



10.5281/zenodo.8394602

Vol. 06 Issue 09 Sept - 2023

Manuscript ID: #01021

THE IMPACT OF MEDIA AND ETHNIC HEGEMONY ON ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Africa has been facing incessant conflicts in recent decades. Most of these conflicts are intra-state rather than inter-state. Many scholars have worked on the causes of conflicts in Africa, but few have identified the role played by the media and ethnic hegemony in engendering ethnic conflicts in Africa. Conflicts in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and South Sudan, to mention a few, are not unconnected with the misuse of media that led to some ethnic groups being profiled and eventually becoming targets of attacks. And the role of ethnic hegemony on the other hand, which makes some ethnic groups abhorred by other ethnic groups due to their disposition toward other ethnic groups within the state on commonwealth. This paper attempts to investigate the role of these two variables, media and ethnic hegemony, in engendering ethnic conflicts in Africa with the intention of providing possible solutions to the menace. The paper makes use of secondary data as a source of information and uses content analysis for data analysis. It also makes use of conflict theory, which was propounded by Karl Marx, who argued that there exist two major social classes or groups in any society: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The paper argues that Africa will be conflict-free if media are monitored to avoid inciting one ethnic group against another and proper structuring is also done to avoid actual or perceived behavior of one ethnic group behaving like a hegemon.

KEYWORDS

Media, Ethnic Hegemony, Ethnic conflict and Africa.



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Introduction

Conflicts are prevalent around the world. From the inception, countries and societies had been coexisting with one another in perpetual fears, discords, wars, and crisis in different forms which resulted in rivalry and domination of one ethnic group over another. The ideas and justifications for conflicts are not a monopoly of one ethnic group because all ethnic groups are, in one way or another inherently revolutionary. Some of the violent assaults on public order by recent ethnic conflicts in Africa have been attributed to the perception of media conspiracy; and enthronement of an oppressive economic order. These trends have fueled the growth of such violent ethnic groups, the activities of which continue to threaten national security. Conflicts abound among different groups in Africa, such as Nigeria, Rwanda, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Benin Republic, Togo, Sierra-Leone, among others.

The media has proved to be the mechanism through which ethnic hegemony and conflicts are perpetuated and sustained by powerful ethnic groups over the less powerful ones. The media, as a means of communication and education are the medium through which diabolical and dubious ideologies are transferred from one generation to another. Media outlets such as television, radio, social media, journals, magazines, and books are used as instrument of oppression, subjugation and deprivation of the less privilege groups in the affected countries. The media appealed to primordial sentiments, religion, and ethnic jingoism to sustain ethnic hegemony of the 'majority' over the 'minority' groups.

The ensuing conflicts among various ethnic groups in developing African countries has been gravely characterized by mass killings, destruction of properties, insecurities, anarchy, inter-ethnic wars, communal clashes, religious crisis through which trillions of Naira which could have been used for technological, economical and infrastructural development were wasted. The elites, governments and regional institutions such as Economic Community of West Africa State, and African Union had been trying to curb the menace in various groups within the African continent. Also, efforts are been made to enthrone democratic governments all over Africa, this in effect will bring about equity, fairness and justice among the various ethnic groups across the African states

The emergence of social media worsens this situation. Many youths are now warriors on the use of Facebook, WhatsApp, tweeter, histogram and YouTube; to mention but few. This kind of media outlet is faster and cheaper and they have global outreach with little or no nation-states' control. Through these media, most of seed of discord have been planted. For instance, End Sars unrest that nearly snowball into collapse of law and order in 2020 in Nigeria was blamed on tweeter which prompted Nigeria government to ban the tweeter in Nigeria during the period. Likewise, the Rwanda civil war in 1994 was majorly blamed on mainstream media which was accused of instigating Hutus against the Tutsis. More than 800,000 lives were lost in the process (Adeyanju, 2018). Similarly, ethnic hegemony is another variable suspected to be fueling ethnic conflicts in Africa. Like the Jews who believe that in superiority of their race over others in the world so the same some major ethnic groups in some state believe so. As sited above, Rwanda civil war in 1994 also testified to this assertion. To what extent has media and ethnic hegemony till engendered ethnic conflicts in Africa? This question is till begging for answers. This paper is an attempt to elucidate the role of media and ethnic hegemony in incessant ethnic conflicts in Africa. After this introduction, this paper undertakes conceptual clarifications, methodology and discourse in media and ethnic hegemony and conflict in Africa. The next discourse addresses consequences of media and ethnic hegemony on ethnic conflict in Africa and the paper is concluded with recommendations.

