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**Book reviews**—critical assessments of new books that integrate peace and conflict concerns (1,500 words maximum).

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Submit to editor@apcj.upeace.org and assted@apcj.upeace.org.

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Guest Editor’s Note

Formal democracy in Africa, once a rarity, is now the norm. Only a handful of the continent’s states are not governed by democratic institutions underpinned, at least in theory, by the freedoms intrinsic to democracy. Although this is an important advance, it does not mean that Africa’s people are now free to determine their destiny. A host of constraints ensures that democracy’s promise—that each adult should enjoy an equal say in the decisions that affect them—remains elusive for most citizens. The continent’s core political and intellectual challenge today is how to build on the potential that democratic rules open for creating societies in which African peoples really do govern themselves in freedom. The articles in this issue of the Africa Peace and Conflict Journal address this challenge, each examining some aspect of democracy’s defects and deficiencies in Africa states.

The broad trends are identified in Peace A. Jiboku and Ufo-Okeke Uzodike’s discussion of the African Peer Review mechanism: weak states, which are unable to give substance to democratic governance, and resistance by governing elites to concede full democratic rights. ‘African leaders’, they write, ‘have not only failed to promote good governance, they have also neglected to establish structures and institutions to consolidate democratic governance and have in some cases misconstrued and perverted the principles of liberal democracy.’ The other contributions add flesh to this diagnosis by identifying a host of undemocratic holdovers that plague recently democratic states.

One set of problems stems from the limitations of the state. Building democratic state institutions after intense conflict does not receive the sustained and sensitive attention it requires, as Kenneth Omeje and Nicodemus Minde’s highly topical examination of South Sudan shows. All too often, both theory and practice ignore the complexities they describe, assuming that all one need do is design the right institutions and wait for all to follow. State institutions are often vulnerable to partial capture or evasion by distinctly undemocratic armed groups whose ambiguous relationship with the state and formal politics enables them to wield power, a theme discussed in Tariro Mutongwizo’s examination of the Chipangano network in Mbare, Harare.

As Nomazulu Ngozwana’s study shows, democratic institutions may also not be able to alter power structures in societies that seek to dominate others, such as the gender relations that prompt community members in Qacha’s Nek, a rural area in Lesotho, to insist that democracy is a threat because it gives too much freedom to women and children. They may also be unwilling or unable to ensure that citizens tolerate and respect those who are different from them, as demonstrated in Adeoye O. Akinola’s reflections on hostility toward other Africans in democratic South Africa. Regardless of what a constitution says, democratic institutions may be populated by politicians who ignore the citizenry and graft exclusionary elite politics onto a new, formally democratic, framework, a theme examined in Kingsley Orievulu’s discussion of ways in which politics in Nigeria’s Rivers state obstruct citizen empowerment and in Ngozwana’s interviews in Qacha’s Nek.
Even where democratic institutions are able to take root, they may fail to reach into all areas of government that require citizen control, which is the concern of Asiimwe Solomon’s study of the limited progress in ensuring that Uganda’s intelligence services submit to parliamentary control. They may also be applied unevenly, to the cost of the democratic system, a point made by Michael Jana’s original and potentially groundbreaking insight that local government weakness in Malawi (and presumably elsewhere) is the key reason for legitimacy defects in new democracies.

It is important to place these deficits in perspective, lest we fall prey to the myth that African democracies are an inferior breed compared with those elsewhere. Every where as well is the key reason for legitimacy defects in new democracies. Possibilities have opened up that were not previously available, so despite the problems this issue highlights, African democracies are not a sham. They are real, but in-

All democracies are incomplete and always will be. That this is so in Africa as well simply shows how much like the others the newer African democracies are. Whether in Africa or elsewhere, building democracy is a never-ending struggle against pre- or antidemocratic power relations in the society (and the state itself) that restrict democracy’s reach. One can best understand the articles in this issue if they are viewed as insights into the ways in which democracy building everywhere can be challenged by power relations and practices within and outside the state, thus enabling predemocratic realities to persist in democratic societies.

This recognition does not, of course, excuse anyone from seeking, in thought and deed, solutions to the problems discussed here. This issue contributes to this quest in two ways. The first is by offering concrete proposals for change: strengthening the African Peer Review mechanism and ensuring that citizens enjoy a say in it; initiating conversations about democratic values where they are rejected or challenged; taking local government more seriously; and tackling sensitive disputes in peacebuilding programs. The second and equally important way is by challenging some of the assumptions that obstruct progress, such as the common view, examined by Orievulu, that development programs that purport to stress participatory processes can somehow magically alter the power relations preventing people living in poverty from ensuring that elites respond to their needs.

These ideas should help inform and focus conversations about how to begin addressing democratic deficits and building stronger African democracies. However the proposals may fare, two principles seem crucial in this quest. First, democracies in Africa should be viewed not as defective, but as unfinished. Most African states are more democratic than they have been in the past, in substance as well as in form. Possibilities have opened up that were not previously available, so despite the problems this issue highlights, African democracies are not a sham. They are real, but in-
complete. Second, one must keep in sight the core democratic goal: to ensure that everyone enjoys a say (if they want it) in all decisions. While this objective is unattainable, it offers a guide to what African democrats and democracies need to do, which is to ensure that increasing numbers of people enjoy more of a say over the issues that affect them. This requires recognition that building democracy is about changing power relations. This is not meant in the crude sense of ensuring that some exert power over others, but through viewing the building of democracy as a process of opening opportunities for a say and a life lived with dignity to African citizens who have been deprived of it by democracy’s limited reach. The articles presented in this issue help in their varying ways to illuminate the tasks and approaches required.

Steven Friedman
Director, Centre for the Study of Democracy
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After more than two decades of experimentation with the neoliberal political and economic system, Africa continues to grapple with the complications inherent in the state-building process. Constricted democracy in some countries, poverty and deprivation in others, weak institutions and oftentimes stifled political space have all contributed to exacerbating the monumental human security challenges on the continent.

Attempts to tackle these maladies through the creation of institutions at the regional, subregional, and national levels do not seem to deliver the goods fast enough for Africans to escape the cycles of poverty, joblessness, and deprivation so preponderant in the twenty-first century. Embracing democracy with a focus on one of the key elements, elections, has in some cases resulted in pseudo-democratic systems and in others genuine democratic rebirth. In the case of the former, the more dominant situation, the African citizenry appears to have been hoodwinked into playing the willing participant in the enthronement of self-serving political elites.

In spite of the gloomy nature of the state-building contradictions faced by Africa, the glorifying story remains the unprecedented economic growth experienced by the continent, averaging approximately 5 percent despite the recent economic recession in the developed countries. This economic growth has not, however, translated into job creation for a region with an extremely high youth population. As a consequence, most African countries will not achieve the Millennium Development Goals’ target of poverty eradication. Another cause for concern is that this employment deficit has already sparked revolts in the northern part of the continent.

Thus, as Africa embraces another time-bound vision, 2063, the implications of this African paradox are sure to have monumental implications for peace, conflict, governance, and security. There are bound to be increasing demands for accountability among state officials, jobs for youths, clean government, and policies to reduce the huge gap between the haves and the have-nots.

The articles in this issue of the Africa Peace and Conflict Journal are contributions to the assertion that the challenges of peace, governance, and security in Africa are also an intellectual challenge. In them, African scholars incisively diagnose some of the continent’s challenges and proffer ideas that might help in addressing some of the problems. Their ideas cover three clusters of issues: the ideas, aspirations, and ambitions that animate the state of democratic governance in Africa; the processes and challenges through which these ideas, ambitions, and aspirations can be realized, and the different dimensions and trajectories of peace, governance, and security at the regional, subregional, and state levels.

Samuel Kale Ewusi
Most of the world’s least developed countries are located on the African continent, despite the considerable resources expended by governments through a number of regional arrangements for integration to promote growth and development. Politico-economic challenges in African countries account for the problematic nature of regionalism on the continent, suggesting a missing element in the efforts by African states and subregional and regional organizations to realize integration objectives. The African Peer Review Mechanism faces many challenges in addressing key governance, and the development issues are many in the quest for regional economic integration. The concept and goals of regionalism in Africa have to be redefined and capacity-building measures implemented to strengthen the mechanism and empower countries to effectively maximize their potential within the capitalist world economy.

FROM THE INDEPENDENCE PERIOD IN THE LATE 1950s to the present, African governments have consistently formulated policies on economic cooperation and integration to the extent that the continent now has a high concentration of subregional economic organizations, multilateral arrangements, and institutions promoting the objectives of regionalism. Africa’s development initiatives—from the Lagos Plan of Action to the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)—have been influenced by regional integration ideals, with regionalism promoted as an effective strategy with the potential to generate growth and development. Africa, however, has remained the world’s least integrated region.

Despite success in some of Africa’s regional economic communities, regional integration has not resulted in increased intra-African trade or growth in the volume of Africa’s extra-continental trade.\(^1\) African governments have failed to take seriously the issue of the free movement of people and the right of Africans to live and establish

business networks in different African subregions. In addition to obstacles that hinder the mobility of labor and capital, the lack of adequate infrastructure to facilitate intra-African trade is a major challenge. Despite stated pan-African objectives and efforts, the present state of affairs in the African continent remains highly unsatisfactory with severe levels of political, economic, and social instability, as well as the attendant poverty and underdevelopment.

Given Africa’s politico-economic history, regional integration remains imperative for Africa in spite of the seemingly unsuccessful efforts thus far. The political, social, and economic challenges currently facing the continent are indicators that national and international attempts to address the continent’s issues have been less than successful. The problems have worsened to the extent that it is becoming increasingly difficult for African states to function effectively as independent entities. Africa is essentially plagued by several crises of underdevelopment. The continent lacks development capital, is threatened by drought, and is severely challenged by high rates of illiteracy and food insecurity. A large segment of its population lives in abject poverty. Africans are ‘threatened by some of the world’s most severe cases of environmental damage, dread disease, economic pillage, impoverishment and psychosocial criminality’. Only a few countries have remained relatively peaceful, having escaped the negative consequences of internal armed conflicts. The net effect has been that national and collaborative initiatives, investments, and long-term planning have been retarded or non-existent. The situation is further complicated by ongoing globalization, regionalization, and liberalization processes, which have raised challenges for individual African political economies.

One aspect of the regional integration discourse in Africa involves governance problems. In short, African governments are not committed to integration. They have signed regional agreements without putting in place at the national level the basic structures and institutions necessary to achieve regional integration objectives. African governments’ lack of political will or commitment, and their unwillingness to share sovereignty are problems associated with the regional integration processes. As such, the basic elements for successful integration appear to be lacking. In addition, the political and economic challenges in most African countries, which also constitute impediments to effective regionalism, to a large extent cannot be dissociated from the lack of quality leadership and good governance and the prevalence of weak economic policies.

cases, these factors have engendered intrastate and interstate conflicts that negatively impact integration processes and have made the search for peace and stability, which are required for development, a challenge. The focus here is to explore the potential of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a governance-monitoring tool of the African Union (AU) under the framework of NEPAD for examining issues on regionalism in order to find solutions to the slow pace of integration.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

Regional integration involves the coming together of different entities to form a collective to create interdependence among states to satisfy objectives that cannot easily be met by individual autonomous states.8 The progress of integration is dependent on the extent to which individual nation-states are willing to cede their national sovereignty.9 Scholars generally differentiate between the concepts of regional cooperation and regional integration. For instance, while some regional integration initiatives involve the ‘de facto integration of economies’, others might be market driven and without a formal arrangement integrating their economies.10 Most initiatives are ‘policy-induced integration’, the net result of regional cooperation.11 Regional integration, therefore, requires some level of political willingness, sacrifice, and commitment on the part of integrating states to redesign strategies to maximize their potential in the capitalist world economy.12

Regional integration has been promoted by African leaders since the independence era to demonstrate their efforts to address the negative effects of divisiveness caused by so many years of colonial rule, to ease the constraints associated with small countries and the limited size of their national markets, and to provide avenues whereby African countries speak with one voice and collectively take decisions involving international affairs. Regional integration arrangements in Africa have been influenced by pan-African ideas promoting unity, solidarity, and collective self-reliance among African states. As the argument goes, by merging its economies and pooling its capacities, endowments, and energies, the continent would not only be able to achieve sustainable economic growth and development, but it could also alleviate poverty, enhance the movements of goods, services, capital, and labor, coordinate socio-economic policy, develop infrastructure, and promote peace and security.13

Regional integration requires a common approach, supported by the necessary institutions, to address economic, political, or social issues. Africa’s integration efforts

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11. Ibid.
have been influenced largely by a desire for political and economic emancipation, peace and security, and sustainable development. For regional integration, in this sense, independent nation states must see themselves as having a particular regional identity and belonging to a political community. While it is generally agreed that regional integration is necessary for Africa to develop economically, politically, culturally, and socially, there is also a consensus that key issues of governance and development must first be addressed for integration to succeed. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), founded in 2003, tries to address the governance challenge in Africa by setting norms and standards, benchmarking, and promoting shared governance values, which if adhered to by all African countries, would facilitate the achievement of NEPAD’s regional integration objectives.

According to Gerrit Olivier, explanations of classical integration theories—functionalism and neofunctionalism—‘inculcate some form of political-economy explanations on regionalism, make a clear distinction between integrative and non-integrative regional policies, and a clear distinction between conventional foreign policy transactions which are effectively integrationist’. The theories on functionalism and neo-functionalism provide useful information on how and why nations willingly decide to cooperate. Zoleka Ndayi emphasizes that while functionalism describes ‘the role of the market and societal forces as propellers of integration, neo-functionalism stresses a top-down approach, whereby governments take the lead in driving the regionalization project but not without pressure from the society’. Neofunctionalism’s influence on supranational organizations in shaping foreign policies of nation-states characterizes the process of integration in Africa in regard to the functioning of NEPAD and the APRM process. The theory challenges the effectiveness of regionalism in Africa given the workings of the post-independence African state and its role in the process of integration.

