The Debate Between Conventional Ideology and Ethnic Politics in Africa

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Abstract

Ethnic politics will continue to be a more significant challenge in the twenty-first century for many African countries. Many scholars believe that creating ethnic-based political ideologies in the mainstream will make it more difficult for the masses to have representation. Ethnic politics could be an appealing tool for leaders seeking to preserve power through appeals to emotion and manipulation of resources, with no added value or rational debate. Political stability and democratic ideas are contingent on how African politicians respond to ethnic and language-based politics in the future. The challenge is finding a way to reconcile economic growth and well-being with entitlement politics. This article examines the rise of ethnic politics in Africa through the lens of six African countries. The article's question is how political, ideological polarisation can be avoided in Africa, and a win-win strategy to that end is being explored. The article also attempts to convey a comprehensive perspective on shaping political debates to understand the foundations of political elites and parties.

Overview

For a variety of reasons, ethnic identity-based politics is the most politicised way of pursuing political office in the African context. Instead of merit-based attraction, the incentives are based on similar ethnic and linguistic resonance. In most cases, raising funds and voting to secure positions as elected officials in various positions is far easier in ethnic-oriented campaigns than in ideologically linked campaigns. The African political and economic situation is characterised by an unusually high level of anarchy (known as state and ethnic anarchy), which aids in the maintenance of power and the exercise of political and economic manipulation. Deconstructing the concept is the first step in identifying and resolving long-term problems in ethnically and linguistically diverse societies such as Africa. An identity is defined by beliefs and practices that can be changed or rebuilt, whereas ethnic identity comes after other identities, such as being male, female, transgender, and so on (Fearon, and Laitin, 2000:846; Fearon, 1999:17). Ethnic identities are created or reconstructed; the aim is to serve political elites. Ethnic identity is the recognition that one belongs to a specific group of people with whom one shares cultural values, beliefs, and, in many cases, a similar racial background. Ethnic identity and national identity occasionally overlap. The continentality of one's identity may also be presented as a rivalry with other national, ethnic, and racial identities, such as African, European, American, Latino, and so on. However, for conscious Africans or Pan Africanists who use this as a claim, African and Africanism identities are synonymous.

Africa is a multi-ethnic melting pot with a rich cultural heritage. Multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism have a considerable advantage in widening knowledge in the philosophical setting if adequately utilised. Only a few African countries are extraordinarily ethnically homogeneous; most African countries have a significant ethnic and linguistic diversity. The postcolonial African state has been subjected to all forms of governance, including semi-feudalism, capitalism, socialism, military dictatorship, civilian autocracy, monarchy, and ethnically led regimes. Neuberger (2000, p. 294) almost all African states are multi-ethnic and have borders that cross ethnic groups; understanding the relationship between state and ethnic groups is critical for analysing African states' internal

and external politics. Given the article debate on ethnic political arrangements versus ideological philosophy, it has a more significant impact on discussing these two themes. Using ethnicity as a political system or tool has the potential to cause many controversies, particularly in the current context of Africa society. The notion of ethnic politics is an instrument used by the political elite to manipulate and grip governmental or other power structures. It is also a means of acquiring resources such as wealth and social status by scratching the thin skin of tribal personality rather than serving the people's interests. Shani (2000, p. 269) contends that shared ethnic identity crystallises as a social, economic, and political context and serves as a tool for political mobilisation with limited divergence.

According to the consensus, no African ethnic group has established a system for tracing biological arguments as differences resulting from assimilation, intermarriage, and lineage being linked for generations. Instead, the myth of common ancestry, which may or may not have kinship ties, shapes ethnic worldview. This presents an intriguing challenge: rather than implementing a state-centred approach, postcolonial African states failed to build stable and robust state structures due to deeply polarised ethnic relationships and opposing viewpoints (Smith, 2013, p. 448). Ethnic groups also believe that they are descended from a common ancestor and have a sense of shared history, which varies depending on whether the shared history is based on actual or recently imagined identity. Many ethnic identities in Africa are not distinguishable except for minor cultural and traditional differences and experiences. Most ethnic politics is fuelled by elites seeking to maintain power and privilege.

In contrast, ethnic polarisation does not exist among ordinary Africans. Ethnic identity evokes a myth or imagined community with all the political power necessary to legitimise a political community based on mutuality and mutual benefit (Assefa, 1996, p. 35; Anderson, 2006). Ethnicity emergence is mainly understood and linked to language and colonialism's massive assimilation project before and after European colonisation. Subjective factors based on objective characteristics and markers, such as language, culture, religion, customs, folklore, and traditional political and social institutions, describe ethnic diversity. Language is what we use to communicate, and language does not exist on the one hand, and thought does not exist on the other (Berlin, 2013).

