common history, and expects to share a common destiny. It is the reactions of these individuals or groups (ethnic) who feel short changed, marginalized, and, or exploited, that defines identity politics. Identity politics has with its political arguments, protestations and activities among groups, interests and viewpoints. It is a frantic struggle for survival and realization of a group beliefs, aspirations and demands for inclusion in the mainstream of politics.

Identity can also be seen from the individual and group perspectives. At the individual level, we see it as a firm and coherent idea or sense of who the individual is, his orientation and position in the society. At the group level, identity has to do with what marks the group out, including language, history, geography, religion, culture and tradition. Since ethnicity has a political force, identity at the group level, also comes with a political strength, tailored towards recognition and demands for "Rights". (Ndu in Ekekwe et al. 2011). Ethnicity is behavioral in form and conflictual in content, because as ethnic consciousness increases in scope and intensity, the socio-economic and political atmosphere becomes charged with tension. Under these circumstances, the ethnics factor assumes a self-fulfilling and self-sustaining dynamic of its own. Ethnic hostility, loyalty and identification are passed on to successive generations through the process of socialization. When the original basis of ethnicity including socio-economic competition among classes and individuals is eliminated, there remains the problem posed by the internalized dimension. Under such conditions, the persistence and sometimes growth of ethnicity is assured (Nnoli 1978).

According to Nwaorgu 2011, identity generally represents the defining parameters, milestones and consciousness of a particular group which delineates it clearly from others and their specific concerns. Identity politics helps articulate properly the concern and interests of diverse sections of the polity. Mandle (2006), see identity politics as centered on the idea that activism involves groups turning inwards and stressing separatism, strong collective identities and political goal focused on psychological and personal self-esteem. Ethnic politics is situated within this context in the struggle for the recognition and protection of groups or collective rights in plural societies. Ukoha, 2011, add to this situation, seeing ethnicity, as privileged, because it is necessary for the attainment of social citizenship (national cake). Identity politics to him is basically the ways in which, and how people see themselves, and are seen by others, that affects who gets what, how and when. The concept gained prominence as collective actions in divers countries

mobilized by persons who shared identities based on age, clan, class, ethnicity, gender, race, region, religion, sexual orientation etc.

Governance is simply the action or manner of governing a state, organization, community, tribe, territory etc. Governance comprises all of the process of governing. It is the activity of governing. Governance is the way that organizations or countries are managed at the highest level, and the systems for doing this. For the British Council, Governance refers to a process whereby elements in society wield power, authority and influence and enact policies and decisions, concerning public life and social upliftment. The World Bank's idea of governance is anchored on political and economic liberalization on the basis of greater State responsiveness and accountability for political stability and economic development.

Governance is commonly defined as the exercise of power or authority by political leaders for the well-being of their country's citizens or subjects. It is the complex process whereby some sectors of the society wield power and enact policies which directly affect human and institutional interactions, and economic and social development, ultimately aimed at the common good. Governance by this is the proper and effective utilization of resources. Governance comprises all the processes of governing undertaken by the government of a state. It relates to the processes of interaction and decision making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement, or reproduction of social norms and institutions. Governance is the way rules, norms and actions are structured, sustained, regulated and held accountable.

The commission on Global Affairs 1995, defined governance as the sum total of the many way's individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting and diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative actions may be taken. Governance cannot be separated from the political system and government, for the hall mark of effective government and the political system finds expression in governance. Commonwealth of Australia (2005) view governance in relation to managing the State and establishing a practice of accountability to the people, which includes the process of electing leaders to office, the interface between the political and bureaucratic arms of government, the strength of oversight bodies, and the role of Civil Society in influencing the quality of governance. Thus, the ethos of governance, according to Piper 2007, is inclusion and co-operation among a variety of role-players, sharing a common goal, in a complex web of diffused and dynamic political processes, often resulting in conflicts of interests; a true picture of the African State. This paper examines and analyze the extent of the impacts of the politics of ethnicity and identity on governance in Africa with the globalization processes in the world.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of this study is the clash of civilization theory as Profounded by Samuel Huntington. According to him, world politics is entering a new phase of “the

return of traditional rivalries” that “the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural”. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world politics, but the principal conflicts will be between nations and groups of different civilizations. According to him, during the cold war, the world was divided into the First, Second and Third worlds that are now no longer relevant. Countries are no longer grouped in terms of their political or economic systems or development, but rather in terms of their culture and civilization. Civilization for Huntington is a cultural entity, because villages, regions, ethnic groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity. Civilization to him is the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have, short of that which distinguishes humans from other species.