Integration efforts have been notably unsuccessful not only because African states are weak, but also because their political leadership is not committed to regionalism or use their local political control or dominance in ways that negatively affect regional integration policies. Thus, regional integration processes in Africa have been undemocratic and elitist and reflective of African governments’ unwillingness to imple-

20. Ibid.
ment regional resolutions and programs at the country level, usually on the pretext that they are not in the ‘national’ interest. These issues also affect expectations of whether current AU-NEPAD efforts to promote African economic integration will indeed be able to address the continent’s development challenges. The compelling concern is whether the APRM initiative represents an adequate response to Africa’s regional integration obstacles.

PROBLEMATIC INTEGRATION FROM THE OAU TO THE AU

African leaders and policymakers have not lacked meaningful visions for promoting economic recovery, but success in achieving regional integration objectives has been limited because the process has been elite driven, and basic issues of governance in post-independence African states remain unresolved. The lack of effective governance and democratization of the integration process led in each instance to the implementation of policies that did not reflect the realities and needs of African countries.

It is generally agreed that African governments’ commitment to regionalism was influenced by the ideology of pan-Africanism, the struggle for independence, and the desire for a united Africa.22 The first major effort in this direction culminated in the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Other regional integration initiatives based on the pan-African vision are the Economic Commission of Central African States (ECCAS), the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), and the Preferential Trade Agreement for East and Southern Africa, which evolved into the Common Market for East and Southern States (COMESA).23

In establishing the OAU, African policymakers concurred on the idea of African unity, but in the early stages of the organization, they were divided on how continental unity could be achieved. The main division was between the pan-Africanist group (who favored the immediate and total political integration of African countries with a central government and common institutions) and the gradualists or functionalists (who preferred a more measured approach to African integration in light of the newfound independence of most African countries).24 These divisions were in theory put aside with the establishment of the OAU. Hence, in the words of Paul Adogamhe, ‘The OAU was an institutional experiment based on African states system with [a] functional approach to regional cooperation and integration’.25 As Zdenek Cervenka saw it, the OAU ‘represented a largely negative agreement—not to move too much to the left nor too far to the right’.26


The OAU’s charter reflected the desire for African unity, but its principles did not address the issue of member states’ national sovereignty. Moreover, African states—many of which were multiethnic and formed through colonial rule—had not been true nations-states before independence. The result in this case was that post-independence African states lacked the basic elements of statehood and were ill-prepared to achieve the continental vision of African unity. In addition, the OAU was established during the cold war era, but African countries played individual roles in the rivalry between the superpowers. As a consequence, African countries were often divided on issues. The OAU thus faced numerous external and internal political and socioeconomic challenges in its efforts to promote unity and development. It did, however, experience success in speeding up the continent’s decolonization process.

The principles of the OAU Charter—which upheld the territorial integrity of African states and contained a declaration on non-interference in the domestic affairs of member states—were constraining factors in the integration agenda, because many African leaders hid behind the guise of sovereignty and committed human rights offences against their people. Subsequently, as Said Adejumobi observed, popular participation stemming from pan-Africanism gave way to military dictatorships and one-party rule in a number of states. The OAU was weak in its handling of issues related not only to bad leadership, poor governance, and human rights abuses, but also in regard to addressing intrastate and interstate conflicts, poverty, and development challenges. Relative success was never achieved in promoting economic development despite the OAU’s efforts to establish linkages among African countries. This was influenced by unfavorable terms and conditions associated with international trade and economic interactions; ill-advised economic policies implemented by African governments; lack of financial resources, skilled manpower, and infrastructure; weak institutions; poor leadership and governance; maladministration and corruption; political instability and insecurity resulting from intrastate and interstate conflicts; and the economic disparities and different levels of development. Regional integration arrangements also suffered considerable setbacks because of non-adherence by African leaders to regional protocols and their lack of commitment to implementing regional programs.

Beginning in the late 1970s, African countries experienced a period of severe economic difficulties. Most leaders sought financial assistance from international financial institutions (IFIs)—that is, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Such foreign aid, however, did not come without conditionalities. For instance, recipients who agreed to structural adjustment programs (SAPs) were re-

required to shift toward the market economy model.\textsuperscript{32} The IFI policies ultimately proved to be unsuccessful, causing economic hardship or stagnation and a decline in living conditions through the 1980s.

To ameliorate the economic regression experienced in Africa, the OAU’s Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), which was drafted in 1980, aimed to promote collective self-reliance, subregional and regional cooperation, and integration to promote Africa’s socioeconomic development and transformation. The LPA failed to achieve its objectives, because it associated Africa’s development challenges more with external factors than with bad local leadership and poor governance.\textsuperscript{33} Subsequently, the OAU-brokered Abuja Treaty, establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), was signed in 1991.\textsuperscript{34} The treaty envisaged the establishment of the AEC to promote socioeconomic and cultural development and to consolidate African economic integration efforts by strengthening regional economic communities to support self-sustainable development based on indigenous resources and collective self-reliance.\textsuperscript{35}

A decade later, in 2001, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development was launched and would receive backing by the OAU and the African Union. Moreover, African economic integration got a boost with the transformation of the OAU into the African Union—a process that began in the 1990s and culminated in the signing of the African Union Charter in 2002—and subsequently the adoption of the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance by the AU heads of state and government in 2002.\textsuperscript{36} The renewed momentum to foster closer economic and political collaboration among African countries through AU initiatives and NEPAD was based on growing recognition of the importance of regional integration (and an understanding of the reasons for past failures under the OAU and subregional groupings) as well as pressure on African countries, individually and collectively, to grapple with globalization’s increasing demands and challenges.\textsuperscript{37} Thus, these objectives were expressed further in 2002, when the AU decided to adopt NEPAD as the framework for strengthening regional integration institutions to achieve the objec-


tives envisioned in the Abuja Treaty. It was also hoped that the merging of AU and NEPAD initiatives would lead to more beneficial interactions with the West and multilateral institutions.

To facilitate these objectives, the African Union in 2003 established the African Peer Review Mechanism as a governance-monitoring tool under the auspices of NEPAD. One of the issues of concern here is how the APRM process should function to promote good governance, a prerequisite for the successful integration and economic transformation of the African continent.

**NEPAD AND THE APRM: THE SALIENT ISSUES**

AU-NEPAD initiatives symbolize the resolution of African leaders to promote subregional and continental objectives of economic cooperation and integration. The NEPAD program of action ‘highlights the importance of economic linkages within Africa and the needs of external trade and aids for economic development’ to address Africa’s many challenges. It also emphasizes the need for integrated investment in different sectors to enhance the achievement of its objectives. NEPAD associates Africa’s development challenges with such political issues as lack of democracy, bad governance, maladministration, and corruption. Thus the APRM monitors the extent to which member states’ policies and practices conform to agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards’ toward achieving the goals of integration.

Given that African integration is in disrepute, several questions have been raised concerning ongoing efforts through NEPAD and the APRM to promote integration goals. Optimists are hopeful that the integration framework led by the AU will address the continent’s governance and development challenges, many of which have triggered interstate and intrastate crises in the region. In the words of Dimpho Motsamai and Siphamandla Zondi, NEPAD programs ‘address challenges which are social in nature such as: poverty eradication, human development, people-centered development, gender development, health, education, food security and social partnerships.’ A working integration project, it is believed, will re-position the continent to take an active part in the globalized world economy. There is, however, skepticism about the perceived goals and objectives of NEPAD and its APRM initiative.

38. Leons Kimaryo ‘Africa’s rocky road to continental unity’, paper presented at a Workshop to commemorate 50 years of OAU/AU, Moshi University College of Co-operative and Business Studies (MUCCoBS), 24 May 2013, 37.
39. Ibid.
Joseph C. Egbelem and colleagues argue, for instance, that the NEPAD initiative is ‘an approach that would further entangle Africa with the developed nations and perpetuate the slave-master relationship which has failed to bring about Africa’s development’ over the years.\textsuperscript{45} To the extent that NEPAD promotes Africa’s relations with developed countries, the G8, and multilateral organizations (like the World Trade Organization), it would appear to be forming partnerships of unequal partners, with the likelihood that conditions and outcomes will be dictated by external factors.\textsuperscript{46} Zoleka Ndayi contends that the NEPAD initiative ‘promotes the free market approach to economic development and acknowledges the benefits of engaging in the international trade system with emphasis on collective self-reliance and “strategic” linking in the global community’.\textsuperscript{47} NEPAD, in particular, is viewed by many scholars and writers as having a Western orientation, which makes its approach to advancing African development fundamentally flawed. Issues are constantly being raised about NEPAD’s economic policies and implementation of its programs being dependent on foreign aid.

The APRM is perceived by some as an instrument created by African leaders to enhance their capacity internationally to attract foreign assistance, not simply to advance good governance, development, and civil society.\textsuperscript{48} It is part of the World Bank’s good governance agenda as a precondition for financial assistance for less developed countries. What constitutes democracy and the elements of good governance it promotes continues to be contested by scholars, especially in Africa. Debates on the African Union, NEPAD, and APRM have become prominent because of the poor record of previous attempts at integration, apparent insincerity on the part of most African governments, corruption, and the failure of African leaders to actually promote good governance and appropriate economic policies. These issues all constitute obstacles to effective regionalism in Africa, so as a consequence, Africa’s integration efforts have been based more on theoretical aspirations than reality.

Notwithstanding the failures of integration schemes in Africa, the ongoing challenges of globalization, regionalization, and liberalization leave African countries with no alternative but to continue embracing regional integration as a development strategy. This, however, brings to the fore the need to redefine regionalism’s goals in Africa. One argument is that Africa first needs to address its internal political and economic challenges through enhanced cooperation and integration at all levels—national, sub-regional, and regional—to be able to maximize the gains of the global political economy. The East Asian newly industrialized countries (NICs) are cited as formerly colonized nations that have made significant economic progress. Although the Asian countries grew rapidly because of significant international trade connections, their governments were actively involved in developing their economies by implementing dynamic and articulate policies. The economic success achieved by some East Asian economies challenges the neoliberal economic principles of the free market economy.


\textsuperscript{46} Okhomina, ‘The African Union’.

\textsuperscript{47} Ndayi, ‘In quest of regional integration in Africa’, 88–93.

because of the roles and interactions of government and the private sector and their approach and effects on the market.\(^49\) The idea that Africa must follow the European blueprint in its integration and development agenda is highly problematic, as it would represent a lack of capacity to work through the challenge of aligning policy prescriptions to the specific realities and needs of the continent and a lack of innovation on the part of African leaders and policymakers.

Adogamhe, among others, points to a ‘crisis of legitimacy’ among state institutions resulting from a ‘democracy deficit’ and ‘weak citizen allegiance’. For instance, concerning Africa’s regional integration efforts, he poses the question, ‘[A]re the African people themselves sufficiently sensitized and mobilized to support the African Union’?\(^50\) Regional integration and development processes in Africa are, as noted, undemocratic in nature, reflecting the preferences and interests of the African elites. On top of that are doubts about African leaders’ sincerity, commitment, and readiness to support AU subregional and regional program and NEPAD.\(^51\) Africa lags in terms of governance and development. Democracy has yet to take a firm root in African politics. African leaders have not only failed to promote good governance, they have also neglected to establish structures and institutions to consolidate democratic governance and have in some cases misconstrued and perverted the principles of liberal democracy.\(^52\) The African continent has thus remained insufficiently developed despite being blessed with abundant natural, material, and human resources.

The APRM aims to promote good governance, citizen involvement in policymaking processes, and effective implementation of policies that take into account the needs of the African people and focus on human security and human capital development. Many of the solutions to the myriad problems confronting the continent might be found at the country level, but the challenges can only be adequately resolved through genuine democracy, good governance, and visionary leadership. In the African context, good governance centers on the need for strategic political and economic restructuring to bridge the gap between the state and society and allow civil society a place in governance and development processes at all levels. This is the hallmark of the discourse on the APRM initiative in the furtherance of the AU-NEPAD regional integration agenda.

Accession to the APRM is voluntary. In joining, a country submits to periodic peer review processes and to assistance in conducting such country reviews. It also includes ‘committing to the implementation of the National Program of Action (NPOA) arising from the review and operationalization of agreed parameters for good governance across four thematic areas, namely: Democracy and Political Governance, Economic Governance and Management, Corporate Governance and Socio-Economic Develop-

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The APRM occupies a strategic position within the AU-NEPAD integration framework to interrogate salient issues on regionalism in order to proffer meaningful solutions and to examine governance at all levels, along with the private sector, to help move countries toward policy effectiveness. The results, it is hoped, will make states better able to realize such goals as poverty eradication and the achievement of other NEPAD program objectives.

The challenge facing the APRM is sincere commitment to the principles and implementation of effective policies. Many assert, however, that African leaders lack the political will necessary for the APRM to fulfill its mandate. While issues are raised concerning the capacity of member states to own the NEPAD and APRM processes in terms of funding their implementation processes, there are also concerns that member states lack adequate financial resources to fully implement their national programs of action. It is equally a matter of concern that not all AU member states have acceded to the APRM process. In addition, the APRM does not appear to have effectively addressed sovereignty issues, because non-compliance with its principles and resolutions does not result in serious punitive measures. This raises questions about the extent to which the APRM can transform governance architecture in Africa.

