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### THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION, ETHNICITY, AND DEMOCRACY ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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#### **Abstract**

Africa is a continent characterised by rich religious and ethnic diversity, which significantly influences its political and socio-economic landscape. This study explores the interplay between religion, ethnicity, and democracy, as they impact Africa's development by reflecting on the historical roles of religious and ethnic identities in shaping societal norms, political structures, and development trajectories on the continent. The paper examines how these variables can both foster unity and drive conflict, affecting the stability and governance of various nations of Africa. The study also analyses the challenges to democratic governance, such as corruption and political instability, and the impact these factors have on sustainable development on the continent. Employing case studies of Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya, the paper highlights the complex interdependencies and unique challenges each country faces. This underscores the need for tolerance, inclusive policies, and democratic practices that harness the continent's diversity as a strength rather than a source of division and disintegration. By way of critical analysis, the study, therefore, provides a nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play and offers recommendations for promoting peace, unity, and sustainable development in Africa.

**Keywords:** Africa, Democracy, Ethnicity, Religion, Sustainable Development.

#### Introduction

Arguably, a significant aspect of Africa's splendour lies in its diversity. Africa is a continent marked by an extraordinary diversity of ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. With over 3,000 ethnic groups and more than 2,000 languages spoken, the continent's ethnic landscape is unparalleled in its complexity (Mbiti, 1991). This diversity extends to religion, where indigenous beliefs coexist alongside major world religions such as Christianity and Islam. The cultural richness of Africa is reflected in its art, music, and traditions, making it a continent of immense cultural heritage (Mazrui, 1986). Understanding and appreciation of the interplay between religion, ethnicity, democracy, and development in Africa is crucial for several reasons. These factors are deeply intertwined and significantly influence the social and political dynamics of African countries. Ethnic and religious identities often shape political affiliations and voting patterns, which can lead to both unity and division (Horowitz, 1985). Moreover, the success of democratic



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governance and sustainable development in Africa is closely linked to how these diverse identities are managed and accommodated within the political framework (Diamond, 2008).

Therefore, the study focuses on exploring the multifaceted influences, views, prospects, aspirations, challenges, and opportunities that arise from the intersection of religion, ethnicity, democracy, and sustainable development in Africa. This exploration involves an analysis of the historical context, current realities, and potential future expectations. By examining case studies of Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya, the study seeks to provide an understanding of the unique challenges and opportunities each country faces. Ultimately, the goal is to offer insights and recommendations for promoting peace, unity, and sustainable development across the continent.

### Historical Gestalt of the Place of Religion in Africa

Africa's religious landscape is shaped by a rich history of indigenous belief systems and the spread of major world religions. Indigenous religions, characterised by animism, ancestor worship, and a belief in the spiritual interconnectedness of all things, have been practiced for millennia (Awolalu, 1976) before the advent of world religions like Christianity and Islam on the shores of Africa. The spread of Christianity and Islam, beginning around the first millennium CE, introduced new religious dynamics to the continent. Christianity arrived through North Africa and later spread via European colonial missions, while Islam made inroads through trade routes and conquest, especially in West Africa (Hastings, 1994). Another important factor is religious pluralism. Africa is known for its religious pluralism, with multiple faiths often coexisting within the same communities. This pluralism is not just a matter of diversity but also involves significant interaction and adaptation among religions. For example, syncretism, where elements of different religions are blended, is a common phenomenon, particularly in regions where indigenous practices are intertwined with Christian or Islamic beliefs (Hackett, 1991). Such coexistence leads to tension and confusion.

Similarly, religion plays a crucial role in shaping social norms, values, and political discourse in African societies. It influences various aspects of daily life, including marriage, family, and community relations, and serves as a moral compass for many individuals (Peel, 2016). In politics, some religious leaders often wield significant influence, and religious rhetoric is frequently used to garner political support. This interconnectivity between religion and politics can both unify and divide, depending on the context and approach, as is the case in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Africa.

History has further shown that religion and ethnicity can make or mar a society. That is to say that, while religion can be a source of moral guidance and social cohesion, it can also contribute to conflict, as ethnicity often does. Religious tensions in Africa often arise from competition for converts, resources, or political power, and can sometimes escalate into violence (Falola, 1998). For instance, the conflict between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria has led to periodic violence and instability. Such conflicts are often complex, involving not only religious but also ethnic, economic, and political factors, complicating efforts at resolution, peacebuilding and sustainable development.



