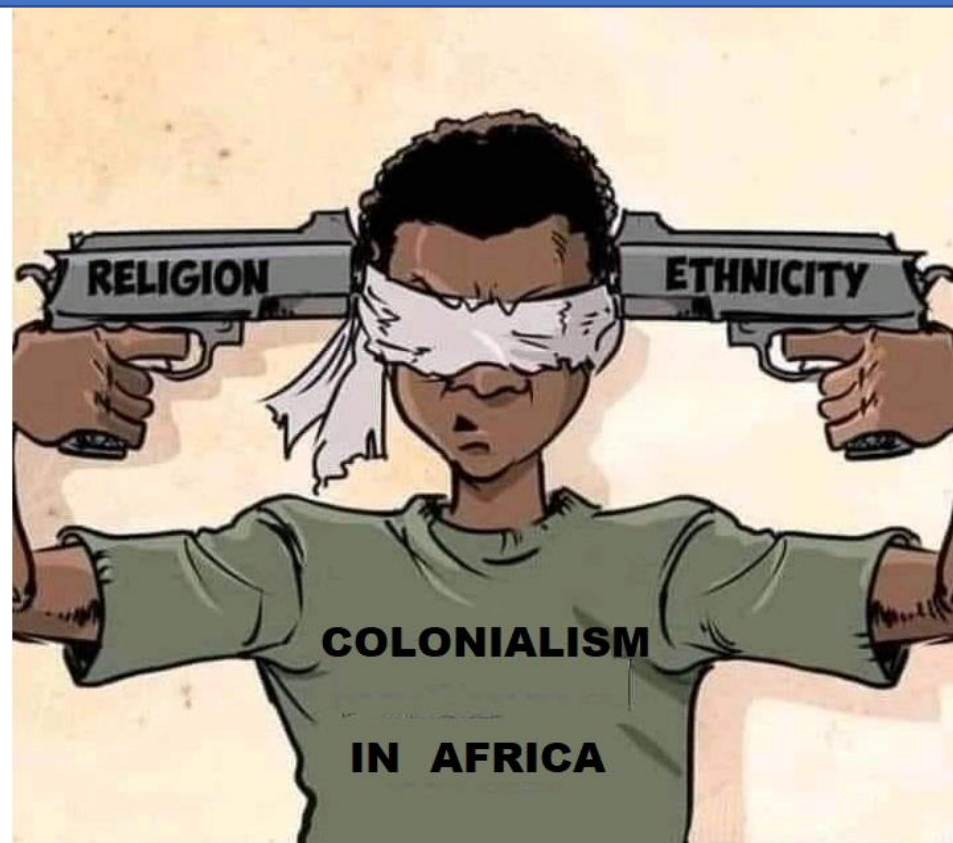


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# **ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN WEST AFRICA "Guinea as a case study"**

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## CONTENTS

**CHAPTER I**

<b>1. INTRIDUCTION</b> .....	6
1.2. OBJECTIVE .....	9
1.3. METHODOLOGY.....	10

**CHAPTER II**

<b>2. ETHNICITY: THEORY</b> .....	13
2.1. FORMATION OF SOCIAL GROUP AS ETHNIC.....	16
2.2. INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE CONCERNS OF IDENTITY.....	22
2.2.1. Exclusive identity.....	22
2.2.2. Majority vs Minority (exclusive) identity.....	24
2.2.2 Negative Inclusion identity.....	26
2.3. THEORY APPROACH TO ETHNIC IDENTITY.....	26
2.4. CIVIC AND ETHNIC NATIONALISM: THEORETICAL APPROACHES .....	31
2.4.1. NATIONALISM.....	31
2.4.2. CIVIC NATIONALISM.....	35
2.4.3. CONSTRUCTIONIST SOCIETY.....	36
2.5. PRIMORDIALISM .....	37
2.5.1. Ethnic conflicts and Primordialism.....	38
2.5.2. Primordialists views of ethnic conflict.....	39
2.5.3. Instrumentalism and Ethnic Conflicts.....	41
a). Colonialism and Liberia conflict .....	42
b). Primordialism in and Liberia ethnic conflict.....	43
c). Instrumentalization and Liberia ethnic conflict.....	43
d).Assmilation in Liberia ethnic conflict.....	43
2.6. CONFLICT THEORY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT .....	44
2.6.1. Topology of Conflict .....	47
2.6.2. Nonviolent conflict.....	48

2.6.3. Violent Conflict .....	49
<b>2.7. DIFFUSION OF ETHNIC CONFLICT.....</b>	<b>51</b>
2.7.1. Factors of diffusion.....	52
<b>CHAPTER III</b>	
<b>3. HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA AND IT'S ETHNIC NATURE.....</b>	<b>54</b>
3.1. West Africa: A Brief Geographical Summary.....	54
3.2. Apogee of the Mandinka empire in the 14th century.....	56
3.2.1. The Essential Economy Base of Mandinka.....	57
3.2.2. Mandinka Political and Social Organization.....	59
<b>3.3. WEST AFRICA'S ETHNIC NATURE.....</b>	<b>62</b>
3.3.1. Classification of West African ethnic groups.....	62
<b>3.5. THE ORIGINS OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT IN WEST AFRICA.....</b>	<b>63</b>
3.5.1 The Birth of an African National Identity: Pan-Africanism.....	63
3.5.2. African Independence and Pan-Africanism.....	68
3.5.3. African Unity and Pan-Africanism.....	69
3.5.4. The Movement of West African Unity.....	70
<b>3.6. SOME INTERGRATION FEATURES IN WEST AFRICA.....</b>	<b>73</b>
3.6.1. The ECOWAS Treaty in West Africa as Economy Unity.....	73
3.6.2. Fundamental Principles the ECOWAS.....	74
3.6.3. ECOWAS Goals and Objectives.....	75
3.6.4. Monetary Union in West Africa.....	75
<b>CHAPTER IV</b>	
<b>4. CONFLICT CATEGORIES IN WEST AFRICA.....</b>	<b>76</b>
4.1. History of Wars and Conflicts in West Africa.....	76
<b>4.2. ROOT CAUSES OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS AFRICA.....</b>	<b>78</b>
4.2.1. Conquest and division of African territories.....	78

4.2.2. Colonialism and Ethnic Conflicts.....	80
4.2.3. Ethnic conflict and religious colonialism.....	82
4.2.4. Religion and Ethnic Conflicts.....	86
4.2.5. Ethnic conflict and Cultural assimilation.....	87
4.2.6. Ethno-Politics Basis.....	89
4.3. THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND CONFIGURATION.....	90

## **CHAPTER V**

<b>5. CASE STUDY - POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND REGIONALISM OF GUINEA.....</b>	<b>96</b>
5.1. Background Study of Guinea.....	96
Economic Condition.....	97
<b>5.2. THE RESOURCES AND THE EXCEPTIONAL MINING CAPITAL.....</b>	<b>99</b>
5.2.1. The Mining Sector.....	99
5.2.2. The Energy Sector.....	100
5.2.3. The Agricultural Sector.....	100
<b>5.3. HISTORY OF GUINEA.....</b>	<b>101</b>
5.3.1. Republic of Guinea Votes No.....	102
<b>5.4. POLITICAL REGIMES IN GUINEA AFTER INDEPENDENT.....</b>	<b>105</b>
5.4.1. Guinea after Sekou Toure (1984 to 2008)-Military.....	105
5.4.2. Radicalization of regime Conte.....	107
5.4.3. Financial Scandal and Corruption of Regime Conte.....	108
5.4.4. Breakage of the Century.....	110
<b>5.5. REGIME AFTER GENERAL LANSANA CONTE (2008 TO 2010).....</b>	<b>110</b>
5.5.1. Military Regime of Moussa Dadis Camara.....	110
5.5.2. The atrocity of regime Moussa Dadis Camara.....	111
5.5.3. Civilian regime, President Alpha Conde (2010 to 2021).....	112

5.6. SOCIO-POLITICAL SOCIAL ISSUES AND REGIONALISM IN  
**GUINEA**.....114  
 Electoral Process in Guinea.....114

5.7. REGIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS ETHNIC CONFLICT IN  
**GUINEA**.....115

5.8. SOCIAL LINGUISTICS ISSUES.....119

5.9. CIVIL INCLUSION TO ULTRANATIONALISM.....120

5.10. COMMUNITY MARGINALIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL  
 ISSUES.....123

5.11. GUINEA, NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AND THE DIFFUSION OF  
 ETHNIC CONFLICTS.....124

**CHAPTER VI**

6. CONCLUSION.....125

6.1. PEACEBUILDING IN WEST AFRICA.....129

6.2. INTEGRATION IN AFRICAN UNITY.....131

6.3. REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ACHIEVE MEDIOCRE RESULTS.....132

6.4. CONFLICTS AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN WEST AFRICA.....133

6.5. ETHNIC HOMOGENEITY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT.....134

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**.....135

**West-AFRICA**



## 1. INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on the challenge of regional integration, ethnicity and conflict in postcolonial West Africa within the framework of a case study on Guinea. It examines how ethnic conflicts and economic inequalities have contributed to political and economic instability and affected integration in the sub-region.

In the 1980s, conflicts in Africa continued unabated, and most predicted that the number would increase. As elsewhere, Africa has experienced its share of inter-state wars, but the majority of its conflicts are internal, and these conflicts seem to be increasing. The tragic aspect of this is that most of the casualties in such conflicts occur among civilian populations, estimated at 80-90% of the total.

In addition to causing casualties and refugees, the conflicts also cause disease, malnutrition and starvation, social and economic decline, and decline clandestine migration from Africa to Europe. Especially in sub-Saharan Africa, specifically in In West Africa, prior to the colonization, ethnic groups have always cohabited together like in any other region in the world. Their cohabitation was not always as peaceful nor conflict as it used to be today.

West Africa has always been an empire and kingdom system before colonization under the traditional constitution called Kurukan Fuga or Charter of Mali. The Kurukan Fuga consisted of 44 articles that unified ethnic groups and tribes in peace and security for decades in the region.

The division of the empire system into the smallest countries with boundaries caused many tensions and divisions in the region. Besides this creation of the new states with borders, the population and government also struggled to understand one another because they had to adapt to a system that did not reflect their reality. The 44 articles of Kurukan Fuga reveal the political construction and development of West Africans prior to the arrival of settlers. New states and borders have led to new conflicts and tension. Inter-ethnic or tribal wars have existed for centuries, as have ethnic groups in West Africa. However, two events have changed how conflicts were fought and how these

ethnic groups used to live side by side with mutual respect into armed conflict and civil war.

The first was the Berlin Conference in 1884, marking the beginning of colonization. After breaking down the West African Empire, various ethnic groups were forced to live together under colonial supervision after the destruction of their previous lifestyle. Second, some ethnic groups in new states were given economic preference after independence, as well as power, unlike others. After the colonizers left, it was essential that these new countries with varied ethnicities regulate their affairs without outside supervision and create a manageable form that allows them to live together in a multicultural society and promote growth and development.

Moreover, the division of the Mali Empire into many small countries is closely related to the founding of the Pan African movement in West Africa. A common goal and political unity of Africa were the goals of the movement, which brought together all blacks on the African continent and Diasporas. A community that transcended tribal or ethnic boundaries was created as a means of accomplishing this goal, freeing Africans from colonial shackles. The ideology was to create a type of African that is first identified as an African, regardless of their other identities.

In this way, the tasks for the artificial West African States have become difficult, not only because the ethnic groups have to live together as independent states for the first time in the alien system, but also because the pan-African movement, which Africa counts on to support the spiritual and ideological back-up of African unity, was suddenly eliminated by neo-colonialists and their actors, the Toubabs. Competition for resources and political power suddenly became the central power of the competition, and primordialization and instrumentalization of ethnicity suddenly became the norm in the power struggle.

**ECOWAS** and its predecessor, the **African Union (UA)**, tried to use the unity of the African polity as a civic alternative to ethnic nationalism.



Due to the large number of **Toubabs**<sup>1</sup> in the West African leadership after independence, it was still difficult to implement this unity. The Toubabs, such as President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso, Mobutu Sisseko of Congo RDC, Joseph Arthur Ankrah of Ghana, Moussa Traore of Mali, Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast, Charles Tylor of Liberia.

This topic interests me since it will help us understand West African issues bound to ethnicity and colonialism from their roots. As a result, we will also be able to gain a better understanding of what went wrong in West Africa before and after colonization. Additionally, it will enable other scholars to understand West African issues from the native perspective. West Africa has been the subject of many studies from the perspective of colonizers, which do not match the reality of those living there. This is due to a lack of understanding of the local language, history, tradition, and culture, as well as the governing and economic system before the settlers arrived. Although I have read many articles about ethnicity and conflict in West Africa, many of them are written by non-natives who mix ethnic groups and tribes in the region.

As a result, they sometimes divide an ethnic group into multiple ethnic groups. Even though an ethnic group in an English-speaking country has a different name, it does not differ from the one living in a French-speaking country. There is a need to understand the ethnic groups of West Africa before borders divide them into countries and nations. These borders created tension and a regional migration flow between economically favored and less-favored countries, as well as ethnic envy in the different regions. This research is a study of politics, religion, sociology, anthropology, culture, linguistics, ethnicity, conflict, colonization, post-colonial, and social sciences.

Therefore, it has created a migration flow from West Africa, which somehow becomes an arm-wrestling between two geographical borders, Europe and

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<sup>1</sup> The Toubab is intended for white people, generally the colonizer. By extension, it can also refer to a foreigner in general or an African who adapted a Western way of life, or an African with a Western-style. It can also refer to an African leader who leads his people for the benefit of the colonizers.

Africa. The major parts of this research will be based on fieldwork and will be accompanied by the pieces of the short documentary (episodes) and interviews with the local elites, traditional chefs, and ethnic groups in West Africa.

#### Target Ethnic Groups:

The target group of this research will be the ethnic groups coming from Sub-Saharan, West Africa, specifically Mandinka Ethnic group as target ethnic.

Keywords: ethnicity, history, migration, identity, tribalism nationalism, sub-Saharan Africa, colonialism, post-colonialism, religion, anthropology, ethnography, politic, conflict and sociology.

#### **Aims:**

The aim of this research is to advance understanding of how ethnicity, nationalism and the challenge of regional integration in West Africa are shaped and to provide knowledge based on the reality of the region. and a framework for understanding the historical facts of the matter. In addition, it is to bring the necessary knowledge and innovation of identity conflicts in order to address the issues raised by ethnicity and colonialism in West Africa.

#### **1.2. OBJECTIVE:**

With this background in mind, the objective of this thesis work is to examine two related questions as a context for examining challenges to West Africa's integration. These include the extent to which ethnic nationalism has contributed to the various civil wars in West Africa, and how those civil wars have in turn affected the level of integration in the West African sub-region. There is a need to understand the complex ethnic diversity of West Africa in order to study the integration problem. There will be enough effort put into exposing the interrelationships and connections between the various ethnic groups in West Africa.

In summary, the main objective of the thesis is to determine how ethnicity has led to the various conflicts in West Africa and the effects of these conflicts on the integration of the West African sub-region.

### 1.3. METHODOLOGY

**Methodologically**, a lot of process and sequence have been used to answer the research question, which culminates in the presentation of facts. The earlier part of its argument centered on historical facts which led directly to what is happening today and before in West Africa. This led us to deeply understanding the context of West African situation to know what went wrong the past to the present. The study used a lot of secondary sources, as well as opposing subjective views of previous scholars to support its simplistic conclusion. It consists of six chapters plus a case study. These theories helped us identify and explain the variables that influence unity in Africa such as ethnicity, exclusivity, nationalism, and conflicts. Afterwards, it discusses the alternative option as a dream or goal of early the Pan-Africanists. The later chapters provide a comprehensive analysis of the causes of ethnic conflicts in West Africa and why they spread across borders. It was also shown that ethnic heterogeneity and conflict multiplicity are linked in West Africa with a bit of quantitative analysis. In order to arrive at a conclusion, Guinea republic was used as a case study.

**Chapter one** introduces the topic of ethnicity, unity, and integration in Africa. Several relevant theories were applied to this thesis in order to analyses ethnicity and ethnic nationalism, particularly in African contexts. The theories were carefully selected to support and explain each of the variables impacting the research question. In the beginning, the theories are chosen to explain ethnicity and ethnic nationalism. Ethnicity and ethnic nationalism are theoretical concepts used to describe the relationships between individuals and their states. Using the theories, we were able to define the various forms of identity crisis and security interests that characterize the relationship between the various individuals and the modern state in which they find themselves. The theories of ethnicity, exclusivity and ethnic nationalism were used to explore how individuals adopt identities and how they use those identities to interact with others. This thesis also examines the process of transition from a tribal society to a modern multiracial society.

The theory of primordialism and instrumentalism have also been used to demonstrate the positive aspects of nationalism and the two theories by giving some examples in the West African context as a form of development. In West Africa, both theories were used as an explanation of their role in regional integration and its negative effects on unity across ethnic lines. Furthermore, the paper explained why unity between groups with similar ancestry (biological, belief, traditional practice) and culture is easier than it would otherwise be. The rise of the pre-colonial national consciousness in West Africa can be explained by imperialism.

In the same chapter, ethnic nationalism and ethnic nationalism will also be analyzed and compared for their effectiveness as ideas in nation-building. Based on the effectiveness of the two ideas, it can be determined their value in societal development in West Africa. This study examined if the society of West Africa could be reconstructed to accommodate all ethnic groups as well as citizens who are agitating for more equality. By doing this, the effectiveness of democracy in the region will be tested, as well as the efforts by ECOWAS to develop a regional union where citizens, nations, and countries will be more rooted in their states than their ethnic groups. Additionally, it emphasized the relevance of the modern states in West Africa accepting to live in a multi-ethnic society that is egalitarian. In Western African society, frictions abound across cleavages based on the theory of conflict. Western African society is characterized by natural, cultural, and modern stratifications that have led to conflict within and across ethnicities.

In the third chapter, we examined the physical and social environments in West Africa. This is the background that may have influenced human behavior within the sub-region. This includes a brief history and geography of the region and its ethnic features. These exclusive variables served as a backdrop for the theatre of conflict in the region. In addition, the chapter presented Pan-Africanism as a more civic alternative to ethnic nationalism in terms of development. Among other things, it examined the movement's role in presenting a choice of identity, securing independence, and integrating African states. A comparison was also

made between colonizers' methods for transforming ethnic nations into modern civic organizations. As part of this chapter, we'll explain how civic nationalism is linked to regional integration in West Africa, and give examples of integration organizations in the region.

Using criteria from a variety of authors on war studies and conflicts, Chapter Four categorizes wars and conflicts in West Africa. This categorization is used to make an inventory of major conflicts in the region. In addition to explaining the immediate and distant causes of ethnic conflicts in West Africa, the chapter included a quantitative analysis. A table displaying the ethnic composition of the different countries in the sub-region was presented in this section. The data was further demonstrated with pie charts to make visual comparisons possible. The chapter includes a quantification of ethnic conflicts in the region and a table with the major ethnic conflicts since 1989. Each state's conflicts were added to the number of successful and unsuccessful violent coups d'états in each state. The figure was now used to compute the correlation between the states' ethnic diversity and the level of ethnic-related conflicts in West Africa using the correlation coefficient formula.

In chapter five, ethnic conflicts were analyzed and how they led to disintegration in the region as a result of them. Our choice was the Republic of Guinea because it exemplifies ethnic coalition and social reconstruction as a means of achieving balanced economic growth, power competition, succession failures, and development. A leading light in the Pan-African movement and a strong advocate of gradual regional integration of African countries, its founding president also aimed to create a united African continent. It was with his ideas that he created what seemed like a utopian 'zero-ethnic' civic nation, but after his death in 1984, the social reconstruction collapsed with pluralistic democracy, and civility degenerated into ethnic nationalism, ethnic coalition, regional tension and inter-communitarian conflicts.

Furthermore, the article explained how ethnic redistricting took place in the subregion. It began by providing an overview of Guinea's social, economic, and political background. Unlike 1984, the book attempted to trace the evolution of

ethnic identities in the present day, and how colonization led to an increase in tensions within the country. The chapter will also discuss factors responsible for the outbreak of instability in the economy, the social situation, corruption, and the role ethnicity played in the war. We will examine the link between political tensions in Guinea at the end of the chapter.

In addition, the role of international and sub-regional migration played a major role in the outbreak of ethnic conflict in neighboring countries such as Liberia, the Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone.

The sixth and concluding chapter attempts to explain how civil conflict in West Africa has impacted the integration process. It explains how the regional group ECOWAS is trying to resolve conflicts and investigates whether the approaches used are justified. Finally, we will examine how the various conflicts may have led to the growth of ethnic nationalism in part as a result of civic nationalism's failure. The effect of Pan-Africanism on Africa's unity was also discussed.

## **CHAPTER II: THEORITICAL APPROCHES**

### **2. ETHNICITY : Theory**

There were passionate discussions about this topic among French specialists on Africa during the 1970s and 1980s, with two majors opposing each other. In the first strand, based primarily on Marxist anthropology, Claude Meillassoux and, with substantial variations, Jean-Loup Amselle were key figures. In their view, ethnic groups were colonial creations, the result of the colonial administration's desire to territorialize the continent and rationalize its management by dividing it up into ethnic groups. After appropriating these "invented" identities, the populations could then develop strategies for accessing power and resources. Therefore, ethnicity would be the expression of a false consciousness whose mobilization by political leaders such as Henri Konan Bédié in Côte d'Ivoire, Samuel Doe in Liberia, Daniel Arap Moi in Kenya, Denis Sassou Nguesso in Congo or Paul Biya in Cameroon would be dependent on manipulation and would divert attention from real social struggles.

According to the second group of historians and sociologists, such as Jean-Pierre Chrétien or Gérard Prunier, the colonizers "tinkered" with the African ethnic groups, but they did not "invent" them. Instead, they reworked them, reformulated them, named them, classified them, and hierarchized them, creating ethnic boundaries where none existed before. Nevertheless, if this process of ethnic demarcation could succeed with the support of missionary movements that helped codify indigenous languages, spatialize their actions, and set certain customs in place.

This work employs a variety of theories to explain the causes and effects of the current political crisis in West Africa. Although several factors have contributed to these conflicts, the most prominent factor is the ethnic diversity of the region. Scholars and politicians watching the region have often pointed to ethnicity as the cause of the region's problems. As a matter of fact, the current political situation in the region is largely determined by its ethnic composition. Understanding ethnicity as a concept will assist in understanding the multifaceted conflicts in the region. The word 'ethnicity' or, more precisely, 'ethnic group' is directly derived from the word 'ethnic'. Max Weber defined an ethnic group as a group of people who share a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities in physical appearance or traditions or both, as well as memories of ancestors. The belief must be important in group formation, regardless of the existence of objective blood relations.

Nnoli (1978), defined an ethnic group as a social formation distinguished by the communal nature of their boundaries and membership, especially their language and culture. Barth, (1998) redefined it as a set of delineated borders between neighboring groups and individuals are mainly concerned with maintaining these boundaries in order to explain one's identity in terms of comparative comparisons.

Nonetheless, he identified four basic theoretical characteristics of an ethnic group. The first is that the group has to be biologically self-sustaining, the second is that its members must share basic cultural values manifested in overt cultural forms, the third is the group must be in a bounded social field of interaction, and

the fourth is that its members must identify themselves and be recognized as belonging to the group (Jenkins, 1997). The three descriptions by Weber, Nnoli, and Bath actually defined an ethnic group with an identity and boundary. Ethnic groups and ethnicity are also distinguished by these features. As such, ethnicity can be understood as a term that evolves within the interrelationships between ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is a form of social relationship between individuals that consider themselves to be culturally distinct from those in other groups with whom they interact on a minimal basis (Erickson, 2002). According to Fredrik Bath, ethnicity is a set of established boundaries within neighboring groups, which individuals tend to maintain in order to explain their identity, often in a relative comparative manner (Eriksen, 2002). While there is a consensus regarding ethnicity as a feature of identity, the boundary of an ethnic group is not necessarily rigid; in many cases, the boundary is applied haphazardly in order to keep individuals inside or outside a group.

Continuing this argument, Cohen claims ethnicity is not so black or white, but rather a fluid concept by which members distinguish "in-groups" from "out-groups," and which can change constantly due to various situational factors (Cohen, 2013). In the ethnicity discourse, the concept of "border" became a point of distinction between Cohen and Barth. The boundary of an ethnic group creates an exclusiveness that is jealously guarded by its members. Among the criteria for setting boundaries are things like descent, language, physical characteristics, occupation and other cultural characteristics that aren't necessarily fixed or used intermittently. Cohen denied that boundaries are rigid, arguing that they are fluid and flexible, with members able to change their identities when they live in close proximity to other groups (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994). According to Barth, identity change comes with failure, since the individual can change simply to the alternative ethnic group by adopting their culture, while the welcoming group will not forget his origin. Therefore, Cohen explained that ethnic groups establish physical boundaries to maintain and distinguish themselves from other groups



in order to maintain their identities. However, Cohen acknowledged that in most ethnic groups, physical location may not be an important factor as many ethnic groups are scattered throughout the world and still retain their boundaries. Cohen's theory may be illustrated by examining the Jews.

## 2.1. FORMATION OF SOCIAL GROUP AS ETHNIC

The theories in this thesis work are carefully selected to explain the cause and situation of the crisis that affected the political landscape and the integration of West Africa in recent decades. It is likely that there are several reasons for these conflicts, but what highlights them is the ethnic plurality of the region within different beliefs, a cultural lifeline, or cultural integration due to the border crossed by colonizers. Several academics and politicians who are familiar with the region have often attributed the region's problems to ethnicity. The political situation in the region is primarily determined by the ethnic composition of the region. Weber has described ethnic groups as "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common decline," stating that "no matter if there is an objective or no blood relationship" The aspect most striking about the definition of Weber is that the key ingredient of ethnic appearance is belief in a common descendant. This subject dimension to ethnicity seems to become a central element of Interior's thinking of sociologists. Weber, however, did not picture race in his definition as equally subjective like most scholars of his time. Instead, he believed that races were derived from "common inherited and transmittable traits that actually come from common descent (Weber, M., Roth, G., Wittich, C., Fischhoff, E,1978). This view of race is called essentialism; which assumes that a person's identity depends on fundamental characteristics that are profoundly ingrained, inherited, and unchangeable.

However, not all recent sociologists take the essentialist's point of view. In early North American society, early Pan-Africanist and sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois (1963) challenged the idea that the distinctive characteristics had a common biological component to all African Americans and that these traits could be determined by examining the way in which black people live and work in the US

(Du Bois, 1940). Du Bois defended his idea based on racial identity (racism) that was so widespread in American society in the years following slavery, making it impossible for African Americans to be in a position or find a job in the way that white people do. The higher unemployment rate among black people in America does not mean they are lazy or unwilling to work; it just means there is a stereotype of black people's identity that determines their laziness. This prejudice against African Americans by white employers created some reality for black people based only on the stereotype.

However, both of them have something in common, either a common interest or a common belief. Black people have a common issue, which is being black in a society predominated by white people that defines black people as ethnic or racial (laziness). In addition, we can see the differences in Du Bois's opinion. In a multicultural society like America, an ethnic group can be a race group. Black people are considered a race in North American society, but besides Hispanics, Asians, and whites, they are also considered an ethnic group or a community. While Weber's opinion can be associated with the common interest in the beliefs of particular human groups, in which he referred to human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common decline, we can understand the difference between Weber's definition and Du Bois's. Weber alludes to a religious perspective related to power and economics. While Du Bois alludes to social justice for the marginalized community that has common problems due to their race or color which is confirmed by Chávez, & Guido-DiBrito (1999), racial identity is a surface-level manifestation based on how people look, but it has profound implications in how people are treated.

Weber's definition describes the dominant group as an ethnic group, while Du Bois describes the dominated group as an ethnic group or race. However, both dominant and dominated are categories, and they can be identified as groups of identities within a society.

According to Cohen (1974), an ethnic group is an unofficial interest group of people whose membership is distinct from other groups within a society, because they share many things together, such as beliefs such as religion, kinship,

traditional practices, or linguistic connection. Cohen's point of view seemed to see ethnicity as something not so concrete, neither a race nor a color, "black and white," but rather a fluid concept by which members differ in groups from other groups. This concept can be in a state of constant change due to various situational evaluations or applications (Cohen, 1974). In this view, Cohen explained that ethnic groups will ensure a physical boundary to distinguish and maintain their identity from other groups so as to indicate that the identity is rigidly linked to its position, but Cohen noted that in most ethnic groups, the physical position cannot be an important factor because many ethnic groups are dispersed in different places and still maintain their identity and boundaries. The Jews can be used as a good example of Cohen's theory.