It is critical to recognise that not every ethnic formation threaten destabilisation; specifically, the debate is about the politicisation of ethno nationalism in the aftermath of postcolonial Africa's state/nation-building. Chandra (2006, p. 398) explains that ethnic identity concepts are far beyond ethnic parties'', involving ethnic riots, voting, resource mobilisation, trading, religious worship, and representation. Identity politics has emerged as a distinct political practice that is not based on class movements or ideological activity but instead mobilises a specific ethnic, religious, and racial group to form exclusive political alliances. In comparative political science, ethnicity is thought to play an essential role in governance anarchy, democratic stability, institutional design, economic growth, and individual well-being (Chandra, 2006, p. 398). Liberals, communitarians, and republicans have no use for identity politics because its studies issues that are beyond the realm of liberal, communitarian, and republican thought. Bernstein (2005, p. 48) illustrated that neo-Marxist distinguished identity politics from class politics and categorised it as a new social movement; postmodern/poststructuralists view identity politics as political activism rather than cultural activism. Individuals are more critical in a liberal democracy than collective identities, resulting in democracy rather than economic survival. The broader debate is, what are the primary reasons why identity politics in Africa are primarily associated with ethnic identity, and why has ethnic politics become a problem? I believe there is no single answer to such a broad question; however, studying why and how ethnic politics emerge case by case will provide a comprehensive picture of ethnic politics arrangements in various African countries.

Ethnic Politics in Africa

Ethnic identity formations extend beyond demarcated colonial territories and are inextricably linked to language, culture, and geographical settlement. The emergence of ethnic identity through political parties was a novel phenomenon in postcolonial Africa. Ghana became the first African country to gain independence from colonial rule on March 6, 1957. The country faced enormous challenges in political party formation and accommodating all interest groups; there was no other preceding experience in Africa to emulate. According to Boafo-Arthur (1993, p. 228), Nkrumah sowed the seeds of political chaos and destruction in those early days through political parties based on ethnic, religious, and regional formations. Most postcolonial African leaders have sought better party formation strategies to conduct legislative business in a civilised manner while considering the unequal nature of ethnic and religious demography. One of these was the ban of religious and ethnic-based parties on the ground reality of African countries and the historical journey to prevent undesirable conflict. Among these was Ghana's first ethnic, religious, and regional party prohibition, enacted in the 1960s by President Kwame Nkrumah (Basedau et al., 2007, p. 630). The argument was that ethnic and religious political parties pose a threat to national and regional security by competing for government power and national resources. The hostile nature of ethnic politics divides citizens into "us" and "them," or "these are ours, and the rest are others". The negative consequences of ethnic politics are numerous, with those who do not hold power being treated as second-class citizens and severely jeopardised human rights. Given these facts, Namibia was the first African country to implement voter and political party regulations that prohibited party membership based on sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed, or social or economic status (Basedau et al., 2007, p. 628).

The postcolonial state witnessed various forms of ethnic and religious violence ranging from Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Sudan. The facts on the ground in Africa provide further evidence of the decline of ideologically based political formation, and the distraction is visible in the majority of African countries. Similarly, from 1967 to 1970, Nigeria's civil war featured ethno-regional and religious clashes between three dominant ethnic groups: Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbos (Abubakar, 2001, p. 31). The ethnic dimensions' conflict that raged in Darfur between the 'Janjaweed' Arab origins and African tribes, the Rwandan genocide fought between the Hutus and Tutsis in 1994 was significant aftermath. Furthermore, forty-year tribal and secessionist conflicts within Ethiopia and Eritrea have resulted in ethnically oriented parties wreaking havoc in Africa's Horn of Africa. According to Hagmann and Hoehne (2009, p. 50), Somalia has been the most prolonged failed state without a proper solution and the epitome of civil war that has triggered instability between clans and sub-clans since 1991. Somalia's destabilisation has impacted not only Somalis but also neighbouring countries such as Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya.

With this understanding, the rise of ethnic identity-centred party formation must be critically examined and the consequences. One of the main points of contention revolves around the structure and agency of ethnic politics in representation and how the execution is accomplished. The perplexity of ethnic politics in a heterogeneous society poses numerous challenges, including making just, fair, and legitimate decisions. According to Fain (1980, p. 111), "a representative is simply someone who is authorised to act as a representative" based solely on acts of representation. Unlike ideological formations, 'representation in realism' necessitates the submission and consent of every ethnic member with proper legitimacy, which can illustrate in various scenarios.

First and foremost, human rights issues are the central argument for non-participatory actors unwilling to compromise any decision made without their collective consent. As a result, justice is a core element, representing ethnic identity, which belongs to each member with 'equal

responsibility.' The other scenario is a legal issue concerning how each member can be defined and bound by bylaws. The final scene focuses on the rights of other ethnic members within the territory and governance model, as well as culture, tradition, and language.

