Dear conference delegates,

Welcome to the Nordic Africa Days 2014 in Uppsala!

The Nordic Africa Days (NAD) is the biennial conference which for the past six years has been organized rotatively in each of the Nordic countries. Already since 1969 the Nordic Africa Institute has organised this regular gathering of Nordic scholars studying African issues, and the event has for the past 15 years been formalized under the name of the Nordic Africa Days.

The theme of this year’s conference is Misbehaving States and Behaving Citizens? Questions of Governance in African States. We are proud to host two distinguished keynote speakers, Dr Mo Ibrahim and Associate Professor Morten Jerven, addressing the theme from different angles in their speeches entitled “Why Governance Matters” and “Africa by Numbers: Knowledge & Governance”.

The conference is funded by long-standing and committed support from the Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian and Icelandic governments. This year, we are also particularly pleased to be able to facilitate participation of about 25 researchers based on the African continent through a generous contribution from Sida (The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency). Providing a platform for Nordic and African researchers to meet and cooperate at NAD is becoming ever more important, in addition to creating a prime meeting place for researchers on Africa within the Nordic region.

The main conference venue is Blåsenhus, one of the newest campuses within Uppsala University, situated opposite the Uppsala Castle and surrounded by the Uppsala Botanical Gardens. This particular area of Uppsala has a historical past that goes back 350 years in time and offers many interesting places to visit. In the Botanical Gardens you will also find the offices and the library of the Nordic Africa Institute.

We hope that you during the conference will take the opportunity to visit the unique library of the Nordic Africa Institute. It specialises in literature on contemporary Africa and holding more than 70 000 books and reports, 400 magazines, as well as official documents, digital resources and African fiction. The opening hours of the library on Friday 26 September are 10–17 hrs.

Once again you are most welcome to the conference. Our staff will do their utmost to assist you and make you feel at home here at NAI and Uppsala.

We are looking forward to two fascinating, intensive and inspiring days.

Iina Soiri Tania Berger
Director NAD 2014 Conference Coordinator
Nordic Africa Institute Nordic Africa Institute

The Nordic Africa Institute wishes to express its gratitude for the support and good cooperation, enabling the organization of NAD 2014, to:
Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), Icelandic International Development Agency (ICEIDA), The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), Province of Uppsala and the Governor Mr Peter Egardt, Uppsala University
Why Governance Matters

By Dr Mo Ibrahim

Despite impressive economic figures in recent years most people in Africa are still poor. The only way for Africa to move forward is to ensure good governance – the way the economy, legal structures and institutions are managed. “What we need to do is look at numbers and not wonderful leaders’ speeches. I want to know what leaders did in the last 12 months. We need to measure this every year and we need to produce a scorecard. This is how the Ibrahim Index of African Governance came about.” Dr Mo Ibrahim says. In his keynote during the Nordic Africa Days, Dr Ibrahim elaborates on why governance matters for the development of Africa.

His speech is followed up by a discussion with Professor Lise Rakner, Chr. Michelsen Institute and University of Bergen. Moderator: Ms. Iina Soiri, Director for the Nordic Africa Institute.

Africa by Numbers: Knowledge & Governance

By Professor Morten Jerven

How much do we know about income, growth and poverty in Africa? Much less than we would like to think. While the phrase ‘lies, damned lies and statistics’ reminds us that inaccurate statistics is not a problem particular to Africa, the magnitude of the knowledge problem recently led the World Bank Chief Economist for Africa to declare “Africa’s Statistical Tragedy”. This knowledge problem translates into a governance problem. Without reliable facts evidence based policy may turn into policy driven evidence – the opposite of what was intended. From the Millennium Development Goals to the ‘Data Revolution’ envisaged in the post-2015 round of future development indicators – there is an increasing demand for data. A new agenda for data for development in Africa is required – where local demand, incentives and applicability is at the center.

Discussant: Liisa Laakso, Professor at the University of Helsinki. Moderator: Måns Fellesson, Head of the International Links Research cluster at the Nordic Africa Institute.
Large-scale displacement – whether caused by violence, development or natural disaster – evokes many stereotyped assumptions about those forcibly displaced or emplaced. At the same time there is a problematic lack of attention paid to the diversity of actors, strategies and practices that reshape the world in the face, and chronic aftermath, of dramatic moments of violent dislocation. This highly original volume, based on case studies from across sub-Saharan Africa, reveals the paradoxical effects, both intended and unexpected, that displacement produces and that manifest themselves in displacement economies.

A presentation of the book will be made by editor Amanda Hammar, MSO Professor in African Studies at the University of Copenhagen and Dr Jesper Bjarnesen, Senior researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute.
Map of Blåsenhus

**HOUSE 12, FLOOR 1**
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- Lecture Hall: 14:K120

**Stage for Book Launch**

**House 21**

**Entrance House 12**

**Registration**

**Main Entrance**

**Lunch/coffee station**

**Photo Exhibition**

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## Conference Programme of the Nordic Africa Days 2014

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1. East African Print Cultures and Histories of Governance

Panel Organisers: Duncan Omanga and Sirma Buigutt, Centre for East Africa Media Research (CEAMER), Moi University, Kenya

E-mail of panel organisers: ankodani@yahoo.com

The East African region has witnessed a chequered history insofar as governance is concerned. At the moment, Somalia is still crawling from the jaws of years of conflict while in South Sudan, a crucial peace deal/cease fire has just been signed between the government and rebels. In Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and the rest of the great lakes states, critical debates with long histories still rage on issues of governance, constitutionalism, citizenship, press freedom and human rights. For decades, East African’s experience with issues of governance has been immortalised and preserved in their print cultures such as newspapers, diaries, personal journals, pamphlets, newsletters and even personal letters. These printed materials and the corresponding modes and practices of consumption offers critical insight of how groups and individuals articulated their interests with the state. Indeed, the scrutiny of these materials promises an invaluable yet under researched perspective insofar as governance was imagined, preserved and actualised in the past.

PAPERS

1. Photography, the Refugee and the NGO factor: The Visual Economy of Picturing Refugees in Kenya’s Dadaab Camp

Author: Pamela Chepngetich (University of Bayreuth, Germany)
pammyroc1@yahoo.com

Abstract
Photographic representation is pivotal to our understanding of the world around us, and events that matter to us. However, photographs are neat slices of time that cannot portray everything concerning the particular group represented. It is indeed true that those involved in the photographic representations of others can only offer selective representations of subjects in ways most relevant to their organisational structures and specific to their mission objectives and demands.

Focusing on how a consortium of NGOs came together in a project aimed at ‘empowering refugees’, in a refugee camp in Kenya, this paper, using W.J.T. Mitchell’s (2005) approach to photographic analysis in exploring photographs in terms of their representational angles seeks to interrogate their content and highlight the excluded frame by dialoguing pictures from different categories of photographic representation. In so doing, the paper illuminates the ideological and structural biases which manifest when humanitarian organisations enter into the arena of representation and how this feeds into the discourse of governance, compassion fatigue, aid and ‘victimcy.’

2. “Holding the two swords”: Kiongozi Newspaper, Religion and Governance in Tanzania

Author: Francis Ngatigwa (St. Augustine University of Tanzania)
xachengo@hotmail.com

Abstract
Julius Nyerere the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania, at the dawn of the Tanzanian independence in 1961 prohibited mixing religion with politics in the public domain. Matters of religion were left private. In the media sector, religious media (mostly print) were reduced to the service of religion. On the other hand, Nyerere advised religious leaders to play their part in the development of the country. Based on this background this paper uses the Social responsibility theory to probe the part played by the Catholic Church owned newspaper Kiongozi (The Leader) on aspects of governance and development in Tanzania. This paper reveals that due to its country-wide distribution and news reporting from rural areas, Kiongozi newspaper as its name suggests, played a “leading” role towards good governance and development in Tanzania.

3. The Anvil and Imaginaries of Governance: Uncovering Kenya’s Historical Unease with Itself through a University Newspaper

Authors: Duncan Omanga and Sirma Buigutt (Moi University, Kenya)
ankodani@yahoo.com

Abstract
In the 1960s through to the 70s, a group of young journalism students at the University of Nairobi launched what would later become perhaps the most incisive campus newspaper in Kenya at the time. Forming around persons...
who afterwards became the leading names in Kenyan journalism as educators, practitioners and entrepreneurs in the media, The Anvil, as it was named, acquired a reputation as a no holds barred publication insofar as governance and social justice was concerned. Indeed, at a time when press freedom was not guaranteed The Anvil took advantage of the comparatively free social and political space in Universities to probe and reveal issues which would normally be cautiously treated by the mainstream media. Situating its focus on the last year of founding President Kenyatta’s rule in the late 70s, this paper draws from lengthy interviews with The Anvil editor at the time, Sirma Buigutt, now a media educator at a local university and also from selected issues of the Anvil that were published while he was editor. From coverage of a surreptitious military operation in Northern Kenya, the unending local political intrigue to encounters with Marxist professors and foreign spy agents, the paper reveals how The Anvil filled a critical gap in shaping and constructing critical social political imaginaries from perhaps the most politically active segment of Kenyan society in the 70s: university students.

4. The Manipulated Past – Leadership, National Unity and Governance in the Contemporary Cameroonian History Textbooks

Author: Kati Anttalainen (University of Oulu, Finland)
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Abstract
Cameroon has been defined as a “classical fragile state” with features of highly centralized and personalized governance, political manipulation of ethnic tensions and very widespread corruption. Since independence in 1960/1961, Cameroon has had only two presidents. Paul Biya (born in 1933), the president since 1982, was elected for his sixth term in 2011. Despite the formal multi-partyism in Cameroon since the 1980’s, the state remains almost synonomous with the president’s party.

I will discuss, how the governance is being displayed in the textbooks through the intertwined conceptions of leadership and national unity, as part of the constructed history consciousness. I have studied textbooks of a nationally distinguished Cameroonian publishing house Anucam Educational Books (ANUCAM). Due to higher enrolment rates, the focus has been on the primary (classes 4–6) and lower secondary education (forms 1–5), pupils aged 9–16 years.

Here, the colonial legacy of the education system needs to be kept in mind. Like in so many African countries, also in Cameroon the institutionalized education system with formal structures and objectives was originally established by colonial regimes – the Germans, the French and the British. Schooling aimed at colonizing the mind of the natives. Today, despite the aims to “promote the spirit of democracy” and “the spirit of criticism” – explicitly expressed in the educational policy lines – the history textbooks do not seem to promote the skills of critical and analytical reflection.

So far, the focus of the International organisations such as the World Bank has been mainly on textbook production, markets and distribution chains, with aims to find solutions to the lack of learning materials. The need to improve access to (pedagogically sound) textbooks is undisputed. However, it is also of great importance to analyze their contents, in order to examine, what kind of citizenship, values and skills they promote. Taking into account the central role of history in the nation-building, it seems surprising that textbook content analyses in the African context are largely absent, hence also in Cameroon. As the international debate on the post-2015 development goals of education is increasingly tuned towards learning, more attention should be paid also to the quality of learning materials.

5. Transformation in Political Reporting and News Coverage in Kenya: Retrospection

Author: Joyce N. Omwoha (Masinde Muliro University, Kenya)
jomwoha@yahoo.com

Abstract
From 1978 when Daniel Moi became president of Kenya, the first news item by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (formally Voice of Kenya) and on the front pages of every newspaper was always on the activities of the President. With the liberation of the media, this has changed. The current President has to say something important and meaningful to be in the news. It is for this reason that media scholars and political pundits and analysts have recently started to appreciate the change in political space in Kenya since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in the country. Different media houses have come up with many creative ways of reporting. Many observers have noted tremendous amount of change in the ways media houses have sought to present balanced views in their coverage of political events, competing towards presenting themselves as fair and balanced. Long gone are days when opposition rallies were given news blackout by establishment stations.

This paper seeks to interrogate political reporting and commentaries in print media over the years. The main argument is that there have been positive changes, largely due to opening up of political space as well as political awareness among Kenyans. Although both electronic and print media try to be balanced, we argue that there are some newspapers that still pander to conservative or progressive standpoints and interests such as ethnic and class. I will use newspaper articles, scholarly articles and books to examine transformation in media reporting of political events in Kenya over the years. The paper will deploy social change theory to show that although there are changes, they should be looked at under the prism of competing interests, some of which are interested in status quo, while others seek change.
There is hardly any development processes raising such strong opposition and activism as large dam building. The Bujagali Dam in Uganda, the Merowe Dam in Sudan and the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam in Africa are three very different dam projects that have attained a lot of international attention. However, in the period from 1945 to 1990 more than thousand large dams – with a height at least 15 meters or with a reservoir capacity of 3 million cubic metres or more, were built in Africa for irrigation and electricity purposes. These dams supply 22 percent of Africa’s electricity in total, but specific countries like Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia receive more than 80 percent of their power from dams.

Thus, on the one hand, there is an increasing need for energy and irrigation for food security, but on the other hand, dam constructions come at a high cost financially, socially and environmentally. This probes to the heart of development processes and the question of governance. Are states misbehaving and jeopardizing the needs and the future of behaving citizens or are dams a sensible solution to development? Moreover, it also raises questions of who determine African development: African states or international actors (such as activists or NGOs)? While the dam discourse to a large extent has been dominated by activists opposing dam constructions, this session invites papers to critically discuss the role of dam building in Africa from an academic perspective.

1. Govern dams pastoral goal in Atacora East in Benin: who benefits?

Authors: Chabi Cyrille ETEKA (University of Liège, Belgium), Roch MONGBO (University of Abomey, Benin) and Marc PONCELET (University of Liège, Belgium)
chabicyrille@yahoo.fr

Abstract
In the early 80s, the former GTZ has supported the Government of Benin through a Project Promotion of Livestock in Atacora. Twenty medium-sized dams were made in three main communities with high beef production. Lack of municipal authorities at the time the beneficiary communities of the books are named as the owners and managers of such dams. Committees ethnic connotation (Bariba, Fulani) and professional (breeders, farmers) are put in place to ensure management. With the establishment of municipal councils in 2003, the law on decentralization gives the common skills in several areas including water infrastructure. But the state of decay and filling dams authorized to question management methods and forms of ownership of these works by municipalities and beneficiaries. Specifically, what role are the municipalities in this new institutional context management of these structures. This scientific concern structure a chapter of my thesis on the forms of ownership of rural development operations in Benin.

The study is based on empirical and historical approach made field surveys and data mining second hand. Ethnographies collected on the management of two dams in the municipality of Pëhunco show a private management by some leading members of committees at the expense of communities and municipal authorities who also struggle to play their roles.

This paper attempts to focus on the modes of governance of common resources from the analysis of individual and collective strategies of actors down to control these resources. It thus contributes to the understanding of public perceptions of decentralization reforms.

2. There is enough water for all – why not work together?

Author: Hamdi Hassan (Search for Common Ground, Libya)
hhassan@sfcg.org

Abstract
The Nile is the River par excellence, its basin of over 3 million km² and 6700 km long. It consists of 11 countries: Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. The main source of tension involves Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia, with Egypt and Sudan being highly dependent on flows that originate in Ethiopia. Following tension over the construction of the High Aswan Dam in 1959, Egypt and Sudan were allocated 55.5 km³ per year and 18.5 km³ per year of water respectively. These agreements excluded upstream countries, who have increasingly argued for their rights to use water from the River Nile. In recent years, there had been a promising move towards basin-wide co-operation, particularly with the launch of the Nile Basin Initiative in February 1999. In 2010, the Cooperative Framework Agreement (the Entebbe Agreement) was signed only by the upstream countries, with strong opposition from Egypt and earlier from Sudan.
There a consensus within Egyptian public opinion, who is relatively engaged in the Nile Basin issue, that the consecutive Egyptian government have shown remarkable incompetence in reaching out to Nile Basin Country, especially Ethiopia. This dispiriting lack of basin-wide agreement reflects changes in the balance of geopolitical powers in the region. Egypt's historical hegemonic position is being challenged by emerging regional powers such as Ethiopia. Egypt has been particularly concerned that the dam, now more than 30% finished, will hugely affects its share of the Nile, the country's main source of potable water. Situated near the Sudanese border on the Blue Nile, a Nile tributary, the hydroelectric dam will be the biggest in Africa, capable of producing 6,000 megawatts of energy. There have been a reluctance from the two major actors, Ethiopia and Egypt to enter into a constructive dialogue over the regulation of the water resources.

This paper examines the interplay between politics and water in the Nile Basin. It attempts at exploring, moreover, a fair exchange of benefits within the Nile Basin's countries.

3. Large scale schemes with small scale management: Lessons in irrigation management transfers in Africa

Author: Mats Hårsmar (Expert Group for Aid Studies, Swedish Government Offices)
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Abstract
Investment in dams and irrigation schemes are classic means to raise agricultural productivity and production. Traditionally, most irrigation systems in sub-Saharan Africa have been of relatively small-scale and often managed by rural communities. This has been a precondition for, and enabled functional interaction with, customary land tenure systems and local water management practices.

Lately, new practices are evolving. Ethiopia is a case where investments in large-scale dam and irrigation schemes rapidly are increasing. This includes initiatives where the government is investing in and constructing irrigation facilities in a top-down manner and irrigation is assumed to be undertaken by small-holder farmers. Issues such as land tenure, water access, canal management and water administration emerge in this context as essential to small-scale farmers. To operationalize the schemes, efforts are undertaken to delegate land and water management into blocs of small-holders, which in turn are organized through cooperatives.

This paper aims to take stock of lessons from large-scale dam and irrigation schemes and their effects on small-holders when it comes to the management of, and access to, key productive resources such as land and water. Review of the current state of knowledge in irrigation management transfer processes, with cases from Mali and Burkina Faso, countries which have long experiences in large-scale irrigation schemes involving local people, will be explored and compared with the emerging Ethiopian situation. In particular, the case of Office du Niger in Mali will be discussed. What institutional solutions emerge and through which processes? What are the main challenges and prospects for local management of productive resources within grand irrigation schemes?

4. The Bujagali Dam in Uganda: technology, cosmology and global discourses

Author: Terje Oestigaard (The Nordic Africa Institue, Sweden)
terje.ostigard@nai.uu.se

Abstract
The Bujagali Dam in Uganda has been seen as one of the most controversial dams in modern history. Globally, this has to be analysed in the context of the World Commission on Dams and its recommendations, and the dam was the one of the first battlegrounds where anti-dam activists and the World Bank met after the report was launched in 2000. It has also to be analysed from the perspective of Uganda as an autonomous state and the role of China as a major dam builder. The global and local discourses were highly interconnected. Apart from the general opposition against large dams, the main argument used by anti-dam campaigners was that the dam would destroy the local religion of the Busoga Kingdom and in particular the Budhagaali spirit residing in the water falls. This river spirit embodies one particular healer – Jaja Bujagali, who is like an ‘arch-bishop’ and one of the most powerful ritual specialists in the kingdom. The spirit, through its healer, blocked the dam construction for years. The solution from the Government was to bring in another healer to conduct the seemingly necessary appeasement ceremonies relocating the spirit so the dam could proceed. Having met these healers, and many others, the role of religion and indigenous culture will be discussed in relation to the role of the state and other international actors defining what is good for a particular country when it comes to choosing development strategies.
Unevenness and Exclusion
Examining the Dynamics of Scales and Scope of Governance

Panel Organiser: Anders Sjögren, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden
E-mail of panel organiser: anders.sjogren@nai.uu.se

The way state power is organised and exercised can everywhere be expected to differ across the national territory and between formal levels. Unevenness of state power is also likely to interplay with varieties of less formalised modes of political power; together this creates significant differences in modes of governances. Such unevenness is very pronounced in Africa due to regional divergence in socio-economic development and legacies of indirect rule and fragmented state forms, created under colonialism and furthered after independence.

Differences in development trajectories and in the scope and scale of the effective presence of state power often result in real and perceived political exclusion along different lines. All of the above carries crucial implications for democracy, for the national question and for political stability.

This panel seeks to interrogate the causes, processes and consequences of these issues by examining cases from across the continent. It welcomes both theoretical and empirical contributions. Comparative efforts, be it through empirical cases or theoretical arguments, are particularly appreciated.

PAPERS

1. Scalar Variations: Identity, Authority and Conflict

Author: Henrik Angerbrandt (Stockholm University, Sweden)
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Abstract
This paper elaborates a framework for analysing the ways in which ethnic and religious conflicts are constructed by actors with reference to scale, e.g. local, national and global dimensions. It furthermore makes a distinction between identity relations and political relations in order to be able to distinguish how these differ in their scalar constructions. This challenges conceptions of ‘community conflicts’ as inherently local. The community aspects, as well as the political aspects, have different scalar references. Analysing the tension between these can give new understanding of the dynamics of a conflict and how political aspects are merged with ethnic and religious aspects in a conflict.

A conception of scale as relational is accordingly suggested, understanding scale as an epistemological concept. As alternative to conceptualise community as ‘the most local scale’, it is argued for an ideal typical notion of the concept. Recognising community as an ideal type with its counterpart society is argued to highlight tensions between community and citizenship. How conflicts are constructed differently with reference to scale is part of contested relations.

The argument is throughout expounded with references to studies of the implementation of Islamic sharia law in Nigeria in the early 2000s. Local and national aspects of the sharia issue tend to be regarded as separate, even though affecting each other. The issue furthermore tends to be analysed according to a community or society logic separately. Either, historical and religious aspects dominate the analysis or, these aspects are disregarded in favour of a focus on strategies in relation to how politics are practiced in Nigeria. Seldom are these perspectives merged and assessed in relation to each other.

2. Half a Century of Peace: Exploring peace in Zambia from a local governance perspective

Author: Johan Brosché (Uppsala University, Sweden)
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Abstract
In 2014, Zambia celebrates half a century as a sovereign country. Throughout this period the nation has been spared from armed conflicts. In contrast, several of its neighboring countries – such as Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Mozambique – have experienced devastating conflicts. Furthermore, Zambia is characterized by numerous factors that are related to an increased risk for armed conflict such as poverty, political instability, a relatively large population, and abundance of minerals (primarily copper). Still the country has remained at peace for more than 50 years. This paper examines if Zambia’s peace can be explained by local governance factors. First, it investigates if group relations and civic life in Zambia’s communities has influenced political elites to use less polarizing strategies. Second, it examines if effective local conflict-resolution mechanisms can contribute to explaining the prevalent peace.
3. Power relations among institutions of government in Nigeria's presidential system: Implications for good governance

Authors: Omololu Fagdebo and Suzanne Francis (University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa)
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Abstract
The principle of separation of powers and the doctrine of checks and balances are the two major mechanisms that define power relations among branches of government in presidential system. Essentially, the primacy of power in governance necessitated the need for institutional control measures to avert disproportionate exercise of power. The assumption of the culture of presidential system is the near absence of personalization of power. Nigeria's presidential constitution incorporates these measures with essential provisions aimed at ensuring respect for the rule of law. In other words, power relations among the three branches of government are clearly defined to ensure the promotion of good governance. Nevertheless, residual and inherent powers of the executive tower above the other two branches of government. Using disunified elite theory and strategic politician theory, this paper argues that the uneven distribution of powers seems to negate the essence of the system of checks and balance associated with presidential system. Thus, the institutional safety valves seem to be ineffective in the face of primordial interests and other informal considerations among the political elites. Corruption and impunity dominate the activities of the institutions of government while the instruments of checks and balances remain potent avenues for political negotiation. The outcome of this is the preponderance of governance crisis. Since institutional measures remain ineffective in the control of power, competition among political elites for political space endangers good governance. The paper submits that an informed public capable of enforcing accountability is a sine qua non for a redirection of the culture of governance in Nigeria's presidential system.

4. Territory and identity. The scale and scope of political authority in Africa

Author: Anders Sjögren (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)
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Abstract
The organisation and exercise of state power anywhere can be expected to differ across the national territory and between formal levels. Such unevenness is very pronounced in Africa due to regional divergence in socio-economic development and legacies of indirect rule and fragmented state forms, created under colonialism and furthered after independence. This paper provides a theoretical overview of these issues with particular attention paid to the implications for political exclusion in terms of different cleavages.
Placing Culture at the Heart of the Contemporary African Development Debate

Panel Organiser: Jama Musse Jama, Redsea Culture Foundation, Somaliland, and Oriental University of Naples, Italy

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To build a nation and to govern a society, you do not need only army, infrastructure, and institutions but also art and culture. The panel aims to put culture at the center of the African development debate, and to consider art and culture as basic needs of fundamental human rights. It will explore ways in which art and literature festivals can be instrumental in carrying out important work in the field of Human Rights in general and freedom of thought and expression in particular as a platform for constructive dialogue between various sectors of society that rarely have other forums in Africa. These elements constitute the basics of good governance.

PAPERS

   
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Abstract

Rural people in Africa depend almost entirely on specific skills and knowledge essential for their livelihoods and survival. The roles that culture of indigenous people play in protection and conservation of forest diversity in southwest Nigeria has been emphasised. Specifically, sacred groves and forests play a central role in the livelihoods of indigenous people as well as conserve endemic diversity and landscapes. Despite the interdependence of local people and sacred landscapes, a decline in the areas of these unique landscapes have been documented. The consequence of this is that many of the people's indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices built over the years as well as the endemic diversity are at the risk of becoming extinct. This study therefore investigates the contributions of selected sacred groves and forests to livelihoods of rural communities as well as the challenges facing the indigenous beliefs and cultural practices in southwest Nigeria. The sacred groves and forests under study were established on the indigenous knowledge (IK) of the local people and passed down orally from one generation to another. Meanwhile, ecological encroachment and degradation activities posed great challenges to the sustenance of the sacred landscapes. Some of the challenges facing the sacred landscapes include pressure from population explosion, urbanisation process, and deforestation resulting from farming practices. Adoption of Christianity and Islam by the people is also influencing abandonment of the cultural practices and indigenous beliefs that are in support of the sacred forests. To prevent further encroachment into sacred landscapes, there is need for demarcation of the boundary to protect against pressing land uses and over exploitation. Also, there is need for policy formulation in support of current African traditional knowledge and beliefs in support of sacred forest to control unsustainable encroachment of sacred landscapes.

2. Culture and Governance: The Unavoidable Complex Realities of Development.

Author: Florence Nassiwa (The Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Kenya)

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Abstract

The concept of culture apart from being a slippery one is also complex in that almost everything can be categorized under culture. For instance the way one speaks especially a foreign language, the way one walks, the way one responds to questions can all be attributed to culture. Governance on the other hand as a process by which authority is conferred on some people, by which they make the rules to govern those who elect them to positions of governance and by which those rules are enforced is also quite complex in that it is difficult to be understood in simple terms.

Culture as defined by Ritzer (2008) in the book titled; Modern Sociological Theory is the organized set of normative values governing behavior which is common to members of a designated society or group. At any level of governance be it individual, family, group, societal, community, institutional, company, national, regional or even international there must be a set of rules, norms and values that are used to govern behavior.

Nonetheless, the outcome of good governance such as
transparency, participation, compliance and accountability can only be sustained if rulers embrace the set values necessary for good governance as well as the values of those being ruled. The dilemma especially in developing countries is the laxity of rulers and the tendency to underestimate the power of governance values on broader development.

In this regard, the major challenge is to convince all actors to integrate the positive aspects of culture in governance.

This paper seeks to emphasize that despite the complexities in definition and analysis, the interaction of culture with government structures cannot be avoided and is of paramount importance to successful governance, leadership and development of the state and of the citizens.


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Abstract

“Corruption is an enemy of rights and development,” Vitali Maembe underlines as he addresses the audience in Kilwa. The Chanjo ya Rushwa (vaccination against corruption) campaign has reached yet another town on its nationwide tour in Tanzania. Through a combination of live music and public debate, the artists engage audiences in open discussion about corruption. The ambition is to make ordinary citizens aware of their own role in fighting corruption, while giving them a unique opportunity to make their voices heard, thus breaking the culture of silence on corruption. The campaign targets marginalized groups in society, ordinary citizens who encounter corruption in everyday life. When given a chance to speak up, people voice their experiences and frustrations, the campaign thus creating a unique platform for dialogue on governance.

Building on Ngũgĩ wa Thiongō’s work on the ‘politics of performance space’ (1997), this paper discusses the role of arts in addressing issues of governance. Discourses on corruption unravel the complex relations between citizens and the state, not least when it comes to deviations from the ideals of ‘good governance’ (Heilman and Ndumbaro 2002, Smith 2007). Research has shown that the creation of anti-corruption institutions (often instigated by donors) has had little effect on curbing corrupt practices (Blundo and Sardan 2006). If anything, by placing the responsibility for anti-corruption in the hands of the state, such efforts have further undermined the agency of marginalized citizens. This paper argues that through the use of arts and artistic techniques, the Chanjo campaign constitutes a viable bottom-up alternative to top-down anti-corruption efforts. Through artistic performances in public spaces, the Chanjo campaign is able to challenge the state’s ‘enactment of power’ (Ngũgĩ 1997), thus empowering disenfranchised citizens by mediating their agency (Uimonen 2013).

Chanjo ya Rushwa. An Ethnographic Road Movie, available on vimeo at http://vimeo.com/73936399

4. Role of art and culture in the contemporary African development debate

Author: Jama Musse Jama (Redsea Culture Foundation, Somaliland)
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Abstract

Culture shapes individual’s worldviews and the ways communities address the changes and challenges of their societies while development is “the act or process of growing or of improving...” for a society. Connections of culture and art with the development have been recognized with increased emphasis, to the extent that UNESCO is deploying an agenda of mainstreaming culture into development, and aims the goal of introducing culture as a priority in a post-2015 UN Development Agenda. This paper argues that we need art and culture to build an African state today. In particularly for societies like the post-war Somaliland, in order to build such a sustainable state, you do not need only army, infrastructure and institutions. You need also to have culture, and if the culture is intended for its broader meaning as “means to achieve an end”, that end cannot be otherwise if not the development of the human being, and therefore for the benefit of the whole society. The paper differentiates the interpretations generally given to the “culture in development” as to its reduced form of “creative industry” or its direct effects on the GDP vs culture as “capacity to inspire” and to produce sustainable wealth in a process which is “based on heritage, diversity, creativity and the transmission of knowledge” that relate culture to all dimensions of sustainable development.
5. African Insurgencies: The Evolving Landscape

Panel Organisers: Morten Boås, NUPI, Norway and Kevin Dunn, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, USA

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In Africa, as elsewhere, armed struggles are in a constant state of flux. As new technologies, strategies, and ideas about the state, the life people live and pathways to resistance emerge, existing insurgencies adapt while new ones emerge. Global and regional forces – be they political, economic, or social – impact on the context of the armed struggles in multiple, and often unpredictable, ways. In some cases, local causes of conflicts become interconnected, intertwined, and layered to produce a constantly shifting landscape. Very rarely does a conflict zone remain stagnant, as change and mutation is the rule, not the exception. Nowhere is that more evident than in contemporary Africa, where new forms of insurgencies are emerging and existing guerrilla groups evolving and mutating. We understand today’s African insurgencies to be linked to competing systems of attempted governance. Contemporary African armed insurgencies are the essential, but by no means only, manifestation of these multiple and competing networks of power and rule. These systems of governance rely on the utilization of violence for security, resistance and predation, but any understanding of these armed groups must recognize the larger context in which they are embedded. Economically speaking, these armed groups are not purely extractive in motive, though the economic dimension of these systems of alternative governance should not be discounted (nor should they be assumed to be the driving force for rebels’ actions). With regards to social factors, it is also important to note significant generational factors. For example, armed insurgents tend to be youths, reflecting issues of social marginalization, stuck aspirations, generational tensions, and youthful aspirations of resistance. Moreover, these youths are largely young men and the violence that they engage in have recognizable gender dimensions, including rape, sexual violence, and mutilation of women’s bodies. Thus, an understanding of contemporary African insurgencies requires a critical examination of social factors, including the complex role of masculinity and violence upon women’s bodies.

PAPERS

1. ‘The Boko Haram Insurgency and State Response: Understanding the Dynamics and Evolving Landscape of Terror in (Northern) Nigeria

Author: Daniel E. Agbiboa (University of Oxford, UK and Nigeria)
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Abstract
More than 5,000 people have died in Nigeria since 2009 when Boko Haram, a radical Islamist group from northeastern Nigeria, launched its violent campaign to wrest power from the Nigerian government and foist an Islamic state under the supreme law of sharia. Attempts at negotiating with the group, including the recent amnesty offer extended to its members by the Nigerian government, have stalled due to distrust on both sides and the non-monolithic and factionalised leadership of the group’s different cells. This article provides a systematic account of Boko Haram’s emergence, evolution, demands, and modus operandi. The socio-economic approach of this article helps to explain the Boko Haram problem beyond a usual religious or economic agenda, and to embed the development of the group within the dynamic, multiplex, and evolving landscape of Nigeria’s chequered political history and socio-economic grievances. In addition, the article critically evaluates how the Nigerian state has responded to Boko Haram’s relentless threat and, crucially, how it should respond. This includes a systematic engagement with the ongoing debate in Nigeria regarding what can be said for and against negotiating with Boko Haram members, and for and against fighting them. In conclusion, the article argues that the failure of military force to reduce spiralling violence in northern Nigeria calls for a strategic rethink that must be open to all the components that are conducive to armed insurgencies in the restive region.