Although the objectives of the APRM process may have been well conceived, they have continued to draw criticism and generate critical debate. Njunga Mulikita notes, for instance, the lack of ownership by citizens and the process’s top-down approach continent-wide and at the national level. Another observer points to the idea that governments and civil society actors are to act jointly in determining the state of political and economic governance, yet a large number of Africans do not know what APRM is, much less about implementation of the peer-review process. The APRM does not clearly define civil society for its purposes and structures. The level of participation of civil society in the APRM process varies from country to country, which raises questions about the representativeness of APRM institutions and the quality of the society’s engagement. The dearth of information about the NEPAD and APRM processes at the national and regional levels as well as the lack of effective institutions to promote popular participation limit civil society’s ability to participate in the APRM process, in particular to hold their governments accountable for implementing...

56. Akokpari, ‘The OAU, AU, NEPAD and the promotion of good governance in Africa’.
national programs of action. In some cases, African governments have deliberately formulated policies to limit civil society participation in governance processes because they think an informed citizenry might be a threat to their regimes. These issues have led to suspicions not only about the sincerity of African leaders, but also about the objectivity and transparency of the APRM process. As a consequence, it appears that there is a lack of conviction that the APRM is a people-centered initiative that reflects the views of the people.

Chris Landsberg considers, however, that the APRM as a plan stands as a watershed in the evolution of the continent’s political and economic struggles. If well implemented, it could provide open forums for citizen involvement in political affairs, including good governance and leadership accountability, as well as policy issues and service delivery. As designed, the APRM can serve as a basis for peer learning among African governments, policymakers, and citizens based on sharing experiences and best practices, which could move the continent into deeper economic and political integration. In addition, the outcomes of the APRM process could be significant by drawing attention to particular governance challenges that require policy interventions and provide a useful framework for political and economic restructuring. The potential contributions of an effective APR process cannot be overemphasized. The APRM’s institutional capacity needs to be strengthened and realistic measures put in place for it to achieve its goal as a process for development.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Regional integration processes in Africa have continued to suffer several setbacks because African leaders and policymakers have formulated initiatives without first addressing key national governance and development challenges. African regional integration processes since the 1960s have been elitist in nature, failing to involve the African people, who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of regional programs, in the mainstreaming of policy. The problem thus arose that policy prescriptions by African governments for regional integration failed to reflect the actual realities and needs of the continent. This led to the failure of the OAU to achieve its vision of African unity. The AU-NEPAD initiative represents African governments’ response to confronting identified governance and development challenges, which are to be resolved through the APRM.

Despite criticisms levied against the APRM, the premise on which it was established is solid, aiming to promote good governance and to tackle most of the continent’s political and economic challenges, many of which are man-made. APRM takes a retrospective look at the role of the state and society in integration and development processes. If allowed to function effectively, it can serve as a monitoring tool for leaders to assess their performance in the public realm with a view toward sharing ideas and best practices to improve governance. The APRM will likely fail to achieve its lofty objectives if citizens are not empowered to effectively participate at all levels of the

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60. See Akokpari, ‘The OAU, AU, NEPAD and the promotion of good governance in Africa.’
The effective participation of civil society in integration and development processes is one practical step toward consolidating regional integration efforts. Thus, the goals of regionalism need to be redefined. Regional policies should focus on measures aimed at addressing human (in)security and human capital development to promote civil society empowerment and socioeconomic development as well as good governance.

Despite its laudable objectives, the APRM must still prove itself in the implementation of policies. At the national and regional levels, more awareness creation is needed to educate the general public on the aims and objectives of the APRM. This would go a long way toward increasing public interest in the process and help change any negative perceptions about the APRM. African governments will need to demonstrate a real political willingness, at the continental and national levels, to overcome the financial and logistical challenges of the process and to strengthen civil society participation, which is necessary to advance greater political accountability and good governance. Civil society must also be involved in implementation and monitoring to ascertain that APRM policies align with security and development issues that confront them and hinder Africa’s development.63 Civil society organizations are already engaged in educating the public and giving a voice to the masses, providing training and skills development, contributing to poverty reduction, delivering services to communities, monitoring elections, and contributing to peacebuilding efforts among other things. African governments could help by consolidating these important endeavors.

African civil society should be proactive and organized to exploit the opportunities provided by regional economic communities, the AU, NEPAD, and APRM so that they can contribute to the continent’s socioeconomic development. While confronting Africa’s political and economic challenges, civil society organizations should explore opportunities for building networks across subregions as a means of mobilizing Africa’s human resources for development. The challenge for civil society is to ensure Africa’s ownership of regional development initiatives by effectively participating in the debates on implementation and strategies to achieve objectives.

Stakeholder Perspectives on Priorities for Postconflict State Building and Peace Building in South Sudan

Kenneth Omeje and Nicodemus Minde

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders about priority areas for postconflict state building and peace building in South Sudan revealed five key thematic issues: resolving border-related disputes, peace building and reconciliation among the various ethnic communities, promoting security sector reform and democratization, providing development infrastructure and social amenities, and creating employment, especially for the youth. To a large extent, respondents’ responses were consistent with priority areas put forth in the government’s policy framework. The research also identified respondents’ perceptions of some of the underlying motives within the contextual historiography of South Sudan’s protracted liberation war, conflict settlement, and policy issues in postconflict peace building. The identification of priority areas and perceptions, along with secondary data, allows formulation of what needs to be done to secure peace in South Sudan.

After two periods of protracted liberation war (1956–1972 and 1983–2005) and a convoluted, fragile peace process, the risk of a relapse into war has been real and palpable since the creation of independent South Sudan. The apparent fractionalization of South Sudan’s army along ethnic lines and the outbreak of armed violence following an alleged coup on 15 December 2013 by military forces supposedly loyal to deposed vice president Riek Machar confirmed fears about the fragility of the new state. Although Machar denied President Salva Kiir’s allegations of a coup plot, the military mutiny in mid-December 2013 degenerated into an ethnic war between government forces dominated by Kiir’s Dinka ethnic group and a new rebel coalition loyal to Machar and dominated by the Nuer, the ethnic group to which he belongs. As of mid-February 2014, an estimated 10,000 people had reportedly been killed in the outbreak of hostilities, with about 900,000 others internally displaced. Another 145,000 refugees crossed the border into the neighboring states of Ethiopia, Kenya,

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Sudan, and Uganda.¹ The armed conflict threatens to fundamentally reverse the gains made by South Sudan in postconflict state building and peace building if rapid progress is not achieved in the peace talks in Addis Ababa being mediated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), with the support of the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN).

Notwithstanding these challenges, a great deal of international goodwill and donor support poured in to help rebuild South Sudan at the end of the civil war in 2005. The declaration of statehood in July 2011 provided additional impetus for an increase in donor aid and the expansion of international development and peace-building activities, although the international financial crises that buffeted most Western economies along with some donors’ perceptions that the government was dysfunctional and corrupt may have affected the scale of funding. Overall, South Sudan has received a little more than $4 billion in foreign aid since 2005, largely from the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States.² The cumulative foreign aid received by South Sudan thus far, however, is, to say the least, inadequate considering the sheer size of the country, its level of underdevelopment, and the enormous scale of the peace building, postconflict reconstruction, and economic development work required.

In 2008, Paul Collier estimated the cost of a typical civil war to be around $64 billion and the cost of conflict intervention and postconflict reconstruction to be significantly higher.³ South Sudan’s total gross domestic product (GDP, purchasing power parity) in 2012 was $10.62 billion. GDP per capita is about $1,546, with an estimated 80 percent of the population living on less than $1.25 per day, making it one of the world’s poorest countries.⁴ Despite the abysmal foreign aid statistics and macroeconomic indicators, postconflict reconstruction and peace building are the topmost priorities for South Sudan’s major stakeholders, particularly the government and its various international development partners, civil society organizations, volunteer sector charities, and community-based organizations, as well as private business operators and ordinary citizens. Interviews with purposively selected samples from among these various categories of stakeholders were conducted during January–February 2013 in Juba to assess their perspectives on priority areas for postconflict reconstruction and peace building in postwar South Sudan.

**STATE BUILDING AND PEACE BUILDING IN SOUTH SUDAN: THE CONTEXTUAL ISSUES**

Peace building and state building are two distinct processes that pose complex challenges, especially when, as in postconflict situations, they are carried out simultaneously. The two concepts have been extensively examined and conceptualized in the

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peace and conflict studies literature. At the academic level, there are challenges of definitional connotations and delimitations of the concepts, while at the practical level, there can be real political, operational, and logistical constraints. With the urging and support of various Western donor partners, the government of South Sudan has broadly adopted the definitions put forth by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) for peace building and state building. According to the OECD, ‘Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development’. State building, on the other hand, is defined as ‘an endogenous process to enhance capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state driven by state-society relations. Positive state-building processes involve reciprocal relations between a state that delivers services for its people and social and political groups who constructively engage with their state’.

Other academic definitions tend to closely associate postconflict peace building, especially in the immediate transitional short term, with the provision of micro-level rewards and negotiated trade-offs with political elites (and their constituencies) as incentives to help them resolve their differences through nonviolent means, while state building is fundamentally focused on establishing governance structures and macro-level institutions. To be effective, both peace building and state building, experts argue, should be sequenced in phases, with a timeline and specified activities and deliverables for each phase. Although an analytical distinction could be made between peace building and state building, in a postconflict environment such a distinction is in practice more difficult to sustain, especially when various actors and stakeholders are addressing the ‘task lists’ of each process. In addition, the lists tend to converge (and increase) over time. The linkages and overlap can be profuse.

A state, like peace, is an historical construct. As such, the processes of building states, or the processes through which they evolve, do not necessarily follow a universal logic or paradigm (although this remains highly contested in the academic literature). Some western historians, among them Charles Tilly, argue that war making is an essential strategy of state formation and state building because it helps the ruling elites rally their subjects to a supposedly noble nationalist cause, extract resources for


the cause, and institute a centralized bureaucracy for the crucial business of the state. Many critics argue, however, that the relationship between war making, state formation, and state building seen in Europe is not necessarily mirrored elsewhere, and especially not in Africa, where European powers hurriedly imposed modern state structures on amorphous (semi)-feudal entities by colonial diktat. In other words, states had already been imposed in colonial or postcolonial Africa, with a range of relevant formal institutions and structures, before these countries’ own state-building processes had been established. The contemporary reality of African postcolonial states and postconflict environments, where state building and peace building agendas are deliberately crafted or facilitated by various external agencies, makes Tilly’s theory that ‘war makes states’ even less tenable.

Similarly, many contemporary postconflict peace-building and state-building projects in Africa and other developing regions in the post–cold war dispensation seem teleologically geared toward constructing liberal democratic states (with periodic competitive multiparty elections, market-based economic reforms, free press, robust civil society, and so on). In the vast literature of liberal democratic peace theory, proponents of this western-centric paradigm have posited an organic and seemingly universal connection between neoliberal democracy and sustainable peace, especially in the aftermath of wars and destabilizing conflicts. Critics of this view have sounded a note of caution on the presumed compatibility of liberal democracy and sustainable peace and state building in bitterly divided multicultural societies emerging from war, such as South Sudan’s. Stefan Wolff argues that in the absence of a range of institutional safeguards to prevent the emergence of conditions in which societal divisions (for example, among different ethnic, religious, or socioeconomic groups) can take on a salient discriminatory dimension, liberal democracy could ultimately facilitate the rise or escalation of violent conflicts as a means of realizing group interests.

The dominant paradigm of peace and state building in South Sudan, as in other postconflict states in Africa, tends to follow the liberal peace logic. South Sudan is unique, however, because of the historicity of its secession from Sudan, including its lingering border, citizenship, natural resource, and revenue disputes with Sudan; its linkages with some of the rebel groups involved in the continuing wars in Sudan’s Darfur region and Nuba Mountains; the implosive ethnocultural tension within South Sudan itself; and the broader regional dynamics of instability in the neighboring Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, and Ethiopia.

**PRIORITY AREAS AND ACTIVITIES FOR POSTWAR STATE BUILDING AND PEACE BUILDING**

This research on stakeholders’ perspectives and priorities with regard to postconflict reconstruction and peace building in postwar South Sudan used semistructured inter-

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10. Wolff, ‘One challenge or two?’, 2.
view data collected from fieldwork in South Sudan, during January–February 2013, and secondary data. The researchers interviewed various categories of stakeholders, a total of forty respondents, most of whom were officials of the government of South Sudan, UN agencies and other international organizations, civil society organizations, volunteer sector charities, and community-based organizations, as well as private business operators and average citizens. The citizens interviewed included university students, small-scale self-employed entrepreneurs, and returned exiles. The selection of fieldwork interview respondents was based on simple non-probability techniques like purposive and snowball sampling.

The fieldwork data indicate that most respondents and stakeholders do not have a dichotomized view of state building and peace building, but perceive the two processes as integral in a postconflict environment like South Sudan’s. In terms of policies and programs, the government’s priority areas for postconflict reconstruction and peace building include capacity building to strengthen the functions and services of state institutions, as the institutional and functional capacities of the state are extremely weak; intercommunity reconciliation and peace building at the grassroots level; security provision and capacitation of state security agencies; disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration (DDRR) of ex-combatants; social services delivery; and vocational skills training for employment creation. A core pillar of the state-building agenda has been the interim constitution, which lays out normative standards for diverse aspects of state reconstruction, governance, and peace building.

To a large extent, respondents’ perceptions of priority areas for postwar reconstruction and peace building are consistent with the government’s policy framework. Respondents identified five thematic priority areas for peace building and state building that align more or less with areas in which various stakeholders are implementing interventions (Table 1).