Conceptual Clarification

For proper understanding, the major concepts of the topic were discussed within the perspective of the study: Media, Ethnic Hegemony, and Conflict.

Media

Media is defined as the main means of mass communication (broadcasting, publishing, and the internet) regarded collectively (Thompson, 1995; Manochar, 2011). It is also conceived as the communication outlets or tools used to store and deliver information or data (Parlice&Mcintosh, 2017). The term refers to components of the mass communication industry, such as print media, publishing, the news media, photography, cinema, broadcasting (radio and television) and advertising (Briggs & Burke, 2010; Campbell, 2017; Bhattacharyya, 2011; UNISCO, 2018).

In order word, mass media refers to a diverse array of media technologies that reach audience via mass communication (Briggs & Burke, 2010; Bhattacharyya, 2011). The technologies through which the communication takes place include: broadcast such as films, radio, recorded music, or television; digital media comprises both internet and mobile mass communication; internet media congress such as services as email, social media sites, websites, and internet-based radio and television (UNISCO 2018). It also includes outdoors media that transmit information via such media as AR advertising, billboard, blimps, flying billboards (signs in tow of air planes), placards or kiosks placed inside and outside buses, commercial buildings, shops, sports stadia, subway cars or trams, signs, or skywriting (Campbell, 2017).

Print media transmit information via physical objects, such as books, comic magazines, newspapers, pamphlets (Briggs & Burke, 2010). Event organizing and public speaking can also be considered forms of mass media. Mass media encompasses much more than just news, although it is sometimes misunderstood in this way (Parlice&Mcintosh, 2017). Chandler & Rod (2011) identified various purposes the mass media can be used which include advocacy,entertainment and public service. In this paper media is referred to as electronic media and social media. The effects of duo in shaping the attitude of people cannot be over emphasized.

Ethnic Hegemony

The concept of hegemony was developed by Antonio Gramsci (1971) and refers to command, or rule, which is attained through social or ideological means. More specifically, ethnic hegemony refers to a group of people or collective, and their ability to hold power, influence the everyday thought, beliefs, and behaviour over social institutions (Clerk, 2011; Buchaman, 2010; Castree, Robs &Alisdair, 2013). This is achieved by guiding the values, ideas and beliefs of a society.

Agnew (2005) defined ‘hegemony’ as the political, economic or military predominance or control of one state over others. According to Lum, in ancient Greece, hegemony denoted the political-military dominance of a city over another city state (Wikipedia). In Marxist philosophy, cultural hegemony is the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class which manipulate the culture of the society – the beliefs, and the administration perception (Butter & Flora, 2007). Hegemony is also conceptualized as a group of the ruling class, so to speak which have direct influence authority over the citizens of a nation (Meriam Webster, 2016).

Gramsci based this concept on Marx’s theory that the most dominant ideas of society were centered and influenced by the interest of the ruling class. In summary, ethnic hegemony refers to the attempt by a particular ethnic group within the society to control the political and economic power of the state to the exclusion of others through manipulation of the state apparatus. In this paper, we aim at using

ethnic hegemony to mean an attempt by a particular or some ethnic groups in a country to exhibit superiority over other ethnic groups in such state.

Conflict

People living in a society develop different personalities and aspirations, and achieve, to various degrees, the goals which they set for themselves. Similarly, ethnic/tribal groups or societies are structured and organized to achieve the goals decided by the organs and members of the society. The goals of individual ethnic/tribal groups are affected by their economic and political necessities and characteristics. But in the process of achieving these goals, conflict could arise. What then is conflict? According to Otite and Albert (1999), Conflicts arise when individuals and groups pursue different goals and maintain different aspirations in specified social and physical environments. Different perceptions of resources, together with their uses for individual and group ends, lead to conflict between such people or groups. A conflict may therefore be defined as a situation of contention and encounter, and of irreconcilability or incompatibility involving two or more parties over access to or control of commonly prized and valued limited resources.