According to Nnoli (1978), an ethnic group is a social formation in which members are differentiated by the communal character of their barriers and membership, especially language, cultural practice, or both (Nnoli, 1980). Nnoli and Cohen have similarities, but when it comes to the practice as an application to their specific environments, the application will be totally different. For example, in 2021, the French presidential election campaign revealed a theory of identity-based biological links to identity and political identity in which Maren Le Pen, a French presidential candidate, argued that obtaining paper as French nationality does not really make you French, while Eric Zemmour, of Algerian origin, argued that to be French you must have a French first name as your first name (Bernard, Charles, Jacques, Martine, Christine, Sylvie, etc.) and assimilate to French culture. For Zemmour, you cannot be called Mohamed, Kevin, or Charlos to be identified as French because those names do not correspond to the value of France and her history. Furthermore, Zemmour insisted that you cannot be French and be Muslim. He dissociates belief from the republic. During the TV show, Eric Zemmour told the French actress Hapsatou Sy that her name is an insult to France (Le Monde.fr. 2021). This confirmed Nnoli's (1978) definition that an ethnic group is a social formation in which members are differentiated by the

communal character of their barriers and membership, especially language, cultural practice, or biology.

However, identities are most controversial when it comes to race (human). Racism is Not about Race (Graves & Goodman (2021). Common categories like "Black," "white," and "Asian" do not represent genetic differences among human group (Goodman, 2021). The development of ethnic and racial identity differs greatly between different groups (Helms, 1995). The concept of racial identity refers to one's sense of self that is connected to racial group membership (Belgrave et al., 2000), while Science (natural science) is clear that claiming that categories such as "Black," "white," and "Asian" are based on genetic differences is incorrect.

In spite of the fact that scientists regard race as a pernicious fiction, race plays a significant role in the lives of everyone who identifies as racialized. A wide array of inequities in health, wealth, and other aspects of life cannot be explained without referring to "race", but racism is their real source. To fight racism and fulfill human potential, what do we need to know about the pseudoscience of race?

In an environment where three different facial features with colors are regrouped into a single society, their identification will not go without the word "race." Their social identification will be recognized as a group of human races. Their confrontation, conflict, or inequity between them will be identified as racism. While in Africa, the same issue of farting between groups of humans will be identified as xenophobia, not racism. According to Wijeyesinghe & Jackson (2001), the development of racial identity emerged from African Americans' experiences during the civil rights movement but spread over time to include other racial groups. Racial identity has profound implications in how people are treated (Chávez, & Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

As a student of social sciences and a black African, I believe that there are different identities within the race of humans. I have felt it many times in my life. As for Dubois, he alludes to social justice for the marginalized community that has common problems due to their race or color. Drawing on evidence from both

natural Graves and Goodman (2001) demonstrate that the ideology of racism created races and show why the inequalities ascribed to race are in fact caused by racism, in contrast with Helms, (1995), the development of ethnic and racial identity differs greatly between different groups, especially when comparing minority (e.g., Black Americans) and majority (e.g., White Americans) groups.

After reading the points of view of different specialists, most of them have in common to identify the ethnic identity, whose adhesion is based on the common interest. Many of those specialists I read from them related ethnic's identity to the common interest, race, color, membership, boundaries, common belief, social formation. After interviewing many traditional oral narrators of the African traditional point of view, believed that ethnic identity is linked the history than the common interest, but of course, it includes all the interests mentioned by the scholars. You cannot mediate an ethnic conflict without knowing our identity, which is our history (Bakarijan, 2021).

However, identity of race, many scientific studies based on genetics since the mid-20th century have shown that the concept of "race" is not relevant to describing the different geographical subgroups of the human species because genetic diversity is much greater between individuals in the same population than between different groups.

Many of Western scholars focused on common interest which cannot be enough to identify an ethnic group in West Africa. For example, the Mandinka and Sousou ethnic groups in Guinea have common interest but separated in politic. These two ethnic groups shared many common values such as belief, culture, kinship, and some traditional practices and language somehow, but are separated in some parts of their history which make them different ethnics. Any of non-native of the place or living with them and participating in their ceremonies would consider them one ethnic group. Despite their similarity, identity crises are always highlighted when it comes to the competition for political power. During the presidential election campaign, the word "common interest" becomes unfriendly between them, and then they plunge into tribal

democracy and ethnic pride. This concept rejects some of the points on ethnic identity given by some Western scholars.

It is very important to understand and analyze the different points of view on ethnicity from native and non-native perspectives. The point of view of black scholars is totally different from that of African and Western scholars. A black scholar is not an African scholar in terms of identity, but an African scholar can be identified as a black scholar and African. Black scholars are generally known to be descendants of Africans, but born and raised in a culture different from the root culture (Asian, Middle East, West, etc.) with great efforts to understand their roots and culture. They generally approach ethnic identity from a racial perspective. Like Marcus Garvey and Du Bois, they were living in a society in which groups of humans were identified as races. In the United States of America, besides white, Asian, Hispanic, and black people are identified as a race and in the same time an ethnic group.

According Garvey (1967) "the masses make the nation and the race. If the masses are illiterate, that is the judgment passed on the race by those who are critical of its existence". Garvey always approach black identity in the US and the UK as the race. However, it is often misunderstood that racial identity can have a variety of meanings derived from both biological and social factors. Race is commonly thought to be derived from an individual's physical characteristics, such as white or black skin tone. Racial identity can be described as a sense of group identity based on one's perception of shared ancestry with a particular racial group.

According to most of the Western scholars, ethnicity is associated with common interests such as a clan or the claim of identification with common interests such as beliefs, cultures, biological link etc. Some of them are opposed to ethnic identification based on color (race). All of these pieces of information are useful and can be combined to comprehend ethnic identity, but the concept of ethnicity in Africa is more complex.

African scholars are often known to be born and raised in the African culture and to possess traditional and local knowledge drawn from their roots and associated

with their historical ethnic and tribal identity, unlike black scholars. However, many theories of ethnic identity from an African perspective are not yet in academic. It is important to ask African students or academics to deal with the fieldwork in order to bring new knowledge and solutions to the identity crisis on the continent. From an African perspective, ethnicity is more historical, and it can historically be associated with anything that has been said by different scholars. But history is the first line. It is impossible to be a negotiator or mediator in an identity crisis in West Africa without having a concrete knowledge of history (Bakarijan, 2021).

## 2.2. INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE CONCERNS OF IDENTITY

An identity crisis is always triggered when one identity is excluded from social consideration. According to Chávez & Guido-DiBrito (1999), a racial identity is a surface-level manifestation based on how people look, but it has profound implications in how people are treated. Helms (1995) found that the development of ethnic and racial identity differs greatly between different groups, especially when comparing minority (e.g., black Americans) and majority (e.g., white Americans) groups. Furthermore, it can also be farked when an identity is included in a negative stereotype of generalization from social consideration (e.g., Muslims are terrorists after 9/11) (in cinema, the word "gangster" often identifies black people). In the Ivory Coast, the *Djoula*<sup>2</sup> ethnic identity was considered an illiterate group and non-civilized before the civil war in 2002. This inclusion of an identity into a negative connotation leads to marginalization and conflict.

### 2.2.1. Exclusive Identity Theory

An exclusive identity is a simultaneous being of something and especially not being of something else. Furthermore, I am *Camara* from *Konianke*<sup>3</sup>(ethnic group)

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<sup>2</sup> *The Dioula inhabit several countries in West Africa (see also United Nations, May 2, 2005), including northern Côte d'Ivoire, western Burkina Faso, Mali, Gambia, Guinea (Conakry), Senegal and Sierra Leone. Mostly Muslim, the Dioulas generally practice trade. another of Djoula is Mandinka*

<sup>3</sup> The Koniankés are a subgroup of the Mandinka ethnic group, known for their ferocity and bravery, living in a region particularly different from where Mandinka can be traditionally found.

and therefore I am not *Mandinka's Camara* (ethnic group). Inherent in the theory of this identity is the negation of other competing identities. Exclusive identity trends tend to be stronger, but they are not generally accessible. Identity remains pure as it is defined by its people, linked to their common achievement, belief, or differences that can be an accident of speaking the same language in different ways from the others. Besides economic exclusion (employment, housing, finances), there are also sociocultural, and identity exclusions as well as difficult access to basic rights, (Tap, 2005).

Exclusive identity is not disinclined, at least to a certain level, to participate in the larger context. In order to meet the requirements of its membership, the identity may create parallel or alternative structures to provide basic services.

For example, normally, the term "Semitic" identifies the people (both Hebrew and Arab) from the ancient Near East and Northeast Africa. However, after WWII, it identified only Hebrew with the belief of Judaism. Discrimination against other Semitics (Arabs, Ethiopians) is not considered antisemitism. The fact of being Jewish is just a belief. In other words, it means anyone can be Jewish by following Judaism which is impossible in the theory of ethnic and racial identity. Chávez & Guido-DiBrito (1999), racial identity is a surface-level manifestation based on how people look. Base of this theory, we found no different facial features or look between Arab-Muslims and Hebrew Jewish only religion. In a study examining violent conflicts, Fox (2014) concludes that since the 1980s, religious-nationalist groups have been responsible for increasingly more violent conflicts as opposed to non-religious nationalist groups. So, instead of self-identification as a Jewish, the best fit word would be Hebrew or Semitic, but barriers to participation in the larger context push an identity more in the direction of exclusivity. But weber's theory identifies a group of believers as an ethnic group. An ethnic group is a group of people who share common beliefs (Weber 1963). The most striking aspect of Weber's definition is that the key ingredient of ethnicity is the belief in common descent. As an exclusive identity defined by its members, certain opportunities, values, and considerations are not shared with non-members.



According to Bakarijan (2021), Judaism is a belief or a religion; it cannot be fully stood as a political or an ethnic identity. Judaism includes many ethnic groups, including Arabs, Black Africans, Hebrews, and Berbers. The word "Jew" cannot stand as an identity of an ethnic group. It can serve as a complementary identity to identify someone's religious beliefs. (e.g., "I am a Berber." My belief is Judaism.) Bakarjian suggests that religion can't be an individual's full identity, but only a complimentary one.

From the perspective of culture:

Cultural studies distinguish identity between a main culture and a subculture. The term "sub-culture" is defined as a group of people within a culture that differs from the parent culture (main culture) to which they belong, often retaining some of its founding principles. Exclusive identities can be considered sub-identities in the study of identity. They share the same characteristics as subcultures in terms of exclusivity. The difference is in the legitimacy of their principles. In several societies around the world, sub-identities have become legitimate identities (e.g., *Jews, Konianke, Mende, Kuranko*). The role of exclusive identities in perpetuating hostility in societies experiencing inter-group tension has gained increasing attention since the end of the Cold War (Commuri,2010). This identity has been used to justify the perpetration of the Holocaust by the Nazis in Europe, apartheid in South Africa and segregation in the United States, among other things.

### **2.2.2. Majority vs Minority (exclusive) identity**

The most important thing is that this part leads us to understand that the exclusion of an identity from social consideration or value is a basis for power. It depends on who has the power. This power can be under the hand of majority or minority. This identity crisis has often created various conflicts in many societies in the past, and it continues today in different forms. Apartheid in South Africa (e.g., minority dominant identified as white, excluding the majority dominated identified as black South Africans). According to Chávez & Guido-DiBrito (1999)

a dominant identity has profound implications for how people are treated in a society. Furthermore, usually the dominant identity is the one that is accepted by the majority group, but it can be taken for granted by the dominant culture as well. The subordinate identity, on the other hand, is considered to be incapable of fulfilling their preferred roles.

Example: In November 2010, French President Nicolas Sarkozy launched the "great debate on national identity," which critics have criticized for instilling fear in French citizens with foreign roots and immigrants. By organizing local meetings and providing access to a website, the initiative will be a national consultation on the definition of French identity. Despite the fact that the government views this debate positively, national polls have shown that 50% of French citizens are dissatisfied with the way this debate is being conducted in France (Knorr, 2011))

Furthermore, in France, Gitan or Roma are the Europeans, but not included as the pure Europeans due to the prejudice created against them as an identity or bound to their appearance.

In terms of race, exclusive identity is very common. It is the exclusion of a minority, the dominated group or race, from certain social considerations, classes, or values. The theory states that a mixed-race or biracial child could not be identified as white. The identification of a mixed-child as a black child comes from an exclusive ideology. The fact is that a mixed-race child is not black, but according to the exclusive theory, the child is already mixed with the blood of a person of color. It is not purified enough to be identified as a white person. While in the 1960s, the American government identified Egyptian migrants as white people and compared any Egyptian skin to Meghan Markle's. None of the Egyptians is whiter than Meghan, but she is exclusively considered a black person. Thus, for the segregationists being black as a person is not about color but blood and biological links. It is an identity created by the dominant group to exclude the dominated group. However, in any case, the current scientific consensus rejects the word "racial identity". There is, in any case, the existence of biological arguments that could legitimize the notion of "race". Furthermore, we

have to admit that race is a social construction and it is a part of our current reality, even though it does not exist biologically.

### **2.2.3. Negative inclusion as an identity**

In this context, inclusive identity is an identity that identifies minority-dominated groups or majority-dominated groups with negative activities or connotations. In terms of politics, inclusive identity is often used by politicians to attract the dominant group and exclude the dominated group. E.g., Donald Trump (2016), "Mexicans are bringing drugs, and bringing crime, and they are rapists," building a wall to exclude them from coming to the States. In France, Marie Le Pen (2017) said, "The migrant workers are taking the jobs of the French." They just came here to benefit from our system and steal our wallet."

So often, this inclusive identity is used by so-called nationalists to purify themselves from other social groups. Despite Trump's repeated "speech," considering Mexicans and migrants to be drug dealers, criminals, and rapists does not mean the identified white Americans are not doing the same.

## **2.3. THEORY APPROACH TO ETHNIC IDENTITY**

Ethnic identity refers to the relationship between a person and a group with which he or she believes he or she shares a common ancestry due to common characteristics, common socio-cultural experiences, or both. Furthermore, ethnicity has been explicitly explained in a way that makes it similar to an understanding of the term ethnic identity. The ethnic simply describes an ethnic group in relation to another, while ethnic identity emphasizes the attributes that make an ethnic group other than another. However, there is no universal definition of ethnic identity, indicating confusion in the concept of the term.

The definitions and interpretations of identity and ethnicity can be combined to emphasize the sameness of a group of people with shared customs, traditions, and historical experiences, and in some instances geographical location. An interpretation of the combined definition can provide insight into how identity is conceptualized and used to explain ethnocultural influences on its development

and formation. At another level, ethnicity has almost become synonymous with identity, leading scholars like Herbert (2003) to suggest that identity is no longer a useful term. In addition, identity is rapidly becoming a cliché as a result of its increasing popularity (Gleason, 1996). The present study fills this gap by integrating the theories of the development of how ethnic identity changes throughout a lifetime with the immediate content of ethnic identity while adolescents move through their natural environment. For example, the concept of "salience" measures the relevance of ethnic identity at some point in time based on the interaction between the stable cross-cutting characteristics of an individual (in this case, the state of ethnic identity and the immediate environment (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998).

According to Dickson (2005) it is a constructed affiliation where individual is seemed by themselves and by others as affiliating to a particular group of ethnic or culture. For Phinney (1990), ethnicity is a starting point that eventually drives the development of social recognition as an identity based on a group membership. While both approaches have contributed significantly to our understanding of how important it is to consider ethnic identity among individuals as a society's members, the two approaches have existed largely in parallel. Furthermore, in order to advance the investigation of ethnic identity, it is important to integrate our understanding of how ethnic identity change over time with our perceiving of what it means to be our society.

Furthermore, Weinreich claims that ethnic auto companies are not a static process, but change and vary according to particular social contexts. Individuals can, for example, avoid situations in which their identity is challenged, threatened, humiliated, and punished, and seek and maintain the greatest number of situations that support the state of identity. Self-expression, the maintenance of ethnic identity, and identities located have a promise of understanding the complexity and dynamics of ethnic guidelines through the theory of the analysis of the structure of Weinreich's identity theory (Weinreich and Saunderson, 2003).

However, Weinreich (1986) does not consider personal identity as a starting point and believes that the formation of identity and development refers to different states of identity in which different social contexts will influence the state and actions of the identity of one person.

"Ethnic identification" has been defined by Cheung (1993) as "the psychological attachment to an ethnic group or heritage", thus positioning the construct within the sphere of self-perception. The Dutch sociologist, Saharso (1989) extends the definition to include the processes of choosing friends, selecting a future partner, estimating their life chances, and interacting with others in their social environment.

Both definitions include boundaries that distinguish between "self" and "other." Saharso's definition expands the "others" boundary to include an attribution component. An individual may strongly identify psychologically with an ethnic group. However, the strength and authenticity of the identity are dependent on the acceptance and acknowledgement of "ingroup" and "outgroup" members. Saharso's definition is consistent with the work of sociologist Barth (1969), who argued that ethnic identity was a means of creating boundaries that allowed a group to distance itself from one another. Barth was adamant in his belief that ethnic boundaries define a group, not the "cultural stuff that encloses it" (Sollars, 1996).

A study examining the development of ethnic identity by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous (1998) concludes that it fills the gap by integrating the theories of how ethnic identity changes throughout a lifetime with the immediate content of ethnic identity while adolescents move through their natural environment. For example, colonization created new identities in Western Africa through border crossings. The creation of a new state has led to the creation of a new ethnic identity in West Africa. The movement or division of ethnic groups from their natural environment into a new environment has created new identities and conflicts. For example, the Djoula in Ivory Coast considered themselves an ethnic group different from the Malinke in Guinea. Prior to the

colonization, they were a single ethnic group known as Mandinka. A border crossed between them as different states created new identities (e.g., Ivory Coast is Djoula, Mali Bambara, Guinea Malinke).

According to psychologist Phinney (1990), ethnic identity is defined and measured differently in different studies, making generalizations and comparisons ambiguous (p.500). Phinney's definition is currently the most widely used in psychology (1990, 2000, 2003). In her opinion, "Ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional concept that refers to one's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group," (2003, p63). According to her, one claims ethnic identity within a subgroup that shares at least a similar culture, race, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin. Furthermore, she stated that "Ethnic identity is not a fixed category, but rather a continuum."

A number of ethnic identity theories emphasize an individual level of analysis where notions of identity development and formation are connected to one's self-perception. Henri Tajfel's (1982) theory of social identity has been central to much of the work in this area. Tajfel argues that one's sense of social identity strongly influences self-perception and should therefore be the central criterion for evaluating oneself. Our self-awareness is largely determined by our status with our reference groups and how we view outgroup members. Ethnicity and race are central to an ingroup's identity, so self-identity is influenced accordingly. The distinctive ethnic characteristics of an individual, however, can restrict them, as one may reject the individual's own ethnic group's external judgments, thereby challenging and refuting those of the dominant outgroup. Individuals can also withdraw from or dissociate from the referent, thereby creating psychological complications for themselves. Tajfel's social identity theory has influenced ethnic identity research substantially, although some researchers prefer to carry out the research under the rubric of ethnic self-identification.

In most cases, ethnic identity is a product of social negotiations in which one declares an ethnic identity and then proves that the ethnic group markers displayed by one are acceptable and acknowledged by others. person's ethnic declaration is often open to scrutiny from others who can validate or invalidate

it. Declarations of ethnicity embody an ethnic consciousness closely aligned with the cultural elements of the ethnic group to which they belong. The ultimate manifestation of ethnic consciousness is one's genuine identification with a collective. It therefore makes sense to assume that there would be a concordance between personal identity and an outsider's sense of identity, where the importance is placed on one's own categories and intentions for self-identification.

The authenticity of one's claim is often promoted by the use of ethnological speech patterns and gestures. Ethnic actors may exaggerate and give emphasis to mannerisms and speech idiosyncrasies that are specific and particular to the reference group if their outward appearance does not mesh with the standard physical criteria or if others are doubtful of the identity claim. When members of ethnic groups meet or gather in geographical areas that are not their homelands or communities of origin, this ritual or stylistic emphasis occurs, too. An example of situational ethnicity and situated ethnic identity is the distinctive ritual. In an individual or societal context, individuals may use labels to describe their ethnicity and subsequently their identity. Labels help classify and name people. Consequently, ethnic labeling has a sociopolitical purpose, especially for census and demographic studies. In a superficial sense, ethnic labels can be useful, as long as there are no generalizations about distinct cultural orientations. Label use is, however, a small part of the identity process, since a person may expand the labeling to include other factors such as natal background, acculturation status, ego-involvement, and attitudes toward own and other groups. Behavioral preferences such as language usage, friendship affiliations, music and food preferences, and participation in cultural and religious activities may also be considered (Trimble, 2000).

In addition, the idea of ethnicity continues to be deeply shaped by and shaped by geopolitics. In the wake of 9/11, new framings of identity have emerged and new patterns of sociopolitical organization have emerged. There is sectarian violence in Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Anti-Arab (and anti-Islamic) sentiment has been exacerbated by the rise of the Islamic State. People with different ethnicities,

religions, and nationalities have been living together in close proximity due to the large displacements of refugees in West Asia, the Middle East and Europe. Right-wing parties are resurgent in Europe and North America, organizing around imagined common histories and ethnic identities that demonize the others.

Furthermore, there is no universal definition of ethnic identity, indicating confusion in the concept of the term. Ethnicity has been explicitly explained in a way that makes it similar to an understanding of the term ethnic identity. Scholars have explained ethnic identity in different ways, in which Herbert (2003) suggests that identity is no longer a useful term. According to Gleason, (1996) it is due to the increase in popularity of human groups. Some scholars like Dickson allude to ethnic identity to a particular group of people or within cultural background unlike Phinney (1990) who sees ethnic identity as the social development of recognition as an identity based on group membership. For Weinreich, it is the social context in which he claims that ethnic auto companies are not a static process, but change and vary according to particular social contexts. For example, avoid situations in which their identity is challenged, threatened, humiliated, and punished, and seek and maintain the greatest number of situations that support the state of identity.

## **2.4. ETHNIC NATIONALISM: THEORETICAL APPROACHES**

### **2.4.1. Nationalism**

Nationalism has masks as patriotism, but it is very intolerant; Nationalists almost always have rancor; I'm self-skill. A moment bitterly complained about their complaints, the next moment becomes aggressive and vicious. Nationalism is almost always ethnic nationalism, also known as Ethno-nationalism is a form of nationalism in which a nation and nationality are defined in terms of ethnicity; with emphasis on the ethnocentric application of various political issues related to the national statement of an ethnic group particularly.

Nationalism as a political or sociological concept was strongly developed in the twentieth century. Joireman, (2003) described nationalism as a political ethnicity.



She also described it as an ethnic group with a political agenda. Garvey, (1925), supported this view from a political-industry perspective and stated that any student of political science, any student of economics knows a solid industrial base can only save that race. Political independence can only save that race. Take industry away from a race; take political freedom away from a race, and you have a group of slaves. Garvey always approaches ethnic nationalism from race, economic and political perspectives, meaning that the nation cannot be powerful without economic and political freedom. Garvey's viewpoint emphasized that a nation without economics and political freedom is a group of followers without respect.

Garvey's idea is closer to that of African ethnic nationalism than Joireman's. Joireman is a political power analyst whose view we can apply to Western society. In western society, a member of an ethnic group holding the presidency does not change the situation of his ethnic group. As an example, Barack Obama, who held the presidency of the United States for a short period, did not change the state of his ethnic group (Afro-Americans) in the country. According to Charles (2009), in *Ethno-nationalism in West Africa*, the political agenda of an ethnic group occupying the top position comprises the monopolization of absolute power and economic resources. The concept of West African Ethno-nationalism means that they shared the political power and wealth of the country with a minority group in the country that created another nationalism from other groups.

According to Muller, (2008), the central concept of ethnocentrism or ethnic nationalism is "a common shared heritage, which usually includes a common faith, a common language defined a nation, and a common ethnic ancestry or value. For Rangelov, (2013) those ethnic groups may be classified as second-class citizens. Using the term "ethnic nationalism," the theorist Anthony D. Smith describes non-Western concepts of nationalism rather than Western views of nationalism defined by a nation's geographic location. Diaspora studies scholars extend the non-geographic notion of a nation among diasporic communities,

sometimes referring to a conceptual collective of dispersed ethnic groups as an ethnic-nation or ethnonationalism (Safran, 2008)

The nation is driven by the state, while nationalism is an idea or stand position that may simply support one's ethnic identity against others. Other ethnic groups Jaffrelot (2003). Gould and Klobh (2014) have defined nationalism as a group consciousness, a consciousness of attachment to a nation. It also refers to ideologies that seek to justify the nation-state as an ideal form of political organization. According to Calhoun (1997), there is no single theory that can explain the term nationalism, the term is too diverse. He supports his idea that there are various contents and orientations of nationalism that are narrowed based on a historical context of different cultural traditions; the actions led by the rulers or contingent situations within the international world order. Smith and Leoussin (1987) defined ethnic nationalism as a form in which they described nation and nationality in terms of ethnicity, emphasizing an ethnocentric approach to various political issues related to the national assertion of a particular group in a state.

Throughout the world, we can observe ethnic nationalism; however, state nationalism differs from ethnic nationalism or ethnocentrism. There are three types of nationalism we are going to develop according to the theories mentioned above: Interstate nationalism, Interethnic nationalism, and Ethnic nationalism. State nationalism (e.g.: American and French nationalism celebrate on 14 July each year with the flags of their nations), while interstate nationalism distinguishes them from the rest of the nation to which they belong because of their feeling about their history, language, values, and culture (e.g.: in Canada, Quebec celebrates its nationalism on 24 July, while other parts of the country do not).

In addition, interstate nationalism is very similar to ethnic nationalism, their differences are based on objectivity and membership. I associated interstate nationalism with the separatist movement for those who have a common history, language, etc., but it comprises multiple ethnic groups with common political

goals or interests (e.g.: Catalan in Spain, Flanders in Belgium, Casamance in Senegal). Ethnic nationalism, or Ethno-nationalism, is the form of nationalism in which 'nation' is defined in terms of ethnicity (e.g.: a minority of English-speaker in Liberia called Americo-Liberia imposed and defined the country's national language as English among the majority indigenous Liberians).

All this complexity regards the nationalism brought intention to understand what is really nationalism we found the word "nation" in the word "nationalism". So, it is impossible to define the word "nationalism" without understanding what is a nation. While a nation is a population living specific a territory that must be led by a state. In this line, we may think that the word "nation" and "country" or "state" are the synonyms, but it is not always the case. For example, Senegal, Germany, and France are the nations meanwhile the country. In contrast, Quebec, Walloon, Scotland, and Catalonia are the nations, but not the countries. From this perspective, we can define the concept of a nation as a group of individuals who share many common points or visions (e.g.: their language, territory, history, tradition, and religion).

Furthermore, Quebec, Catalonia, and Flanders are good examples of the nations, since they are located in the demarcated territories with populations that share a common language. In other words, nationalism led us to the concept of people within an ideology that highlights the belonging and pride they have for a nation. Often nationalism develops in the reaction to threats to something they have in common, such as the disappearance of their language, or vanishing of their common value. Nationalism can follow different objectives: **1. Valuing the nation's culture** (e.g.: they forbid speaking French at Flemish schools in Belgium, and Amazigh must study at all Moroccan universities). **2. Defending the interest of a nation** (e.g.: protection of language and value of the events into the national agenda. In addition, Amazigh in Morocco and Catalan in Spain ensured the constitution of their countries must protect their languages. **3. Get Sovereignty "independence"** (e.g.: Scotland referendum in 2014 in the UK, the arm-wrestling

between Morocco and Western Sahara, and Casamance vs. Senegal). We can see various forms of nationalism in this.

A nationalistic feeling is unique to each individual, so the intensity of the feeling of belonging to a nation varies from one person to another as well. E.g.: within the same nation, some people may have a great deal of national pride, while others may be more or less proud of their nation for different reasons (E.g.: Most African Americans consider 14 July as an insult to their looks and the black territories in France for French such as Guadeloupe, Martinique etc.).

#### **2.4.2. CIVIC NATIONALISM**

Political philosophers describe civic nationalism, also known as liberal nationalism, as an inclusive form of nationalism based on traditional liberal values of freedom, tolerance, equality and individual rights without any ethnocentrism (Tmir, 1993 & Auer, 2004). According to Kymlicka, (1995), in many cases, civic nationalists argue that national identity is a necessary condition for individuals to live a meaningful, autonomous life. To function properly, democratic polities require a national identity (Miller, 1995). Civic nationalism is often contrasted with ethnic nationalism. Citizenship within a state is a foundation of civic nationhood. As a consequence, a "civic nation" is not defined by language or culture but by its political institutions and liberal principles, which its citizens commit to upholding. Those who share these values are considered members of the nation, regardless of their culture or ethnicity (STILZ, 2009).

However, rather than ignoring the law and violating citizens' rights, the government respect law and rights. When compared with ethnic nationalism, civic nationalism is more democratic as a social movement. It conforms more to liberal democracy. As a result of education, the mass is integrated into the 'high culture', granting them the same political rights as the elite, reducing the role of the elite to managing rather than manipulating them.

Civic nationalism begins with establishing the nation-state, which is no longer a geographical region but a unit whose main purpose is to protect its culturally homogenous inhabitants. According to Gellner, (2009), a prominent modernist, the state is the guardian of not only a faith, but also a culture, and the maintainer of an education system that is inextricably homogenous and standardized. The main focus of civic nationalism is the nation state, which promotes the belief in a society unified by the notion of territoriality, citizenship, civic rights, and legal codes that are transmitted to all members. As a result, everyone is now equal before the law, be it the elite or the masses. There is no longer a mass of "low culture", instead modernity has eliminated the cultural cleavages and created a new high culture. Civic nationalism is about entering, participating in, and identifying with a literate high culture that is co-extensive with a whole political unit and its entire population. Shared characteristics, such as language, experiences, rules, food, education, etc., form the social bond (Smith, 1998). This bond does not require a common paternity, but is formed through exposure.