### Resolving Border Disputes and Effecting Intercommunity Reconciliation

The volatile border disputes in South Sudan are both internal (mainly conflicts among different ethnic communities within and between some of the subnational states) and external. One of the most vicious internal conflicts to which many respondents alluded is that in Jonglei, South Sudan’s largest subnational state, mainly between the Lou Nuer and Murle semi-pastoralist ethnic communities, both of which are dependent on farming and cattle grazing. Jonglei is also home to the Dinka and Anuak ethnic communities, and there has also been recurrent conflict between the Dinka and Lou Nuer in Uror county of Jonglei state. Other recurrent conflicts include feuds between the Shilluk and Dinka in Upper Nile state, and between the Mundari and Dinka Aliap in Lakes state. These ethnic groups are not clearly segregated by state, so most of their

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conflicts transcend subnational state boundaries. Oftentimes an interethnic conflict that begins in one state spills over into another state. The interethnic feuding in these affected areas tends to have long histories and involve access to land and ownership of cattle as well as some political dimensions. Most conflicts are sparked by interethnic

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competition for scarce water, farmland, and livestock grazing resources. There is also a high incidence of inter-community cattle raiding, often associated with the tremendous burden of bride-wealth traditionally settled by a groom presenting dozens of cattle to his bride’s family. All these communal conflicts have been compounded by the proliferation of small arms stemming from the protracted liberation war.

The persistence of diverse new and old militia groups in the aftermath of the liberation has heightened interethnic clashes. Allegations persist that the government of Sudan supports some of the militia groups in the frontier states as a reciprocal destabilization measure against South Sudan’s alleged support for rebel groups waging war in the Nuba Mountains and other contested regions in Sudan. Because the key resources fought over by rival communities are territorial in nature (for example, farmland, natural water points, grazing land), the conflicts in effect fundamentally challenge the geographical boundaries among the various local ethnic communities and subnational states. To manage the conflict, government has typically used military reprisals, extending the state’s security presence to some of the volatile communities, and promoting intercommunity conflict mitigation dialogues, also referred to as grassroots peace conferences. The results have been unsatisfactory.

With regard to external border disputes, respondents’ perceptions of priority areas for peace building are mainly the three disputed oil-rich states of Abyei, Blue Nile, and South Kordofan. Abyei, the most heavily disputed of the three, was accorded special administrative status under the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed by the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the Sudanese government, and has repeatedly been a flashpoint for violence between northern and southern Sudan. The CPA committed signatories to recognizing independence for southern Sudan and granted the residents of Abyei the right to vote on whether to remain part of Sudan or join South Sudan. The referendum was originally scheduled for January 2011, along with that on South Sudan independence, but has not been held.

The Abyei region is dominated by the Ngok Dinka, a subset of South Sudan’s largest ethnic group, who were extensively displaced during the prolonged liberation war. The region is also home to an undetermined number of Misseriya, an Arab pastoral group that traditionally migrate seasonally from Southern Kordofan southward through Abyei to graze their cattle. It is this mixed use of land that prompted the transfer of the area, which historically consisted of nine Dinka chiefdoms, to the control of Kordofan in 1905. The Ngok Dinka have accused the Khartoum government of settling tens of thousands of the Misseriya in Abyei in recent years and arming them to fuel instability. During the CPA transitional period, Khartoum accused the SPLM/A of expanding its presence in Abyei and arming the local Dinka population.

13. Abyei residents were considered citizens of both the northern state of Southern Kordofan and the southern state of Bahr al Ghazal during the interim period. The 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement was the first agreement to accord Abyei the right to a referendum on self-determination.
The post-CPA period has been a tale of charges and countercharges. The Abyei region’s rich stores of oil make it a coveted territory for both sides. Previous efforts at regional mediation and international arbitration have produced results unsatisfactory to the disputants. The stalemate over Abyei led to the cancellation of the 2011 referendum in the region because the two disputant communities could not agree on voter eligibility requirements. Violent clashes have continued between the Misseriya Arabs and the Ngok Dinka in the disputed territory, which is still largely controlled by the South Sudanese army to the irritation and resistance of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement–North (SPLM-N). Most respondents blamed Khartoum for the unresolved border disputes between the two countries.

The other two territories embroiled in cross-border disputes, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states, are resource-rich and culturally diverse areas along the Sudan–South Sudan border. They also received special administrative status under the CPA and have a relatively long history of political insurgency, dating back to the onset of the SPLM/A rebellion in 1983.16 The main drivers of conflict are land and related tensions between pastoralist and farming communities, the presence of major oil fields, festering sentiments of political marginalization among the ethnic Nuba and Misseriya communities, integration of the former SPLA-controlled administrative units into the areas, the legacy of the Nuba SPLA, and the perceived deficit of popular consultation.17

**Peace Building and National Reconciliation**

Most respondents identified national reconciliation as a priority area in postconflict reconstruction and peace building because of the ethnocultural diversity of the new state, the historical animosity and rivalry between major ethnic communities, and perhaps most significant, the deep-seated perception that the new state is dominated by the Dinka at the expense of the sixty-plus other ethnic communities. More than 80 percent of respondents asserted that the most obvious inhibition to national reconciliation and cohesion is exclusion from the national platform, especially exclusion by ethnic background, while also citing corruption, nepotism, and marginalization from accessing government jobs, resources, and institutions.

It is apparent that the perception of Dinka domination feeds interethnic hostilities and friction in some parts of the country. Many respondents felt that inclusivity and equitable treatment of citizens are lacking in the public sphere, a tendency they essentially attributed to the institutionalization of ethnic discrimination by the Dinka-dominated SPLM government. Secondary sources indicate that President Kiir’s postindependence cabinet is about 42 percent Dinka. It is further reported that Kiir gave most key government posts to his Dinka Rek clan. The president awarded ten ministerial posts to people from his home state, Warrap, along with a number of other prominent positions, such as chief of security, chief justice of the Supreme

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16. Blanchard, ‘Sudan and South Sudan’.
Court, and the governor of the Bank of South Sudan.\textsuperscript{18} This trend is further observable in diplomatic appointments, with the majority going to ethnic Dinka. Many respondents felt that ethnicity was used as a tacit key criterion for all categories of appointments.\textsuperscript{19}

**Security Sector Reform**

The security sector in general includes diverse categories of actors and institutions that are sometimes viewed in terms of minimalist and maximalist definitions of the concept.\textsuperscript{20} Although security sector reform (SSR) objectives in postconflict environments are wide ranging, they are often driven by the need to create a security environment conducive for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), transitional justice, democratization, foreign capital investment and resuscitation of the economy, job creation and poverty reduction, as well as sustainable peace building and development.

A great majority of respondents in South Sudan expressed the view that SSR and strengthening democratic governance need to be key priorities in state building. Prominent among the themes mentioned were demilitarization and disarmament of militias, ex-combatants, and armed civilians; SSR, especially professionalization of the security forces; strengthening the rule of law; and accountability and transparency in public financing.

The lingering symptoms and sources of insecurity associated with South Sudan’s prolonged liberation war include large numbers of internally displaced persons and homeless returnees from other countries, food insecurity, paucity of public infrastructure, disruption or non-availability of basic services, such as electricity, and massive levels of poverty. Furthermore, lawless incidents, such as cattle raiding, harvest plundering by armed groups and nomadic communities, and cross-border tensions have all contributed to the deteriorating security situation. Another contributor to the security menace is the large stock of small arms and light weapons still in the hands of organized civilian armed groups and bandits.\textsuperscript{21}

The key priority areas for security sector reform identified by respondents include combating militia activities, DDR of ex-combatants, food security, border-related security (internal and external), rule of law, and strengthening democratic governance. South Sudan’s relatively ineffective and unsuccessful DDR program, implemented in two phases after the end of the war, appears to be at the heart of the internal security nightmare. The South Sudan DDR Commission oversees the program, which is im-

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\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{19} In late July 2013, Kiir sacked his entire cabinet, including Vice President Machar, and appointed a new cabinet a few days later. The ongoing ethnic hostilities and rebel violence in different parts of South Sudan, which began with military clashes in Juba on 15 December 2013, are apparently part of the fallout of this controversial move.


\textsuperscript{21} IRIN News, ‘Sudan: Civilian disarmament remains elusive as government rethinks process’, 3 December 2008.
plemented in partnership with the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and is funded by the United Nations and various Western donors.

When asked how best to rebuild the country, more than 80 percent of respondents recommended the disarmament of armed civilians and former combatants. The first phase of South Sudan’s DDR took place from 2005 to 2012. During this phase, it was agreed that 90,000 ex-combatants would be demobilized in the south and the same number in the north. Program implementation was sluggish, and it was not until June 2009 that effective demobilization actually began to occur. Overall, the program had minimal results. At the end of the first phase, a total of 12,525 ex-combatants had been demobilized in South Sudan, a paltry 13.9 percent of the targeted 90,000. Even fewer were being supported by sporadic reintegration services. It is apparent now that the caseload for the first phase of DDR was arbitrarily determined, failing to take into account resource limitations and the absorptive capacity of the army.

The second DDR phase, which began in early 2013, has a long-term agenda, with an estimated caseload of 150,000 ex-combatants—80,000 from SPLA and 70,000 from other organized forces and militia groups. A number of reforms were introduced for this phase. One major aspect is an intensive ‘reinsertion’ component involving training of the ex-combatants, thus upgrading the program to DDRR. Reinsertion is designed as a short-term initiative, lasting up to a year or a little longer, and is usually conducted in makeshift camps, where demobilized ex-combatants are provided short-term assistance. Reintegration, on the other hand, is a long-term process through which ex-combatants are reabsorbed into civilian life as regular members of their communities and equipped to earn a livelihood through sustainable employment. Under South Sudan’s DDRR program, reinsertion includes the provision of such support as basic services and supplies (for example, special provisions for women, medical care, counseling) and education training. The second phase of South Sudan’s DDR seems to be an ambitious, well-conceived improvement over the significantly flawed first phase. The practical implementation of the project, however, will be the real test of its effectiveness and viability. It will take the next one or two years for the project to reach a stage at which its performance can be evaluated.

**Development Infrastructure and Social Amenities**

More than 90 percent of respondents emphasized the desperate state of infrastructure and social amenities and the need to prioritize their provision as part of postwar reconstruction and peace building. Most observed that poor infrastructure (notably roads and electricity) and related social services, including schools, hospitals, and

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clean water, are among the greatest challenges to state building, given that most citizens remain trapped in extreme poverty and hopelessness, conditions that in a post-war environment are easily exploited by warlords and other strong figures to mobilize people for armed violence.

The overall state of South Sudan’s public infrastructure is deplorable, making it difficult to pin down the single-most pressing infrastructural challenge. Before independence, the region had been neglected by the Khartoum government, with infrastructure projects kept to a minimum. The total road network consists of 5,500 kilometers of main roads and 7,500 kilometers of feeder roads (excluding dry season tracks). Apart from a few kilometers of paved roads in Juba, there are virtually no tarmacked roads in the country.

The government of South Sudan, through its economic blueprint of 2011–2013, has prioritized infrastructure as a key component of development. It aims to extend and upgrade transport infrastructure, especially roads. The government also plans to focus on water, sanitation services, and electrification, given their affect on poverty, growth, and human well-being.28 With regard to public health, the government, working with partners (notably, international organizations), aims to increase access to basic health services throughout the country. Areas of particular focus include reducing maternal and infant mortality rates and improving the quality of medical equipment. The government has also laid out activity plans for improvements in education.

**Employment Creation**

Many respondents, especially the unemployed and those who consider themselves underemployed, expressed the view that employment creation should be a major pillar of postconflict reconstruction and peace building. Decades of war have left many South Sudanese in extreme poverty, without jobs, livelihoods, or homes. As noted, South Sudan is one of the world’s poorest countries, and the government rightly acknowledges this extreme poverty as a challenge to state building. In its 2011–2013 development master plan, the government, in its Culture, Youth and Sport Pillar, laid out programmatic areas aimed at addressing youth unemployment. A key area is expanding and upgrading youth participation in the overall economy, which the government believes can be achieved by increasing access to vocational training. The government has also prioritized the issue of gender, in particular, women’s participation in the economy, in the vocational skills training and employment creation programs. A gender-sensitive vocational training policy framework for school dropouts and non-literate youths was also selected as a major focus for the 2011–2013 period.

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27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
It is too early to assess the government’s commitment to these objectives but many respondents expressed optimism.

**FACTORS INFLUENCING RESPONDENTS’ PERCEPTIONS**

When asked what influenced their identification of priority areas for rebuilding the country and achieving lasting peace, those surveyed provided varied narratives and justifications. For instance, a majority of South Sudanese citizens interviewed mentioned the destructive effects of the war and the prevailing deplorable living conditions and insecurity. ‘Having been devastated by decades of civil war’, argued one respondent, ‘people have nothing to hold on to. I mentioned the need for an improvement in infrastructure, health, and education services and employment creation because we need basic amenities after the destructive effects of the war. We also need to enjoy the fruits of independence after long periods of war. I understand this because I experienced the war.’

The fieldwork data made clear that the perceptions of some stakeholders were informed in part by the provisions of the CPA. The agreement set up, among other things, the modalities for power sharing, revenue sharing, resolution of conflicts in Abyei, Southern Kordofan, and Blue Nile, and the need for appropriate security arrangements. Two years after South Sudan became a sovereign state, a number of the modalities agreed upon in the CPA had yet to be put in place. While highlighting the need for the resolution of border disputes and improved security provision, some respondents justified their selection because ‘these issues are prioritized by the CPA.’

With regard to their own state-building and peace-building activities, most respondents from foreign agencies operating in South Sudan said that the choices of their present programs and activities in the country were determined by the humanitarian needs and physical challenges they saw on the ground. These needs and challenges include hunger and starvation (food insecurity), water and sanitation, the state’s weak institutional capacity, poor infrastructure, and militia violence.