2. Iterations of Shari’a within Boko Haram’s discourse

Author: Ini Dele-Adedeji (School of Oriental & African Studies, UK and the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs)

Abstract
Why does the debate revolving around Shari’a have such a polarising effect on the Nigerian populace? And, why has it become the main theme of the Boko Haram sect’s ideology? Within the literature on violence in northern Nigeria, the common approach tends to situate the Shari’a debate within a strictly political lens, where it is
merely a political instrument among the political elite, as Ali Mazrui’s (2012) analysis does. This and other similar trends tend to largely overlook the central position the Shari’a occupies in the historical tradition of northern Nigeria as a strong point of self-definition for most of its Muslims. With Boko Haram’s aim being to establish a Shari’a state, this paper studies why Shari’a has continued to be a recurring frame or ‘rallying point’ over different time periods for mobilisation within northern Nigeria. This paper focuses on the role Islamic concepts and symbols, such as the Shari’a, in the mobilisation and perpetuation of violence by Boko Haram. It draws the focus beyond the trend in the literature which looks strictly at socio-economic factors. This paper argues that the function of constructed Islamic identities is largely ignored in probing the emergence of political violence in northern Nigeria. In addressing this lacuna, it examines the construction of Islamic identities around the Shari’a and the use of this resonance frame in interpreting political and socio-economic issues in the region. I argue that the Boko Haram sect draws from the strength of this frame in formulating its ideology and the mobilisation of members at the grassroots level.

3. The cost of not interrogating the locals: Libya and its aftermath

Author: Mikael Eriksson (The Swedish Defence Research Agency)
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Abstract
The aim of the paper is to critically review the deteriorating security situation in contemporary Libya. The driving argument of the paper is that the international community, when planning for Operation Unified Protector, appeared to have overlooked how local power-relations and the micro cosmology of tribal networks in Libya functioned. By also overlooking the global-local relationship, the international community came to stand naked in front of the security developments that would unfold as the NATO-backed intervention finally ended. Thus, the scope of this paper seeks to link the general understanding of conventional state structures with sub-national governance networks. In so doing it also seeks to provide an important link in the explanation of today’s deteriorating security situation in post-conflict Libya. The research presented in the paper has been made in light of the detailed case studies on the Arab spring and the NATO intervention in Libya has recently been published. Recent research has provided the research community with a better comprehension of the events that lead to the toppling of Gaddafi. The record makes it easier to re-conceptualise more in detail how the current global order forcefully pushed liberal and illiberal (military) governance practices. It also gives valuable lessons for future conflict management in Africa’s evolving security landscape.


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Abstract
One current challenge facing the gulf of guinea is the scourge of banditry ravaging the maritime domain, with grave implications on security of human and resources. With sporadic targets on sailors, oil workers, ships and foreign nationals, the gulf of guinea has emerged as the new danger zone in West Africa. One noticeable trend in the incidents of sea piracy in Africa is its shifting locus from the horn of Africa to West Africa. The International Maritime reported of sharp decrease in the piracy activities from 237 in 2011 to 75 in 2012 while it increases in West Africa from 49 in 2011 to 58 in 2012. Of the number of piracy activities in West Africa, Niger Delta militants account for the highest, with attendant loss of lives and disruption of oil and economic activities. But the concern of the piracy in the Niger Delta is not only in the number of attacks, but also in the degree of violence associated with it. Perhaps the pertinent questions arising then are: What are the contributory factors for increasing rate of violent sea piracy in the area? What is the relationship between the growing militancy, kidnapping in Niger delta and piracy activities in the area? And, what is the implication on the West African security architecture? Using the theory of greed and grievances, this paper interrogates these questions.

5. MNLA and MUJAO: armed insurgencies between “empty space” and connective society.

Author: Luca Raineri (Sant’Anna School of Advanced Studies, Italy)
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Abstract
The article I endeavour to submit investigates the competing patterns of governance and discourse adopted by two prominent actors – the MNLA and the MUJAO – of the conflict in north Mali during the “occupation” of Gao in 2012. The comparative perspective will be sustained by empirical evidence collected during a field research.

Drawing on most recent literature (Lacher 2013) criticising the widespread mis-perception of the “nebula”, or drug-terror nexus, where organised crime, Islamic radicalism and nationalist separatism supposedly overlap, the article aims to analytically distinguish each actor’s role, motivation and ideology for engaging into conflict. The interpretative grid provided for by Reno (2014) will be mobilised to compare extractive vs ideologically orientated behaviours, thus departing from the standard literature on African guerrillas that uniquely emphasises rent-seek-
ing motives (Collier 2000, Kaldor 2001). This approach will shed light on the opposite strategies adopted by the two movements with regard to international actors on the one hand, and local big men (Utas 2012), civil society and social movements (including the influential “Nous Pas Bouger” youth movement) on the other. The prevalent attention to (illicit) political economy will be combined with a focus on local grievances and struggles, embedded in the sociological setting.

The de-centralized, networked structure of both organizations, inscribed in the “connective” (Scheele 2012) nature of Saharan social relations, suggests that thresholds between local collective actors tend to fade. Claims of subjectivity (from an insider’s perspective) and objectivity (for social science) attributed to armed groups should then be more fruitfully analysed from the point of view of the different discursive strategies and geopolitical imaginaries (Dalby 2010) deployed in their rhetoric.
The Horn of Africa in Quest for Harmonious Coexistence of State and Society

Panel Organiser: Redie Bereketeab, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden

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The Horn of Africa comprising Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti stands out as the most conflict ridden region in the African Continent. A multitude of factors are attributed to this state of condition. Some of the factors accounted for are the nature of the state, state-society relations, festering intra-and inter-state conflicts, underdevelopment, environmental degradation and external intervention.

All these factors coalesce to impact on governmentality and governance in the Horn of Africa. Governance broadly understood as encompassing all realms of social world relates above anything else to the state and its praxis. The nature of the state, either being the product of colonial artefact or reconstructed in the era of colonialism (Ethiopia) is the par excellence source of all the predicaments defining the Horn of Africa. This reality of the state engendered a constant distress in the state-society relation. The dialectics of interconnectivity of stress, for instance, between nature of the state and conflicts; environmental degradation and development; state-society relation, governmentality and governance; state legitimacy and societal participation and control of state affairs define and explain the poor governance performance in the HOA. Addressing these dichotomies of stress relations would in a way tackle the issue of governance and state-society harmonious coexistence.

Broadly, the issues the panel seeks to examine include:

- State-society relations
- Factors affecting governance
- Role of civil society
- Inter-ethnic relations
- Inter-religious relations
- Democracy, local governance, mass media, education
- Alternative modality of governance
- Resource, environment management and governance

PAPERS

1. State Legitimacy and Governance Performance in the Horn of Africa

Author: redie Bereketeab (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)

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Abstract

The Horn of Africa consisting of Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti is highly a conflict ridden region. A hallmark characterising the state in the HOA is lack of legitimacy. Legitimacy derives from both internal and external dimensions. In terms of external dimension, legitimacy is conferred upon the state by the world state system through endowing recognition to its quest for sovereignty and welcoming it as member of the international world state system. This is manifested in membership in various international organisations such as UN and regional organisations such as AU. It also is contingent on acceptable behaviours as perceived by big powers, and joining geostrategic alliances. In terms of internal dimension the state receives legitimacy from its own citizens. The latter refers to what is commonly described in the literature as social contract. The notion of social contract is contingent on the state-society relation. The presumption is while the state delivers security and various social service provisions, society responds by endowing legitimacy to the state. The ideal normative situation is that the state commands both external and internal legitimacy. Further citizenry democratic participation in state affairs enhances legitimacy. The reality is however rarely external and internal legitimacy matches. Indeed, state legitimacy in the Horn of Africa is rather marked by its absence, in both regards. The paper seeks to examine what the status of state legitimacy in the HOA is, how it is fostered, what conditions disrupt social contract between state and society, how international intervention impinges on social contracted, and what the consequences are.
2. Who Owns the Waters of the Nile? Reflections on the Conflict between Ethiopia and Egypt over the Ethiopian Grand Dam

Authors: Mekuria Bulcha (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden) and Techane Bosona (The Swedish Agricultural University) mekuria.bulcha@mdh.se

Abstract
The Ethiopian state is involved in open and hidden conflicts over the waters of the Nile. The open conflict is conducted with Egypt while the hidden ones involve indigenous peoples such as the Oromo whose homeland constitutes the “water tower” of northeast Africa. However, the hostility between Ethiopia and Egypt over the waters of the Nile stretches over centuries. The threats of the ancient Abyssinian kings to divert the course of the Blue Nile from Egypt were, of course, mere bluff: they didn’t possess the technology to do that. Today the threat is becoming real through the construction of the Ethiopian Grand Dam (GD). The Egyptians are also threatening Ethiopia to defend their “rights” by any means. But, the conflict raises many questions over the nature of the “rights” claimed by both sides: are these legal or moral rights? What about the rights of the indigenous peoples from whose lands more than 80 percent of the waters of the Blue Nile come? In this paper we will reflect on these questions, and also examine the discourse instigated by the conflict over the GD. We will argue that the accelerated destruction of forests and wetlands by land grabbers in Ethiopia is also posing a threat which, perhaps, is more serious than the threat being felt by the Egyptian because of the ongoing construction of the Grand Dam.

3. Conflicting political identities in Northern Somalia

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Abstract
This paper aims at analyzing the logic of political identification by individuals and groups in the context of re-emerging state structures in northern Somalia. Current identities will be analyzed as political identities, which are both a product of and a driving force behind political and military conflict in the region.

Conflicts resulted from incompatible positions regarding the self-understanding and the political future of both de facto-states (Somaliland and Puntland), and their populations. Somaliland claims international recognition on grounds of territoriality complemented by a notion of a Somaliland national identity. Puntland, based on an alliance of different Daarood/Harti clans, works for the rebuilding of a unitary Somali government. Apart from this genealogical identity the Somali national identity is adhered to.

In northern Somalia the propaganda issued in the political centres but also discussions about and manifestations of political identity in daily life reflect the tensions between the Somaliland- and the Darood/Harti- respectively Somali identity.

These identities are not ethnic identities: they rather can be understood as political identities which are based on features resembling ethnic identities such as descent, history, individual experiences and collective memory.

These identities are also significantly connected with certain territories because the land in northern Somalia is divided between descent-groups. They combine existing identity markers in a particular way and are meaningful in the current political context of the area. Flexibility comes in because for each identity certain aspects of history, clan-relations and culture are highlighted, others are completely neglected. Nevertheless, the relevance of these internal fragmentations diminishes and the identities form relatively clear blocks which divide the social, political and territorial landscape of northern Somalia today.


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Abstract
The paper is a story of events that adversely affected people’s lives in a certain province called Senhit (now part of zoba Ansaba), Eritrea. It is a story that runs between the 1960s to the early 1990s. The events discussed here can be summarized as being caused simultaneously by environmental degradation (or habitat destruction) and conflict. The purpose here is to describe the material manifestations of environmental degradation and conflict leading to the collapse of the rural economy in Eritrea in general, taking the province as an example, and the ensuing consequences for human lives. The province is one of the most adversely affected areas during the war for independence in Eritrea (1961–1991) that also led to environmental degradation. These two concepts, environmental degradation and conflict, are also very closely related to two other concepts that have become concerns for the basic survival of human beings in this world: Sustainability and Development. Some of these concepts have become part of more exhaustive concerns that have engaged human beings all the time, but they have apparently become more prominent in research projects, political engagement, the mass media and at all levels (UN, 2005) – local, regional and global – in everyday conversation, influencing even personal and individual commitments (on consumption, thinking and acting ‘green’), groups (local environmentalist groups), and organizations, including the global. The paper is based on both secondary material on Eritrea n
5. Rethinking Africa’s Democratization Approach: A Case Study of the Greater Horn of Africa

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Abstract

Like many countries in other regions of the world, most African countries participated in the democratization wave that unfolded in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War. They adopted some of the institutions of liberal democracy, including liberalization of the press and multiparty systems and they have also expanded civil liberties and conducted regular elections. However, over two decades after the democratization wave of the early 1990s the scope of democracy in much of the continent has remained rather shallow and non-inclusive. A number of structural conditions have continued to undermine the democratization process in these transitional societies. One is the fragmented economic and institutional systems that characterize these countries. The economies of most African countries range from relatively advanced capitalist system with modern banking systems and stock market exchanges to subsistent pastoral and peasant systems. The different economic systems operate under different institutions of governance with different notions of property rights, disparate resource allocation mechanisms, and distinct decision-making and conflict adjudication practices. For all practical purposes, African countries are characterized by parallel socioeconomic spaces. Another factor that has contributed in undermining the democratization effort is low levels of nation-building and the associated chronic state-identity and inter-identity conflicts. A third factor is the weak state structures of checks and balances, which have led to concentration of power in the executive branch of government enabling it to govern with little accountability. The current election-centered approach to democratization has not developed mechanisms to address these structural bottlenecks. It is, thus, highly unlikely that it would succeed in advancing sustainable democratization in the continent. There is also hardly any coherent theory on how to build a democratic system under fragmented socioeconomic spaces. Using the Greater Horn of Africa as a case, this paper attempts to explain the structural bottlenecks that the current democratization approach faces. The paper also attempts to contribute to bridging the theoretical gap by proposing a contextualized and comprehensive approach that addresses key structural obstacles to effective democratization in transitional societies.


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Abstract

Conflict has been part of human existence from time immemorial. The contemporary Nigeria state is characterized by perennial conflicts, ranging from political, ethnic, and religious to mention these few. These conflicts have hindered attempts at achieving stable democracy to ensure socio-economic development of the country. Nigeria’s rural and urban communities have been turned into battle fields leading to unimaginable displacement of persons and materials. As human and economic capitals are frequently destroyed, large-scale poverty and underdevelopment becomes the order of the day. Using secondary data, the study attempts the analysis of the problems of inter-group conflict and the prospects of overcoming or reducing the frequency of these conflicts. It is the conclusion of the study that amongst other things, the lack of true and fiscal federalism, the dichotomy between indigene-settlers, poverty and illiteracy are factors contributing to these frequent inter-group hostilities. It is recommended therefore that there is an urgent need to address the issues of citizenship and to make political offices less attractive.

7. Locating the Indian Ocean: Notes on the Postcolonial Reconstitution of Space in Eastern Africa

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Abstract

The networks of human relation that define Africa’s Indian Ocean rim have undergone significant reconfiguration in the last half-century. More precisely, the economic insularity of the Indian Ocean world has radically diminished, while the nation has both restricted movement and reoriented the political imaginations of people along the coast. At the same time, the Indian Ocean has been revivified as a unit of social exchange, analysis, and diplomacy in eastern Africa, particularly since the end of the Cold War. This paper explores the meaning of the Indian Ocean to Africa in the context of a multipolar world by focusing on how the dictates of postcolonial nations have transformed the ocean’s rim and how the petroleum economy as well as varied means of communication have engendered new linkages between Indian Ocean societies. I argue that although the postcolonial era affected the closure of certain historical routes of Indian Ocean connectivity, relationships structured by contemporary nations,
air travel, and new media have begun to reignite perceptions of regional coherency. Indeed, multiple forms of ‘basin consciousness’ are slowly reversing the introverted politics of the early postcolonial era. In short, the accelerated extroversion that defined the immediate post-Cold War era has contributed to the reanimation of Indian Ocean Africa as an idea and encouraged both imagined and substantive trans-Indian Ocean links, particularly with the Persian Gulf, India, and China.

8. Somalia: Federating People or Clans? Dilemmas in Quest For Stability

Author: Marco Zoppi (University of Roskilde, Denmark) marzo@ruc.dk

Abstract
This paper is concerned with the legitimacy challenges faced by the federalist structure of the Somali state, established with the constitution of July 2012. The Charter represents the latest attempt to re-establish peace and stability on a territory which has been torn by civil war and chaos for more than twenty years. However, the federalist project has to confront itself with the negative legacy of state’s institutions, seen by many locals as instruments of accumulation, intrusion and violence of few people against all the others. Similarly, the federalist structure has to contend the political power with the clan system, which has proved to be a much more reliable socio-political structure for the needs of everyday’s life, compared to the state. Therefore, the Somali Federal Government struggles for winning the confidence of its own population, while risks of unilateral secessions or autonomy claims, like for the case of Jubaland, make the government well aware of existing centrifugal tendencies in the country. Understanding federalism in Somalia, I argue, it’s not a simple question of political power distribution: there is also a dichotomy between a predominant European-based conceptualization of the state, on the one hand, and the bulk of often-neglected Somali notions of communitarian organization on the other, to which the clan is a part. If the decentralized structure of different but equal clans in Somali tradition seems to realize a certain convergence with the current federalist project, the dichotomy is rather evident when it comes to the definition of ‘(civil) society’ in Somalia. Thus, in order to assess both the progression of the federalist project, after almost two years from its launch, and the factual legitimacy it holds among the Somali population, this paper will focus on the definitional issue and its implications.

Panel Organisers: Jos Damen and Ursula Oberst, African Studies Center, The Netherlands
E-mail of the panel organiser: jdamen@asclleiden.nl

The societal relevance of scientific and scholarly research has become a crucial aspect in evaluation processes of grant proposals and institutions. How can African Studies make its knowledge suitable and available for economic or societal utilization? How to translate African Studies research into high-potential products, services and processes? What is the role of the library in this process? Can Open Access play a role in making research visible? And how can Wikipedia (or WikiSource) become a useful tool in the valorization of research?

This panel holds papers that discuss general questions on how to assess and describe the societal or economic value of African Studies research and concrete examples of the valorization of African Studies.

Concrete examples: open access publications, Wikipedia, workshops/lectures, policy advice, policy reports, country portals.

PAPERS


Author: Jos Damen (Africa Studies Center, The Netherlands)
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Abstract
In this introductory paper I will give an outlook of valorization of research in general and of the different ways that knowledge can be made suitable for economic and societal utilization. The paper then brings up some peculiarities and special circumstances in African Studies with regard to valorization. Several examples of valorization of research in general and of African Studies in particular will be given, and the roles of the different actors involved will be discussed.

Special attention will be given to Open Access, to the position of African Studies with regard to Open Access and to the different models of Open Access (green/gold etc) that are currently adopted by several European governments, publishers and science foundations.

2. MARIBIA– project; Improving Maritime Education in Namibia on the level that can be approved by the International Maritime Organization (IMO)

Authors: Meri-Maija Marva and Heikki Koivisto (Satakunta University of Applied Sciences, Finland)
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Abstract
Satakunta University of Applied Sciences (SAMK) is one of the major higher education institutions in Finland having a reputation in maritime studies. SAMK has significant experience in national and international projects.

Maritime training in Rauma is reaching the 135-year milestone at 2015. More than 4500 students have completed their Master’s or Officer’s studies over these years. Today, in addition to the nautical studies, marine engineering students have their own program qualifying them as engineering officers on board. SAMK works with other national and international nautical centers as well as with associated awarding professional and licensing bodies.

Co-operation with Namibia started at 2012 during the shipbuilding process of R/V MIRABILIS, research vessel procured by the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources of Namibia. After the training of the new officers and the crew of this new building ship, a new project idea titled ‘MARIBIA’ was discovered. Namibia, as an independent country, is not whitelisted and so far unauthorized to train personnel for growing international fleet of ships.

The Namibian Maritime and Fisheries Institute (NAMFI) and the Polytechnic of Namibia have a cooperation agreement with SAMK to collaborate on the joint promotion of education and development. Enhancement of Maritime education based curricula, programs, educational and administrative processes as well as in building capacity of educational and administrative staff through sustainable structures and training initiatives, will be presented at the Polytechnic and NAMFI with the view of promoting the creation and preservation of sustainable career opportunities in the maritime field.

Learning methods used in the project are; Professional visits, Benchmarking, Process writing, Roundtable discussions, Documentation, Skype, Online meetings with HILL Netconference and eLearning environment MOODLE.

MARIBIA project will be running until the end of 2015.
3. Wikipedia and Open Access: The Valorization of Research at the African Studies Centre in Leiden

Author: Ursula Oberst (African Studies Center, The Netherlands)
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Abstract
This paper sketches the many ways in which the ASC in Leiden is making its knowledge accessible and relevant for societal utilization. It presents the products and services developed for the valorization of ASC research, considers the way they are set up and maintained and critically reviews their successes and failures. Among the products and services discussed are two ASC series intended for the general public, occasional Storify live blogs, Wikipedia articles, regular columns in a Dutch development magazine and the ASC’s open access publications.
Big Man Politics and Electoral Violence in (West) Africa

Panel Organiser: Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs, The Nordic Africa Institute and Uppsala University, Sweden

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In 2010, Guinea’s first democratic election in decades saw widespread intimidation of voters, and violent clashes between rival supporters of the two competing presidential candidates. In the wake of excessive use of force by the military and the security forces, thousands of people were displaced and many killed. In neighbouring Sierra Leone, the post-war elections have generally been considered a success for the advancement of both peace and democracy. Yet, at the same time, they have also witnessed a number of violent incidents ranging from riots, arson, clashes between party supporters and security elements and attacks on both candidates and voters. These cases do not illustrate isolated events, but are representative of a larger trend that we have witnessed across the globe – but particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa – in new democracies that have emerged from authoritarian or military regimes, sometimes in the aftermath of civil wars. Democratic elections intended to mark the very shift from brutal and autocratic rule to democratic governance become both the causes and the victims of violence.

How can we explain this trend? What are the causes of election-related violence? What are the more dynamics of these processes, at local, national and regional level? What are some of its most important effects for the development and establishment of both peace and democracy? Although there appear to a near consensus among scholars regarding the relevance of paying closer attention to the logic of the political system in many new democracies – pointing particularly to the pervasiveness of patronage or so called Big Man politics – in order to better understand why elections in these countries oftentimes become marred in violence, we still know very little about how such processes effect the outcome under scrutiny and the more detailed causal mechanisms at work in these processes. This panel holds papers that address these pertinent research questions in the (West) African* context.

Panel Discussant: Liisa Laakso, University of Helsinki, Finland

PAPERS

1. Money Bags, Violence and Electoral Democracy in Nigeria

Author: Victor Adetula (University of Jos, Nigeria)
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Abstract
The 1999 elections marked the return to electoral democracy in Nigeria after nearly four decades of military rule. Historically elections in Nigerian have been marred by violence ranging from verbal attacks to outright killings and the four national elections held in the country since 1999 had their share of violent conflicts based on the testimonies of members of the general public in the media, and also the reports by domestic and international observers. Also of concern is the irregular use of money by ‘money bags’ politicians and ‘godfathers’ who use their benefits from state-sponsored patronage politics to engage the voters in ‘carrots and sticks’ politics with the attendant results of vote buying, intimidation and electoral violence. Using data from the Afrobarometer surveys and also some anecdotal evidences, this paper establishes current trends and patterns of election related violence in Nigeria as well as the links with the activities of ‘money bags’ and ‘godfathers’. The paper argues that the political environment in Nigeria is characterized by underdeveloped structures and institutions, which presents extraordinarily high opportunities for political corruption, patronage politics, and electoral violence. Nigeria’s democratic institutions remain largely weak and undeveloped. The weakness of the legal framework to control the use of money in politics, the long-time indifference of Nigerians to the problem of party finance, and the rent-seeking behaviour of the political elites and their parties constitute major challenges to the Nigerian electoral system. Media and civil society are often as weak, if not more, as before under authoritarian regimes, and are hardly equipped to engage other stakeholders notably the government head-on in the struggle for transparency and accountability in governance procedures. Looking at the events of the past few years, one can argue reasonably that the democratic system in Nigeria is still in its infancy, and forces are always at work that could undermine the foundations of a new democracy.

2. ‘Politics is a dirty game’ – Election Communication and the Negotiation of Conflict in Northern Ghana

Author: Afra Schmitz (Johannes Gutenberg University, Germany)
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Abstract
While African elections are generally perceived as strongly contested attempts to make use of weak or still emerging
democratic structures, Ghana is hailed as a role model for successful democratisation. Consequently, outbreaks of violence and minor clashes between the parties’ supporters during the 2012 general elections were shrugged off as side-effects – rather irrelevant, it seems, compared to other African countries like Guinea or Nigeria, where recent elections were characterised by instability, insecurity, and political turmoil.

Democratic culture is deeply entangled with various ways and means of conflict negotiation. I therefore argue that in order to gain substantial insights into processes of election-related violence, the diverse expressions of political culture on the national, regional and local level need to be studied extensively instead of falling prey to uphold Ghana’s reputation. Explanatory approaches such as clientelism, ethnic diversity or patronage networks are by themselves insufficient when focusing on the causes of violent outbreaks during election season. Often, they equally fail to explain why simmering conflicts are politicised by ‘traditional’ authorities and politicians but finally wouldn’t escalate.

This paper is based on a long-term field study in north-western Ghana during the 2008 and 2012 parliamentary and presidential elections. It outlines the relevance of political communication strategies deployed by politicians and other big men, who – in order to catch votes – activate longstanding conflicts and aim at evoking loyalties and occasionally violent support. Image-building strategies and negative campaigning e.g. draw on political rumours, which when put in circulation hover around unexplained accidents and unresolved problems, effectively polarising the electorate in the highly tensed election season.

My paper shows that election communication provides the missing link between politics, election campaigns and strategies of conflict negotiation on various levels of society, and therefore offers considerable insights into the dynamics of political processes and election-related violence.


Author: Jesper Bjarnesen (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)
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Abstract
The paper analyses Guinea’s political landscape in the post-Conté era with a focus on past, current, and potential nodes of access to formal and informal power. This approach suggests a compromise between a focus on Big Men in African politics and an institutional approach to identifying the locations of power and influence. The paper uses the 2010 presidential elections as a case study for exploring the dynamics of the distribution of political power in Guinea. The analysis thereby outlines the basic, and more enduring, nodes of socio-political dominance based on the available analyses of the tumultuous contestations over state power since 2006 as well as on historically and culturally deeper analyses of the dynamics of power and security in Guinean society.

The analytical strategy of the paper is thereby to focus on the main positions that enable actors to access resources (such as the bauxite and minerals, arms, drugs, and oil industries as well as state revenues) and influence (i.e. political power, bargaining power, religious following, or the ability to mobilise parts of the general population through top positions in government, opposition, civil society, trade unions, or the military, as well as possible power positions in more localised social institutions), whether within, outside, or in the shadows of the structures of the state.

Such an approach is deemed necessary in a socio-political scenario where individual actors have been replaced so many times within the last few years that it is almost impossible to keep track of which individuals are ‘Big’ and who are yesterday’s news at any given moment. At the same time, it seems that the basic structures, or nodes, of influence outlive the individual actors that have occupied these central positions, thereby enabling an assessment of which nodes of influence – and which dynamics between these nodes – may continue to influence issues of national and sub-national (in)security and political (in)stability. The emphasis on structural focal points is thus based on the empirical specificity of the developments in the political landscape in the case of contemporary Guinea.

At the same time, the importance of acknowledging the charismatic authority of individual Big Men and Women, which is brought out in the works on Big Men and informal regimes of power, rings no less true for the Guinean case. In this sense, the most public figures of the Guinean political landscape since independence have, firstly, employed their personal abilities to persuade and control others in order to rise to central nodal positions and, secondly, significantly shaped the structures around them in their own image during their reign. This goes most notably for the country’s two despots, but applies equally well to individuals in other parts of Guinea’s political landscape – and to future leaders and men and women of influence in the years to come.

4. Silencing Violence: Ex-militias as reserve armies and the ambiguities of debt

Authors: Mats Utas (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden) & Maya Mynster Christensen (Danish Defence College)
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Abstract
In this paper we explore the tensions between risk, profit and debt circulation that shaped ex-militias manoeuvres during the 2012 elections in Sierra Leone. With point of departure in the emic notion of ‘silencing violence’ we illuminate how ex-militias simultaneously sought
to displace and deploy violent action. Such apparently contradictory manoeuvres, we argue, are to be understood as a response to a political environment of peace influenced by ongoing processes of securitisation. In order to benefit from the emerging opportunities for profit in such a political environment, ex-militias drew on various, and at times discrepant tactics, on divergent legitimacies based on extended forms of political debt originating from both the civil war and the previous presidential election.

5. Uncertainty, Competition, and Big Man Politics: Electoral Violence in Sierra Leone

Author: Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)
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Abstract
In contrast to many other countries across the Africa continent, notably Kenya, Zimbabwe, Guinea or the Ivory Coast, the post-war elections in Sierra Leone have generally been considered a success. International and domestic election observers alike agree that the elections marked a significant step towards the consolidation of both peace and democracy.

Yet, at the same time, the general elections in both 2007 and 2012, as well as many of the bye elections across the country in the last few years, have also bore witness to a number of violent incidents ranging from riots, arson, clashes between party supporters and security elements and attacks on both candidates and voters during the campaign period, on the day of the election and in the immediate aftermath of the announcement of the election results. Importantly, there has been a clear geographical pattern to this trend, where some areas have experienced a significantly higher level of violence compared to other. How can this trend be explained? What are the causes of such incidents of electoral violence, and why are we more likely to see more election-related violence in some regions but not in others within the same country?

Based on a comparative analysis of several elections in Sierra Leone in the post-war period, this article argues that when there is a strong political competition for votes on the national level, we are more likely to see violence occurring in potential swing areas. In these areas, there is a higher degree of uncertainty about the electoral outcome, which raises the stakes of the electoral contest, and politicians are more likely to resort to violent strategies to mobilise their own supporters and intimidating those of its opponents.

6. Commercial Motor Drivers in Governance: Democratization, Transport Unions and Violence Southwestern Nigeria

Authors: Ayokule Olumuyiwa Omobowale and Olatokunbo Oriishewehimni Fayiga (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)
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Abstract
Democratization process in Southwestern Nigeria presents a unique case of politicking which involves transport unions in patronage politics and the electoral process. With members drawn predominantly from the lower class, transport unions are strategic partners to politicians and political patrons who utilize commercial drivers as foot-soldiers during election periods. Hence, every government in power takes special interest in the leadership of the transport unions as the unions somewhat play vital roles in who gets to power and the maintenance of social order. This paper is specially focused on the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) and governance in Southwestern Nigeria. The research examined the (1) the structure of the transport union, (2) the network between political elite and the transport union leadership and (3) the relevance of the transport union to electoral conflict. Empirical data were collected through indepth interview and key informant interview with drivers and politicians in Ibadan, Nigeria.

7. Land Grievances and Electoral Violence in Côte d’Ivoire and Kenya

Authors: Kathleen F. Klaus and Matthew I. Mitchell (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA)
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Abstract
A growing literature examines the logics that motivate elites to resort to violence during elections. What many studies overlook is the local-level process and dynamics of election-time mobilization. How and when are elites able to convince followers to fight? When is collective participation thinkable, necessary, and feasible? This paper provides a framework for theorizing the sources of violent mobilization during election campaigns. In environments where access to land and property is highly contentious and deeply politicized, we argue that land grievances can provide office-seeking elites a powerful discursive and ideological device to frame the logic of electoral violence. Yet counter to many arguments that view electoral violence as the product of elite logics or institutional factors, we argue that the escalation of electoral violence is a joint production of the strategic interests of elites and ordinary citizens. In theorizing the relationship between land grievances and electoral violence, the paper draws on the recent post-electoral crises in Kenya (2007–2008) and Côte d’Ivoire (2010–2011). Using insights from in-depth field work in both countries, the paper examines a range of cases at the sub-national level where land grievances produced high levels of electoral violence and where sources of restraint prevented the escalation of violence. This approach allows us to examine the micro-level dynamics and causal mechanisms linking contested claims over land with electoral violence and to determine why land grievances give rise to electoral violence in certain contexts but not others.
9. Governing African Cities: Hybrid Arrangements and Data for Development

Panel Organiser: Rivke Jaffe, University of Amsterdam, Holland

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This panel explores changing modes of urban governance as city authorities struggle to respond to ongoing urban transformations. The governance of rapidly changing African cities is often achieved through a heterogeneous assemblage of actors, technologies and policy models, in which formal and informal modes of governance are imbricated. In this panel, we are specifically interested in exploring the ways in which a range of state and non-state actors and institutions come together in urban governance, in sectors such as security, housing and environmental service provision. We focus on hybrid governance arrangements that involve politicians, policymakers and bureaucrats as well as international financial institutions, NGOs, corporate actors, and even criminal organizations. What are the implications of the pluralization and privatization of public goods provision for efficiency, transparency and accountability?