It is not a new concept or component, civic nationalism existed in pre-modern times as well, particularly with the existence of states and notions of patriotic consciousness. However, what distinguishes it from the modern concept is that all these components are united into one entity and citizens are associated with one public culture on a territorial basis. In order to be willing to participate socially and politically, it is important to have a sense of belonging to a particular community.

#### **2.4.3. CONSTRUCTIONIST SOCIETY**

According to social constructivism, McKinley, (2015), knowledge is constructed by interacting with others and is socially situated. The concept of social constructivism is similar to social constructionism in that people work together to create objects. Social constructivism focuses on how individuals learn as a result of their social interactions in a group, whereas social constructionism focuses on the artifacts that are created by social interactions. As an example, the shape of a cup suggests some 'knowledge' about carrying liquids (see also

Affordance). It can be used for a variety of things, but its shape suggests some 'knowledge' about carrying liquids. Online courses are a more complicated example—not only do the 'shapes' of the software tools indicate certain characteristics of the way online courses should be run, but the activities and texts produced within the group will also influence the way each individual behaves in the group.

In contemporary social science, social constructionism is a theory that is used specifically to analyze cultures and interactions between cultures. According to McMahon, social constructivism emphasizes the importance of culture and context in understanding what occurs in the society and constructing our knowledge of the truth of this society based on this understanding. Psychoanalysis, Burr (2003) has its roots in the discipline of psychology and has been applied across the social sciences, most notably in the developmental theories of Vygotsky and Bruner and in the social cognitive theory. Its intellectual and cultural foundation is postmodernism. The culture in which a person is immersed, such as the language, history, and social context, will also influence their cognitive development.

## **2.5. PRIMODALISM**

There is another approach to understanding the concept of ethnicity. Johann Gottfried Herder, a German social philosopher, traced ethnicity with its origin. The theory argues that certain primitive or certain sociological groups exist in a society. These primitive groups are innately cohesive because of biological, cultural, or racial traits, which then become instruments of social differentiation (Szayna, 2000). Primordialist scholars discovered a state of conflict between in-groups and outsiders and states that aggression towards outsiders is justified as an instinct to survive. In their opinion, relationships between individuals of different groups are conflictual, anarchic, and destructive, whereas relationships within those groups are more peaceful, orderly, and supportive (Chandra,2012). In the primordialist point view, ethnic groups function as insular universes, their membership is defined by accident of birth, and when constituted, they

perpetuate their uniqueness by socialization of their point of uniqueness from other groups (Szayna, 2000). According to Szayna (2000), the scholars of primordialism primarily believe that ethnic groups exist within pluralistic societies that contain several competing formations. Relationships within the ethnic group may be personal or impersonal, but relationships with other ethnic groups are strictly impersonal and they usually take place through market structures or political processes. The purpose of these institutions is to distribute wealth and power within society and create winners and losers, which may be disproportionately favorable to the former. This could eventually lead to conflict among the aggregates. There can still be inter-aggregational conflict, even when the disadvantaged group is smaller, when it internalizes a "myth" of deprivation thereby channeling resentment towards other groups rather than diffusing it internally. As a result, primordialists believe that violence is insignificant in the case of competition for resources within the same group and is not on a large scale compared to violence against other groups.

It has been found that primordialists have both strengths and weaknesses. The study has the major advantage of focusing on factors that can easily explain human solidarity, most of which are superficial (e.g., skin pigmentation, common language, or common enemies). Nevertheless, they did not explain the nature of group solidarity or how to solve the problems of collective action among groups.

### **2.5.1. ETHNIC CONFLICT AND PRIMORDIALISM**

Ethnic conflicts make up a major challenge for political stability and integration in West Africa. Countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Guinea all bear the vestiges of the danger of ethnic conflict. The existing explanations of ethnic conflicts fall under two basic theories: primordialism and instrumentalism. However, neither of these theories has sufficient explanatory and prescriptive power (Gurr 1994). After reiterating that no theory is strong enough to explain ethnic conflict, Williams (2015, 147) recently called for the development of theoretical models capable of explaining how the various factors put forward in existing theories of ethnic conflict "interact to spark ethnic

conflict." To help build more balanced accounts of ethnic conflict, this section exposes a model in which ethnic identity (at the heart of primordialism) and grievances/frustrations (at the heart of instrumentalism) interact to increase the likelihood of ethnic conflict. To illustrate its empirical utility, the integrative model is used to develop a revisionist account of the murderous genocide and ethnic cleansing (e.g.: Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia in the early 1990s to 2010). First, it is worth briefly recalling the assumptions key to **primordialism** and **instrumentalism** regarding ethnicity and ethnic conflicts.

### 2.5.2. PRIMORDIALISTS VIEWS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

According to Primordialists, the fundamental springs of ethnic conflict derive from their different identities (Vanhanen 1999; Esteban, Mayoral, and Ray 2012). However, many Primordialists argued that ethnic identity is assigned at birth and passed genealogically from generation to generation as the heir of human nature. Accordingly, under primordialism, the identity of an ethnic group is made across time, which functions by sharing common blood between them, Primordialists expect hospitality and cooperation among group members, as well as hostility and conflict against outside groups (Smith 1996, 445, Harowitz 1985, 7, Hammond and Axelrod 2006, 927).

Primordialists believe that because ethnic differences under primordialism are ancestral, deep, and irreconcilable, ethnic conflicts arise inevitably from 'ancient hatreds' between ethnic groups and 'mutual fear' of domination, expulsion, or even extinction (Geertz 1963). By highlighting differences in ethnic identities as a fundamental source of inter-ethnic hatred, fear, and conflict, Primordialists suggest that ethnically heterogeneous states will inevitably experience ethnic conflict (Vanhanen 1999, 58).

However, even in sub-Saharan Africa, primordialism of ethnic conflict cannot always be assigned at birth as an heir of human nature that is passing genealogically from generation to generation. Tribalism can be assigned at birth as an inherent of human nature that is passing genealogically from generation to generation.



In West Africa, tradition used to mark a child on the face or the body to identify his/her tribe, unlike ethnicity, whilst ethnicity is often about a common interest. This common interest can be political agenda, language, or ancestral cultural practices that differ from the others. A group of tribes united for a common interest is called an ethnic group in West Africa. In other words, ethnic group consists many tribes. But because of Western academic domination in sub-Saharan Africa, many African scholars have problems distinguishing between ethnic conflict and tribal conflict. Ethnic conflicts often lead to civil war at is national level while tribal wars are often regional conflicts. Furthermore, in West Africa, a person's family is very important to trace both biological and ancestral roots. In West African tradition, it is known that all *Fofana*<sup>4</sup> is linked to a single genealogical tree as tribe not as an ethnic. For example. in Guinea, the family name "Fofana" is considered to be Maninka ethnic group while not all Fofana in Guinea are Maninka. Fofana is commonly known to be from the tribe of *Soninke*. However, in Guinea, we have *Fofana* belonging to *Sousous* ethnic group, Konianka ethnic group as well Maninka ethnic group. Conflict farted between them for the competition power (e.g.: presidential election communal election, regionalism). However, these ethnic groups (Konianka and Maninka, and Sousous) unite as a unique identity against other ethnic groups in the country to maintain power. Often this happened on the second tour of the president's election but first tour, all of them go apart. I qualified this as an ethnic coalition. This coalition is made the fact they have a common genealogy and interest.

Furthermore, the idea of Western Primordialism can be understood a little better if we look at the USA. Because racial identity is considered an ethnic identity, we are born into ethnic groups. As a black person born in the USA, you belong to the black ethnic group along with Hispanics, Asians, and Caucasians. Nevertheless, in Africa we are born into tribes before being associated with an ethnic group.

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<sup>4</sup> FOFANA: is used in West Africa, it is a soninké name belonging to the Diakhankés community. The Fofana (or Guirassy) are part of the four clans that founded the Diakhankés. They are a noble or maraboutic family. The name would have the following explanation: "the first (fana) thing (fo)" in Soninke language.

According to Primordialist, Geertz, (1963), ethnic differences under primordialism are ancestral, deep, and irreconcilable, ethnic conflicts arise inevitably from 'ancient hatreds' between ethnic groups and 'mutual fear' of domination, expulsion, or even extinction. Primordialists often forget the different structural political and socioeconomic conditions in which ethnic conflicts develop in Africa.

### 2.5.3. INSTRUMENTALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Instrumentalism is often seen in diametrical opposition to primordialism, which it rejects as unscientific. Instrumentalism views ethnic conflicts do not arise directly from differences in ethnic identity. Rather, ethnic conflict occurs only when ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated by the ethnic leader or political leader to provide political and socio-economic benefits to an ethnic group at the expense of the disadvantages or negligence of other ethnic groups.

Therefore, instrumentalists refer to factors other than ethnic identity to explain ethnic conflict. These include safety concerns (Posen1993), Competition and inequality (Gurr 1993a; 1993b and 1994). The feelings of dissatisfaction that underlie these factors suggest that ethnic conflicts under instrumentalism are often motivated by dissatisfaction/frustration by the other ethnic groups (Ellingsen2000).

Instrumentalism is more subtle than primitivism because it recognizes the relevance of political and socio-economic structural mechanisms to take into account temporal and geographic changes in the appearance of ethnic conflicts. It seems to be a theory. However, instrumentalism emphasizes the manipulation or politicization of ethnicity by the elite as the root cause of the diseases that cause ethnic conflict, but people simply mobilize, cooperatively and effectively, in ethnicity function. The reason for the mobilization cannot be explained independently. It is primitive wisdom to recognize the power of the people to maintain a sense of "common blood", common values, common interests, common threats, and above all, an essential sense of solidarity. Must depend. It is an action in favor of a group.

As mentioned, differences above, the Primordialism theory emphasizes only ethnic identity differences, while instrumental players emphasize ethnic dissatisfaction resulting from the politicization of ethnic identity differences that lead to social inequality and frustration by other ethnicities as the case of Liberia. The instrumentalization of ethnic and religious identities thus became a major policy of the ethnic groups in West Africa to extend their domination over the others, a region that became highly strategic in the context of the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century.

In Liberia, the former repatriated slaves from the USA by the American colonization to society to Liberia were able to create a union between them and stood as an ethnic group called "Congo Liberian" beside the native ethnic groups. The former slaves created a system of instrumentalization in which they were at the top. They conveyed the superiority of Western American culture. They put the English language at the forefront as the national language which makes them top of the other ethnic (native) groups. They have created a political system in favor of them in which you cannot be a president without speaking English. The country leadership and economy were only under the hand of Americo-Liberian ethnic group. The instrumentalization of ethnicity in Liberia had led to the civil war.

Four theories explained the nature of Liberia civil war Africa:

a). **The colonization in Liberia conflict:** Occupation of territory by colonists cannot occur without the political, economic, and social structures that allow the territory to be "liberated" for permanent colonization projects. Colonialism is a doctrine or idealism that justifies colonization and is understood as an extension of state sovereignty over areas outside the border (Kohn,2006).

The Americo or Congo Liberia colonized native Liberians through cultural assimilation. They have used religion as mental domination in the process of primordialism that allowed them to declare state to a specific region (Christianity) and differentiate them from the native ethnic groups in the country.

b). **Primordialism in Liberian conflict:** as Primordialists' views explained that the fundamental springs of ethnic conflict derive from their different identities (Vanhanen 1999; Esteban, Mayoral, and Ray, 2012). Liberia's civil war is rooted in the primordialism perspective. The repatriated former slaves created an identity as the Americo-Liberian. The new identity unified them as former slaves repatriated from the USA, shared a common history, belief as Christianity, and the language is English.

c). **Instrumentalism in Liberia conflict :** in their views rather, ethnic conflict occurs only when ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated by an ethnic group or political leader to provide political and socio-economic benefits to an ethnic group at the expense of the disadvantages or negligence of other ethnic groups. Therefore, instrumentalists refer to factors other than ethnic identity to explain ethnic conflict. A Common interest or heritage of the former slaves or a descendant of slaves in Liberia was not the fundamental cause to start conflict in Liberia; rather, they have used their identity as a politic to exclude others socially and economically.

d). **Assimilation in Liberia conflict:** Cultural assimilation is the process of adopting the values, behaviors, and beliefs of a minority group or a culture-dominant group. Cultural assimilation is the process by which a minority group or culture resembles a majority group in society or adopts some or all of the values, behaviors, and beliefs of another group (Charles, 2004).

. The former slaves repatriated to Liberia that took the leadership of Liberia were already culturally and politically colonized by the Americans to assimilate into African territory (Liberia). This reflects that decolonization in Africa will not be a peaceful separation between colonizers and colonized. First, it will be a conflict between Africans in which Africans colonized with Western ideology against Africans with Pan-African ideology. Afterward, it will be a clash between Africans and the West, but too much internal war to win before reaching the heart of the problem.

## 2.6. CONFLICT THEORY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

According to Karl Marx, he adapted his dialectical method from another German philosopher, G.W.F.Hegel, and combined it with his historical materialism. According to Hegel, the universe is comprised only of 'ideas' or 'consciousness' and all social institutions are merely the result of changes in ideas. By contrast, Marx believed that the universe is composed of 'matter' and not ideas, and social institutions are the result of changing material conditions (Mbah, 2008). On the other hand, Marx believed that social institutions were the result of changing material conditions and that 'matter' and not ideas were the essence of the universe. As a result, materialism is the underlying principle of the historical economic system in all societies, where each individual works to maximize their own profit potential.

Throughout history, freemen and slaves, patrician and plebeians, lords and serfs, guild masters and journeymen -- in a word, oppressor and oppressed, fought a struggle that each time ended, either with a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or with the destruction of the contending classes (Marx & Engels,1998).

The materialistic society is essentially divided into two halves, which now struggle to dominate each other, rather than necessarily being divided into two equal halves. During the struggle for materials, classes were created in society. Classes are forms of stratification that all societies undergo. Marx and Engels wrote, "All societies to this point have been characterized by class struggle." (Mbah, 2008). Several stratification lines exist in society, such as between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between capitalism and communism, between landlords and tenants, between oppressors and oppressed and so on, that explain class conflicts. In conflict theory, inequality is seen as a fundamental characteristic of the world, which Marxists believe revolution must eventually correct (Peil, & Oyeneye1998).

Other scholars, particularly Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto, and Max Gluckman, developed conflict theory further. All societies until now have been the product of class struggles.

Conflict theory was developed by many later authors who recognized that social stratification, caused by materialism, is also transformed into power-based classifications in which society is divided not just between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also between the elites and the masses (Peil, & Oyeneye1998). Thus, the struggle for scarce resources has resulted in social inequalities that have led to classes based on power. As the elites continue to manipulate the masses in order to maintain or improve their status quo, the classes are essentially trying to maintain or improve their status quo.

According to Peil (1998), conflict theory has its origins in a society where the greed for power and material by a few elites creates a grievance among the deprived masses. Essentially, class struggle has caused a state of conflict within society, with the most powerful trying to exploit the weak either with their consent or without. Societies are now divided into layers of power and wealth, with the elite bourgeoisie at its apex and the poorest at its base. In most societies today, stratification is a feature of society, and the most powerful devised methods to prevent others below them from attaining their status (Peil, & Oyeneye1998, pp10.)

Conflict theory asserts that conflict is a fact of life in all societies, manifesting itself in many different forms, including conflicts between religions, between races, or between groups of people. In the past twenty years, conflicts between ethnic groups have increased greatly, especially in states where there are many ethnic groups, as racial conflicts had taken on a global scale and even led to wars. States like these exist either as a result of conquests, as in Ivory Coast from Mali, or artificially, through colonization. In such states, dominant groups have easier access to land and minerals, which will eventually lead to the development of power dominance. Horowitz, (1985)'s explanation focused on what is it about ethnic groups or ethnicities that make them prone to conflict.

Some of the reasons he suggested include the fact that hatred between groups can lead to conflict, especially if there has been a previous experience of hostile contact between the two groups. Additionally, contact between groups brings together people with very different values and norms, resulting in a clash of

cultures. Modernization also exacerbates ethnic conflict by causing groups to compete for the same resources. «As a result of economic competition, there are ethnically segmented labour markets or conflicts between buyers and sellers », he said. Horowitz, (1985, expressed the same view as other authors by alluding ethnic conflicts to "elite competition and the actions of ethnic entrepreneurs". He explained that elites will constantly manipulate ethnic identities as a means to achieve power, and this will result in ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic conflict is a conflict between different ethnic groups. The opposing ethnicities may live in the same country or in different countries. In the 20th century, as now, Africa has been and still is the painful and macabre theater of identity or ethnopolitical conflicts (e.g.: Rwanda, Somalia, Ethiopia, Liberia; Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast). So, as a case of security dilemma, ethnic conflicts have also been studied. According to Melander (1999), there is a constant struggle for power and security in politics, and the relationship between actors is therefore based on conflict, leading to anarchy as each actor tries to take advantage of the first strike. Therefore, it has been argued by Melander that security dilemmas are always the result of ethnic groups living close together and becoming especially vulnerable to attacks. It is in this security dilemma that ethnic groups may launch preemptive attacks on one another Melander (1999). Other approaches to social conflict will suggest theories that make a general assessment of what factors are inherent in the actors that lead them to conflict.

A theoretical approach proposed by Kriesberg, (1998) focuses on the conflict-generating characteristics of specific individuals or, as he puts it, "the universal characteristics that drive conflicts in humans or their societies". As a fundamental basis for his conflictual behavior, Kriesberg provided examples of features of human nature that influenced his conflictual behavior. This may include studying the biological, evolutionary, or psychological background of individuals and societies. It has been found to be a general phenomenon in other animals related to humans as well. In Freud's works, he explains how we behave

territorially, how our social order is hierarchical, and how we tend to project our frustrations on others (Kriesberg, 1998).

### 2.6.1. TOPOLOGY CONFLICTS DIMENSION

A topological feature class's geometry can be shared with other features, so the process of replacing conflicts with simple feature classes differs from reviewing conflicts between versions of topological feature classes. As well, geometric networks, relationship classes, and feature-linked annotations are used to replace conflicts in this process.

The changes may be based on the same feature class or to one or more other feature classes when a feature class that is involved in a topology is edited. The changes may belong to the same or to one or more other feature classes. It is important to keep track of where edits have been made as dirty areas in topologies so that new topology errors can be detected. Editing features creates dirty areas.

From the beginnings of the development of modern states in West Africa, conflicts have been a part of the political landscape. There must be a standard categorization of conflicts in order to be able to determine their level and impacts on the region in order to understand how conflicts play a role in the integration of the region.

In addition to evaluating conflicts based on their outcomes, Kriesberg, (1998) categorized conflicts using an evolutionary conflict model. Conflicts, according to his view, pass through three stages: emergence, escalation, de-escalation, and settlement. According to his simplified conflict cycle, a conflict emerges from the base and then moves through manifestation, escalation, de-escalation, termination, and consequences. There is the possibility of constructive or destructive consequences. If the parties regard the outcomes as mutually acceptable and will serve as a basis for future relations, the consequences may be constructive. In so far as they are imposed unilaterally irrespective of the interests and needs of the parties involved, the outcome of a war can be destructive (Singer,1972). As a result, there has been a form of controversy



surrounding the definition of political conflict, which has been attempted by several scholars at various times. In Singer and Small's 'Correlate of War' project, conflict is defined as violent disputes in which one party is a state and at least 100 battle deaths occur (Singer, 1972).

Conflicts have generally been classified into ethnic and non-ethnic wars. According to Carment (1999), most international conflicts can be explained as conflicts between races, ethnicities, religions, or civilizations. The internal conflict, he sees, is one that could spill over to the international sphere. Three types of ethnic conflicts are recognized by him as having international dimensions, including (1) irredentist – this occurs when states become major actors in ethnic wars, for example, the Arab-Israeli war, and the Casamance-Senegal war. (2) Secessionist – this occurs when ethnic wars within a state spill over onto international turf. The result of this secessionist conflict was the attracting of a third-party state (especially a 'self-appointed' regional peacekeeper) as well as (3) anticolonial ethnic conflicts which involved colonial powers and nationalist groups (Carment, 1999).

In this study, the Heidelberg Institute for International Research (*HIIK*) develops a cognitive simulation model (*COSIMO*) for conflict categorization. It describes a dynamic model of conflict with five intensity stages grouped into nonviolent and violent categories. In Frank Pfetsch's escalation dynamics, five types of conflict were recognized as latent conflict, manifested conflict, crisis, severe crisis, and war (Pfetsch, 2007). These five stages were developed from his escalation dynamics. According to the *HIIK* classification, latent and manifest conflicts are non-violent and low intensity conflicts, whereas crisis situations are violent but of medium intensity; severe crisis events and wars are of high intensity.

### 2.6.2. NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT DIMENSION

Based on Ackerman, (1993)'s theory of nonviolent conflict, movements that renounce violence are more likely to succeed than violent movements in overthrowing despots. Sharp, (1994) was the one who first came up with this idea, questioning the romantic image surrounding revolutionaries in the Third

World. According to Sharp, the Marxists misunderstood the nature of power: oppressive regimes survive not because they monopolize violence, but because they receive society's consent: obedience is at the core of political power. Thus, Ackerman does not choose nonviolence because of its moral superiority, but rather because it is effective. According to him, the best success stories are the ones that set limited and accessible goals. The absence of violence does not necessarily mean the absence of conflicts, as conflicts are sometimes not related to violence. In spite of the fact that parties may not use force against each other, the outside world or at least one party should recognize that there is a conflict (Carment, 1993). Unlike Gandhi, Ackerman chooses nonviolence not because of its moral superiority but because of its effectiveness. According to him, those who achieve success are those who set manageable and limited goals.

In addition to the non-violent processes, there is a triangulation attempt between the protagonists in order to resolve conflict. In this way, the conflict can evolve towards a compromise when they construct or restore a common symbolic order that is the only one that can guarantee negotiation. There can be neither a winner nor a loser in nonviolence, but only an agreement at the end of which each party must account for their actions through the detour of the law.

### 2.6.3. VIOLENT CONFLICT DIMENSION

The conflict involved two forms, either using physical confrontation by forcing to resolve conflicting claims or interests. Although the term is sometimes used as a synonym for war, which involves at least one government, a violent conflict often involves at least two parties using physical force confrontation. The conflicts are caused by a variety of factors. In fact, conflict arises from a combination of social, political, economic, and institutional factors. Political factors: weak state institutions, elite power struggles, political exclusion, breakdown of the social contract, and corruption; and Economic and Social factors such as inequality, exclusion and marginalization, lack of or weakening of social cohesion, and poverty; and Resources and the Environment: greed, scarcity of national resources due to increased population growth and consequent

environmental insecurity, unjust resource exploitation. All of these factors may contribute to conflict, either as a cause, dynamic or impact. Conflict will inevitably result in new issues that will perpetuate the conflict. It is essential to understand and identify the various causes, dimensions, correlates, dynamics, and contexts in which conflict arises - as well as the specific contexts in which conflict occurs - in order to determine potential intervention areas, as well as design appropriate approaches and methods for conflict prevention, resolution, and transformation. It is also possible to classify violent conflicts by the type of actors involved and the location in which they occur.

Although these categories are rather blurry due to the degree of international involvement in internal conflicts, it can be difficult to differentiate between national and international conflict. This can be illustrated by the Congo wars in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), which began as a national war, but slowly evolved into a global conflict to the extent that it was dubbed the 'First African World War' (Reyntjens, 2009). It is nonetheless important to distinguish that violence within a state is not the same as violence between states (Kalyvas and Balcells, 2010). Conflicts between two or more states are also typically characterized by the official involvement of two or more governments. In violent conflicts, there is also a difference in the balance of power between opposing parties: As a result of an asymmetrical conflict, there is an imbalance of power between the parties, where one party clearly has the upper hand in the balance of power, whereas in a symmetrical conflict there is a balance of power, with powers more or less equal for each group.

As well, violent conflicts are categorized according to the topic they concern, whether it is a political or ideological conflict, a social, exclusionary or inclusionary conflict, or a conflict involving religion or ethnicity. Most often however, conflicts are a mixture of several different topics that overlap each other. The ethnic conflicts are often social conflicts, in which parts of the population are deprived of power or education for political reasons, whereas ideological conflicts may also involve religious issues.

## 2.7. DIFFUSION OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

The image of Africa today is one of continents ravaged by ethnic conflicts. The conflicts that often extend beyond the strict national framework and extend to vast regional areas, are often attributed to ethnicity, whether in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo or Darfur, where even genocide is cited. It is essential to trace the history of modern, colonial, and postcolonial taxation in order to understand contemporary West African conflicts. As a matter of fact, ethnicity in West Africa, which is the sense of belonging to a human group different from others and the right to claim it, is inseparable from the emergence of the European nation-state model at the end of the 19th century.

These conflicts are typically characterized by spillovers into neighbouring countries as their main feature. Among the reasons why some ethnic conflicts spread across borders into other regions and others remain relatively contained within their origin countries are the reasons why some ethnic conflicts spread into other regions. The history of the modern state, both colonial and postcolonial, is crucial to understanding contemporary West African conflicts. Indeed, ethnicity is inseparable from the formation of the European model of the nation-state that began at the end of the 19th century, the awareness that one belongs to a group that is different from others and claims it. Considering this, one cannot help but wonder about the origin of ethnic groups in Africa: were they "invented" by the colonizers (French, English, Portuguese) or did they predate the colonial conquests?

The concept of diffusion, contagion, and conflict escalation was attempted by Oana Tranca in an article. As an example, the paper used Lobell and Mauceri's book, *Diffusion and escalation of ethnic conflicts*, in which diffusion and contagion were used to describe the same phenomenon (i.e., spillover of conflicts to neighboring countries) (Tranca, 2007). In addition, they explained that escalation of a conflict is characterized by the involvement of more state and non-state actors.

### 2.7.1. FACTORS INFLUENCING ETHNIC CONFLICT DIFFUSION

Conflicts that are prone to violence are characterized by permissive conditions, whereas violent conflict situations are triggered by proximate causes. A conflict cannot diffuse from one area to another if permissible conditions and proximate causes are not present (Gur,1993). Tranca, (2007) defines diffusion as an increase in the number of actors in an international dispute as the definition of diffusion in the literature regarding international war spread. It is a direct form of spillover when an ethnic conflict spread from its initial locus within a national frontier where it emerged to neighbouring states by the implication of additional conflict due to regional proximity. A contagion is an indirect form of spillover where one group's actions act as an inspiration and guide for other groups by channeling them through a network of groups with similar grievances and discriminations (Tranca, 2007). According to him, escalation refers to a new stage of a conflict marked by its intensification from low intensity confrontation to open war.

Based on Fearon (1998), the settlement pattern of ethnic groups living in a particular state may influence the way in which conflict spreads. It is always very easy to wage a war of secession when the ethnic groups live in distinct parts of the region, but it becomes much harder to wage a war of secession if they are interspersed or mixed with other ethnic groups. When a minority group has an external guarantor who is willing to support the claims for a separate homeland, the situation becomes easier. According to him, secession is a form of conflict that can also spread easily within a region if other secessions within the region have succeeded lately, which reinforces the belief that secession is possible among other groups (Fearon 1998).

However, in addressing diffusion of conflict, four analytical misconceptions are widespread.

Firstly, diffusion is often explained as a 'spillover process', implying that little or nothing can be done to stop it, since it is a mechanical or natural contagion. As a consequence, it prescribes inadequate remedies for conflict prevention, which is misleading and potentially dangerous because it misjudges the reasons for and

ways in which conflict spreads. Secondly, diffusion of conflict is often confused with continuation, escalation, or intensification of violence. Conflicts do not always develop in a linear and logical manner, and may move from one stage of violence to another of non-violence.

Furthermore, many conflicts have an influence on other situations in some way. Thirdly, Conflicts often affect situations in other areas in some way. Conflict usually affects a country's geographical neighbors, even when the violence doesn't diffuse beyond its borders. A country or coalition that is involved in wars on more than one front is likely to influence each other. Finally, the trans-border diffusion of conflict must not be confused with trans-border conflict formations that straddle borders from the beginning. For example, a regional conflict formation is different from a regional diffusion of conflict.

Furthermore, conflicts are diffused as a result of information flow. The spread of conflict is faster and wider based on the level of information from one state or ethnic group to another, especially in cases of ethnic conflict that are already highly probable. According to Keller (1998) believed that transnational ethnic conflicts in Africa are caused by ethnic groups' perceptions that their 'security is being threatened by others'. If the state unable to intervene, there will be a kind of security dilemma, and the ethnic group may launch a preemptive strike against others.

The ethnic balance of other states can be disrupted by ethnic conflicts when they occur abroad. As Lake and Rothchild (1998) pointed out, refugees, retreats of armed insurgents, and direct border penetrations have the potential to diffuse conflicts overseas. Other ethnic groups may have their beliefs about ethnic contracts altered as a consequence of this development, which may create a new conflict across the border.