Civilization is defined both by objective elements as language, history, religion, customs, institutions and by the subjective element of self-determination of people, and also differentiated by history, language, culture, tradition and most important religion. People of different civilizations have different views on relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as different views of the relative importance of rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are products of centuries that cannot just disappear and as such far more fundamental than differences in political ideologies and political regimes. Civilizations are dynamic, they rise and fall, they divide and merge, that the broader reaches of human history have been the history of civilization. For Huntington, civilization identity will be increasingly important and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among civilization, hence the most important conflicts of the future world politics will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another. With the globalization processes making the world becoming a smaller place, interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing. These increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations. These awareness and consciousness of people in turn invigorates differences and animosity stretching or thought to stretch back deep into history. Weigel George as quoted by Huntington for instance recounts that religion provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations as is playing out in the Islamic fundamentals.

Cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and as such less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones in class and ideological conflicts. In these contexts, the key question is “which side are you on?” and people could and did choose sides and change sides. But in conflicts between civilizations, the question is “what are you?” As Huntington submits, that is a given that cannot be changed. As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an “us” versus “them” relation, existing between them. Differences in culture and religion create differences over policy issues, ranging from human rights to immigration to trade and commerce to the environment. According Huntington, “The velvet curtain of culture has

replaced the iron curtain of ideology as the most significant dividing". Currently, the interaction between Islam and the West is obviously a clash of civilizations. The interactions between civilizations vary greatly, to the extent that it can be characterized by violence. Conflicts and violence can also occur between States and groups within the same civilization. This analysis captures the thrust of this study. The explanation or marginalization of groups in a polity prompts the urge of nationhood, and defines identity politics. Africa is obviously multi ethnic and is exposed to problems of identity and ethnicity. Political agitations and oppositions to existing regimes in most African States created room for ethnicity as a rallying point to hasten growing oppositions. As ethnic consciousness increases in scope and intensity, the socio-economic and political atmosphere in Africa have remained charged with tension.

Globalization and Governance in Africa

Globalization is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon viewed diversely. Some see it as economic process of interaction and integration associated with social and cultural impacts. It is defined as the intensification of economic, social, cultural, political, environmental relations across international boundaries and seen as the villagization of the globe, hence we hear people say "the world is a global village". Globalization is aimed at sweeping away all barriers attached to national boundaries for a universal homogenization of ideas, cultures, value and even life styles. It is a process concerned in terms of interaction and interdependence between people in various States, because it involves worldwide interactions and coalitions for benefits. Globalization has grown due to advances in transportation and communication technology. With the increased global interactions comes the growth of international trade, ideas and culture. The steam locomotive, steamship jet engine and container ships are some of the advances in the means of transportation, while the rise of the telegraph and its modern offsprings, the internet and mobile phones are the telecommunications infrastructure.

All these improvements have hastened interdependence and interactions in the economic and cultural spheres of the globe. Globalization processes have been with us for years, but the late 19th century and early 20th century increased the connectivity of the world's economies and cultures. Its antecedents' dates back to the great movements of trade and empires across Asia and the Indian Ocean from the 15th Century. Retrieved from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org>. Globalization has a far-reaching change in the nature of social space. According to Ake,1995, globalization is about growing structural differentiation and functional integration in the world economy. It is about growing interdependence across the globe, and the nation-state coming under pressure from the surge of transnational phenomena, because of the emergence of a global mass communication. As a multi-dimensional and multifaceted process that encompasses political, economic, social and cultural dimensions; it is a syndrome of process and activities that embody a set of ideas and policy framework.