Ideology is a system of conduct that includes representing concepts, ideas, or imaginary relationships with humanity's conditions of existence (Hall, 1985, p. 103). Ideologies operate in clusters, socio-political systems, and belief systems through discursive chains. Individual representation is not given supremacy in ideologically centred representations that are inversely based on bylaws, rules, and regulations. With the same concept, but conduct allows the majority or simple majority to decide on their behalf; because of the issues that matter for the supremacy of idea and notion, not individual beings. Political ideology manifests deep desires for actual existence, identity, and political socialisation (Smith et al., 2011, p. 10).

Furthermore, the ideology of the alluded people can be seen as art, educational philosophies, humour, religion, and occupation. The interconnectedness of politics, economics, and ideologies necessitates examining structure and agency (Hay and Wincott, 1998, p. 953). The reverse discrimination of ethnic politics in heterogeneous Africa necessitates in-depth analysis to improve the political context and intergroup relations. People must adopt the mind-set of game players to gain freedom; it is assumed that while people seek to liberate themselves, the universe should be subdued in the same manner (Berlin, 2013). Similarly, an imaginary representation requires a framework to examine legitimacy and agency. The article includes a conceptualisation of political identity and ethnic politics in postcolonial Africa and case studies from various countries. They are, furthermore, engaging in contemporary Africa's best governance and democratic value systems. Finally, I examine Pan African ideals concerning ethnic and ideological party politics, as well as citizenship.

Conventional Ideology as A Comparative Argumentative Instrument

The term "ideology" will be demonstrated to have both a distinct meaning and a distinct historical standing, with the concept's history serving as a guide to the actual interaction of "real" and "ideal" aspects whose dialectic is obliquely intended in the concept's formulation (Lichtheim, 1965). It's all too common for ideology to be an extra-terrestrial implant, manufactured by dreamers of dreams, otherworldly philosophers, or machinators with dictatorial goals. Political thought in its broadest sense currently demonstrates six threads: the painstaking construction of argument; the normative prescription of standards of public behaviour; the imaginative production of insight; the genealogical investigation of provenance and change; the deconstructive unpacking of paradigms; and the morphological analysis of concepts and conceptual clusters (Freeden, 2004).

Adherents of political theorists' ideologies find themselves hammered by prevailing academic interests and substantive motivations and by 'dominant techniques' hidden from many of their practitioners. Ideology as a tool of 'totalitarian seduction,' an alien encircling system of ideas centred on a 'single truth,' and a self-justification drive, primarily representative prescriptive ideologies and their opposing epistemologies (Freeden, 2004). To be an ideology, it must have the ability to influence one's thinking, the ability to guide one's decision-making, and the ability to lead one to action. When ideology is analysed from an epistemological standpoint, it becomes clear that its antecedents exist in political party contexts and the corporate world, which requires more analysis and elaboration. As diverse formulations and conceptions of ideology emerge, the theory of ideology evolves into distinct knowledge systems; today, ideology serves not only political motives but also a different field of studies and practice.

Identity Politics in a Few African Countries: A Situation Analysis

The increasing prominence of ethnic politics in Africa is a general level of political and ideological clout among intellectuals, blue-collar workers, and the bourgeoisie. The ethnic-based political system will continue to be the simplest method of mobilising support to hold public office. This is an intangible but powerful message because it is easy to scratch the soft layer of human kinship, language similarity, and "us vs them" mentality. Additionally, some promoted a false narrative of oppressed and oppressors, while others promoted Eurocentrism and nationalism. Stalinist perspectives constitute a significant factor in the flourishing of ethnic politics. Berman's (1998, p. 310) argument is that ethnic identity in precolonial Africa was constructed not as a static primordial character but as a distinct tribe uniting for political sovereignty, economic assimilation, and ethno cultural construction. In such a situation, there is a limited possibility of one tribe or ethnic group being dominant without controlling the entire mode of production of the nation. Communities in precolonial Africa were fighting for political and economic territory and trying to stay alive during periods of famine and disease. In other words, it is conceivable to deduce that these demonstrate that even when ethnic dominance had been established, the control of central power was interrupted in the 18th century by colonial rulers.

Colonialism has done tremendous damage to African society in two separate ways. On the one hand, it stifled continued wealth accumulation and ownership among Africans; on the other hand, it sowed rivalry and division within ethnic and tribal communities. Africans are presently embroiled in some of the most prominent ethnic conflicts the world has ever seen, resulting from their people's legacy of colonialism. Today partly Africans are harnessing the rivalry and the rift that was created by colonial powers. Green (2010, p. 3) says that even though many African states have been embroiled in ethnic violence and conflict at various times, postcolonial efforts to fashion supra-ethnic national identities have failed. Colonialism has had a more significant negative influence in some countries than in others. While colonialism used indigenous and colonial languages to divide Africans, it was also responsible for ethnic animosity.