Beyond an interest in the composition and operation of such public/private, formal/informal arrangements, we are also interested in exploring the politics of knowledge in urban governance. What power struggles surround the collection and use of digital data and spatial data in the name of ‘development’ and ‘urban best practices’? Who owns new sets of “big data” and who has access to it? We are interested in the opportunities that exist for democratic modes of participatory mapping or counter-mapping, as well as the ways that these data sets result in surveillance. New forms of data, whether produced ‘from below’ or ‘from above’, can both be a source of power in community dynamics and the citizen participation in urban processes, and tie into existing categorizations that delineate specific groups of beneficiaries and exclude others.

PAPERS

1. Co-production of public services as a way to govern informal settlements in Africa

Author: Kei Otsuki (United Nations University, Japan)

Abstract

This paper proposes to explore how to establish inclusive and transformative urban governance in Africa through the lens of public service provision of water and sanitation in slums. Sub-Saharan African countries have about 60 per cent of the urban populations in slums where sanitation coverage is below 50 per cent. The majority of slum dwellers use unimproved informal facilities, and an estimated 25 per cent still practice open defecation. This situation led the United Nations to brand African slums and their sanitation crisis a “global scandal” of poverty and neglect.

At the same time, this official neglect has led non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) to strive to improve and implement informal facilities, with increasing international donor funding and with a new generation of collaborative governmental officials and traditional leaders. Proliferation of the informal facilities have been reshaping the focus on sanitation in African cities from a lack of public services to a co-production of public services involving various actors.

Drawing on a research conducted in Nairobi, Kenya, this paper argues that the process of the service co-production indicates potential pathways to establish hybrid urban governance arrangements that could be genuinely inclusive. The paper highlights an importance of conceptualizing water and sanitation as socially embedded infrastructure in a heuristically identified placemaking and citizenship building context. The focus on embeddedness however entails solid attentions to be paid to gendered dimensions and power relations within a slum. Recognizing these dimensions opens up new space for situating knowledge about locations and management modalities of the sanitation facilities, indirectly indicating a way to effect hybrid governance.

2. Governing Security Together: Struggle over Knowledge, Direction and Representation between Gangs, Police and NGOs in Nairobi

Author: Naomi van Stapele (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Abstract

Security is high on the agenda of local governments in African cities, a focus that has become all the more more critical in Nairobi in view of recent terrorist attacks. Government authorities, scholars and development pract-
tioners are struggling to grasp current events and develop conceptual frameworks, policies, and interventions to address the deteriorating security situation in Kenyan cities. This paper explores a case in which gangs and former gang leaders set out to work together with police forces to improve security in Nairobi’s informal settlements, under the auspices of the Nairobi City Council and the Safer Nairobi Initiative (part of the UNHABITAT safer cities program). In contrast to dominant views, gangs are important security providers in informal settlements in Kenyan cities and at times even protect local citizens from state-actors such as the police. The intention of the project was to check present police reforms ‘from below’ (as part of the current process devolution of government) and decrease the unlawful killings of young and poor men and overall harassment of community residents. Yet, the government organisations and NGOs involved want to use this project to (also) implement the highly controversial Nyumba Kumi programme. This is a state project that aims to install local resident-informants in every neighbourhood in Kenya to guard ten neighbouring houses each and work together with local government authorities. Though initiated by gangs, the project is in danger of being appropriated by the local government and associated NGOs. This paper discusses how this case can help to bring into view the challenges that emerge when state and non-state actors (including criminal groups) come together in governing security in an African city. How do these arrangements mediate power struggles, and how are these struggles tied to issues of determining the directions of the project, developing and ‘owning’ knowledge (i.e. ideas, contacts and ←digital– data about local social dynamics) and about (social) media representations? What are the implications of all this for the implementation and impact of this and other similar projects in African cities? And, how do these power dynamics reproduce existing categories and exclusion mechanisms this project intended to transcend?

3. A Whispers Game: Mediated information and local power dynamics in Delft, Cape Town

Author: Marianne Millstein (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)
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Abstract
In this paper I explore how information works as a mediation of power in the politics of housing in Delft, Cape Town. Delft is host community for temporary relocation areas (TRAs) as well as massive housing construction. This means that who has right to housing is a major issue in local politics. Access to and controlling information about housing resources - including information about categories and selections of beneficiaries meant to achieve ‘just’ housing allocation - is critical for city authorities and housing development agents as well as for groups claiming legitimacy as voices of the community. The ways information is constructed and disseminated work as technologies for the exercise of power, but these are not solely acts of state authorities. Local activists and groups are also involved in these processes, and can use and (re) construct information in particular ways with various effects. What emerges resembles a local version of the Whispers game, where information is produced, retold and reinterpreted. The ideals of immediacy, in this case exemplified by expectations ‘from above’ that information in the name of transparency can be provided and disseminated in neutral ways in the community, clashes with the messy reality of mediations in everyday life (Mazzarella 2006). The concept of mediation is useful to think about how citizens make sense of their daily realities. This implies that while information is a means through which power works, it is in turn mediated through residents own perceptions and experiences. These mediated representations shape and are shaped by local identities and inform perceptions of a non-responsive state, and of who are to be trustworthy mediators in relation to other actors in civil and political society. I end the paper with a reflection over the recent wave of protests as a politics of immediacy in response to the mediated exercises of power.

4. Housing Schemes and Hybrid Scheming: Crisis and Changing Modes of Urban Governance in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Author: Amanda Hammar (Copenhagen University, Denmark)
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Abstract
In a context of ongoing political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe since 2000, marked not least by the aftermath of mass urban displacements, predominantly formal modes of urban governance from previous eras have been confronted with a combination of quite extreme physical, political, social and economic challenges. These have brought into play new dynamics of contestation and alliance between a range of state, party and other non-state actors concerning various material and symbolic resources. Focusing on the realm of high-density housing provision in one neighbourhood of Zimbabwe’s second city, Bulawayo, this paper explores the articulation between diverse actors – such as central state officials, municipal housing officers, local councillors, political parties, private sector service providers, community activists and other brokers– and their differential relationship to, production and/or use of ‘data’ (such as ‘housing lists’) to control and legitimise allocations and access to housing. This provides at least one entry point into tracing emergent forms of hybrid urban governance in contemporary African cities marked by crisis, additionally prompting an examination of their implications for urban citizenship.
10. Governing Conflict and Peace: The Roles of International, National, Regional and Local Actors

Panel Organiser: Kristine Höglund, Uppsala University, Sweden

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More and more, observers attribute intractable armed violence to weak, fragile, biased or incapacitated ‘exogenous’ actors involved in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, or regional and national agents of the state. Such outsiders are often described as approaching peacemaking tasks or peacebuilding objectives ineffectively, as hindering or hurting the chances for peace. However, there is significant empirical variation in so-called outsider approaches and accordingly, their record of contributing to the end of war, violence against civilians, conflict termination or simply, the settling of volatile political hostilities. Moreover, who is an outsider? Since contemporary African conflicts have been shown to display cross-border and regional dimensions, attaching rigid boundaries between outsiders and more locally-rooted agents can result in oversimplification. Also, parties to conflict can manipulate or harm outsiders (and civilian non-combatants) in order to strengthen their own chances for victory or meet other interests. At the same time, too much focus on the outsider role tends to ignore the efficacy of local actors, who also influence law, order and peace and security.

Prompted to address these limitations, this panel, “Governing Conflict and Peace: The Roles of International, National, Regional and Local actors”, offers theoretical and empirical insights about various protagonists in African peace and security crises. Panelists will, respectively, assess the roles of international, national, regional and local actors. Key objectives of the panel include establishing the determinants of effective institutional design of interventions; understanding variation between rural and urban settings; presenting the effects on targeted violence; exploring the interests of local authorities; and providing systematic comparison of different strategies in the context of communal resource conflicts, peacekeeping, electoral violence and rebel insurgency.

PAPERS SESSION 1

1. Armed Groups, Civilians, and Muddy Roads: The Conduct of Political Mass Murder

Author: Thorsten Rogall (Stockholm University, Sweden)
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Abstract
Do political elites use armed groups to foster civilian participation in violence or are civilian killers driven by unstoppable ancient hatred? If armed groups matter, how do they mobilize civilians? And are armed groups allocated strategically to maximize civilian participation? We empirically investigate these three questions using village-level data from the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. To establish causality, we exploit cross-sectional variation in armed groups’ transport costs: the shortest distance to the main road interacted with rainfall along the dirt track between main road and village. Guided by a simple model, we find that (1) one additional militiaman resulted in 7.2 more civilian perpetrators, (2) for the majority of villages armed groups acted as role models and civilians followed orders but in villages with high-levels of cross-ethnic marriages civilians had to be forced to join, (3) armed group leaders were rational actors who strongly responded to exogenous transport prices and dispatched their men strategically to maximize civilian participation. These results pass several indirect tests regarding the exclusion restriction and are also relevant for other cases of state-sponsored murder, in particular the killings of the Jews in Lithuania in the 1940s. Finally, a back-of-the-envelope calculation suggests that a military intervention targeting the various armed groups could have stopped the genocide.

2. External Involvement in Somali State-Building: the nature of the ‘external’ and space for constructive engagement

Author: Michael Walls (University College London, UK)
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Abstract
In 2011, some conservative UK media ran a story, based on the work of a US PhD student, arguing that Somaliland has achieved stability and development in the absence of external assistance, thus showing that aid doesn’t work. More surprisingly, the liberal Guardian newspaper joined in, contrasting Somaliland’s position with the lavish funding received by far more dysfunctional governments in southern Somalia. Local media also often carry articles urging the outside world to ‘leave Somalis alone’.

In reality, Somaliland is an excellent case study of a more complex interplay between internal and external actors, boasting many links with a diversity of ‘outsid-
ers’ and receiving almost 40% of the ODA assigned to Somalia. A thousand years of trade and a sizeable diaspora mean that links between Somaliland and external agents are extensive and of critical importance.

This paper proposes to explore both the nature of the ‘external’ and to build on an earlier paper that examined some traditional and contemporary spaces in which ‘outsiders’ are able to play constructive roles in supporting Somali state formation. This includes women’s involvement in political disputes, as well as the elders of clan groups who are not themselves involved in conflict acting as mediators. Islam is also an important part of Somali society, and many not of Somali origin have played key roles in the introduction of varied traditions throughout Somali history. The diaspora itself should be seen to some extent as ‘external’. While ethnically Somali, many returning diaspora are viewed with ambivalence by those that reside within Somaliland. Finally, the international diplomatic and donor communities, too, are external agents (though often ethnically Somali). The paper will explore both the nature of these roles and the implications for the kind of engagements that are more or less likely to prove supportive of durable state-building.

3. The Role of Local Businesspersons in Post-War Reconstruction and Peace-Building: the Case of Gulu

Author: Malin J. Nystrand (Gothenburg University, Sweden)
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Abstract
The role of private sector actors in conflict and post-conflict societies has received some attention in recent years, either focusing on how private sector actors may benefit from a war economy and thereby fuel war and conflict or on their potential contribution to economic recovery and to peace-building in general. Suggestions of how business can, do and should relate to peace-building and act in a post-war reconstruction context abound, some prescriptive and normative, others empirically based. Few studies have, however, explored the perceptions and role of local business actors. The perspective applied in this paper is that these actors are potentially important for both economic recovery and peace-building because of their double role as economic actors and socially embedded community members.

This paper explores how and to what extent local business persons play a constructive role in post-war reconstruction and peace-building in Gulu town in northern Uganda. The local business community was not extensively involved in a war economy and Gulu could therefore be seen as a ‘best-case-scenario’ for business involvement in peace-building.

The paper shows that local business persons can play a constructive role in galvanising the local economy, for example by organising and cooperating with farmers, but that such cooperation is not always smooth in a low-trust context where land is a sensitive issue. It also shows that business persons often see their core business activities as their main contribution to society. The local business community can play a constructive role both in promoting economic development and in peace promoting advocacy, but some local businesspersons are hesitant to get involved in what is seen as political spheres.

4. Good Guys or Bad Guys? Punishing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Burundi

Author: Angela Muvumba Sellström (ACCORD, South Africa and Uppsala University, Sweden)
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Abstract
After concluding respective negotiated settlements, the government of Mozambique under Frelimo had a better record of accountability for sexual violence than Joseph Kabila’s government in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This is the puzzle. Some armed groups do not institute accountability for sexual violence after settlement.

This paper compares two rebel groups from Burundi’s civil war, the ruling National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) and the National Liberation Forces (FNL), and their prohibition of sexual violence. I present empirical material from ex-combatants of both rebel groups. The argument is that prohibition must meet four criteria in order to effectively instill a sense of accountability for wartime sexual abuse and aggression. These four criteria, clarity, costliness, depth and constancy, were effectively nurtured by FNL authorities. In contrast, the CNDD-FDD did not put in place commensurate measures. A culture of armed group impunity for sexual violence took root. The post-war governing elite in Burundi have further criminalized sexual violence. Yet, in their testimonies and in contrast to former FNL fighters, ex-CNDD-FDD soldiers seemed more confident that perpetrators of sexual violence will not be punished in Burundi. By demonstrating how armed group actors develop impunity, I find unexpected credibility in liberal tenets. Although necessary but not sufficient, legal instruments are important factors of accountability. Moreover, these instruments signal the presence of a social contract between followers and leaders of an armed movement and portend the type of accountability that armed group will foster in the post-settlement era. The paper concludes with recommendations to policymakers to redouble efforts to end impunity during and not just after war.
5. The Interface of Local and International Peacebuilding Ideas and Processes in Northern Uganda.

Author: Paul Omach (Makerere university, Uganda) pomach@yahoo.com

Abstract
The aim of this paper is to examine the interface of local and international peacebuilding ideas and practices in northern Uganda. Specifically, the paper examines the diverse local reconciliation, reintegration and resettlement ideas and processes and how they interface with external programmes and interests. Peacebuilding involves complex interface of local and external ideas and interests, which infuses and changes both local and external ideas. This interface produces outcomes that are at variance with intended aims and goals.

Peacebuilding includes a variety of activities and goals depending on competing ‘ideas of peace’; the dominant of which is ‘liberal peace’. In recent years, the need to pay attention to local contexts of peacebuilding has been emphasized. However, the increased focus on locals raises issues. Locals just like external ideas and actors are varied. Locals and externals are not necessarily distinct. External ideas and interests interact with, influence and change local ideas and power structures. Local ideas, actors and contexts also reinterpret external peacebuilding ideas. This produces complex outcomes that are at odds with intended goals.

In northern Uganda, local actors; traditional authorities, institutions of chiefs, clan heads, elders, religious leaders and the community have been engaged in peacebuilding basing on customary values. They have promoted reconciliation and reintegration of former combatants and persons returning from rebel captivity and resettlement of formerly displaced persons into villages. External actors; especially international NGOs, bilateral and bilateral donors have supported local actors through, among others financially. External actors have also relied on local actors to implement externally designed peacebuilding programmes. Taking the case of northern Uganda, this article examines the interaction of local reconciliation, reintegration and resettlement ideas, actors and interests and external ideas and interests.

6. Local Peacebuilding in Urban and Rural Contexts: Comparative Evidence from Kenya

Author: Emma Elfversson (Uppsala University, Sweden) emma.elfversson@pcr.uu.se

Abstract
Local violent conflicts may cause high death tolls and severe disruption of livelihoods in both urban and rural contexts. However, the role of different state and non-state actors in addressing and resolving these conflicts remains understudied. Recently, a growing scholarly attention has focused on the role of customary conflict resolution mechanisms in addressing communal conflicts in a rural context, for instance in cases of violent conflict over access to land and water between pastoral and agricultural communities. Findings are still inconclusive, however, as to when and how such initiatives are successful. At the same time, the post-electoral violence in Kenya in 2008 drew attention to the question of how to address and manage conflicts between communities living closely together in cities, and to what extent practices that function in a rural context may do so in the urban context as well. Arguably, a crucial factor is the actors that drive these processes, and the extent to which they – and the methods they use – are perceived as legitimate by the conflict parties. The position and strategies of the state in relation to the local conflict strongly affects the space given to other actors in this setting, and the roles they can play. This paper uses systematic comparison of conflict resolution processes in Nairobi, Nakuru and Kerio Valley, Kenya, to analyse the role of state and local actors in local conflict resolution in urban and rural contexts.

7. Crisis of Governance in South Sudan: Electoral Politics in the World’s Newest Nation

Author: Kristine Höglund (Uppsala University, Sweden) kristine.hoglund@pcr.uu.se

Abstract
On 15 December 2013 fighting broke out in South Sudan’s capital Juba. In less than a month thousands of people were killed. The igniting factor for the clashes was an alleged coup attempt. However, this disaster is embedded in a crisis of governance that has been ongoing for several years. A critical – but severely underresearched – aspect of the violence that has devastated South Sudan in recent years relates to elections. Elections scheduled for 2015 is a crucial component of the current crisis as it broke out in relation to a contested national convention of SPLM, South Sudan’s ruling party. In fact, also the previous elections – that took place in 2010 – contributed to several armed conflicts. Not only did losers in this election, such as George Athor and David Yauyau launched rebellions, the election was also preceded by extremely violent communal conflicts that were clearly connected to the violence. This paper examines South Sudan’s conflicts and emphasizes the electoral component. It does so by applying a conceptual framework underlining three sets of factors which contribute to explaining the violence-election nexus in South Sudan. First, the actors involved in the elections are all former combatants, which increase the risk that they will choose a violent path. Second, institutions are very weak in South Sudan and their ability to decrease the risk for violence is low. Third, the stakes
in the elections in South Sudan is high since a position within the government is principally the only manner to safeguard political and economic influence.

8. Exploring urban protests in South Africa

Author: Anna Jarstad (Uppsala University)
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Abstract
How can we understand local political protests in South Africa? South Africa is a relatively new democracy, or rather a democratizing state, as democracy is not yet fully consolidated at all levels of society. This paper begins to explore local protests in Durban and Cape Town. In a newly started project various reasons for protest (including transnational influence) and the actions and responses conducted by formal institutions such as political parties, police and government will be investigated.


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Abstract
There is no doubt that corruption control is one of the problems which Tanzanians want the state to address. However, much of the efforts by the state against corruption in Tanzania and indeed many developing countries in general have centered around and biased towards the development angle than other equally important angles such as security and sovereignty. This state bias, it is argued, underrates the potential effects of creeping corruption on the security of the country and hence compromising the security and wellbeing of Tanzanians regardless of their economic status or position. This article seeks to overcome this limitation and develop a keen argument on corruption-security nexus and why states should treat corruption as a security issue. Doing so, it is argued in the paper, will help corruption and security watchdog institutions in the country to note the emerging risk in the country, given the security challenges facing East Africa as a region. It is emphasized that the approach will make the general population more vigilant to participate in anti-corruption initiatives.
11. African Community Citizenship and Regional Integration. How to Resolve the Question of Governance in the African Union

Panel Organisers: Charly Delmas Nguefack Tsafack, International Relations Institute of Cameroon

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The concept of citizenship was born with the ancient city. Citizenship, Politeia in Greece Civitas in Rome, is a quality that gives the right to participate in managing the city’s affairs, conceived as a social space selected and governed by the fundamental principle of equality. Fully integrated into the political community, citizens were equal in front of the law and enjoyed an equal power to intervene in collective decisions. However, all citizens of the city do not have access to this quality. Rome has constituted another step of citizenship by establishing the principle that foreigners could access to a society defined in legal term. The Romans founded here by the idea that, as a rule, citizenship was open and had a universal vocation. Appeared in 1984, at the European Council at Fontainebleau, the idea of community citizenship had progressed with Adonino report and at the European Council in Dublin in December 1990 after which the Heads of State and Government of the EEC were explicitly intended to give political and social rights to the community citizen.

This panel wants to answer the following main question: How does the institution of an African citizenship strengthen regional integration in Africa? The literature on the African Union citizenship is rare and almost non-existent. Indeed, such a study on Africa has so far never been given special attention by researchers. This panel would therefore address these shortcomings by introducing the African citizenship as a means of integration of the African people. It will present arguments on the importance of citizenship in the African integration process. The panel will present the conditions for acquiring the status of African Community citizen and will show that the African Union citizenship is a catalyst for political integration which can lead to an African federal State.

PAPERS

1. The prerequisites and conditions for the establishment of an African community citizenship

Author: Nguefack Tsafack Charly Delmas (International Relations Institute of Cameroon)
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Abstract

Citizenship is a great idea and a distinctive way of thinking and evaluating the political and social membership. It refers here to a political action related to the involvement of citizens particularly concerned with public affairs. The dream of a permanent agora underlies the idea of a permanent political mobilization, where reasonable citizens constantly deliberate on their grievances and aspirations, comparing laws and their applications. Modern forms of citizenship remain nowadays inseparable from the nation-State. However, the nation-State is in crisis. It is no longer a closed and sovereign entity, hence the resurgence of community citizenship within regional integration organizations. The dissociation of economic and political spaces firstly, decoupling notions of market and nation on the other hand, the increasing ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of national populations tend to promote entry into the era of post national citizenship. In a space searching for its integration as Africa, it is necessary to think about building a community citizenship. Appeared in 1984, at the European Council at Fontainebleau, the idea of community citizenship had progressed with Adonino report and at the European Council in Dublin in December 1990 after which the Heads of State and Government of the EEC had explicitly intended to give political and social rights to the community citizen. Studies on community citizenship focus overwhelmingly on European Union; the African Union is generally overlooked. This communication aims to define and lay the theoretical bases of the African community citizenship. It presents the conditions for acquiring the status of community citizen and shows that the principles of free movement and non-discrimination in the African regional space are prerequisites for the establishment of an African citizenship. The article concludes that the establishment of a community citizenship is necessary for the democratic governance of the African Union.
2. All Africans: A Case for An African Union Citizenship Grounded in a Non-state Political Theoretical Paradigm

Author: Odomaro Mubangizi (Capuchin Institute of Philosophy and Theology, Ethiopia)
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Abstract
The charter that created the African Union came into effect in 2002. It is now 12 years in place but most Africans would not be sure whether they know the rationale and ultimate role of the AU in promoting good governance, peace, security and progress on the continent. Annual summits take place in Addis Ababa, and several resolutions are taken, but it is though the respective heads of states just return to their colonially engineered states to resume business as usual. As a result, poverty, conflicts (both internal and regional), bad governance continue to plague the majority of the African countries with a few exceptions. Of late emerging economies such as China and India deal with Africa as if it were a one country—this could be the time for Africans to begin envisioning a new continental political architecture, with an African citizenship. I want to argue that the failure of the respective African states to eradicate poverty, end armed conflicts, and address governance issues is caused by lack of a common regional integration model that takes an African Union citizenship seriously, but at the same time respecting the role of civil society and faith-based organizations, that predate the state in Africa. It is evident that AU and sub-regional integration groups such as EAC, SADC, ECOWAS, as well NEPAD, are designed and operationalized from a statist political philosophical framework. And since the African states are largely contested as a colonial creation, the AU cannot successfully implement the institution of an African citizenship without acknowledging the role of and giving space to non-state actors in AU and other regional integration models and initiatives. This paradigm shift will require rethinking the relationship between the state and non-state actors in Africa.

3. The participation of the African citizens to the democratic functioning of the African Union

Author: Yanick Jacquinos Janal Libom (International Relations Institute of Cameroon)
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Abstract
This article focuses on the issue of citizen’s participation in the construction of African regional integration. Since the independence of African States, regional integration is recorded in line with the priorities of the continent. The political and economic integration has been enrolled in a community agenda. But the notion of community citizenship seems to be forgotten. However the community citizenship appears as one of the best way of integrating the people of the continent. This study presents the African citizenship as an instrument of participatory democracy on the African scale. The communication aims to present community citizenship as the right way for the participation of the African people in the regional integration process in the continent. The paper shows that this participatory democracy must be supported by the right to vote and eligibility for African citizen to local elections in the host countries as well as the establishment of a right to petition and a citizen’s initiative within the African Union.
12. **Borderless ECOWAS: Exploring the Process of Socio-economic Integration in West Africa**

**Panel Organiser:** Adebusuyi Isaac Adeniran, Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria

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The aim of transmutation from an ‘ECOWAS of States’ to an ‘ECOWAS of People’ in West African sub-region has remained elusive due to prioritization of national interests over larger regional interests by member states. Over time and space, different immigration policies and multiple monetary zones have hindered cross-border socio-economic interactions within the sub-region. Since previous empirical efforts have largely neglected how the migration process is sustained at ‘home’ and ‘abroad’, this panel explores the significance of informal cross-border networking in the process of identity integration within the ECOWAS sub-region. For instance, cross-border interactive processes along the Nigerian-Ivorian migratory corridor by the Ejigbo-Yoruba (Nigerians) have persistently enabled the process of regional integration and inter-community development. Through ‘ECOWAS’ vehicular inscription, knowledge of indigenous languages across borders, and male intermarriage with female Ivorian, immigration barriers are jointly subjugated thus enabling the realisation of the ECOWAS borderless framework. Subsisting interpersonal ties amongst the Ejigbo-Yoruba have facilitated the ‘familial’ pattern of the migratory network. Such ‘familial’ pattern is necessitated by the economic survival of migrants, which presents a two-face socio-political context wherein the migrants overtly identify with the Ivorian society and covertly network with the Nigerian community to avoid negative sanctions. Back in Nigeria, the covert identification sustains community relevance and acceptance as a ‘social security’ for investment, family and dependants, and possible eventual relocation due to ill-health, old age and/or death since internalised identity demands burial at Ejigbo in Nigeria. The migratory behaviour of the Ejigbo-Yoruba has accounted for the harmonisation of what would have ordinarily been distinctive dual identities within the transnational social space. Hence, such informal cross-border networking should be promoted in order to attain the goal of a borderless ECOWAS sub-region.

**PANEL SESSION CANCELLED**
Like all researchers, the Africa scholar is/should be deeply aware that every dimension of his/her research is informed by power relations, including the research design and the gathering of data in the field. Yet, when analysing power relations in methods sections, they appear limited to certain dimensions of research, such as the relations between researchers and those “researched upon”, or the effects of (self)censorship in the face of power asymmetries in the research context. This leaves vast areas of the ways in which power shapes field research and its methodologies unexplored: from the relations at home (e.g. negotiations about temporary exemption from the multiple exigencies of everyday life), to those in the academy (e.g. the relations between supervisors and doctoral students, between men and women), to those in the field (e.g. the relations between the often Western researchers and African research assistants, brokers and interpreters). While veiled or barely visible in the research text, the “hidden transcripts” of these power relations do shine through. We invite contributions that help unveiling them; that critically reflect upon the multiple ways in which power relations imbue our methodological choices and affect their implementation and the research outcomes. We especially encourage contributions that are not purely “researcher-centric” but that also explore the perspectives of other participants and reflect upon the wider ramifications of their argument for academic praxis.

**PAPERS**

1. **Complex positionality: Reflections on fieldwork among Rwandophone Congolese Refugees in Rwanda**  
**Author:** Furaha Umutoni Alida (University of Gothenburg, Sweden)  
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**Abstract**  
This paper reflects on issues around identity, positionality and power-relations that emerged while conducting fieldwork 2012 and 2013 in Rwanda among Congolese Rwandophone refugees in camps. The fieldwork was conducted for my PhD project which attends to identity among Rwandophone Congolese. As is explained in the paper, originally the fieldwork was intended to be conducted in DRC (Masisi and Goma), but the outbreak of the M23 rebellion and the security situation did not allow me to go there. While all fieldwork are shaped by power relations linked to the positionality of the researcher, my fieldwork was particularly difficult both due to the conflict dynamics between the DRC and Rwanda and my complex positionality. In addition to conducting research on identity among refugees in a host-country that was accused of backing the M23 rebel group; I was also a Rwandan citizen. However, I also had a similar position as the refugees in that I was born in and grew up in the DRC. Yet, in addition to this I was also a PhD student living in and conducting my PhD research in Europe (Sweden). This complex positionality made certain questions particularly intense: Who do the research subject think I am? How does that shape what they tell me? What do they expect from me? Does my positionality as an “outsider within” provide me with particular responsibilities towards the research subjects? In this paper I will reflect upon these (and other) questions. I will argue that my position as a Rwandan born in the Congo could be perceived as one of an “outsider within”. Yet, in certain contexts it appeared as if the research subjects primarily related to me as someone living in Europe. In that sense, my field-research opened us similar issues around the workings of power-inequalities that are often associated with fieldwork conducted by Northern researchers in conflict zones.

**Author:** Perpetual Crentsil (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)  
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**Abstract**  
Ethnographic fieldwork on people’s health and interaction often also concerns unexpected events and encounters that may significantly change or somehow affect the research methodology, implementation and outcomes. The
whole point of ‘going native’, a key essence of understand-
ing the ‘other’, involves conducting in-depth interviews
and observations in particular social contexts and social
relations in order to describe deeply and meaningfully.
Health/healing and illness, especially HIV/AIDS, are
highly sensitive issues frequently charged with ideol-ogies,
personal convictions and acts affecting gender relations
and sexual intimacies within social, economic, religious
and political processes. AIDS in an era of globalization
and neoliberal ideals has seen pressure by human rights
activists and others for politically-correct language and
practices, including those involving patients.

This paper discusses how refusal by respondents—pa-
tients, healers (Western experts and spiritualists), staff
of organizations working in affected communities, etc., —
to grant interviews or to be observed affected my research
methodological choices, implementation and outcomes.
Using data from my ethnographic research on HIV/
AIDS and medical systems in Ghana since 1999, the
paper shows how the researcher is entangled in research
ethics and moral rationales as people undoubtedly tried
to protect their statuses and professions. What became of
information from gossips, confidential (intimate/sensi-
tive) accounts, secrets, and acts of propaganda or lobbying
revealed by others? The paper relates health research in
Ghana (and family involvement in my experiences as a
native studying the phenomenon ‘at home’) to cultural
patterns, processes of transformation (continuity and
change) and ways in which power relations/asymmetries
shaped the research process.

3. What Differences Matter?: Research
Relations, Reflexivity and Fieldwork in
Africa

Author: Marsha Henry (London School of Economics
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Abstract
This paper is concerned to critically assess the political
depth of accounts of fieldwork dilemmas and challenge-
es in African research contexts produced by a variety
of African scholars. In particular, I trace the growing
concern with, and reflections on, power differences be-
tween researchers and participants, and argue that recent
scholarship, particularly that distinguished by its concern
with gender, works to cover over rather than uncover, the
structural inequalities that underpin global fieldwork re-
lations and the African field site. I use the example of the
enduring figure of the white, female fieldworker, and re-
fect on the limitations of fieldwork accounts in regard to
who can be a knowing subject, and which axes of differ-
ence matter in the research process. In doing so, I call for
a repoliticisation of fieldwork, which makes visible power
relations on a global scale and acknowledges, rather than
obscures, the historical legacies of fieldwork in Africa.

4. What is in a name?

Author: Diana Szanto ((University of Sciences Pécs,
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Abstract
Disability is a hot topic in present day Sierra Leone: it is
broadly discussed publicly (often mediated by the media);
it is also kept high on the political agenda - both by the
government and by international organizations in charge
of orienting public policies. The issue of disability is
important for a large number of actors: the State, inter-
national organisations, local NGOs, umbrella organi-
sations, DPOs, individual people with disability - and
researchers. Each of these players vindicates the right to
define the scope, the meaning and the implications of
disability in a series of discursive and performative acts. In
a context, where - according to the opinion of the street -
“everything has become political”, speaking about disabil-
ity is not without dangers. The paper examines the many
ways power enmeshes the field of disability, with a special
attention to the changing relations between the different
actors, covering a period of five years, from 2008 until
today. Although it does not focus exclusively on the role
of the researcher in this dynamic, presenting her position
as one of the possible positions, eventually it poses the
question of the „transportability” of the research results.
The idea of taking back the results to the field opens a
series of interrogations: What are the chances to voice
dissent opinions in a public sphere where the freedom
of speech is visibly diminishing? How to claim the right
to define disability as an outsider – not only to disability
but to most of the power games? Who is the research for,
after all? There are probably many conflicting answers
to these questions. Developing some of them might also
help us to better understand what disability stands for in
the contemporary political life of a post war West-African
country, undergoing quick economic and social recon-
struction.
What Happens to Local Governance in Africa and How Can It Be Strengthened?

Panel Organiser: Göran Hydén, University of Florida, USA

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In the last couple of decades decentralization has been pursued as a global mantra, albeit often with more attention to prescriptive models than political reality. This is particularly the case in Africa where decentralization approaches have produced few sustainable outcomes. This panel will examine the reasons why results have been so meagre and what can be done to change that. It will look into the relevance of conventional models in contexts where politics is based on patronage rather than policy. It will provide empirical evidence to suggest what works and what does not work. It will be both analytical and prescriptive without proposing blueprints. In line with emerging thinking at global level, as manifest for example in the discourse on the U.N. post-2015 development agenda, it will emphasize the importance of context and the development of measures of improvement that take into consideration not how a country compares with others but how far it has come along a governance and development path that begins at home, i.e. with the situation that started at an appropriately selected baseline point. Presentations in this panel will represent a cross-section of academic and practical experience that should make this panel of interest to researchers and policy practitioners alike.