Virtually all respondents asserted that they see themselves and their organization as stakeholders in the reconstruction, reconciliation, and development of South Sudan, and that as stakeholders their motives are primarily linked to improving living conditions and security and in general to assisting peace building and the provision of development infrastructure. It is pertinent to note that no external conflict mediation, peace building, development intervention agencies, or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) reported having formulated or developed their programs based on prior consultation with end users to assess or ascertain their needs and determine appropriate strategies for meeting those needs. Apparently, most intervention programs were developed in response to the overwhelming self-evident humanitarian, infrastructural, and security deficits in various parts of the country, a somewhat impromptu approach to needs assessment that most international development experts are likely to criticize as an expression of donor insensitivity and arrogance. The international development agencies and local NGOs are, however, addressing practical

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30. Interview with a South Sudanese man living in Juba, 29 January 2013.
existential and humanitarian needs, actions that most South Sudanese respondents commended.

When asked how they determine whether their intervention programs are succeeding and achieving the desired results, some of the external agency respondents reported using such mechanisms as post-harvest reports, internal and external evaluations, and end-line assessments. One respondent reported that her organization uses progressive monitoring and evaluation, which helps track progress in project implementation and outcomes.

**CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

Among the policy recommendations arising from this study, the first and foremost involves how to determine the status of the disputed oil-rich Abyei region after suspension of the January 2011 referendum over a voter eligibility dispute between Sudan and South Sudan. The most recent effort to end the stalemate was put forth in ‘Final status of the Abyei area,’ the September 2012 proposal of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) that accords voter eligibility to members of the Ngok Dinka community and ‘other Sudanese residents of Abyei’ who have ‘a permanent abode’ in the disputed territory. The AUHIP called for a referendum to be held in October 2013, ahead of which the two state parties should, among other things, form the Abyei Area Referendum Commission, with equal representation of two persons each and a chairperson appointed by the AU. The government of South Sudan accepted the AUHIP proposal, but President Bashir’s government rejected it because of the ‘permanent abode’ clause, for fear it would disqualify most of the pastoralist Misseriya, whose presence in Abyei is seasonally tied to having access to grazing pastures for their livestock. Meanwhile, in anticipation of a future referendum, Bashir’s government has reportedly been settling thousands of Misseriya in northern Abyei to swell their population while at the same time backing the use of armed violence to deplete the number of the Ngok Dinka through the actions of hardline Misseriya militia groups.

In addition, a number of Ngok Dinka militias loyal to the SPLM-N in Abyei have repeatedly attacked and obstructed the Misseriya. The demographic landscape of Abyei is increasingly and complexly distorted, with interethnic relations growing deeply hostile. Continued ethnic hostilities in the state have resulted in the displacement and exile of thousands of Ngok Dinka indigenes. Repatriating or allowing them to return prior to a referendum would trigger a standoff, with likely allegations that South Sudan was seizing the opportunity to relocate more Dinka than are traditionally domiciled in Abyei. Given these complexities, it is likely that even if a referendum were held in the near future, the outcome would be so violently contested as to threaten a return to full-scale war between Sudan and South Sudan.

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It is recommended here that the Abyei referendum be postponed in the short-to-medium term and the territory be placed under international administration, preferably a joint AU-UN custodial governance, for at least the next ten years. The resource, security, personnel, and administrative implications of the international governance proposal can be determined by a joint panel of the AU and UN. It is important, however, that the core mandate of such an administration involve DDR for all local armed groups; the use of various practical mechanisms to promote peaceful coexistence as well as confidence- and peace-building measures among different communities; and repatriation and rehabilitation of all genuinely certified displaced persons, using various pecuniary incentives to facilitate any willing persons who have been surreptiously brought into the disputed territory since 2009 in returning to their homelands. In the long run, a referendum to determine the final status of Abyei could be renegotiated and conducted, thereby bringing the international administration to an end.

A second issue raised by the study is the status of the disputed territories of Blue Nile and South Kordofan. On this, the recommended approach is the AUHIP proposal that the government of Sudan and the SPLM-N, which leads the insurgency in the two states, meet face-to-face to commence negotiation aimed at reaching a political settlement to their conflict.\textsuperscript{33} Foremost among the negotiation priorities AUHIP identified are an immediate cessation of hostilities and extension of unrestrained access to relief agencies to deliver humanitarian assistance to war-affected civilians in the two states. As a means to pressuring and compelling the two parties to a negotiated settlement, it is recommended that a special UN intervention force deploy to Blue Nile and South Kordofan, similar to the combat mission of July 2013 to help terminate the rebel war in eastern Congo. The force’s mandate should include neutralizing existing armed groups, reducing the threat to humanitarian aid delivery, and ensuring the cutoff of external military supplies to warring parties in the two borderline states.

A third issue to be addressed concerns persistent complaints of domination of the state apparatuses by the majority Dinka at the expense of other ethnic communities. A constructive federal arrangement with regard to the distribution of power, resources, and appointments could help forge an inclusive state system and address the fears of minority ethnic groups. It is hoped that the new constitution being drafted in South Sudan that is expected to be finalized in December 2014 will address key divisive issues around ethno-demographic and provincial representation in public service and government, minority rights, and power and resource sharing between the central and subnational governments.

A fourth major issue highlighted is South Sudan’s volatile interethnic feuding. Compounding these threats is a scenario in which the country is awash with ethnic militias and small arms, partly because of the failed, perfunctory disarmament carried out during the first phase of DDR and partly because of the country’s social anthropology—that is, a historical culture of blood feuding (revenge killing) among the various semi-pastoral communities primarily associated with cattle raiding. Most significant, it has been observed that South Sudan lacks the capacity to pro-

vide security in most peripheral areas. The danger in these regions compels many people (particularly youth) to acquire and keep firearms or form militia groups for protection.

These urgent issues make clear that strengthening and expanding the government’s capacity to provide public services (law and order, security, social amenities, infrastructures, and so on) is especially critical in the now substantially ungoverned peripheral areas. It is important that the peace talks in Addis Ababa aimed at resolving the fallout from the mid-December 2013 outbreak of hostilities address, among other things, the thorny issues of how to revamp security forces to achieve a more balanced ethno-national mix capable of inspiring confidence among the various ethnic communities. Robust investments by both the state and the international donor community are required to systematically improve and expand state capacity in the areas of governance and security.
Chipangano Governance: Enablers and Effects of Violent Extraction in Zimbabwe

Tariro Mutongwizo

Chipangano, a militia group that emerged between 1999 and 2001, uses violence to govern space and resources in Mbare, a section of Harare. Through its alleged association with the nation’s ruling party, and the party’s denial of the organization’s existence, its members manage to avoid prosecution for its illegal activities and usurpation of control. Apart from the media, few have paid attention to Chipangano, perhaps owing to fear of researching the organization, the state’s stance on it, and its elusive nature. Secondary data from media reports and interviews conducted between 2010 and 2012 with civil society actors and Mbare residents shed light on this network’s activities, what influences them, and how this type of governance affects modes of survival.

In Africa there is no ‘single formal system [of government] that was often dreamed of, but instead a coral reef of separate formalities that coexist.’ This ‘coral reef’ means that contemporary governance involves multiple actors. Such actors include states, civil society associations, corporations, and even criminal gangs. These form interconnected governance networks and employ a ‘plurality of mechanisms’ to govern, among them ‘force, persuasion, economic pressure, norm creation and manipulation.’ Violence as a mechanism for governance emerges because conditions of limited state-


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hood lead to the use of ‘formal procedures and practical informal arrangements’. The emergence of Chipangano, a militia group in Harare’s Mbare community, is a manifestation of social capital resulting from poor governance and gaps in the allocation and governance of resources, or as one observer calls it ‘porous administration’. Although social capital is often viewed as oriented toward positive outcomes, some have put forward that social capital is about resources linked to secure social networks to which some individuals have access and others do not. The focus here is an exploration of Chipangano as a network for securing its members’ livelihoods and the impact that this has on governance and survival in the Mbare community.

CHIPANGANO AND LIFE IN MBARE

Chipangano formed between 1999 and 2001 with the self-serving ambition of its members to enrich themselves. Its name is Shona for ‘agreement’. This so-called agreement has been referred to as a ‘pact of criminals’. The circumstances leading to the emergence of Chipangano, as well as its size, structure, and composition, are unclear. The group is believed to have emerged as a result of the 1999 food riots and gained momentum in 2001 as a response to the rise of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in opposition to the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF). Allegedly, Chipangano, composed primarily of male youths, is led by Jimu Kunaka, former ZANU–PF Harare province youth leader, and is supported financially by Tendai Savanhu, ZANU–PF shadow member of parliament for Mbare and a politburo member.

Although present in other places, including the high-density areas of Highfield and Mufakose, Chipangano primarily operates in Mbare, seeking to mobilize support for ZANU–PF candidates in the area, prevent the penetration of the political opposition there, and control Harare municipality properties. Its main operations are in the Siya-so and Magaba industrial areas, the Mupedzanhamo flea market, the Mbare Musika, and the bus terminal. These are all lucrative business sites with little government regulation. An anonymous former member of Chipangano is reported to have

7. Interview at Harare Residents’ Trust (HRT), Harare, March 2011. The interviews at HRT were conducted with two administrators who requested anonymity. Lloyd Sachikonye, When a State Turns On Its Citizens: Sixty Years of Institutionalised Violence in Zimbabwe (Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2011), 64.
said that members receive political indoctrination at three locations in Mbare: Joburg Lines, Mbare flats, and Mbare Musika.  

The 2003 by-elections contributed to an increase in violence, and Chipangano was observed to have consolidated itself as a shadow-militia group that intimidated the opposition and coerced individuals into supporting ZANU-PF, particularly targeting women through rape and torture. Some argue that Kunaka’s loss of his seat in 2013 and some Chipangano leaders being arrested suggest that there is little or no connection or support by ZANU-PF for Chipangano.

Mbare is Harare’s oldest township, and its residents can be viewed as a microcosm of Harare’s urban poor. It was built near the city center mainly to house migrant labor from the rural areas and economic immigrants from Southern Africa. Informal livelihoods are diverse owing to the Magaba, Siya-so, Mbare Musika, and Mupedzanhamo marketplaces, where backyard industries have created an assortment of sources of livelihood for the various artisans and market stallholders.

Mbare is also Harare’s most densely populated area. Official 2012 statistics put the population of Mbare’s four wards at 80,583. Survival there often requires dual-natured access to services, with reliance on the informal economy alongside dilapidated formal state infrastructure, including the exploitation of both systems by residents separately and simultaneously. Mbare has a fair number of state institutions: three police stations, six government primary schools, four government secondary schools, and four clinics and hospitals. These services, however, are dysfunctional, have high user ratios, and are severely understaffed. Most housing is in the form of multistorey hostels and single-room flats. In the latter, the room is typically subdivided into smaller sections, usually using cardboard boxes, old bed-sheets, or curtains, with each subsection inhabited by one or more families. The demographics and living conditions in Mbare are largely uniform.

In interviews, overcrowding was cited as the main problem for Mbare residents and identified as leading to numerous other problems, such as resource shortages, particularly housing, and lack of market stall spaces and places in schools. Other problems cited included power outages, unemployment, poor sanitation, poverty, poor service delivery, lack of refuse collection, high rentals, and interference by ZANU-PF youth in businesses, transport, and livelihoods.

**METHODODOLOGY AND PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS**

This study relied significantly on secondary data gathered between 2010 and 2012, especially media reports. In addition, extensive use was made of primary data in the

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form of interviews and household surveys conducted among 200 Mbare residents in 2010. A random systematic sampling method was used by employing probability sampling. Some areas of Mbare are much larger than others, so in some instances more households were selected. All participants were eighteen years of age or older. The questionnaire consisted of nine sections with questions ranging from participants’ view of their home environment to their perceptions of safety in their neighborhood, participation in community groups, and access to support services.

Some of the questions employed the Likert scale, which requires participants to rate their perspectives in relative degrees. There were also matrix questions, which posed different questions with a shared category of answers. A number of multiple-response questions were also included. The method was quantitative, with limited room for open-ended responses, but the majority of participants were so enthusiastic about taking part in the research that they offered more information than anticipated. Verbal consent was required before interviews began, and data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 19 and 21).

In the sample, ethnic diversity was negligible; all participants were black and Zimbabwean. Among them, 1.5 percent cited Ndebele as their primary language, and the majority were Shona speaking. Distribution between the sexes was almost equal, at 50.5 percent male and 49.5 percent female.

Unemployment levels were particularly high in Mbare. Only 4 percent of participants said they had full-time employment, 14.5 percent part-time, and the greatest percentage, 30 percent, reported being self-employed. This last group tended to be market stallholders or people skilled in such trades as carpentry and metalwork. Seasonal labor accounted for 4.5 percent of participants, and 4 percent said they were unemployed but not seeking work.

Only a small number of participants, 3 percent, mentioned Chipangano. Those willing to discuss the organization said that it was involved in crime and violence, especially around elections. Fear for their personal safety prevented the participants from substantively discussing the group. Therefore, through the media and snowballing, the Harare Residents’ Trust (HRT), which advocates for ‘effective representation of residents of Harare Metropolitan Province in local governance issues’, was identified as having pertinent information on Chipangano.15

VIOLENCE AND THE INSTRUMENTALIZING OF DISORDER

There is a dearth in the scholarship documenting the political nature of informal governance systems in urban communities. The focus has instead been on national politics, but not how these systems are reproduced or how they appear at a neighborhood or community level, particularly in cities in the south.16 Scholars point to party politics as relevant in terms of informing allegiance, as this normally determines

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methods of survival, because politics is linked to resources. As such, the types of governance mechanisms that typically emerge organically have been overlooked. Violence is one of these mechanisms, and the consequent governance patterns that emerge from it do so because the disorder present creates a favorable environment, providing opportunity to those wishing to exploit it to their advantage. Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz refer to this as the ‘instrumentalization of disorder’.