Conflicts may involve the use of verbal attacks or arms in a struggle and lead to warfare or to social disorganization and disharmony (Nnoli, 1978). Although conflict may vary in content and context, the premise and causes of conflict have many similarities especially in those societies which were once subjected to colonial rule. The premise of conflict in most African countries consists essentially in the struggle by individuals and groups to control the limited resources (Otite and Albert, 1999). Diverse exclusive ethno-cultural interests and social goals of political and economic survival which involve strife and struggles, provide fertile grounds for conflicts (Enloe, 1986). The phenomenon of a plurality of competing interests in having access to scarce valuable resources and social advantages, provide grounds for conflict (Otite, 2000; Seligman, 1959). Conflict can thus be caused by various factors derived from various sources. Although the causes and sources of conflict are analytically distinct yet they overlap and very closely related.

This paper uses this concept 'conflict' to mean, name calling, stigmatization, ethnic profiling, misunderstanding, crisis, and even war which could arise from media and ethnic hegemony.

Theoretical Framework

This work is anchored to the conflict theory as propounded by Karl Marx (1796) and Marx and Engels (1848). They argued that there exist two major social classes or groups in any society; these are the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The bourgeoisie is a social class composing owners of the means of production, such as land, machinery, buildings, and tools (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Proletariat on the other hand is a social class composed of workers who own nothing of production process, but still sell their labour to the bourgeoisie (Ferrante, 2011).

Conflict theorists rejected functionalism emphasis on consensus, instead, they highlighted the importance of divisions in society and in doing so, concentrated on issues of power, inequality and competitive struggle. They tend to see society as composed of distinct groups, each pursuing its own interest which means the potential for conflict is always present (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Conflict theorists examine the tensions between dominant and disadvantaged groups, looking to understand how relationships of control are established (Durowaye, 2018).

It is argued that, conflict is an inevitable part of human existence since we live in highly polarized and unequal society. The perception of radical revolutions such as war and civil unrest, physical confrontation, disagreement, tension, hostility and direct competition are important motivation for

theorizing that conflict is very essential for social development (Ferrant, 2011). Arguably, conflict occurs when a particular group or class takes action so that the opposition group or class feels detrimental and such action(s) being resisted (Cosser, 2013).

Durowaye (2018) highlights the major assumptions undergoing conflict theory thus;

- i. That human interaction results in conflict.
- ii. Conflict and change are normal and inevitable in society.
- iii. Competition over scarce resources is inherent in all social groups. Competition rather than consensus is characteristic of human relationship.
- iv. Inequality in power and rewards are built into all social structure.
- v. Inequality exists in varying degrees with people having different amounts of resources, hierarchies exist;
- vi. Macro changes occur as a result of conflict between competing interest rather than through adaptation.

This theory is relevant to the issues of ethnic hegemony and conflict in African society because African societies are faced with different scarce and valued resources such as natural resources, health care services, well-paying jobs and even better education, conflict therefore become inevitable as access to these scarce and valued resources by the various ethnic/tribal groups become unequal, thereby setting up competition among the various ethnic groups. The main thrust of ethnic hegemony is political domination of a group of elites over others.

The unending struggle for power is the major thrust of the competition among the various rival groups in African society. Each ethnic group seeking to appropriate the social-economic benefits of the society to its own group. This continuous rivalry had led to social upheavals, wars, tension, mistrust, loss of lives and properties. It had also affected the infrastructural and human development of the society; nepotism, corruption, human rights abuses, religious violence, kidnapping and banditry, uneven development, high level of illiteracy and poverty are the hallmark features of African society. To achieve the needed peace in Africa, leaders; political, economic, religious and traditional must find solution to the lingering problems emanating from ethnic hegemony and conflict ravaging the African society.

Methodology

This research makes use of secondary data to source for information to carry out this work. It makes use of information from text book, journal, internet materials, documents and documentaries which are relevant to this research work. We make use of this method because it provides wide range of information needed across African states. The paper also adopts content analysis for method of analysis.

Media, Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in African

The phenomenon of ‘ethnic hegemony and conflict’ permeates the nook and crannies of African states – from Nigeria, to Rwanda, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Sierra-Leone, Sudan and Liberia. There exist unending and age-long rivalries among major ethnic groups in these countries which had led to wars of attrition, encouraged by the mass media through propaganda on printing media, television, radio and in the recent times on social media, internet among others.