Recent literature on ethnic conflicts has highlighted the international dimension. Its regional diffusion, a crucial stage in ethnic conflict evolution, is much less studied, probably due to its rarity.

## CHAPTER III

### 3. A HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA AND IT'S ETHNIC NATURE

#### 3.1. West Africa: A Brief Geographical Summary

Geographically, West Africa is a land rich in natural resources, covering the entire western part of sub-Saharan Africa. It is approximately 8 million square kilometers; this includes coastal countries north of the Gulf of Guinea to the Senegal River. It is by its strategic position between North Africa (Morocco and Algeria). Because of its opening to the Atlantic and America, it has always been a place of the exhibition between Africans, Europeans (explorers), and the Arabs merchants).

The Mali Empire led to the emergence of organized political systems in West Africa in the 13th century. Eventually, the empire stretched 1,200 miles between Gao and the Atlantic Ocean along the Niger River. The north, bordered by the Sahara Desert, experienced a boom in economic activities due to the Trans-Saharan trade that brought Europeans and Middle Easterners. West Africa supplied gold, skins, slaves, and salt to the outside world in exchange for these commodities. After the *Mali empire* collapsed, the *Songhai empire* arose, which was replaced by the *Wassoulou empire* until Europeans arrived.

It was also the arrival of Europeans in coastal areas of West Africa that led to the development of trade and then the emergence of political activities and empire building. Among the empires that developed around the coastal areas were the Ashanti and Dahomey empires. They were mostly successful due to trading with Europe, particularly with commodities like slaves, gold, palm oil, and ivory. In exchange for these, they received manufactured goods from Europe, especially firearms, which they used as weapons to conquer other ethnic groups. Political organizations were smaller in scale and more peaceful before the trans-Saharan and transatlantic trades, compared to the intercommunity and interethnic wars of the trading period. As a result, so much was at stake. Transatlantic slave trade started in the 15th century A.D. due to the rapid transformation of the world's economy that occurred with the industrial revolution.

West African societies before the end of the 15th century showed several major centers of civilization that developed over time on the continent. Despite the fact that these civilizations developed in different ways, the remarkable political vitality which has been manifested by the constant search for the best formulas for common life and government over the centuries cannot be overstated. Let take for example Mandinka ethnic (target group) and their role in social-political organization. According to Madina (1977), a socio-political organization founded on the banks of the Niger, the provinces that initially formed the cradle of the Empire had no political ties apart from their loyalty to the power of the Emperor of Ghana. Starting in the 13th century, a political order emerged in western Sudan, the Mali Empire, gradually establishing its dominance throughout the region, reaching its apex in the 14th century.

Mali Empire (West Africa) was divided into 30 clans as social political organization, according to Kouayate: 16 free men clans, 4 griot clans, 5 maraboutic clans, and 5 artisans clans. Sundiata Keita introduced the pleasant kinship system as a means of bringing these clans together (Kouaye, 1998). This pleasant kinship is called (*The sanankouya or sounangouya*), a system of cousinship, a form of "alliance" that served as a "non-aggression pact" between the components (Ethnic groups of Mali) of the emperor Soundiata Keita. As a result of this alliance, which originated in the Nile Valley but extended across all of the Mali Empire under the emperor's rule, all ethnic groups were affected. The goal of this pact was to avoid confrontations, conflicts, and war, as well as to calm internal tensions.

The population owes the emperor the codification of customs and prohibitions that still govern relations between Mandenka clans, but also between them and other West African ethnic groups. A vigorous effort to integrate the peoples was initiated by the new sovereign in this multi-ethnic empire (Kamissoko,1991). The Mali Empire encompassed in a single political entity with various ethnic groups, in which the Sudano-Sahelian populations evolvment, has made it possible, through its operating structures, to strengthen the commonalities and attenuate the divergences between them.



In the empire, religion was not a problem or obstacle. In addition, due to the fact that its two late sovereigns were Muslims (Aboubakari II and Mansa Moussa), the empire was Islamicised. Despite the religious fervor that was evident (the pilgrimages of the sovereigns), there was a certain level of ignorance of Islamic precepts. Soninke and Dioula traders had been involved with Islam for a very long time, and they were the most deeply Islamized.

### 3.2. APOGEE OF THE MANDINKA EMPIRE IN THE 14TH CENTURY

A nephew of Soundiata became the king of Mali around 1303, and he made himself famous by exploring the Atlantic Ocean. Two hundred ships were fitted out with provisions and sent out to explore the seas as Aboubakar (Bakary II) refused to believe they were limitless. By citing his book, Ibn Fadi Al-Umari (1324) stated that two major voyages crossed the Atlantic Ocean prior to Columbus, the one Abubakari, who gave him the title Mansa (King), confirmed that both expeditions were pioneered by him. (Sertima,1976) under the rule of **Mansa<sup>5</sup> Aboubakari II**, the Malians discovered America before Columbus (Sertima,1976). He abdicated in 1311 to his brother, **Mansa Musa**. 1000 ships were equipped to the best men, sorcerers, doctors, sailors, and navigators. Each ship had a supply ship attached. The number of ships amounted to 2000. At the head of this armada, the Mansa (Aboubakari II) himself had two thousand ships fitted out, and he attempted to sail toward South America. These two great emperors marked Mali empire into World civilizations. According to Historia (2013), The Mansa Musa was the richest emperor in all of human history and one of the wealthiest men in history. He was never seen again. As the most famous of the Malian emperors, Mansa Moussa began to appear on European maps during his reign (11312-1332).

The traditionalists of Mali place a great deal of importance on **Mansa Soundiata Keita**, but the Muslim world of the 14th century learned about this empire

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<sup>5</sup> **Mansa** is a title worn by the rulers of the Mali empire and more particularly those of the Keita dynasty who dominated West Africa between the 13th and 14th centuries. The power of the Mansa included the right to dispense justice and the monopoly of trade, especially that of gold.

through one of its leaders, Kankou or **Mansa Moussa**, who made pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam (Delafosse, 1912).

*“Musa, who had risen to power in 1312, made a remarkable pilgrimage to Mecca. When he visited Cairo in 1324, he distributed so much gold that the precious metal lost its value for several years. Mali's prestige thus extended beyond the limits of the Sudan and it should be noted that this pilgrimage should not be considered as a simple pious gesture by a monarch. It was a far-reaching political, economic and cultural act” (Madina, 1977).*

Mansa Moussa left his mark on all Sudanese cities with his wooden rammed earth monuments. The mosques of **Djenne** and **Timbuktu** are the prototypes of the so-called Sudanese style.



*Mosque of Djene <sup>6</sup>in actual the republic of Mali*

### 3.2.1. The Essential Economy Base of Mandinka

During Mali Empire, the populations were very satisfied with the stable economy and good governance. The wealth of ancient Mali was based on trade, especially trans-Saharan trade. The control and taxation of trade fed the imperial

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<sup>6</sup> The Great Mosque of Djenné is located in Djenné, in the current Mali republic, in the alluvial plain of the Ban. The edifice was built in this place in the xiii century. Together with the city of Djenné itself, it has been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1988.

treasury and ensured the existence of the Empire. The most profitable products were gold and salt.

- *Ibn Battuta emphasized that'' the abundance of food in Mali, where the travelers, according to him, did not need to stock up on provisions, because in every village he found plenty of food. Cotton was also widely grown. The Mali empire, which covered several agro-ecological zones, the Sahara, the Sahel, the Sudan and touched the forest zone, had very varied agricultural production. The most widespread crops were cereals and millet. Cotton, one of Mali's great specialities, was also grown. Livestock were mainly raised in the Sahelian and Saharan zones. In the north, many camels were bred for the transport of salt from the salt pans in the north to the south and for the trans-Saharan trade, which required a lot of camels. The Mandéka also practised fishing. The Joliba (the local name for the Niger River) is a very rich river in fish'' (Ibn Khaldun,1925).*

The empire then controlled the gold placers of the Bouré du Bambuk and the Falémé, which made it a very large producer of precious metal. It must be said that, except in the mining regions, gold was hardly used in local transactions. It was mainly the property of the Mansa and the rich Mandenka or Arab-Erber merchants. Gold, salt, copper and cola are products that played an important role in the Malian economy.

Salt was mined in Teghazza and Idjil (in present-day Mauritania), while copper came from Takedda (present-day Niger). Kola nuts were imported from the south (present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast). The traders who specialised in this gold and kola trade were either Soninke or Mandenka. They came to be called under the generic name of Wangara oju Dioula. They played an important role in the spread of Islam and the Manden culture in the southern forest countries.

### **3.2.2. Mandinka Political and Social Organization**

This part will lead us to understand the root of ethnic groups as social organization to build, educate for the benefit of all the people in the empire. The Mali Empire was a confederation of tributary states and provinces. The provinces were ruled by governors called Farins or Farba, and there was a vizier, who acted as prime minister. The emperor was assisted by a council of elders (military and

civil leaders and marabouts). All political and administrative decisions were taken in council.

According to Kouyate (1998), in 1236, the representatives (12 Kings) and the allies met after the battle of Kirina established the first constitution to govern the great assembly of Mali (The empire) with the 44 articles. This constitution is called *Kurukan Fuga* in the local language and the *Mali Charter* in the English language as follows:

- Article 1: The society of the Grand Mande is divided as follows: • *Sixteen (16) "Your ta djon"* or quiver carriers; • Four (4) "*Mansasi*" or princely / royal family; • Five "*Mori Kanda*" or classes of marabouts, educators and professors; • Four (4) "*Nyamakala*" or trade classes.

Each of these groups has a specific role and activity for the progress and stability of the empire. *Kurukan Fuga* laid down the main principles that should govern the life of the great Manding people in all its ethnic groups and on all aspects: organizational, economic, cultural, legal, environmental, etc

Summary of 44 article of *Kurukan Fuga* :

**Article 1 to 33** talked about social organization, education, secretarial of empire, human rights, categories of respect, immigration policies, diplomatic protocols, age of courtship, conflict resolutions, fight against poverty, code of neighboring and marriage, tolerance and right of an individual in the society including women rights and their integration into the political aspects of the society. **Articles 34 to 39**, talked about penal codes for the properties and ownership, commercial codes, transaction codes.

**Articles 40 to 42** talked about preservation of nature, deforestation, protection of farmers, biodiversity, environmental and ecological issues and the code for the domestic animals.

**Article 43 to 44**, talked about the final provisions, the mediators between ethnic groups and regional tribes and the royal family, the position of the mediators in the empire, the respect of the constitution (*Kurukan Fuga* or *Mali Charter*), and law enforcement and its applications to the society.

According to the Epic of Sundiata, the Kouroukan Fouga or Kurukan Fuga was the constitution of the Mali Empire after the Battle of Krina (1235) by an assembly of nobles to create a government for the newly established empire. The Kouroukan Fouga is credited with organizing a federation of Mandinka clans under one government and establishing the laws by which they would live, as described by oral tradition by griot poets in Guinea and Mali.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Mali Empire covered a large area of West Africa. The nation owes its fame to its kings, such as Mansa Moussa, who was considered the richest man in history. Prior to the discovery of the Americas, the empire's economic wealth was derived from gold.

We know little about the social and political organization of the empire, but we know from accounts of Arab travelers in the 14th and 15th centuries that Mali's rulers claimed descent from Sundiata Keita. Soundiata Keita's account of the founding of Mali is still the historical meta-narrative for the contemporary Mandinka or Malinke (Mali-Nké), the population living in southern Mali and northern Guinea. The oral transmission of this meta-narrative has been documented in history books as the Soundiata Keita epic. Today's Malians - who named their country after the great empire of Mali - are very proud to come from an intangible heritage with such a long history.

We can then understand contemporary West African conflicts by retracing the history of the imposition of the modern state, first colonial and then postcolonial. Indeed, ethnicity, that is, the awareness of belonging to a human group that is different from others and of claiming it, is inseparable in Africa from the formation of the European model of the nation-state that began at the end of the 19th century.

With the arrival of the Europeans on the African continent, there was also a struggle for political power. Large areas of territory on the continent were colonized by European countries, especially in West Africa. For more than a century, France, the United Kingdom, Portugal, and Spain controlled large territories in West Africa. *Ghana, Nigeria, The Gambia, and Sierra Leone were colonized by the **United Kingdom**; Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Burkina Fasso and*

*Senegal* were colonized by **France**, while *Guinea Bissau* and *The Cape Verde* were colonized by **Portugal**, and the other countries of the Sub-region were colonized **Spain** (Onwubiko,1982). As a result of colonization, a lot of modernization took place, such as the construction of schools, the development of transport and communication systems, as well as the introduction of a modern judicial system.

The colonial system still lingers throughout much of the West Africa subcontinent, but the longest-lasting legacy is the introduction of a modern economy in contrast to the existing traditional economic system. Following the ban on slave trade, new cash crops were introduced: cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber, etc., and there was an increase in investment in mining, especially iron ore, tin ore, manganese, coal, zinc ore, and petroleum.

With colonialism, single ethnic groups were also divided or cut across artificial borders, resulting in the presence of the Mandinka in about six countries, the Fullani in about ten countries, and the Yorubas in approximately three countries. As many of the nations created by Europeans started demanding their independence in the late 20th century, African nationalism began to emerge. Most of these artificial West African countries gained their independence peacefully except Guinea Bissau that fought a long war against the Portuguese before finally becoming independent (Onwubiko,1982).

A period of economic and physical development was also challenging for all of the African countries after independence. During this period, coups and counter coups took place a lot, and interference from outside the region did not help matters, especially during the period of the cold war between east and west ideologies (Nugent, 2004).

Thus, so many West African countries degenerated into civil wars that spread like wildfires throughout the region. The outbreak of civil wars in the period immediately following independence was not surprising, but what was surprising was how civil wars and military coups in one country influenced or triggered those in others, especially in the West African subregion. Out of the fifteen West African countries, Senegal has not experienced a military coup

d'etat. In West Africa, a wind of change blew in opposite directions after the cold war.

### 3.3. WEST AFRICA'S ETHNIC NATURE

#### 3.3.1. Classification of West African ethnic groups

Sociologists classify ethnic groups all over the world based on a variety of criteria, but language groups are the most widely accepted. West African languages have been identified as belonging to multiple language groups, each of which has similar characteristics. For example, there is the Mende group, which includes Mandinka and Bambara-related languages and ethnic groups within the Niger-Kordofanian family.

Mandinka (*Mandingue or Mandingo*) is a group of languages that includes ethnic groups found in Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, the Gambia, Guinea and Guinea Bissau. In Sierra Leone and Liberia, Mende is also a group of languages that includes ethnic groups living in Northern Sierra Leone and Liberia. A history of migration and military raids from the Old Mali Empire can be traced to the Mandinka-Sosseh people of the Gambia and Guinea Bissau, which is now in a region where bambara is spoken. As a result, ethnic groups within the same language group may regard each other as cousins or brothers, so an assault on one may trigger retaliation from the others.

Moreover, due to their shared natural borders, these ethnic groups are encouraged to migrate and marry among themselves since they are found in the same area or region. As a member of the Niger-Congo subfamily, the Kwa group is located in the southern coastal region of West Africa. This group includes ethnic groups like the Yoruba, Fante, Ewe, Ashanti, etc. (Onwubiko,1985). In the north of West Africa, most people speak languages belonging to the Afro-Asian and Nilo-Saharan families. It is also possible for some of these ethnic groups to share many physical characteristics with Arabs of North Africa and other ethnic groups of the Horn of Africa. Fulanis are among these groups, along with Berbers, mostly found in Mauritania, and Tuaregs, found in the Sahara Desert (Welmers, 2021).

### 3.4. THE ORIGINS OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT IN WEST AFRICA

#### 3.4.1. The Birth of an African National Identity: Pan-Africanism

It is not a surprise to see the pan-Africanist movement emerge from the USA. The Second World War saw the emergence of the anti-Semitism movement after as a movement to protect Jews from violence, racism, and discrimination. In the mid-19th century in the United States with its legacy of slavery on blacks, in Europe, blacks were not immune to discrimination and racism either and their motherland Africa was taken hostage by European imperialism.

Africans, descendants of Africans, and Africans living in diasporas were experiencing the same drama, but none of the situations resembled the USA. The sudden movement (Pan-Africanism) first started in the racist American society led by the two African-Americans in the Western Hemisphere. Martin Delany and Alexander Crummel and among them Edward Blyden a West Indian. Until the end of the 19th century, African people and those who have African origin started to wake the conscience about what is going around them and their history by tackling the high of prejudice and oppression against them in Western World. Briefly, the conclusion was that black men are the inferior race and suffered social backwardness. Thereby the pulled rope between white men and black men (Africans, African Descendants) both in Africa and the Western world is concluded to be social inferiority and superiority, and a concept of racism and discrimination is so enshrined between the oppressors (white men) and the oppressed (Black men) (Wallerstein, 2005).

Furthermore, the ideology of *Delany*, *Crummel*, and *Blyden* was very important in the American oppressed society to pull out the oppressed people from the



oppression. In the 20th century, the idea influenced the true father of modern Pan Africanists *Marcus Garvey* and *W.E.B. Du Bois*. Du Bois consistently advocated for the study of African history, civilization, and culture in his long career. This led him to be among the prominent scholars of studied Africa in Diasporas in the early 20th century. His statement became important in the mind of many Africanists that " the issue of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" (Kuryla, 2005).

In the first decades of the 20th century, the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey in the American society during the time was one of the pioneers of the Pan-African thinkers. In post-World War I, Garvey's movement somehow causes African independence insisting on the positive attributes of blacks' collective past. Garvey's statement, become featured in the speech of many Pan-Africanists, that "*Africa is for Africans*" therefore, Africans living in diasporas. The statement advocated freeing the continent from European imperialism.

Through his struggles, he founded an association called UNIA (*the Universal Negro Improvement Association*) to empower black people around the globe. The association boasted millions of members with a vision of "Black to Africa" that if American racist society cannot handle black people with human rights, it should help them return to the motherland, Africa. " Garvey's Black star line', established a company for shipping in part to transport oppressed black people to Africa and facilitate global trade but was unsuccessful. "White men have been the oppressors of the black people for over three hundred years, and he is not ready to set them free for higher freedom, truer freedom, and truer democracy, this must be done by blacks themselves." (Garvey & Garvey, A. J. 2020).

Pan-Africanism brought a new way of understanding the history of Africa and the image of the Africans in particular. The movement permitted African intellectuals to discover their past civilization and history therefore the ancient *empires of Ghana and Mali*. It was also a rope to tie the diasporas of black people to connect their culture and root history and the union between Africans. Furthermore, the colonial administrations in African at the time were sending the Africans to work in other regions of the continent, and African students who

traveled abroad for the study were meeting other Africans in Europe and America to enhance the formation of the movement.

The first Pan-Africanism conference was convened in 1900 by *Henry Williams*, a *Trinidadian*, as a form of unity and solidarity for all Africans under the oppression of European imperialists and the African Americans who were suffering under the American racist and segregationist laws. This conference allowed them to meet and proclaim their rights as human beings, protest their humanity, and exhibit their brotherhood (Kuryla, 2005). During this period, the Russian Revolution coincided with the Pan-African movement in which Pan-Africanists sympathized with their struggle as a form of inspiration. The Bolshevik revolution inspired the Pan-Africanism movement back up of the early twentieth century. This was because of their entail's notion of the struggle of class and the creation of social equity.

From the earliest Pan-Africanism, it sought to support the identity of black people suffering from the common problem. The idea is similar to any other groups who are suffering from a common identity problem like Jews and Roma, in regarding Africa is considered to be the promised land and final destination for every person (*Afro-descendants and Africans living abroad*) to be connected to their root and culture. The idea is to reanimate the dead-spirit caused by transatlantic slavery many years ago. People were taken from Africa to all over the World by the European and Arab merchants. This idea of common identity was supported with the encouragement of a black nationalist and influencer *Marcus Garvey*. Garvey took a church to be a place where he can connect with black people. He was organizing mass actions with black unity and liberalism. He, therefore, encouraged separatism of black churches from the white churches for the black people to control over their own institutions. If the church preaches for equality and justice and that is not in the behavior of American religious society in separation is much better.

Garvey promoted the unity and emancipation of the black community against the white-dominated society (Wallerstein, 2005). He rewrote about the recognition of African heroes of American society and their stories and elevating

them to the levels of other heroes in both America and Europe. He promoted emblems and created African icons and African fashion. The movement was to promote African identity by discovering their past heroes (Wallerstein, 2005).

The cultural activities were invented as an intellectual base for the movement as the main pillar of the movement. Works of literature were written to denounce white discrimination and ethnocentrism in both America and Europe and elsewhere in the world. Garvey wrote many poems for glorifying Africa and denouncing European and American prejudices were popular in the literary circles of that time. It led to the emergence of African philosophers who were looking to defend cultural identity as the African or African descendants as the tool of policy of assimilation of France and her colonies in Africa.

The request of assimilation policy was to demand Africans to denounce the culture and way of life imposed by the French colonial power. The movement emphasized the study of African languages as it was repatriated slaves and other educated Africans that developed alphabets and structures for the local languages. It's was promoted massively in publications and national education. However, it was considered s an irony that Pan Africanists were still communicating in colonial languages such as French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese (Iweriebor, 1997). Through this movement, Guinea Conakry brought excellent work by creating its own language with a graphic different from Western characters and those Arabs and the Asian called N'KO language.

**N'KO Alphabets**

**Vowel**

<b>F</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>U</b>	<b>^</b>	<b>Y</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>I</b>
b	aw	o	uh	eh	e	a	ah

**Consonant**

<b>††</b>	<b>Δ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>†</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>†</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>b</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>
rr	m	l	k	r	d	ch	j	t	p
<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>	<b>Ɔ</b>
ng	y	w	h	n	ny	f	gb	s	

N'ko is the name of a script created by *Solomana Kante* in 1949 as a transcription system for Manding languages in West Africa. The word n'ko means "I say" in all Manding languages.

In 2005, the N'ko script started to mainly use in Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire (by Mandingo and Dioula-speaking populations respectively), but also by a Malian community speaking Bambara, which is part of the same root as Mandinka (Coolman,2019).

However, one issue that has never been controversial is the changing of names by many elites of the time. Religious and colonial names were changed to reflect the preference for local and indigenous names.

France, in Paris, was the second epicenter of the Pan-African movement in this period, but unlike the Anglophone movement, it had more of an intellectual base in the French literary tradition. Mainly formed by the Surrealists, these groups included African and Caribbean intellectuals as well as writers from the French world (eg. *Etienne Léro*, *Aimé Césaire* and *Léon Damas*). Their writings denounced prejudice, discrimination and racism in Western society and were totally against bourgeois capitalism. So, he was more to the left of French politics at the time, he was associated with the French Communist Party (Wallerstein,2005). The independence was not only the main objective of French-speaking Pan-Africanism as demanded by their colleagues' speaking counterparts but cultural preservation, in other words; the affirmation of the legitimacy of African culture, tradition, and the recognition of African value (Wallerstein,2005).

The outcome of the fifth congress of Pan-Africanism in Manchester, United Kingdom brought the African Francophone and English phone sides of African nationalism and gave them a purpose. Additionally, in postcolonial West Africa, French-speaking people are still maintaining their culture and traditions than their brothers of English-speaking states.

In summary, the start of Pan-Africanism in its earliest days created a movement with which intellectual Africans could identify. It also created a basis for an Africa-centric way of thinking that actually freed their minds from the social prejudices of the time.

### 3.4.2. African Independence and Pan-Africanism

The two events (World Wars I and II) led to the evolution of a more rigorous African nationalist movement, although the activities of the Pan-African's movement in the interwar period were minimal. The African students, the new generation in Europe joined the movement and gave it a new direction of the fight, especially in Britain, North America, and also in the continent that was aware of their existence of the previous empires: Mali and Ghana. Examples of Sekou Toure in the continent in Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya, Leopold Senghore from Senegal, Julius Nyerere from Tanzania, Patrick Lumumba from Congo, and many others. These educated Africans took the initiative and orientation of change of the movement to free the continent. The voice of the diaspora weakened within the movement as it moved towards continentalism (Wallerstein, 2005). The movement influenced Arab nationalists to get involved in the liberation of Algeria during Algeria's war.

Pan-Africanism at that time becomes a vigorous tool in the struggle for the liberation of the continent that led to the independence of the continent. The members of the movement used to organize demonstrations, conferences, and lectures, promote continental trade unions and publish newspapers that were criticizing the colonial power and its administrations. Protest against injustice and the strikes of the trade unions

at the time Sekou Ture become the mother of the French-speaking Pan-Africanism movement, he was welcoming any African who has a problem with the colonizers abroad or at home. In the late 1960s, Stokely Carmichael led several conferences, including one at the University of California at Berkeley in 1966 where he stated that "the institutions operating in this country are clearly racist and built on racism the leader of Black Panther in the USA in the 60th, Carmichael Stokely was naturalized Guinean after having a problem with the conservative (Carmichael, 1966).

Pan-Africanism movement mobilized to support the referendums and the constitutional elections that led to the independence of most African countries. It

has also led to the formation of political parties and other dissident movements on the continent. Many political parties in the earliest after independence were Pan-africanists in nature, in Guinea, African Democratic Rally, Kenya African National Union (KANU), National Congress of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC), African Democratic Rally (RDA) of Ivory Coast and the National Council of British West Africa (NCBWA), etc. However, many of those Pan-african political parties became later ethnic parties under strange circumstances due to the strike back of neo-colonialism in the continent. Many Pan-Africanists took Sekou Toure of Guinea as the father and trustee allies of the region such as Kwame Nkrumah, Carmichael Stokely, Julius Nyerere, and others.

Briefly, the Panafricanism movement involved into union continentalism and kept relevant in creating a unique identity for Africans. It created an elitist group that placed African identity above all others.

### 3.4.3. African Unity and Pan-Africanism

The purpose of continental unity as one country become the bane of the movement, the independence of Guinea and certain North African countries before 1959 has led to the creation of a new group of leaders who wanted to create a single state or a single country in the continent. The independence process in the French colonies also created a faction within the movement. This faction led by *Felix Houphet Boigny* of the Ivory Coast wanted a gradual approach to achieve the ultimate goal of continental unity in Africa. The two groups made the first start with the formation of the Organization of African Unity on 25 May 1963. Kwame Nkrumah in *Ghana* one of the engines of the movement of African unity and the president of Ghana at the time is overthrown the military coup in 1966. The dream of the United States of Africa seemed to be the dust in the direction of the wind. The United Nation decided to use Africa to be regional approach in its development agenda. The outcome of this led to the creation of various regional bodies like ECOWAS (*Economic Community of West African States*), ECCAS (*Economic Community of Central African States*), *Union of Maghreb*, SADCC (*Southern African Development Coordination Conference*), etc.

However, there was still hope in the future to regroup all these regional bodies as a single country that led to the foundation of the African Union.

#### 3.4.4. The Movement of West African Unity

The original purpose of the political unity of the West African States as policy came from the pan-Africanist movement. Later on, African nationalism with its goal made its way and measures of changing the continent into a single political unit. Among its leaders, Sekou Toure is playing vital for this unity and even his country's national anthem is more focused on the concept of African unity than national. As early as the 5th Pan-African Congress, the main rhetoric of the leaders was to unite the continent into a single political unit that will allow them to compete on equal terms like the rest of the World. The unity of the African continent has thus become the number one priority since Ghana's independence in 1957 and Guinea in 1958 (Wallerstein, 2005). Following that, the idea of a political unit was convincing to Kwame Nkrumah and he immediately started to encourage other independent states to join the movement and he made a strong relation with nationalist Sekou Toure in Guinea because Sekou Toure was into African unity. Before that, a national congress of West Africa was already established by Nkrumah with a conference in the Ghanaian capital city Kumasi in 1953 (Wallerstein, 2005). The organization was however dying and could not see the light of the day.

It was the time Africa realized its independence and still reveled in the optimism of political independence and unity. But the main challenge of this unity was based on different opinions and strategies by the different leaders. Among the leaders, a group with nationalist ideology was in favor of pure unity and identity after independence while other was a little cautious. The communist ideology was an intention of the group with the nationalists: among them Sekou Toure, Thomas Sangara, etc. African socialism during that time covers a set of doctrines and policies followed by several sub-Saharan African leaders who aimed, in very different contexts and from very different perspectives, to define a form of socialism specific to the African continent.

Depending on the context, the term can refer to the attempts to theorize African socialism, or to the political practices of various African political leaders and heads of state, including Presidents Léopold Sédar Senghor in Senegal, Modibo Keita in Mali, Ahmed Sékou Touré in Guinea, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, and Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, as well as the independence leader Amílcar Cabral in Guinea-Bissau (Martin,1976). However, prior to the independence, the French (colonizer) had already established a political unit within West African French-speaking territories in which Dakar, Senegal was the capital city. This territorial administration encouraged the development of regional political institutions among the African peoples of the region.

The most important was the RDA party, that is to say, the Democratic Rally Assembly (*Rassemblement Démocratique Rassemblement*), which was very active on French West African territory. Other institutions such as unions, youth, and students were organized in the French-speaking territory of West Africa. These types of inter-territorial organizations were not very common in British West Africa, but organizations established by colonial administrations were common in both regions e.g., single unit currencies, single customs, etc.