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#### Reflecting on Ethnicity in Africa

Africa is home to an astounding array of ethnic groups and languages, making it one of the most ethnically diverse regions in the world. There are over 3,000 distinct ethnic groups, each with its own unique culture, language, and traditions (Nnoli, 1995). Major ethnic groups include the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa in Nigeria; the Zulu and Xhosa in South Africa; and the Kikuyu and Luo in Kenya. This linguistic diversity is equally vast, with more than 2,000 languages spoken across the continent, reflecting the deep cultural richness and complexity of African societies (Heine & Nurse, 2000).

It is difficult, if not impossible, to reflect on ethnicity in Africa without mentioning the role of the colonial era. The colonial epoch left a significant impact on Africa's ethnic landscape. European colonial powers, driven by their own strategic and economic interests, drew arbitrary borders that often split ethnic groups or forced disparate communities together into single political entities (Mamdani, 1996). These artificial borders ignored existing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic boundaries, laying the groundwork for many of the ethnic tensions and conflicts that persist today in Africa. Colonial policies, such as "divide and rule", exacerbated ethnic divisions by favouring certain groups over others, fostering resentment and rivalry (Young, 1994).

Also to be noted is that ethnicity plays a key role in the personal, interpersonal, and group identities of Africans. It influences social structures, community relations, and political affiliations. Ethnic identity is often intertwined with cultural practices, language, and shared historical experiences, forming a core part of an individual's sense of self and belonging (Eriksen, 2002). In many African societies, ethnic loyalty can sometimes supersede national identity, impacting national unity and political stability (Osaghae, 1994). In all these, ethnic conflicts are not ruled out, bearing in mind the structures put in place by the colonial masters that make it inevitable. Ethnic conflicts in Africa are often rooted in historical grievances, competition for resources, and political power struggles. For instance, the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, where tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi escalated into mass violence was a devastating example of ethnic conflict fueled by deep-seated historical animosity and political manipulation (Des Forges, 1999). Similarly, in Nigeria, ethnic tensions between the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo have periodically led to violent clashes, exacerbated by competition for political dominance and resource control (Suberu, 2001). Understanding the causes and dynamics of these conflicts is crucial for devising effective strategies for peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and sustainable development.

#### An Insight into Democracy in Africa

The evolution of democracy in Africa has been shaped by a complex interplay of historical, political, and socio-economic factors. The colonial era, characterised by authoritarian rule and limited political participation, left a legacy of weak political institutions and centralised power structures (Thomson, 2010). Post-colonial transitions often involved the struggle for independence and the establishment of new nations. While some countries initially experimented with democratic governance, many quickly shifted to one-party states or military regimes, influenced by Cold War politics and internal challenges (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). The late 20th century saw a wave of democratisation, spurred by internal demands for political reform and external pressures



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from international organisations. This period, often referred to as Africa's "third wave" of democratisation, brought significant political changes, including the introduction of multiparty systems and regular elections (Bratton & van de Walle, 1997).

The establishment and functioning of democratic institutions vary widely across African countries. Political structures often include a separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial arms of government, although the balance of power can be uneven (Cheeseman, 2015). Electoral systems range from proportional representation to majoritarian systems, with varying degrees of manipulation, transparency and fairness. Governance practices such as the rule of law and respect for human rights are critical to the functioning of democracy. However, the effectiveness of these institutions is frequently undermined by weak state capacity, limited resources, entrenched patronage networks (Hyden, 2006), political rigging and corruption.

#### Considering the Role of Civil Society Organisations and Media in Democracy in Africa

Civil society organisations (CSOs) and the media play crucial roles in supporting democratisation in Africa. CSOs often advocate for political reforms, human rights, and social justice, acting as watchdogs and providing a platform for marginalised voices (Diamond, 1994). The media, as a critical component of the public sphere, serves to inform citizens, hold leaders accountable, and foster public debate. However, media freedom varies widely, with many countries experiencing censorship, harassment of journalists, and state control of information (Berger, 2002). Despite these challenges, vibrant civil societies and independent media will be instrumental in promoting transparency, accountability, and democratic norms.

It is important to note that African democracies face numerous challenges, including authoritarianism, corruption, and political instability. Authoritarian tendencies persist in many countries of Africa, with leaders extending their rule through constitutional amendments or manipulating electoral processes (Levitsky & Way, 2010). Corruption remains a significant issue, eroding public trust in government institutions and hindering economic development (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2015). Political instability, often exacerbated by ethnic divisions and resource competition, poses a constant threat to democratic governance in Africa. Coups, contested elections, and political violence are recurrent issues that undermine the democratic process (Collier, 2009) in Africa.