PAPERS SESSION 1

1. Ruling the Locality: Local Governments and National Politics in Post-Colonial Uganda.

Author: Elizabeth Laruni (College of Humanities, UK)
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Abstract

Ethnic conflict in post-independence Uganda was a consequence of the confrontation between strong ethnically divided local institutions and the postcolonial push for political centralisation, under the guise of nation building. To strengthen one, the other had to be weakened. Post-independence, Ugandan politicians who had succeeded within local polities were elevated to represent their various regional and ethnic groups on the national stage. However, these politicised ethnic demarcations were not, and should not, be considered simply as a product of the Ugandan post-colonial state. Rather they were a continuation of pre-colonial and colonial political structures that had emphasised local governance, ethnicities and the ‘tribe.’ These were the same structures of power that were left embedded within Ugandan politics at the eve of independence.

This paper will seek to highlight persistent patterns of political engagement between local and national government institutions in postcolonial Uganda, by exploring the legacy of the British Native Administration and its ethos of ‘divide and rule’. It will argue that the current trend of districticisation is a continuation of colony policies that were used to contain potential threats against the national administrative body from the locality. However, the historic pattern of utilising cultural institutions and ethnic/regional identities to make economic and political demands against the national government, also serves to reinstate the politics of decentralisation, whilst emphasising the power of local political elites. More broadly, this paper will argue that this exclusive symbiotic relationship between Ugandan local governments and the political centre continues to hinder the development of strong and representative local governments in Uganda.

2. ‘The District Belongs to the Sons of the Soil’: Decentralisation and the Entrenchment of Ethnic Exclusion in Uganda

Author: Jimmy Spire Ssentongo (Uganda Martyrs University/ Makerere University)
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Abstract

Decentralisation has been idealised as one of the vital governance mechanisms for taking services closer to the people. In Africa, Uganda’s decentralised framework has been noted as one of the good models through which the ideals of decentralisation can be achieved. It has been a popular assumption in Uganda that decentralisation of decision-making powers and the management of resources to smaller units would enhance service delivery. However, the potential of decentralisation to realise the above ideal turned out to be conditional upon the context, especially – in this case – its political ramifications. Among other unfortunate peculiarities of decentralisation in Uganda is that, as was done by the colonial administration, districts...
3. Everyone’s Turn to Eat: County Level Politics in Kenya after Devolution

Authors: Agnes Cornell (Aarhus University, Denmark) and Michelle D’Arcy (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)

Abstract

For the first time on March 4, 2013 Kenyans voted for county governors. Devolution has significantly changed fiscal and administrative organization, but has it led to changes in politics? Has it empowered people at the local level, engendered broad based development and improved service delivery? Or has it replicated patronimial, clientelistic and ethnically entrenched dynamics on a local stage? We explore these issues by looking at the election campaigns and mobilization strategies of those seeking election as governor in four case study counties: Nakuru, Kiambu, Mombasa, and Kilifi. Using original primary data from interviews with candidates and their campaign teams, we establish the kind of campaign strategies employed – whether ethnic and clientelist or broad-based - and corroborate our findings with aggregate data from all 47 counties. We find that the most successful campaigns employed clientelist and ethnically based mobilization strategies, suggesting continuity in political dynamics, but that devolution has also brought new intra-ethnic and intra-county divisions to the fore, a potential source of change in future. The success of candidates with clientelist campaigns suggests that, for the Kenyan electorate, devolution has been seen as ‘everyone’s turn to eat’.

4. Have the local government reforms in Tanzania contributed to a more democratic process at the local level in Tanzania?

Authors: Jonas Ewald (Linneaus University, Sweden and Robert Mhamba (University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania)

Abstract

This paper present fresh field work data from four case studies carried out in January to May 2014 on to what extent the Tanzanian Local Government Reform Programmes (LGRP) 1996-2008 has brought about more democratic decision making processes. The main findings point to that even if the local government has well-elaborated structures for governance and democratic participation from the sub-village/street to the district level, the outcomes of the LGR on improving the democratic processes at the local level has been limited. We examine to what extent various actors at various levels can exercise horizontal and vertical accountability. Our findings indicate that the local government reforms have inadequately changed the existing power relations, political elite interests and ideology of the political actors. Real power still lies in the hands of the ruling party elites at the National and District level and constrains power sharing at the LGA levels and at the Ward, Village and Sub-village level. The Local Government Reform has not provided adequate mechanisms, processes and Incentives to hold political elites and the duty bearers to account, neither vertically or horizontally, at the different levels of local government. Power distribution has remained Top-Down with increasing conflict of interest between the Top and the Bottom. Local governance is inadequately addressing the existing competing interests e.g. personal versus public, party versus collective, local versus national. In addition, mediating competing claims over resources remains a challenge as the local government reforms have inadequately strengthened the governance system at the local levels. One of the largest constraints is the lack of awareness, information and capacity to process information by citizens, and elected members of the political structures. The Village and in particular the Sub-village structures have, however, a huge and underestimated potential, both as entry point in the political system, and as effective mechanisms for democratic governance.

5. Local Governance In Africa: Challenges And Opportunities

Author: Göran Hydén (University of Florida, USA)
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Abstract

Few would argue with thesis that decentralization has the potential of strengthening both democratic governance and development. The challenge, however, has always
been to make it happen. The irony is that local governance was the source of democratization during late colonialism. Nationalist leaders rode the wave of success in local government authorities, cooperative societies and self-help groups. Since independence, however, all these institutions have been discouraged, even outright suppressed by central government. Why is it so difficult to promote effective decentralization in African countries?

This paper tries to problematize a set of issues that are too often treated merely in a prescriptive mode and provide a fuller understanding of why decentralization falls so much short of its potential. It examines the issue from three distinct perspectives. The first is political economy: how much is explained by the peculiarities of African economic realities characterized as they are by informality? The second is power: how much can be interpreted through a power lens? The way people approach power is itself of significance. The third is an institutional perspective: do we have an adequate appreciation of how people approach rules? The paper will discuss these issues with a view of arriving at some conclusions about what might be done to better foster democratic local governance in these countries.

Chair Session 1: Göran Hydén
Discussant Session 1: Adiam Tedros (International Center for Local Democracy)

6. Conflict Prevention in Rwanda: the Role of Local Government

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Abstract

This study’s aim is to contribute to the knowledge on decentralization and conflict prevention. The study explores violent environmental conflicts prevention taking an emphasis on post-genocide Rwanda’s decentralized local government. The decentralization policy which has been adopted by the post-Genocide Rwandan government is considered to be a channel through which sustainable development of the country can be promoted. This policy which is under implementation, was adopted with a view to empower the local communities to participate in the decision making process in issues of their concern including environmental concerns. In order to find out how decentralized local government relates to prevention of violent environmental conflicts, I employ three decentralization’s sub-concepts-devolution of powers, responsiveness and participation as operational concepts. The sub-concepts are employed in a qualitative case study of Kayonza district. Hence, the study findings presented in this paper are related to the powers devolved by the central government to the local government units, local leaders’ responsiveness to local environmental issues, and local community’s participation under decentralization process.


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Abstract

The question investigated in this article is how a nationally owned but top-down decentralisation reform, as in Rwanda, differs from an internationally driven one, as in Cambodia, in terms of local participation and downward accountability as experienced and perceived by residents and local officials. The investigation shows that national ownership does not guarantee genuine participation and accountability. Instead, we argue, there is a need to go beyond the dichotomy of national ownership/international intervention and instead indulge with the contextualised variations (of different states and societies) and general difficulties with local governance reforms.

Post-conflict Cambodia and Rwanda faced large inflows of international aid, which gradually turned from emergency, quick impact activities towards longer-term development intervention. Meanwhile, in Cambodia as well as Rwanda, far-reaching decentralisation measures were undertaken, including efforts to install administrative structures and processes in line with ideals of popular participation and downward accountability. While in Cambodia, however, the local governance reforms were initially driven by the international community, in Rwanda, they were largely motivated and determined by the central national leadership, making a point of the reforms being ‘home-grown’. Externally supported governance programmes, like development assistance in general, imply reformatory intervention. Focus is predominantly on ingraining certain norms, new institutions are set up, formal mandates and procedures defined, and organisational charts designed. However, externally driven governance reforms have been claimed to imply the imposition of artificial structures, and building on false assumptions about state-society relations. In response, there has been a call for a local-turn, taking the local experiences seriously, in defining the needs, setting up the reforms, and implement the programs. It needs to be analysed, however, if and how nationally owned reform provides better opportunities for such a local turn than internationally driven reform does.

The study is based on official documents as well as interviews with residents and local officials in Cambodia and Rwanda. The research design allows for cross-case comparison, as well as in-depth insight in each case.
8. Embedded institutions and local justice systems in land-labour disputes resolution in Kiryandongo District, Midwestern Uganda

Author: Opira Otto (Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences)
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Abstract
Uganda has been on the path of decentralisation since the late 1980s. The decentralisation agenda included the transfer of power and responsibility from the central government to the districts (local councils). Whilst significant progress has been made towards establishing new institutions, many challenges remain in making service delivery effective and local governance structures coherent. This paper examines the judicial capacity of the local councils in land and labour related disputes in multi-ethnic Kiryandongo District. Using household case studies, the paper explores whether (and how) local council courts have the capacity to contribute positively towards successful land-labour conflicts resolutions, a key component of the decentralization agenda. It questions the common view that local council systems are better placed to provide inexpensive, expedient and culturally appropriate forms of justice in Uganda. Instead argues that conventional understanding of the local council system as formal institution fails to deliver justice and protect the property rights of poor people. On the other hand, critical analysis leads to a better understanding of local dispute-resolution mechanisms, practices and principles that inform how to improve legal service delivery at the local levels. The paper concludes that informal justice system and formal dispute resolution processes are somewhat interlinked, thus making the local council courts ineffective, unsustainable and insensitive to human rights concerns.

9. Land governance and fragmented state formation in South Sudan.

Author: Sara de Simone (University of Naples, Italy)
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Abstract
South Sudan reached independence in 2011 after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the government of Sudan, bringing to an end the 22-years long civil war. The region was granted a semi-autonomous government led by the former rebel movement who had, since the 90s, declared its commitment to a decentralized system. This commitment has been—and still is—strongly supported by the international donor community, based on the idea of making the state more effective, improving service delivery and enhancing democratic participation. On the side of the SPLM, decentralization is also presented as a way to ensure “unity in diversity” and to allow all the people of South Sudan to rule themselves according to their traditions and culture and to fully benefit from peace dividends.

Besides institutional reforms, the decentralized approach to governance also influences many other aspects of the way policies are conceived and implemented. This paper focuses on the authority over land as one of these aspects. It will show how local actors negotiate their authority over land on the basis of both decentralization and land policies. The relationship between stated goals of governmental policies and the way in which they are actually appropriated in specific localities to claim access to land is central to understanding local dynamics of state formation. In the case of South Sudan, both these policies put at their core an extremely politicized idea of community. Drawing upon field research conducted between 2012 and 2013, this paper will argue that increased tensions over land access and control in the rural areas are not caused by the weak control of the state, but rather by the increasing presence and visibility of the state both as a source of legitimate authority and as a means for accessing resources.

Chair and Discussant Session 2: Göran Hydén
Rethinking ‘Land Grab’ in Africa

Panel Organisers: Eric Elong Ebolo and Andebrhan Welde Giorgis, Free University of Brussels, Belgium

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The global food and financial crisis that began in 2008 has resulted in an increased investment in land. Powerful transnational and national economic actors, from corporations to national governments and private equity funds, have sought ‘empty’ land, often in distant countries, that can serve as sites for biofuel and food production in the event of future price spikes (Borras et al, 2011: 209). This global rush, referred to as ‘land grab’, has provoked various debates: a predominant view is that the increased investments in agribusiness will reverse the long-standing under-investments in agriculture in Africa, which could help land-abundant countries to benefit from technology and employment and trigger broad-based development. Others stress that the institutional weaknesses of African governments, ill-defined property rights and poor regulations could lead to conflicts, exacerbate inequality and promote resource degradation (World Bank Report, 2010).

This panel focuses on the renewed interest in land investments in Africa, especially in the global context, by exploring the competing narratives of natural resource availability and access to land, land ownership and governance, foreign direct investment and sustainable development, the role of state and non-state actors in land deals, land politics and food security, and property rights and land ownership, among others. By examining these issues, we re-contextualise the politics of land grab in the areas of employment, human rights, poverty, gender and the dynamics of agrarian change. Furthermore, by analysing the impact of global land rush, we re-ignite the debate on the role of the state, corporations and civil society groups in considering land deals either as engines of economic growth or a threat to local livelihoods. Generally, considering the complexity and controversies associated with land grab, this panel cuts across multiple disciplines.

PAPERS SESSION 1

"ASSESSMENT OF LAND GRAB"

1. Financial Institution and Land Grabs in Africa

Author: Denis Ndode Ngalle (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)
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Abstract
This paper seeks to problematise the role of the World Bank in Africa within the land grabs-development nexus. The rush for land is seen as a strategy to address food security and poverty in Africa brought about by the 2008 global food and financial crisis. The World Bank has strongly embraced the view that formal property rights in Africa will prevent land conflicts, ensure the transfer of technology and skill, overcome long term under-investment in agriculture, allow the poor to benefit from land acquisition, boost agricultural productivity, and reduce poverty (World Bank, 2010:1). The paper attempts to critically examine how the World Bank can successfully advocate for the privatization of land in Africa in support of commercial large-scale farming without hampering small-scale farmers who depend on land for their livelihood, contributing to food insecurity, and risking environmental protection. Doing a transversal study of Africa, the paper analysis cases of land grabs and their impacts. Initial results show that—formal property rights on land do not allow the poor to access the benefits of these acquisitions in an equitable way with foreign investors; commercial agribusiness may become a problem based on the purpose and type of crop grown; spearheading land privatisation bring criticisms to the World Bank for increasing food insecurity by participating in killing small-scale farmers whom it is supposed to promote. In conclusion, the paper proposes a recasting of the land grab phenomenon: viewing land grab not as an apparatus that is heartily welcomed, but a contested tool for agricultural development and food security.

2. The business of governing land grabbing in Africa: a matter of corporate due diligence?

Authors: Genny Ngende and Patient Lwango (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)
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Abstract
Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa by multinational corporations has increased exponentially over the last twenty years and has, to a certain extent, replaced foreign aid in Africa. Given these recent developments, African states have effectively been forced to compete to attract FDIs in a variety of ways, most notably through lowering...
barriers to trade and investment. Consequently, corporate entities have had ‘carte blanche’ in the operation of their affairs. The land grab phenomenon, against the backdrop of a traditional approach to due diligence, which hinges on a shareholder perspective on gains and losses, which considers the abovementioned damages to external parties. The resultant effect is that issues such as human rights are considered to be very much a prerogative of businesses. Through these developments, a new concept of due diligence has emerged: one that has a wider rubric, inclusive of human rights.

This presentation, is therefore, hinged on demonstrating that because human rights is viewed as falling under the purview of business, land governance in Africa (specifically regarding corporate acquisitions) does not only remain with the state. It also extends to the corporate entity; thus making it a matter of due diligence.

3. Emerging Countries and Land Grab in Africa

Author: Eric Elong Ebolo (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)
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Abstract
The change of global power relations in the late 20th and 21st Centuries has led to the emergence of very important actors in foreign agribusiness schemes in Africa. Some of these countries are loosely called emerging economies; examples are China, India, South Korea, Brazil, and the Gulf States among others. Their engagement in land deals has re-configured Africa’s position in the international system especially in the wake of globalisation and its neo-liberal policies. This rush to purchase vast crop-able land in Africa is somewhat dubbed “the new Scramble for Africa.” Its attendant repercussions have not gone unnoticed: there are many new voices highlighting human and livelihood rights and the need to protect the ecosystem (Allan, 2012). This paper interrogates the agency and mechanisms used by some emerging nations to facilitate their investments in agribusiness. The study argues that large scale land based investments in Africa are mainly strategic: ensure the stability of world food prices and satisfy increase demand back home. By examining the repercussions of land deal politics of the emerging countries, the study questions the quality and robustness of governance institutions at all levels especially with the establishment of Land Policy Initiative in 2006 by UNECA, AfDB and AU. By duelling on specific case studies: Brazil, India and the Gulf states, I re-contextualise the debate on land governance and sustainable socio-economic development and equitable access to land by youths, women and the marginalized.

4. ‘Land grabbing’ or harnessing of development potential? Land-based foreign investments in Africa

Author: Franklyn Lisk (University of Warwick, UK)
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Abstract
Large-scale foreign investment in Africa’s abundant but largely underutilized arable land has been criticised by international advocacy groups NGOs such as OXFAM and GRAIN and global social movements, as well as by local activists in developing countries as ‘land grabbing’, which they claim limits access of smallholder farmers to land, deprives local people of their agro-based livelihoods and threatens local and national food security across the continent. By way of contrast, several host governments in the region and some leading international organisations and development agencies regard land-based foreign investments as beneficial for development in terms of providing the necessary capital and technological know-how for modernising Africa’s neglected agriculture, including take-off in agribusiness and agro-industrialisation which is vital for economic diversification and broad-based development. The paper/presentation will examine the global land rush from these two different perspectives. Based on available data on the activities of national governments, mainly from East Asia and Middle East, and wealthy transnational corporations that are investing in Africa’s land, the paper will analyse the development consequences and policy implications of these large-scale land acquisition from a political economy angle. It will identify motives, interests and benefits of the different actors and address the question of governance in terms of transparency and institutional arrangements to safeguard land rights and national food security, on the one hand, balanced alongside the potential benefits that can flow to Africa from the development and modernisation of the agricultural sector in terms of productive employment and income generation if land-based foreign investments are properly managed by host governments.

5. Sitting on the Sidelines: Indigenous Peoples in Africa and the Issue of Land Grab

Authors: Derek Inman and Dorothée Cambou (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)
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Abstract
In recent years, the adoption of specific instruments focusing on indigenous peoples, such as the United Dec-
that the total amount of intended land deals between management context of the Nile Basin. The article reveals deals can be understood within the transboundary water Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda and discusses how the land scale land deals taking place in Egypt, Sudan, South This article explores the scope and magnitude of large-Abstract

The purpose of this presentation will to examine indigenous peoples’ land rights and their application in Africa considering the phenomenon of land grabbing taking place throughout the Continent. To that end, this presentation will: provide an overview of the development of indigenous peoples’ land rights in the international arena, with particular focus on the International Labour Organization Conventions, jurisprudence from the United Nations treaty bodies, and regional perspectives emanating from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights; analyze the concept of indigenous peoples in Africa; and conclude with some remarks on land grab in Africa and the (in)compatibility of these practices with emerging standards on indigenous rights such as free, prior and informed consent.

PAPERS SESSION 2 “CASE STUDIES”

6. Dealing with water – emerging land investments and the hydropolitical landscape of the Nile Basin

Author: Emil Sandström (The Nordic Africa Institute and The Swedish University of Agricultural Science)
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Abstract
This article explores the scope and magnitude of large-scale land deals taking place in Egypt, Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda and discusses how the land deals can be understood within the transboundary water management context of the Nile Basin. The article reveals that the total amount of intended land deals between 2008-2013 among the five studied riparian countries comprise an area of more than eight million hectares and that Egyptian actors have been involved in land deals in the upstream countries covering an area of about 1.7 million hectares. The article discusses how particularly the Egyptian land deals can be understood and how they are intertwined in contemporary negotiations over the allocation of water between riparian states, ongoing hydropower projects and demographic engineering. The article suggests that the hydropolitical landscape of the Nile River Basin is about to shift, from a hydropolitical landscape dominated by an Egyptian ‘military discourse’ towards a ‘business discourse, in which new assemblages of actors become shareholders of the Nile waters. Considering the substantial size of some of these land and water deals, actors from countries outside the Basin may become important ‘hydropolitical players’ and be involved in the future negotiations of the Nile. The article concludes that conflicts over land and water resources in Nile Basin region may increase within countries, but not necessarily increase between countries.

7. Dynamics of Large-Scale Land Acquisitions Across Peri-Urban Communities in South-West Nigeria

Authors: Waheed Kadiri, Basirat Oyalowo and Afees Alabi (Univeristy of Lagos, Nigeria)
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Abstract
This study interrogates the widespread assumption of the exploitative nature of land deals across peri-urban areas in four states in Nigeria (Lagos, Ogun, Oyo and Kwara states). In the last decade, the landscapes of these peri-urban areas have undergone a dramatic change from a green-field area into a bevy of commercial real estate, planned and unplanned residential settlements, tourist centres, uniquely religious activities and commercial foreign-owned agricultural pursuits.

The study documents how the dynamics of democratic governance, the desire for private-sector partnerships, activities of indigenous land owners and weaknesses in the land tenure system in Nigeria has brought about these changes in the character of the case-study areas.

An elaboration of previous studies, it is based on purposive sampling technique. Interviews were held with 373 representatives of indigenous land owners across the peri-urban communities in the four states.

It was found that past government activities in seeking development partners was a major force driving the changing landscape resulting in both positive and negative externalities. The study revealed that most of the large agricultural land acquisition deals were closed between the government and foreign investors without community participation. This has led to compensation inadequacy, social unrest and lack of agricultural invest-
ment framework that reflects national and local interest.

However, the reluctance to alienate land traditionally found in communal governance of land has given way to the commodification of land, often to the highest bidder. Thus wherever they are in actual possession of land, indigenous owners welcome large land acquisition deals with foreigners.

Employment generation and income from land alienation are key positive externalities.

The study proposes an inclusive approach for land management in these areas, which recognizes the changing dimensions under which land is being held by the indigenes.

8. Governance and Land Use in Eritrea: Land Grab, Forcible Resettlement and Internal Mobility

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Abstract

The global food and financial crisis that set in in 2008 has induced transnational corporations, national governments and private equity funds to increase investment in land. There has been a global scramble for ‘land grab’ particularly in Africa, with its abundance of fertile land and growing population. While this may help attract investment in African agriculture, usher in a green revolution and raise food production, there is also a risk that malgovernance, weak state institutions, poor regulatory capacity, and rampant corruption may generate asymmetric benefits, aggravate poverty and fan social conflict.

This paper examines the issue of land use and internal mobility in Eritrea. Traditional Eritrean society, where land, village, and community are interlinked, holds land in great value as the basis of livelihood, identity and affiliation [Andebrhan Welde Giorgis, 2014]. Having declared land state property, the government expropriates it without compensation and carries out forcible resettlement of people from one locale to another, without regard to the rights and wellbeing of both the forced settlers and the disowned host communities.

Eritreans have the right to freely live, work or own property in a locality of their choice in the country. In the context of economic growth, modernisation and urbanisation, individual self-interest drives domestic mobility in search of better opportunities. Yet, a policy of forcible resettlement, uprooting sedentary farmers from their villages and resettling them in pastoral lands, has raised cries of ‘land grab’ and concerns of justice and equity for both the settler and host communities. Totalitarian regimes have carried out forcible resettlements of targeted populations under various political or economic pretexts. Experience shows, however, that forcible resettlement is generally unwarranted, often fails to deliver its declared objectives, and invariably creates more problems than it resolves.

Given prudent land use and management, Eritrea possesses sufficient land for housing, farming, grazing, national parks, forestry, urban, and industrial use to ensure balanced development and prosperity for its relatively small population.

9. The end of large scale land acquisitions in Tanzania?

Authors: Linda Engström (The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden) and Myra Posluschny (Swiss Peace Institute, Switzerland)
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Abstract

The new rush for land in Africa for large scale agro investments has received much attention worldwide, not least the production of biofuel crops, but also of food. Tanzania has been mentioned to be in the top ten countries in Africa to allocate land to foreign investors for this purpose. However, our research and others’, show that the extent to which land has been allocated to these kinds of land deals in Tanzania have been greatly overestimated. This problem seems to apply for reports on land deals Africa wide, not only in Tanzania. A recent issue of Journal of Peasant Studies scrutinizes the methodology used when collecting land deal data as well as the links to transparency issues. My empirical research in Tanzania takes the picture one step further. Even when derivative rights have been granted by the government, the investors face problems with becoming, and staying, operational. Today, there is not a single operational biofuel investment in Tanzania. The biofuel investments that have become operational have all gone bankrupt and/or sold to another investor. The two investors that have received derivative land title are delayed and they have switched to food production. I can also show that food investments in the new land rush face similar difficulty in becoming operational and profitable, referring to cases in Tanzania but also elsewhere in Africa. There are general as well as context specific mechanisms behind this trend of delays and failures. The widespread strategy among African governments of large scale agro investments seems so far to be a failure and I argue that these investments will most likely not play the role that was anticipated in the path forward for African agriculture.


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Abstract

In Ethiopia, large-scale land acquisitions have been looming ever larger over the last few years mainly in the
lowland parts of the country. Substantial amount of land has already been acquired both by domestic and foreign investors in the Benishangul-Gumuz region. The land transfer processes underway in the region, based neither on the mapping of existing land uses nor on genuine participation of local communities and authorities, have been resulting simultaneously not only in the dispossession and displacement of communities from their villages and cultivated lands, but also the destruction of the natural environment that sustained ecological services and local livelihoods. Particularly, the Gumuz ethnic groups who depend on customary forms of land access and control as well as whose livelihoods based heavily on access to natural resources are being differentially affected. Despite the claims that the land investments bring social, economic, and environmental benefits to local communities, these anticipated benefits hardly occurred so far and are unlikely to happen at least in the short run. What appears certain is that apparent threats have been posed to their economic, cultural, and ecological survival. The threats are resulting from the exercise of hegemonic power by federal and regional governments over the allocation of land in the interest of commercial investments. In the process, local land-based social relations and practices have been or are deliberately overlooked. Emphasizing on power relations between local communities, local, regional and federal governments (and investors), this study examines the contradictions of the land investment process and its impacts on local communities through a case study in three administrative districts in Benishangul-Gumuz region. The paper places a particular concern on contests over land and authority and how this is played out in a federal context in which authority is redefined over some key areas as observed in recent land deals. Data was collected during an intensive fieldwork period from April to June 2012.
Compromising Democratic Governance in Africa, through Vote Rigging, Bribery, Vote Buying, Ignorance, Weak Civil Society and Disorganised Opposition Political Parties – Uganda as a Case Study

Panel Organiser: Massy-Moses Kasule, NGOs Consulting Group, Uganda

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One of the key challenges in the democratization process of most Africa countries are the general elections conducted periodically, where the populace presumably gets a chance of democratically choosing their leaders at all levels. However, the process has been slowed down by social determinants like poverty, illiteracy, manipulation and opportunism. Key players are the State, the population, political parties and civil societies.

In Uganda, the state is responsible for arranging and conducting the elections through the establishment of the electoral commission, appointed by the president. Since 2001 when multi-party elections were reintroduced the opposition has consistently claimed that the elections were massively rigged in favour of the Ruling party.

The majority of the rural based population is faced with poverty, illiteracy and ignorance of their civil rights. They are torn between having their cake and eating it at the same time.

The opposition has been rendered completely powerless, through denied financing from the state as directed by the national constitution, restricted financing from the donors, and direct refusal by the state for the opposition to conduct campaigns for party membership recruitment. Politicians across party lines have also resorted to lying and bribing the population for the votes, contributing to the already worsening electoral process in the country.

The civil society organizations are caught up in the middle and because of their lack of cohesion on advocacy and lobby activities front; their efforts have not been felt in the democratization process.

The cardinal question here then, is who is misbehaving and behaving among the players, is it the state, the population, the opposition and or the civil society? The panel will be discussing the individual player’s role in the election process.

PAPERS

1. The Civil Society Organizations Caught Up In “To Be or Not Be” Quagmire in Providing Civic Education to Masses

Author: Patricia Alaroker (Makerere University, Uganda)
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Abstract
The history of civil society organizations in Uganda dates back to the colonial days where the colonial government expanded the Legislative Council (LC) to include more Africans, this provided space for the agitation of different interests and up to date, Uganda’s legislations provide for sufficient space for the formation and operation of civil societies and the transmission of civic education by both governmental and nongovernmental organizations; this notwithstanding the recent restrictions that have occurred on nongovernmental civil societies and whether the space for providing civic education is actually being utilized. This paper will examine civil society organizations in Uganda in relation to their core duty in providing civic education to masses. It will urge out the immense importance of civic education as a prerequisite for a functional democracy and upholding of human rights principles. It will also examine cross cutting issues within and outside civil society organizations in relation to civic education provision; the fact that civic education aims at creating individuals with the capacity to go beyond citizens who are just passive subjects of the state, to those who are well informed and responsible and that it should equip citizens with skills and knowledge to participate and contribute to the development and maintenance of democratic governance and citizenship which eventually leads to the establishment of a stable democratic political system will be examined. Conclusively, despite the available space and enabling legislation in Uganda for civil society organizations, civic education has not been accorded the importance it deserves as evidenced by lack of awareness about rights by majority Ugandan citizens and that civil society organizations in Uganda have not collectively and consistently demanded for the curtailed space which puts them in to be or not to be state of quagmire in providing civic education to masses.
2. The State as a Cross-Cutting Player in Elections in the Country

*Author:* Kaliija James (Youth in Leadership Forum, Uganda)

*Abstract*

Democratization has increasingly become an important aspect of governance among African states with a noticeable increase in number as well as dwindling dominance of single party states and Presidential Monarchies. Even though periodic democratic elections have to a great extent become a dominant tool towards change of government in Africa, the fusion of state institutions with government and the executive authority, ethnicity, weak civil society continue to derail multiparty democracy in most African Countries.

The paper will examine the role of the state as a cross cutting player in elections in Africa taking a case study of Uganda while recognizing the fact that Ugandan Government and the opposition are in agreement that regular elections are a most legitimate way of changing government, but the desire by government to put in place independent state institutions to guide the process and build citizen confidence is still low. The paper will review the Electoral Commission as a mandated state institution to organize and manage democratic elections in Uganda and highlights concrete examples of fusion of state institutions with the ruling government as well as the presidency hence frustrating this constitutional mandate of the electoral body in delivering free and fair electoral outcomes in the country.

The paper will distinguish the state as a key player in elections, and make propositions including constitutional amendments that will; iron out the aspects of state fusion with government, reduce constitutional powers of the President and recommend a competitive process for appointment of members to the Electoral Commission which would build citizens confidence, ensure their protection and happiness.

3. Voter Rights and Civic Education in the Country (Uganda)

*Author:* Nakweede Harriet (Women League, Uganda)

*Abstract*

Voter rights and civic education forms the basis of any democratic process. It encourages citizens to participate fully in the political life of a country committed to the fundamental values and principles of democracy.

Civic and voter education equips people with knowledge and capabilities to check blind obedience through scrutinizing orders and directives down loaded to them. It also helps to control how leaders use authority and power at their disposal and make them run their affairs from informed positions.

Different players have played roles in educating voters on their rights as well as creating civic awareness. This helps voters to know rules that govern elections including, how to check and assess the voters list, how and where to lodge a complaint or file an appeal, what needs to be monitored during and after campaign period, among others.

Although voter education is assumed to be non-partisan activity, political parties should be allowed to participate in educating their supporters and the electorate about their rights. In addition parties may have limited capacity especially in transitional societies like Uganda where the resources and abilities of political parties are unbalanced.

It is proposed that the National Electoral Commission and Civil Society Organizations should pursue programs that sensitize masses about their rights to vote. Manuals, campaign brochures, Talk shows, workshops among others should be organized to enable the population make decisions from informed positions. This however is hindered by the poor financing systems, high levels of illiteracy and the poor reading culture of the population.

This paper will discuss the extent to which voter rights and civic education have been conducted in Uganda, the roles of voter rights and civic education towards the democratization process, and how different players converge to the realization of voter rights including those of the population.

4. The Level of Organization within the Opposition Parties

*Author:* Otukei Richard Emmy (Forum for Democratic change, Uganda)

*Abstract*

A key component of a democratic system is the capacity of political actors to fulfill their functions and ensure their effective performance. Thus, in order to examine the state of democratic governance in Uganda, an assessment on the level of organisation of the political parties as central actors in the democratic process is important. This is the principle objective of this paper.

As the first part of this discussion, this paper will briefly highlight the political history of Uganda and evolution of political parties and their subsequent roles in shaping this political history. Three questions will guide the discussion as to critically assess the level of organization within opposition political parties in Uganda.