In the West African context, the ideology of decolonization brought a setback to the movement of unity, while Kwame Nkrumah was trying to unify the West African independent states with the Guinea-Ghana union, other inter-territorial organizations within the region were collapsing. The former president of Ivory Coast Felix Houphet Boigny was one of the important factors who personally influenced the breaking up of this union within the sub-region after independence. He was loyal to the former colonizer, this may be due to the ethnic challenge to his country, and wanted to maintain a single state as the president within the support of France.

However, maintaining West Africa as a single country was not in the interest of the colonizers and they must find traitors among the leaders in the region. Houphouët betrayed the other leaders in the region and wanted to maintain



RDA as it was under the colonial regime for him to maintain the same favoritism because he was chosen as Leader of RDA by the colonizers before the independence. He was against African unity as a radical movement, but trying to see it established as a form of the alliance which was totally against the ideology of *Kwame Nkruma* and *Sekou Touré* who were in favor of a single political unity more radical for Africa (Ackah, 1999).

Prior to the independence of French West African States, under the RDA within the colonial regime, some states were in favor of development than others. Among those who favor economy and development are the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Whilst, some states were very rich in natural resources were under less development, among them Guinea and Mali. The seat of the RDA was in Bamako, Mali but less developed compared to Senegal and Ivory Coast. The only explanation for this was that the sellers developed the infrastructure where they were living and managing their Business. Ivory Coast and Senegal are the places where raw materials are transported to Metropolis. Furthermore, RDA was a trap set by the colonizer, because they were using unique currency (CFA) controlled by the colonizers and their benefice. In another word, RDA was somehow moving under the control of the colonizers.

Through this justice, *Sekou Toure* revolted and proclaim the independence of his country, Guinea in 1958 which was considered as the most radical and worthy proclamation statement in the historic independence of African states: "*We prefer freedom in poverty to wealth in slavery*". Followed this, rejected the colonial currency (CFA) and created the national currency called *Syli* means elephant in the Soso language (Keita, 2015).

Although there were alliances between the countries after independence, the opinion was rather in favor of more flexible federations within the West African sub-region. Francophone states have retained a large number of institutions that linked them in the pre-independence period, preferring instead a slower evolution towards continental unity through regional integration.

### 3.4. SOME INTERGRATION FEATURES IN WEST AFRICA

#### 3.5.1. The ECOWAS Treaty in West Africa as Economy Unity

The ECOWAS (The Economic Community of West African States), In 1975, West African States signed a treaty in Lagos to establish the Economic Community of the West African States for the promotion of trade union (economic) and political cooperation between states for peacebuilding. This was after a dozen years of gestation, as the origin of the idea of a regional body for West Africa dates back to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, which held a conference in November 1963 in Lagos, Nigeria, on the theme "Industrial cooperation in West Africa".

Between 1964 to 1968 the subsequent assembly meetings were held in Freetown - Sierra Leone, Niamey - Niger, and Accra -Ghana due to the agreement that was set up an interim committee to organize the creation of an organization for economic cooperation in West Africa (Ackah,1999). This was after a dozen years of gestation because the origin of the idea of a regional body for West Africa can be traced back to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa which held a conference in November 1963 in Lagos, Nigeria on the theme 'Industrial Cooperation in West Africa'(Gasiokwu,1998). The last round of meetings that ultimately resulted in the establishment of ECOWAS began between Nigeria and Togo after the first initiatives were met with frustration. The round of negotiations eventually culminated in the signing of the treaty in Lagos in 1975.

Furthermore, the diverse socio-cultural dimension of development should be an essential component for the restoration of peace and security in the region. Building on the past, the Community's leaders have made many sacrifices to maintain the region's political structure. In 1976, Cape Verde (Cabo Verde), one of the Portuguese-speaking countries in the region, joined ECOWAS, and in December 2000, Mauritania withdrew.

The union in the region for political unity has been always upset and down, while some were making the efforts to establish a lasting political unit, others are trying to withdraw. Further note, the United States of West Africa would be somehow easier to establish if they're in a single box of the language from the

same colonizers. It is not surprising that Mauritania withdrew because the colonizers were colonized by other colonizers in Mauritania. Arab settlers colonized the black indigenous in Mauritania and they were colonized by the Europeans. After colonization, it would be hard for them to handle political equality with the black people in the region. They have a feeling of superiority (UNHCR, 2006)

### 3.5.2. Fundamental Principles the ECOWAS

The fundamental principles of ECOWAS stipulate that  
THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

In pursuit of the objectives set out in Article 3 of this Treaty solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following fundamental principles:

- ❖ Equality and interdependence of Member States;
- ❖ Solidarity and collective self-sufficiency;
- ❖ Inter-state cooperation, policy harmonization and program integration;
- ❖ Non-aggression among Member States;
- ❖ Maintenance of regional peace, security and stability through the promotion and strengthening of good neighboring relations;
- ❖ Peaceful settlement of disputes between member states, active cooperation between neighboring countries and promotion of a peaceful environment as a prerequisite for economic development;
- ❖ Respect, promotion and protection of human and peoples 'rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights;
- ❖ Transparency, economic and social justice and popular participation in development;
- ❖ Recognition and respect for the legal rules and principles of the Community;
- ❖ Promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of government in each member state as provided for by the Declaration of Political Principles adopted on July 6, 1991 in Abuja.

- ❖ Fair and equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of economic cooperation and integration (Gasiokwu, 1998).

#### 3.5.4. ECOWAS Goals and Objectives

The aims and objectives of the treaty were included in Article 2 (1) of the treaty, which was to promote cooperation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa. This will include cooperation in all areas of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, trade, monetary and financial matters, and social and cultural issues. This is done with the aim of raising the standard of living of its people and fostering closer relations between its peoples. In order to achieve this objective, the organization must ensure in stages

- ❖ The harmonization and cooperation of national policies and the promotion of integration programs in all economic activities.
- ❖ The promotion and creation of joint production companies
- ❖ The establishments of a common market through (i) the liberalization of trade and the standardization of customs duties between Member States. (ii) the adoption of a common tariff vis-à-vis a third country. (iii) the elimination of obstacles to the free movement of goods and capital and to the right of residence and establishment.
- ❖ The creation of a monetary union, inter alia (Gasiokwu, 1998).

#### 3.5.4. Monetary Union in West Africa

In its initial stage, the Organization was founded in the 1960s during the French decolonization and independence of its West African territories. The main countries that remained in the fold opted to continue using the common currency after the France's departure. Since their economies were controlled centrally by the Governor (colonizer) of Dakar, Senegal, they had developed a reasonable level of integration. Due to the agreement with France, the main francophone countries in West Africa continued to use the same currency, namely the West African Franc, which was pegged and supported to the French Franc. In the past,

France supported the budgets and currencies of her former colonies in Africa before the European Monetary Union was formed.

## CHAPTER IV

### 4. CONFLICT CATEGORIES IN WEST AFRICA

#### 4.1. A History of Wars and Conflicts in West Africa

From 1946 to 2004, M.G Marshall used a slightly different method to make an inventory of conflicts on the continent in a comprehensive study of conflicts in Africa. He included civil tensions within each country's borders as well as violent conflicts in this study. Military coups were also categorized because in some cases, they triggered larger crises and ethnic tensions in the country. Military crises that were violent were also categorized as serious crises. Additionally, he considered latent crises that eventually led to ethnic violence and riots (Mg Marshall, 2015). Some countries have experienced the civil war, ethnic conflict and cross-borders in post-colonial West -Africa.

Year	Combatant 1	Combatant 2	Outcome
1966 Nigerian coup d'état (1966)	Government of Nigeria	Rebel Army Officers	<b>Government Victory</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ Overthrow of Abubakar Balewa</li> <li>❖ Assassination of 11 senior Politicians</li> <li>❖ Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi seized power</li> <li>❖ Instigation of Northern-led counter-coup</li> <li>❖ Nigerian Civil War starts in 1967</li> </ul>
Nigerian Civil War (1967–1970)	Nigeria Egypt	Biafra	<b>Victory</b> Reincorporation of Biafra into Nigeria
First Liberian Civil War (1989–1997)	-Liberian Armed Forces - Liberia ULIMO <sup>7</sup> ECOWAS -United Nations UNOMIL (09-22-1993 – 09- 12-1997)	NPFL <sup>8</sup> INPFL <sup>9</sup> Support:Libya	NPFL Victory

<sup>7</sup> The United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) was a rebel group that participated in the First Liberian Civil War (1989–1996).

<sup>8</sup> The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) was a Liberian rebel group that initiated and participated in the First Liberian Civil War from 1989 to 1996.

<sup>9</sup> The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) was a rebel group that participated in the First Liberian Civil War under the leadership of Prince Johnson.[1] It was a breakaway faction of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

The Sierra Leone Civil War (1991–2002)	Sierra Leone Army (SLA)	(RUF) <sup>10</sup> AFRC <sup>11</sup> NPFL of Liberia	Victory Sierra Leone Armed Forces, Sierra Leone Police, ECOMOG, British Armed Forces
First Ivorian Civil War (2002–2011)	-Young Patriots of Abidjan -Liberian mercenaries -Ivory Coast -Military of Ivory Coast -Ivorian Popular Front	-New Forces supported by: Burkina Faso -Ivory Coast New Forces Liberia - Liberian mercenaries -Ivory Coast RDR - United Nations UNOCI -France	Tentative peace agreement, followed by renewed conflict (2002–2007)  Gbagbo captured; Ouattara/UN/French victory (2010–2011)
Guinea-Bissau Civil War (1998–1999)	Guinea-Bissau Senegal Guinea	Military rebels	Regime change Ousting of João Bernardo Vieira

**INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE\CROSS BORDER WAR**

- ❖ Mauritania vs.Senegal, 1989 – 1990
- ❖ Mali vs Burkina Fasso, 1974, and 1985
- ❖ Niger vs Benin, 1963 – 1965

**ETHNIC VIOLENCE\SECESSIONIST WAR**

- ❖ Nigeria, 1981, and 1985, islamic groups
- ❖ Nigeria, 2001 – 2004, christian\ muslims
- ❖ Nigeria, 1986 – 1993, christian\ muslims
- ❖ Nigeria, 1997 – 2004, ijaw- itshekiri war
- ❖ Ghana, 1981, Konkonba – nanumba war
- ❖ Ghana, 1994,

**ADVERSE MILITARY COUPS**

- ❖ The Gambia, 1981 – coup attempt
- ❖ Guinea Bissau, 1998 – 1999 – coup
- ❖ Guinea 1984,2008 ,2009 and 2021
- ❖ Mali 1968,1991, 2012, 2020, 2021

**ADVERSE MILITARY COUPS and Attepmnt CV**

- ❖ Guinea, 2000 – 2001,
- ❖ Guinea, 1970, Military faction
- ❖ Burkina fasso, 1987 and 2022
- ❖ Ghana, 1966, and 1983
- ❖ Liberia, 1980,- military coup
- ❖ Togo, 1986, and 1991 – 1994
- ❖ Nigeria, 1965 counter coups

<sup>10</sup> The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) was a rebel army that fought a failed eleven-year war in Sierra Leone, beginning in 1991 and ending in 2002

<sup>11</sup> The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) was a group of Sierra Leone soldiers that allied itself with the rebel Revolutionary United Front in the late 1990s

This compilation is extracted from the book *Conflict Trends in Africa from 1946 to 2004* and the additional research from the actual reality from the ECOWAS reports 2022.

#### **4.2. ROOT CAUSES OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS AFRICA**

One of the central elements of this thesis is this section, which examines the causes and factors associated with ethnic conflicts in West Africa, including European conquering and discovery, colonialism, religious colonialism, religion, politics, migration, and ethnic configuration.

After the independence of West Africa, conflict between ethnic groups began to affect African societies and their integration. As a result, each country in the region went through its own model of development after gaining independence. Since independence, 'who gets what and how much' has been determined by ethnicity. Different people and groups must be divided resources according to their ethnicity. The distribution of power and the use of power that resulted has led to tensions between the ethnic groups that make up the artificially created states in West Africa. A few ethnic groups were favored over others since the nation is run by their leader, and this leader must follow the colonizers limp by limp by exposing raw materials to colonizers to maintain his dictatorship.

Some of the conflicts in West Africa are based on the impunity of political corruption, the absence of respect for the rule of law, and rights abuses, because traditional laws remain powerful in the regional areas. The authority may have to abide by traditional law in addition to constitutional law. However, this is not how custom is seen by most lawyers: custom is not law, but primitive law, pre-law (Magnan, 2004). In addition to the elements listed above, some root causes are often overlooked in the followings:

##### **4.4.1. Conquest and division of African territories**

The discovery of Eldorado by Europeans in 1870 led to rivalry among European nations, with each nation wanting a piece of the cake (raw materials). Two countries were bickering over a single territory (Africa and its resources). Thus, to avoid conflict between them, they decided to hold a meeting in Berlin, which

is remembered in African colonial studies as the Berlin conference held in 1884-1885, which resulted in the division of African empires into small countries without carrying their people and their lives. In addition, Europe's scramble for Africa between 1870 and 1914 added about a fifth of the world's land area to its overseas colonies (Shah, 2010). In Africa, European colonial administrations began. In some occupied territories, the British encouraged their colonial administrations to install themselves as dominants among native Africans, such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Angola under the Portuguese. In colonial times, France intended to incorporate Algeria as a state of its own known as Franch-Algeria (Algérie-française).

In the course of the conquering period, the term 'French Algeria' became more frequent: the reminder of the French connection, which was unnecessary before 1954, became necessary after 1954 when this connection was put into question (Rey, 2010). To reaffirm the notion that a territory is indissociable from a metropolis in the face of decolonization, the French Fourth Republic used the formula (Lustick, 1993). In some cases, it was necessary to use the classic method of divide and conquer to entice local people to help the French administration move ahead. Furthermore, many of them were willing to help them for their own interests.

Basically, they created claims of power to justify their claims in the eyes of the French administrators, and the people as well. As a result, the new order has disrupted many societies. (Shah, 2010). In most regions, the French administrations do not have necessary materials such as machines or manpower to exploit raw materials, so they must rely on local people to assist them. In some cases, however, these aides are forced labor. They are used to working without machines under the regime.

It was, however, a time bomb created by the colonizers when they left the continent due to the artificial countries created by them separated by artificial borders. There will be tribal conflicts when many ethnic groups are brought together in a nation surrounded by new borders that no longer reflect their way of life, culture, and ethnic diversity as they used to be. There was a



misconception among Africans that when the colonial rulers left, they would be able to return to their way of life as they had known it, but that dream was just a fantasy. The imperial powers did not free and there has not been a smooth transition since then. Even today, rebuilding is proving to be a difficult task. The colonizers did not realize that African society was fundamentally different from European society even though it was more frugal. Europeans. Similarly, local cultures were envisioned as expressions of proto-nations (ethnic groups), each with its own prerogatives over its own territory (Magnant, 2004).

#### **4.2.2. Colonialism and Ethnic Conflicts**

The colonization process is the taking of indigenous territories hostage by foreign invaders, as well as rape, murder, militarization, forced labor, assassinations, bondage, destruction of beliefs, culture, and buried traditions. In other words, it is not about how the actors define it, but about how it affects the victims (e.g. France and Guinea, Spain and Guinea Equatorial, Portugal and Guinea Bissau, Britain and New Guinea, Belgium and Congo Republic).

The main debate has always been the extent of ethnic conflict before and after the Berlin Conference. The establishment of colonial borders has created serious instability within and between African communities. Some of these borders cut ethnic groups, divide them into several countries, and create some strange neighbors who now live together. The newly created man-made lands had to make some of these ethnic group's minorities. The majority of ethnic groups abandon traditional methods of governance in favor of those introduced by colonial governments. As a result, colonialism has caused various ethnic tensions between ethnic groups in post-colonial West Africa (Sha, 2010).

The boundaries were established with little or no regard for the actual distribution of indigenous ethno-cultural groups in West Africa. With the end of colonial rule, the former colonies, with their colonial borders largely intact, became some of the world's most ethnically fragmented states (Blanton, T, Mason & Athow 2001). A number of ethnic conflicts and a new regional migration

policy in West Africa led to the Berlin conference (creating borders between the ethnic groups in West Africa). The borders drawn for European benefits have posed many problems in West Africa, despite the differences, beliefs, and traditional practices of many ethnic groups cohabiting alongside peace and harmony. The free trade between ethnic groups has become more problematic as well as regional migration, seeking agricultural land from one region to another. Prior to colonization, this was handled peacefully by the Manden Charter, the governing system of Ghana and Mali empires.

Mali Empire's constitution called "Kurukan Fuga" <sup>12</sup>was a ruling system that united many ethnic groups in peace and harmony, and it established uniform laws and regulations over a considerable region of West Africa (Camara, 2011).

Colonization divided ethnic groups in the Mali Empire into smallest countries, forcing the dominant ethnic groups in the previous empire to be under the control of minorities within the artificial country created by the colonizers. As a result of colonization, many ethnic groups within the country abandoned the traditional methods of ruling for the new colonial system. This created tensions within the new formation (G. Marshall, 2006). The colonial governments gave privileges and favored some ethnic groups while others were not. In addition to introducing new trade products and trade routes, colonial governments changed the status quo of ethnic groups at that time, transforming the economy in new ways. There were new trade routes, new trade products, and new trade routes that drastically changed the economic balance of the new colonies, thereby changing the balance of power between previously conquered groups of peoples and their masters.

Due to the colonization its economy favoritism system to certain states, there were many inter communities' conflict and xenophobic attacks among West African citizens. According to Marshall (2004), a number of newly independent states have experienced xenophobia and nationalism due to the creation of artificial borders. It has also resulted in a certain demographic dynamic, with

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<sup>12</sup> The charter of Manden, charter of the Mande, charter of Kouroukan Fouga, or in Malinké language, Manden siguikan, is the transcription of an oral content, which dates back to the reign of the first sovereign Soundiata Keita who lived from 1190 to 1255.

some previously minority ethnic groups suddenly finding themselves in the majority. The situation between Gambia, Senegal, and Casamance, the situation between Senegal and Guinea Bissau, the situation between Burkina Faso and Mali, the situation between Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, and the situation between Guinea Bissau and Guinea Conakry are examples of this.

The 2008's saw an increase in xenophobic attacks between Africans. South Africans attacked Nigerian and Somali migrants in Johannesburg. They were treated as foreigners and threatened with expulsion from the territory, resulting in mass murder of those migrants from Burkina Faso who migrated for a better life to Ivory Coast in 2002.

Africans who migrate to Western countries under European immigration policies experience exactly the same thing. In other words; Africans treat each other according to the policies of Western countries. The policy brought about by colonialism. This migration policy is also not a habit of the Africans. As such, Europe is an individualist society while Africa is a communitarian society, so you cannot introduce individualism into a communitarian society without causing problems. West Africans live within a constitution or system which does not correspond to their way of life or usual habit. The settlers left Africa, but left a seed behind on West African territories that quickly started growing. A plant derived from this seed is neocolonialism, which has fruit which is ethnic conflict, instability, underdevelopment, tribalism, and xenophobia among Africans.

#### **4.2.3. Ethnic conflict and religious colonialism**

This section examines from the inside the mutations that occurred in the Church-State linkage during colonization, specifically Christianity, as a result of tensions and agreements between the episcopate and colonial administrations, in the implementation of colonization policies, through a study of the group of governmental missionaries-colonizers. The priest-functionalist status proved beneficial for both parties in this environment, despite its ambiguity with regard to politics. A novel understanding of the factors leading to ethnic conflict leading to the instrumentalization of religion as a political strategy can be gained from

the evolution of the attributions of this group. This change in church-state dynamics is also important to note. Catholic missionaries and colonial administrations have always considered the chiefdom to be an important player in the political scene (Alou, 2009). Missionaries establish missions by relying on traditional leaders, but they also seek to gain the respect of the populations, especially those they are protecting (Kana-Dongmo, 2006). Furthermore, the group's evolving assignments reveal a new understanding of conflict contexts and factors associated with ethnic groups, as well as a shift in Church-State issues relating to colonization.

For example: Mindogon Mgboundoulou, the village chief and the father of Jean-Bedel Bokassa, was hired to work for the colonial company as a recruiter of villagers. In response to mistreatment of employees, such as forced labor, he rebelled against colonial policies. He released both plantation workers and hostages. He was captured and sentenced to death for this act. On November 13, 1927, he was hanged by colonial agents in the village square as a warning to those who might act in the same manner in the future.

According to Bosesi, (2021) colonizers were soldiers on the battlefield, and missionaries were medics covering up wounds. Nonetheless, the colonizers were aware that this act against a village chief would result in a new rebellion, as had happened in Guinea in 1950. This tension must be resolved before it leads to a rebellion. At the time, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the son of Chief Mindogon Mgboundoulou, was only six years old. He received a French Catholic education at the **St. Louis Catholic School** in the capital of the Central African Republic. The plan was for him to become a priest and preach forgiveness to his people. In spite of this, Bokassa lacked the aptitude for neither study nor the piety to become a priest. After that, he studied at the **Compte Catholic School**, currently located in Congo Brazzaville. According to Prudhomme (2008), French colonialism has left its mark on the Catholic missionary schools in the French colonies through their language and culture. According Quijano (2007) described religion as the colonial matrix of power.

Bokassa, under the hand of colonizers and missionaries, finally graduated in 1939. The same year, his grandfather advised him to join the colonial troops called Tirailleurs. Under the leadership of President David Dacko (cousin of Bokassa), the Ubangi-Shari became the Central African Republic on August 13, 1960. On January 1, 1966, Bokassa overthrew the President (Dacko David) with a subsequent coup d'état. This coup was known as "coup d'Etat de la Saint-Sylvestre". The coup was opposed by the communists and socialists present in the country at the time. Bokassa must demonstrate his good intentions towards France by Christianizing the country and giving the Chinese embassy (communists) 48 hours to leave. (Correau, 2021).

African elites were often educated by missionaries before being subjected to the rule of colonizers their perspective countries. The majority of Central Africans consider the country to be Christian, which is unconstitutional. As a result of this common sense, many Central Africans exclude minority non-Catholics from holding presidential offices. The country, however, is constitutionally considered a secular country. According to the constitution (2016), (Charter) of the Central African Republic article 153 guarantees that the country is a republic and a secular state.

The former president Bozizé's overthrow in 2013, Michel Am-Nondokro Djotodia became the first Muslim president in a predominantly Christian country since the overthrow of Bozizé. As a result, there were political and ethnic-religious conflicts in the country as well as fighting between Muslim and Christian militias. On March 28, 2013, senior military and police officers met with Djotodia and recognized him as president, but society is already plunged into political violence and ethnic-religious conflict. There are then two violent groups in the society: the Muslim Séléka militia and the Christian anti-Balaka militia.

Following several negotiations, Michel Am-Nondokro Djotodia served as transitional president from 2013 to 2014. However, this was followed by

increasing sectarian violence, and he was eventually forced to resign by regional leaders on January 10, 2014, as a Muslim leader leading a predominantly Christian country is out of context. Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire witness a similar situation.

"The party in power says the same thing as the opposition party. In this face to face, the people slaughter people for their party (Seleka and Anti Balaka). Religion as a symbol of peace becomes unfriendly in its context. Tribal and ethnic democracy is introduced. Christianity and Islamism are spotted. As a result of the quarrels of the person, the republic is endangered and misinformation intoxicates the public. The result is one dead, two dead, three dead, 200 deaths are listed in the paper, and ten thousand refugees (Blondy, 1996)"

This section provides a summary of the relationship between religious missionaries and colonizers, the politicized aspects of religious conflict, and the place of religion in relation to issues of nationalism and hegemony in the possession of political power.

In studying religious ethnic conflict in West Africa, it is impossible to separate colonization from religious ethnic conflict. Both were tendencies towards conquest. Religion was a key factor of cultural assimilation as well as union and division. Additionally, religion was a weapon to facilitate seizing territories and expose them to the colonizers. Colonization and the role of missionaries proved to be a tragedy for the natives, the loss of their ancestral practices, and the cultural clash between the communities as the ethnic conflicts.

Observing the missionaries' behavior, according to Memmi (1973), revealed three important things: Disparities must be identified and clarified; correct these inequalities to the benefit of the colonizers and the detriment of the colonized; To inscribe these disparities in absolute terms by stating that they are irreversible.

Persistence is the outcome of the actions of community political leaders, "who use their ethnic groups as locomotives for electoral divisions in the competition for conquering political power and resources, because they find them to be more efficient than social class (Smith, 2001).

The missionaries worked indirectly with the colonizers and as facilitators to control the domination of territory and local culture (belief). They did not use the same method but the same goal, the conquest. They were mindset machines disguised in Samaritans to separate the communities religiously. The traditional leaders were a tool to conquer their communities. Once the tribal chiefs are converted to Christianity, the community's members must follow their leader. This will be an initial conflict to the chiefs who refused the missionary's religion. Often the conflict fared as a tribal conflict in an argument of occupation of particular places such as spiritual place, a sacred place, or a commonplace.

#### **4.2.4. Religion and Ethnic Conflicts**

Religion (Christianism, traditional religion, and Islam) always reinforces the tension between tribalism and ethnicity in Africa. There is always tension between ethnic groups or tribes in a country where two religions are equal, or when arm-wrestling begins like in Liberia, Ivory Coast, and Central Africa. Therefore, instead of distinguishing themselves by their tribe, ethnicity or political party, they often refer to themselves as "those Muslims or those Christians." When one religion dominates a country, it is presented in many forms such as nationalism, state hegemony etc. Jonathan Fox's study (2015) of violent conflicts concludes that religious nationalist groups have been responsible for increasingly more violent conflicts than non-religious nationalist groups since the 1980s. Violence is more likely to occur when the elite mobilize people based on their religious identities.

Furthermore, we will examine in this section how religion amplifies ethnic conflict that leads to violent conflict and armed conflict. Conflicts involving ethnic groups and religions are ethnic religion conflicts. Religion is an integral part of social and cultural life, religious institutions are representative, have moral legitimacy, and can mobilize people. The differentiation between conflict groups can be enhanced by religious identity, which can create a clear distinction between the parties and increase their mobilization. In addition, religious

language, texts, and images "legalize" acts that result in a high number of civilian casualties (regional clashes, suicide bombers, ethnic cleansing), as well as internal conflicts. The ruling government can be attacked by religious leaders in communities with a long history of tensions and deprivation from post-colonial deprivation and political or economic instability (e.g.: 2020, Mahmoud Dicko: the Imam challenged Malian President, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita and overthrew him through religious mobilization).

The appearance of foreign religions (Christianity, Islam) in Africa results the clash of two opposing cultures. The traditional African religions are rooted in the practices of their ancestors, while the Arab-Muslim religion is a legacy of the Arab slave trade in the region, which combined with Catholic missionaries created a culture shock within ethnic communities. Oftentimes, these religiously motivated violent conflicts or cultural clashes occur as regional conflicts linked to the politics. Recently, in Central Africa, Nigeria, Somalia, Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire and the Sahel region: (Mali, Niger Tchad and Burkina Faso).

#### **4.2.5. Ethnic conflict and Cultural assimilation**

As Amilcar Cabral once said: "If we want to do something in reality, we must see who has already done it, who has done something similar, and who has done something opposite, so that we can learn something from their experience." There is no need to copy everything, because every reality has its own questions and answers." (Rabaka, 2015).

African students graduated from European and American faculties, where they learned what they were taught with good faith (Magnant, 2004) while European and American Africanists roamed the bush. In spite of the fact that their custom had already been profoundly changed at the hands of the colonial administrative chieftainship, many students do not know the old forms of their custom, having left the village when they were young for the primary school.