The most virulent and effective mechanism use by the media to perpetuate ethnic hegemony in African State is Religion. The two foreign religion of Christianity and Islam have become weapons of destruction in the hands of political elites to impose their selfish ideologies on the minority groups within the states. In Nigeria, the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group had been fanning religion since Holy Jihad of Uthman-dan-Fodio to Gobir (now Sokoto) in the late 18th century. The Fulani had conquered the Hausa natives and subjected them under their (Fulani) control. Fulani is known to be a culture of war and domination - ruthless military and political strategists. (Yusuf, 2020). As parasites, they penetrate their host community through guise and guile - deception (Yusuf, 2020). The most often quoted references were:

1. UthmandanFodio versus King Yunfa of Gobir Kingdom (then Hausa) now Sokoto by Fulani.
2. JantaAlimi versus Oba Afonja of Ilorin (then Yoruba)

In Liberia and Sierra - Leone, the unending wars among the principal ethnic groups had religion undertone, between the Christians and Muslims, each trying to impose its own tenets and ideologies. One of the poorest countries in the world, Burkina Faso is struggling with a Jihadist campaign that has claimed 1,200 lives since 2015 and forced around a million people to flee their home (<http://punching.com/burkin>).

Related to the above is the appeal to tribal ethnic sentiments by different groups in most of African countries. In Liberia, the Kpelle, Bassa, Girebo and Gio are the principal ethnic groups, each of these groups are struggling for political domination which eventually led to civil war. In Sierra leone, the rivalry for political domination among Temme, Menda, Limba and Kano the major ethnic groups, also resulted in civil war. In Nigeria, the Hausa/Fulani had been dominating its politics, aided by the mass media. The fear of political and economic domination of over 350 ethnic groups led to civil war between 1967-1970, with about six military coups. Many of the African countries had also witnessed military coups executed to perpetrate ethnic hegemony, such countries include Ghana, Benin Republic, Liberia, Ivory Coast and Mali.

It has been alleged that the media through editorial comments and propaganda has become a tool for political manipulation in the hands of the few powerful groups to perpetuate its control over other groups. Yoruba of the South West, Igbos of the South East, Ijaws of the South-South and the Middle-Belt of Nigeria perceived the “Nigeria 1979 and 1999” constitutions as the “victory charter” imposed by the winners of 1967-1970 war in order to make permanent the caliphate gains from that war and institutionalize the complete subjugation of the Non-Caliphate rest of Nigeria (Oluwafemi, 2019). According to him, the Constitutions (1979 and 1999) are the instruments by which the caliphate ethnic cleansing, impoverishment and subjugation of the South and Middle Belt is being enabled, facilitated and executed.

Afenifere , the pan Yoruba Ethnic Group shared the opinion by Olufemi on Nigerian constitution, saying that every “election held under the obnoxious 1999 Constitution, VALIDATES and REINFORCES that constitution and so, those in Southern and Middle Belt in Nigeria who GENUINELY seek an extrication of their people from the union of Death, Attrition and Backwardness, whether by way of independence or restructuring, cannot at the same time be subscribing to the continuing validation and reinforcement of the constitution by way of further election under it (Oluwafemi 2020).

The group went further that“Yoruba people are irrevocably committed to a fundamental restructuring of this current union within the shortest possible time, preferably, before the 2023 elections, failing which the Yoruba people may have to exercise their option not to continue to be part of the Federal

Republic of Nigeria. According to the Yoruba Elders, the 1999 constitution under which the country is being governed is “flawed” and designed to give undue advantages to the Northern region of the country over their Southern neighbours (Nubari, 2020).

Colonization is another method through which ethnic hegemony is being perpetuated in many African countries. Colonization in a simple term, is a process of social, economic and political control of a country by another country. The word was generally used to describe the activities, actions, and policies of European countries on mostly African countries from the eighteenth centuries up until the nineteenth centuries. Considering the ethnic composition of many countries in Africa, it can be termed rightly as countries within countries and although colonization has gone only to be replaced by neocolonialism, both colonialism and neocolonialism are currently at play in most African Countries. In the early decades of Nigeria’s history, the colonization of the rest of Nigeria by a section of Northern Nigeria could be glared mostly by keen observation, but in recent times it has become brazen and too visible to ignore. In the last few years, the Nigerian government has committed an unfair proportion of funds running into billions of dollars, earned from the exploration of crude oil in the Niger Delta region, for infrastructural projects in Northern Nigeria, in or around the neighboring Niger Republic or capable of benefiting it, at the expense of the rest of the country and the Niger Delta in particular (Nubari, 2020)