#### A Brief Overview of Development in Africa

Development can be construed from diverse perspectives of human endeavours. However, we intend to highlight the economic, social and political aspects. Africa's economic development has been characterised by diverse growth patterns and a focus on key sectors such as agriculture, mining, and services in financial institutions. The continent has experienced periods of rapid growth, particularly in resource-rich countries, driven by high commodity prices and foreign investments (Rodrik, 2016). However, economic growth has often been uneven, with challenges including inadequate infrastructure, political instability, and a reliance on commodity exports that leave economies vulnerable to global price fluctuations (Collier, 2007). Efforts to diversify economies and foster industrialisation have been critical, yet progress has been mixed, with some



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countries achieving notable success while others continue to struggle with poverty and inequality (Page, 2019).

Social development in Africa involves improving education, healthcare, and social services. Educational systems have expanded significantly since independence, but many challenges remain, such as high dropout rates, inadequate funding, and disparities in access (UNESCO, 2017), and siphoning of funds mapped out for education. In healthcare, the continent faces a dual burden of infectious diseases and rising non-communicable diseases. While there have been successes in combating diseases like HIV/AIDS and malaria, healthcare systems often lack the resources and infrastructure to meet the population's needs (WHO, 2018). Social services, including welfare programmes and housing, are essential for addressing inequality and improving quality of life, but these are often underfunded and inefficiently managed (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). From the above analysis, an important question that necessarily follows is: Can Africa's development be said to be sustainable?

Sustainable development is a critical concern in Africa given the continent's rich human and natural resources and environmental challenges. Issues such as deforestation, desertification, and biodiversity loss are pressing, exacerbated by climate change and unsustainable practices (Adams & Jeanrenaud, 2008). Resource management is crucial, particularly in sectors like agriculture, water, and mining, where the sustainable use of resources can significantly impact economic and social outcomes (Scoones, 2015). Efforts to promote sustainable practices include community-based conservation, renewable energy initiatives, and policies aimed at reducing environmental degradation (Sachs, 2015). In all these, there has not been a clear proof of sustainable development in Africa (Richard, 2024), which is as a result of African countries' inability to get the right leaders to drive their economy for the desired outcome through democratic processes.

#### Considering the Role of International Organisations in Africa's Development

International organisations play a significant role in Africa's development through aid, investment, and partnerships. Institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and various United Nations agencies provide financial assistance, technical expertise, and policy advice (Easterly, 2006). While aid has helped address immediate needs and support development projects, its effectiveness has been debated, with concerns about dependency and mismanagement (Moyo, 2009). International partnerships, including trade agreements and investment initiatives, are also crucial for economic growth and development, facilitating access to markets, technology, and capital (Collier, 2013).

#### Religion, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Africa

Religion and ethnicity are significant factors influencing political affiliations, voting patterns, and policy-making in Africa's democracy. Political parties and leaders often align themselves with specific religious or ethnic groups to gain support, resulting in the politicisation of these identities (Posner, 2005). This alignment can shape electoral outcomes, as voters may prioritize candidates who share their religious or ethnic background over those with different affiliations (Basedau, Erdmann, & Mehler, 2007). In some cases, this has led to the formation of ethnically or religiously



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exclusive parties, which can exacerbate divisions and hinder national unity (Reynal-Querol, 2002). Policy-making is also influenced by these dynamics, as governments may cater to the interests of dominant groups while marginalising others, leading to unequal distribution of resources and services (Habyarimana et al., 2009).

It is important to note that religious and ethnic dynamics significantly shape development policies and outcomes in African countries. These identities can affect the allocation of public goods, such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure, often leading to disparities between different groups (Bates, 2008). For instance, regions inhabited by politically dominant ethnic groups may receive more development projects, while marginalised areas are neglected. Additionally, religious beliefs and practices can influence attitudes towards issues like gender equality, family planning, and education, impacting social development (Laitin, 1986). In some cases, religious institutions and leaders play a crucial role in providing social services, especially where state capacity is limited, thereby shaping development trajectories (Rakodi, 2014).

Democratic governance plays a crucial role in managing diversity and promoting social cohesion in Africa. Democratic institutions, such as free and fair elections, an independent judiciary, and a free press, provide mechanisms for different groups to participate in the political process and resolve conflicts peacefully (Mansfield & Snyder, 2005). By ensuring representation and protecting minority rights, democracy can mitigate the potential for ethnic and religious tensions to escalate into violence (Horowitz, 2000). However, the challenge lies in building inclusive political systems that accommodate the continent's diverse populations. Effective democratic governance requires balancing majority rule with the protection of minority rights and promoting a sense of shared national identity (Przeworski, 2000). Successful democracies often invest in civic education and dialogue initiatives that foster understanding and respect among different groups, thereby strengthening social cohesion (Lynch & Crawford, 2011). Unfortunately, the continent of Africa is yet to witness a democratic government depicted above.