The precolonial, let alone forty years after independence, is ignored by African students (Magnant, 2004). According to Horstmann (2021), knowledge must decolonize to the knowledge in order for it to be understood from other



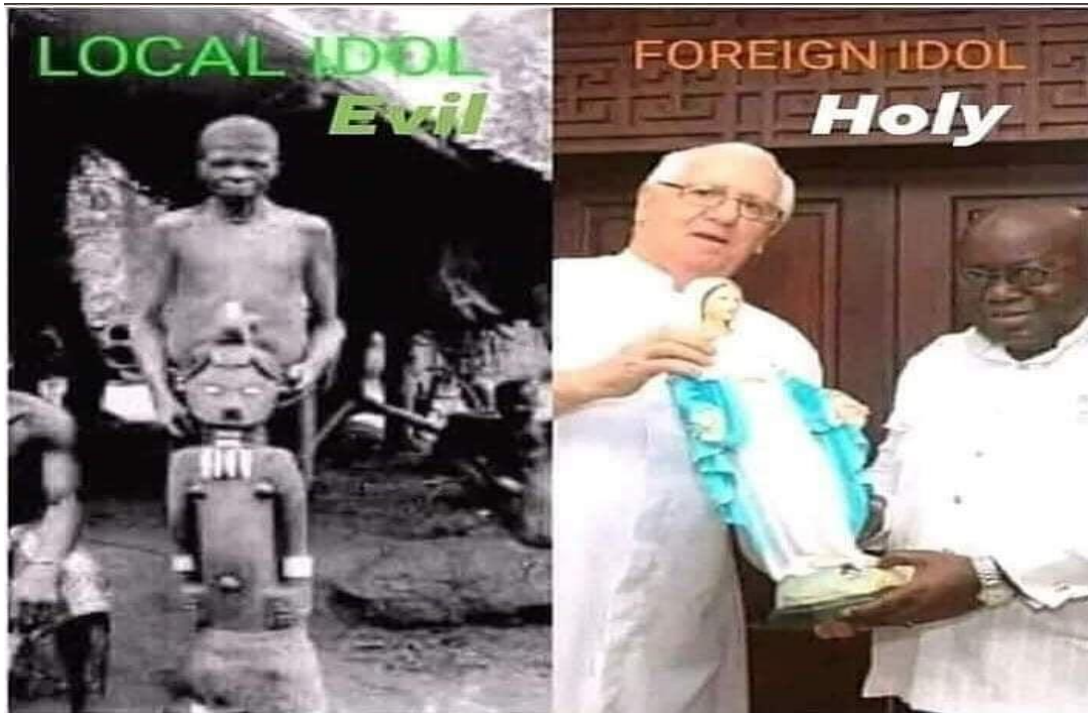
perspectives. African students and scholars have degrees from Western universities, and they are more familiar with Western education than they are with their own, despite being two opposite societies. It is important to acquire Western knowledge, but how do you apply it to an opposing society? We assimilate the European system, but we accommodate it to the wrong block where it doesn't fit. The consequences of installing an individualist system within a communitarian system are often not respecting the rules of the law. 70 percent of Africans did not know about their constitutional rights. These factors have also triggered conflicts, as witnessed in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

It requires a profound systematic comparison study before implementing it to African societies because the laws are established into a language that half of 70% native Africans do not understand. The lawmakers with "West Academic backgrounds" are unaware that the system applied to their perspective countries does not fit their realities. Instead, it maintains them in another form colonization and abuse of the population by the state.

According to Magnaut (2014) Western Academics must admit that they have hardly helped them to free themselves from received ideas, and if research can't be relied upon to live honestly in Europe, it doesn't fill an African pot either: prestige teaching at the University, as elsewhere, does not stimulate vocations there as elsewhere. In another word, African academics are taught to assimilate Europeans style into their perspective countries which lied to the alienation to local culture and colonization through culture assimilation. The missionaries' machine (School) of mental dominance gave the colonizers the ability to impose culturally and politically on indigenous communities. According to Ousmane, (2021) Furthermore, people will always be different in society, and conflict may be unavoidable between individuals in a society, but something may pull it into armed conflict or a cultural clash between communities. The mission of the missionary schools was and still is to Christianize the ethnic minority group as a power against others.

They established a belief psychological warfare system in which indigent's local idols are considered to be the devil, and Missionary's idol is considered to be a

saint white. Therefore, the books provided to the natives were all designed by God and Angel to be white. Their images were very important in cultural assimilation.



This could be either religion or politics that will be instrumentalized as an apology to give favor (economy, political position, decision making) to a specific ethnic group that will furt ethnic conflict in a society. Islam has been instrumentalized in Nigeria, Chad, Niger ... and Christianity has been instrumentalized in Ivory Coast to exclude Manden ethnic groups and Liberia and in Central Africa between Seleka and Anti-Balaka.

#### **4.2.6. Ethno-Politics Basis**

Prior to independence, political parties were formed to secure independence, but their leadership evolved into ethnic leaders instead of civic leaders after independence. Political parties appeal to ethnic sympathy in order to win elections. This ensured the majority ethnic group won elections. Minority ethnic groups were also left out of power under ethnic based democracy (Crowley, 2001). It led to calls for secession, or rebellion, while in others, coups d'états and outright civil wars resulted. The emergence of autocratic regimes, which later evolved into one party states, was easy from such a political system. Election

rigging has also led to tensions between ethnic groups within the sub-region. It exacerbates tension when elections are rigged for a party that enjoys the support of a majority ethnic group or a coalition of minority ethnic groups.

The likelihood of ethnic tensions and conflicts is lower when a single ethnic group is the majority in a country. It occurs more often when no single ethnic group or religion forms a majority, an alliance of major ethnic groups can create stability, but tensions may persist when other groups complain of marginalization (Wimmer, 2004). According to a study by Wimmer, Cederman, and Min (2004) on 'Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflicts a Contextual Analysis, the level of armed conflict in a given country is determined by the percentage of the population that is excluded from state service due to their ethnicity, or the more ethnically segmented a country's government is.

### **4.3. THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND CONFIGURATION**

Over the past few years, many scholars have studied this factor. It has a simple explanation. A heterogeneous state has more conflicts than an ethnically homogeneous state. In West Africa, ethnic composition and the number of ethnic groups within a state are equally important. States in which fewer ethnic groups form an absolute majority may be more peaceful than states with no single ethnic group. In Senegal, for example, the Wolof ethnic group and the Wolof language are spoken by approximately 80 percent of the population. This creates unity and peaceful cohabitation.

Compare the ethnic groups in a country with different dialects (such as Ivory Coast and Guinea) are always at door of tension, especially when it comes to general election. There is ethnic Mandinka group who speak only Wolof in Senegal, and the similar in Mali where 82% of its population speaking Mandinka (Bambara). Perhaps Senegal also has a regional conflict, but it is less deeply rooted to colonialism than ethnicity. Van den Berghe argues in his theory of ethnic nepotism that kin and quasi-kin, such as coethnics, are more likely to be favored than others (Nugent, 2004). Addition to Nugent's point, it is rare to see a dominant minority in West Africa cohabit peacefully without sinking into the

ethnic conflict that was the case in Liberia. If it will not erupt into ethnic conflicts, it will always be tensions of envy or political crises at each post-election. As with Côte d'Ivoire, a crisis like this can transform into a tragedy like an armed conflict. Guinea is singing the same song now.

Ethnically heterogeneous states will, therefore, have more conflicts. In west African countries in which no single ethnic group is the majority, ethnic group always forms alliances with other ethnic groups to maintain a balance of power over others, or to exclude others. The alignment is manifest in democratic elections in most countries because elites from these ethnic groups are familiar with the ethnic balance of political power (Wimmer, 2006).

According to Wimmer (2006) et al level in their configurational theory of ethnic politics and conflict, the link between ethnicity and the legitimacy of the state has been the reason behind the multiplication of ethnic conflicts, particularly since the end of the cold war.

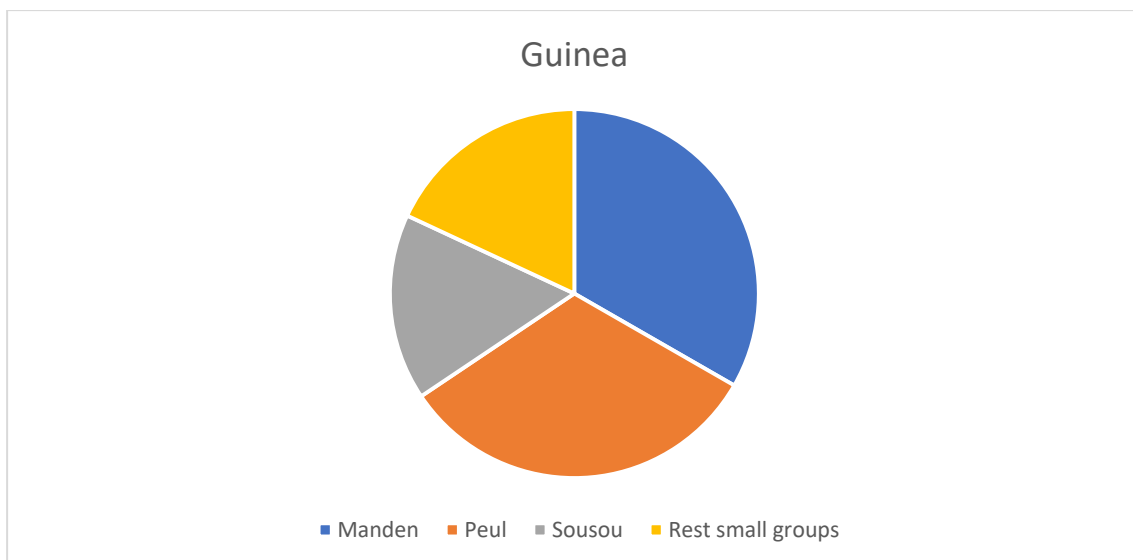
Thus, ethnic configuration identifies three dimensions that represent the distribution of power within a state, namely segmentation, cohesion, and exclusion. Conflict is more likely to arise when other ethnic groups are heavily excluded and dominated Wimmer (2006).

In addition, the more elites that share power or the more segmentation there is, the greater the likelihood of infighting. The third conclusion relates to states previously under indirect rule. Stated differently, direct rule is more likely to result in rebellions and secessionist conflicts in states formerly under indirect rule. After Ivory Coast gained its independence, the Akan ethnic group imposed itself, and the Mandinka ethnic group majority in the North was left out of the development infrastructure. During the succession of the former president, there were rebellion and armed conflict when the candidate of the Mandinka leader Mr. Ouattara was excluded from the presidential election under the pretext that he was not an Ivorian due to his religion while he was already prime minister of the previous government.

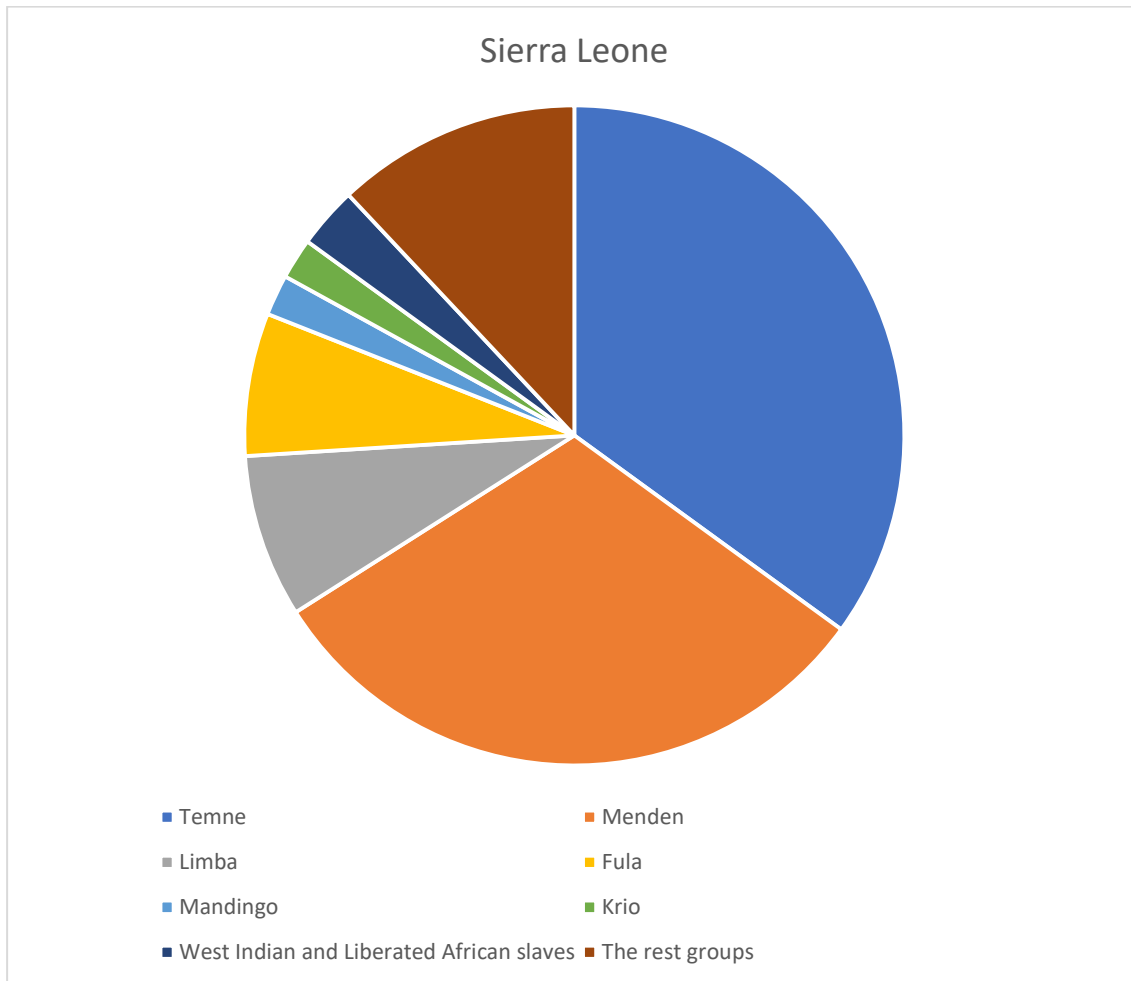
All three scenarios (segmentation, cohesion, and exclusion) play a role in determining conflict in West Africa. In states where a large part of the population lacks access to state power, a series of coups and countercoups have resulted. Also, there have been instances where a coalition of ethnic elites denied other groups access to state power and resources, as was the case during the Sierra Leonean civil war. A good example of states under indirect rule suddenly becoming directly ruled is the rebellion in the Cassamance region of Senegal (Wimmer, 2006).

In observation and study of ethnic nature, it was found that a country where the majority dominates linguistically (national language) and politically has less ethnic conflict and tension than a country where ethnic groups are split or organized into categories with different languages. The unique national language of Senegal and Mali helps reduce ethnic tensions, unlike the challenges of integration and tension in Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. When ethnic groups or two dominant groups consider themselves dominant and justify their position without a common interest. Any one of them holding a primary position ended up monopolizing power and establishing its supremacy, which led to tension and armed conflict.

For example, Let's take the five countries mentioned in the diagram and analyze their historical ethnic conflict.

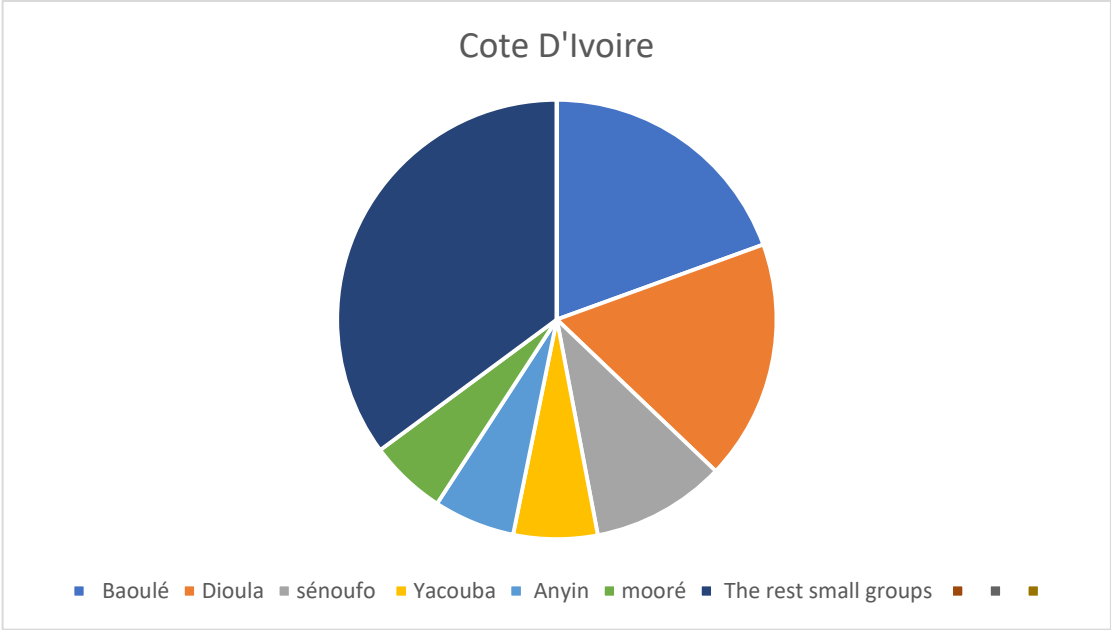


In Guinea, it is difficult to determine what the most language spoken in Guinea. However, it depends on the region, in the Base Coast **Sousou** is spoken in 80%, in the Upper Guinea, **Malinké** is spoken and understood in 80% and in the Middle Guinea, **Pular** is spoken and understood in 80%. French is only the language of administration, which creates a challenge of integration and ethnic tension.

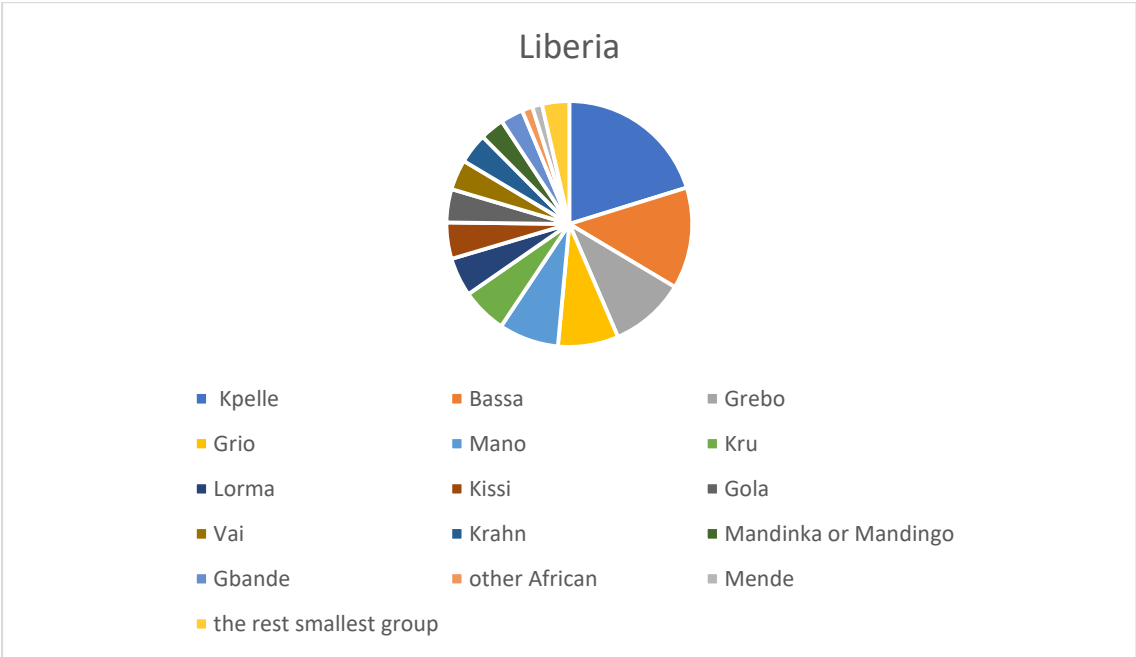


In Sierra Leone, Together, these three languages are spoken by over 80% of the population. However, Manden is the most widely spoken language in Guinea.

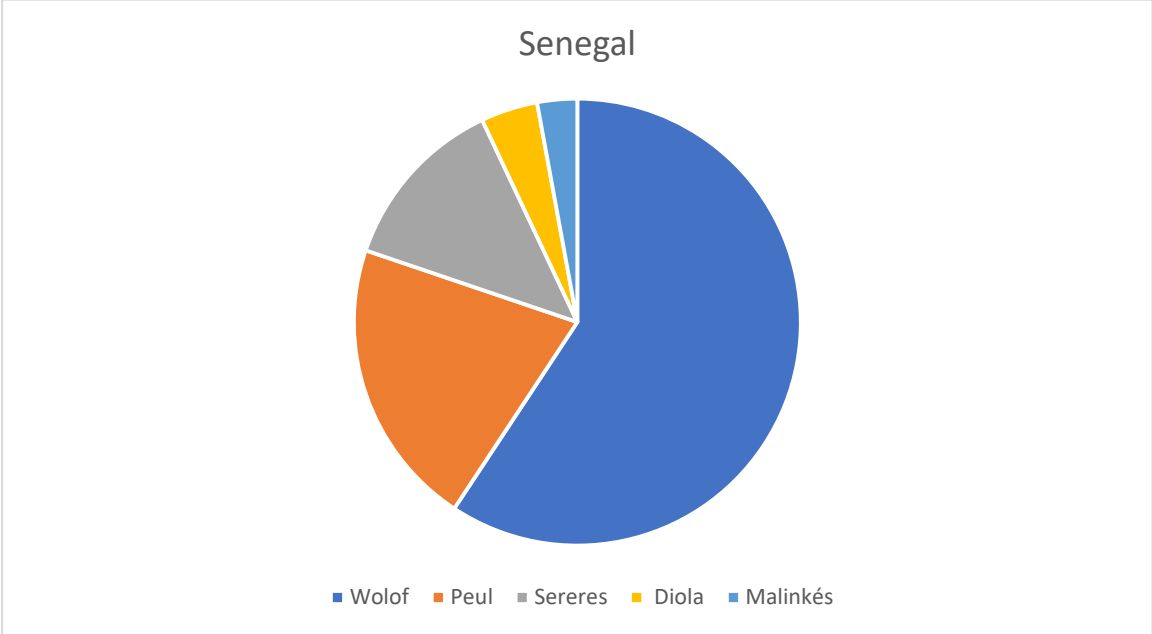
Sierra Leone's Census of 2004 stated that Krio is the most widely spoken language but they are only 10 percent of the population. **Krio** is the language of repatriated slaves mixed English and French, while the native language most spoken primary languages as of 2005 were **Mende** (32%) and **Themne** (30%). This creates challenge of integration and ethnic tension. The dominated are Krio vs native Mende and Themne. Krio is an ethnic group of slaves brought by the settlers that colonized the native Sierra Leonese.



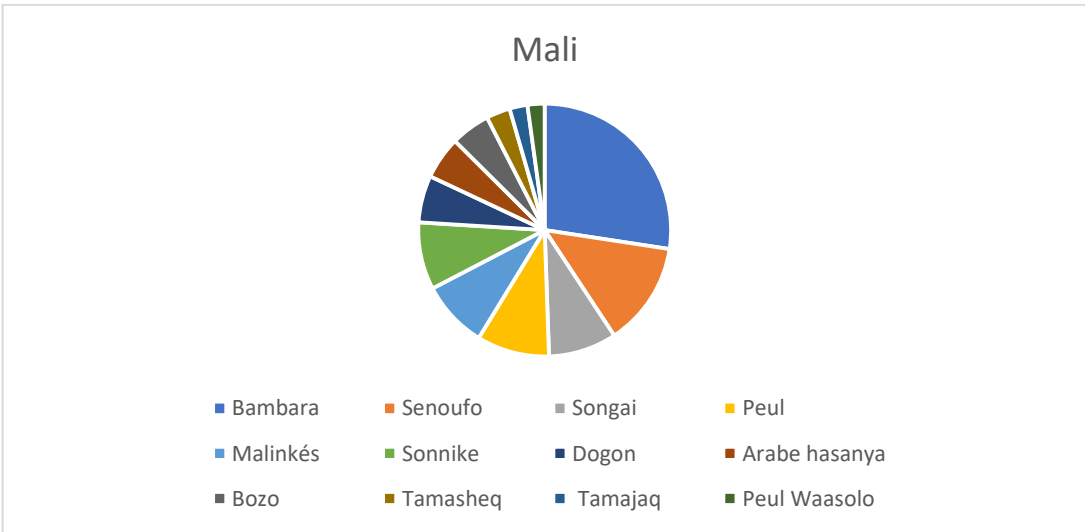
In Ivory Coast, the official language of Côte d'Ivoire is French. But the vehicular language understood by the majority of Ivorians is **Dioula**, an African language spoken or understood by 20 million people in Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Ghana. **Dioula** (Mandinka language) is the main language used for trade and is used for these purposes by 70% of the population, but they were dominated by Baoule ethnic followed independent until 2010. Ethnic conflict farked often when the minority monopolizes the power and country's resources and privates the majority to access the country's resources and the development.



Liberia is a multilingual country where more than thirty languages are spoken. English, although the official language of the country, is spoken by only 15% of Liberians. Lack of language unity and multiple languages and multiple ethnic groups creates challenge of integration and ethnic tension.



In Senegal, 40% of the Senegalese population is of **Wolof ethnicity** and more than 90% of Senegalese understand and speak **Wolof**. This leads to inevitable assimilation and unification between ethnic groups in Senegal. It isn't easy to distinguish who is Wolof and who is not Wolof and that reduces ethnic tension and envy. Moreover, it leads to particular political and economic stability. The country has had less ethnic conflict than other West African states.





In Mali, Bambara, a Mandé language and one of Mali's 13 national languages, is however the country's vehicular language and is widely used in daily activities; it is the main mother tongue in Mali (46%) and also the most spoken (72%), although not evenly distributed over the territory. Conflict in Mali is more geopolitical and colonial than ethnic (Leclerc, 1999)

To find the relationship between homogeneity of a state and ethnic conflicts, a statistical method of correlation will be used. This quantitative method will use reliable data for calculation. This method assumes that the number of;

A state's ethnic groups include all ethnic groups that make up 90% of its population. In addition to non-state conflicts and large wars and minor conflicts that a state has been involved in since 1989, the number of civil conflicts includes all military coups d'etat since independence until 20201.

In the compiled data on coups d'etat, many putschs that took place in the region did not get recorded especially if they were not violent and if they failed. Most of these coups were merely reported in the mass media without any evidence to back them up.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **5. CASE STUDY - POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND REGIONALISM OF GUINEA**

#### **5.1. Background Study of Guinea**

Guinea is located in the southwest of West Africa, covered by 245,857 square kilometers. The country has a coastline of 300 km along the Atlantic, halfway between the equator and the Tropic of Cancer between 7°05 and 12°51 North latitude and 7°30 and 15°10 West longitude. To the west, it is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, to the south by Sierra Leone and Liberia, to the east by Côte d'Ivoire and Mali, and to the north by Guinea Bissau, Senegal, and Mali (Bah 2020).

This region has a two-season climate that lasts from 3 months (in the north) to 9 months (in the southeast) depending on the region. The rainfall varies from 4,000 mm (coastal region) to 1,300 mm (Upper Guinea). July and August are the wettest months.

An extensive hydrographic network and heterogeneous soils characterize Guinea. The many rivers and streams that flow through Guinea provide water for all the neighbouring countries and make Guinea the water tower of the sub-region (Bah, 2020).

## 5.2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

Since the country became independent in 1991, the country has faced many social problems. The country has succession failures, poor governance, mismanagement of natural resources, corruption, neo-colonialism, social and political problems such as ethnicity, regionalism, conflict between tribal groups, and lack of infrastructure. With 85% of its population being Muslim, Guinea is a predominantly Muslim country. Several ethnic groups make up the Guinean population. Guinea's official language is French, which is used in schools, government, and the media. More than 24 national languages are widely spoken among the population, including *Malinke, Pular, Sousou, Guerzè, Toma, and Kissi, Konianke*. The country is divided into four regional geographic zones. Cohabitation with ethnic groups from other regions creates tension, especially during presidential elections, because each region is dominated by a certain ethnicity. It's organized as below:

- ❖ A Coastal zone, Basse-Guinée, maritime Guinea dominated by **Sousou ethnic group**. *This region it is with a humid tropical climate and an annual rainfall that exceeds two meters everywhere; the dry season lasts five months (from December to April). It is notably the region of mangrove swamps, rain-fed agriculture and fruit crops; there are also important mining activities (bauxite mines), and the capital Conakry, which has about 500,000 inhabitants.;*
- ❖ A mountainous area, Middle Guinea, which includes the Fouta-Djalon massif; dominated by **Peul ethnic group**.

- ❖ A savannah zone in the north-east, Upper Guinea, dominated by **Mandinka ethnic groups**;
- ❖ A forest area in the south-east, Forest Guinea dominated by **Guerze ethnic groups**.

According to the IMF (2019) report, Guinea's socioeconomic indicators remain weak. With a population of 13.1 million and a GDP of US\$15.4 billion in 2020, Guinea is at the bottom of the HDI ranking, occupying the 178th position out of 189 countries in 2019. According to the authorities, slightly less than half of Guineans (44%) live below the national poverty line, which is estimated at 13,717 GNF/person/day (EUR 1.1) in 2019. In addition, the economy is still largely informal, with an estimated 43% of GDP and 96% of employment in 2018. In addition, life expectancy at birth is barely over 60 years.

According to IMF, (2019) the post-Ebola catch-up (growth of more than 10% in 2016-2017), the growth rate of the Guinean economy has slowed since 2018, but remains significant (around 6% on average) driven in particular by the extractive sector. In 2020, despite the impact of the pandemic and political tensions related to the presidential elections, the economy maintained a significant level of growth estimated at +7.1%, due to the entry into production of two new bauxite companies, better accounting of gold production (thanks to greater centralization in Conakry linked in particular to the closure of the borders) and the recovery of Chinese demand. However, the non-mining sector, which accounts for more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of GDP and absorbs more than 90% of jobs, has slowed sharply (+1.3%), suffering the full impact of the pandemic. Economic growth is expected to slow slightly in 2021, to +5.2%, then rebound to +6.1% in 2022, still driven by the mining sector (+7.7% in 2021 and +7.1% in 2022) (IMF,2019).