Divisiveness within Cameroon's Sovereignty Over the Colonial Language Ideology

Three colonial powers colonised Cameroon due to its unique historical circumstances: The French, the Germans, and the British. As authorised by the League of Nations, Britain and France ruled their respective portions of Cameroon for the entire period from 1919 to 1945 (Ngoh, 1979, p. 6). Additionally, explain that following World War II, France administered her portion as a trusteeship territory of the United Nations Organization until 1960, when it achieved independence; Britain administered her portion as a trusteeship territory of the United Nations until 1961 gained independence. Cameroonians are embroiled in a protracted conflict over the European language division between French Cameroon and British Cameroon, which is embarrassing and humiliating for Africans. It serves as a reminder of colonial rule and slavery.

Thus, language ideology addresses the characteristics of thoughts, ideas, beliefs, and assumptions that govern the lives of individuals or groups and are frequently established to provide structure or meaning to the world (Nana, 2016, p. 169). The "legacies of colonial language" can be both sources of division and sources of unity. It's perplexing to contemplate how its victims exploit a language created by a colonial power to sow discord among those who share the same colonial language ideology. Regardless of colonial language is a tool of subjugation but having your countrymen who have been with you through generations follow you to fight and worship you in a colonial language is nothing short of insane. Colonialism divided not only spoken and codified languages but also African and European languages of indigenous populations (Zeleza, 2006, p. 22).

Along with examining identity politics and institutionalised power, it is necessary to investigate the role of language groups such as Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone, etc. Prior to colonisation, Cameroon had a diverse range of languages; however, throughout and after colonisation, English and French have remained the country's official languages (Nana, 2016, p. 180). Furthermore, he stated that the ongoing conflict resulted from missionaries' continued use of indigenous languages and the French administration's promotion of French at the expense of indigenous languages. Similarly, mother tongue education has been phased out in West Cameroon in favour of English as the primary medium of instruction in schools.

Somalia's Nightmare of Clan-based Politics

A variety of factors contributed to Somalia's state-building project coming to a halt for an extended period. A discourse is known as a colonial experiment when it attempts to explain or interpret the same topic simultaneously, in which theoretical and empirical underpinnings emerge concurrently. Somalia exemplifies the brutal fragmentation and poisonous impact of colonialism. The Somali people are genetically homogeneous, but colonial demarcations such as French Somalia, British Somalia, and Italian Somalia have fragmented them.

Somalia-Ethiopia, and similarly Somalia-Kenya, absorbed a sizable proportion of Somalians into their populations in Ethiopia and Kenya, respectively. The nearby Somali region of Ethiopia and Somalia make interesting empirical cases of statehood for countries and regions that are not nations (Hagmann and Hoehne, 2009, p. 46). The issues are not about whether greater Somalia should exist or not; instead, Somalis living under one flag are incapable of coexisting peacefully and harmoniously as a nation. Somalians have experienced various turbulence since gaining independence in early 1960 and nearly cohabiting for nearly twenty years until early 1980. The reasons are numerous and delving into the realities may necessitate an assessment of a number of factors. Still, the most obvious is geopolitics, and several domestic and foreign political actors can be mentioned.

Somalia has long been regarded as a case study in state failure. Since 1991, it has been mired in political and military instability, which an ongoing humanitarian crisis has exacerbated. In addition, the country has seen multiple governance models, both formal and informal, emerge in the country, which have not received international attention or been accepted by scholars studying state failure (Hagmann and Hoehne, 2009, p. 48). Injustice and distrust between Somali clan structures and colonial divisions were the causes and numerous flaws of Somalia's conflicts. Others attribute Somalia's insecurity to the country inherited "nomadic culture," clan structure, and incompetence of political leaders; clan dominance has resulted in corruption and maladministration, impeding Somalia's emergence as a stable and functioning state (Hagmann, 2005, p. 512). Somalia has been without an operational central government for more than three decades in its brief history of state formation. The conflict is layered like an onion, with clans, sub-clans, and sub-sub-clans, making it difficult to pin down the root cause. It is fuelled partly by insecurity, a lack of state protection, and a breakdown of law and order, and the clan's superiority and identities cause it. As a result, Somali society suffers from the devastation brought about by three decades of war and subsequent instability.

Ethnic politics and political tribalism are causes of violence in Kenya

In contrast to other African countries, Kenya is one of the few African countries to maintain an unbroken peaceful reputation after independence. Colonialism in Kenya was distinct in that European settlers displaced indigenous African peoples to settle on the land solely for economic exploitation. Kenya's natural resources are diverse, encompassing agriculture, small industry, tourism, and mining. There are vast areas filled with verdant greenery and scenic landscapes, abundant wildlife in the interior, and a long seascape bordering the Indian Ocean. Since Kenya gained independence in

1963, ethnic tensions have polarised the country's political landscape; however, Kenya is considered a stable country compared to other East and Horn of Africa nations. Ethnicity can be defined as a combination of objective characteristics, such as language fluency, and subjective features, such as an individual's sense of identity and awareness (Goldsworthy, 1982, p. 107). The long-term impact of "political liberalisation" on Kenyan politics has exacerbated "political tribalism." Still, this phenomenon has also allowed moral ethnicity debates to come to the forefront of politics (Orvis, 2001, p. 8). According to this viewpoint, ethnicity has played an important role in Kenya's political processes since the colonial era; however, this role is regarded as minor compared to other African countries. In contrast to the rest of the sub-region, postcolonial Kenya demonstrated ideological consistency, which aided the country's economic development.