Aina 1996 posits that globalization depicts a transformation of the relations between States, institutions, groups and individuals, the universalization of certain practice,

identities and structures, and most significantly the expression of a global restructuring. The UNDP National Human Development Report 2000/2001, defined globalization as a multi-dimensional process of unprecedented rapid and revolutionary growth in the extensiveness and intensity of inter connections on a truly global scale. As a process of interdependence, Fukuyama, 1992 see globalization as universalization of Western values. Scholte 2000, stresses globalization, as deterritorialization or spread of supra-territoriality. He opines that globalization process constitutes a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions from the interdependency it is associated with.

In Zambia and Tanzania political setting, identity politics was not as pronounced as it was in Cote d'voire, because their discriminatory policies were directed at individuals, not groups as the case of Cote d'voire. The group identity seen as ethnicity has led to the upsurge of civil wars and incidents of ethnic conflicts in Africa. Ethnicity in Africa has remained inimical to national integration. This according to Ukiwo 2011 is because the importance that individuals attach to their ethnic identity is directly proportional to the importance that the State attaches to ethnic identity as criterion for access to public goods. Ethiopia, Nigeria and Zaire have each experienced secession. Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan and Uganda have had insurgent wars waged against the central government, seeking internal transformation of the political order. Zaire lapsed into civil war within a month of independence in 1960. By 1978 Zaire experienced repeated bouts of insurrection. For Nigeria, the abortive Biafran secession that plunged the country into civil war between 1967 and 1970 did not silence secession force that has continued to threaten the stability of the State till date. For Ethiopia, the Eritrean war has been a menace to her political stability since the early 1960s. The Eritrean war is recorded to be the longest un-interrupted civil war in Africa and one of the longest in the world. The background to the contest is a mixture of legality and nationalism that to the protagonists, it is not just a question of secession but whether Eritrea should have been part of Ethiopia at all. There lie the colonial legacies that have plagued Africa. Sudan's own internal crisis has the distinction of being an advanced constitutional crisis and less of ethnic inclination though. All these are fall out from the artificial boundaries created for administrative conveniences of the colonial masters and the introduction of mixed races in the physical attributes of the inhabitants in continent.

In addition to analysis on governance above Piper 2007, maintains that the ethos of governance is inclusion and co-operation among a variety of role-players sharing a common goal in a complex web of diffused and dynamic political processes often resulting in conflicts of interests. The general attributes of governance thus include accountability, transparency, efficiency, effectiveness, promotion of rule of law, participation, trust, responsibility and equitable administration at all levels of government. The absence of these tenets, constitutes the root causes of crisis in most African states. Governance comprises the complex mechanism, processes, relationship and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. (Abe 2010).

The integration of democratic governance in Africa is part of the fall outs of decolonization and the collapse of Communism. The Cold War marked a new phase of political consciousness across the globe as countries and people tried to acclimatize with the new wave of global democratization. (Fukuyama 2011). The Berlin Conference 1884-1885 partition, made colonialism official and a globally accepted practice. It was a meeting where imaginary lines of divisions (Borders) were imposed on African territories and peoples without inputs from Africans. It formalized the balkanization of the Africa continent. The end of colonialism left Africa in dilemma with weakened local traditional and political structures and a huge challenge of managing the inherited political economic systems. Power vacuum emerged that gave rise to vicious cycle of intense intra-state and ethnic based conflicts as groups tussled to fill power vacuums, to flow with the democratic wind.

Democratic system of government grew with the fall of Communist regimes in Europe. However, this was in sharp contrast with Africa's environmental realities that made the forces of ethnicity, religion, and region across Africa States great impediments to the success of democracy. The basic tenets of democracy including free and fair elections, equal rights, rule of law etc., paradoxically have been the steering wheel for ethnic urge in Africa. They are factors that increases circumstances of volatility in Africa. Scholars' divergent views on democracy in Africa have their foundation on the ethnic forces because the political gladiators have constantly used it as fall back to achieve their interests in the midst of contentions.

