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Trans-Border Ethnic Hegemony and Political Conflict in Africa: A Comparative Study of the Tutsi of Central Africa and the Fulani of West Africa

A Research Report*

EMMANUEL IKECHI ONAH (Ph. D.)

Introduction

THIS work is a study of trans-border ethnic groups in Africa and how continued relations among their fractions across the countries where they live, despite the existence of international borders, have led to conflict in their regions of abode on the continent. A trans-border ethnic group is an ethnic group that cuts across boundaries, i.e. an ethnic group that is divided between countries, such that different fractions live in the different countries. Notwithstanding that they live in different countries, members have continued to relate across the borders of these countries. Members of many of these groups are either in power in some of these countries where they live or are striving for it in the countries. This work studies the continued relations among members of partitioned groups and the quest for power by their fractions as sources of conflict in many African countries.

Specifically, this work is a study of the Tutsi ethnic group whose fractions live in the countries of the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, and the Fulani ethnic group who straddle the countries of West Africa. The work argues that continued relations among members of a trans-border ethnic group in Africa and the hegemony of their fractions over their

* Being the Report of the doctoral research carried out by the author in the Department of Political Science, University of Lagos.
countries and regions of abode are sources of conflict in various parts of Africa, and the resolution of these conflicts must take into account this fact of the partition of these groups into different states as well as the need for continued relations among the fractions of the trans-border ethnic groups across the borders of the states.

Background to the Study

This study was inspired by the events in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa since 1986 when Yoweri Museveni took power in Uganda, including the Rwanda Civil War and the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, all attributable to Tutsi ambitions and their sufferings. The Tutsi are minorities in all the about four countries where they live; yet they either hold power in the countries or are staking for it. And it is this fact that has produced, directly or indirectly, all the troubles that have afflicted that region.

Observing the Fulani, I realized that they have a lot in common with the Tutsi: trans-border people, continued affinity among the fractions, attitude to power. The Fulani are minorities in all the about 15 countries where they live in West Africa, and they have power in a number of those countries and are staking for it in many others. So, I thought it was possible for the Fulani, given similar conditions as exist in Central Africa, to get embroiled in conflict in West Africa. It is this possibility that gave rise to this study - to understand the conditions that lead to conflict involving trans-border peoples, and to use findings to formulate concrete deductions on the phenomenon.

The study as such has much significance, both for theory and policy. First, many African countries and even beyond, have within their borders, trans-border, partitioned ethnic groups, and the insights provided by this study on such issues as national integration and ethnic solidarity will be useful to such other countries. Second, the study of the hegemony
of trans-border ethnic groups and the conflict and violence that result will enhance knowledge and skill for crisis management and promote democracy and the rule of law in Africa. The work is also a trailblazer in trans-border studies of the Tutsi and Fulani in their regions of abode, and will definitely contribute to social science.

The Problematic

Trans-border ethnic groups abound in Africa, and this could be traced in the main to the colonial partition of Africa in 1884-1885, which divided the groups between different countries. Notwithstanding these divisions, the fractions of the different groups have continued to relate with each other across the borders of the countries and have equally cooperated among themselves to institute hegemonies over many of these countries where they live. Yet, despite the large number of trans-border ethnic groups on the continent, and the continuing relations among their fractions across borders, literature on the matter is scanty. This work is therefore aimed at filling this gap in knowledge.

This research thus attempted to investigate why members of trans-border ethnic groups impose their hegemony over their countries and regions of abode in Africa and the relationship between these hegemonies and political conflict in the countries and regions of the continent. The research also investigated why there are continued relations among the fractions of trans-border ethnic groups across the borders of African states and what the implications are for national integration in those states.

Research Questions

The work sought to answer the following questions:

(a) Why do members of partitioned ethnic groups seek for power across the various countries where they live?
(b) How does the quest for dominance by fractions of
partitioned ethnic groups influence conflict in their countries/region of abode?

(c) What are the effects of continued relations among members of a partitioned ethnic group across borders on their integration into their country of abode or their larger ethnic group?

**Literature Review**

A comprehensive overview of the state of the art was undertaken at the beginning, to see if the work was even justified in the first place. This work is about trans-border ethnic groups in Africa and their impact on national integration and political conflict. It is both a study of trans-border ethnic groups in general, and in particular, of trans-border ethnic groups whose members live among members of other ethnic groups in their countries of abode, i.e. trans-border ethnic groups that lack geographical exclusivity.