Because many Kenyans have lived through colonialism and dictatorship, they have a shared understanding of conflict with post-colonial nations (Roberts, 2009, p. 4). Liberalisation has facilitated the public display of political tribalism, such as corruption and all its negative consequences. Kenyans identify with and have a strong affinity for their tribe in various ways (Roberts, 2009, p. 8). Ethnicity has a double-edged effect on political liberalisation, at least in Kenya's tightly constrained "virtual democracy." This is partially due to the colonisers' and independent governments' relations with landowners throughout centuries. A greater emphasis on the local demonstrates how liberalisation has facilitated the discussion of moral ethnicity, a concept that can help with citizen empowerment (Orvis, 200, p. 12). This means that Kenyans believe that executive branch officials always win and that those in power will go to any length to prevent others from getting something position. Despite the violence that erupted in the aftermath of the 2007 elections, land disputes between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities remained a source of contention (Roberts, 2009, p. 6).

Furthermore, it was argued that executive power abuse, specifically in employment and land distribution, was the primary root cause of both manifestations of structural violence. Unfortunately, Kenya has a history of tribalism; due to the country's unique colonial experience, Kenyan ethnic groups have developed a strong sense of difference (Goldsworthy, 1982, p. 107). Kenya's tribalism and ethnic violence must be addressed; political, non-state actors, academic, and religious leaders must examine the concept of political ideology critically.

The Ethnic Divide and Power Dynamics in Nigeria: North and South

Two types of ideas define nationalism. The first is that nationalism claims that nations have supplanted traditional identities such as ethnicity; nationalism also claims that nationality and sovereignty are rooted in ethnicity (Calhoun, 1993, p. 221). As strange as it may appear, dual identities are visible in the case of ethnicity and nationalism in Nigeria. The ethnic composition of the Nigerian federation governance model contributes to two trends: supporting ethnic solidarity and aggravating tribal rivalry. According to Mamdani (2005, p. 13), the federal government is defined in two ways: first, it is an arrangement of ethnic home, its indigenous authority, and its State within the Nigerian federation; and second, with each new State, the number of Nigerians classified as nonindigenous grows. The Eurocentric federal arrangement has the cumulative effect of exacerbating the contradiction between economic and political processes.

During the nationalist struggle for independence and subsequent constitutional development (the 1920s–1960s), Nigeria's three dominant ethnic groups, the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Yoruba in the southwest, and the Igbo in the southeast, ruled their respective regions through ethnic/regional political parties (Abubakar, 2001, p. 33). Aside from its diverse ethnic makeup, Nigeria is religiously diverse; nearly half of the population practises some form of Islam, while the remainder follows Christianity and indigenous religions. The post-independence era was defined by regionalism and the "ethnic trap," with ethno-regional and religious identities playing a significant role in

shaping political contention (Abubakar, 2001, p. 35). One defining characteristic of contemporary Nigerian politics is the active exclusion of various marginalised groups from the political arena. When one considers the threats to Nigeria's democracy, the country faces significant challenges related to ethnicity, religious fanaticism, corruption, identity politics, and the country's practice of prebendalism (Mbalisi, 2017, p. 72). It is worth noting that Nigeria, like many other countries, has a volatile social environment, making it difficult to create conditions conducive to peaceful coexistence free of fear, tension, or violence.

Späti, (2016, p. 3) despite widespread use, the concept of identity remains challenging to conceptualise, making it difficult to define; therefore the term itself is somewhat ambiguous, making discussion of identity and identification difficult. The identities politics in Nigeria and across Africa can be divided into three historical eras, the first being the colonial era, the second the colonial era, and the third postcolonial era (Alumona and Azom, 2018, p. 292). The inherent characteristics of the African population and culture and the legacy of colonialism, socioeconomic inequality, and the absence of an indigenous governance model have all contributed to the vitality of identity politics in Africa. Nigeria's social and security structures have suffered due to identity politics, poor governance, and leadership focused on personal gain. They are the two deadly cankerworms that have devoured the Nigerian psyche, particularly the upper and lower classes, but also the wealthy and impoverished (Mbalisi, 2017, p. 78). As can be seen, Nigeria has never been associated with any ideological camp because its capitalist economy has remained unchanged since independence.