Some argue that social capital in Africa closely resembles criminality because the social networks may be instinctively inclined to engage in clientelism and corruption. Thus, social networks may be exploited for criminal purposes. While strong social ties are good, some tend to have negative effects, such as involvement in criminal operations. Furthermore, social capital tends sometimes to manifest itself in ways that exclude certain people. Scholars point to gangs, the Mafia, and the Ku Klux Klan as examples of expressions of social capital that is highly exclusionary and does not benefit the majority.

One scholar observes that in Africa, unofficial economic activity prevails because space is often unregulated, thereby allowing an opening for violence as an instrument of governance. The high levels of corruption and violence can also perhaps be linked in that some people try to protect themselves through violence because of the state’s inadequacies. What is even more disconcerting is that politicians are often facilitators in the ‘business of violence’. This suggests an overlap and hybridity of governance mechanisms and the likelihood that government officials engage in and enable networks with informal actors, some of whom may rely on violence. Here the focus is on

17. See ibid., 19, on the few studies. They note those involving links between the transport mafia and politicians in Lagos, local participation and political clientelism in Johannesburg, and clientelism and political opposition in Nigeria between the Lagos state government and the federal state.

18. Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument (Oxford and Bloomington, James Currey and Indiana University Press, 1999), xix.


24. Chabal and Daloz, Africa Works, 80. See also Alexander Kupatadze, ‘Political-criminal-business nexus and state capture in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan: A comparative analysis’ in Joanna Shapland and Paul Ponsaers (eds.), The Informal Economy and Connections with Organised Crime: The Impact of National Social and Economic Policies (The Hague, BLJU Legal Publishers, 2009). In this study, Kupatadze refers to the ‘political-criminal-business nexus’ in weak states, where organised crime groups are often in networks with state actors, with these partnerships leading to criminal groups posing as quasi-governments and influencing governance.
how these networks enable or constrain different actors, that is, Chipangano and Mbare community members.25

Some patterns of governance emerge from the state as facets of criminality within the state, with officials preying on public resources or even soliciting bribes to perform their duties.26 This is a practice defined in terms of ‘twilight institutions’.27 Such behavior from the state illustrates what is also referred to as ‘extractive’ political institutions, which ‘concentrate power in the hands of a narrow elite and place a few constraints on the exercise of this power. Economic institutions are then often structured by this elite to extract resources from the rest of the society’.28 Extractive political institutions and the criminal state are closely linked to the concept of ‘shadow states’, which are defined as the personalization of power by rulers and subsequent actions that may not conform to laws and procedures. This exploitation is used to access both formal and hidden markets, to promote self-enrichment, and to control others.29 The idea of predatory governments illustrates how states prey on their citizens.30 These governments are observed to have a ‘grabbing hand’ rather than the normative ‘helping hand’ as they plunder public resources.31 Although predatory behavior by states is detrimental to citizens, some argue this is a more realistic picture of modern governments than the normative pictures.32 All these observations prompt questions about barriers to accessing services and surviving where service delivery is poor and extractive behavior prevails.

Examining the ‘coral reef of separate formalities that coexist’ in Mbare reveals a facet of governance through violence, which is among the spectra of nonstate governance.33 The ‘coral reef of governance mechanisms’ and the gaps in state service delivery give

32. Buchanan, ‘Recognition legitimacy and the state system’; Chabal, ‘State and governance’.
33. Guyer, Marginal Gains.
access to extractive political institutions or twilight institutions that target public resources. The emergent institutions empower and constrain actors in different ways.

The state in Zimbabwe has always played a central role in coordinating the use of violence as a tool in governance processes. This is rooted in the colonial period. Of course, governance through violence is not unique to Zimbabwe. Military and paramilitary groups have looted throughout Africa in urban areas, including in Angola, Burundi, Chad, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Rwanda, and Somalia, exploiting public resources for personal gain. This predation has also been seen in groups such as the Betti lobby in Cameroon, the Presidential Guard in Chad, the Yakoma clan in the Central African Republic, and the Nibolek of the Congo, to mention a few shadow state militia groups linked to the state. One scholar argues that the success of such economic networks is not determined by their autonomy from the state, but is shaped more by their relationship with the state.

Governance through violence and disorder has two sides. In the first, the state’s inadequacies prompt vigilantes to take on the state’s control and in so doing use violence as a means of governing. This has been observed in Nairobi, where a great number of routes used by the matatu—illegal taxis on which the poor rely—have been accessed by the Mungiki, who illegally control the movement of transport. In the second, violence is used to plunder public resources under the auspices of the state itself. This avenue for usurping resources feeds on the lack of regulation. Zimbabwe, where violence has been ‘normalized’, is an example of a breeding ground for such activity, hence, providing space for the emergence and sustainability of an organization such as Chipangano.

CHIPANGANO’S EXTRACTIVE PRACTICES AND VIOLENCE

As documented in the media, Chipangano has been involved in several activities that involve instrumentalizing violence. One is halting the Bill and Melinda Gates Founda-
tion’s construction of residential flats in 2011 in Mbare. Chipangano threatened violence against construction workers in demanding a 51 percent ownership of the project. Chipangano has physically assaulted construction workers as well as Alex Mashamhanda, a local businessman who proposed funding construction of a service station and a food court near the Matapi police station. This stalled the $1.2 million project despite its approval by the Harare municipality. The project has since been moved to Dzivarasekwa, another high-density area in Harare. Chipangano destroyed the foreign-funded boreholes in Mbare, calling them ‘enemy funded’.42

Although Chipangano is widely considered to be a group of thugs, the manner in which it operates and extracts resources from the population is rather complex and methodical. Mbare has lucrative opportunities in the wholesale, market, and retail and manufacturing industries. There is a strong presence of small businesses and hence the opportunity to exploit individual business owners, who need stalls and transportation. As noted, inadequate regulation allows Chipangano to thrive on lawlessness.

Market stalls are allocated by the Harare City Council to individuals for trade purposes in line with Chapter 29:15 of the Urban Councils Act 24/1995, yet Chipangano has managed to gain control over these spaces and does so depending on one’s political allegiance in Mbare. The group has also subdivided the stalls in order to allocate more traders per stall and charge more for the space.43 In addition, through the touts known as Mandimbandimba, Chipangano demands a daily fee from all traders and minibus taxis operating in Mbare.44 It also holds campaign events for ZANU-PF in Mbare, and residents are often coerced into attending the rallies.45

Chipangano operates in such a way that it evades prosecution. When necessary, people proclaim membership in Chipangano to be shielded from the police and prosecution. The police do not confront such suspects because of Chipangano’s allegiance to ZANU-PF and their own fear of Chipangano and possible reprisal. As a result, the Harare City Council finds itself in a similarly challenging position. Members of Chipangano, if confronted, use ZANU-PF to excuse their activities. Proclaiming membership in Chipangano thereby gives said members the opportunity to manipulate or skirt the law. Most interesting, and also advantageous to Chipangano, is that ZANU-PF denies the group’s existence, thereby making it difficult or impossible to police its activities.46 It thus also difficult to authoritatively estimate the size of its membership.

The HRT pointed out that Chipangano is a business entity and thus driven by greed, not necessarily its allegiance to ZANU-PF. The line between being a member of Chipangano and an individual seeking to further his business prospects is blurred.

44. Mbare residents said the rate is sometimes $1 per journey per vehicle. See Shumba, ‘Chipangano becoming independent of ZANU-PF’.
46. Ibid.
Some individuals are reported to go to Mbare posing as ZANU-PF members to exploit the financial opportunities there, but then they return to their communities, such as Epworth, Chitungwiza, Mabvuku, Highfield, and Budiriro, where they are apolitical or perhaps even members of the opposition. Since it is profitable to be a part of Chipangano, anyone who is unemployed might be enticed to join Chipangano.

Although a criminal type of brute survival, Chipangano is a social capital initiative. While some Mbare residents, the media, and civil society have been vocal about the terror the gang has wrought, respondents were not at liberty to discuss it, which is evidence of how it intimidates residents in perpetuating its survival.

Facilitators and Effects of Governance through Violence

Chipangano controls the earnings of Mbare businesspeople and their livelihoods by using city council infrastructure. Mbare thus provides a clear example of the choice of survival methods being governed and constrained by available resources, ideas, and organizational means. Chipangano’s strategy is gainful because its members evade prosecution while controlling Mbare resources and space. Through its manifestation and reliance on an identity linked to ZANU-PF, Chipangano is enabled to conduct its activities with little or no intervention or obstruction. Although Chipangano’s ideas and organizational means enable it to usurp resources and enrich itself, its activities are extremely detrimental to the greater Mbare population by creating barriers to accessing public resources and governing through the use of violence.

Mbare thrives on informality. The majority of its residents do not have access to formal sources of livelihood, as noted above. Chipangano takes advantage of the state in two interconnected ways. It conducts business and financially benefits through posing as an entity working on behalf of ZANU-PF and in this way accumulates wealth and escapes prosecution. The persecution and looting it carries out are basically state-sanctioned, thus giving perpetrators immunity. In denying Chipangano’s existence and any links to the group, the state condones Chipangano and gives tacit permission to its existence. In short, the state is preying on individuals. It is also an active bystander to Chipangano’s activities and atrocities.

While it can be argued based on media accounts that the state is an active participant in Chipangano, in many respects, the state is regardless an enabler of Chipangano’s activities by allowing the outfit to operate and use the ZANU-PF name as a defense against prosecution. Here politicians are the facilitators and licensees of the business of violence as seen in the manner in which Chipangano allegedly emerged through ZANU-PF politicians, offering it immunity from the state and guaranteeing Chipangano

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authority within Mbare. Chipangano exemplifies the assertion that social capital in Africa exhibits traits of criminality because the poor’s social networks tend to engage in clientelism and corrupt practices. The actions of Chipangano can be understood either as an extractive institution or as similar to the Mungiki in Nairobi, who exploited ‘gaps in the state’s provision’ and regulation of services.

Coercion Coalitions

The disorder that the HRT and the media note Chipangano thrives on fuels Chipangano’s activities, with violence taking center stage as the mechanism for governance. The manner in which Chipangano operates as a network can be understood as a ‘coercion coalition’, based on the manner in which it operates, by use of force and threats to achieve its aims, and based on the manner in which its acquiring access to resources is governed by one’s allegiance to the group. Social capital is thus garnered through individuals feeling forced by circumstances to align themselves with Chipangano. How can actions like Chipangano’s be referred to as social capital? Social capital is about resources linked to secure social networks to which some individuals have access and others do not. While this may be negative for the outgroup, it is nonetheless capital.

Chipangano is not the type of grassroots-level institution that some had hoped for when advocating for networks to enable African communities to survive despite state inadequacies. Groups like Chipangano adopt aggressive actions that benefit only a few at the expense of the greater community. The conventional family and friendship bonds that are expected to nurture social capital are not what led to the formation of Chipangano. Rather it was spurred by a criminal element aimed at benefitting financially rather than by the basic need to survive. The existence of Chipangano, and the manner in which individuals pose as Chipangano members while in Mbare and then discard or conceal this identity once outside it, reflects the social networks ‘varying degrees of permanence or fluidity and institutionalization’. Networks in local communities are dynamic in both their interaction and compositions. Thus they come in various forms and have a variety of impacts on local governance.

50. Chabal and Daloz, Af.FO. Works. Savanhu, the former ZANU-PF representative, continues to work with the group.
51. Acemoglu and Robinson, Why Nations Fail; Rasmussen, ‘Inside the system, outside the law’.
56. Astrid Ley, ‘Moving targets as a coping strategy: Rethinking emergent patterns and relations of organized urban poor groups’, Technische Universität, Berlin, 2009
It is plausible that the state is not necessarily condoning Chipangano, as anyone can wear the Chipangano label and discard it when they leave Mbare. Furthermore, one reason behind Chipangano thriving as a network is likely because of the membership benefits for individuals. Thus, unemployment and a lack of opportunities might encourage individuals to seek membership as an alternative and sure method of accumulating resources. This ambiguous nature of Chipangano’s membership may enable it to expand since the advantages of being a member are evident, including the absence of prosecution.

**Outside the Law’s Net**

Chipangano’s activities may be considered in terms of twilight or shadow formality. This level of formality operates on the fringes of formality while inhabiting a more informal space. Similar to the conceptions of twilight institutions and shadow states, this type of livelihood involves public resources, like the market stalls, being exploited or manipulated in ways that are not traditionally considered legal. While states actively curtail the pervasiveness of livelihoods considered to be informal, such as street trading in African cities, the Harare City Council’s regulation of marketplaces is weak, thereby giving Chipangano the opportunity to exploitatively do so on behalf of the municipality.

Membership in Chipangano is mainly for economic security and political gain. Chipangano thrives on a form of social capital that is more of a struggle to further the group’s interests than a result or facilitator of trust between individuals. As a result of this network, Mbare residents and business people face a double barrier in accessing services, first, through poor service delivery by the state and, second, by obtaining access to resources only by paying Chipangano. These barriers encumber an integral part of Mbare residents’ survival.

Aside from controlling individuals’ access to resources, what impact does this type of control over resources and space have on the community? The various forms of protracted political violence have had numerous spillover effects on Zimbabwean society. Trauma and constant fear are said to be the most common effects, which are exacerbated by the perpetrators’ impunity. While previously the state had fashioned laws that gave immunity to agents of violence, in the case of Chipangano, the state’s denial of its existence and affiliation with ZANU-PF has exempted Chipangano from conforming to the law. Chipangano in a certain way has ascendancy over the government, such as when, despite the city council’s approval of the filling station in Mbare, Chipangano succeeded in obstructing its construction.

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The limits of statehood in the case of Chipangano do not end with the state’s inability to regulate resources, but rather extend to an inadequacy of the state’s formal regulation of its own institutions, leading to crises in governance. The frustrations vented by the few participants who spoke about Chipangano reflect the exasperation that Mbare community members feel about Chipangano’s presence restricting their livelihoods. Others may interpret the state’s silence on Chipangano as an indication that it does not require much attention, although within Mbare, in the media and among civil society, the dialogue on Chipangano is growing.