### 5.3. THE RESOURCES AND THE EXCEPTIONAL MINING CAPITAL



#### 5.3.1. The Mining Sector

The mining sector provides 70% of Guinean income. It is characterized by the industrial exploitation of bauxite, alumina and gold. This represents about 20% of GDP, 80% of foreign exchange earnings. Guinea has two-thirds of the world's bauxite reserves, or 25 billion tonnes. Today, mining contracts represent more than \$ 120 million in revenue.

The gigantic iron deposit of Simandou (in the south-east of the country) which contains reserves estimated at 2.4 billion tons will require 20 billion USD of investments for an annual production of 100 million tons of iron ore (Margolin,2022). The project has the potential to double or even triple the country's GDP with a double-digit growth rate. In addition, when the mine reaches full capacity, it will generate nearly 45,000 jobs.

Guinea also has considerable reserves of gold, diamonds, manganese, nickel and uranium. The mining sector contributes more than 60% to the country's exports, yet it only provides 25% of the state's internal revenues.

### 5.3.2. The Energy Sector

Guinea has a large hydroelectric potential estimated at more than 6,000 MW, which means that the country could meet its domestic demand, including for the mining sector, and export electricity to neighboring countries. The current electrification rate is estimated at 17%, but 3% for rural areas. In 2011, the urban electricity production capacity in Guinea was 130 MW (Kling, Stengel & Fuchs, 2016).

### 5.3.3. The Agricultural Sector

Agriculture, the main sector of activity (20.5% of GDP in 2012), supports half the population and constitutes the main source of income for 57% of rural people. The Guinean agricultural sector has great potential, but is sensitive to the vagaries of the weather. The potential for arable land is estimated at 6.2 million hectares, of which 25% is exploited and less than 10% cultivated annually. The most important food crops are: cassava, rice, plantains, fonio, sweet potatoes, peanuts and corn. Whereas, the export crops are: oil palm, bananas, coffee, pineapple, cocoa and cotton.

The country is very rich in natural resources such as bauxite, aluminum, gold, and diamonds etc., but it is listed among the poorest countries in the world due to massive corruption, bad governance, mismanagement of resources, monopolization of political power and the ethnic challenge in the country lead to unprecedented economic crises. Mismanagement of a country's resources led to political apprehensions and a breakdown of social peace and stability (Annan, 2014).

It is a country where ethnic tension is very strong. After the Marrakech conference, it is listed among the countries of origin of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, Algeria and Libya due to the corruption, poverty, corruption, political and economic instability in the country (Marrakech conference 2018). Moreover, despite the country being rich in terms of raw materials, there is no permanent infrastructure such as electricity, road, water system for all, or sanitation for all. Due to environmental sanitation issues, there are also a lot of mosquitos that

increase sickness such as malaria etc. There is no concrete development in the country in which the population benefits from.

#### 5.4. HISTORY OF GUINEA

Guinea is an artificial country created by the French colonists. When the history of Guinea begins, we don't know. But if we stick to the current borders, its birth certificate would bear two dates:

- December 1891, decree creating French Guinea with **Dr Noël Ballay** as its first governor (Charles,1963).
- 1899 delimitation of the borders in relation to neighboring colonies. Treaties and conventions signed between 1895 and 1911 by France with Germany, Portugal, Great Britain and Liberia fixed the limits separating Guinea from Portuguese Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia (Bernard,1963). However, prior the arrival of colonizers, the particular is a part of Wassoulou Empire that regrouped Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast etc. led by the Emperor Samory Toure.



In this picture, is Dr Noël Ballay , the first governor of Guinea under the French Colonial Administrations after it creation in 1891

Prior to the independence of Guinea, the country was part of the jointly administered French West African colony, which secured autonomy for self-rule in October 1958. Independence was secured through the great revolution led by Sekou Toure.

Guinea has many important dates that mark its creation and its separation from the French colonial administrations passed between 57 and 58:

- ❖ 1957 Installation of the first Guinean government:
  - PRESIDENT, GOVERNOR RAMADIER (*Paul Ramadier, born in La Rochelle on 17 March 1888 and died in Rodez on 14 October 1961, was a French statesman (F. Vjtovic and Reymond,1993).*)
  - VICE-PRESIDENT: SÉKOU TOURÉ (Native Guinean, later become independent father of his country)
- ❖ 27 July 1957 Conference of circle commanders in Conakry. It will be followed by a revolutionary measure: the abolition of the traditional canton chieftainships.
- ❖ 26 January 1958 Third Congress of the PDG.
- ❖ May 1958 Political unrest in Conakry.
- ❖ June 1958 4th Congress of the PDG.
- ❖ 25 August 1958 General de Gaulle's visit to Conakry.
- ❖ 15 September 1958 National conference of the PDG Conakry: decision to vote no to the referendum.
- ❖ 28 September 1958 Referendum on the draft Constitution of the Fifth French republic

#### 5.4.1. Republic of Guinea Voted No.

- ❖ 2 October 1958 Independence of Guinea, proclamation of the Republic.
- ❖ 13 December 1958 Guinea is admitted to the United Nations (Charles,1963).

Let not forget that Guinea was a state of France from its creation until October 2<sup>nd</sup> ,1958. A French constitutional referendum was held on 28 September 1958, proposed by René Coty and Charles de Gaulle, asking the French people to ratify the draft Constitution prepared by the Constitutional Consultative Committee, the Parliament, and Michel Debré under the chairmanship of the Council's President, General de Gaulle. The Fifth Republic was founded on the text of the Constitution.

The new constitution was promulgated on 4 October 1958 with more than four fifths of the vote and the Fifth Republic was proclaimed the next day. A referendum was also held in the French colonies to establish the French

Community. The only country to reject the constitution, and its title relating to the community in particular, was Guinea, which declared its independence on 2 October 1958. Furthermore, from September to October 1958, Charles de Gaulle was in the mission of colonies for the referendum in which he made it clear that an independent country would no longer be able to receive French economic and financial aid or retain French technical and administrative personnel. He was surprised by an expected speech of Sekou Toure with maturity and wisdom to the referendum. Touré's PDG sought a "no" vote in the French Union referendum sponsored by the French government in 1958. In which he conclusion of no to referendum was marked in history of independent and Pan-Africanism as he said front of French president during his visit in Guinea: " *There is no liberty without dignity, we prefer freedom in poverty to wealth in slavery*" (Toure,1958).

Guinea become the only one of France's African colonies to vote for immediate independence, while the rest of French-speaking Africa chose independence two years later, in 1960. President De Gaulle responded by ordering French officials and technicians to leave Guinea immediately, which created a number of difficulties for the young Guinean state. The French colonists took all their valuable equipment with them, repatriated the French sovereign archives, and, above all, economic ties were severed.

As a consequence of Guinea's Sekou Touré's action, France is in rage, willing to do anything to win back Guinea. In addition, the French secrets services in collaboration with Fulani militiamen (opposition ethnic group in Guinea) launched "*Operation Persil*" in the neighbor Senegal consisted of introducing a large quantity of counterfeit Guinean banknotes into the country in order to destabilize the economy. Despite the difficulties, Sékou Touré did not give up because, he said, "we prefer freedom in poverty to wealth in slavery.

*"In 1959, Paris decided to destabilize Guinea, which, under the leadership of its president Ahmed Sekou Touré, had voted for independence in 1958 and wanted, in 1960, to abandon the CFA franc and acquire its own currency (Robert ,2004)"*



During this cold period, French diplomats used Italian diplomatic channels to communicate with their Guinean counterparts. The 1970s were synonymous with appeasement between the two countries, as the new president did not wish to interfere in Guinean affairs. In 1983, after 25 years of conflict, Sékou Touré invited Jacques Foccart to meet with him in Conakry. The two men explained their past and agreed to continue their cordial relationship.

The operation Persil is the beginning of doubt and suspicion between Sekou Toure and his Minister of Justice, Telly, as well as other civil servants involved in the plot. During this period, the French intensified tension between Fulani ethnic groups and Sekou TOURE, causing an ethnic tension between Mandinka and Fulani. The two largest ethnic groups in the country. Many intellectual Fulani were exiled to Senegal during the time under French control.

Mr Sekou Toure wasn't just a threat to the French colonial administrations in Guinea, but he might also persuade or influence the other African colonies to ban their interest in Africa, which was usually true. The plan was to assassinate or kill Sekou Toure, but it failed.

Despite this economic crime against Guinea, Sékou Touré still did not give up because, he said, "we prefer freedom in poverty to wealth in slavery. He worked hard to establish trade and diplomatic relations with other industrialized countries in order to redress the country's economy, including the Soviet Union, China, the United States, etc.

Sadly, Sékou Touré, who was expected to lead the Organization of African Unity, fell ill on 25 March 1984, died in 26 mars 1984 at the age of 62. A week later, on 3 April 1984, a military coup orchestrated by Lansana Conté overthrew the government (Reuters. 1984).

Thanks to Saran Daraba Kaba (2020) for her testimony mentioned that Guinea-  
"Bissau became independent thanks to Sekou Toure. Angola, Mozambique, apartheid in South Africa, the first funds to buy weapons for the ANC were given by Guinea. Namibia, Zimbabwe, did you hear the Ugandan president when he came? He said he came on a pilgrimage.

The late Aboubacar Somparé former minister of education of Sekou, may he rest in peace, I told him: "Abou, our generation must testify before history. I have spoken to my children, but you have not spoken to your children and many Guineans have not spoken to their children and grandchildren. We had 114 national public companies when President Sékou Touré died. We were the ones who supplied the notebook to West Africa, we had the biggest printing house in West Africa, the Patrice Lumumba printing house. We were the ones who supplied the metal sheets to all of West Africa, SOGUIFAB..."

## 5.5. POLITICAL REGIMES IN GUINEA AFTER INDEPENDENT

### 5.5.1. Guinea after Sekou Toure (1984 to 2008) military

In 1990, the withdrawal of the patronage of the Cold War superpowers and international pressure on Africa to liberalize states both economically and politically led to a wave of new conflicts which were mostly symptomatic of the weaknesses of the African states; which are now exposed to new shocks and pressures. During this period, we noticed that Western countries were affected economically by World War II. So, to liberalize African states financially and politically (neoliberal-capitalism) required eliminating those who resist western power in Africa through coup d'états. Therefore, Western imperialists and corrupted African elites eliminated many African leaders who did not support colonialism and imperialism, such as Patrice Lumumba from Congo DRC, Thomas Sankara from Burkina Fasso, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, Sékou Touré from Guinea, and Amalcar Cabral from Guinea Bissau. By eliminating those Panafrican leaders, they inserted the system of plundering that continues to this day in accomplice with Toubabs (corrupted African leaders).

According to Annan (2014) Generally, even though there is a decline in large-scale violent conflict and civil strife, pockets of simmering tensions, insurgency, and the re-emergence of coups d'état continue to trouble the sub-region.

General Lansana Conte did not continue with political policies of his predecessor, but a combination of poor economy state of the country, corruption,

dictatorship without realization unlike the previous government, power manipulation and ethnic groups, selling the public goods and the infrastructures of the previous government (first republic) and his lack of charisma led to a lot of discontentment among the population. Having reached the rank of colonel, he participated in the 1984 coup d'état, following the death of the "father of Guinea's independence", Sékou Touré from Malinke ethnic group. The junta, called the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN), then brought Lansana Conté to the head of the country. Under the previous regime, there was ethnic tension between the Malinka and Peul because of colonial manipulation. However, the other ethnic groups were not adept at ethnic nationalism until the junta came to power in 1984.

However, after the coup d'état led to the elimination of the representatives of Malinke in the new government (second republic). Mr. Colonel Diarra Traoré and several personalities of **Malinke** ethnicity were arrested. Additionally, the aim was to clean the great personalities of the **Malinke** in the second republic in order to prevent after attack against the new ethnic group (**Sousou**) in power, as it had been happening in other countries at the time in Africa: such as Liberia, Gambia, Congo RDC, etc.

According to le Monde (1985), Colonel Diarra Traoré's assassination attempt is still largely unknown, nor is anything known about its aftermath, that is to say, the abuses committed against the Malinké, the ethnic group of former President Sékou Touré and Colonel Traoré, in the capital. It seems, however, that the army quickly contained these clashes.

Although Sousou and Malinke ethnicity share many similarities, including history, culture, tradition, etc. some even claim that Sousou is an ethnic group of Malinke. Both have the same family name and first name; their languages are very similar and they consider each other as cousins. They speak each other's languages fluently. In order to consolidate his power, General Conte the new ruler of Guinea will break this brotherhood and form a coalition with the Fulani ethnic group, an opposition group to the first regime of the country.

After consolidating his power through ethnic manipulation, his ethnic group is at the forefront of the country. The country's wealth is shared among the country's few majorities, and ethnic tensions are on the rise in the country. Corruption and mismanagement of public affairs are increasing. He signed the country's multiparty system and democracy into law, but he never lost an election during his 24 years in power.

### 5.5.2. Radicalization of regime Conte

Lansana Conté, the candidate of the Party of Unity and Progress, faced eight other candidates, including Alpha Condé (RPG), in the 1993 presidential election. 51.7 percent of the votes were cast in favor of the incumbent president in the first round of voting (Fremy,2004). The election was a hotly contested contest between the incumbent and the opposition. The opposition parties contested the election after the Supreme Court ruled to annul the results of two prefectures where Condé had more than 90 percent of the vote (LeVan (2010). The regime then became more radical.

Re-elected with 56.1 per cent of the vote in 1998, Lansana Conté gradually returned to authoritarian practices, including the arrest of many opponents. In November 2001, he submitted a referendum to the population providing for a constitutional amendment so that he could run for a third term as president. The referendum, which reduced decentralization and extended the presidential term by two years, was passed by 98.4 per cent of the vote and was denounced by international observers.

On June 30, 2002, while the main opposition parties boycotted the legislative elections, the presidential party once again won a majority in the National Assembly, obtaining 61.5 per cent of the vote and 85 of the 114 seats to be filled. It sometimes instrumentalizes ethnic prejudice to consolidate its rule (Diallo& Godechot, 2018). Too many demonstrations in the country against the regime but Lansana Conté clung to power. A week later, he announced the dismissal of Fodé

Bangoura, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs and number two in the regime.

In August 2006, Human Rights Watch released a 30-page report condemning human rights abuses in Guinea, highlighting the political vacuum resulting from the president's ongoing illness, and expressing concern for the future. But in October 2006, General Conté announced that he would remain president until the end of his third term in 2010, saying he loved his country and would protect it from its enemies. He also stated that he was looking for a successor "like him, who has stature, who is patriotic, to lead Guinea.

### 5.5.3. Financial Scandal and Corruption of Regime Conte

Premiered Jan 11, 2021, an international corruption case has mobilized police forces around the world for years, from the United States to Guinea and Israel. The outcome is expected in Switzerland where the trial of Benny Steinmetz opened on Monday, January 11, 2021 in Geneva. The Franco-Israeli billionaire and diamond dealer is accused of having concluded a "corruption pact" with the wife of the former Guinean president Lansana Conté. At stake: control of one of the world's largest iron ore mines, in Simandou, Region of Beyla.

According Annan (2014), the postcolonial domination of West African countries has been fraught with pitfalls. Among them, the problems of bad governance and corruption are paramount. After independence, several regimes in the sub region mismanaged state resources and weakened governance institutions, leading to economic stalemate.

It's surprising that Guinea, which has the most bauxite in the world, does not possess an airplane or railroad corporation for well-big od her population. It is the world's largest producer of bauxite, with an estimated reserve of 7.4 Bnt, mostly concentrated in the western and central parts of the country. Globally, the country holds 26.9% of the reserves bauxite (Boski and Paepe, 1988). Mr. Sekou Toure died in 1984, leaving behind him a national airline company founded in 1960 with three new airplanes (707, 1-737, 727) in Guinea that was privatized in 1992 due to the lack of funds, poor management, and the accumulation of debt.

Further, in 1959, upon independence, the Office National des Chemins de Fer de Guinée (ONCFG) was established by Sekou Toure, the independent father. The Office Central des Chemins de Fer d'Outremer (OFEROM) was created in France by decree<sup>2</sup> on November 14, 1960, as a French company to assist the overseas railroads that linked Conakry with Kankan and many small cities between both. All these public goods were sold by the former president, General Lansana Conte and his regime in which his former Minister of Transport and prime minister in main time are formally accused of complicity and the corruption.

As Annan (2014) said, the domination of West African countries by postcolonialism has been fraught with pitfalls. Among them, the issues of corruption and bad governance are paramount. After independence, several political regimes in the subregion mismanaged country resources and weakened governance institutions, which led to an economic stalemate.

Mr. Celou Delein Diallo (2021), the former Minister of Transport and the Prime Minister of Regime General Lansana Conte stated in a meeting with the members of his political party "I signed contract of selling, because I checked that the price was good for Guinea. But the Air Guinea liquidation operation took place at the Ministry of Finance and it was he who set the price. » He was secondly accused of building his house on the state domain which he acquired under former President Lansana Conté while he was a minister. he specified: "I did not seize a public domain of the State. It was a private domain of the State - it is important to make the difference - which was given to me in accordance with the rules and procedures. » However, he is complaining of judicial harassment, but the issue is on the board not yet landing ,in another under judiciary procedures. However, this investigation is not only designed for Mr. Celou Dalein Diallo but several political personalities or former dignitaries of previous regimes are affected by this eviction. From the Sekou Touré regime (1984) to that of Lansana Conté, Dadis Camara to that of Alpha Condé (2021), no one was spared.

#### 5.5.4. **The biggest Corruption scandal in Guinea**

According to Sagno (2017, a BBC Africa journalist stated that Franceafrique is the set of personal relationships, political mechanisms, economic, military and cultural that allows France to safely plunder the raw materials of its former African colonies, as well as a number of other African countries.

During the time of General Lansana Conte, Central Bank of Guinea was his pocket, he served it as he wanted. The French influence in the country is very high related to historical fact which is colonization. The French billionaire (Franco-Israeli) corrupted regime Conte to give him authorization to exploit the country's resources as he wants in which he is accused by Swiss for having paid bribes to the Guinean authorities to oust Rio Tinto with his group BSGR in the Simandou region in the South of Guinea.

However, for him, the deal declared was set for 10 million dollars, this number of bribes would have been paid via Swiss accounts of senior Guinean officials by the diamond dealer: the French billionaire Beny Steinmetz between 2005 and 2010.

In 2013, the billionaire claimed that he has invested \$170 million in that mine in which he sold later 51% of it in 2010 selling to the Brazilian raw materials group Vale for \$2.5 billion, almost 30 times more expensive. A transaction described by some media as the "breakage of the century" (JeuneAfrique,2021).

### 5.6. **REGIME AFTER GENERAL LANSANA CONTE (2008 TO 2010)**

#### 5.6.1. **Military Regime of Moussa Dadis Camara**

In December 2008, the president of the national assembly Mr. Sompore announced the RTG TV the death of the President of the Republic (General Lansana Conte) without specifying the exact cause of death. However, it was known publicly that he is suffering for a long time from diabetes. However, despite the country's political crises, instability and unprecedented economic situation and the 24 years of dictatorship that began with a coup in 1984, it ended with another military coup in 2008.

A few hours after the announcement of the death of the president, a group of officers named themselves the National Council for Democracy and

Development (CNDD) announced on the Radio station through their spokesman Moussa Dadis Camara the dissolution of the government and the constitution (Staff,2010). Following days on December 24, the spokesman Moussa Dadis Camara proclaimed himself as the president of the Republic and appointed Kabine Komara, a banker as the prime minister. The political leaders among the civilians created a coalition group called Force-Vives to negotiate with the Junta in the Power to organize a democratic election. The Political leaders have appointed their meeting on 28 September 2009 to discuss with the civilian population that ended chaos.

#### 5.6.2. The atrocity of regime Moussa Dadis Camara

On September 28, 2009, following a rally in Conakry's largest stadium, the Guinean army fired live ammunition at demonstrators, killing 157 people, according to the NGOs, injuring thousands more, and raping many more. The international community strongly condemned this violence, which was carried out in the context of the 2009 presidential elections (Human Right Watch, 2009). The international community strongly condemned this violent repression, and President Camara explained the event as the indiscipline of his armed forces and deplored the death of "those who had brought him to power.

Following the September 28, 2009 massacre, dissension emerged within the CNDD (France24,2009). General Sékouba Konaté tried to have Claude Pivi arrest Aboubacar "Toumba" Diakité, but Dadis opposed this. Under pressure from the international investigation, Dadis Camara seemed to disassociate himself from those responsible for the violence. As Toumba, for his part, accused President Dadis Camara of having ordered the military that ended the massacres and now wanted to blame him, and claiming to have helped opponents escape the violence, a version confirmed by François Louceny Fall, former Prime Minister, but called into question by a Human Rights Watch report (Human Right Watch, 2009).



Chef of Junta Moussa Dadis Camara went to Kundara Military Camp on December 3, 2009, looking for his guard of camp and the head of presidential guard Mr. Aboubacar Sidiki Diakite called Tumba. During this meeting and a short discussion, Diakite shot president Dadis Camara in the head. Unfortunately, the bullet passed between the head and neck and wounded without entering the head. Dadis Camara is immediately taken to urgency. The following day, He is transferred to Morocco to be hospitalized in a difficult situation.

According to former President Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso, a reward of 200 million Guinean francs and a villa was promised to anyone who could find Aboubacar Diakité or provide information on his whereabouts (AFP,2010).

The incident happened while the second hand of Junta Sékouba Konaté was traveling in Lebanon and heard in the news that Aboubacar Diakité opened fire on Moussa Dadis Camara and seriously wounded him. While the latter was then hospitalized in Morocco and Sékouba Konaté became the regime's strongman and was appointed as Interim President (Staff, 2010). Dadis Camara after recovery was not recommended to return back again to the country he was exiled to Burkina Faso for opening negotiation.

According to France24 (2010), while Dadis Camara was in exile in Burkina Faso, Sékouba Konaté was appointed as the president of the transition following the Ouagadougou Declaration, and he promised to organize the Guinean presidential election in 2010 to pass the power to the civilians. In December 2010, Sékouba Konaté said that the transition is over and open the inauguration ceremony to the winner of the election Mr. Alpha Condé, the first president democratically elected which marked the return to constitutional order.

### 5.6.3. **Civilian regime, President Alpha Conde (2010 to 2021)**

I, as member of Alpha Conde campaign in 2010, his election as the first president democratically elected, symbolized a return to constitutional order. Many in the country hoped that things would change for the better. For over 30 years, he has fought for democracy while participating in presidential elections. He was

formerly a professor at the prestigious University of Sorbonne in France. Alpha fills the eyes of the International Community and of the partner countries abroad with hope. As part of his campaign, he promised the people that no rice would be imported from abroad or from China. The whole of Guinea would be electrified, and the road network would be improved. Since he spent his entire life living in France, he even promised all a health system similar to France.

Known as the historical opponent of Guinea's first two presidents, Ahmed Sekou Touré and Lansana Conté, he founded the National Democratic Movement (MND), later becoming Unity, Justice, Fatherland (UJP), the Rally of Guinean Patriots (RPG), the Rally of the People of Guinea, and then the RPG-Arc-en-Ciel. During the 1993 and 1998 presidential elections, he was unsuccessful.

In addition, ethnic tensions in the country were very high before he came to power and continue to be so since his election. Therefore, he was seen as a bridge to reconciliation. Mandinka and Peul, two major ethnic groups in the country, are jealous of and envious of one another, and Alpha Conde is a Mandinka. Therefore, he is ideally suited to facilitate reconciliation. However, all of these hopes' become nightmares for the population. The instrumentalization of ethnicity and an ethnic coalition was his means. In the country, he formed an alliance with the third largest ethnic group against the second largest group, the Peul.

Alpha Conde recruited former ministers of ancient regimes who are already diagnosed the corruption to lead the country. His strategy to conquer and instrumentalization is to appoint leaders of some ethnic groups into key positions for support. His two terms of presidential are finished without concrete development and the infrastructure in the country. Things seem to be as they used to be for decades and too much corruption. Nothing changes, too many big contracts from the mining sector but no realization in the country. unprecedented demonstration in the country that led to the killing of many demonstrators of the opposition party (Duhem,2019).

In full covid 2020, at the age of 82 and following a controversial constitutional amendment allowing him to run for a third term, he was re-elected, receiving 59.5 percent of the vote in the first round. This election is condemned by many international institutions that led to the creation of many coalition groups in the country and diaspora Guineans against the regime but without success. Among this coalition, we have FNDC (*National Front for the Defense of the Constitution*). The FNDC Movement is a civic grouping that is behind a series of demonstrations on October 14, 2019, in Guinea to protest the amendment or adoption of a new constitution that led President Alpha Conde to a third presidential term.

In 2021, while Alpha Conde is accused of authoritarian drift, even of having turned into a dictator, a Colonel from his regime, Mr. Mamadi Doumbouya proceeded to his arrest and dismissal in a coup d'état on September 5, 2021. Following this coup d'état, the dismissal of the government, the suspension of the Constitution, and the closure of land and air borders. Citing "the socio-political and economic situation of the country, the dysfunction of republican institutions, the instrumentalization of justice, the trampling of citizens' rights," he proclaimed the establishment of a National Committee of the Rally for Development (CNRD) and invited the military to remain in the barracks. He then declared: "We no longer need to rape Guinea: we just need to make love to her. Today, Guinea is now under the third military regime of her history. Things seem to be un right path for the moment but we cannot give further opinion because e unexpected thing may happen.

## 5.7. SOCIO-POLITICAL SOCIAL ISSUES AND REGIONALISM IN GUINEA

### 5.7.1. Electoral Process in Guinea

it is important to know that all ethnic groups in Guinea are extremists somehow and all political parties in Guinea are based on ethnicity and the election is followed on the same track. 99 % of the **Mandinka** ethnic group is voting for Mandinka's leader and the party and as well **Peul**, **Sousous**, and others. The

second is held with an ethnic coalition. The ethnic groups who have close relationship in terms of language, culture, history joined together to eliminate the opposition ethnic groups. Election in Guinea can be called transparency but not democracy. If it is necessary to call it a democratic election, it would be a tribal democracy.

#### 5.8. REGIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS ETHNIC CONFLICT IN GUINEA

According P. Huntington (1993), the clash of civilizations is a thesis that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. Regionalism in Guinea is very widely known and studied at the secondary schools. Guinea-Forest is natural region of the Public of Guinea. It covers area of 49,374 Km. Nzerekore is the main city. Guinea forest has five major ethnic groups know in the region: **KONIANKA** (99% Muslims), **GUERZE** (Christian and Traditional region), Toma, Mano and Kissi. In the main city Nzerekore has two major ethnic groups: Konianke and Guerze. It is third biggest city of Guinea. The city is known to be the scene of an unprecedented regional conflict between the major ethnic groups in the city. Konianke and Guerze.

The root cause of the conflict in the city has several sources from the cultural aspects and religious identity, social classes, ethnicity, tradition, etc. Indeed, the speech of President Lansana Conte in 1991 led the city into cultural violence.

In 1991, at the national football stadium of Nzerekore, where the President dictator Lansana Conté made a political discourse in N'zérékoré during a visit declared that `` *if the Koniankés or malinkés want to accede to elective positions (deputy or mayor), they should therefore apply in the Upper region of Guinea (considered to be the dominant region of Mandinka) and not in Forest Guinea* ". The speech legitimized the Guerze as the native of the city and considered other Guineans as foreigners in the region.

According to Jean-Marie Doré (2013), the Konianké traders massively settled in the Forest Region following the establishment of the French administration in the

late 19th century. In order to gain the obedience of the people who lived in the forest, the colonial power relied on the Konianké, who were used as intermediaries and superiors, causing resentment and frustration among the indigenous people.

In recent years, the region's difficulties have been largely due to the arrival of Konianké from neighboring Liberia, who are close to the two rebel movements that fought against former president Charles Taylor until his departure for Nigeria, where he has been living in exile for nearly a year.

However, the region dominated by Guerze does not mean that they are native to the place. Many Guineans have claimed that Konianke left Liberia because of the civil war and settled Nzerekore as refugees, which is historically untrue. The Konianke and the Guerze lived in the region before colonization. Prior to the colonization, they lived peacefully within their separate borders (mutual respect). Also, wherever found the Guzere ethnic group in the sub-religion, there will be found the Konianke ethnic group. They are neighbors of Liberia and the Ivory Coast. The two ethnic groups are found in the two countries and live together. But the borders crossed by the colonizers mixed it all up and meant that some of them were in the majority in certain regions and become the minority in other regions.

Latest conflict started in 2013. Before that two or three others were already occurred caused many victims. A tragic factor in this is that the civilians' populations bear the brunt of the casualties. From July 14 night to 15, 2013; a young Konianke was lynched by a guard (Guerze) gas station accused of stealing gas from a petrol station. In another version from the citizens, the young man had left to look for food, because their car was broke-down overnight, all the shops were closed, often it is the petrol stations are opened. It was during Ramadan (Fast-month for Muslims) when the Muslims eat from 4 am until the following day at 6 pm, as their truck was broken, the young man left his boys near the truck and headed to town by looking for food. Arrived at the station he

was seen by the guard of the situation as a thief and beaten to death which was a town (Koule pronounce as **Koulay**) near the Nzerekore.