1. Do the political parties in the opposition have the capacity to win government power from the ruling party in a democratic process?
2. How far do the political parties in their present form meet the minimum requirements to be able to establish and sustain a government?
3. Do the opposition parties present any clear programmatic proposals for effective governance?
This paper will further examine the extent to which the political opposition in Uganda can be considered a better alternative for democratic governance by analysing the existing weaknesses and strengths of the opposition parties as well as their political ambitions - alternative opposition proposals for effective governance. Finally this paper will suggest alternative ways through which the opposition can employ so as to organize and or strengthen the organisation of their political parties.

5. From Passive to Active Political Actors: Re-booting the “Public Opinion Mind” for Political Change in Africa

**Author:** Lusike Lynete Mukhongo (Moi University Kenya)
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**Abstract**

Public discourses on governance in Africa, often portray Africans as victims and their leaders as oppressors; however critical questions need to be asked about the role of citizens as voters with reference to governance. The role of citizens in relation to the current state of governance in Africa will be discussed, guided by the following questions: What is the perception of voters in Africa towards elections and governance? Do voters have power to steer social and political change through elections (active actors) or are elections a mere sham (passive actors)? What is the role of citizens in re-booting public opinion for a paradigm shift in governance in Africa? Further discussion will be on the role of voters in a state controlled and elite dominated electioneering process. Often, scholars have pointed out that elections are a precursor to good governance in Africa, yet even in cases of free and fair elections, persons elected to hold political office have often been persons of questionable character and their legitimacy been in disrepute by the civil society, media and sometimes the international community. While it has been assumed that if citizens appropriate the power that lies in the ballot box, then Africa as a continent can overcome the myriad problems that face it, it is paramount to note that due to various factors Africans have become victims of the very electoral process that is meant to liberate them. Focus therefore is on discussing the role of citizens vis-à-vis the state through a detailed discussion of case studies from countries such as Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan, Malawi, Nigeria and South Africa.

6. Politics of Engagement and Disengagement: State-Civil Society Relations in Nigeria

**Author:** Shina Babatope and Samuel Olugbemiga Afolabi
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**Abstract**

At the dawn of a new democratic era in 1999, many expected a lot of democratic dividends from a civil rule. But those expectations has since not been fulfilled. Many have been quick to apportion the greater blame for this on the civil society who should be the go-between the state and the people. Yet a careful reading and examination of the history of Nigeria shows a symbiotic relationship between the State and Civil Society Organizations. At best, it was a relationship of mutual suspicion and at worst, a relationship of open antagonism. However, not many works carefully explains these facts and the changing ways in which the state now relates the civil society in Nigeria. This paper therefore, using both primary and secondary data, examines various issues in state – civil society relations in Nigeria by categorizing civil society groups in Nigeria and examining how and ways in which the state engages and disengages them and its negative implications on democratic governance and sustenance.

7. Governing Elites, Patronage Politics and Uncertainty of Democracy in Uganda

**Author:** Sabiti Makara PhD (Makerere University, Uganda)
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**Abstract**

In a truly democratic or democratizing state, competitive politics is governed by specific rules of the game. In Uganda, the rules of the game are blatantly bent, titled or done way with in favour of the ruling elite. One of the frequently broken rules is the illegal use of money to influence public opinions and the voters. The ruling party in Uganda uses tax-payers’ money to influence the trend of votes. Not only are public services faulty, the little that exists, is used as for political patronage. The top political leadership has been reported handing out ‘brown envelopes’ and sacks containing money to specific groups. State jobs are created and set aside for “politically-correct” individuals. Resources that would provide public services are spent on such political patronage. Opposition is terrorized by state institutions.

Although there is a law to regulate funding of political parties, it has largely been ignored. Moreover, the use of public resources for political campaigns has now reached critical levels, with members of Parliament directly receiving cash from Government Chief Whip to campaign for ‘Museveni – alone’ in 2016 election. The debate is raging about the sources of such monies. Is it from public coffers or from the ruling party? With no one ready to give an answer, speculation reigns. Given that in Uganda, the ruling party and the State are inseparable, it remains a mere wish that a fair ground for all political competitors can be achieved. More than that kleptocracy destroys the moral fibre of society and undermines democratic ideals. The key research question, then is: How can democratisation of society be advanced in Uganda under such a kleptocracy?
8. Constitutions that create a “presidential monarchy” are a mockery to the democratization processes in African countries

Author: Massy Moses Kasule (NGOs Consulting Group, Uganda)
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Abstract

After attaining independence, most African countries become Republics and their constitutions were designed to follow constitutions of other Republics in developed countries like France, with respect to basic human and civil rights and enhancing democracy as the French one.

Unique about the constitutions of the Africa countries is the fact that the head of state is not only ceremonial but also head of government and in most cases the individual elected as president comes from the winning political party.

Most African countries constitutions give the elected president a lot of executive powers, without adequate checks and balances.

In France, under the Third and Fourth Republic, which were parliamentary systems, the office of President of the Republic was a largely ceremonial and powerless one. The constitution of the current Fifth Republic greatly increased the President’s powers, but with checks and balances.

In Uganda, 75% of Uganda’s Constitution gives the President authority to appoint all public officers, to propose how to use the National Treasury, to propose Bills for parliament to pass, to consent or not, to change the constitution and indeed become a “Presidential monarchy”. Of the 19 Chapters of the Constitution, 13 empower the President to give, deny or take away!

After a few years in power the president decided to entrench himself and his party in power, creating a fusion of his political party and the state apparatuses with the subsequent control of all state institutions. Opposition political parties and the voters have been rendered useless and the democratization process futile.

One school of thought says that, fraudulent elections are not the problem of Uganda but a consequence of the patronage system created by the Constitution of Uganda. It concludes that it is very vital now to focus to where the problem begins: “Constitutions that allows fusion of the State, government (Executive, Legislature, and Judiciary) and the party in power”.

In Africa, for many people, religious ideas are integral to moral values, experiencing and rationalization of poverty and making decisions about development. Classic theories of development paid little attention to religion because it was seen as an obstacle to modernization. During the 1980s, some of the first attempts explored the relationship between religion and development, and the gradual understanding of poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon has made it explicit that religion is an important dimension of wellbeing. Religion shapes people’s values and what they consider worthwhile and religion is integral to social, political and economic life as well as development.

Simultaneously with the changing understandings of the role of religion in development studies, several significant processes have taken place: Pentecostal-charismatic Christianity has been growing rapidly in Sub-Saharan Africa, churches have been increasingly involved in public life, and international development aid system has witnessed the growth of NGOs and faith based organizations. At the same time, major donor countries have changed their aid distribution policies. Donors have traditionally focused on supporting organisations associated with mainstream Christian Churches. However, various types of FBOs are important in the lives of the poor in many different faith contexts.

This panel welcomes papers that discuss how FBOs, churches and faith communities are involved in three core areas of development: 1) Poverty and human development, 2) political and economic reforms, and 3) Nordic and international aid systems. This panel discusses how FBOs engage with individuals and faith communities while implementing their development programs. It also examines FBOs as a part of the international aid system that appears to emphasize a “value free” or “secular” approach to development. This involves a critical examination of Nordic development cooperation, development policy goals and development policy coherence as regards FBOs and the partnership schemes.

1. Bringing mission and development together – Holistic approach in the work of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission

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**Abstract**

The so called modern development aid which started after the wars is described as the historical inherent of colonialism and mission. Beside this more or less recognized historical connection between mission and development aid it is important to acknowledge that the connection is still relevant in current development aid. One of its concrete manifestations is the fact that mission organizations are significant actors in development aid and in many countries they receive official development funding. In the Nordic countries, for example, mission organizations use a lion’s share of this funding. Government’s interest in funding religious NGO development work has been increasing over the past decade. Secular funders value the work of religious NGOs. Being religious is, on one hand, assumed to add value to development work but, on the other hand, funders insist on keeping the work performed with their money secular, i.e. separated from religious activity. Secular development aid funders’ attitude can therefore be described inconsistent or even contradictory. For religious development NGOs this means that they are left with large funding but also with a demand to separate a part of their work from religiously meaningful activities. How can these organizations use and secure the continuation of this funding and at the same time maintain their identities as religious organizations? Through the analysis of the written material of Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM) the following question will be studied: How does FELM combine its two roles as a mission organization and as the official partner organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? This question is approached by analysing the rhetorical choices through which FELM constructs relationship with its two audiences: the religious and the secular development aid audience, and the rhetoric FELM uses to integrate secular development themes to its identity as a mission organization.
2. An Ethics of Hospitality as a Resource for Post-Conflict Peace Building and Reconciliation in South and Southern Africa

Author: Maria Ericson (Umeå University, Sweden)
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Abstract
The overarching aim of this paper is to identify how norms and values of hospitality might enhance peace-building and reconciliation in South and Southern Africa. While the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been criticised for narrowly focusing on the individual’s relationship to the state, it also states the right for everyone to participate freely in the cultural life of one’s community. Furthermore, state-centric efforts to promote human rights, e.g. through legal reform, might need to be supported by broader strategies for social and cultural transformation inspired by local cultural norms and values.

In addition to indigenous African traditions, Christianity is widespread in Southern Africa, and a study from these perspectives on hospitality can be of relevance to, and support, more state-centric efforts for peace-building, reconciliation and the protection of human rights. Hospitality, which has been highlighted as a core aspect of the African notion of ubuntu, and discussed by Southern African Christian theologians, can be a way of binding a community together, and a way of initiating new relationships that challenge prevailing divisions.

This paper is based on theological and philosophical writings in particular by African authors, as well as on explorative interviews in South Africa and Zimbabwe where a number of areas of applicability were suggested. Hospitality was seen as a concept that could open up discussions on sensitive issues in post-apartheid South Africa, e.g. land reform, restitution, integration, xenophobia, violent crime. It was also seen as applicable to peace-building and reconciliation between different ethnic or political groups in neighbouring states.

3. Creating ‘a new moral order’. The use of spiritual resources for social reconstruction and economic development in post-genocide Rwanda

Author: Anne Kubai (Uppsala University, Sweden)
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Abstract
In this contribution I examine the role religion that is playing in the post conflict reconstruction of Rwanda – in other words, how traditional social institutions, beliefs and practices are being used as spiritual resources for the reconstruction of the social fabric and economic development. I illustrate how, in the peculiar circumstances of post-genocide Rwanda, communities are responding to the need for reshaping their social, political landscapes and interrogate their relationship with the state and with one another on the issues of rights, duties and privileges in a post conflict situation. This situation is inherently difficult and fraught with contradictions and therefore, it is instructive to see how Rwandans have turned to spirituality not only as they deal with various challenges in the process of social and economic reconstruction; but also as they struggle to transcend the age-old social boundaries and build a nation, and a free and just society. The achievement of both social reconstruction of a fractured social fabric and economic development, is predicated on what Rwandans call “change of mindset” and the creation of a new ‘moral order’ through the use of its cultural and religious resources. Here I go beyond Christian spirituality and examine the use of the society’s traditional value systems to create governance structures and “culture-based development” policies; in other words the on-going process of creating a “new national narrative” for Rwanda.


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Abstract
This paper examines the discourses of development, occult and what is locally called “paganism” in and around World Vision development programs in Shinyanga Region, Tanzania. In its child sponsorship program, the Christian development organization World Vision works and collaborates in the communities together with local, non-Christian medicine men. One form of collaboration is the recruitment of children from such families to join the child sponsorship program of the World Vision Area Development Programs. Much debate around “paganism”, potential conversion to Christianity and the possibility of development is involved in these arrangements. Simultaneously, in this area, there is the on-going discourse around occult, “paganism” and the murders of people with albinism in which the medicine men are said to be key actors. According to the popular understanding, the local miners and the medicine men collaborate in their search of quick riches by way of killing people with albinism and by practicing a form of occult economy. These macabre incidents are connected to what is perceived to be “paganism” and lack of development. This paper takes the collaboration between World Vision and the local medicine men as a window between the Christian and the more traditional world view. It looks into the dynamics in the discourses on development, Christianity and the occult, and draws from research conducted on faith-based development organizations on one hand, and studies on occult economies on the other.
# Children’s Rights and Experiences of Governance in Africa

**Panel Organisers:** Tatek Abebe, Norwegian University of Sciences and Technology and Jonina Einarsdóttir, University of Iceland

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The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) are key human right instruments that shape policies and programs for children in Africa. Rights discourses are infused in programs that address the living conditions of, among others, ‘children on the move’, ‘trafficked children’, ‘orphan and vulnerable children’, ‘street children’, ‘child beggars’ etc. Yet, intervention strategies for these children are met with complex challenges and dilemmas at the grassroots level. Rights-based approaches also have implications for children’s role and place in society. Through the UNCRC and ACRWC, the responsibility for the care and wellbeing of children has been re-scripted, with nation-states as the main duty bearers. Being part of the global children’s rights framework, African families face pressure from government and non-governmental institutions to uphold and exercise children’s individual rights. Yet, the capacities of families and communities to live up to the ideals contained in these documents are eroded by social, economic, political and environmental transformations as well as the inequalities reproduced by them. The paradigm of children’s rights further contradicts deeply held values about childhood as well as experiences that the needs and rights of children will be met through vertical state-child relationships, via practices of citizenship and accountability. This panel explores how the children’s rights agenda has epitomized intervention strategies for vulnerable children in diverse African settings; and discusses the implications for these children’s lived experiences within families, communities and beyond. How do children, families and communities encounter children’s rights and the governance of their everyday lives in Africa? We welcome both conceptual and empirical papers that discuss the implications of children’s rights framework for re-thinking questions of governance for and with children in Africa.

The panel is part of an initiative of Nordic Network of African Childhood and Youth Research (NoNACYR), financially supported by NordForsk for the period of 2011–2015.

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**PAPERS SESSION 1: CHILDREN’S RIGHTS AND EXPERIENCES OF GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA I – COLLECTIVE EXISTENCE AND RESILIENCE PATHWAYS**

### 1. Talking make things worse: a qualitative study on how street children in Addis Abeba handle emotions

**Authors:** Sofie Dahlman and Birgitta E Rubenson (Karolinska Institutet, Sweden)

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**Abstract**

The study explores how street children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, handle emotions like anger, sadness and fear and how they maintain joy. Qualitative interviews were conducted and analyzed using inductive content analysis. The boys used isolation to handle anger and sadness and peer-support to handle fear and maintain joy. They avoided talking about personal issues associated to negative emotions as they felt it made things worse. Low self-disclosure and isolation from peers is discussed in terms of suppression of emotions, implicit social support and interdependent self in collectivistic cultures. Regulation of fear was interpreted as similar to coping for survival.

### 2. Children’s perceptions and understanding of rural poverty in Zambia

**Author:** Douglas Tendai Phiri (Norwegian Centre for child research)

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**Abstract**

Excluding perspectives of those that experience and live in contexts of poverty has been characteristic of most poverty and ‘child poverty’ interventions and research. Children in ‘child poverty’ are simply objects and recipients of interventions and are seldom included in shaping discussions on conceptualizations of poverty. This tends to exclude the influence of the socio-economic and cultural context on which poverty is experienced and interpreted. In addition, the influence of age in experiences, conceptualizations and interpretations of poverty is less emphasized. Age as a mediating factor in how poverty is understood, experienced and interpreted is an important thread...
in child poverty research and interventions. Therefore, this paper shows some of the results of a child focused qualitative study of how children experience and perceive poverty in rural district of Lundazi in Zambia. The study involved 24 children in phase one and 18 children in phase of equal numbers of boys and girls between the ages of 9 and 16 years respectively. As opposed a narrow view of income and consumption poverty, this ethnographic study of ‘children living in rural poverty’ established that children interpreted poverty in social and relational ways that were mediated by cultural and socio-economic factors. The paper shows some of the dominant ways in which children understand and interpret poverty through symbolic, relational, socio-economic (productive and reproductive) and material markers of poverty. This work contributes towards child poverty literature that posits children as competent social actors that are both influenced and also influence the socio-economic contexts of their community’s and societies and thus attach meanings to their social worlds.

3. The effect of stigma and marginalization on psychosocial wellbeing of orphans and adolescents in Rwanda

Author: Tehetna Geleta (University of Helsinki, Finland)
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Abstract
The 1994 genocide in Rwanda left government, Ngo’s and civil societies into enormous challenge of caring for the 850,000 orphans created by the carnage. It is unprecedented in its scale and intensity in recent memory that has led not only to one of the largest population of orphans in the world, but also eroded traditional social structures that could have cared for orphans. As a result, it created a condition for orphans to be marginalized by society due to their indigence and orphan status (Foster et al., 1997).

Stigma and marginalization leads to isolation, poor social relations, and weakened access to resources (Sauce, 1998; Link et al, 2004). This in turn affects physical and mental health (House et al, 1988). Studies have clearly demonstrated that social relations promote health by buffering potentially deleterious health effects of psychosocial stress or other health hazards (Cassel, 1976; Cobb, 1976).

The study is based on data collected in 2009 on a randomly selected sample of 420 orphaned children and adolescents (aged between 10 & 25). The data consisted of 179 girls and 251 boys living in different environment such as in orphanage, child headed households foster and street.

This paper examines the role of social support in mediating psychosocial wellbeing by mitigating stigma and discrimination. It also addresses whether or not stigma and marginalization was perceived in equal measure across different living environment of orphans.

Results showed that stigma and marginalization varied significantly across orphans. Children in orphanage and foster homes reported as having less perceived stigma and marginalization than child headed households and children in the street. The higher the level of stigma and marginalization perceived by orphans, the worst the emotional wellbeing and mental distress. Moreover mediation analysis indicated that social support had a statistically significant and substantial effect in reducing the negative impact of stigma and marginalization on emotional wellbeing, and less so in the case of mental distress. In this connection, the study by Ruggiero et al (1997) has also highlighted the importance of social support to disadvantaged group members to cope with marginalization. From these findings, it follows that the Rwandan government, the civil society and the community could do great service in mitigating the deleterious effect of stigma and marginalization.

4. Children’s conceptualization of families in two contrasting social settings in Ethiopia

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Abstract
The paper discusses children’s conceptualizations of families, whom they consider as members of their families and what criteria they use to include and exclude individuals as members of their families. Empirical study for the paper is carried out in two socio-culturally and economically contrasting settings, namely Addis Abeba (urban and upper class) and Dangla (rural, predominantly peasant) in Ethiopia. Empirical data was gathered using semi-structured interviews, field observations, and informal talks in order to explore the similarities and difference between children’s conceptualizations of family.

The conceptualization of family among children in Addis Ababa is interpreted mainly in two interrelated concepts of togetherness and closeness. These concepts are identified as central to most of the children’s explanations of what families are. Togetherness is attributed to the sharing of residence while closeness is associated with emotional relations and material reciprocity. Children in the rural study are found to conceptualize family through the notion of togetherness and unity. The sense and meaning that the children in the rural attribute to togetherness however goes beyond place of residence and is found as being intertwined with the notion of unity. Hence it takes the meaning of both sharing of residence plus the cooperation of members dwelling in a single residence to survive and economically grow together, which is understood as unity. The paper reflects upon the implications of children’s perspectives on family to think and conceptualise about questions of households, collective existence and interdependence in livelihood strategies.
5. Independent child migration in Ghana: decision and challenges

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**Abstract**

Children who live in poverty decide at times to migrate independently at young age in search for better life conditions. In some places children migrate because of lack of opportunities of employment and education in their home town. They seek to gain experience, knowledge and to provide income for themselves and their family. The presentation examines life of people in Ghana who migrated before the age of fifteen, without the company of a parent or a legal guardian. Their life story and current activities will be discussed along with the emotional changes that occur due to new living conditions. The data collection took place in Accra from June to September 2013, through qualitative methodology.

Results show that most participants migrated because of lack of educational or employment opportunities in the hometown. Many interviewees come from poor families which made them difficult to attend school and accordingly to get a job. Therefore, the children did not see many opportunities and decided to change locations in hope of gaining better condition of life for themselves and their families. Most participants claimed to be happy with the decision of migrating and that current life condition is better than what they had before. However, most of the interviewees would choose to move back to their hometowns if they had the same opportunities as in the city. The statement of happiness is therefore mainly based on gratitude of what they have in their lives rather than true and honest happiness towards their choices. In most cases returning home is difficult or even impossible because the family and the society expect the children to return in better situation than before the migration. The migrants are therefore trapped in current situation and need to prove to others that they did not make mistake by choosing to move away.

6. The Rights of Vulnerable Children and Youth to Health Care in Ever Increasing Religious Tanzania

**Author:** Frederick Longino (University of York, UK)

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**Abstract**

The widespread of religiosity in Tanzania is taking place alongside concerns over reliance of families on religious healing and deliverance miracles for the prevention and treatment of illness/diseases instead of accessing medical or scientific health care. What is the impact of religious beliefs and practices on medical or health care of vulnerable children and young people? How do ill-health experiences of East African religious families and medical practitioners’ experiences inform and shape decisions or choices between faith healing and medical care or both? To answer these questions, METHODS: I will present my PhD fieldwork experience and data I collected through in-depth interviews and participant observation from Tanzania in 2010/11. With support from relevant health policies in Tanzania I will discuss the effects of religious healing and deliverance practices on medical intervention, emotional and physical well-being of vulnerable children, young people and families, by presenting narratives of religious parents, particularly how their faithful life contravene or fits in medical or health care delivery and management for their children and young people in Tanzania. FINDINGS: My paper will focus on three aspects of my findings: construction of medical intervention with special interest in children’s rights to health care in accordance to the Law of the Child Tanzania, UN Convention on Rights of the Child and various health policies in Tanzania, efficacy of prayers and God’s miracles. CONCLUSION: The paper concludes that religious beliefs lead some parents to favour their own faith care through healing and deliverance in lieu of medical care from hospitals. But should the government health policy considers the integration of religious beliefs in the process of health care intervention, as religious beliefs might have implications in the prevention and cure of ill-health?

7. Bissau-Guinean talibes in Senegal: responses to claims of child trafficking

**Authors:** Hamadou Boiro (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, Guinea-Bissau) and Jónína Einarsdóttir (University of Iceland)

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**Abstract**

Trafficking, not least child trafficking, has gained enormous attention lately. Nonetheless, research rarely focuses on traffickers. The assumption that traffickers are involved in a well organized crime characterized by a big international business networks is vanishing. Instead evidence indicates that their background varies, or as described by Feinberg (2005: 28), traffickers “range from truck drivers and village ‘aunties’ to labor brokers and police officers.” Parents, family, friends or other community members are increasingly implicated as child traffickers. The Trafficking in Persons Reports present religious teachers named marabouts in Mali, Guinea, Niger, Nigeria, Gambia, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau as “uncrulpulous traffickers”. In Senegal more than 50000 children beg in the country, most of whom are Koran school students, named talibes. Many of these come from Guinea-Bissau. This presenta-
tion examines how Bissau-Guinean marabouts running Koran schools in Senegal react to accusation of being child traffickers. It is based on fieldwork carried out intermittently in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau since 2009. The presentation highlights how the various groups of marabouts responded to anti-trafficking measures that banned begging and attempted to repatriate Bissau-Guinean boys from Senegal as well as curtailing their cross-border movement between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau.

8. Beyond child rights – is schooling really in the best interest of African children and their families?

Authors: Marguerite Daniel, Samson Yeboah and Ingvild Kvissellien (University of Bergen, Norway)
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Abstract
The CRC expresses that children have the right to education, it describes the nature of the education they should receive and it also states that children should be protected from participating in hazardous and exploitative labour. In addition, the second Millennium Development Goal aims to achieve universal primary education by 2015, a strategy which is heavily supported by the World Bank with particular emphasis on the benefits of educating girls. Few studies have explored the views of local families and communities, particularly in Africa, on the drive to school children. This paper explores the views of local people in two communities in different regions of Africa on the value of schooling in terms of i) the quality of available schooling and its opportunity cost, and ii) the outcomes. This paper draws on data from three separate studies, two from Botswana and one from Ghana. The first study in Botswana involved 19 youth aged 16 to 23, 7 boys and 12 girls (only six of the youth were not orphaned) and aimed to explore what facilitates thriving for youth in a time of transition. The second and third studies both explored local understandings of child protection. In the second study nineteen individual and group interviews were held with national, district and local child protection authorities, and, village leaders, elders, community members and young people in two villages in Botswana. In the third study in Ghana, data were collected from 33 participants involved in some form of caregiving or services to children, including regional level authorities, school teachers and the local Queen mother as well as parents. Education had not been the focus of any of the studies but emerged as a strong theme. While the vast majority of participants reified education, findings show that parents in contexts of poverty need the income or produce their children can generate simply for the family to survive; parents develop strategies to ‘rotate’ children through school and to avoid the judgement of the authorities. The outcomes of available education do little to promote employment or opportunities to escape poverty.
Engaging the African Diaspora: How the Diaspora can Help to Improve Good Governance in Africa

Panel Organisers: Linley Chiwona-Karlton, The Swedish Agricultural University and Beth Maina Ahlberg, Uppsala University, Sweden

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The role of the African Diaspora in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), adopted by African leaders in 2003, if harnessed appropriately could enable the fast-tracking of a more inclusive and sustainable development. The main objective of the APRM is to enhance implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development by good governance standards including the economic and political fields.

It is easy to make a case for business and economic development and to bring in external support when it comes to developing Africa, but harder to embrace the African Diaspora. Several reports show the steady economic growth of many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, with industries, start-ups and construction pervasively channelled to the public through all forms of media. A closer examination at whom or what lies behind these activities reveals that the majority of them are externally driven, in terms of human resources. Yet the African Diaspora, particularly professionally trained African Diaspora continues to be an underutilised resource, when it comes to technical expertise, education and economic investments. Many barriers, largely due to issues of poor governance inhibit the participation of the Diaspora. Africa has one of the youngest populations and most of these youths require an education that can make them relevant and competitive for the sustainable development of the African continent. Actively including the youth through mentoring could facilitate in fast-tracking the technical, cultural and education of Africa's youth.

In this panel, we will discuss some of the innovative ways that the Africa Diaspora can contribute towards the African Peer Review Mechanism specifically in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). This session holds papers that try to go beyond the general debate on African Diaspora and their role in Africa's development by identifying specific niches where their participation is marginally explored.

PAPERS

1. Moving the discourse sexual wellness: Opportunity for changing the seeming stubborn sexuality?

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Abstract
This paper attempts to map, drawing mainly from HIV and AIDS prevention interventions, the multiple discourses on sexuality, major players – individuals and institutions- and their influence on sexual expression. The aim is to provide a picture of the challenges and opportunities in transforming the concept of sexual wellness currently being articulated into action and thus avoid having wellness as just another buzz-word so common in the development industry. This is a move from the commonly held view of sexuality as a threat to health, to one promoting sexual wellness or positive view of sexuality. A postcolonial conceptual perspective is used in this paper in part to help grasp the multiple-realities emerging from the historical influences in part to offer space for serious reflexivity on the ambivalences and representations of Africa and African culture including sexuality, all which create complex contexts. This in turn questions the simple technical fixes used in development discourse and practice.

2. How Africa can leapfrog into the Advanced technology-driven world by tapping into the African Diaspora expertise.

Author: Dianah Ngonyamo-Majee (Association of African Agricultural Professionals in the Diaspora (AAAPD) and Biotech Stewardship Manager-Agron Traits at Monsanto Corporate Headquarters, USA)
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Abstract
The fastest growing economies in the world tend to aggressively pursue government policies that encourage their Diaspora communities to fully participate in development programs. Countries like China, India, Indonesia and Israel have successfully mobilized, gathered and reconnected their highly skilled expatriate communities with their mother countries. Unfortunately, most African governments are still struggling to introduce similar
synergistic programs because of poor governance, lack of effort and targeted resources to mobilize the professional African Diaspora towards development of their home countries. With more and more African countries now realizing the potential impact of their Diaspora community resources, this may be the right time to explore and adopt strategies that could be used to harness the African Diaspora skills especially in new knowledge for technological advancement. The majority of professional Africans in the Diaspora have acquired advanced knowledge and skills in science and technology from their host countries that can be easily transferred to Africa. This will not only promote “brain gain” but will also avoid wasting time and the much needed resources trying to “reinvent the wheel”. However, unless a progressive political environment is created, it will be very difficult to tap into the professional Diaspora resource skills, necessary to leapfrog the continent into the advanced technology driven world. African governments should institute policies that will integrate the Diaspora communities into national Science and Technology research and development programs. This presentation includes a discussion on how the development of science-based progressive regulatory policies, with input from the African Diaspora, combined with good governance and leadership, could help African countries to leapfrog into the current technology driven world. Case studies of scale-neutral technologies that can be easily transferred by experts from the Africa Diaspora community to help transform the agricultural industry, which is the mainstay of most African economies, will be presented.

3. Back to the Diaspora: Reversing Sail toward a Future for the APRM

Author: James B. Peterson (Lehigh University, USA)
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Abstract
The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), established and adopted by African leaders in 2003, has been in existence for just over a decade. The APRM was designed to evaluate and measure governance standards across participating nations on the continent of Africa. It is also, by design, a mechanism that is internal to the continent, established to generate metrics through which political and economic development across the continent might be comparatively assessed. Through the APRM, governance, policy and development can be engaged by Africans, for the advancements of Africa. On the occasion of the APRM’s 10th Anniversary, I was invited to moderate a program titled “APRM@10: Perspectives on Transformative Governance and the African Agenda 2063 - A Dialogue with the Diaspora, NGOs, Women, Youth and Academia.” The event was organized by the UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA) in collaboration with the Department of Public Information (DPI) and NEPAD. Its purpose was to both commemorate the successes of the APRM but also to challenge its member nations and chart its course going forward in the 21st Century. In this presentation I will briefly report on these proceedings and then outline some of the challenges and charges for the APRM going forward. These charges and challenges include: 1) acknowledging the youthful majority across the continent of Africa and engaging them through public education, popular culture, and civic participation; and 2) harnessing and (in part) returning the human resources of Africans throughout the diaspora. I employ Gomez’s (2005) conceptualization of the diaspora to inform a discussion about how the APRM, youth culture, and the African Diaspora, together provide some of the most exciting possibilities for holistic development, particularly in West Africa, but in more measured ways, across the continent in the 21st Century.

4. The role of youth African Diaspora in good governance and development of Africa

Authors: Kalkidan Mulatu (Ethiopian Mapping Authority) and Murat Sartas (Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences)
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Abstract
The contribution of African youth to the continents growth, prosperity, and stability is quite essential. However, various economic, political, and cultural causes had put a limit to this much needed participation. This issue appears even more pronounced in the case of African youth diasporas, as their involvement to the motherland is further constrained by geographical distance. It is rather unfortunate that such situation exists as the youth abroad has its own huge potential to contribute for the development of Africa. It is also the case that the youth diaspora becomes less informed and obscure about the economic, social, cultural, and political issues of Africa.

Despite this fact, various African youth networks exists in Europe, especially around universities where African students establishes an association in the aim of celebrating, promoting, and uniting Africa. Furthermore, various activities are on-going in creating awareness about African issues to Europeans and even lobbying governments to review their policies regarding Africa and Africans. In addition such moments facilitates active youth participation in various policy, leadership, and social fields their current country of residence and Africa.

Such networks should be supported and encouraged as they keep the diaspora African youth in favour of Africa and encourages many to contribute to the development of their home country/continent. Thus, this effort needs to be recognized and appreciated by the African community and leaders of Africa as it can help them involve the youth diaspora in development, economic, educational, capacity building, and decision making areas. This paper aims to
describe and important potential contributions of youth African diaspora as well as emphasizing the urgent need to provide more space and resources for them.

5. University-private sector collaboration in Africa and role of African diaspora

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Abstract

Tertiary Agricultural Education is taking place in an environment of complex constrain in Africa. In order to address some of the challenges, tertiary education institutions are venturing into collaborations with industries. One such program is UniBRAIN, a program that connects tertiary education institutions, research institutions and the private sector. The program is on a pilot roll out in five African countries, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Ghana and Mali. It is organized in six consortia that manage the incubators with a goal of boosting and fast-tracking innovations and technologies.

This paper presents the challenges and opportunities for strengthening tertiary agricultural education and private sector collaboration. More specifically it looks at role of trust, dedication and persistence, as a key for sustainable partnerships and capacity building in Africa. Besides looking at university-private sector collaborations, the paper looks at north-south partnerships highlighting the importance of African diaspora. Data collection was done through literature review, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, and focus group interviews. In total 66 respondents from 23 organizations, businesses and institutions in Africa participated in the revealed study. The results show that mutual efforts in establishing student internships, curricula improvement, engaging in relevant research for industries, formalized institutional collaboration and services, benefit both institutions of learning and private sector. The paper also shows that activating networks with African diaspora which is an underutilized resource, can significantly contribute to the capacity building in Africa. In order for the participating individuals, institutions to maximize benefit, partners have to adopt a mutual code of conduct and mindset. Much more effort is required in building up a culture of professionalism and trust to build sustainable partnerships. These things take time, however if genuine investments are made to foster these partnerships they could enhance considerably the quality of tertiary agricultural education in Africa.