#### The Examples of Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa

Nigeria presents a complex landscape of religious and ethnic tensions, democratic evolution, and development challenges. The country is home to over 250 ethnic groups, with the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo being the largest. Religious divisions between the predominantly Muslim North and Christian South have historically influenced political alignments and conflicts (Kendhammer, 2013). Nigeria's journey toward democracy has been marked by a series of military coups and a return to civilian rule in 1999, and the establishment of the Fourth Republic. Despite this transition, challenges such as corruption, electoral malpractice, and ethno-religious violence persist (Lewis, 2006). The Boko Haram insurgency, rooted in the northeast's socio-economic setback and religious extremism, exemplifies the complexities of governance and security (Thurston, 2018). Development challenges include managing oil revenues, diversifying the economy, and addressing widespread poverty and inequality (Ogunleye, 2020).



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Kenya's political landscape, on the other hand, is heavily influenced by ethnic-based politics, which has often led to electoral violence. The country is ethnically diverse, with major groups including the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, and Kalenjin. Political competition is frequently framed along ethnic lines, leading to patronage politics and inter-ethnic tensions (Branch, 2011). The 2007-2008 post-election violence was a particularly stark example of how ethnic competition can spiral into widespread unrest, resulting in significant loss of life and displacement (Mueller, 2011). Since then, Kenya has made efforts to reform its political system, including adopting a new constitution in 2010 to address issues of devolution, representation, and human rights (Cheeseman, Lynch, & Willis, 2014). Development initiatives in Kenya focus on infrastructure, education, and healthcare, but challenges such as corruption and inequality persist, complicating efforts to achieve sustained economic growth and social development (Ngugi & Mureithi, 2020). This year, 2024, Kenya has been facing significant political unrest, driven by democratic, religious, and ethnic tensions. The root causes of the current protest movements are multifaceted, stemming from long-standing grievances over political representation, corruption, and inequality, but they are also deeply intertwined with the country's ethnic and religious diversity. At the center of the turmoil is a sharp division between the government and the opposition.

It is important to note that the 2022 presidential election, which saw William Ruto narrowly defeat Raila Odinga, has continued to spark controversy. Raila Odinga's supporters, particularly from his strongholds in western Kenya and parts of the coast, believe that the election was marred by irregularities and that Odinga, who has run for president five times, was denied a fair victory (Richard, 2024). The election result and subsequent government actions, such as constitutional amendments and economic policies, have spurred further anger, especially regarding the cost of living crisis, inflation, and accusations of corruption within the ruling administration. Throughout 2023 and now in 2024, opposition-led protests, including those spearheaded by Odinga's party, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), have led to significant street demonstrations. Protesters demand electoral reforms, transparency, and more inclusivity in the government's economic policies. These protests have been met with a heavy-handed response from the police, leading to clashes between demonstrators and security forces. This cycle of protests and state crackdowns has only deepened the sense of political alienation among sections of the population, fueling the unrest (Ketuma, 2024).

Similarly, South Africa's post-apartheid democracy is a testament to overcoming deeply entrenched racial and ethnic divisions. The country transitioned to a democratic government in 1994, ending decades of institutionalised racial segregation under the apartheid regime. The African National Congress (ANC) has since been the dominant political force, promoting a policy of national reconciliation and inclusive governance (Lodge, 2002). However, the legacy of apartheid continues to manifest in economic disparities with significant wealth gaps between racial groups. Despite a relatively strong economy, South Africa faces challenges such as high unemployment, poverty, and social inequality (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Ethnic diversity, while less politically salient compared to race, still plays a role in social dynamics, with tensions occasionally surfacing (Everatt, 2016).



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#### **Are There Opportunities Amidst These Challenges?**

One of Africa's most pressing challenges is managing religious and ethnic diversity and tensions that can lead to conflict and instability. These tensions often arise from historical grievances, economic inequalities, and political exclusion (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). In many countries, ethnic and religious identities are politicised, leading to social fragmentation and violence. Governments face the difficult task of promoting national unity while respecting the diverse identities within their borders. Failure to adequately address these issues can result in persistent unrest, as seen in countries like Nigeria and Sudan (Omeje, 2008).