It is important to note that the Niger Delta has been Nigeria’s main source of budget financing, revenue generation, and foreign exchange earnings since as early as the 1970s (Nubari, 2020). In these fifty years periods, what the Niger Delta has benefited from the forced benevolence has been a denigrating 13% “derivation”, deeply entrenched underdevelopment, and environmental degradation so thoroughly devastating that UNEPA (United Nation Environmental Protection Agency) report on Ogoni, which is the most comprehensive of any section of the region, shows that it would take three decades for the environment to return to its original state (Nubari, 2020).

The above scenario is applicable to many of the African states wherein a section of the population is marching out the commonwealth at the expenses of others.

Ethnic Hegemony also manifested in African Countries through forced land grabbing/acquisition by the advantaged groups over others. Land is an important economic and spiritual asset, highly valued for crop farming, industrialization, pastoral farming, building construction, public schools and markets and other commercial activities (Kareem, 2018). In Nigeria, forced land acquisition is at the heart of ethnic hegemony most especially the Fulanis who are noted for nomadic activities.

There had been endless communal wars between the Fulanis and their host communities, most especially in the Northeast and Middle Belt of the Country. From grazing route - grazing reserve - cattle colony – ranching – grass from Brazil – inland water ways – ₦100 billion to Miyeti Allah – Fulani ethnic radio – military ranching – back to inland water ways again, the story keeps changing but the subject matter remains the same – land take over (Yusuf, 2020, Nubari, 2020).

To buttress the hegemonic tendencies of the Fulanis, the recent crisis in Jos and Southern Zaria is always bordering on land disputes. The Fulanis who are non-indigenes always strive to control the indigenes who are the real owner of the land. At the height of the Jos ownership crisis, a prominent leader from the North, Alhaji Tanko Yakassai, former political adviser to President Sheu Shagari was quoted by Daily Trust Newspaper to have said that “Look at Kano, Bida and Ilorin – the Fulanis who are ruling there are non-indigenes and I cannot see why the same treatment will not be accorded to Jos... otherwise, there will be no peace in Nigeria (Daily Trust, 2019). This insatiable desire to

acquire more land is a daily occurrence between the Fulanis and their host communities across the continent, from Guinea, Togo, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone where there is presence of Fulani herdsmen. In fact, it is a serious challenge to the ECOWAS community.

Related to the above is the imposition of traditional rulers on the local indigenous people by the Fulani Immigrants. Once they are settled in an area, they imposed one of their own as the traditional headship in their host communities. There are such cases in Kaduna State, most especially the Southern Zaria, Jos in Plateau State, Ilorin in Kwara State. The domineering and exploitative attitude of the Fulanis is becoming a threat to global peace, if not checked on time, the consequences may be disastrous.

Another potent means of perpetuating ethnic hegemony is the lopsided appointments in favour of a particular group or tribes. The ruling elite in most of the African countries appoint members of their clans, tribes, regions, religious groups into top political and administrative positions exclusive of others. There had been cases of nepotism, favoritism, tribalism and sectionalism into political and public appointments. The most poignant part of this nepotism is the subtle Northernization of Nigeria's security agencies.

Apart from over 80% of the heads of all security agencies in the country being of Northern Nigeria origin, recently People's Gazette revealed details of recruitment into the Department of State Security that shows 85% of recruits coming from 14 States in Nigeria's North West and North East and less than 15% of recruit coming from 22 States of the Middle Belt, South East, South-South and South West of Nigeria (Nubari, 2020). He argued that this cannot be justified when it is considered that the Southern Nigeria accounts for more educated Nigerians than the North. Other security agencies have undergone similar personnel altering to give control of Nigeria's security architecture to Northern Nigeria.

He further revealed that as of today, Nigeria's Navy headquarters in the Niger Delta has more Sailors from the Northern Nigeria with less than 30% of Nigeria's waterbody, than from Niger Delta which is home to over 60% of Nigeria's waterbody (Nubari, 2020). It is therefore important to ask an end to this, that in a situation where the people of Southern Nigeria and the Niger Delta in particular are being disenfranchised in all spheres of society, barely represented in Nigeria's security agencies and with an evident ethnic colonization of government institutions and agencies at play, can the Niger Delta people and the people of Southern Nigeria in general, say for fact, that their interests within Nigeria are protected, and that their very existence is not at all threatened? The current system obtained in Nigeria is not different from what is obtained and operable in other African countries.