6. Is the rights based approach project a precondition for poverty reduction in Africa?

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Abstract

There have been a lot of arguments both for and against adopting a rights based approach (RBA) to programme planning and implementation in poverty reduction efforts in Africa. This paper argues that a rights based approach is the only guarantee to sustainable poverty reduction in Africa and the recent efforts to integrate RBA have had remarkable success despite the lack of required capacity and resource allocation to make them an integral and part of the theory of change process of the programmes.

This paper further argues that the RBA approach should be seen as part of the overall holistic solution to addressing governance and ensuring the active participation of the rights-holders in tilting the balance of power to those who are mostly impacted by poverty. It calls for a balanced approach by ensuring that livelihoods interventions are made at the same time with strong policy and advocacy so that the state and other duty bearers are held accountable.

A robust theory of change both during programme planning and execution is a prerequisite for the success of a rights based approach to poverty reduction. This is an outcome based approach that applies critical thinking to the design, implementation of programmes intended to support change in their contexts. It recognizes the long-term nature of the change process and the underlying assumptions about how these changes will happen as a check on whether the activities and outputs are appropriate for influencing change in the desired direction.

The success of RBA and the theories of change that support this process will only give the required impact if donors and funders who wish to work and support these initiatives desist from mandatory requirements, products or prescribed process as conditions for funding. Otherwise this will only become a compliance exercise and lose much of its value.

7. Leveraging Agricultural Knowledge, Innovation & Resources through Collaboration with African Diaspora Networks for Africa’s Food Security

Author: Peter Jeranyama (University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA)
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Abstract

Weak agricultural research, extension and training (RET) institutions have become a major constraint to developing appropriate technologies and raising productivity among smallholder farmers in Africa. Africa’s next phase of development requires a major mobilization effort of all stakeholders including the Diaspora. In the past the Diaspora has been viewed as the cause of brain drain, however, there is a realization that they are a global stock for science, technology and industrial development (STI). The Diaspora networks can catalyze Africa’s agricultural
transformation and facilitate information and technology exchange, encourage public-private RET investment and collaboration, advance agricultural policy dialogue that enhance smallholder farmer productivity and rural business. The Diaspora networks should identify innovative cutting-edge science and innovation, business opportunities for Africa’s smallholder farmers and rural business capable of raising productivity and creating new opportunities.

Changes in the world food economy and international capital markets dramatize the need for Africa’s agricultural strategy to be continually modified in the context of changing international realities. Research on international and regional commodity markets is a crucial input into national or regional food policy analysis. Many in the Diaspora are involved in international food systems, business and policy and their skills could be brought to bear.

There remain opportunities in developing innovative and locally appropriate technologies for smallholder irrigation that complements rain-fed agriculture. The irrigation infrastructure in Africa is thin and its role in future agricultural revolution can be significant in increasing productivity, diversifying into higher value crops. The Diaspora have opportunities to invest in this agricultural bioeconomy with potential to benefit many rural communities in Africa from advances in science that ignite new rural industries and stimulate the development of bio-based products, energy, and services that not only add value to agricultural commodities and make use of natural resources, but also create new rural economic livelihoods.

8. Diaspora-driven development – and dispute: Home-area associations and municipal politics in Mali

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Abstract
This paper is about a rural municipality where people in the diaspora are supporting local development and social change, while simultaneously fuelling conflict and dispute. The municipality of Kiban in Mali is dominated by Soninke, an ethnic group with a long history of migration and trade. Even though Bambara farmers and Fulbe agro-pastoralists reside in villages, the Soninke are in majority in Kiban, and as much as 9 out 11 councilors originate from the town. Here municipal politics and local development is basically “a Soninke affair”.

Kiban diaspora are engaged trade in the capital Bamako, as well as in countries like Angola, Congo Brazza, China, France, Belgium and USA. Still, each family has members that reside in Kiban. In general, the diaspora are well-organized, and maintain strong links with people in the home-town.

In the paper I elaborate on how the two main home-area associations in Kiban are vehicles for development and dispute. First, the home-area association Soumpoun was founded in Bamako in the 1940s to invest and support people in Kiban. Second, the home-area association Soninkara was founded in 2000 after a conflict between Soumpoun and the then mayor; the latter considered that the diaspora should support “the municipality”, whereas Soumpoun wanted to support “the population”. Since then, these two associations, both of which are led from Bamako but with local representatives, have been competing, especially with respect to municipal politics in Kiban. In other words, while the diaspora are certainly drivers of development, they are simultaneously drivers of dispute.
Panel Organisers: Gudrun Helga Johannsdottir and Sigridur Baldursdottir, University of Iceland
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Since Truman’s speech in 1947 foreign aid has been debated. What is it good for? How should it be implemented? Is it effective? During the 1950s and 1960s, modernization, dual economy, big push or balanced growth were central concepts, and development was understood as a series of stages of economic growth. In the 1970s, basic needs substituted, at least partly, growth as the central aim of aid. The theory of structural change and the dependency school both aimed for eradication of poverty. In the early 1980s and into the 1990s neoliberal politics flourished with emphasis on structural adjustment, including free markets, privatization and crumbling of the state. The 1990s, characterized by aid fatigue had its turning point when the World Bank report Assessing Aid announced that aid was only effective in countries with reasonably good governance. Since then global approaches such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Paris Declaration and the recycled version of the Alma Ata Declaration have put their marks on aid practices. Mosse (2004) argues that when it comes to policy there is too much focus on the future and new beginnings instead of analyzing the past in development.

The aim of this panel is to explore past and current aid practices at global and local level. What have we learned from past experience? How can future policy and approaches benefit from the past? For whom are actual development policies and practices designed? Are development practices driven by policies or is it practice that produces policy? How are they formulated and acted out by community members as well as national and international actors?

PAPERS

1. The MDGs and the post-2015 development agenda: the case of Senegal

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Abstract
The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have, for the past decade and a half, offered a frame for action to fight poverty. The goals are coming to an end in 2015 and an overall global consultancy, the post-2015 development agenda, has been set out to design what should come next. Within the agenda, that is taking place at all levels of the society, academics, practitioners and citizens alike are sharing their views on the world they want after 2015, based on their experience as practitioners of development aid and/or inhabitants of development countries.

The aim of this paper is to explore the post-2015 development agenda. The paper examines the policy making process of the new agenda and analyses the different results leading to a new development framework for post 2015, both globally and in Senegal.

The paper is based on fieldwork in Senegal and New York over a total of 12 month period between 2011 and 2013 including four months of participant observation at UNDP Senegal during the Senegalese consultations for the post-2015 development agenda. Methods used were semi-structured interviews and participant observations. The study shows that despite confusing and complicated consultations for a new post-2015 development framework, the major emphasis is still on the eight basic MDGs with some additions and improvements. It shows that a desired destination has already been mapped out but the means and knowledge on how to get there are lacking. It further shows different opinions between practitioners in Senegal and New York on what the post-2015 framework should look like.

The study is a contribution to theories on ethnography of aid and the process of international policy making for development. It is also an input into the post-2015 development agenda debate.

2. Aid to Integrated Conservation and Development Projects: Local Lessons Learned from Mount Elgon, Uganda”

Authors: Jon Geir Petursson, Paul Vedeld and Connor Cavanagh (Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Norway) jon.geir.petursson@uar.is

Abstract
What is the impact of aid when setting the conservation agenda and re-crafting institutions for protected area governance in Africa, especially on local people?

Donor driven integrated conservation and development projects have been introduced to most protected areas in East Africa since 1980s. This paper examines how donor agencies with their interests and multiple powers have influenced institutional changes in PA governance in
the case of Mount Elgon National Park in Uganda. More
the two million people live in its densely populated sur-
roundings, mostly consisting of small scale farmers that
derive their livelihoods from the natural resource base.

Different donor agencies have supported a range of
environmental and development projects in Mount
Elgon National Park last decades. After seizing power
in 1986, the still ruling Museveni government quickly
became “darling” to the international donor community.
It created conducive environment for influential inter-
national conservation actors that could employ finan-
cial powers to influence policies in Uganda. The paper
outlines key narratives and policies shaping/being shaped
by conservation donors influencing PA governance.
Employing institutional analytical tools, it examines how
different aid projects have manifested on-ground and
influenced local community livelihoods.

Aid driven institutional change is strongly guided by
the legacies of the past, the existing institutional arrange-
ments that shape current decision making, known as
path dependency. In this sense, institutional configura-
tion/re-configuration constitutes an historical process of
successive decisions and policies that have evolved over
time and that continue to shape current arrangement. As
the study shows, donors comes and goes - Mount Elgon
National Park has seen it all!

We discuss what we have learned from past experience
of conservation aid projects on Elgon and how future pol-
icy and approaches can be guided by the past experience.

3. What informed Ethiopia’s Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy?

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Abstract
Ethiopia’s Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy
(CRGES) is praised by many for being a new model of
development that incorporates economic development
and growth, mitigation of greenhouse gases, and adapta-
tion to climate change. But three years after its launch in
2011, the novelty of the development model proposed in
the CRGES is questioned and debated.

In this article, I analyse what informed the approaches
of the CRGES policy documents and practices; or – to
use Keeley and Scoones’ terms, what are the knowledge,
power and politics in the environmental policy-making
process in Ethiopia today (Keeley & Scoones, 2011)?

Through analysis of key documents and interviews
with policy makers and development practitioners, I try
to answer the question if and how the CRGES discourse
differs from previous policy discourses. Through ac-
tor-oriented case studies, I try to shed new light on the
debate about if and how the CRGES policy documents
are translated into novel development practices on the
ground.

4. Poverty and dispossession in times of unprecedented economic growth: Lessons
learned from Luanda’s post-conflict reconstruction and urban development

Author: Pétur Waldorff (University of Iceland)
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Abstract
This paper talks of Angola’s post-conflict development
path during an era of unprecedented economic growth
in the country. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in
2009-2010, the paper discusses the contrasting „realities“
presented, for example, in Angola’s state run media, and
in world economic news, focusing on economic growth
and GDP figures, on the one hand, and the reality found
on the ground during my empirical research in Luanda’s
informal neighbourhoods, on the other hand.

Development projects often look good on paper but
fail in reality, a common theme in debates on develop-
ment. Urban development in Luanda has resulted in
forced evictions of people from prime building land in
central areas of the city, and in the relocation of the city’s
informal inhabitants and neighbourhoods. The govern-
ment’s focus has been on the visually noticeable urban
development of the “concrete city” while the “social side”
of its policies has been of less importance. Others who are
not evicted or directly relocated to the peripheries of the
city are moving there from the pressures of rising costs of
housing and rising rental fees.

The paper tries to position Angola’s post-conflict
development within development theory and literature. It
ponders whether Angola’s post-conflict experience is an
example of new trends in development, in a world where
geopolitical power and influence has been shifting. In the
context of theories and trends in development (the theme
of the panel), the paper calls for a turn from strictly
economically focused approaches, focusing on Angola’s
GDP figures and economic growth, with assumptions
that the wealth accumulating in the upper tiers of Ango-
la’s political elite, trickles down to those below, towards
an approach focusing on the realities on the ground. That
is, instead of the glossy “virtual realities” propagated by
world economic news and Angola’s regime.

5. Policy and practice: Revitalization of primary health care in rural Guinea-Bissau

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Abstract
In recent years there has been an increased interest in revi-
talizing the Alma Ata Declaration on primary health care
(PHC) from 1978 to achieve the Millennium Develop-
ment Goals. This interest has been evident in Guinea-Bis-
sau; a country where the health policy has been under the
influence of Alma Ata since it was first declared. Initially
the implementation of PHC went well, but by 2010 it had started to deteriorate and a new community health policy was elaborated. The new policy stated that CHWs should be literate and that each CHW should be responsible for 50 households where he/she would implement sixteen family practices focusing on maternal and child health. For this work they were to receive monetary incentives. However, the policy did not include traditional birth attendants (TBAs) who played an important role in the past.

This paper explores the elaboration of the new community health policy in Guinea-Bissau and the implementation process that followed. The data is based on 20 months of anthropological fieldwork in Guinea-Bissau between 2009 and 2012. Participant observation was done at stakeholder meetings at the Ministry of Health (MoH) and interviews were conducted with a variety of stakeholders.

The study shows that when elaborating the new policy the MoH emphasised the importance of learning from the past and use the experience of an ongoing international PHC research project. The implementation of the policy started with the selection of new CHWs. The selection process was complex and the guidelines of the policy were not always followed. The selection also led to certain tensions as older illiterate CHWs were excluded together with the TBAs. This paper argues that for community health care to be sustainable it needs to learn from the lessons of the past regarding the importance of continuous training, supervision and motivation.

6. Perceptions of Usage and Unintended Consequences of Provision of Ready-To-Use-Therapeutic-Food for Management of Severe Acute Malnutrition

Authors: Elazar Tadesse, Pia Olsson, Eva-Charlotte Ekström (Uppsala University, Sweden), Yemane Berhane (Addis Continental Institute of Public Health, Ethiopia) and Anders Hjern (Karolinska Institutet and Centre for Health Equity Studies, Stockholm, Sweden)
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Abstract
Background and objective: Community-based Management of Acute Malnutrition (CMAM) programs relying on Ready-to-Use-Therapeutic Foods (RUTF) has been scaled-up and integrated into existing health systems as a treatment for Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) in children. This study aimed at examining perceptions of usage of RUTF for management of uncomplicated SAM cases in a chronically food insecure area in South Ethiopia. Methods: Qualitative study using focus group discussions and individual interviews with caregivers of SAM children and Community Health Workers. Audio recordings were transcribed and translated and complemented with data from field notes before qualitative content analysis was applied.

Results: RUTF was perceived as an effective treatment of SAM but also as a food to be shared and a commodity to be sold for collective benefits of the household. Caregivers expected a continuous provision of RUTF similar to food aid programs while the CMAM guidelines prescribed it for shorter periods. Caregivers’ strive for continuous access to RUTF resulted in authoritative control measures by the community health workers that in turn resulted in inventive counteractions by the caregivers.

Conclusions: RUTF were not only used as treatment for SAM but also for meeting broader food and economic needs that may limit the effectiveness of CMAM programs. The difference in perspective between caregivers and programme on how RUTF should be used; for the family or for the individual SAM child created difficulties ultimately risking the recovery of the SAM child and causing tension between stakeholders. Comprehensive interventions that address the food and economic needs of poor household have larger potential to reduce unintended use of RUTF and its adverse consequences. The complexity of CMAM programs calls for increased efforts in implementing interventions aiming to prevent SAM from arising.

7. Whose results? Whose ownership?
– Swedish policy on development cooperation and the increased demand for results

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Abstract
Over the last decade the focus on results has increased within the international development cooperation, leading to a stronger demand for accountability and aid effectiveness. Although many development actors, both donors and development partners (i.e. countries and organizations receiving aid) agree on the necessity of an increased demand for results, it has also rendered criticism for being donor driven and for changing the relations between donor and development partners; from a development cooperation owned and driven by development partners towards one where the results of the development cooperation should be measured against, and attributed to, donor countries development objectives and aid agendas.

The increased focus on results has thus raised a number of questions related to ownership and accountability: Whose results are asked for and for what reasons? Who is setting the development agenda, and based on what? Is it the goals and objectives of the development partner, or is it the donors’ demand for development results?

Sweden’s relations with developing countries have historically been characterized by a strong belief in supporting development partners in their efforts to improve the lives for poor men and women, where mutual ac-
countability and development partner ownership have been emphasized. This relation is now contested by the demand for results, which has become a top priority in Swedish development cooperation. With example from Swedish development cooperation and Swedish aid relations with Uganda, this paper explores how the Swedish relations with development partners have changed with the increased demand for results.

8. Comparison of Political Development in Two Atlantic Island States; Cabo Verde and Iceland

Author: Sigridur Duna Kristmundsdottir (University of Iceland)
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Abstract
The paper compares the political history and development towards democracy and sovereignty of two Atlantic island-states; Cabo Verde and Iceland. Cabo Verde was a colony of Portugal from around 1640 until independence in 1975 and Iceland a dependency/colony of Denmark from around 1525 until home-rule in 1918 and sovereignty in 1944. One was an African slave colony and the other a Nordic and through the ages a mostly literate society. At first glance it might seem that these two island states did not have very much in common but it is argued that within the framework of colonial domination their political history shares a number of similarities.

As well as discussing the political development of these Atlantic island territories the paper reflects upon their geography, names, population and cultural development. The issue of what is a colony is considered and the two countries fight for independence, about a hundred years apart, is placed within the context of ideological and political movements of the time. Finally, the emergence of national leaders as symbols of independence and national unity is discussed.
South Africa(s) After 20 Years of Democracy: The Old, The New and The Other(s)

Panel Organisers: Henning Melber, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Marianne Millstein and Annika Teppo, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden

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We invite submissions for critical analyses and reflections from a range of disciplines and perspectives related, but not limited to the following topics, themes and issues:

- Transformation of identities, voice and agency in civil and political society, reflecting issues such as the contested role of trade unions, the NGOification of civil society to the forces and implication of urban protests.
- Changing formations of and spaces of citizenship.
- Between neo-liberalism and welfarism: State transformations and the myth and reality of the developmental state.
- Changing class relations and implications for South Africa’s economy and society, for instance through focus on working class and trade unions or the role of the middle class(es) as force for economic and political transformation.
- Race and ethnicity, as well as other cultural identities, including aspects of migration, immigration, and inter-ethnic or so-called race relations and xenophobia.
- Gender and sexuality, including sexual abuse of women and children and homophobia.
- Religion and spirituality.
- Youth and the role of the new generation then and now.
- The state of electoral democracy and questions around political representation, authority and legitimacy.

PAPERS


Author: Aamira Chaney (Howard University, USA)
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Abstract

This research project focuses on the economic standing of black female entrepreneurs and black women overall in the post-apartheid South African economy within the formal and informal sectors. Analysis of black women’s contributions is done with the perspective of South African policy towards women’s economic empowerment.

Using qualitative methodology including interviews, questionnaires developed from interviews, content analysis of government programs, and their rate of success in regards to aiding in the empowerment of black women, the research investigates how greater distribution of resources will not only help to empower black women, but the South African economy overall, since black women constitute a major segment of the population. The research also examines the many socio-economic barriers that black women encounter in their struggle towards empowerment, including access to finance, household responsibilities, the rapidly increasing rate of HIV/AIDS, gender based violence and the significance and scholastic implications of it. All of these domestic issues greatly impact black female entrepreneurship.

In the prevailing feminist framework of South Africa, the dichotomous standpoint has been particularly detrimental to African women, because their perspectives and accounts have often been placed into the “other” category. This has removed black women’s most meaningful pursuits and socio-political interests. The research aims to correct this, and address South Africa’s internal issues encompassing government restructuring and transformation, questions of how to generate economic growth, stability and thwarting violence fueled by economic problems.

The results of the study found that black women working in both the formal and informal sectors were unhappy with the lack of economic transformation that has occurred in postapartheid South Africa. Poor education, the absence of training and transference of skills, and inadequacy of appointments to positions in various companies disappoints women. The scarcity of opportunities has resulted in black women being essentially “locked into” the informal sector in overwhelming numbers, where they receive significantly reduced income. Overall, black women have benefitted the least from South Africa’s economic policies, and their economic standing has remained unmoved post-apartheid.
2. Crafting and managing water service in a polarised city – the case of Johannesburg

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Abstract
As protests over poor and inadequate service delivery escalate in South Africa, attention has turned on local municipalities and on their strategies of ensuring that people, particularly low-income households and previously disadvantaged communities, have access to improved basic services such as water. In the City of Johannesburg, it is intriguing to realise how a simple device such as a pre-paid water meter is emblematic of the discourse and trajectory of the socio-economic development of post-apartheid South Africa. Not only does the meter represent the contractual relationship existing between the city and its water company, but also spells out the shaky divide between the state and citizens and between neoliberal and developmental state discourses. The pre-paid meter, in its regulatory function, is symbolic of the challenges, tensions and contradictions that the state faces and must overcome in order to reach out to needy sections of society. On the other hand, citizens’ displeasure towards the prepaid water meter underscores the critical role that they play in shaping not just public policy, but also service delivery options applicable to low-income households. This study aims to analyse how critical decisions on water service delivery have been made within a metropolitan municipality, with a keen focus on how key players in the decision-making process have articulated the challenges, debated and reconciled the tensions and contradictions inherent in meeting the objectives of water service delivery to low-income households – equity and efficiency. The key objective is to explain the adoption and implementation, by the City of Johannesburg, of the prepaid water metering system on certain households of Soweto high-density township, as a solution to the water service delivery challenges that faced the city in the post-apartheid period. Conclusions are drawn on how the state’s developmental agenda has or has not transformed over the last 20 years.

3. Towards a Matrix for the Advancement of Socio-Economically Deprived Students in South Africa’s Historically Privileged Universities

Author: Miemsie Steyn (University of Pretoria, South Africa)
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Abstract
Since 1994 a primary aim of educational reform in South Africa has been the broadening of access of previously disadvantaged and excluded students to and participation in institutions of higher education. Historically privileged White universities subsequently experienced a huge influx of mostly Black socio-economically deprived (SED) students, who may not always be prepared for the academic and cultural demands of these institutions, especially due to the legacies of ‘Bantu education’ during the apartheid era. This “underpreparedness” is evidenced in the low throughput rate which is currently experienced. My research question was: How should SED students’ views on key factors in their learning be incorporated in a historically privileged South African university’s student support measures? The theoretical framework was Chickering and Reisser’s (1993) model on student development in which they identified seven vectors which represent the main aspects of, as well as institutional influences on, student development. In my field work a qualitative approach was followed in using the “photo voice” method (Olivier, Wood & De Lange, 2009), combined with focus group discussions and narratives to collect the data. I combined our empirical data on the learning barriers and assets of SED students with the Chickering and Reisser (1993) model to develop a matrix for the advancement of SED students in South Africa’s historically privileged universities.

4. The State-Industrial Complex and the Swedish-South African Gripen Deal

Author: Wayne S. Coetzee (University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
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Abstract
No other event in South Africa’s recent history has generated such controversy as the 1999 Strategic Defence Procurement Package (more commonly known as ‘the arms deal’). Although much ink has been spilled on the arms deal there are still considerable theoretical gaps. The Swedish Gripen component of the arms deal in particular has been under-researched and under-theorised, and it receives attention in this paper.

The aim of the paper is to generate new theoretical insights into the Gripen component of the arms deal by examining the state-industrial complex. Evidence suggests that states and arms-related industries are often two sides of the same coin in large-scale arms deals. Labour, however, is habitually excluded from this conventional view. This paper incorporates labour into the state-industrial complex by highlighting the concomitant role that metalworkers unions in both South Africa and Sweden played in the Gripen acquisition process. The paper therefore aims to differ from those accounts that separate labour and the private sector, and it asserts that such sharp distinctions cannot be made when production processes, actors, ideals and interests are interlinked and internationalised.

It is suggested that labour elites in South Africa and Sweden formed part of what is known as the transnational elite. By building on and expanding Robert W. Cox’s
conceptualisation of the nébuleuse, it is argued that there is a ‘labour elite’, ‘industrial elite’ and ‘political elite’ that equally benefitted from the Gripen deal. The assumption is that these elites conceded to the structural determinants of the world economic and military system. Moreover, the analysis emphasises the concept of disaggregated elite cooperation and therefore challenges the notion that the policymaking elite must play to two monolithic audiences: its leftist popular constituency – who are linked to organised labour – and externally orientated domestic and international capital.

5. Gatvolkstaat en Ander Wit Lokasies: Afrikaans ‘Shelters’ and the Production of Autonomous Spatialities in Contemporary South Africa

Author: Vladislav Kruchinsky (Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia) vladislav.kruchinsky@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper examines new spatialities which are being produced in so-called ‘shelters’, or ‘missions’ – informal settlements populated primarily by poor Afrikaners and concentrated mainly in urban and peri-urban areas of Gauteng Province.

‘Shelters’, ‘missions’, or ‘white informal settlements’ are a peculiar update of apartheid government’s ‘improvement’ schemes aimed at reintegration of poor whites back into the society of privilege and a part of a broader tendency towards privatisation of some of the functions of the old regime in a neoliberal setting.

Today there are around 80 rent-based ‘shelters’, concentrated primarily in the northern part of Gauteng Province. Located on the private land and registered as non-for-profit organisations, these spaces are essentially invisible for the state and are also excluded from the broader process of development of the city from below, thus representing a trend towards ethnic-based autonomisation and seclusion of urban informality.

Economic bases and types of communities produced in the settlements vary: one can encounter a tightly surveilled ‘mini-volkstaat’ in the making, a worker’s commune, an old-age home or a criminal operation in disguise of a night shelter. However, these settlements share a number of common features: they are located in the secluded areas where inhabitants have to comply with a set of rules and tight spatial regulations outlined by the owner.

Based on a method of participant observation and in-depth informal interviews with residents and formalised interviews with the owners of the ‘shelters’, the paper describes political economy, everyday functioning, sets of informal rules and spatial arrangements of these settlements. The paper also seeks to conceptualise the status of the ‘shelters’ and place them in the broader context of South African urban informality.
Youth and Political Engagements in Contemporary Africa

Panel Organisers: Elina Oinas and Henri Onodera, University of Helsinki, Finland

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The panel discusses the concept of “politics” when studying youth in contemporary Africa. We wish to investigate different meanings of what “politics” may mean in unstable contexts. We hope to look at different contexts regarding state formation and democratic structures, post-conflict developments, NGO involvement, donor funding and global connections. We welcome papers on forms, contents and experiences of political engagements in the everyday lives of young people – including potential de-politicization, professionalization, consumerism and struggles for mundane livelihood – in various contexts. Alongside the different empirical case studies the workshop wishes to shed light on the underlying modes of knowledge production and their implications to diverse audiences.

PAPERS

1. Networks of the Unconnected: Youth and the Politics of marginality in Violent Contexts in Nigeria

Author: Akin Iwilade (Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria and University of Oxford, UK)

Abstract
This paper investigates the politics of youth in violent and uncertain contexts in Nigeria. It examines the ways in which youth as a sociological category use marginality as a resource with which to construct meaning out of life in violent contexts. It makes two main arguments. First, it contends that the notion of the ‘marginal youth’ is more a political rather than a social fact. Therefore, it is possible to reconstruct youth marginality within violent contexts in ways that allow us to acknowledge the ‘marginal’ as being, in reality, in the mainstream of social life. Second, it argues that the idea of the ‘marginal youth’ is a construction both of the young as well as of dominant structures of power. This implies that claiming the space of the marginal is often a social tactic with which young people navigate complex social relations and not necessarily always the fact of their situation. In the case of dominant structures of power, ‘marginal youth’ makes it possible to construct young people as threats to social stability. In making these claims, the paper uses interview data from young people in two violent contexts in Nigeria to demonstrate the utility of ‘marginality’ and to question how we frame power in uncertain contexts where key markers of stability—government, state, tradition, religion, gender, territory and so on—are being intensely questioned. It uses the manipulation of ‘marginality’ by ex-militants in the oil rich Delta region of Nigeria as well as similar patterns among youth vigilantes responding to the Boko Haram menace in the North East to show the politics surrounding the very notion of youth and its marginality.

2. “We hustle for our rights”: Young people’s political engagement with environmental resources in Northern Kenya

Author: Nanna Jordt Jørgensen (University of Aarhus, Denmark)

Abstract
This paper discusses how a group of young people in a pastoralist community in Northern Kenya engage in negotiations of the management of an environmental resource, namely sand harvested from community owned land. My ambition is to shed light on how young people experience and conceptualize their political engagements with the environment, and to discuss how these engagements intersect with educational experiences, livelihood strategies, and social as well as existential aspirations.

The presentation is based on empirical material gathered during my PhD field work in Kenya. Driven by a phenomenological interest in the everyday life experiences of young people, the field work aimed to explore ethno-graphically how youth engage with the environment and environmental education in conditions where both social and natural landscapes and livelihoods are under pressure and in transition. This paper discusses in particular a group of young secondary school graduates who during a number of years had received paralegal training by NGOs. They involved very actively in negotiations of the communal management of sand, drawing on local and trans-local ideas and practices related to natural resource management, rights and justice, and community, while at the same trying to enhance their own livelihood opportunities and social position.

In their own words, these young people “hustle for their rights” to benefit (individually or communally) from the sand. Inspired by other scholars who have recently
discussed the notion of hustling and its use by youth involved in “informal” economic activities in African cities (e.g. Munive, 2010; Thieme, 2010), I will elaborate analytically on the empirical term of hustling. An exploration of the meanings of hustling for one’s rights illuminates, I argue, that young people’s political engagements with the environment form part of a more general quest for survival and mobility, which is to a large degree shaped by their educational experiences.


*Author:* Joseph Oduro-Frimpong (Ashesi University College, Ghana)

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*Abstract*

In contemporary Ghana’s democratic culture, the bulk of research on the ‘pulse’ of political engagement focuses primarily on official institutions. In this presentation, I examine informal but equally important facets of democratic political engagement of Ghanaian youth. First, I focus on the works of two young political cartoonists, Black Narrator and Akosua. Specifically, I show how their works, which appeal to many educated Ghanaian youth, skillfully blend global cartoon conventions and local communicative aesthetics, to critique sociopolitical issues such as corruption, unemployment and cyber fraud. Second, I examine partisan political engagement by some Ghanaian youths of the two main political parties – National Patriotic Party and National Democratic Congress – via Facebook and Whatsapp. Here, I explore photo-shopped images that re-present some perceptions or issues that members of these respective political parties hold of their political opponents. Through these discussions, I demonstrate that to fully grasp Ghanaian youth political engagement, one has to explore such participation within the complicated entanglement of popular media genres.


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*Abstract*

The Zimbabwe National Youth Service (NYS) of 2001 was part of a broader National Youth Policy formulated in 2000. The youth service was designed to instil a sense of responsibility among the youth, develop a sense of duty, patriotism and responsibility among other things. However, the programme gained notoriety for producing elements that terrorised the nation through murder, rape, beatings, abductions, torture, looting, and arson on behalf of ZANU PF against its real and perceived political opponents. The ‘Green Bombers’, as the National Youth Service graduates were pejoratively called, became a potent tool of violence who were ready to maim and kill ostensibly to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe. As a result, the programme became synonymous with violence and the atrocities which were perpetrated by these youths have been documented. Over and beyond that, the youths are also presented as ready and willing agents who availed themselves to ZANU PF political schemes and their label as enthusiastic perpetrators of violence is a strong one. This study will explore state coercion as a tool for youth political mobilization. I argue that the process of recruitment, training and participation in the NYS involved complex power relations between the youths, on one hand, and the state and other social groups on the other hand. I will analyse the nature of the agency which the youth exercised as a vehicle to navigate and explore the stereotypes of perpetrator and victim in order to understand the impact of political violence on youth. Recasting existing literature, I will analyse the intricate experiences of the National Service youths to go beyond the clear-cut demarcations between victim and perpetrator and accommodate overlaps and ambiguities which existed. Through this study I hope to contribute to the broader debates in youth studies that focus on vulnerability and victimhood as opposed to agency and responsibility for action in the fields of war and politics.

5. Wade dégage ! Y’en a marre! Youth Mobilizations and Representation(s) of Citizenship in Senegal

*Author:* Ndiouga Benga (University Cheikh Anta Diop, Senegal)

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*Abstract*

The analysis of the process of governance in Africa is dominated by a conception which does not give enough visibility to the dynamics of appropriation and domestication, to the permanent recreation of the public space by the practices of ordinary people (subaltern resistances). The experiences and the experimentations of the everyday life (possibilities of becoming) offer unfinished geographies, going against the reducing imaginary of the politicians and the bureaucrats. In Senegal and particularly in Dakar, the protest movement is carried by young people, inscribing their presence in the political and social space. The claim to justice and recognition on the one hand, and the desire to moralize the political field on the other one, have found their field of expression and legitimacy in the street demonstrations, in 2011 and 2012, to oppose themselves to the authoritarian excesses of the President Abdoulaye Wade. The Y’en a marre movement reflects the production of new imaginaries of engaged citizenship and responsibility. It articulates the slogan of the “New Type of Senegalese” (NTS), around a variety of technics of mobilization, such as the urban cultures (graffiti, rap), the barricades or the call to vote on the elections’ day. The
aim of this paper is double: first, to analyze the reconfiguration process of youth mobilizations and second, to understand the new link of youth to citizenship in Senegal. This imaginary citizenship served as inspiration in neighboring countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea.