Relevant works that were reviewed are those on trans-border ethnic relations and national integration, works on trans-border ethnic hegemony and political conflict, and literature on the Tutsi and the Fulani trans-border ethnic groups. The Fulani and the Tutsi are just two examples of trans-border, partitioned Africans. Others abound in Africa – the Zagha wa of Chad and the Darfur Region of Sudan, and the Dioula of Cote d'Ivoire (and many of us know about what is happening in the Sudan at present and also in Cote d'Ivoire). Others include the Hausa, Hutu, Kakwa, Fang, Yoruba, Wolof, Somali, etc, and outside Africa – Kurds, Basques, Tamils, Pashtuns.

Yet, despite the large number of such groups, literature on the subject matter is scanty. Even the few existing literature in trans-border ethnic studies are mostly of geographically exclusive groups. Relevant works on ethnicity and national integration include Wallerstein (1965), Klinberg and Zavalloni (1969), Smoek and Bentsi-Enchil (1976) and Miles (1974). These agree that ethnicity detracts from national
integration, but, apparently because of the general concern for national integration, they seem to be more concerned with promoting it and downplaying ethnicity, thereby not giving a realistic view of the situation under study.

Borderland studies include Asiwaju (1976), Asiwaju (1984), Asiwaju and Adeniyi (1989) and Nugent and Asiwaju (1996). These studies are rather concerned with the people inhabiting the border areas and policies that will advance them. Thus, the issues under study are not exactly treated in the way the present work sets out to do. Relevant works on political conflict include those by Suhrke and Noble (1977), Saideman and Ayres (2000) and Blanton, Mason and Asthow (2001). But although these works recognize the trans-border partition of groups as a source of conflict, they fail to see the desire for power and the tendency towards hegemony as the root cause of the conflict and violence that often afflict regions inhabited by trans-border ethnic groups.

There are relevant works concerning the Tutsi and the Fulani ethnic groups, including Uvin (1999), Thom (1999), and Mamdani (2002), in the case of the Tutsi, and Stenning (1957, 1959), Dupire (1962, 1970), Bruijn and Dijk (1995), and Bruijn, Beek and Dijk (1997), in the case of the Fulani. But these works hardly capture the trans-border nature of these ethnic groups and how the fractions co-operate to seek for power and dominate others, a fact that is directly related to conflict in the regions where the groups live.

It is these inadequacies with existing literature that make the present work justifiable.

**Theoretical Framework**

An eclectic framework was adopted for the study. This comprised the political systems theory, the hegemony theory and the conflict theory.

(a) *Political Systems Theory* sees the political system as
consisting of demands and outputs (Anderson, 1979). Ethnic groups operate within the political system, making demands and getting outputs as the case may be. The system is in equilibrium when the outputs match the demands. Otherwise, there will be a systemic disequilibrium, which then leads to conflict and violence (Easton, as cited in Wiseman, 1966; Enemuo, 1991; Davidson, 1987)).

(b) Hegemony Theory argues that hegemony exists when a group (ethnic) gains control of society and maintains this supremacy through the consent or domination of other groups, who now accept the world view of the dominant group and the interpretations that the group gives to social reality (Brass, 1985; Falola and Ihonvbere, 1985; Ake, 2000; Gramsci, as cited in Fontana, 1993).

(c) Conflict Theory sees society as having two faces – consensus and conflict – and the political system as the arena in which conflicting interests are played out (Collins, 1975). When there is consensus on the authority structure, then there is systemic equilibrium; but when this breaks down, conflict results (Dahrendorf, 1959). Conflict develops around the authority structure – between those in positions of authority and those that are not; whereby those in dominant positions seek to maintain the status quo while those in positions of subordination seek for change. Conflict theory not only directs us to the origin and development of conflicts, but also directs us to the resolution of such conflicts – that they are inevitable, and that ultimately, a conflict abates, or is resolved or even transformed (Otite & Olawale, 1999; Mitchell, 1993).