CONCLUSIONS

This study, admittedly, is weakened by the lack of information from Mbare residents on their perceptions and knowledge of Chipangano’s activities. It would also have benefitted from direct access to Chipangano itself and engagement with ZANU-PF members who are alleged to support Chipangano members. Regardless, the pathway is illuminated to an important discussion on the manner in which violence has been instrumentalized for governance purposes in Mbare.

In Mbare, examination of Chipangano highlights governance through the instrumentalization of violence. It is evident that gaps in state governance are being exploited by Chipangano, which flourishes as a network relying on violence and intimidation to control public space and resources. Through violent extraction, Chipangano has not only taken control of the means of production, but its existence intimidates community members. Chipangano as a social network enables its own enrichment while constraining the livelihoods of the greater Mbare population. Why then has little attention been paid to Chipangano, particularly by the state? It is discernible that Chipangano’s lack of confrontation with the state has contributed to the group’s persistence. In the event of a change in government, and thus an inability to rely on its ZANU-PF identity, Chipangano’s existence might be threatened.

Studies of networks such as Chipangano help reveal the nuances of governance mechanisms that operate through the instrumentalization of violence and that use or exploit state identities. Such research is one method for understanding the coral reef of governance systems and order as well as barriers to securing livelihoods and resources experienced by African communities, particularly among the underprivileged.
Rural Community Understanding of the Democratization Process In Qacha’s Nek, Lesotho

Nomazulu Ngozwana

The introduction of democracy to Lesotho after colonial and military rule has not been well implemented. Basotho, citizens of Lesotho, were not educated appropriately about the role that democracy plays in a modern society, particularly when its concepts conflict with traditional values. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with respondents from the rural community of Qacha’s Nek and development of a conceptual framework based on secondary sources revealed a strong cultural alienation toward democracy, resistance to change, and a sense that democracy is to blame for current societal problems. Thus there is a need for effective civic education to bridge the gap between traditional democratic practices in rural areas and a modern democratic system of government, which has brought about some unwelcome changes to the lives of rural residents.

Lesotho is a small mountainous country landlocked by the Republic of South Africa. Its population was estimated in 2008 at 2 million, of which three-fourths (76%) were classified as poor and living in rural areas. Lesotho is led by a monarch as head of state and a prime minister as head of government. The country has experienced a variety of political dynamics and instabilities since 1993, when the first democratic elections brought an end to military rule.

In 2004 the Lesotho government produced a seven-pillar national vision policy to be completed by year 2020. The first pillar was to develop a stable democracy as a way of advancing peace. The Basotho, citizens of Lesotho, still practice traditional forms of governance, particularly in rural areas, alongside the modern system. The adoption of a constitutional monarchy that complements, rather than competes with the modern state, is an example of how Basotho culture and traditions complement the imported form of democracy.

Lesotho, like other countries, embarked on the path to democratization by holding free and fair elections. Five multiparty elections have been held, in 1993, 1998, 2002,


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2007, and 2012. The first two were conducted as winner-take-all contests, with the National Assembly being elected in a first-past-the-post system. The last three elections featured a mixed-member proportional system, devised in 2001 following previous electoral violence, because it promoted political stability through the inclusion of more political parties (and hence more opinions and views) in parliament. The manner in which these elections have added value to democratization is difficult to assess because the internal power struggles of the ruling political parties have resulted in splits and the proliferation of more political parties, which remain weak.

Lesotho’s current parliamentary governance structure reflects the outcome of elections held in 2012. In February 2012, prior to the May elections, feuding within the ruling party resulted in the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) splitting and the establishment of the Democratic Congress (DC) with a breakaway majority of forty-five seats. The Speaker of parliament declared the DC the ruling party, but after the 2012 elections, the DC emerged as the main opposition party, with forty-eight out of one hundred twenty seats in parliament. The LCD won twenty-six seats, while the All Basotho Convention (ABC) took thirty and the Basotho National Party (BNP) earned five. These three parties formed a coalition government under the leadership of Prime Minister Tom Motsoahe Thabane, leader of the ABC. The formation of a coalition government was intended to project inclusiveness and reduce violence. In effect, however, it contributed to further instability, a lack of political unity among coalition parties, outbreaks of violence against government-appointed post holders, and changes to education policies without engaging the public.2

Lesotho’s political conflicts have not been successfully managed by local mediators. One observer claims that despite Lesotho’s sociocultural homogeneity, political polarization ‘runs deep’ because of the centralization of power within a small elite in the ruling and opposition parties, which he associates with a lack of intraparty democracy.3 Others have argued that Lesotho’s weak and young democracy is the result of underdeveloped political parties.4 Lesotho’s government has not fulfilled its campaign promises, and human security remains a major concern.5

Lesotho must, it seems, overcome the structural rigidity of its party politics, which is based on personalities and factionalism. A democratic society requires educated citizens, with access to information, who can make informed assessments and decisions about public policy.6 In most African countries, however, including Lesotho, people rarely fully exercise their citizenship rights because they are not involved in contribut-

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ing inputs in the preparation and formulation of public policies. With the channels for participation limited, citizens’ needs are not reflected in government actions.7

According to the Independent Electoral Commission’s (IEC) training manual, civic education is a medium through which the social, political, and economic culture of a society is transmitted.8 Civic education therefore should deal with the rights and duties of citizens and how these rights can be realized. It should encourage citizens to participate in governance, thereby creating informed and responsible citizens and thus enhancing democracy. In Lesotho, however, information about democracy and citizenship rights and responsibilities is inadequately and unequally provided.9 The practice of civic education is simply linked to elections, as voter education. It is, in short, a one-off activity by centrally based civil society organizations (CSO). In addition, it does not reach the rural majority because the CSOs tend not to operate in their communities. If the people’s understanding of democracy and citizenship is weak among adults, and schools are not providing adequate education about these concepts to children, the next generation cannot learn about citizenship and democracy in ways that contribute to the growth of democracy and by extension the advancement of peace, development, and security.

This study explores the Basotho’s understanding of democracy in an attempt to ascertain what kind of adult education would help deepen understanding of the relationships among democracy, human rights, citizenship rights and responsibilities, and political participation. The study participants are from the Qacha’s Nek district, a rural mountainous community in the southeast with tensions between the traditional and modern leadership structures.10 It is a border and tourist town and a port of entry into Lesotho from the Eastern Cape, South Africa, and a short distance from KwaZulu-Natal province. Qacha’s Nek was selected because it is rural and most people rely on traditional sources of information, such as public gatherings and the radio. Most civil society and nongovernmental organizations are based in the capital of Maseru, which is urban, and are not active in Qacha’s Nek.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a system of government in which people freely provide their consent regarding who they want to govern them and how.11 Direct and representative democracies emphasize different forms of behavior. Direct democracy involves the ‘exercise of political and civil rights, [and] full participation of people in matters affecting their lives. Substantive democracy is an extension of direct democracy whereby there is an accountable and transparent government with equitable distribution of power.”12

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11. M. David et al., Democracy for All: Education Towards a Democratic Culture (Durban, Juta, 1994).
Developing a substantive democracy has implications for the type and forms of civic education required to foster such development. In Lesotho, the question of whether citizens feel they have full government transparency and accountability has implications for how civic education should be provided.

On the other hand, representative democracy, most commonly known as procedural or electoral democracy, depends on the extent of citizens’ political participation. This democracy follows the procedures of holding regular, fair, inclusive, peaceful, and competitive elections. Even if such elections are held, governments might still fail to provide material benefits and services, such as access to clean water and sanitation, housing, education, and health care. Lesotho is an example of a country that practices electoral democracy, the most minimal type of democracy.

Democracy is thus a debatable concept with different emphases. This study follows G. Cawthra, A. du Pisani, and A. Omari’s view of democracy as a normative and empirical political and social concept encompassing values (looking at people’s responsibility as a collective, individual, or voluntary contribution), social processes (looking at people’s efforts to enhance their rights and freedoms and how elected members respond to citizens’ interests), and political practice (looking at who participates in decision making). In terms of values, democracy implies the freedom of the individual and the individual as a member of society. Democracy in this manner includes dignity, justice, and tolerance. As a social process, democracy allows people to strive to enhance their fundamental rights and freedoms. Most countries, including Lesotho, have incorporated such rights into their laws, but the extent to which they are understood and perceived by citizens varies. As a political practice, democracy implies ‘specific institutional habits and practices for organizing and exercising public power in accordance with universal norms and practices’.

Five theories are differentiated under political democracy: electoral, liberal, republican, communitarian, and deliberative. According to Claude Kabemba, in electoral democracy, a country manages to hold regular, inclusive, clean, and competitive elections. Liberal democracy broadens the range of democracy from the right to appoint one’s leadership to the protection of civil liberties, political rights, and property through active involvement by members of society. Similarly, Joachim Blatter argues that liberal democracy conceptions include natural and universal rights as well as equal liberties for individuals. These have to be secured by and against the government, meaning that both social and economic rights are statutorily protected, enforceable, and protected by the judicial system. Lesotho’s elections are often surrounded by tensions and threats of violence, suggesting that civil liberties are not well understood in the democratic process.

In republican democracy, citizens can realize freedom and a good life by participating in public life. Republicans, like liberals, differentiate between the public or political domain and the private or socioeconomic domain, in which citizens engage in

13. Dreze and Sen, *India*.
dialogue and participate actively in political decisions. The public or political domain often follows a prescribed set of rules and standards rather than practicality. Lesotho citizen participation in public life is still in a transition from traditional and colonial systems, under which various rights abuses were committed. These abuses extended into authoritarian rule, resulting in passive behavior among the citizenry. Thus it is not always clear, especially in rural areas, to what extent the Basotho understand their political role in a democracy.

Communitarian democracy emphasizes the connection between the individual and the community, where there is personal interaction and shared values or history. In this type of democracy, there is often a restriction of personal freedom and civil rights. Communitarian democracy opposes liberal individualism in favor of social entities through which people respect and obey laws as well as act as good citizens connected to the community. In this type of democracy, the political and social domains are highly interdependent, and individual identity is socially constructed by the society or polity, meaning that emphasis is on membership in a community through participation and engagement.

According to Blatter, communitarian democracy should uphold solidarity and social rights for the community members; it demands and stimulates citizens’ identification with their loyalty to their nation. This type of democracy emphasizes compliant citizens and values of respect, as in African traditional societies like Lesotho’s. The extent to which the Basotho are able to bridge their traditional communitarian values with those promoted through the new national political system has implications for how they are able to maximize the benefits of a modern democracy. This situation is further affected by the Basothos’ experience with an authoritarian and oppressive postcolonial system prior to 1993 in which citizens could not advocate for policy changes and thus lacked power to effect social change.

Deliberative democracy opposes individualism and uses communication as an anchor for conceptualizing legitimate polities, while adapting to elements of consensus and majority rule. Deliberative democracy emphasizes discussion and argumentation to deepen participant knowledge and create awareness of the interests of others. For Basotho society, deliberations have traditionally taken place in open public meetings where information is shared among citizens and leaders. These gatherings, however, are normally only attended by adult males. David Held contends that this type of democracy is concerned with enrichment of life of all its citizens, while A. V. Kelly views it as a mode of associated living, in which societies or nations exist to enhance and enrich the quality of their citizen’s lives. James Bohman asserts that deliberative democracy applies the criteria of inclusiveness, which supports equality of relationships among all citizens alike, including rulers and those ruled. Lesotho as a young democracy is still grappling with such notions of equality and inclusiveness in relation to its traditional values.

17. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
Traditional Democracy and Civic Education

In precolonial Lesotho, chieftaincy was the primary governing institution. Chiefs would call a *pitso*, a public assembly attended by male adults, a form of top-down communication, from the government to the people, as well as bottom-up communication, from the people to the government. This permitted considerable freedom of speech among the people. Thus the leadership system reflected a form of direct democracy in which people discussed issues that affected their lives and reached consensus in a public setting. Women, however, were legally, socially, and economically dependent on men and had no political power, as they did not attend public decision-making events. According to L. B. B. J. Machobane, women were customarily regarded as minors, under the lifelong custody and protection of men, from fathers to husbands, and in the case of a husband’s death, to a male relative or a male child. This ideology stemmed from a patriarchal society where women’s identity was traced through paternal lineage and reflected a communitarian democracy and traditional way of Basotho life.

Citizenship education took place through social interactions at public meeting places, such as a *khota* (chief’s courtyard) or *pitso*. Traditional civic education in Lesotho was a collective affair that included practical life skills and was passed from generation to generation. This type of education focused on the communalist values emphasizing belonging, interdependence, and collectiveness and based on proverbs drawing on the concept of *botho*, showing respect for humans. Traditional Basotho living reflected hierarchical but communal and collective lifestyles, as seen in the practice of subsistence farming, where the strong were expected to support the weak. Social roles were clearly defined, and children were expected to accept the guidance of their elders without question. Informal education was a popular way of providing traditional civic education using families, churches, and communities.

Anecdotal evidence and previous research suggest that Basotho seem to have only a limited understanding of the modern notions of democracy and citizenship and their function in relation to traditional leadership structures and values. There is a lack of trust in local governance systems that have evolved in the name of democracy and have usurped the powers and roles of the traditional leadership. They are perceived as western concepts eroding traditional values of civic responsibility. In other words, there appears to be a disjunction between the theory of democracy and peo-

26. Ibid.
29. Preece et al., *Non-Formal Education and Vocational Skills*. 
people’s understanding of the concept at the grassroots. The introduction of modern democracy coincided with a capitalist economy, which promoted individualism and independence. Basotho appeared to view modern democracy, which emphasizes citizen rights, as contradicting, rather than building on, their traditional values.