Ethnic identity also plays a role in African electoral contests. Continuing with Nigeria as an example, the First Republic's elections were marred by ethnic politics, with electorates voting almost exclusively for members of their ethnic groups (Alumona and Azom, 2018, p. 295). In Nigeria, it appears that there is an unwritten law that states that power is perpetually shifted between the South and North majority ethnic groups, with each group claiming their share. As previously mentioned, the 2015 presidential election was like past elections because the Hausa–Fulani ethnic group preferred a Muslim and a northerner over a Christian and a southerner, while the incumbent president at the time, Goodluck Jonathan, won a landslide in the South (Alumona and Azom, 2018, p. 295). The difficulty inherent in such an arrangement ensures that other minorities are never heard and remain outside the realm of politics, while also preventing society's crème de la crème from serving the nation on the front lines.

Ethiopian Ethno-Linguistic Federalism Sets a Dangerous Example for African Governance

Ethiopians assert that they are the Horn of Africa's most ancient, civilised, and centrally governed nation, with a history spanning over three thousand years. It can be verified in the holy book of Christians: The Bible. It is also substantiated in the central religious text of Islam: The Quran. Ethiopia is an ancient country home to three major religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Regardless, the long-established central government, Africans' philosophical centre, and tenacious resistance to colonial power could not avoid being supplanted by pre-modern ethnic centrist political turmoil. In Ethiopia, ideology has also contributed to the maintenance and intensification of the perception that ethnic animosity and superiority manifested by one group toward another is at the root of the country's problems, particularly in the previous two decades (Assefa, 1996, p. 40). There had been some ideological inconsistency in Ethiopia for the previous sixty years. Ethiopia has been through different ideological systems, including a semi-feudal monarchy, a military regime with socialist leanings, a developmental state, and an undefinable liberal democracy. Economic depression is partly to blame for ideological instability, which is similar to what happened in Sudan and Somalia.

Europeans never colonised Ethiopia, inspiring many Africans in their homeland and diaspora (Abbink, 2011, p. 599). On the other hand, the defeated Europeans do not take defeat lightly and have

systematically divided Ethiopians through multiple narratives. The narratives were meticulously crafted to exacerbate political instability and sabotage the country's economic development. (Seife, 2020, p. 13). Among these are the narrative and portrayal created by colonisers and amplified by unpatriotic Ethiopians portraying Emperor Menelik as an enemy of most Ethiopian people. Particularly among adherents and leaders of narrow ethnic political ideologies. Certain political advocates attempted to resurrect outdated colonial narratives of oppressor and oppressed within Ethiopia's political system, created by the ruling elite. The divisions in Ethiopian society have a significant impact on the country's political shambles and economic stagnation. The intellectual residue of colonialism remains a pivotal hindrance to nation-building; colonial stories are still alive and well among African political leaders, characterised by similar mind-sets (Kebede, 2003, p. 4). There are numerous manifestations; however, in the case of Ethiopia, the colonialist agenda has been carried out by secessionist and ethnic political advocates who came to power in early 1990. Ethnic federalism could have been viewed as a feasible option due to it being a hybrid ruling ideology combining elements of Leninism, democracy, and ethnicity (Abbink, 2011, p. 602).

The second component of the revolutionary student movement's programme in the 1960s and 1970s was to resolve the "nationalities" issue by mobilising anti-feudalist, anti-capitalist popular revolutions (Abbink, 2011, p. 559). Stalinist concepts of nation and nationality benefited ruling elites, despite remaining incompatible with local reality in various circumstances. The false narrative of superiority and imposition is erroneous. Ethiopia was the only country that achieved supremacy without a command of the means of production. In recent Ethiopian history, no tribe has exercised complete control without relying on any of the other tribes. Ethiopians face numerous restrictions on their livelihoods under the ethnic-based regime, including ethnic federalism, which has never been practised in Africa except for Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. And because of ethnic federalism, the world witnessed the artificial assembly of distraction and breakaway states within a socialist framework.

People were concerned about how Ethiopian ethnic groups would be accommodated within the new state structure established in 1991. Still, everyone is uncertain about how they will implement tribalism (Abbink, 2011, p. 599). Despite the setbacks and complications, the administration retained control of the system until 2018, when it was eventually discarded. The challenges with various tribal settings and attempts to undermine collective human understanding of the nation; indeed, tribalism's primary goal is division by introducing indigenous and non-indigenous settlers and indigenous people. In most African countries, shocking occurrences result from the poisonous legacy of postcolonial anarchy and primordial tribal arrangements, resulting from which hatred for one another has become the norm. Political actors consistently favour their own ethnic "category" or "group," and they do so in a variety of ways: through continuous competition for scarce goods (for example, through contracting, licencing, and awarding development grants), and because everyone involved believes they belong to an ethnic group (Goldsworthy, 1982, p. 108). In politics, ' ethnicity or 'tribalist behaviour' refers to people acting in specific ways due to their belief in or presumption of this personal identity. In terms of justice, democracy, and self-determination, and due to the contemporary content, many scholars warn against equating ethnicity with tribalism (Kebede, 2003, p. 12). In my opinion, ethnic identity is far more malleable than many people believe, and as such, our priority should be to strengthen our capacity to shape and mould our conceptions of ethnic identity and tribalism.