Analytical Framework

When conflict theory is used in conjunction with the political systems and the hegemony theories, the framework of analysis is as follows: When a political system is in
disequilibrium and output of welfare goods and services cannot match the demands of the various ethnic groups in the country, fractions of partitioned ethnic groups in various countries are likely to utilize the resources of the larger group to gain power in these countries and then proceed to institute their dominance. This leads to opposition from other ethnic groups in the countries and produces conflict between the various groups in which those in power seek to retain it while those outside power strive for change. Once such conflicts break out, their resolution will only lie in recognizing and taking into consideration the trans-border nature of some of the ethnic groups involved.

**Research Methodology**

This study was undertaken in Senegal in West Africa, and Rwanda in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, with financial assistance from the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), based in Dakar. This research was carried out using a multi method-approach involving library research and focus group discussion. Library research involved the collection of data and information from primary as well as secondary sources, while focus group discussion involved individual and group discussions with people in the places of study.

The field study was conducted among the Fulani, the Wolof and the Moors in Senegal, and among the Tutsi and the Hutu in Rwanda. A sample of 94 participants was obtained in Senegal comprising 70 participants from Senegal and 24 from Mauritania. These participants were obtained from some ministries and the University in Dakar, and from locals and local administration officials in the Fleuve area of the country. Of the 70 participants from Senegal, 47 were Fulani, comprising 37 males and 10 females, while 23 participants were Wolof, comprising 15 males and eight females. The 24 participants from Mauritania were made up of 11 Fulani,
comprising nine males and 2 females, while 13 participants were Moors, made up of 11 males and two females.

A sample of 95 participants was obtained in Rwanda, comprising 74 from Rwanda and 21 from Burundi. These participants were obtained from the Kigali Institute of Science, Management and Technology (KIST), some ministries in Kigali, and the University in Butare, as well as the local administration there and the police. Of the 74 participants from Rwanda, there were 41 male and 11 female Tutsi, while 15 male and seven female participants were Hutu. The 21 participants from Burundi were made up of nine male and two female Tutsi, and seven male and three female Hutu.

A discussion guide comprising two forms of 14 semi-structured questions was prepared for this study. Form FGQ1 contained 10 questions meant for members of the Fulani and the Tutsi ethnic groups while Form FGQ2 contained four questions meant for the Moors/Wolof/Hutu ethnic groups. The questions asked centred on the variables under study (see Appendix 2). Respondents were interviewed either as individuals or in groups (mostly between 3 and 11 participants). Members of the different ethnic groups were interviewed separately.

Interviews took place at venues chosen or known to the respondents. This helped to bolster the trust between the researcher and the respondents. The researcher usually introduced himself and started the discussions by telling the respondents what the research was all about. He then told them what he already knew about the subject matter of the research. In many cases, the respondents came in at some point to either clarify or elaborate on the issues as set out by the researcher. Where this was not the case, the researcher himself asked for clarifications or elaborations. Then he posed questions to individual or group respondents as the case may be, and responses were tallied for groups where
views were similar or for individuals where views differed. In cases where responses were not clear enough, follow-up questions were asked and clarifications made to enable the respondents give clear answers.

The data gathered from the focus group discussions were analyzed using descriptive statistics, namely, frequency counts and percentages. This was done in line with the variables under study and guided by the research questions. Similarly, data gathered from library sources were analyzed qualitatively using the method of content analysis.

**Result of Focus Group Discussion**

The result of the focus group discussions are presented in line with the research questions as follows:

*Why members of partitioned ethnic groups seek for power across the various countries where they live:*

Participants were asked some questions aimed at finding out why members of partitioned ethnic groups seek for power across the various countries where they live. The answers show that members of partitioned ethnic groups are not only aware that their kin exist in other countries, but they are concerned with the welfare of all the groups across these borders. Members seek for power in the various countries where they live in order to use it to ensure the well-being of the group, and defend their interests, not only in the country of abode, but everywhere that they live.

*How the quest for dominance by fractions of partitioned ethnic groups influence conflict in their countries/regions of abode:*

The quest for dominance by fractions of trans-border ethnic groups is the result of members’ concern for their welfare across borders. But domination brings about conflict. Participants explained how these conflicts come about – with members of other ethnic groups who oppose the study group
when in power, with hostile states as they strive to take power, and with other hostile states where kin live.