*According to Moshiri (2013) from Al Jazeera "The young man's boss, a car mechanic, heard about the killing and decided to take matters into his own hands, gathering members of the Konianke community and attacking the petrol station. The News of the fighting in Koule spread quickly to nearby N'Zerekore that Guerzes have killed a young Konianke for the robbery which was untrue. Guinea's second-largest city. Gangs from both the Konianke and Guerze communities came out onto the streets. They were armed with machetes, sticks, knives, and some weapons. Petrol stations were burnt down, churches and mosques were set on fire. People from both ethnic groups were savagely hacked to death, some were beheaded, and others were shot dead."*

In my understanding of social classes, a witness interviewed by the human rights organization said that historically, the Guerzés and Manon were the first to settle in N'zérékoré, followed by the Koniankés of Upper Guinea. On the social level, in the written report, witnesses maintain that the Guerzé consider themselves indigenous to the region and treat the Konianké as foreigners when we are all Guineans. On the socio-economic level, the Koniankés exercised the majority of the profession of trader and had a greater economic power which allowed them the real estate areas of the city center of N'Zérékoré. Nowadays, the situation has changed in Forest Guinea since the Guerzés began to thrive, but can no longer access the land and the products of their parents. This situation of permanent state conflict makes cohabitation difficult between Koniankés and Guerzés, is one of the root causes of the recurring violence between these two communities added the reporter.

A young Guerze interviewed by Al Jazeera said *"We have had problems here since 1991. They were political at the beginning now they are religious. The Muslims want to impose their religion on us."* Bienvenu added that poverty is also a problem, but 'it's more about Muslims trying to build mosques everywhere and convert everyone' Three-day confrontation of intercommunity between the Guerzés and the Koniankés left at least 58 dead and 160 injured, from July 15 to 17 in Koulé and

N'Zérékoré, in Forest Guinea region. In region, the explosion of hatred that took everyone by surprise. However, it was not the first and second time it was the third time since 1991. As I said, in Africa, there are always tensions between communities in terms of religion, culture, belief, tradition, historical events, and puppet politicians drag this tension by the tail until it turns into political tension. Consequently, children, women, and the innocent are the victims of these conflicts.

Another factor of conflict is that at the start of cohabitation in the pre-colonial period, the Guerze ethnic group owned most of the land in the region that became today's main city and they were sold to Koniankes before the period of modern infrastructure and development manifest in the region. Today, the region becomes an important part of the country, and the Koniankes profit and exploit the region more than the Guerzes, which also increases the tension in the area. The region has a border with Ivory Coast and Liberia which facilitates trading.

The conflict now is not only from an environmental perspective, but also political, anthropological, social-ecological, and religious in the region. Politically related the representatives of Guerzes in the government support their own tribe for being indigenous in the region as they have rights to be major beneficiaries than others, while another question is rising at the national level for the peaceful treat between two parties within a question that why should only one party be more beneficiary?

The Konianke tribe dominated the region in the field of commerce, entrepreneurship, and transport same time competing with the other ethnic groups in the sector of agriculture and administration. Also, add to this factor is religion which was the trigger for the previous conflict between the two communities. One ethnic group does not want to allow others to use the region as a place of worship apart from the mosque and the church. Both tribes were animists, however, in the 12th century the Arab-slave trade in Mali led many Koniankes to convert to Islam prior colonial era, and the Gurezes converted to Catholicism after colonization whereby till today half majority of them are still

animists. Nevertheless, Koniankes impose Islam as the dominant religion in the region which provides them allies from other small tribes i.e Muslims who are not Guerze to be powerful. Konianke Muslims are still practicing animist religion today in association with Islam and the religion has become a tool of unification of tribes in the region. Instead of religion being a belief, it became another weapon of domination.

### 5.9. SOCIAL LINGUISTICS PROBLEM

According to the UN and the agenda international community, Guinea is classified as a French-speaking country which means that the entire population speaks French. The UN and International Organizations recruit young actors based on that information from different French-speaking countries in West Africa to play the role of social change and accomplish their missions. Although they forget that of course, Guinea is a French-speaking country but only a small minority of the population speaks French, namely teachers, students, and civil servants. In Addition, the French language in Guinea is only even spoken only in public administration. When I say administration, I mean only in writing. The citizens come to express their case in the national language and the administrator writes it in French. So, the French language is little spoken in Guinea, and especially in the city of N'zerekore where there are not many foreigners, it passes entirely in the national language.

This injustice towards Guinean society and other countries in West Africa has inconveniently led the UN and international organizations to employ native French or a person fluent in French as the head of the office in Guinea or English-speaking West African countries. Many of these recruits from the United Nations and international organizations do not know the social situation of the country they are working. Compared to employment policy of France will not allow a Guinean to occupy such a position in France. Moreover, the lack of standardization of the National language in Guinea somehow helps the government to violate the rights of the citizens. However, 80% of the population does not understand the official language of the country, and neither known



their constitutional rights. All the information about the country is in another language and the constitution does not correspond to the way society is operating. To work in our own country, we are obliged to be fluent in a language that does not correspond to the standard of our society.

However, colonization will not end in Africa in our generation, why colonial language is (French and English) considered the key to intellectualism? If you are not fluent in French or English in Africa, you are considered to be illiterate or uneducated. With this mentality, how are we going to transform raw knowledge into academic knowledge, local knowledge into academic knowledge, and give value to the ancestral knowledge in terms of medicine, herbal medicine, natural science, healing secret with plants if our ancestors are considered illiterates? Furthermore, some of us even preferred the colonial language as the official language of the country instead of the standardization of the African language as the official language of our country. Most of us fall into the old story that colonization ended in Africa, Africa is independent by forgetting the neo-colonialism. The settlers left but colonization remained. 75 years of colonization, 75 years of brainwashing, 75 years of indoctrination cannot be easily erased.

#### 5.10. CIVIL INCLUSION TO ULTRANATIONALISM

The result of social changes in Africa caused by colonial administrators and the process of urbanization led to widespread shifts of loyalty. This has been termed detribalization (Wallerstein, 1960).

In Guinea, **Peuls**, **Malinkés**, and **Soussous** are the three main ethnic groups. The latter are spread over the four major geographical regions of Guinea. Maritime Guinea is home to the **Soussous**, but there are also almost all the major ethnic groups in the country, due to the presence of the capital, Conakry, which attracts Guineans. , the **Fulani ethnic** dominates in the region of Middle Guinea and **Malinkes** dominates in Upper Guinea region. As for Forest Guinea, it is mainly home to foresters made up of the **Kissians**, the **Tomas**, the **Guerzés**, and the **Koniakas**.

Western writers often confuse the process of civic inclusion with ultranationalism, which they often label as ethnic and tribalism. Tribal conflicts have fewer consequences than ethnic conflicts. Ethnicity in Africa has very complex origins. Ethnic groups consist of many tribes. Tribalism started with loyalty to family, tribal community later morphed into ethnicity within a common interest such as their history, language, belief, ancestral practices (tradition), etc. In other words: an ethnic group contains the groups of the tribe, combined together become an ethnic group. Tribal wars or conflicts often occur in sub-regions, while ethnic conflicts often occur at the national or regional level. In postcolonial Africa, ethnic tensions often escalate during the presidential election campaign or after presidential elections. Sometimes it turns into civil war as we have seen recently in Ivory Coast, Central Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, etc. Unlike tribal conflict which is limited to a particular sub-region, it is often resolved by the leader of a tribal community before it reaches the state affair. Wallerstein (1960) noted that scholars often confound three distinct phenomena when they write about tribal loyalty. He recommended differentiating between loyalty to the family loyalty to the tribal community and loyalty to the tribal government or chief.

Civic inclusion with ultranationalism began to intensify in Guinea after the death of General Lansana Conte in 2010 and the arrival of Alpha Condé to power in 2010. General Lansana, of Soussou ethnicity, had monopolized power for 24 years. Before him, the Mandinkas had presided over the country from independence until 1984. Let's not forget that Guinea has three main ethnic majorities (Peuls, Malinkés and Soussous). The Peul ethnic is being considered as the first majority in the country, while two other majorities (Malinkés and Soussous) have already ruled the country before them. They feel marginalized compared to other ethnic groups in the country. They feel they deserve to lead the country but are rejected by other ethnic groups. In another words; The ethnic coalition during the election rejects them outdoor.

After the death of General Lansana Conte in 2008, another minority (the Guerze ethnic group) took control in a coup led by Captain Moussa Dadis Camara, who declared himself President of the Republic of Guinea. In the beginning, he promised to put things in order and to organize the elections on January 31, 2010.

During the interview with Abidjannet, Dadis Camara expressed his intention to run in the 2010 presidential election. Junta leader Dadis Camara remains unclear about his presidential ambitions (France,2009). The proverb "we don't organize elections and we lose" is widely known in Africa. This is the assured victory of the military against the civilians in Africa. Following is an exchange between the journalist Sindou Cissé and Moussa Dadis Camara:

*"you say that the elections will indeed take place on January 31, 2010. Captain Moussa Dadis Camara, will you be among the candidates for the presidential election?"*

*The population will answer you in the coming days if I am a candidate or not?"*

*Local elected officials, women's associations, young people, and others have requested your application. Will you continue to resist all these calls where France and the European Union ask you to respect your commitments? That is to say, not to be a candidate?*

*I did not take this power for myself. It is the people who command the leader that I am. I can immediately declare my candidacy and no one can send me to the International Court of Justice"*

*Local elected officials, women's associations, young people and others have requested your candidacy for the presidential election. Will you continue to resist all these calls where France and the European Union ask you to respect your commitments. That is to say, not to be a candidate?*

*I did not take this power for myself. It is the people who command the leader that I am. I can immediately declare my candidacy and no one can send me to the International Court of Justice (Cisse,2009).*

This questionable statement has led to too many tensions and protests in the country between political leaders and the ruling junta. Thus, the leader of the Peul ethnic group, Mr. Celou Dalein Diallo actively participated in these demonstrations. As a result, Dadis Camara did not stay for long, ending with another coup in which Mandinka General Sekouba Konate took over and organized the 2010 elections. In the end, the historical Mandinka opponent Alpha Conde won. Alpha Conde, however, didn't dedicate enough time to national reconciliation, and he brought ethnic instrumentalization, ethnic coalition, and ethnic supremacy to maintain power. This was the beginning of civic inclusion and ethnic ultranationalism in the country until today.

#### 5.11. COMMUNITY MARGINALIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Guinea is known internationally for its raw material wealth. Hence, it is ranked first or second for global bauxite production. Massive exploitation in the country damages the environment. Communities living in mining areas suffer from exploitation. The lands of indigenous farmers in the areas are taken without their consent. These communities depend on agriculture, livestock, hunting, forestry, drinking water from the river and livestock as a source of life and income. Today in Guinea, foreign mining companies are destroying all this in complicity with the local authorities. Governments or authorities take no action to protect community rights or reward farmers. They complain without results. Moreover, they are illiterate; there is no leader among them to act against the government towards the process of justice and reparation of their ordeal. The leaders of these communities are corrupted by the government.

According to Celestin, (2019), Guinea had from 14 million hectares of forest in the 1960s, it finds itself today with less than 700,000 hectares. This excessive deforestation therefore makes Guinea one of the bad students in forest conservation. The country is unfortunately one of the countries with the fastest deforestation rates in the world.

Aluminum, gold and bauxite mining companies are damaging farmers' land without preparation, including deforestation. During the transport of raw materials (bauxite, uranium and aluminum) from the mining regions to the port of Conakry, the dust pollutes the air, covers the sources of drinking water, destroys the farms, thus making the communities miserable and vulnerable. Despite the massive exploitation, there is no concrete development in the country from which the population benefits. Moreover, although the country is rich in raw materials, there is no permanent infrastructure such as electricity, road, water for all or sanitation for all. Due to environmental sanitation issues, there are also a lot of mosquitoes which increase malaria in the country. Children are the primary victims as well the adults. Other contagious diseases are also linked to mosquitoes. The population is deprived for the benefit of the resources of the country.

A documentary was produced by Human Rights Watch, (2018), in which we saw the consequences of the rapid growth of the bauxite mining industry in Guinea threatens the livelihoods of thousands of Guineans. Mining has destroyed ancestral farmland, damaged water sources and dusted houses and trees. The Guinean government, which has made Guinea the world's third-largest exporter, is not taking immediate steps to better regulate businesses and protect communities.

#### 5.12. GUINEA, NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, AND THE DIFFUSION OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

##### 5.13.

The earlier civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast had affected Guinean society. Guinea has faced the regional humanitarian crisis from 1991 to 2002 and from 2002 to 2011. Liberian civil war had created regional instability and influence the war in other neighboring country like Sierra Leone

In 1991, Charles Taylor actively supported the Sierra Leonean Foday Sankoh, who launched his movement, the RUF (Revolutionary United Front), to attack his own country from Liberia. The chaos generated by the RUF throughout the

1990s allowed Charles Taylor and Foday Sankoh to plunder much of the country's diamond wealth. The civil war in Sierra Leone will leave more than 100,000 dead and 1.2 million displaced, of whom around 500,000 take refuge in Liberia and Guinea. Sierra Leonean refugees will only begin to return home from January 2002, when the political situation finally stabilizes (Karthala,2002).

At the end of the civil war in Liberia and Sierra in 2002 was the beginning of the Ivorian civil in 2002. In late 2007, Guinea registered 1,270 Ivorian refugees living in Conakry, out of a total of 4,416 Ivorian refugees present in Guinea (UNHCR & Millimouno,2008). This conflict led to the displacement of nearly one million people, mainly from western Côte d'Ivoire and from Abobo. The destination of these people is primarily Côte d'Ivoire with 735,000 refugees, Liberia with 120,000 refugees, Ghana, Guinea, Togo, Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Benin and Burkina Faso (SANOGO 2010).

## 6. CONCLUSION

As other civilizations (Arab and Western) have entered West Africa, the rate of civic transformation and social change has grown rapidly. West African traditional societies have undergone a rollercoaster ride of transformation since the beginning of the 20th century (Islam, Christianity, political and societal models) mainly because many ethnic societies that were previously independent are now forced to live among themselves under strange constitutions based on European principles. On the other hand, living within the European constitutional modal and within Islam's belief, there were two opposing civilizations within a single region. In tandem with economic transformation, one of the many transformations that occurred during West African modernization was the transition from ethnic to civilized nations. African leaders were prepared to lead their societies from ethnic to civic nations due to the surge in African nationalism at the turn of the century. During the 1960s, independence was on the rise as urbanization accompanied it in many countries. It was the urban areas, mostly port towns, and old caravan terminals, that became more

modernized with educated elites and well-informed civil servants, while the rural areas remained the center of society and a standard-bearer of its values. Thus, the minority urban elites were the major opponents of the modern government.

By ensuring enough government appointments, subsidizing imported goods to maintain a middle-class European lifestyle, and appealing to the ethnic consciousness of the rural people, a government can maintain a fair balance and foothold on power while maintaining the patronage of the urban elites. In spite of this, the elites created opposition parties supported by ethnic groups whenever this agreement broke down, which gave the opposition the opportunity to gain power. The majority of these accords were achieved through inclusion in national parties that mostly supported the Presidents. Other ethnic groups were coerced through their elites to become members of these parties, which then became single parties within single-party states by the constitution.

In order to demystify ethnicity and make it less significant or less influential in national politics, political elites created single-party states.

In Guinea, the late President Sekou Toure created an urban elite class during the first twenty-six years after independence through massive investments in education, building universities and colleges throughout the country. His other attempt was to disorganize the ethnic backing of the elites in rural peasantry by disorganizing land allocation that encouraged internal migration as well as ethnic mobility, and to disorganize the ethnic composition of most rural communities in the country, which he succeeded to some extent. For all African leaders oppressed by colonialism and imperialism in their countries, Sékou Touré has opened a door this includes **Miriam Makeba, Stokely Carmichael** "one of the "Black Panther Party" figures, **Amilcar Cabral etc..** He promoted education in rural areas with national languages in order to create the United States of Africa. In order to promote the industrialization of the country, he required all students in all fields to take agriculture courses, and he built the Gamal Abdel Nasir University in West Africa as well as other universities in different regions. The colonizers have created opposition from the Fulani ethnic

group in order to weaken Sekou Toure and his regime. Sekou Toure wanted all Africans to live together in a single identity without ethnic distinction, but he was trapped by them.

Furthermore, a foreign mercenary group in association with an opposition party attacked Guinea in the 1970s, capturing many people belonging to opposition ethnic groups and condemning them to death for plotting against the government. Camp-Boiro is a historical memory in Guinea. When we are attacked by a foreign mercenary group, armed in complicity with some citizens, there is no question of human rights, it is self-defense (Toure,1970). Many plots were created by the colonizers to destabilize Guinea, including *Operation Parsil*. Sekou was considered a danger to French interests in West Africa and he may have influenced other colonies to rebel against French interests in the region. All problems associated with Guinea began with succession.

In comparison to President Lansana Conte, the President at succession did very little to promote the education of the rural population, thus using "populism" to remain in power with overwhelming support, and an official title of "Life President" before he died.

Thus, the creation of single-party states in most African countries has coerced and coopted all elites as well as suppressed ethnic influences in national politics and ensured high levels of internal integration within the country, so it appears. Prior to the collapse of the one-party state mechanism, great strides were made towards the development of civic societies in West Africa. Afterward, the single-party system collapsed with peace and security falling with it like a pack of cards in many countries with the fall of the Berlin wall and democratic changes sweeping over the continent. A political pluralism that followed created a state of insecurity (security dilemma) and a fear of dominance by larger groups, so the elites retreated into their ethnic shells to protect their privileged status within the state. The argument of Gellner (1991), a modernist, that nationalism is all about belonging to, taking part in and identifying with an entire political unit and its people, is relevant here. Traditional ethnic societies may be transformed into civic societies through promotion or participation in "literate high culture," but in



reality, it is the opposite as elites seek regular support from their ethnic group when competing for power and other advantages within the multi-cultural civic society.

Civil conflicts in West Africa were primarily caused by the relationship between the masses and the elites within an ethnic group. In Burkina Faso, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Nigeria, and Guinea Bissau, it worked very well. Most rebel groups that fought in these conflicts were affiliated with ethnic groups and "ethnic elites" or leaders. As part of their salient role, ethnic elites keep in touch with other elites of the same ethnic group that are 'cut out', or who live across borders in neighboring countries. As the masses look up to them for enlightenment because of their intellectual capacity, this form of ethnic-elite networking across the borders had contributed to the spread of civil wars in the subregion. The relationship between elites and masses becomes increasingly important in West Africa when means of communication are available between the two, the faster and the more common the means of communication, the faster they are able to react to one another's impulses and responses.

Consequently, ethnic elites use international radio stations to spread their information because the national communal district, national TV, and radio stations have become objects of propaganda. The vast communication gap between the mass population and the government also makes it easy to manipulate the population since they are unaware of what is happening in their prospective government. Cultural events across borders are also important for these communications. During the Guinea-Bissau civil war, the major actors came from neighboring countries such as Gambia and Senegal, demonstrating this type of networking. Also, fighters from neighboring countries infiltrated the Casamance rebellion in Senegal and contributed to its success. It is common for ethnic groups and their elites to migrate across borders for the purposes of waging wars against one another, as is the case with the Tuaregs in Mali and Niger, and in the conflict in Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. This is highly possible in a place where ethnicity is the true boundary rather than state.

From 1965 to 1990, West Africa experienced a single-party system. The creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) during this period also accelerated the integration of the subregion, especially from 1975 to 1990. It is safe to say that most of the countries within the subregion were relatively at peace with each other, and the level of wars and conflicts was minimal. This may be due to the single-party and dictatorship system that prevailed in many countries of the region, including those under military juntas. Opposition parties are only active and effective in Senegal.

There was an unofficial agreement to 'watch each other's back within the neighborhood' between the totalitarian heads of state, or maybe the totalitarian heads of state were able to keep ethnic problems under control. As another example, ECOMOG (Ecowas Monitoring Group) was formed rapidly and deployed in Liberia during the civil war in 1990. Prior to 1990, ECOWAS was able to pass a greater number of resolutions regarding trade, culture, and capital and labor movement within the region. Liberia and other conflict-affected countries in the region were mostly the focus of resolutions passed between 1990 and 2000 on peace and disarmament.

### 6.1. PEACEBUILDING IN WEST AFRICA

A major aim of the Pan-African movement was realized in 1975 through the formation of the Economic Community of West Africa, led in principle by Houphet Boigny. Its members were actually opposed to the outright unification of the continent under one government advocated by the radical left in the movement led by Kwame Nkrumah with unconditional support from Guinea's Sekou Toure.

Following decolonization, the fifteen countries in West Africa experienced a kind of 'anarchy' as independent states emerged. Since the period of independence also marked the dismantling of the major regional strings that held them together, there was very little to hold them together. With the Anglophone countries, this was a very rapid process, but France reinforced or propped up

some of her former territories that were economically unviable in order to ensure their survival. As well as signing defence cooperation agreements with her former West African colonies except Guinea, France used the same currency tied to the French Franc.

In the deep heat of the cold war, France also needed these countries' cooperation, so this defense pact could only guarantee French intervention when these countries were threatened externally. As smooth as this defense cooperation appeared, it never guaranteed French intervention during various military coups. It has intervened in civil wars or when external aggression was threatened in some instances, as in Chad and Ivorian civil wars. Many countries in the region realized that trusting France for their external defense and security was not enough, even with France's security guarantee. Many countries in the region went to war over borders and resources. This led to the creation of the Economic Community of West Africa States, which was based on the perception that the real and perceived threat was not conventional like modern warfare and weaponry but rather "ethnic." Leaders of the region realized that the region's ethnic fabric represented a serious threat to many of their despotic and authoritarian regimes.

As a result of the Liberian civil war, the protocol establishing ECOMOG was signed in Freetown, Sierra Leone in 1989. The protocol carefully sidetracked the main obstacle of the non-aggression pact of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In the protocol for mutual defense assistance, members that are attacked externally can receive aid and assistance from a non-standing army. It is stated in article 4(b) of the protocol that when a member of the organization has been victims of an internal armed conflict that is engineered and supported actively from outside the organization and which threatens its security (Rights Watch Report, June 1993), then there should be a collective response.

Every country in the region has another hostile ethnic group across its borders sympathetic to its suppressed opposition. The formation of ECOWAS is therefore necessary for these countries not only to promote economic cooperation, but also

to prevent conflict or to act as a conflict resolution regime, when necessary, as a regional cooperation and integration organization. In 1989, when the Liberian civil war broke out in 1989 due to rebel invasion from neighboring Ivory Coast, the heads of the Organization suddenly realized this, forming the ECOMOG (Ecowas Monitoring Group). In each of ECOWAS' operations, members were required to contribute personnel and materials, but this is no longer the case.

## 6.2. INTEGRATION IN AFRICAN UNITY

A central theme of the Pan-African movement was African unity. The founding fathers dreamed of uniting all African people throughout the world into a single state or nation, but later, the themes ran into ideological difficulties as the objectives of the movement dilated in the post war period. As a result of its metamorphosis, the movement turned into continentalism, which included Arab North African countries in the Organization of African Unity. It lost its spiritual theme, which was at the heart of its establishment (SAHO,1964), because north African countries are already part of a pan-Arab organization known as the Arab League.

Second, the ideological cold war of the twentieth century played a significant role in making the movement incongruous with African unity. As a result of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia earlier in the century, some movement leaders were motivated, but it also led to division among the various factions regarding how to achieve African unity. According to the pro-Communists, the continent should be brought together immediately and radical, but the centre-right wants a gradual approach that will gradually evolve from regional unity to continental unity (Ackah, 1999). In addition to language, African unity is also centered around the concept of unity. With the help of their education system, colonialists spread their languages on the continent, creating elites that they handed political power to after independence. They indoctrinate their culture and religion into many people. Throughout the continent, colonial languages have divided the unity of purpose along language lines, with anglophones, Russophones, and Francophones forming a solid part of its disunity and unity at the same time.

There are still resentments against other Africans living elsewhere on the continent, even though Africans have been more familiar with their continent over the past forty years, and have travelled more across the continent than they did before independence in the 1960s. Ivory coast and South Africa are experiencing an increase in xenophobic attacks on other Africans as saw's 2008 in South Africa and against Burkina Faso migrants in Ivory Coast 2002. Africans from Nigeria, and Ghana have also been repatriated from South Africa, and Europeans and Asians are more welcome in many African countries than Africans from other parts of the continent (SAHO, 2018).

Through Pan-Africanism, ethnic nationalism, which is destroying the continent, would have been tempered. The effect of ethnicity on the development of the continent would have been reduced if the Pan-Africanism had been successful. With Pan-Africanism, the continent would have developed faster since a unified Africa would have had an advantage in negotiating with international organizations and would have formed a powerful block against other world powers. Individuals or groups would have had a more global approach to their relationship with others rather than bringing their ethnicity into their relationships. A continent where trade and migration are bigger and faster will be able to counter the effect of the international economic system run by the World Bank and IMF (SAHO, 2008). The outcome of the current approach has been the unending wars of secession and genocides across the continent. Having succeeded in promoting Pan-Africanism and civic nationalism, a literate, democratic mass who rejects ethnic sentiments would have resulted. In the future, a civic African will have a new identity that becomes irrelevant to other identities.

### 6.3. REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ACHIEVE MEDIOCRE RESULTS

Ackah (1999) asserts that regional integration like the ECOWAS has failed because it is imposed on legitimate states. They are merely states whose structures have been linked to the colonial powers, and not nation states. As a

result, neocolonial states cannot build an integration structure on the continent (Ackah, 1999). ECOWAS and SADCC are organizations of the few, by the few, and for the few in West Africa, so they operate with weak mandates since neither was created with the consent of the people (Ackah,1999). In addition to the weak institutional structures of regional organizations, the secretariats have little control over their members, especially when their policies are not harmonised (Ackah, 1999).

#### 6.4. CONFLICTS AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN WEST AFRICA

The level of ethnic conflict within a state is strongly influenced by the homogeneity of the state. Despite some exceptions (e.g., Somalia and Sudan), it is generally accepted that ethnic composition of a country increases the likelihood of conflicts. Most citizens have easier access to power in states with fewer ethnic groups. We can see from Table 2, which shows the percentage of the major ethnic groups in all states of West Africa and the pie charts that follow that some countries like Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone have more ethnic groups within the 90 percent of the population.

The conflicts in these states are more intense than in others. Some other states are dominated by just one major ethnic group, such as Mali, Niger, and Ghana. They are comparatively more peaceful than others. With more than twenty ethnic groups and none in absolute majority, Liberia is a unique country. However, these ethnic groups become politically relevant only when they form coalitions against the Americo-Liberians (Congo-Liberian) who had dominated the country for decades. Similarly, Benin is one of the few countries with more than five ethnicities in the first 90 percent of the population and is still relatively peaceful.

It is because some ethnic groups are politically irrelevant as the majority of their kin live in neighboring states. It may explain why some people hold dual citizenship. As well as states where the three or four major ethnic groups are almost equally divided, there are high stakes in gaining access to political power, which often causes conflicts. Examples include Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau, where elections are characterized by alliances and conflicts. In Burkina Faso, the

Mossi make up over forty percent of the population, among eleven others. It is similar to Burkina Faso which is dominated by the Mossi, there may be coups d'état but there is unlikely to be ethnic tension as so many of the other ten ethnic groups are so minimal and are mainly found in neighboring countries like Togo and Mali. For centuries, this area of the country has represented the Mossi Empire, and all other ethnic groups within the country have historically accepted their dominance.

#### 6.5. ETHNIC HOMOGENEITY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Prior to 1989, ethnic conflicts were not taken into account. Since most of the countries were ruled by dictatorships or one-party systems before 1989, ethnic conflicts were also rare. When the cold war ended in 1989/90, there were agitations for constitutional reforms which sometimes turned violent, e.g., in Mali. This shows that the more ethnic groups in a state, the greater the risk of ethnic conflict.

In Conclusion, Ethnic conflicts and cultural differences shape international politics. Because ethnicity and cultural affiliations are particularly powerful factors in shaping group relations, these conflicts have caused great suffering and are a significant threat to international security. There is no doubt that ethnic conflict remains an important issue on the international political agenda because of instability, refugee flows, spillover effects, and other consequences. Nevertheless, it isn't cultural differences per se that cause conflict but the political, ideological, and economic goals of international actors, regardless of whether these actors are states or ethnic groups. The complex nature of ethnic and cultural conflicts makes it impossible to resolve the problems easily.

Additionally, this thesis, ethnic nationalism is responsible for most of the conflicts in West Africa, and these conflicts have played a large role in slowing down or disintegrating the region. Hence, it will recommend that West African states adopt an inclusive democratic form of government as much as possible.

There should be fewer political parties in each country, and their membership should cut across ethnicities.

Therefore, West African states should improve education for all to create a truly democratic society. This education should be on the real value of Africa as well as the transformation of local knowledge into academics. It is necessary to understand that the past experience is needed when we are preparing for a positive future. The pasts of Africa, therefore West Africa is forgotten and neo-colonialism always puts gasoline in the engine of ethnicity that creates a time bomb and makes regional integration difficult.

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