History has stripped Africa's people of the dignity of building their nations on their own indigenous values, institutions and heritage. Africa system of government is based on family, lineage, clan and tribe. Colonialism brought groups together irrespective of common characteristics or distinctive attributes. This unholy arrangement, enmeshed the common enemy and sharpened conflicts through jostling for power and control over national resources. Virtually every conflict in Africa has some ethno-region dimensions to it, and even those conflicts that may appear free of ethnic concerns, involve factions and alliances built around ethnic loyalties. Loyalty to a tribe is a very important feature in African politics. Marrying ethnic diversity within the unity of the colonial boundaries is a major challenge to governance in Africa.

Globalization and Ethnicity in Africa

The globalisation process has affected Africa in bad light. Prior to the coming of the Europeans in the colonial era, the Dutch had moved to settle in South Africa, but the number of immigrants escalated from the colonial drive with the arrival of assorted races including the British, French, Belgians, Germans who were later joined by Indians in East and South Africa, and Arabs in the North and some parts of East Africa. At present, Africa though typically described as comprising persons with features of the black race is characterized by mixed races including Caucasians and Mongoloids. This development has affected governance of States in the continents adversely. The roots of malformation of the African States go back to the experience of the globalisation process where the

colonizing powers never considered the interests of the inhabitants of the region. In Nigeria for instance, they traded the interests of the Southern ethnic groups in favour of the larger Northern group, and the minority ethnic groups were traded for a larger group. It is not in doubt that colonialism set the stage and transformed ethnicism for post-colonial politics in Africa. Ethnicity is not only presented as a liability to democratic politics as part of the globalization processes, it is seriously seen to have high propensity for conflicts in Africa.

Colonialism injected the spirit of ethnic competition among African political class. Some scholars believe that one of the legacies of colonialism in Africa is ethnic conflict. Baker (2010) argued that ethnicity is at the root of Africa's development crisis. Ethnic identity was a major political tool for claims for more political representation in the colonial government. This was carried on by the African nationalist into their various States on attainment of independence. The multi-ethnic situation in Africa had been moulded into standard form by cleavages. Competition ensues in the process of attaining the lofty ideals of nation building. These competitions have in the past led to crisis of various dimensions ranging from protest, threats, peaceful and violent demonstrations, clashes as well as the extreme cases to destructive civil wars. With the end of the cold war, ethnic identity became outstanding in many parts of the world leading notable political scientists to think in conjunction with Huntington's clash of civilization, that ethnicity will be the principal social cleavage in the Post-Cold War era. This is playing out in Africa's evolving history. Ethnicity has remained a liability to democracy. Ethnic inclination negates democratic values of justice and equity. Ethnic identity politics appears to be inherently conflictive and stands as obstacle to democratization in Africa.

Ethnicity and Governance in Africa

Osman (2010) observes that governance entails the role of government in creating the framework for the activities of economic development and in making decisions about the distribution of benefits, as well as the nature of the relationship between the government and governed. Ethnicity as a state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition, can be seen as an identity, based on presumed similarity such as a common language, ancestry, history, society, culture, nation, race or social treatment within a residing area. It is an inherited status based on the society in which one lives. Membership of an ethnic group are usually defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry history, homeland, language or dialect, symbolic system such as religion, mythology and virtual, cuisine, dressing style, art or physical appearance. Ethnicity is more than skin, colour, or physical characteristics, language, song and dance, it is the embodiment of values, institutions and patterns of behavior. It is a composite whole, representing a people's historical experience, aspirations and world view (Deng, 1997).