The effects of continued relations among members of a partitioned ethnic group across borders on their integration into their country of abode or the larger ethnic group:

The research sought to find out the influence of continued relations among members of partitioned ethnic groups on their integration into either their larger ethnic group or their countries of abode. To this end, some questions were posed to participants. The results show that a majority of participants have not only continued to interact with kin across borders, but are ordinarily more attached to the larger ethnic group than their country of abode; a fact well-known to their neighbouring ethnic groups. There are, however, conditions under which this allegiance is considerably altered.

Discussion

This study has been able to answer all the research questions. The study has shown why members of partitioned ethnic groups seek for power across the various countries where they live. The study shows that the fact of partition has not prevented members of trans-border ethnic groups in Africa from continuing to relate among themselves as kin across borders. Almost all respondents indicated awareness of the existence of kin in other countries, and many of these people have continued to interact with kin across the borders of the independent African states where they fall in. This tallies with findings of earlier works such as Asiwaju (1976) and Asiwaju (1984). Members of ethnic groups partitioned between the countries of Africa are deeply aware of their partition and have continued to maintain contacts – political, social and economic – across the state borders in the years following partition. And in many cases, the people have continued to relate as if nothing has changed (Renner, 1984).
It is this continued relations among members of fractions of trans-border ethnic groups that enables partitioned peoples to know the plight of their kin everywhere and co-operate with each other in improving their fate in the countries where they live. Fractions of trans-border ethnic groups maintain networks of alliance across the larger ethnic group and utilize these networks for the welfare of members of the group in the various countries where they live (Uvin, personal communication, 2001). Thus, members in countries where there are problems find shelter among kin in other countries when they are seeking refuge, when they are escaping from the law, when they seek to utilize facilities available only on the other side of the border (Phiri, 1984). Fractions of these partitioned ethnic groups also utilize these networks of alliance in ensuring the survival of the group in their countries of abode, and, in resisting other ethnic groups when these are in power in any of the countries (Mamdani, 2002).

The study found that the need for group well-being and continued relations among members of partitioned groups in the face of obvious hostility of the state is very fundamental in the desire of members of partitioned ethnic groups to capture power in their various countries of abode. The various fractions seek for power in their countries primarily because it ensures their survival, and also because it guarantees them continued contact with other fractions across the different borders. This they often do by utilizing the networks of alliance of the group across the countries (Ekeh, 1996; Adefuye, 1984; Mamdani, 2002). With power in the hands of the group, they then control the borders of the various states and can open up the resources of these states to the benefit of the members of the larger group everywhere.

This tendency towards hegemony is clearly more prevalent among these partitioned peoples than irredentist ambitions. This is so, especially as the members of the two groups under
study are minorities in all the countries where they live; a fact which members were fully conscious of. Participants believed that the state system would not allow them come together in a country of their own. Instead, it was easier for them to strive for power in their respective countries. This fact is very much known to the neighbouring ethnic groups in the various countries as shown by the study. The Fulani of Senegal seem to be more liberal in this regard, as is even recognized by their neighbouring Wolof, and this is attributable to their low experience of conflict with neighbours and their high level of co-operation with the majority Wolof ethnic group in the country (Behrman, 1970).

The study has further demonstrated how the quest for dominance by fractions of partitioned ethnic groups influence conflict in their countries/regions of abode. The tendency among the fractions of trans-border ethnic groups to dominate the countries and regions where they live and to resist the domination of others in these countries and regions brings them into conflict both with the state and with other ethnic groups in the respective countries. Thus, when they are not in power and the state is hostile to them, they will fight to remove the government. When they are in power and others rise in opposition to them, they will fight to retain power at all cost. When conflict breaks out in one country between a fraction of a partitioned ethnic group and either another ethnic group in the country or the state itself, other fractions of the group in other countries are soon drawn in. And if one or more fractions of the partitioned ethnic groups control power in their states, such states are eventually mobilized into the conflicts involving kin in other countries (Suhrke and Noble, 1977; Touval, 1984).

The overt concern for group interests by members of partitioned ethnic groups while in power often brings the fractions in conflict with other ethnic groups in the respective countries. Because the former are concerned for the well-
being of the members everywhere, often to the detriment of other ethnic groups in the country, these other ethnic groups soon rise in opposition (Adefuye, 1984). In this same manner, members of neighbouring ethnic groups, deeply suspicious of the Fulani/Tutsi of their countries, expressed readiness to fight the latter whenever they are in power in their country. The result is often political violence, which, once it develops in one country, soon spreads to other countries where the fractions of the respective trans-border ethnic groups live, as has also been variously demonstrated by Ba (1998) and Mamdani (2002). But it must be pointed out here that, as has been shown by the study, experience of conflict is a significant factor in the predisposition of a group to more conflict.