6. Lost, silent, moving on? Praising the Lord and thinking about politics with young adults in Kitgum

Author: Henni Alava (University of Helsinki, Finland)
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Abstract
During a meeting with a group of young adults in Kitgum town in January 2013, a rather fierce debate broke out over whether or not youth in Northern Uganda were “lost”. In this paper, I propose to take this debate as a starting point for analysing some of the ways in which the intertwinings of religion, morality, and politics are commonly conceptualised in Acholiland. The notion of youth being lost was commonly ascribed to youth by elders, who had vivid memories of what life, and the relationship between youth and elders, had been like in Acholiland before the 20 years of war in the region. However, the feeling of being somehow lost or confused was often also present in the discussions I had with young adults themselves. The sensation was, in my understanding, related to a silence about the past, evidenced in the many life story interviews I conducted with active Catholic and Anglican parish youth in Kitgum, who narrated to me their lives in war-torn Kitgum with absolutely no reference to the war.

This silence was alternately understood in Kitgum as a sign of unaddressed trauma, or as a sign of the ability of people to leave the past behind and move on. In this paper, I seek to make some sense of the ways in which the young informants of this study sought to make sense of their past, their present, and their future. Of particular interest to me are the ways in which religious and political community are imagined in these processes of sense-making. My preliminary hunch is that ideas of religious community and religious language reflect and are reflected in ideas of the political. In the post-conflict situation in Kitgum, characterised by much uncertainty and confusion, religious and political imaginaries are constantly shaken. Not being “lost”, and moving on, thus requires a constant balancing act between remembering and silencing the past, and between trusting and despairing over the future.

7. Theorizing youth and political engagements in contemporary Africa – embedded engagements and situated agency

Authors: Elina Oinas and Henri Onodera (University of Helsinki, Finland)
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Abstract
The paper will discuss the challenges and potential openings when theorizing recent political engagements by young people in different contexts on the African continent. The paper draws from an ongoing research project with seven researchers situated in Cairo, Tunis, Nairobi, Lusaka, Johannesburg and Cape Town. The project constantly debates conceptual frameworks in youth research, feminist theory and political sociology, pondering on the applicability and translational challenges when used and elaborated upon in various situations that are both using and not using language familiar from global protest movements and civil society engagements. In this paper we will especially focus on the theme empowerment, embeddedness and freedom.
Pan-African Perspectives – Governance and Gender: Politics, Power and Patriarchy

Panel Organisers: Gertrude Fester, Rwandan Association of University Women, Rwanda
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In this panel with rather diverse inputs, participants will focus on evaluating and assessing governance in Africa with specific reference to citizenship, marginalised groups and the role of culture and religion. Case studies from Rwanda, Mauritius, South Africa and Zimbabwe will be highlighted and used as starting points for assessing trends of governance in Africa in general. The role of women as decision-makers and to what extent this results in policy changes will be surveyed. The hiatus between policies and implementation will be critiqued. In conclusion strategies with a focus on inter-generational feminist approaches will be explored and examined to what extent these could contribute to positive developmental challenges in Africa.

PAPERS

1. Inter-generational Perspective – The reality of women and governance: Reflections on women’s active participation in leadership transformation

Author: Grace Ruvimba Chirenje (African Christian and Theological School, Zimbabwe)
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Abstract
There has much talk about women’s actively participating in good democratic governance systems with a particular bias towards equal representation of women in the political sphere. However, despite many steps that have been made in equal representation by women in politics, there still remains a wide gap. The challenges confronting women and their participation and under which circumstances will they actually turn the fortunes of women will be explored. The presentation will highlight sliced realities at various levels from a Pan African Perspective but with specific reference to Zimbabwe. This presentation will seek to share women’s lived realities as political players. This will include women’s sharing their experiences as political activists, politicians and academics. This panel will be represented by a cross section of ages (73 to 32) so as to enable a multigenerational dialogue towards attempting to understand, through reflective means, the role of women leaders in governance. Examples will also be drawn from written texts, lived realities and experiences so as to make it more robust and give it depth and meaning.

2. State and Place of Leadership and Governance In Africa

Author: Arsène Bonyi Badibanga (Action internationale pour la paix et le developpment dans la regions des grands lacs, Dr Congo)
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Abstract
Advancing the argument that autocratic regimes were best placed to mobilise and organise resources to ensure development and national unity, politicians generalized the practice of this form of government in African countries starting in the second half of the 60s. Unfortunately, these regimes did not permit the anticipated results to be obtained, Sub-Saharan Africa was characterised, at the end of the 80s, by the population’s deteriorating living conditions and unstable political environment. These regimes therefore lost their credibility and their legitimacy internally as well as externally. Movements to liberalise political life, which in most countries have accelerated their activities, made it possible to obtain results that varied from one country to another: - Countries at war have either an unremitting dictator or an impediment to the democratic process; - Countries where the chief of the executive branch is ever present and all powerful, with frequent human rights violations, is considered a “democracy becoming more democratic.

While Africans seek enhanced democracy, they also are aiming at improving their living conditions. If, a priori, it seems difficult to establish a link between the type of political regime and economic performances, it has been proven that the consolidation of democracy requires sound economic performances. More than the type of regime, it would be the country’s practice of governance that would explain the difference in economic performances. Good governance could guarantee better economic performances. Good governance implies the existence of appropriate institutional, human and material
Abstract
The notion of 'governance' is an open-ended term in international scholarship and is used to describe various normative accounts of how societal or public institutions like 'states' ought to 'behave' or conduct their affairs, managing and or distributing resources; being inclusive and allowing for greater networks, participation, accountability and responsiveness. Several ideas abound. There are those who believe societies are in crisis and others who suggest they are in transition, undergoing changes. However how these ideas are implemented in designing research and documenting studies are open to question. These different strands of thought call for new lenses to critically review the social, economic and political conditions for social solidarity and new learnings of differentiating forms of citizenship. One of the key assumptions of this position paper is that the concepts of 'governance', 'states' and 'citizenship' are deeply gendered. And as argued by feminists (Preece, 2002; Lister, 2010) that the way men and women learn what is valued in terms of active citizenship and citizen's participation in decision making, impacts on their identity as citizens, their perceived entitlements and roles played as members of a given society that remains open to be challenged.

South African feminist perspectives joined some of the mainstream social science discourses on the implications of this transition much later. Similar to these they, too, adopted different disciplinary angles to research and discuss social and cultural issues associated with the transition; but failed to provide a comprehensive historical (feminist) review of debates on the period; neglecting an analysis and critical appraisal of the role of the so-called 'developmental state'. Some perspectives did however begin to engage with mainstream interpretations on the basis of the role that gender played accessing rights of citizenship. The shift to discussions of notions of citizenship was viewed a positive move to encapsulate an overarching conceptual framework (on citizenship), offering new possibilities and opportunities for more critical feminist scholarship to emerge. This dire need to assess and study gender inequalities and emerging social relations, apart from political identities of women and gender in a contemporary changing democracy, became strongly influenced by international feminist views. Hassim (2005a), for example, argued that the early transitional focus on citizenship influenced women's further political strategies for greater inclusion and political participation (Hassim, 2005b). The nature of how the transition to democracy evolved was further perceived as impacting strongly on further demands for greater equality, representation and access to power in policies and decision–making at all levels of society by different social, political and economic strata. For example the Bill of Human Rights became a vehicle to socially mobilise for citizenship rights mutually agreed to by all stakeholders irrespective of race, gender, or ethnicity and ability (Minnaar-Mcdonald, 2013). The transition was said to have opened up spaces for feminists and other vulnerable groups (poor women, disabled people, gay and lesbian groups) to articulate a broader agenda in striving for greater equality, justice and proper access to citizenship.

It is within this larger feminist standpoint agenda, of interrogating the transition through a gendered lens that this paper is located. By focusing on practices of 'governance' (here understood as policies and structures / processes through which political power is exercise through a range of government and non-government bodies) that are deeply gendered (e.g. gendered social development and business oriented entrepreneurship projects for poor men and women in the period following 1994), the discussion will contribute to contemporary debates on gender transformation, empowerment and women's economic citizenship in the post-apartheid, post-conflict context of 'democratizing' implementation practices. By drawing empirical evidence and with reference to pro-poor policies that aimed to reduce social inequalities, the discussion will further seek to clarify the dynamics of the SA transitional context and role of the developmental state using an alternative care perspective. Gender and social development policies that emphasized partnerships will be singled out for critical feminist explorations of how women (and other vulnerable social groups) are currently positioned and affected due to 'misbehaving' state practices.

4. Strategic Alliances, Inequality and Power

Author: Elaine Salo (University of Delaware)
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Abstract
I would like to address the issue of alliance building between women and other vulnerable gendered groupings on the continent. I address the issue of intersectional identities as salient practical categories of analysis that require us to address issues of inequality and power between groups on the margins. I argue that unless we address these issues of inequality and recognise our complex collaborations with power and our need to work through them we cannot realise the goal of solidarity in the struggle for gender justice. I draw upon my own experiences
working in support of men's health in the MSM sector and with the needs of poor women and girls in South Africa as a case to anchor my argument.

5. Intersectionalities, Consciousness and Rematriation.

Author: Bernedette Muthien (Constitutional Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities in South Africa)
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Abstract
The Indigenous concept of Rematriation refers to reclaiming of ancestral remains, spirituality, culture, knowledge and resources, instead of the more Patriarchally associated Repatriation. It simply means back to Mother Earth, a return to our origins, to life and co-creation, rather than Patriarchal destruction and colonisation, a reclamation of germination. As a restorative imperative, it is most relevant to feminists in general, since we, like Native peoples, need to reclaim our Feminist ancestry, our feminist spirituality, our feminist culture/s, knowledge and control over natural and other resources. We need to chart paths, strategic interventions, dreams and realities that are not mere alternatives to HeteroPatriarchal Capitalisms, but entirely reconfigure our cosmos, Rematriate our societies. I will show the relevance and contribution of indigenous knowledge and foster social transformation based on indigenous ways of knowing. I hope this session will contribute to this restorative and transformative imperative.


Authors: Damilola Taiye Agbalajobi (Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria) and Solomon Akinboye (University of Lagos, Nigeria)
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Abstract
The participation, desire and desirability of women in Nigerian politics have generated heated debates over the years and still continue to divide opinions across different platforms. Women have been tagged, labelled and categorised as the weaker sex in general social constructs due mostly to social values, norms and beliefs, which have neglected their meaningful contributions and have placed them in a subordinate position to men in the nation's political system. Although theoretically, the political enfranchisement of women in Nigeria politics seems to have maintained a level of gender equity, since there are no known constitutional barriers to women's participation in Nigeria political space, it is different in practice. Exactly what prospects and problems do women encounter in their quest to participate in politics in Nigeria? This study aims to evaluate women's participation in Nigerian politics from the local geopolitical perspective by highlighting those factors stimulating or hampering such participation of women in Nigerian politics, in order to determine the possibility of these factors being functions of local geopolitical influences. Much of the literature on women participation have focused on the general factors affecting women participation and specifically noting the idea/notion that the society perceives that women's space is in the private and not the public. Many of these literatures also see religion and culture as major factor affecting women's participation in politics. While in agreement with existing literature this research goes further to investigate peculiar locational influences on women's participation in politics, by comparing the level of women participation in the geopolitical zones in Nigeria.

7. Gender, politics and governance in a plural context: The case of Mauritius

Author: Ramola Ramtohul (University of Mauritius)
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Abstract
Broadly speaking, governance pertains to decision-making by a range of stakeholders, including formal political representatives and those in positions of authority as well as the 'ordinary' citizens of a country. Although some progress has been made, governance in Africa remains male dominated. Yet, governance needs to be more gender sensitive for effective and efficient development to occur. This paper analyses the gender dimension of pluralism and ethnic politics in Mauritius, arguing that communalism marginalises women's political presence and participation in the governance process. Mauritius is an island nation, set in the Indian Ocean, with a population of 1.2 million. Mauritius has a plural society and the Mauritian population is presently composed of four ethnic groups and four major religious groups. Mauritius is one of Africa's cited developmental democracies and has been a model to the developing world in terms of sustained democracy and political stability, high literacy rates, economic growth and progress. In absolute terms, Mauritius thus appears to be a successful and almost an exemplary democratic development state. However, the Mauritian democratic development state is fundamentally flawed in the sense that despite the political system catering for representation on ethnic grounds, the gender dimension has remained grossly marginalised since independence. Mauritian women's presence in politics has remained marginal despite the prevalence of consolidated democratic governance and a distinct improvement in the status of women in Mauritius since independence. Drawing from data gathered from semi-structured interviews conducted with women politicians and independent women activists, the paper argues that the high focus attributed to ethnic and communal representation by the Mauritian political and electoral system marginalises women. Competition for
electoral tickets is intense, and in Mauritius, political candidates are often sponsored by religious and socio-cultural associations which are male dominated and sponsor male candidates. Moreover, the ethnic lobby is much stronger than the women's lobby in the Mauritian political system as political parties strive to maintain popularity among all ethnic groups. Women have also been left out of the main political debates dealing with electoral and constitutional reform. Hence, the paper argues that the salience of the communal dimension in Mauritian politics, where political parties seek to please and represent all communities, marginalises women's political representation and their participation in the governance process.


Author: Gertrude Fester (Rwandan Association of University Women, Rwanda)

Abstract
It is an irony of history that in April 1994, while South Africans were celebrating the first democratic elections in its history, Rwandans were experiencing the shortest, most intense genocide the world has known. From 7 April to 4 July nearly one million people were brutally massacred in what is now officially known as the ‘Genocide against the Tutsi’. Subsequently both countries confronted enormous challenges. Rwanda was devastated, infrastructure was destroyed and the country was left with a deep emotional and traumatised populace. But Rwandans were not only victims; they were committed to rebuild their country from the ashes. South Africans emerged from nearly 400 years of colonialism through which indigenous people had been deliberately impoverished and land taken away (1913 Native Land Act). Forty-six years of apartheid contributed directly to creating one of the most unequal societies in the world. Both Rwanda and South Africa were steeped in poverty and unemployment. Following April 1994, and in the case of Rwanda, July 1994, both countries embarked on vigorous democratisation and transitional justice programmes. Both have impressive human rights based constitutions. Another striking similarity is the commitment to promoting women's empowerment and gender equity. There are remarkable national gender machinery and specific women-friendly policies. Rwanda has the most women in government in the world (64%) and since 1994; South Africa's representation has always been in the top four globally.

But what does all this mean for the quality of women’s lives? Have family, community and workplace gender relations altered at all? What have been the implications for intimate relations, gender based violence and hierarchal sexual division of labour? Has the feminist project of comprehensive citizenship been attained in these two countries with their legacy of patriarchy and unequal hierarchical gender relations? These and related questions will be addressed in this presentation. Strategies for overcoming challenges and best practices globally will also be explored.

9. Rwandan Women’s Political Leadership on Democracy and Development

Author: Shirley Kaye Randell AO (SRIA Rwanda Ltd)

Abstract
This paper investigates the impact of women’s political leadership on democracy and development in Rwanda from 2003 to 2013. The purpose of the paper is to determine whether women's increased participation in high-level decision-making has played a role in political stability, economic growth and development for the country. The paper evaluates the overt and covert impact of women's leadership on democratic and development processes as evident in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), poverty reduction, life expectancy, and other development indices. It presents a business case for investing in women’s political and economic leadership, given the evident social and economic dividends that this has brought to Rwanda. Lessons learned and implications for other countries are canvassed, including the knowledge, competencies and skills needed to attain leadership positions, and the political, educational and institutional strategies necessary to retain them.
24. Rebuilding Rwanda and the Quest for Progress and Good Citizens

Panel Organiser: Simon Turner, Aalborg University, Denmark

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The post-genocide Rwandan state has been hailed by many for its efforts to overcome past ethnic divisions and its quest to create a progressive, efficient and visionary future for the country. Similarly, it has been criticised by many for its authoritarian tendencies, the limited freedom of speech etc. In this panel we will not evaluate whether or not these measures are ‘good’ or ‘bad’ but rather explore how the state functions and the means by which it seeks to create new citizens that fit into the visions of Rwanda as the new ‘Asian Tiger’, and how these citizens in turn respond to these attempts. From various angles, the panel will explore the elitist social engineering taking place in the countryside, the ways in which the returning diaspora believe that they have been ‘given’ a virgin territory upon which to model a new nation, the ways in which the state educates the masses in solidarity camps, and the aesthetics of development that create a religious fervour among its adherents.

PAPERS

1. Voting in the “right” way: Elections, gender politics, and young women’s lives in Rwanda’s born-again churches

Author: Andrea Grant (Oxford University, UK)
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Abstract
Taking the 2013 parliamentary elections as its starting point, this paper explores the gender politics of Rwanda’s new-born-again (aborokore) churches. Although the elections saw women win an unprecedented 64% of seats and the promotion of women has been a key tenet of the ruling RPF party, male born-again pastors accused believers of not having voted in the “right” way and of thus upsetting the “natural” balance of men and women in society. Despite the intimate relationship between the abarokore churches and the state – the new abarokore churches, I argue, provide spiritual legitimacy to the RPF at the same time that the RPF acknowledges them as powerful new players on the country’s post-genocide spiritual landscape – when it came to the “proper” role of women in society, a rift emerged between the government’s forward-looking and avowedly secular “vision” of the future and the churches’ own Biblical understanding of time and gender relationships. Profoundly different understandings of Rwandan culture and tradition were at stake. While the RPF claimed that its promotion of women has its roots in strong female leadership in Rwanda’s pre-colonial past, the churches viewed it as an imposition from the West that was unbiblical and unnatural. Drawing on 16 months of fieldwork in Rwanda, I examine how young abarokore women understood this conflict in their everyday lives and relationships. Some young women felt that the church gave them new confidence and stability, allowing them to develop the capacity to love and become good citizens; others found the church’s insistence that women should submit unquestioningly to male authority highly problematic and at odds with the country’s progressive gender policies. To these women, the church’s black-and-white approach to morality and female sexuality did not adequately account for the social, moral, and political complexity of the present, which, I suggest, has become increasingly defined by “quiet insecurity”.

2. “Kwihutisha Amajyambere: Progress Talk, Anatomies of Aspiration and Political Subjectivity in RPF-led Rwanda”

Author: Andrea Purdekova (University of Oxford, UK)
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Abstract
After the genocide, the RPF-led government has not only embarked on an exigent plan of social and economic transformation of the country, it has also carefully elaborated and began cultivating an ideal ‘citizen role’ fit for the task. The evolving and increasingly more complex civic education program is a potent show of the importance of instilling a particular relation to the state in the population. Through the analysis of ‘progress talk’ – as reflected in civic education documents, broader policies and speeches, lessons and performances in six different ingando camps and other recently instituted reconciliation and development activities – the paper inquires, not primarily about the type of future that Rwanda strives for, but rather the Rwandan that is meant to deliver it, thus opening broader questions of state-society relations, political subjectivity, as well as more intangible but important issues of the politics of hope and ‘temporal displacements.’ Importantly, since progress talk combines future visions with a re-narrated past, it is through both the government’s selected and crafted connections to the past (evident in a surge and over-production of ‘traditional’ activities) and its ‘expansions’ to a particular future, that we best glance the ‘images of citizen’ that are put to work in contemporary Rwanda. The paper studies the
implications of this for the type of political membership being forged, and it critically assesses the extent to which ‘temporal (re- or dis-)orientation’ plays a part in politics.

3. Becoming a ‘good’ farmer: the conflict between traditional knowledge and implemented ‘modern’ techniques in a Rwandan village

Author: Anna Berglund (Lund University, Sweden)
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Abstract
The Rwandan government aims to reduce poverty and enhance development by, among other things, increase agricultural production and imposing ‘modern’ farming techniques in rural areas. Subsistence peasants are compelled to adopt this agricultural ‘modernization’, by implementing state-directed policies of mono-cropping on consolidated land. Peasants furthermore have to follow the authorities’ choice of crop, fertilizer, time of planting and harvest. In this project for agricultural modernization, Rwandan policymakers are relatively indifferent to the peasants’ ‘local knowledge’ and their wishes and needs. Based on 12 months ethnographic fieldwork in a Rwandan village, this paper discusses how peasants practically deal with the implementation of the modernization policies, and how they try to avoid or minimize its impact on their daily routines. It further analyzes how messages about agricultural modernization are interpreted and mobilized by peasants according to their particular contexts and social locations, and how they position themselves in relation to the state and the changes taking place in their village and everyday life. My paper argues that the peasants, rather than being ‘traditional’ or ‘resistant to change’, also have a vision of development that challenges the official message. By drawing attention to peasants’ wishes, needs, ideas and methods of resistance, this paper aims to contribute to the theoretical and empirical understanding of the consequences of top-down social engineering, but also underscores the need to include local visions of development into agricultural modernization projects.

4. The Rwandan countryside as a contested arena of change: state’s ambitions versus rural realities

Author: I.R.R.J.B.Cottyn (Utrecht University, teh Netherlands)
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Abstract
The Rwandan government is engaged in a highly ambitious project to reengineer society through new developmentalism and a quest for modernization, with at its heart the transformation of the countryside. Despite remarkable growth rates at the national level, such top-down agenda leaves little room for bottom-up mechanisms and rarely results in equitable trickle down effects that take on board the poorest categories. In Rwanda we can see that massive challenges remain with nearly half the population still living in poverty. Previous research indicates a mismatch between ambitions of the ruling elite and the everyday realities of the rural population, as the latter are regarded as mere subjects to the top-down agenda imposed on them rather than agents within this field of change. Based on primary data collected during five months of mixed method fieldwork, this paper analyses the social and economic transformation of the Rwandan countryside. It will show how it is becoming a contested and politicized arena of change by giving an understanding of the poverty dynamics and patterns of inequality at play as a consequence of rural households’ (in)ability to absorb and adjust to these processes of change. First the paper will analyze the implementation of the different policies aimed at transforming the countryside, such as agrarian policies including regional specialization and land consolidation in combination with the process of villagisation and bringing urbanization into the countryside through the planning of rural development centres. Second, new opportunities and new pressures that emerge as a consequence of these policies will be elaborated and how these are perceived by rural households. Looking at the current dynamics of change and their implications for the lives and livelihoods of rural Rwandans, we argue that the high ambitions do not match the reality that is the erosion of local social order and patterns of inequality being reproduced and enforced.

5. Training for Model Citizenship: Civic Education in Rwanda

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Abstract
During the past two decades, the Rwandan government has gone to great lengths in rebuilding and developing the country following the genocide in 1994. These efforts are meant to leave no Rwandan behind; national development is said to hinge on each and every individual’s contribution. To this effect, a nation-wide civic education programme has been launched, called Itorero. It aims to change the ‘mindset’ of the entire citizenry, making people more results-oriented in their everyday lives. Having participated in a number of these programme trainings and learning to know several of its past and prospective participants, I confirm that the programme does indeed seem to change people’s mindsets. However, this effect rarely comes about from a single training. Itorero differs greatly depending on whom it targets, and although participation is formally mandatory, human inventiveness enables some sceptics to avoid or postpone enrollment. Meanwhile, when placing the programme in the larger context of governance in Rwanda, Itorero unfolds as but one, if yet important, example of a more general mode of
governance in Rwanda - which does reach most people. Moreover, although this mode does impact on people’s mindsets, the effect rarely seems to correspond to that officially stipulated. Rather than making people more results-oriented, Itorero primarily influences how people relate to the state and to themselves as citizens. As such, the Itorero programme offers valuable insight into the exercise of state power in Rwanda, as well as into the more general role and potential of civic education in state governance.

6. Smallholder farmers’ experiences of the land use consolidation programme: the Case of Musanze district, Northern Province of Rwanda

Authors: Emmanuel Muyombano and Margareta Espling (University of Gothenburg, Sweden) emmanuel.muyombano@geography.gu.se

Abstract

The post-genocide Rwandan government has pronounced ambitious development goals in its Vision 2020. Agricultural development is central, as some 80% of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. However, Rwandan agriculture has long been characterized by high population pressure, land fragmentation, simple cultivation techniques with few inputs, leading to over-cultivation and consequent soil degradation and erosion affecting already low productivity levels negatively.

Rwandan strategies for economic development and poverty reduction envision a social transformation of the society, requiring a shift from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture. Key in this agricultural transformation is the Crop Intensification Programme, aiming at increasing agricultural productivity of high-potential food crops. The main component of this programme is land use consolidation; the joint cultivation of large areas – of several smallholder plots, over which they retain individual land rights – is expected to deliver important economies of scale. The programme includes provisioning of improved seeds of the six selected crops, subsidized fertilizers, processing and marketing, and extension services.

Serious critique of the programmes has been raised, such as authoritarian implementation, negative effects on food security from mono-cropping few selected crops, and rural socio-economic differentiation.

The aim of this paper is to discuss opportunities and challenges of the agricultural policy of land use consolidation, based on fieldwork in Musanze district, Northern Province. This paper is based on 34 collective and individual interviews with smallholder farmers (women and men) and local key informants in five sectors.

The findings indicate both opportunities and challenges. Farming cooperatives and their services have played a fundamental role in improving agricultural productivity and food security through joint production. The findings also show that smallholder farmers, whose plots are within the selected land use consolidation sites, may not cultivate non-selected crops (i.e. subsistence food crops), which has negative impact on food security and nutrition.

7. Governing relations – relations governing? The intimate production of male citizens at Iwawa Island

Author: Rose Løvgren (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) tfn627@alumni.ku.dk

Abstract

Since 2010, the Rwandan government has run a rehabilitation center for young men on Iwawa Island in Lake Kivu. The center’s stated purpose is drug rehabilitation, yet many of its detainees are not addicts, but sent there by family members due to domestic disputes or randomly arrested in police operations clearing the streets for prostitutes and loitering male youth. When involved government officials explain its purpose they highlight the young men’s failures to maintain proper and stable relations – be it to their families, the nation state or to women. Rehabilitation at Iwawa attempts to repair and reshape these relations through psychological therapy, sexual education and mandatory circumcision. The center thus plays a pivotal role in governance of the domestic and intimate relations of men and provides a prism for examining how these issues are related to the production of citizenship. As Rwandan state power seeks to reach and gain control of these relations, Iwawa’s detainees in turn interpret, appropriate and live out the center’s instructions in ways, which in most cases produces quite different relations than the ones intended by the central government. Moreover, as relatives of these young men utilize Iwawa, for example as a way of getting rid of them during inheritance conflicts, we may say that the relations of young men, which Rwandan state power seeks to govern, in turn partake in shaping the way governance is executed. Drawing on philosophical and ethnographic perspectives on performative and ritualized production of gender and citizenship, I inquire into the many ambiguities arising in the intimate relations between Iwawa’s detainees and Rwandan state power.

8. The Aesthetics of Development and the Beauty of Tradition in Rwanda’s Fantasies of the Future

Author: Simon Turner (Aalborg University, Denmark) sturner@dps.aau.dk

Abstract

This paper explores how the Rwandan state creates aesthetics of an ideal nation. It argues that the ideal-image is created and maintained not only through discourse and legal regulations but also as concrete images. One of these images is the Kigali Master Plan; a futuristic/fantastic
image of a city that bears no resemblance to the present city or the landscape in which it is supposed to be placed. These images conjure up a future that even those citizens whose houses will be demolished by the Master Plan, believe is ‘beautiful’. Aesthetics are also central in the revival of traditional institutions and culture that the Rwandan state is promoting. Pre-colonial royal institutions that emphasised grace, eloquence and self-control through dance and poetry, are being encouraged in an attempt to give back Rwandans their dignity and self-esteem. This paper explores how the Rwandan state performs its sovereignty through the image of the Kigali master plan and other images of the future, and how it forms its citizens through ‘traditional’ ideas of ‘beauty’.

9. Building the national identity in post-genocide Rwanda and its impact on creation of new citizens

Author: Urszula Róg (Jagiellonian University, Poland)
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Abstract

The aim of this paper is considering about building national identity in Rwanda after genocide. Genocide, which took place in Rwanda in 1994 resulted in the systematic massacre of more than 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in less than 100 days and destroyed completely the social structure and social ties.

The new nation without ethnic divisions is an answer of the Rwandan government to the challenges of reconciliation after genocide. Before 1994 Rwandan society was divided along ethnic lines. After genocide, according Rwandan Constitution from 2003, officially ethnicity doesn’t play the role in public discourse.

Analyzing the Rwandan politics, I will try to present how in post-genocide Rwanda government build a new national identity. Today Rwandan society is composed of the survivors and the killers. Besides, many refugees returned to Rwanda from neighboring countries and they also want to have a place in society. It’s shows that is not easy build national identity, especially when is based on tragic history. This process provide many challenges and risks but is necessary to rebuilds the country and creates a new citizens under the slogan: “we are all Rwandas”.

25. Emerging African Middle Classes

Panel Organiser: Iina Soiri, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden

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Over the last year we’ve seen more attention to how economic development has paved the way for, and been driven by, the growing middle classes in many African countries. The emerging African middle classes are perceived not only as a critical economic force, but potentially also a wrench for political and social transformation. What is the reality of these ongoing transformations in terms of the role and position of the middle class?

In this panel we want to explore the multiplex phenomenon of the African middle class(es). Some of the issues/questions to be explored:

- The fragile economic and social definition and position of the middle classes – ‘many middle classes’ – and how do they differ in country contexts?
- How well does the narrative about the globalizing consumerist middle class ‘fit’ African experiences – are there more to the story than the dream of a western life styles and consumerism?
- What are the tensions and prospects between middle class as liberal entrepreneurs and as active democratic citizens?
- Political middle class and an African spring. What are the potential for alliances between middle class and working class issues More than gated communities? Middle classes and changing patterns of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion in African cities
- An education leap? Does education and access to information for a growing middle class make room for change?
- Middle class and broad-based growth in Africa? Is the growing middle class a driver or a buffer for growing inequality?

PAPERS

1. Law, politics and the emerging Zambian middle class

Author: Jeremy Gould (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)
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Abstract

The neoliberal restructuring of African public economies since the 1990s midwifed the emergence of new socio-economic groups which espouse values and embody lifestyles that resemble, to a large extent, those of the ‘global’ middle strata visible in virtually every corner of the planet. These socially heterogeneous, upperly mobile, self-confident groups have been a central pillar of the burgeoning ‘civil society’ formations which have captured significant political space in many African societies during this same period.

A theoretical tradition associated closely with Jürgen Habermas predisposes social scientists to view this emerging middle class stratum as potential champions of political liberalism – a more open and vibrant public sphere, the consolidation of ‘bourgeois’ political values, and modes of engaged citizenship committed to greater individual freedoms. A countervailing template for the analysis of the socio-political effects of this sociological transition comes from Fanon to Spivak, which cautions skepticism about the liberalism of the postcolonial petty bourgeoisie. From this perspective, the emerging middle classes cannot be expected to promote greater openness and freedom, but are rather likely to embrace forms of self-serving, autocratic and exclusionary political agency.

Empirical observations from a number of countries across the continent can be cited in support of either of these models, often within the same jurisdiction. This paper seeks to problematize the assumptions underlying both traditions. To this end, the analysis exploits the author’s long-term ethnographic engagement with a pivotal component of the emergent middle classes in Zambia – lawyers and closely aligned rights activists – to interrogate how the sociological transition spurred by the economic liberalization of the 1990s has contributed to the translation of postcolonial governmentalities into new ideological forms and modes of ruling.

The paper suggests that these new practices of government are grounded in an amplified significance of legalism as an ideology of government fueled by, among other factors, global discourses that privilege ‘rule of law’ and ‘rights-based development.’ This makes lawyers a particularly opportune site of scrutiny for thinking about the relationship between processes of class and state formation in contemporary Africa.
2. What is the role of the expanding middle class in solving African governance challenges in the era of afro-libertarian political economy?

Author: Sirkku K. Hellsten (University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and the University of Helsinki, Finland) skhellsten@live.com

Abstract

Africa has suffered, during the recent decades, from serious problems of bad and failed governance with endemic corruption. The international development cooperation with its requirements of ‘good governance’ and respect for human rights has not significantly succeeded in improving the overall situation, sometimes it rather appears to result in enforcing ‘pseudo-democratic’ practices. The externally funded programmes focusing on reforms of governance, justice, law and order sectors have not had the desired impact. Instead, the scandals and persistent corruption in various African countries have continued persistently. The governance situation in Africa has generated debates and concerns not only about lack of political integrity and public trust in number of African states. It also has raised questions about the applicability of universal and internationally applicable standards of leadership and public service ethics in evidently very different historical and cultural context.

The paper analysis some of the main causes of this situation, and what it takes to tackle the governance challenges. The author argues that the relationship between traditional culture and African contemporary political economy has created socio-political context that can best be labeled as ‘afro-libertarism’. Afro-libertarism results from the failed integration of the demands of global free market economy with the African traditional communalist approach to social justice. This has created partial and biased governance practices that encourage corruption, nepotism, croyism, and other forms of favoritism. These practices also prevent institutional structures and political cooperation from working for the benefit of all citizens thus enforcing the narrow advantage of the elites, as well as of those ethnically or otherwise close to them. The papers continues to examine how the current global development paradigm and related policies further enforce these structures – not only in Africa but rather globally leaving also the partner government vulnerable to poor governance. Particular attention is paid on how the situation further enforces fragmentation of African society to socio-economic classes which have little contact – and few shared interests – with each other. The author challenges the argument that African expanding middle-class will solve some of the most striking governance issues. The problems of Africans social classes living in poverty are not of interest of the new middle class, as it is too busy catching up with the global trends of consumer society.