Ethnicism that was originally among Greeks as superstitions or religion has come to be regarded and recognized as something to conserve or capture a political identity based on race, religion or any tradition which has a membership on the basis of blood relationship. Igwe (2005) sees ethnicity as a pure political term practice of ethnic ideology or simply

tribalism that necessitates the exploitation of differences in nationality for any purpose with corresponding suspicious and hostile attitude towards others, especially those held to be in competitive relation with one's own. Ethnicity is everywhere, between the previously mutually antagonistic but now cooperating nations of Europe having successfully built strong and patriotic class societies. In Asia, various nationalities have to struggle for limited space and resources. In the Americas remorseful ethnic cleansings of the natives and slaves against the African-Americans, and previous histories of continental hostilities and antagonisms between the dominant migrant majorities fueled negative relations that is still playing out to date. In Oceania and Australia, the native populations had not also fared better. Africa has more tales where many nationalities were forcibly brought together by colonialism without their consent into the same country or, perhaps much worse, split between two or more hostile States. Ethnicity had led to serious and calamitous wars in the past but appears to have substantially disappeared in Europe due, in part to prosperity and the class structured society in the former Soviet Union. It degenerated into independent statehoods in the largely ethnic-based Republics. In the former Yugoslavia for instance, it led to a break-up war and ethnic cleansing or deliberate elimination of disliked ethnic groups. In the United States, prosperity though had helped out, but not entirely solved the problems of race and ethnic relations. Worldwide, the most acute problems are still in Africa where poverty, corruption, incompetent leadership bundled in the colonial heritage and possibly religion had created terrible civil wars in Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Burundi, Rwanda, Congo and many other States including even pogroms, genocides, ethnic cleansings and an almost endless bitterness, sometimes leading to secession calls for ethnic self-determination, sovereign national conference, political restructuring and the like. (Igwe pp. 142-143).

Ethnicity is an important means by which people may identify with a larger group; mainly for political gains. It is in this light in conformity with Igwe above, that we link ethnicity to nationality. In the 19th century, modern States generally sought legitimacy through their claim to represent nations or nation-states then composed of populations that have been excluded from national life for one reason or another. Members of such excluded groups, consequently, will either demand inclusion based on equality or seek autonomy, sometimes, even to the extent of complete political separation in their nation-state as has been so prevalent in Africa. This is because as people moved from one State conquered or colonized, beyond their nation boundaries, ethnic groups emerged from people who identified with one nation but lived in another State. Africa is engulfed with multi-ethnic States resulting from colonial creation of state borders at variance with traditional tribal territories. Ethnic groups abound in Africa with different languages and culture that exemplifies ethnicity is a series of nesting dichotomizations of inclusiveness and exclusiveness narrowed or broadened in boundary terms and in relation to specific needs, and for political mobilization. (Cohen 1978).

Africa is indeed multi-ethnic, and fringed with the problems of identity and ethnicity. Congo, Nigeria and the Sudan fronted with ethnic agitations because of the multi ethnic nature of the countries. In States like Kenya and Zimbabwe, where there have not been

civil wars yet, cases of instability caused by multi ethnic forces abound. Several issues bordering on identity and ethnicity are continuously evolving in Africa. Political conflicts in the continent have often taken ethnic dimensions. From independence, African political leaders according to Ake 2001, were faced with the increasing competition and conflict among nationalities, ethnic groups and communal and interest groups. Many African leaders had sought power by politicizing national, ethnic and communal formations. The society in which the African States exists is typically segmented into small rival political communities, often with strong localized identities competing to capture and exploit State power or at least, prevent it from oppressing them. Africa is faced with the problem of social heterogeneity, that created political incoherence strengthened by authoritarianism (political survival). It should also be noted that the process of decolonization heightened ethnic particularism or ethnic conflict. The surge of nationalism created an atmosphere in which social groups (ethnic groups) become more self-conscious, more politically oriented and more assertive. This was visible in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo and Uganda, where Nationalist movement of ethnic associations and mass organizations were common.