The study has also shown the effects of continued relations among members of a partitioned ethnic group across borders on their integration into their country of abode or the larger ethnic group. Continued relations among partitioned peoples ordinarily makes members more attached to their larger ethnic groups, as is shown by the study. This is also corroborated by findings by Phiri (1984:117) that trans-border peoples are ‘peoples of two worlds’ who exist in two or more countries but ‘belong’ to none of these countries but to themselves. In the early years of partition, this feeling led many of such ethnic groups to attempt to breach the state arrangements on the continent and demand for unification in states of their own (Touval, 1984). Although this has not worked, nevertheless, this feeling has been reinforced in recent years by the obvious failure of the states in which these groups live to provide adequately for their members, leading them to look beyond the state and towards the larger ethnic group for succour (Enemuo, 1991; Clapham, 1996).

The reality of the state system under which these peoples now exist is significant in their affinities. Thus, the size of the fractions vis-à-vis the size of other ethnic groups in the particular countries, as well as the political and socio-
economic conditions under which they live in the countries, are also determinants of their levels of integration into the state or the larger ethnic group respectively. Members of fractions of partitioned ethnic groups who are contented with the political and socio-economic arrangements in their country are likely to be more attached to the country than the larger ethnic group (Miles and Rochefort, 1991). Those who are minorities in their countries of abode are usually more attached to the larger ethnic group than the states in which they live (Ekeh, 1996).

In the case of the Tutsi and the Fulani, their fractions are minorities in all the countries where they live. This demographic fact also ordinarily tends to restrict their access to power in the respective countries. Then, there is the fact that in almost all the countries where they live, the Tutsi especially, and to some extent the Fulani, are faced with unfavourable political and socio-economic conditions. The result, as the research has shown, is that members of the fractions of the two ethnic groups have tended to integrate more into the larger ethnic group than the respective states in which they live.

Findings and Theoretical Deductions

The findings made by this research can be summarized into five, namely:

(a) Members of ethnic groups partitioned across the different countries of Africa, are deeply aware of their partition and continue to relate with each other across the borders of these countries.

(b) The need for the well-being of members of partitioned ethnic groups leads their fractions to strive for power in the various countries and regions of Africa where they live.

(c) Political dominance by fractions of a trans-border ethnic group over their countries and regions of abode leads
to political conflict, between the individual fractions and other ethnic groups and states where they live, and between neighbouring states with fractions of the trans-border ethnic group.

(d) Fractions of a trans-border ethnic group who are minorities and/or lack access to power and other socio-economic opportunities in their respective states are attached more to the larger ethnic group than the respective states in which they live.

(e) Fractions of a trans-border ethnic group who are majorities and have access to power and other socio-economic opportunities in their respective states are integrated more into their respective states than the larger ethnic group.

Policy Recommendations
The study has made a number of policy recommendations aimed at enhancing national integration and political stability in the countries and regions where trans-border ethnic groups live.

(a) The first set of recommendations involves specific states where fractions of trans-border ethnic groups live. These include the liberalization of the economy to remove it from politics; the liberalization of politics through multi-party democracy with provisions for periodic elections, zoning and rotation of offices; political arrangements for consensus decisions; consociational arrangements and proportional representation; participatory and multi-tier government; and, good governance and justice.

(b) The second set of actions involve co-operation between states harbouring fractions of a trans-border ethnic group. This would be in the areas of co-operating to simplify the boundary function of their common borders to allow for easy contact among members of the group
ions live, the are socio-economic are the

across the borders; to allow members access to services and facilities across borders without discrimination; and, to formulate complementary policies that have direct impact on their trans-border peoples and their border regions.

(c) The third set of actions involve the fractions of a trans-border ethnic group themselves and would require them to be content with the status quo if their states are sincere and open to their situation.

(d) The last set of actions involve the international system, which, apart from ensuring the implementation of the above recommendations, will be required to work towards regional political and economic integration in regions where trans-border ethnic groups live, especially the dispersed ones like the Fulani and the Tutsi.