Consequences of Ethnic Hegemony and Conflict in Africa

The unending ethnic hegemony and conflict in African countries resulting from the desire of one group to access and control limited and valued political and economic resources available in the society concerned, and to the formulation and control of the policies associated with the use of these resources had led to civil wars in many countries such as Nigeria, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Sudan and currently in Ethiopia. In all cases of civil wars in these afore-mentioned countries, prohibitive, restructure, or accelerating circumstances, determine the scale or direction of the ethnic conflicts. These ethnic hegemony and wars ravaging the African society had claimed several lives, many people had been killed, maimed and paralyzed, millions were displaced and disconnected, while government infrastructures and individual properties worth trillions of naira had been destroyed (Kareem, 2016; Yusuf, 2020). There is no doubt, these wars had negatively impacted on the socio-economic development of the African states.

The issue of insecurity ravaging the entire African countries is becoming even more worse by the day and things are getting out of hands on the unnecessary killings of people in their daily business and life activities. These killings across the countries of Africa are saddening, disheartening and shame to our dear continent. This high level of insecurity is been attributed to ethnic hegemony and conflict by the component groups within the states. It is becoming unbearable that families will just wake up to the sad news of losing their father, brother, in-laws, husbands that is out there looking for food in the hands of terrorists for not committing any crime but just trying to survive (Yusuf, 2020).

The deadliest group ravaging the West Africa sub-region is the Islamic fundamentalist, Boko Haram insurgency that spread across Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon. This group is seriously threatening the peace in the sub-region. In Nigeria alone, at least 36,000 people have been killed and two million displaced, kidnapped more than 300 school girls and persons, destroyed hundreds of schools, government buildings and devastated an already ravaged economy in the North East, one of Nigeria's poorest regions (Isa, 2016; Pm News, 2020). Recently, about 18 soldiers were killed, bringing the total death in Katsina to over 300 (Sahara Reporter, 2020). The Boko Haram insurgency have also destroyed several churches, and killed several local Muslim clerics seen opposed to its ideology or cooperating with state security agents (Isa, 2016).

Yusuf (2020) commented on the murder of "43" farmers in Borno State by Boko Haram terrorist group which has caused Nigerians from all parts of the country to raise concerned over the endless insecurity issue, noting that the Nigeria security architecture is no more working out on the deadly terrorist group. Also, in Nigeria, the recent "#EndSars protest" which initially started peacefully was hijacked by the hoodlums turned into a violent protest. According to the Inspector General of Police, Muhammed Adamu, aside the massive economic effects of the protests, 243 public facilities were burnt, 71 warehouses looted, 610 vehicles destroyed, 134 police stations burnt, 164 police vehicles destroyed and 136 fire arms carted away (Yusuf, 2020). He added that 65 civilians were killed during protests and 37 policemen murdered while 196 persons were seriously injured.

The ethnic hegemony and conflict had greatly affected the development of the region. Development tends to be skewed in favour of the domineering ethnic group, reason why the political elites in most of these countries are pushing for constitutional reforms to achieve equitable and balanced political system that will be fair to all the ethnic groups. Most of the African countries remain highly underdeveloped notwithstanding the enormous natural and human resources that abound all over the continent. Poor governance and corruption as a hallmark of its leadership character has severely limited infrastructural development and provision of social services, thus hindering economic development and leaving much of the country mired in poverty. Poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment and increased struggle for resource control had become the trade mark of African nations.

Another visible consequence of ethnic hegemony and conflict in Africa is large and unimaginable corruption. Corruption, as explained by Safes is a 'situation where there is an extensive activity, such as bribery, extortion, and embezzlement ranging from petty to grasp (Safes, 2007). Corruption can also be defined as a situation whereby an individual or organization demands or directs scarce resources through bribery, extortion and embezzlement from development that a society or individual deserves (Kareem, Jiboye&Opatola, 2012; Isa, 2016). In essence, it is misuse or abuse of government power for selfish interest.