Introduction of administrative set-ups contrary to indigenous practices and needs, and the introduction of regions and States along ethnic lines are the foundation of governance and politics along ethnic lines, so entrenched in African states. The agitations by ethnic groups in many African States for break-ups have their root in these colonial arrangements. In Nigeria for instance, adoption of criteria as the federal character, built in the National Youth Service Corps Scheme and the introduction of Unity Schools among others, have not solved the problem. Groups with ethnic affiliations are either separated or merged into States where they become marginalized and results in agitations and conflicts, prevalent in the entire continent. Few examples include the Nigeria/ Cameroun Bakassi Penninsular disagreement, Eritheal/Ethiopia crisis, Rwanda/Burundi and Liberia/Sierra Leone etc. Not even the effort of the OAU and now AU could deter conflicts arising from these boundary disputes, obviously placing great impediments to governance in Africa. By the ethos of governance these conflicts are real grips on governments of African States.

Conclusion

Ethnicity is obviously a liability to Africa's stability. Globalization process awakened ethnic consciousness in Africa. A focus on the individual disregarding her ethnic identity has not worked for Africa because no one is ethnic neutral or without ethnic origin. All ethnic groups by creation share the same right; our fundamental right of humans. However, man's urge to dominate has thwarted this natural creation, making groups claim superiority over others creating instability in relationships. Because human spirit has limit to bearing subjugation, there is bound to be revolt, which has plagued the continent of Africa. Groups in Africa have rallied around ethnicity as a political force. As the ethnic consciousness increases, the socio-economic and political atmosphere becomes charged with tension that ethnic hostility and loyalty become the norm. Globalization process aimed at sweeping all barriers attached to national boundaries for a universal

homogenization of ideas, cultures, values and even life styles, has strengthened ethnic and identity politics, not only in Africa but the world over. This is the foundation of Huntington's clash of civilization, where he posits that the dominating source of conflict in world politics will be cultural. The globalization process, that is increasing interactions, intensify civilization consciousness and awareness that invigorates differences and animosities. As people define their identity, they are likely to see an “us” versus “them” relations that is a threat to stability, because relationship will be built around suspicion. This has created the social, political, and cultural anxieties and crises of nationhood prevailing in most African States. The struggle to construct viable political communities in post-colonial Africa is raging. Majority of the people have been denied meaningful citizenship, material well-being and cultural inclusion. Post imperial cultures now negotiate their cultural identity. Intermixing of races from colonial baggage has resulted in newly and vigorously voiced nationalism, as in Congo, Rwanda, Nigeria, Sudan etc. Political conflicts in Africa have continued to take ethnic dimensions and have remained a threat to governance in the continent especially where governance has to do with actions and manner of governing a State, organization etc. Since governance is a continuing process of accommodating all in the political actors, it stands obvious that Africa with multiplicity of interests spread over the continent must be saddled with so much hurdles.

Recommendations

With the globalisation process that we are bound to live with, and the peculiarities of the African ethnic realities, we make the following recommendations.

1. Accommodation of sub-national identities where All, will have a stake in the national good.
2. African States must harness the blessings in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural characteristics for nation building. Multi-ethnicism should be a strength and a resource under a right political and social environment. A multi ethnic society that is not built on equality and justice is bound to fail in governance.
3. African leaders must pursue with vigor the tenets of democracy. In a truly democratic Africa where there is the rule of law, equal opportunities, true promotion of human rights, accountability of power, sincere leadership and a firm commitment to sharing the burdens and rewards of citizenship with equity, ethnic forces would be far less attractive.