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APPENDIX 1:

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

The doctoral thesis written out of this research is made up of seven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 are introductory chapters and deal with such items as aims and objectives, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology.

In chapter 3, the history of the state system in Africa is traced through the beginnings of the international state system to the present. It is shown that the nature of the state in Africa, i.e. its colonial history and postcolonial development, made ethnicity inevitable and this in turn makes the need for national integration in African states imperative. But where a state has within its borders, a fraction of a partitioned ethnic group, the objective of national integration is even further hampered as members usually continue to relate with their kin across and in defiance of the border. This continued trans-border ethnic relations ultimately produce conflict and violence in and between states on the continent. Other causes of conflict exist though, and these and the many conflicts that have ravaged the continent are also examined.

In chapter 4, the Tutsi are situated within the Central African geo-political landscape. The environment of their politics is examined, and their neighbours identified. Tutsi history and dynamics are examined as a background to their political attitudes. Tutsi hegemony in Central Africa is
examined in specific terms, and a relationship is established between Tutsi hegemony and political conflict in Central Africa. Then, a detailed study of the variables under study is made, through empirical survey conducted at the Siamese region of Rwanda and Burundi.

Just as is done in the Tutsi case in chapter 4, in chapter 5, the place of the Fulani in the West African geo-political landscape is examined. Their environment and neighbours are identified as well as their history and characteristics, as background to their politics. Fulani trans-border relations in West Africa are discussed and specific instances of hegemony and hegemonic tendencies are examined. Then, a relationship is established between these relations and tendencies and political conflict and the possibilities of such conflict in West Africa. A detailed study is made of the variables under study through empirical survey conducted at the Siamese region of Senegal and Mauritania.

In chapter 6, the situation in Central Africa is compared with the situation in West Africa as regards trans-border ethnic solidarity and national integration, and trans-border ethnic hegemony and political conflict. The propositions are then verified as part of a wider theoretical discussion on the nature of conflicts in regions where trans-border ethnic groups live. Finally, the implication of this study for crisis prevention is examined and management policies recommended.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter of this work. Here, a summary of the work is made. Recommendations are then made for further study, following from the study, before finally, the conclusion.
APPENDIX 2:
DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR THE STUDY TRIPS

FORM FGQ I: Questions for the Fulani/Tutsi Ethnic Groups

1. Do you know that there are other members of your ethnic group living in other countries?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No.

2. Do you interact with members of your ethnic group in other countries?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No.

3. How do you think the continued well-being of your people will be guaranteed?
   (a) Through capturing/retaining power in the countries of abode
   (b) The coming together of members of the ethnic group in one country.

4. When your group is in power, whom do you think they should owe more responsibility to?
   (a) Members of your ethnic group in your country and elsewhere.
   (b) Members of every ethnic group in your country.

5. What do you think your ethnic group will do if they are not in power and the state does not protect their interest?
   (a) Fight to change government
   (b) Relocate to another country where members of the ethnic group are in power.

6. How do you think your ethnic group will react should other ethnic groups in your country demand to take power from the group?
   (a) Resist/fight to retain power
   (b) Dialogue/find accommodation with others.

7. How do you think your ethnic group in your country will
react if your kin are engaged in conflict with other ethnic groups in their countries?
(a) Fight alongside kin
(b) Leave kin to their fate.
8. Which of these are you ordinarily more attached to?
(a) Your larger ethnic group
(b) Your country of abode.
9. Is your feeling of attachment to the country influenced by the favourable political and socio-economic conditions of your ethnic group in your country?
(a) Yes
(b) No.
10. Is your feeling of attachment to your country influenced by the size of your ethnic group in the country?
(a) Yes
(b) No.

FORM FGQ2: Questions for the Moors/Wolof/Hutu Ethnic Groups

11. Are you aware that the Fulani/Tutsi of your country:
(a) Are continuing to relate with kin in other countries?
(b) Have cut links with their kin in other countries?
12. Which of these interests do you believe the Fulani/Tutsi of your country work for, especially when they are in power?
(a) Their larger ethnic group
(b) The country.
13. What will you do if the Fulani/Tutsi capture power in your country?
(a) Support them
(b) Oppose/fight them.
14. Which do you feel the Fulani/Tutsi of your country are more attached to?
(a) The country
(b) Their larger ethnic group.