The Rise of Ethnic Inclinations, as well as the Contrast of Race Relationships

South Africa is unlike any other African country in a variety of ways. Among them are a sizable number of people of European descents, who constitute the generation of European settlers.

Additionally, there are Asians, most notably Indians, Malays, and Chinese; in this regard, no African country has comparable demography. Nonetheless, except for Algeria, Europe has a small number of European settlers. With the emergence of the Apartheid regime, the race relationship in South Africa created a massive political vacuum. It became a focal point of gravity in Africa and throughout the world. According to Clark and Worger (2016, p. 4-5), apartheid was a system of institutionalised racial segregation that lasted from 1948 to the early 1990s in South Africa and Southwest Africa. Additionally, explain that racial discrimination, even if it received constitutional protection in 1948, has existed since the Dutch colonisers arrived in 1652. Apartheid has come to be synonymous with racial segregation, but the term originates in Afrikaans, a derivative of the Dutch language.

Racial segregation was abolished in 1994, establishing a new political regime and an inclusive constitutional framework. South Africans paid a high price for freedom with their lives and endured an immense amount of suffering that humans can rarely bear. Even if South Africans primarily fought the long struggle for freedom, it encompasses anti-Apartheid movements across Africa and the world. Though equal citizenship was declared in the new political systems but never synchronized in ordinary citizens' daily lives to date. The expected positive results were obstructed due to enormous historical economic discrepancy among African origin citizens and European descent South African counterparts. The inheritance of apartheid may endure for a long time; the employment hierarchy, land, and business ownership cannot be changed with law enforcement in a democratic country like South African. South Africa has been well known for its racial hierarchical wage structure. At the same time, European South Africans get the highest pay, followed by Asians, mixed-race, and at the lowest ladder Africans (Allanson, Atkins, and Hinks, 2002, p. 448). Such an unjust system has created invisible discomfort among the citizens for a long time and is still alive.

Corrective measures were not as effective as anticipated in closing the gap; in fact, they widened the divide between rich and poor across racial groups. Similarly, political orientation is influenced by one's race and social class. The political, social transformation policies in post-apartheid South Africa profoundly not shaped or made a significant challenge in unifying citizens to think based on merit than race or economic status. According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2019, pp. 10-14), the argument race and economic situation still significantly affect voter political loyalties. Accordingly, the African National Congress (ANC) still enjoys the African South African majority vote despite its declination. The Democratic Alliance (DA) has significant supports of European South Africans and the newly emerged Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) enormous potential appeal to African workers, the poor, and marginalized vote.

The ANC is Africa's oldest political party, and its 1955 Freedom Charter expressed its opposition to tribalism in favour of inclusivity and tolerance. Apart from having a Pan-African perspective and a more excellent vision for South Africa and Africa as a whole. Ethnic favouritism manifested in different ways; among this, the ANC 52nd National Conference in Polokwane in December 2007 was the sign of tribal tendency. Unlike ANC tradition, the ethnic dimension was much more significant than expected; Zuma was the strongest supporter among KwaZulu Natal delegates, and people with Zulu or Ndebele origin was high (Southall, 2009:320). Also, the rejection of Senzeni Zokwana 2016 local election for the Tshwane mayor election by the local communities is a sign of growing ethnic elements. According to Baloyi (2018, p. 3) assessment, the tensions between Tsongas and Vendas over the Vuwani-Malamulele municipality were a tribal tendency. He also alluded that the most significant challenge in South African politics is a tribal division between the majority Xhosas and Zulus and within minorities at the municipality level. South Africa must invest in transformational projects that advance equality and success that promotes equality and success beyond tribal lines.

Pan-Africanist Ideals and an Antagonistic Relationship with Identity Politics

Pan-Africanism, in my perspective, is a passion and devotion to the African continent and its people; and a collective interest in Africa unification, prosperity, and equality as influenced by political, economic, and sociocultural activities. To understand humanity as a large part of the African population and to have the depth to support the African unity and prosperity agenda, one must have an ideological foundation attached to Pan Africanism. The premise of this argument is that it is impossible for Pan-Africanists to adopt ethnic or tribalist ideas. On the other hand, certain African leaders are Pan Africanists in the morning, nationalists in the afternoon, tribalist in the evening, and chauvinists at night. Consider that we are all, first and foremost, human beings who live in fifty-five constituency "countries" divided by colonisers (Seife, 2020, p. 4).

Additionally, he emphasised the singular significance of our ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities. However, when we use it as a political tool, we diminish our inherent worth as human beings. It is critical to discuss Pan-Africanist ideals and their diametrically opposed relationship to identity politics in order to demystify and gain a more comprehensive understanding of ideology. Following the colonial power over the continent, inter-tribal rivalry for political power, public offices, and public wealth became prevalent. Politicians are compelled to fan the flames of tribalism and religious divisions by appealing to their constituents' prejudices or engaging in ideological battles with their opponents out of political expediency.