References

- Abe, T. (2010). *Governance, democracy and development; in Omotosho, F and Abe, T (Eds) Perspectives on the State and Economy, Lagos*. Policy Development and Consultant Limited.
- Ake, C. (2001). *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Ibadan. Spectrum Books Limited.
- Alex, D. W. (1994). *The United Nations and Somalia's Invisible Minorities*. Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine Retrieved from cultural/survival.org.
- Allen, F. (2011). *Ethnic Identity Politics and democracy in Nigeria: A resource or liability? In identity politics in Nigeria, Essays in Honour of Prof. Kimse Okoko*. Port Harcourt. University of Port Harcourt
- Ambe-Uva, T. (2011). Identity politics and the jos crisis: Evidence, Lessons and challenges of good governance, *World Futures: The Journal of Global Education*, 67:1, 58-78.
- Babangida, I. (1998). *Africa and globalization. The challenges of co-operation and linkages in the Twenty-first Century Institute of Governance and Social Research*. Jos
- Bate, R. (2010). *African politics and society. The encyclopedia of political science*, Vol. 1 Washington D.C, Sage Publications.
- Bayart, F. (1993). *The state in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, London. Longman Group UK Limited. CDRC Understanding the concept of governance retrieved from <https://www.gdrc.org>.
- Cohen, A. (1969). *Custom and politics in urban Africa: A study of Hausa migrants in a Yoruba town*, London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Cohen, R. (1978). *Ethnicity: Problem and focus*, Retrieved from Annu.Rev. Anthropol.
- Davidson, B. (1991) *The Blackman's Burden: Africa and the curse of the Nation State*. Ibadan. Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Deng, F. (1997). *Ethnicity: An African predicament*. Brookings Institution Press Retrieved from stor.org
- Diamond, L. (1987). Ethnic and ethnic conflict. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 25.1.
- Esman, M. (1994) *Ethnic politics*, London. Connell University Press.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth: The Classic of third world politics*, England Penguin Books.

- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The end of history and the last man*, London. Free Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2018) *Identity: The demand for dignity and the politics of resentment*, New York. Farrar, Straus and Girout.
- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and nationalism*, Oxford. Blackwell.
- Hintjens, H. (2008). *Post genocide identity politics in Rwanda ethnicities*, (8)1
- Huntington, S. (1997). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*, London, Free Press.
- Ike, E. (1999). The issue of ethnicity and democratisation in Africa. Towards the Millennium, *Journal of Black Studies* (29)6
- Jenkins, R. (1996) *Social Identity*, London. Routledge.
- Kiaer, A. (2004). *Governance*. Cambridge Polity Press.
- Lechner, J. & Boli, J. (Edited) (2012). *The globalization reader fourth edition*, Wiley-Black Well.
- Lewis, P. (2007). *Identity, institutions and democracy in Nigeria*, Afrobarometer Working paper No. 68.
- Mazrui, A. (1986). *The African: A triple heritage*. London. BBE Publications.
- Meredith, M. (2005). *The state of Africa: A history of the continent since independence*, London. Simon and Schuster.
- Nabudere, D. (2002). (Ed) *Globalisation and the post-colonial African State*, African Association of Political Science (AAPS) Books. Harere. Zimbabwe.
- Ndu, E. (2011). *Identity Politics: The Case of the "Non-Igbo" Igbos*, in *Identity politics in Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Prof Kimse Okoko*. Port Harcourt. University of Port Harcourt Press.
- Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic politics in Nigeria Enugu fourth*, Edimension Publishers.
- Nnoli, O. (1994). *Ethnicity and democracy in Africa: Intervening Variables*, CASS occasional Monograph. Series No.4 Lagos Malhouse Press.
- Nwaorgu, O. (2011). *Identity politics and the challenges of nation building*, in *identity politics in Nigeria Essays in Honour of Prof. Kimse Okoko*. Port Harcourt. University of Port Harcourt Press.

- Piper, L (2007). *Ofbrics and Mortar. Growing relations between Africa and the global south, The International Spectator*. 46:1. 35-51.
- Rodney, W. (1982). *How Europe Under-developed Africa*. Enugu. Ikeja Publishers.
- Scholte, J. (2005). *Globalisation: A critical Introduction*. Second Edition. London. Palgrave.
- Thompson, A. (2004). *An Introduction to African politics second edition*. Oxford Routledge.
- Tonkin, E. (1989). *History and ethnicity*, London. Routledge.
- Ukiwo, U. (2011). *Ethnicity and citizenship, in identity politics in Nigeria*, Essays in Honour of Prof. Kimse Okoko. Port Harcourt. University of Port Harcourt Press.
- Ukiwo, U. (2005). The study of ethnicity in Nigeria, *Oxford Development Studies*, (33)1.
- Wimmer, A. (2009). *Ethnic politics and armed conflict. A configurational analysis of a new global Data set*. American Sociological Review. vol.74.