There is an intricate link in Africa between politics, governance, corruption, poverty and violence (Kareem etal, 2012; Isa, 2016). The various elites' functions – political, economic/business,

bureaucratic, traditional and religious have been drawn into a political economy driven by huge oil, gold, bauxites and other minerals receipts and implicated in wide-scale and systematic corruption. Nearly all the African states are enmeshed in cases of bribery and corrupt practices; Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Mali, Uganda, Liberia, Ghana, Sierra Leone and a host of others.

The incessant military incursion in African States were attributed to the cases of corruption and mal-administration. In Ghana, three former heads of government were executed by Late President J.J. Rawlings because of massive corruption. In Liberia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Gambia, the political crisis there were attributed to the unquantified massive corruption.

In Nigeria, the cases of corruption are many and diverse, ranging from certificate forgery and perjury among political class, diversion of public fund, stealing, conspiracy, abuse of office, over invoicing, nepotism in employment to political and administrative offices, falsification of account reports, abandoned projects which money had either been fully paid or significant partial already paid (Kareem et al., 2012). On the final analysis, corruption has been a singular threat to the survival of Africa's democracy. The attitude of public office holders in these African countries reflect self-centeredness and greed.

Finally, the human rights record in nearly all African countries were poor. Ethnic and religious strife have been common all over the countries, perceived differences have been politicized by political elites. There were cases of imprisonment method trial, extra judicial killings, political impunity, lack of freedom of expression, association and restriction in fundamental rights. Political opponents were either sent on exiles, imprisoned or killed. The state security apparatus was used to intimidate perceived and real enemies of the ruling political parties. The recent "#EndSars protest" in Nigeria was an example of public outrage against police oppressive tendencies, social and political injustices, economic deprivation, poverty and unemployment that has eaten deep into the root of African societies.

In Congo-Brazzaville, the President, SaaouNguesso who has been in power for 36 years is now pursuing 4th term agenda in the election slated for next year (2021) March. His rivals, Former General Jean-Marie Michael Mokobo and Former Minister Andre OkombiSalissa who disputed the election results of March, 2016 were arrested, put on trial and each handed 20 years in jail on charges of undermining state security. This action of President SaaouNguesso is common practice among other African leaders.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It is an open fact that many of the African Countries Colonia masters left unbalanced structures that gave undue advantages to certain groups at the expenses of others which are the sources of continuous rivalry and conflict. In other to checkmate these conflicts and ensure enduring peace and tranquilly in the African continent, the following suggestions are put forward:

- There is need for urgent restructuring in most African countries in order to address the inadequacies and imbalances that characterized the social-economic and political setup in each country through conflict resolution, national dialogue, peaceful town hall meetings that would involve all critical stakeholders of the countries involved.
- Democratization of the political system is highly essential as military government has become anachronistic in modern day societies. Every necessary apparatus must be put in place to ensure free and fair elections, freedom of speech, ensuring fundamental human rights and human dignity.

- African Union should solicit the assistance of the United Nations Security Council to intervene in the continent's deteriorating security situation, by sanctioning any country that refuses to sell arms to African Countries.
- The issue of unemployment among the African youths should be addressed, through the collaboration with the private sector that will increase job opportunities for the significant number of youths as the level of unemployment has been linked to high rate of criminal activities.
- There is urgent need on the leadership of African nations to take immediate steps to restructure, remodel and revamp the countries entire security architecture and provide enough state-of-the-art weapons and equipment to effectively combat belligerent power of the insurgents that is threatening the peace of the African Society.
- The government of Individual African Countries and collectivity of African Union should provide proper welfare for security personnel fighting in the frontlines and give prime attention to the compensation and welfare of fallen soldiers as that would boost the soldier's morale and increased concentration.
- There is need to aggressively explore multilateral and bilateral options of partnership with the neighboring countries towards reviving and strengthening the Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) and finding a lasting solution to the scourge of insurgency in many African countries.
- Corruption is obviously a recurrent feature of African countries, and it has deeply affected the development of the affected states. Leadership/Government of African countries should immediately initiate probe into widespread allegations of corruption and leakages within the security structure and put mechanisms in place to foster transparency in governance and ensure all resources meant and deployed for infrastructural and human development are religiously spent as appropriate.
- Finally, as a way of proffering a long-term solution to African existential socio-economic and security challenges, the African heads of government must adequately address all immediate and remote causes of insecurity within the country.

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