African states have strived to manage identity politics since their inception as independent polities. Apart from Europe's scramble for Africa between 1884 and 1885, colonial powers imposed "their particular artificial criteria to create states in Africa" (Keller, 2014, p. 3). This is yet another exemplification of how African countries were colonised on the assumption that they would remain economically and politically dependent on the colonial powers in perpetuity. The tendency was to discuss agency in an institutional vacuum, focusing on how it was harnessed to colonial both bemoaned "tribe" and "tribalism" as colonial inventions while accepting "race" and "racism" as accurate in a positivist sense; according to some, ethnicity was cultural, and the race was biological (Mamdani, 2005, p. 3). In contrast to the colonial administration's and colonial anthropology's concept of tribalisation, which was undermined by local circuits of exchange, movement, and interaction, countervailing elite paradigms, politics, and projections of Pan-Africanism emerged to undermine tribalisation (Zeleza, 2006, p. 18). The ideology, institutions, and the people are inextricably linked, a phenomenon is known as Pan-Africanism, which is similar but distinct from Pan-Arabism and Pan-Europeanism. The problem is that there is some evidence of a return to traditional tribal attitudes in postcolonial Africa, and we, furious and sick at heart, believe that race feeling in its most virulent form is triumphant (Kebede, 2003, p. 12). The solution, however, remains the same: educating Africans about the larger picture of unity in diversity.

Pan-Africanism's diverse and uniquely intertwined sociocultural frameworks of African people were critical during their emancipation from colonial powers. They will continue to be critical contributors to Africa's unification process. Notably, ensuring citizens' comprehension of the larger objectives, participation, and awareness regarding the collective endeavour of unity based on Pan-Africanism ideals. Pan-Africanism is a more potent tool. Social scientists have repeatedly stated that the only way out of ethnicity or tribalism is to avoid thinking in retrograde terms and instead pursue modernity (Berman, 1998, p. 306). Additionally, Pan-Africanism represents the coming together of African people on an ideological basis, as the primary value system of African people is a diverse one. Pan-Africanism remains the only ideological option for uniting Africans for collective goods and advocating for equality and economic emancipation from dependency on international fora.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that linkages and dissociations exist in political ideology and identity politics, scholars who study 'political thought' or 'political theory' find it difficult to create a clear demarcation line between the two fields. An ideology is considered a set of beliefs that originates with an individual or a group for various non-epistemic reasons. More specifically, it refers to the ideals of the foundation. The article's purpose is elucidation is to achieve a precise understanding of ideology, political ideology, political identity, and ethnic politics. Some arguments are logically sound, while others are based on epistemological assertions.

In comparison to identity politics, which is a political method in which members of a specific gender, religion, race, social background, social class, or other identifying element form political agendas around these identities. On the other hand, ethnic representation necessitates that all members of the group wholeheartedly support the ethnic or tribal structure. In Africa, ethnic identity politics is the most politicised route to public office. In most African elections, which are skewed toward one ethnic group or another, the perceived ethnicity of the candidates also influences voting decisions. As opposed to merit, incentives are based on comparable ethnic and linguistic resonance rather than on individual performance. In Africa, ethnic identity formation extends beyond colonial boundaries and is inextricably linked to language, culture, and geographical settlement. That is, ethnic settlement in Africa is not limited to the current definition of the border along which one ethnic group resides. Certain ethnic groups may be found in four or five countries, and if ethnic politics become the norm, the negative and positive consequences extend across borders.

Ethnic politics is gaining popularity among the general public in Africa, owing to the ideological clout of elite politicians and cultural leaders who see it as a less complicated path to take than ideological confrontation. However, even if ethnic politics gains acceptance, the political space becomes more vulnerable to various interest groups due to a lack of adequate conditions for legitimate ideological contestation. Political decisions made by states frequently lay the groundwork for ethnic mobilisation. Ethnic conflicts often erupt in multi-ethnic, underdeveloped societies when the state's behaviour is perceived to be dominated by a specific group or community within it, when communities fear marginalisation, or when grievances go unresolved. Hence, society's struggles with diversity, with certain ethnic groups attempting to destroy all understanding of the country as a whole; indeed, ethnicism's primary claim is the desire to form social groups and nations by establishing divisions between "us" and "them."

Similarly, colonial language-based politics in certain African countries have exacerbated the threat to peace and stability. Aside from the rise of ethnic inclinations and the contrast in race relations, certain African countries face challenges, even if the scale of grievance is limited. The article proposes that Pan Africanism emerges as a political ideology for many African populations to understand humanity. Furthermore, to have the depth required to support the African unity and prosperity agenda, one must be ideologically committed to Pan Africanism and be able to transcend narrow nationalism as well as parochial ethnic, tribal, and language settings.

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