Ensuring inclusive governance is another significant challenge. Many African states grapple with issues of corruption, authoritarianism, and weak institutions, which hinder democratic consolidation (Bratton & Gyimah-Boadi, 2015). Inclusive governance requires fair representation of all social groups, equitable distribution of resources, and the protection of minority rights. However, the persistence of patronage systems and the lack of political will often undermine these efforts, leading to social exclusion and disenfranchisement of marginalised communities (Hyden, 2013).

Having recapitulated these challenges, it is important to note that diversity is leveraged for economic growth. Africa's rich cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity can be a powerful driver of economic growth, and indeed, a veritable instrument of development. Diverse societies can foster innovation, creativity, and a broader range of skills and perspectives (Nafukho, 2008). By harnessing this diversity, countries can enhance their competitiveness in the global market and attract investments in various sectors such as tourism, arts, culture, and technology. Additionally, promoting inclusive economic policies that accommodate diverse groups can lead to more equitable development and poverty reduction (Page & Söderbom, 2015), as well as peaceful coexistence that brings about development.

Democratic governance offers a valuable framework for managing diversity and fostering unity through democratic practices. By promoting political participation, transparency, and accountability, democracies can create an environment where different groups coexist peacefully and cooperate towards common goals (Diamond, 2019). Democratic institutions such as free and fair elections, an independent judiciary, and a free press can help mediate conflicts and ensure that all voices are heard. Additionally, democratic practices can strengthen civil society, encourage dialogue, and build trust among citizens, thereby contributing to national cohesion (Møller & Skaaning, 2013) and sustainable development. The question is: where is Africa in all these? Your guess is as good as ours.

#### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The correlation between religion, ethnicity, and democracy as they impact development is a defining feature of Africa's contemporary socio-political landscape. Africa's rich diversity in religion and ethnicity significantly influences political affiliations, policy-making, and social dynamics. The continent's democratic evolution has been marked by both progress and setbacks, with ongoing challenges including authoritarianism, corruption, and instability. Development



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Dept. of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Tansian University Umunya Indexed: Academic Journals Online, Google Scholar, Igwebuike Research Institute

efforts are shaped by these religious and ethnic factors, impacting economic growth and social services. Despite the challenges, there are opportunities to leverage diversity for economic advancement and to use democratic governance as a tool for fostering unity, social cohesion, and development.

Despite the challenges, there are prospects for development in Africa. The potential for religion, ethnicity, and democracy to coexist harmoniously hinges on addressing the underlying tensions and embracing the continent's diversity as a strength rather than a divide. Prospects include the development of more inclusive political systems that reflect and respect the multifaceted identities within African societies. By promoting equity and ensuring that diverse voices from the minority and majority ethnic and religious groups are represented, Africa can advance towards more stable and prosperous societies. Enhanced democratic practices and sustainable development strategies can foster a more harmonious coexistence of diverse groups, leading to more resilient and unified nations.

The very first recommendation is for the African countries to get their leadership right. Once this is achieved, the other recommendations will bear the desired fruits, thereby bringing about sustainable development on the continent. Another recommendation that will drive change is to foster positive interrelationships among religion, ethnicity, and democracy. Policies that ensure fair representation of all ethnic and religious groups in political and decision-making processes are to be implemented by way of promoting inclusive governance. Strengthening institutions that protect minority rights and promote social justice is crucial. Enhancement of civic education and dialogue is essential. Investment in programmes that educate citizens about the value of diversity and the principles of democratic governance cannot be overemphasised. Facilitating dialogue among different religious and ethnic groups can help build mutual understanding and reduce tensions. Addressing socio-economic inequalities is a viable way out. Development and enforcement of policies that address disparities in access to resources and opportunities will help in bringing about Africa's development. Focus on equitable distribution of development benefits (dividends of democracy) to reduce socio-economic divides and foster national cohesion. Strengthening of democratic institutions is inevitable. Supporting the development of robust democratic institutions that can manage diversity effectively and uphold the rule of law and the principle of separation of powers is key. Ensure transparency, accountability, and the protection of civil liberties to build trust in the political system.

To be reiterated is that diversity has to be leveraged for economic growth by recognising and harnessing the potential of religious and ethnic differences to drive innovation and economic development. Inclusive economic policies that enable all groups to contribute to and benefit from the government should be encouraged. By adopting these strategies, African nations can work towards creating more inclusive, stable, and prosperous societies where diverse identities coexist harmoniously and contribute to collective sustainable development on the continent.

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Vol. 11. No. 3, (2025)

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Dept. of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Tansian University Umunya Indexed: Academic Journals Online, Google Scholar, Igwebuike Research Institute

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