The author suggests that in order to be able to bring about social equality and alleviate poverty, there is an urgent need to move away from the vicious cycle of bad governance based on individual and sub-national loyalties and class-related interests rather than the common good. If we want to promote more impartial forms of governance in Africa, reform programmes need to be based on redefined politico-ideological trends which can re-examine the values of post-colonial African humanism which is calling for solidarity and ‘moral economy’.

Kenya and Tanzania are used as study cases. Particular attention is based in analysis why the donor supported governance reforms have failed in these two countries. They also present interesting post-colonial ideological differences that in the current context are nevertheless merging into afro-libertarian practices.

3. Middle Class(es) in (Southern) Africa – A Critical Assessment

Author: Henning Melber (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Sweden) henning.melber@dhf.uu.se

Abstract

The notion of an emerging middle class has gained prominent currency in recent times, not least by the emphasis placed on the role of such a class in the UNDP’s Human Development Report 2013. As a segment in society, the middle class is considered as innovative and an engine for transition to modernity and development.

This paper takes stock of the debate on the middle class(es) in Sub-Saharan Africa with particular reference to Southern Africa and tests the concept against the empirical realities. It critically analyses the current praise of the middle class(es) role in promoting social progress and looks into trends in mainly Southern African societies.


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Abstract

Kiswahili video-film industry has flourished from its existence in mid 1990s. Started with a single film in a year to over 500 two decades later, demonstrates such growth. Self-trained screenwriters, actors, production crewmembers who account for over 90% of the total filmmakers population, control the industry. The industry relies mostly on lower class people as the main source of artists and consumers of the films. The middle class-elite regards Kiswahili video-films as poor and of low standard in terms of content and quality of packaging compared to Hollywood films.

Less involvement of the Tanzania’s middle class-elite in the industry has substantial effects including lack of sustainable capital investment as well as limited distribu-
tion channels. This article is about the perception of the middle class-elite on the Kiswahili video-films in Tanzania. The article argues that, the ‘unprofessional’ nature of the industry is a reflection of the ‘pauper’ middle class-elite of Tanzania. It further asserts the need for purposive ‘enlightenment’ and involvement of the middle class not only in the production but also in the consumption of the films.

5. Study on social impact of stock market development on Kenyan and South African citizens

Author: Curtis Kidd Telemaque (Visions Consulting Group, USA)
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Abstract
Historical evidence suggests financial markets are positively linked to economic development via savings rates, global exposure for local companies, fostering foreign and domestic investments, creating information symmetry, exerting corporate control, and allocating capital. Consequently, stock markets in Africa are explored by academics and policy-makers as mechanisms to foster economic development throughout the sub-Saharan region.

The study examines the social impact of stock market development on Kenyan and South African citizens. Focus groups were used to observe middle-class, working-class, and professional-class black Kenyans’ perceptions and concerns of the Nairobi Stock Exchange. In addition, several interviews from South Africa’s professional, and middle working-class were used to gather similar data on the investing habits and perceptions of Black South Africans. Research efforts revealed most Kenyan and South African middle working-class citizens are aware of the economic potential of their respective financial market system. Kenyan citizens, across socio-economic levels, utilize the stock market as an additional vehicle to enhance their financial well-being in the short-term. South African investors from the professional class perceive the stock market as a savings vehicle that will enhance their long-term financial goals.

Additional analyses show financial market development in Africa must be accompanied by favorable economic policies, education, transparency, and infrastructure development in order to benefit most citizens. Political and economic stability in Kenya and South Africa will spur growth among its middle working-class; therefore, further investigation of this population’s investment habits is necessary to gauge evolving understanding and uses of the stock market in national development.

6. Delegated Development? How South Africa’s Emerging Middle Class is Negotiating the Wealth Redistribution Space on Behalf of the State.

Authors: Jason Musyoka and Jennifer Houghton (University of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa)
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Abstract
Given South Africa’s racially divided past, the post-apartheid state sees its legitimacy as founded on its’ effectiveness in dissolving racial divides in economics, politics and in the social space. Within this framework, the state considers affirmative action as a double edged sword which will effectively correct the country’s history and effectively address poverty and unemployment at a quicker pace. Although the redistribution agenda has occupied a central role in South Africa’s post 1994 development policy, there are no indications in the country’s policy documents to suggest that an expanding middle class was an expected outcome. A growing middle class was of course inevitable considering affirmative action logic, except that the state was committed to processes of racial balancing without much consideration of how this balancing would interact with class dynamics.

The middle class discourse is largely dominated by media as well as lay perspectives, and effectively, critical thinking is largely missing in the middle class debate. Less is therefore known about the kind of development occurring as a function of an emerging middle class. This is a fundamental blind spot.

Although literature on the middle class has tended to focus more on middle class consumerism and less on its redistributive role, this paper does not question the possibility for the middle class to redistribute wealth. What it questions (and seeks to answer) is the substance of this redistribution, and the possibilities it holds in addressing structural poverty.

The paper will posit that the emerging middle class is gaining redistribution grounds which have traditionally been a preserve of the state. It therefore commits to enlighten on how the emerging middle class is negotiating the underdevelopment space on behalf of the state, and whether this middle class – development concession is producing development tokenism or real development gains.
Close ties of relatedness play a key role for narratives of mobility. Migrants share their experiences with significant others, and when stories are shared they are also created and recreated. In particular, individuals’ narratives of mobility are mediated by how these stories relate to other family members’ migration trajectories and to the way these have been narrated. Sometimes there is a long family (hi)story of migration which strongly influences the narratives of individual family members. There may be a genealogy of migration that includes successive movements to different places at different times, and includes several generations.

Narratives about mobility tend to focus on vital conjunctures, or key events, that are of importance for the creation of identities as well as for projects of life-making. Life-making is associated with livelihood, but it also signifies efforts of transforming an unfulfilling life into a potentially fulfilled one. Creation of identities and projects of life-making are, in turn, intimately tied to relatedness. Stories of migration therefore unfold in relation to the trajectories of significant others.

This panel is particularly focusing on how narratives of mobility are shaped in relation to migrant genealogies, and how individuals’ narratives are shaped by family histories of migration. It also explores narratives and migration from other perspectives, for instance in relation to vital conjunctures, projects of life-making and relatedness. The panel will discuss narratives and migration from a methodological perspective.

**PAPERS**

1. “Have you ever seen a plane seat before?” Migration and mobility narratives among university students in Ghana

*Author:* Kajsa Hallberg Adu (University of Ghana, University College, Ghana)

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*Abstract*

In this paper, I want to discuss migration and mobility narratives of university students based on a series of focus group discussions held at University of Ghana (a major public university) and Ashesi University College (a small liberal arts college) in Ghana. My interest is in undergraduate students, a group that is largely overlooked in migration studies. To understand why and how students migrate out of Africa, I argue an Africanist or decolonial view must be applied. One way of doing that is letting African students themselves explain the phenomenon. Another aspect is to contextualize Ghanaian university students’ migration narratives and include a critical view of knowledge production in the world (Dei 2010, Gatsheni 2013, Grosfoguel 2011).

My results suggest that while most students consider international migration in their projects of life-making, a share of them instead expressed strong aspirations not to migrate based on a mix of family and cultural reasons. I found that parents, but also religious leaders and lecturers play a role in shaping migration aspirations. Students mention, and critique, the strong “norm” to migrate aligned with literature on cultures of migration. Students also discussed receiving direct information from friends and relatives abroad over VOIP and social media channels – new important avenues for narratives of migration. Although students in general are well informed about the steps for migration, many do not own a passport, suggesting the aspiration is not always backed by preparations. Interestingly, several students suggest lower-educated individuals are more likely to have a strong aspiration to migrate – I construe this as form of “othering”, not previously found in the literature.

2. Songs of Migration: Narratives and Experiences of Migration, Place-Making and Identity Negotiation Among Zimbabwean Migrants in London

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*Abstract*

A lot of emphasis has been placed on the economic and political sources and ramifications of Zimbabwean migration post-2000. It is however important to not let such predominantly political and economic considerations become overarching in ways that obfuscate the historical, as well as complex cultural elements that have accompanied dispersion and experiences of (un)belonging by Zimbabwean migrants. Drawing insights from the (auto)ethnographic study I am undertaking amongst Zimbabweans in London, I seek to use music as a vehicle to providing a “cultural lens” into narratives and experiences of migrant. The thrust is to acknowledge and explore the historical and contemporaneous trajectories of Zimbabwean migration to Britain that have existed before, and continue to
exist regardless of, or in the midst of, the socio-economic and political crisis that pervades the dominant narratives of such migration. This establishes possibilities for an intergenerational understanding which encompasses those who moved from Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe in 1980, to the present. Zimbabweans in Britain have been, and continue to be part of transnational circuits and circulations of African and other migrant and diasporic forms of music. From consuming various types of music, to touring artists from Zimbabwe, as well as relationships with other African artists and communities, stories of migration emerge, which do not exclude, yet transcend the images of crisis and abjection that have recently been at the forefront.


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**Abstract**

This paper explores Ethiopian-Eritrean migrants’ transnational journeys and entry mechanisms to Sweden. Sweden has been one of major destinations for various types of Ethiopian and Eritrean migrants. However, the strict immigration policies and border controls in the European Union (EU) in general and in Sweden in particular make formal entry mechanisms difficult. Hence, drawing their own capabilities and agency as well as establishing new networks and using existing ones, many of migrants are reported to be using dangerous journey across the Sahara desert and Mediterranean Sea via the Sudan, Libya, and Italy. Others use study and provisions of ‘family unification’ channels. Migration through such methods and routes has become a culture and a project of life making for various types of Ethiopian-Eritrean migrants because several generations of migrants have entered and settled in EU in this way since the 1960s and this is narrated and re-narrated for significant others in everyday occasions. In this ‘irregular migration’ processes, many actors such as former migrants in the diaspora and en route, migration brokers and smugglers and other institutions in different places facilitate it for money and/or social obligations. Global connections through Internet chats and cheaper international phone call further back this up. Hence, as part of my ongoing PhD project (2012–2016) this paper’s point of departure is to explore individuals’ agency and experiences during their migratory journey and entry, which is, in fact, a complex process involving a combination of ‘legalized’ and ‘illegalized’ means; smugglers and helpers; travelers and settled located in multiple spaces. Accordingly the focus is on how resources, information and knowledge are continuously obtained and shared through narratives and practices among migrants in order to manage dangerous and long journeys and other entry strategies to Sweden.

4. Colonial and post-colonial legacies in Eritrea. Remembering ancestors to implement migration strategies

**Author:** Valentina Fusari (University of Asmara, Adi Keih College of Arts and Social Sciences, Eritrea) valentinafusari13@hotmail.com

**Abstract**

Italian presence in Eritrea can be divided into two main phases: the colonial phase (1890–1941) and the post-colonial one (1942–1975). Following the Derg rise to power, the Italian community decreased in number. The descendents of Italians, now including also second and third generations, are an important element not only for the analysis of the Italian social heritage, but also for understanding a particular group of migrants. This community, that stems from the Italian migration during the last XIX and early XIX century, can be divided into two subgroups, identified using the life histories and the life course lines. The first subgroup consists of those who have been recognized and, therefore, have Italian citizenship. The second, however, is the most interesting as from the narratives the Italian origin emerges, but it can not be proved. So these Eritreans are still waiting for their Italian citizenship.

In the Eritrean socio-political landscape, the opportunity of having an alternative citizenship is now a strategy, as it allows people to leave the country legally, while data show that most of emigration from Eritrea is illegal, even affecting the regional security because of the smuggling of migrants. After the last border conflict with Ethiopia (1998-2000), in addition to the many requests of citizenship got bogged down in bureaucracy, people increased their requests and got going to collect the missing information concerning their ancestors. The explanation behind such requests is not only the opportunity of legal mobility and the acquisition of other rights related to the Italian citizenship, but the main purpose is to avoid several duties, mandatory to obtain the full Eritrean citizenship, such as the long-lasting national service or the recruitment in the Warsay-Yekelalho Development Campaign, that is why the international community accused the Eritrean government of human rights violations.

5. In the presence of the suppressed

**Author:** Viveca Motsieloa (Uppsala University, Sweden) viveca.motsieloa@etnologi.uu.se

**Abstract**

“I’ll tell you how I feel, I feel like I’m mixed race”, a black Ghanaian male returnee tells me with a distinct British accent during a family week end with returning migrants of Ghanaian and Caribbean heritage.

To critically explain how a black African may feel “mixed race”, the analysis of discursive practices need to transcend the here and now and uncover the presence of historicity through its absence, disclosing the genealogy...
of passing as a means of explaining the archaeology of migration.

In this paper I explore in what way whiteness shapes and limits the becomings and orientations of diasporic Ghanaian repatriates as they are embarking on new beginnings in the Ghanaian capital Accra. According to Sara Ahmed migration is best studied through the phenomenon of passing and with her reasoning in mind I explore what whiteness does to the returnees in their emancipatory struggle to feel oriented, or in place, in their country of origin and in relation to the Western world where most of them grew up.

Through an ontological interaction between phenomenology and post-structuralism I discuss migration through the practices of passing as, articulated through the elements of race and class, in an attempt to provide alternative interpretations of the historicity of racism, highlighting how whiteness became an integral part of the Enlightenment project.

The role the Gold Coast in West Africa played, in this political project, through forced and voluntary migration to Europe and the Americas, during the era of Transatlantic slave trading, is central to this discussion. The result of the struggles of who can pass as what conditions the lives of contemporary returnees both in the Western countries and on the African continent leading to multiple positionings, as privileged and stigmatized positions are being lived simultaneously.
Beyond the Provision of Water Infrastructures: Water Institutions in Irrigation Schemes

Panel Organiser: Atakilte Beyene, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden

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Development of irrigated agricultural schemes is increasingly becoming important policy priority for Africa for various reasons. Increasing population, expanding urbanization, climate change and food security priorities are the major reasons. As a result development of water infrastructures such as dams, diversions of rivers, and water boreholes of various scales are being undertaken by the states, donor organizations and the public sectors. While the focus to expanding water infrastructures is a welcome development, there is, however, limited knowledge on the social and institutional dynamics unfolding in and around the water infrastructures. This panel, therefore, calls papers focusing on the following three interrelated issues related to irrigation schemes.

First, institutional and governance systems in irrigation schemes: Issues related to water rights, water transfer rights, water distribution, and water administration practices are important in this. Similarly, collective action dynamics and formation of irrigation organizations’ are relevant topics.

Second, managing access to land and water across important stakeholders: Ensuring equitable access to and control over land and water for poor and marginalized rural households, women and groups are critical policy objectives for improving food security. Furthermore, sustainability of irrigation systems can also be dependent stakeholders who do not directly use the irrigation scheme, such as those located in the upper-steam. Experiences on mechanisms on how to bridge such gaps are welcome in this panel. Frameworks for payment for environmental services, water fees, compensation for costs incurred by the stakeholders etc are relevant in this.

Third, marketing and production systems dynamics in irrigation schemes: Full water control irrigation schemes often imply new products and agronomic practices that require high inputs-output system. The particular properties of products and the corresponding market requirements are important aspects in this.

PAPERS

1. Community Participation in Water Sector Governance in Kenya:

A Performance Based Appraisal of Community Water Management Systems in Ngaciuma-Kinyaritha Catchment, Tana Basin, Mount Kenya Region

Authors: Cush Ngonzo Luwesi (Kenyatta University, Kenya), James M. Mathenge, Chris A. Shisanya, Ishmail O. Mahiri, Rose A. Akombo, Mary N. Mutiso
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Abstract

The Republic of Kenya initiated key reforms in 1999 for its water sector governance, which culminated with the release of a water act in 2002. In compliance to the Water Act 2002 and to enhance their water security, local stakeholders in Ngaciuma-Kinyaritha came to create the unique Water Resource Users’ Association (WRUA) in that catchment in 2006 amid many Water Service Providers (WSPs) and Community Water Management Systems (CWMSs). How would the Water Resource Management Authority (WRMA) integrate the existing CWMSs in the legal and institutional frameworks guiding the development, supply, utilization and conservation of local water resources by the new WRUA? Should these CWMSs seek registration to qualify as WSPs? This study sought to assess the performance of all the above key institutions involved in the management of water resources and supply of water services in Ngaciuma-Kinyaritha Catchment of the Tana Basin of Mount Kenya Region. It basically aimed to isolate the contribution of CWMSs to domestic water security in the catchment among other Water Service Providers (WSPs) and managers (WRUAs). Empirical tools of scientific research employed to achieve these objectives included a household survey of 165 farmers and 36 in-depth interviews. The analysis encompassed an appraisal of the performance of these water governance institutions based a Performance Assessment and Evaluation (PAE) approach. Findings revealed that CWMSs played and keep playing a key role in developing the existing water resources, thus increasing farming water profitability in the catchment. These CWMSs were achieving 30% of the targets of the water sector reforms in ensuring domestic water security in Ngaciuma-Kinyaritha Catchment among other WSPs and the WRUA. If their technological innovativeness on water supply and catchment management was enhanced, these institutions would perform better and make a greater contribution to the success of the water sector reforms therein. Hence, WRMA, WRUA and WSPs shall not neglect to integrate them in their legal and institutional frameworks for future collaboration.
2. Management of water supply and sanitation in Namibia: a pilot case Namport (MARIWATER)

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Abstract
Clean and hygiene water (drinking water and sanitation) should be a basic right to everybody that leads to food safety, health and security. In Africa, there is a growing demand for clean and secure water. On the other hand, human acts, especially sewage can interrupt the marine ecosystems. Namport (= port of Walvis Bay) is the only important international sea harbor in Namibia. The planning and construction of 300 million expansion project is starting this year. When finished, the port will be a work place for 500 hundred workers at a time.

The aim of this project is to study and find cost effective technological solutions on water, using a pilot site Namport as an example. Purifying sea water to potable water in Namibia is also studied, due to high water scarcity in Namibia and many other African countries. In addition, the effects of sewage to marine ecosystems will be studied. The knowledge will be transferred to the local researchers and companies using eLearning environment. The way of acting can be transferred to other buildings such as schools and hospitals in Africa. The project will provide new tools for help risk management, and political decision making processes on water issues in Namibia and other African countries.

Local partners for this project are the Polytechnic of Namibia and Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources. In addition, there are several European partners, presenting research, education and small and medium size enterprises on water sector. Funding for MARIWATER is applied from Horizon2020.

3. Emerging irrigation systems and institutional requirements in Ethiopia

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Abstract
Ethiopia is a case where expansion of water-based economic development is set as one of the key policy priorities to attain accelerated economic growth and irrigation development is one of these. Today the frontiers in irrigation development range from very localized individual- and plot-based water development practices to large-scale irrigation schemes involving diverse actors who have direct and indirect stakes in decision making processes. In between these, degrees of autonomy in decision making (individual vs collective), scale of operation and number of stakeholders vary significantly. These are important configuring factors in irrigation management regimes.

Similarly, the boundaries between what is small-scale and large-scale irrigation and between traditional and modern irrigation systems have also increasingly become blurred and some conventional assumptions need to be reexamined. For instance, irrigation systems are commonly described as small-, medium- and large-scale systems and each of these are often assumed to have somehow exclusive institutional and organizational properties and operating independent of each other. However, many of the new irrigation schemes involve active role and interest of multi-stakeholders such as the government, donors, the private and public sectors and local the people themselves. What institutional and governance systems are developing in such multi-stakeholder contexts?

The paper aims to develop typology of irrigation systems, which reflect the diversity (existing and emerging) of irrigation regimes, and map the corresponding management features and requirements. The intended outcome of this exercise is to enhance knowledge on institutional and governance systems of irrigation management.


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Abstract
Integrated Water resources infrastructure management (IWRIM) to achieve sustainability is a complex phenomenon involving many people, institutions, sectors and activities. The governance institutions in developing world have sacrificed a lot of their limited resources to invest in water infrastructures to address challenges of urbanization, population growth and impacts of climate change. However, many of these infrastructures have fall short of sustainability due to uninformed decision making, poor coordination and inadequate control. One of several ways of improving coordination is the use of appropriate technologies including integrated Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). Integrated ICT solutions can play a pivotal role in engaging water resource institutions to attain sustainability goals of IWRIM. They provide tools and techniques that can create a common platform for sharing information at the bottom level. They can provide many options through which community can engage in giving and receiving information regarding water resources. Despite this potential, integrated ICT solutions have not been evaluated against their relevance to community engagement for sustainable water resources. This study, therefore is proposing a multi-theory framework combining both technical and social aspects to evaluate relevance of currently implemented integrated ICT solutions to coordination activities of formal water resource institutions. Implementation focuses
on small scale but sensitive irrigation schemes around Trans-boundary Lake Victoria in Tanzania’s part. Three theories considered in the framework are relevance theory, social theory of change and technology adoption model. This architecture is believed to complement strengths and minimize weaknesses of individual theories thereby improve the methodologies of evaluating the contribution of ICTs in strengthening formal water resource infrastructures in transboundary water resource context of a developing country.

5. Pro-Poor Schemes in Response to Water Inequality in Kenya in the Course of Climate Change: Strengths and Weaknesses of Kauti Irrigation Water Users’ Association (Kauti Iwua)

Authors: Wanja Kinuthia (National Museums of Kenya), Rose A. Akombo and James M. Mathenge and Cush N. Luwesi

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Abstract

Topographic and orographic patterns of water catchments are key factors disadvantaging many farmers living upstream to access equitably water resources vis-à-vis their downstream counterparts. Climate change is also another threat to water availability for farming and poverty alleviation in rural areas. Finally, the absence of market outlets locks out business opportunities to these farmers’ category. In response to these issues, the Kenya Water Act 2002 introduced several pro-poor schemes enabling stakeholders’ participation in the planning, development, allocation, management and monitoring and evaluation of water resources for poverty alleviation. These pro-poor schemes have been propounded to be effective mechanisms for poverty alleviation initiated by local stakeholders instead of national strategies. They are the best strategy for sustainable farming water management in time of water stress and scarcity. This evaluation dealt with Green Water Saving (GWS) schemes implemented in Muooni Catchment of Eastern Province of Kenya. This paper focuses on the results of the PESTLE and SWOT analyses conducted on Kauti Irrigation Water Users’ Association (Kauti IWUA). It presents results from responses of 101 farmers, 20 key informants and a Focus Group Discussion (FGD). It reveals that Kauti farmers have high potentials to curbing floods, but their weakness to mitigate drought was mainly stressed by the lack of proper strategy for disaster preparedness and a weak technological capacity, basically due to the obsolescence of hydro-meteorological equipments and financial capacity. These evaluation findings highlights insights for further implementation of the water sector reforms initiated by the Government of Kenya in the year 1999, which are being revised in line with the Kenya Constitution 2010.

6. Case study from the Gambella region of Ethiopia

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Abstract

This paper presents a case study from the Gambella region of Ethiopia, where large-scale land concessions shape the resource system and necessitate adoption of new institutions. According to a regulation ratified by the Council of Ministers, private investors are free of water charge, and have the right to take over already built irrigation structures such as dams or main canals. Since there is no river basin authority in the Baro-Akobo basin, water use permit issues are managed by the Ministry of Water, Irrigation and Energy which has limited capacity to fulfill its duties. The Alwero river in Gambella is a key source of water for indigenous rural communities that practice fishing, pastoralism and shifting cultivation agriculture. Their water rights are now taken by Saudi Star Agricultural Development Plc., who is developing a rice plantation on 10,000 hectare along the river. There are no environmental controls or limits established on the company’s water use. Moreover, they started to develop a 31 km long canal to transport water from the river to the rice fields, but there are no mechanisms for monitoring the effects of increasing water use, and the impact of the cement-lined canals on downstream: users, the Duma wetland, and the wildlife. A comprehensive land use and river basin plan would be important to avoid the escalation of resource conflicts and for future development of the region. The analysis will look into how commercial farming challenge the complex social and ecological system in Gambella, using Elinor Ostrom’s Social-ecological Systems (SESs) framework. The interaction between the different stakeholders (users and decision makers) and the region’s land and water governance system will be at the center of the analysis.

7. Competitive Farming Strategies and their Effects on Irrigation Water Demand and Farming Profitability Among Smallholder Farms:

The Case Of Muooni Dam Site, Kenya

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Abstract

Muooni farmers shall continuously review their cropping strategies in line with the market dynamics, without withstanding the environment in which they operate, if sustenance of their competitive advantage and farming production possibility frontiers are to be met. The ever shrinking water endowment and changing climate in
Kenyan Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) have forced a majority among farmers to adopt various strategies so as to survive. This study sought to investigate some of the competitive strategies used by farmers to secure higher earnings and good incomes while facing the threat of unpredicted drought. The study also investigated the effects of these competitive farming strategies on farmers’ irrigation water demand and their farming profitability. A survey was conducted among 101 farmers located at a radius of 100 meters and above around Muooni Dam. The analysis was supported by a descriptive design. It applied optimization inventory models to sense the adjustment of crop water requirement in each farm to the fluctuating active water storage capacity of Muooni Dam. This enabled unveiling the effects of farmers’ competitive strategies on their irrigation water demand and farming profitability. Results indicate that product differentiation was probably the most important competitive strategy used at different magnitudes by farmers in Muooni. The use of market segmentation, convenience retailing and low cost leadership strategies were the least used competitive strategies. On the other hand, was very high. Hence, Farmers have adopted multiple cropping of about 9 seasonal crops and 6 perennial crops on a small parcel as a strategy to cope with crops failure under unexpected drought. On average, farmers recorded total annual incomes and deficits (negative profits) of US$ 640.99 and 529.94 in the year 2010. Results also revealed that this smallholder farms’ economic viability was threatened by higher average water cost of US$ 217.78 (representing 31 cents/m³), water over-abstraction (about 231.73 m³/acre/annum) and fertile soil loss due farmlands sub-division, over-cropping, eucalyptus tree planting and soil erosion problems that enhanced water stress in the catchment. Farmers were thence obliged to adjust their irrigation water orders with increased water prices without taking into consideration their crop water requirement. The depleting soil moisture did not allow them meeting crop water requirement, thus leading to massive crop failures. Even though the analysis lauded Muooni farmers for their efficient hydro-policies such as Rain Water Harvesting and Storage (RWHS) and water treatment, it did not condone them for not using appropriate bylaws, tariffs and technological devices (meters) to regulate water use, measure water abstractions and effluent discharges, and charge them accordingly. Therefore, efficient farming competitive strategies were found to be highly correlated to farming water demand and required the optimization crop water requirement within the limits of affordable costs, under any rainfall regime. Farmers may have opted for either an economic order quantity (EOQ), or for a quantity well-matched with the limit average cost (LAC) or a minimum efficient scale (MES). This may have enabled them implement rational farming water use strategies and appropriate alternative technologies to foster agricultural allocative and technological efficiencies within their farming production possibility frontiers.
Citizenship and Civil Society: Accountability, Legitimacy and Governance

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A growing body of literature investigates the changing forms of citizenship and its social formation in relationships between governmental, private and associational spheres. Citizenships can be understood as a pallet of constellations of social belonging including a variety of claims for rights and responsibilities, and consequently, multiple manifestations of governance. In such constellations, the accountability relationship and forms of legitimacy gain hybrid forms in which the “modern” and “traditional,” “legal” and “legitimate,” “private sector,” “government” and “civil society” intertwine in many ways. Such hybrids open arenas where citizenship is exercised, claimed and controlled both by individuals and institutions, often transcending state borders. The panel brings together theoretical and empirical papers which explore the changing arenas of citizenship, accountability and legitimacy.

PAPERS

1. Exercising citizenship in hybrid organizations? Governance and leadership in African NGOs

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Abstract

After the wave of enthusiasm in the 1990s, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Africa have been under increasing critical scrutiny. The literature has described a variety of contextual interpretations of this specific organizational form. Additionally, disappointment to NGOs as being unable to meet the expectations in regard providing spaces for citizens’ participation and mobilization, but reduced to one-man efforts and briefcase organizations has been articulated. The questions of representativeness, accountability, performance and transparency have been problematized especially in connection with the aid funding channelled through NGOs. Increasing focus has been on research on how NGOs work rather than how they should work. In similar vein, we focus on the organizational realities of NGOs and examine the everyday governance in NGOs situated in and gaining legitimacy from multiple organizational environments. Drawing from the literature on organizational institutionalism and corporate governance we examine the notion of hybrid organization and its implications to governance and leadership practices within relatively small NGOs. The empirical examples derive from the mechanism of selecting the Board of Directors in Ghanaian indigenous organizations and leadership practices in small Tanzanian NGOs. In conclusion, we discuss our findings on corporate governance in relation to the notion of NGOs occupying a space between “behaving citizens” and “misbehaving states”.

2. Disciplining the market: The changing structure and function of governance in a Ugandan marketplace

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Abstract

Informal systems of governance in Africa are being reshaped as they come into contact with governments, donors and businesses seeking new ways of accessing and regulating informal activities. In 2012, Kampala City Council Authority (KCCA) took over the management of Nakasero Market from a group of vendors, amidst violent confrontations. The market is the oldest in the city, and had developed its own institutions for managing dispute resolution, sickness and burial. For the vendors, the takeover was significant not only for its introduction of a new form of authority in the market, but also for the perceived ‘disorganisation’ of long-standing rules and processes.

Drawing upon observations, interviews and market records collected during 10 months of doctoral fieldwork, this paper presents an analysis of the changing structure and function of governance in a Ugandan marketplace. It explores both the material implications of a switch from a ‘traditional’ to ‘legal’ form of authority – for example the decline of the disciplinary committee and increased use of the Police – and the symbolic implications of the end of the vendors’ management of the market. The paper’s analysis speaks to contemporary debates on how strategies from above and below are transforming social
and economic relations in informal spaces in Africa. It demonstrates that the closer one gets to everyday life in such places, the less useful the categories of 'formal' and 'informal' become for describing governance practices.

3. Resource Conflicts and the Security-Development Nexus in Africa

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Abstract

The conflicts in resource-dependent African countries particularly oil, are not limited only to the boundaries of the respective countries, but go far beyond it, from the Nigerian civil war of the late 1960s to the recent war in Libya oil has been the prize in numerous military conflicts. The global consequences of the invasion of Iraq by the United States-led allied forces in 1990 to 1992, and in 2003 have been far reaching. Beyond the threat to global peace and security through the growth of resistance and extremism throughout the world, the humanitarian and economic costs are also alarming.

This paper analyse issues arising from the interrelationships between resource conflicts, security and development that help to explain the nature of underdevelopment in Africa and argues that the main motivation behind insurrections, rebellions and wars in resource-dependent developing countries is not just about greed; in most cases it is resistance to and reaction against long term neglect and socio-economic deprivation in the mineral resource rich regions, the capture and corrupt control of the revenues accruing from such resources either by the International Oil Companies IOCs or the central governments and their lack of accountability to the citizens.

I posit that part of the explanation for the crisis is the nature of the continued exploitative relationship between the IOCs and developing countries in terms of raw materials extraction which has now led to escalating contestation around resource capture - including the state, criminalisation, breakdown of law and order and a global criminal economy network. The adverse social and economic effects are not only felt locally but globally, as any major disruptions to oil production for example the Gulf of Guinea sends the price of oil higher in the international oil market.

I conclude this has led to the radicalisation of development policy, which is merging conflict resolution with a neoliberal global governance agenda of social transformation of societies in developing countries. The establishment of the United States African Command (AFRICOM) to police the oil facilities in the Gulf of Guinea region is an unsolicited assistance to protect the energy security interests of the IOCs and the developed nations and may further aggravate crisis in the region.
The theme of this roundtable will be how to engage with ‘policy’, broadly speaking. Conflict analysts – and Africanists are no exception – typically are called upon to ‘do something’ about the consequences of armed violence, whether in the form of external advice, theoretical guidance, close collaboration or, increasingly also, funded partnership with leading policy organizations. Other analysts adopt a political role through different channels, like for example action research and political activism. This roundtable provides the space to reflect on our roles a bit more thoroughly, starting from the following questions: In what ways do we engage with politics/policy, if we do, and what methods do we use to navigate the inherently political dimension of our work? What is, from a practical viewpoint, the difference between policy and politics? And what level of policy embeddedness is morally and materially acceptable or desirable given our close engagement with the field?

The aim of this roundtable is to use these guiding questions to reflect and discuss, and also learn from each others’ experiences, in sum: to generate Africanist conflict researchers who have something to say about the policy in/of conflict research in general.

List of participants:
Morten Bøås (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)
Maria Eriksson Baaz (Nordic Africa Institute)
Karen Büscher (Conflict Research Group)
Mats Utas (Nordic Africa Institute)
Judith Verweijen (Nordic Africa Institute)