In Lesotho the Independent Electoral Commission is constitutionally mandated to provide civic education—informing citizens about how they can actively participate in and influence public decision making—but it focuses primarily on voter education during election cycles. Citizens are encouraged to take part in elections through political campaigns and mass media, but the message is poorly delivered and limited in content. There is a tendency in Lesotho to gear civic education toward the voting process only, rather than what voting means, how democracy operates, and what roles citizens can play in democratic governance. In this era of globalization and international interaction, where nations act as part of a larger, global community, modern democracy must function beyond the narrow confines of local communities. Citizens must broaden their minds to accommodate all forms of liberal democracy. The challenge therefore is how to use civic education to build on the positive, caring, and collective aspects of traditional democracy in the context of a modern, globalized, and egalitarian society. A deeper understanding of people’s perceptions and concerns about democracy in the Lesotho is thus needed.

**METHODOLOGY**

This study adopted an interpretive paradigm, using a small-scale, explorative qualitative approach. This entails ‘understanding the social phenomena from the participants’ perspective that actually live and make sense of it in their natural setting.’ The Qacha’s Nek district is a society that relies on traditional sources of information. Although the findings cannot be generalized to the broader population, Qacha’s Nek does have characteristics similar to other rural populations in Lesotho, including limited services and access to media and subsistence living conditions. Patterns identified in Qacha’s Nek are likely to reflect similar ones in other rural areas.

Data were gathered from March to May 2013 through interviews, focus group discussions, and examination of documentary materials used for civic education by political sources and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). For reasons of space, only the interviews and focus groups are discussed here. Five participants were interviewed who represented community leaders: two active politicians (male and female candidates for national assembly elections), two chiefs (male and female), and a male councilor. One focus group consisted of six education providers (three males and three females) working for the IEC. There were two other focus groups of average citizens: one of people aged twenty to thirty years and one of citizens aged forty to sixty years, with twelve participants per group. In total, twenty-three people—nine men and fourteen women—were interviewed for the study. The participants were chosen to provide a cross section of different age groups and political roles.

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Respondents were selected through purposive and snowball sampling, ensuring representation of males and females. Purposive sampling is used to select people who possess in-depth information, such as community leaders. Snowball sampling is used to select key informants who are most likely to provide insight rich in data. In this regard, focus group participants were selected upon being recommended by other participants who have similar characteristics and relevant knowledge.

Qualitative data analysis, particularly thematic analysis, was used to generate the emerging themes, patterns, concepts, insights, and understandings. Qualitative data analysis is defined as ‘primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (or relationships) among the categories’.

The process required initially looking for response patterns, which then were identified as themes. A second level of analysis used the conceptual framework outlined in Table 1 as a theoretical lens for discussing the inductively derived themes on understandings of democracy.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphases/aspects of democracy</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Social process</th>
<th>Political practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Examples of democracy theories</td>
<td>Communitarian</td>
<td>Liberal and electoral</td>
<td>Republican and deliberative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>Collective and voluntary in family, church, etc.</td>
<td>Rights and freedoms of citizens; stresses individuality</td>
<td>Political and direct decision making; through civil society organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen responsibility</td>
<td>Limited responsibilities by citizens; interconnected as a society/community</td>
<td>Limited responsiveness by citizens; emphasize citizens’ legal rights and obligations under framework of the law</td>
<td>Full responsibility by citizens; for republicans, state comes first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ roles</td>
<td>Obey and respect laws, leaders; act collectively</td>
<td>Elect representatives to look after their interests</td>
<td>Actively participate in policy-making decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>Family, church, khotla, public gatherings</td>
<td>Executive government, legislature/parliament, judiciary</td>
<td>Political/public assembly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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33. McMillan and S. Schumacher, Research in Education.
Mocracy. In other words, it provided a basis for exploring perceptions of democracy in terms of values (responsibility as a collective, individual, or voluntary contribution), social roles (how rights and freedoms are understood and how elected members are expected to respond to citizen interests); and political practice (such as who participates in decision making).

FINDINGS

Findings are presented according to the themes that emerged from the data provided in the responses from the leaders, educators, and average citizens: understandings of traditional versus modern democracy; contradictions between theory and practice; democracy as misinformation; democracy as children’s rights and gender equality; and democracy as erosion of traditional cultural values.

Understandings of Traditional versus Modern Democracy

There is a strong time-oriented dimension to the findings. Respondents repeatedly referred to a lost past, which they compared with the present. They noted that the past under traditional chiefdoms was different from the present democratic rule in terms of citizens exercising their democratic rights and responsibilities. In the past, chiefs consulted the people to discuss issues that affected their lives in open meetings before decisions were made. The responses indicated understandings of traditional democracy as a primarily communitarian value. For example, a male educator noted, ‘Democracy was there in the chiefdom system through a pitso and khota that were held where chiefs would seek the views of adult males. Men had women’s views from their families, therefore when issues were discussed, the decisions made incorporated the views and opinions of all the citizens because men consulted their wives’.

This is in contrast to today’s public meetings, which are open to men and women alike but with decisions emanating from political leaders who can impose their own ideas over the peoples’. A younger male respondent from the educator group countered the notion that traditional rule practiced democracy as a participatory process. He contended, ‘Democracy was not there in the past because a man was given a wife to marry, without being consulted, and he would not state his views or opinions. There was no involvement [of citizens] in the past’.

In the past, marriage involved other community members, who would choose a girl who behaved appropriately for a man who seemed ready to marry. The idea would be discussed at an open meeting by adult males. The male politician reinforced the position that traditional rule was not democratic, stating, ‘There is no democracy in chiefdom rule. We are saying democracy is government for the people by the people. For someone to become a chief by birth, whether we like him or not, whether he is intelligent or not, that is not democracy’. This same man nevertheless commented about the founder of the Basotho nation, ‘There is only one chief who practiced democracy, Chief Mshoeshoe I, after he was advised by Chief Mohlomi. Even the Europeans were surprised to see a chief who consulted his people before he could make the decisions that affected his followers’. The majority of respondents indicated that they felt the traditional consultations were democratic although the leadership was not elected. Even here, however, some indicated that democracy means more than mere consultation.
In terms of understanding modern (liberal) democracy, there was evidence among fifteen, older and younger, respondents of how democracy should function in the current context. They viewed democracy as governance with representative rulers, whereby the members of society elect people to make decisions on their behalf, as in electoral democracy as practiced in Lesotho. One woman from the elderly focus group stated, 'It means that I have the right to choose my own government by voting for it'.

Others held that it meant the electorate was contributing to public decision making. The male politician said, 'Leaders from all corners are just representatives for the people, which is why it is government for the people by the people. It means that the people have a say in government and in issues that affect their lives in a country'. Although democracy is understood as contributing to governance, the participants did not say much about their involvement and participation in governance issues. Even the issue of voting in elections was mentioned only occasionally. The differences between liberal theory and practice were, however, strongly challenged.

Contradictions between Theory and Practice

The respondents indicated that they perceived a contradiction between the theory of democracy as a social process in which people freely elect their members and Lesotho’s practice of electing committee members or representatives of political parties. Most of the responses suggested that people think politicians only pay lip service to gain control of government. In reality, a preselected list of members (a ‘skeleton list’) is compiled by party members, and citizens are simply persuaded to elect people according to the list. The politician said, ‘In my observation, most of our people do not understand what democracy is . . . , including some of the political leaders. The common example is when electing the committee members, where people are not freely exercising their freedom to choose the members by themselves, but instead abide by a skeleton made for them’. He further stated, ‘It is a common saying that people have a say, while in reality it is the opposite because somebody chooses for them’. In short, although there is an overt election process for government committees, in reality internal members have already elected the committee, and the voters are merely expected to rubber stamp the process. In other words, they are not presented with a real choice.

A female educator commented on a similarly undemocratic practice. ‘Those who are ruling, politicians, are dominating the citizens, the public, more than it was done in the past. This government preaches freedom, but in practice there is no freedom. They loan themselves large amounts of money. They travel in expensive cars with free fuel. . . . They give themselves more privileges’. In other words, freedom is viewed as selective. The politicians are free to operate however they want, while the ordinary citizen barely has enough money to afford the local minibus system of taxis.

Another tension cited is that only people who support the ruling party are believed to obtain employment to the extent that members of the opposition political parties are regarded and treated as ‘enemies’. The responses from individual interviewees were triangulated by responses from the focus group discussion, suggesting that these practices are common and rife among politicians in Lesotho. This experience impacts on citizen freedoms and entitlements. A woman in one focus group said, ‘Government should stop hiring their political party members. They should stop giving employ-
ment to the people who are in possession of a membership card in their political parties. People with skills and knowledge should be given employment without being discriminated against. Furthermore, elected leaders are perceived as pushing their own agendas, forgetting about the public interest. Said the female politician, ‘If the ruling officials could avoid looking at themselves, we would develop as a country. They just go there to push their different agendas of building mansions or to feed their families and relatives.’ These respondents thus understand democracy as in practice involving undemocratic practices by politicians at the expense of citizens. Thus it seems, patronage networks are perhaps prevalent, with politicians considering only their relatives and friends when filling positions.

The way the Basotho were introduced to democracy in the 1960s suggests that it was almost like a threat. As articulated by one female chief, ‘We were told to be careful because democracy will be introduced, and there will be political rule.’ This suggests that perhaps chiefs were intimidated by the transition from chieftaincies to democratic rule, under which they would lose power and hand over more responsibilities to democratic leaders. This has serious implications for civic education in terms of fostering a more deliberative, republican role by citizens able to challenge undemocratic practices. The passive nature of the Basothos’ responses to democracy, drawing on their communitarian traditions, was a common thread.

Democracy as Misinformation

There is a sense that Basotho feel they are misinformed, but they passively accept this, which in turn affects their acceptance and use of democratic principles and rights. For example, politicians make empty promises to the public during campaigns and in their election manifestos, but citizens remain passive in that they do not publicly demonstrate or write letters of complaint about the empty promises. One man in a focus group offered, ‘We have not been taught democracy here in Lesotho. . . . We just follow, even if we can become aware that politicians are lying.’ A male respondent from the elderly citizens focus group echoed the same concern. ‘The public has not been taught about democracy at all. Politicians are aware that the public is not aware of the correct information. They take advantage of people not having knowledge.’

In most cases the politicians promise the public that they will deliver certain services once they are elected as members of parliament. This shows that the people are not well informed about the three arms of government—the legislature, executive, and judiciary—and their functions in representative democracy. This should help determine how civic education is conducted, as advised by a female in the educator focus group. ‘IEC should be independent and autonomous so that it can provide correct information and confront the politicians who give incorrect information to the citizens.’ Of particular concern is the notion of rights.

Democracy as Children’s Rights and Gender Equality

Children, especially, are seen to have significantly changed their behavior in terms of obedience to elders and acceptance of corporal punishment. This trend coincided with the introduction of democracy and children’s resultant assertions that now they
had rights, which they learned about in school. Respondents saw children of today as ‘children of democracy’ because of these rights. This is one way of saying that today’s children are not punished like children of the past. Today corporal punishment of children is associated with abuse. This means that children can report punishment as a crime, so their parents can be dealt with according to the law. Respondents mentioned that these children do as they like, meaning they exercise their rights improperly, without being responsible for their actions. A woman among the education providers asserted, ‘Information about children’s rights and responsibilities was not properly disseminated. There was confusion about how to discipline children and how to punish them through beating them. Nowadays children claim that they are abused when they are punished or beaten. The [democracy] information was wrongly disseminated. It confused people.’

The associated problems have resulted in disengagement by parents and schools in terms of disciplining children. An elderly male in a focus group contended, ‘Democracy is not important because teachers at schools are not punishing the learners because of it, in fear that [the children] will report them to the police.’ When asked whether democracy was taught to the children, a councilor responded, ‘I am not sure, but I think so because they are children of democracy. Even though they live and practice it in a wrong way.’ Several respondents mentioned that children interpret their rights in the ‘wrong way’, indicating confusion among children, their parents, and possibly their teachers and other citizens as well.

Some contrasted children of today with their experience growing up, supposedly a time when all children were obedient and respectful and passive listeners who did not question their elders or teachers. An elderly woman in a focus group shared, ‘When I grew up I did not know that I had rights, because I was a child who was given orders, and mine was just to obey them without questioning anything from my parents.’

In respect to gender equality, the respondents acknowledged the concept of equal rights for men and women in democracy, but they had ambivalent feelings about whether this was a positive or a negative development. A male councilor stated, ‘It means equality for both males and females as their freedom. Democracy gives every person their natural rights. Before equality could be implemented, a woman could not get into the kraal to sell a cow, even if she did not have money to fend for her family, with her children, without the permission of her husband.’ One young woman saw gender rights as creating other inequalities in practice. ‘In the past while we were growing up, we used to see our mothers staying at home as housewives, but they were supported by our fathers. But these days when we are housewives, our partners complain and tell us to look for jobs and stop just eating and depending on their support. It means that all people have equal rights.’

With democracy introducing gender equality to society, some men came to assume that they could insist that their partners participate in generating household income, which did not happen when men saw themselves as the sole breadwinner. Gender equality in relationships was also seen as creating disrespect among women (perhaps as a result of the long-term grievances endured by them under customary practices). A young female respondent complained, ‘Women are disrespectful because of the rights. When there are minor issues, they just think of divorcing their partners. Democracy is not good at all.’
The idea of democracy as being ‘not good’ was a sentiment echoed by more than that respondent. There is a cultural contradiction in this democratic notion of equality because according to Basotho culture, a man is the head of the family, while a woman is subordinate. Obviously equality is not a practice if the head of the household makes all the decisions according to his desires. The idea of women’s rights and democracy was not presented in a way for Basotho to understand how the concepts relate to their traditional roles and practices by men and women.

Furthermore democracy was viewed as causing insecurity and stigma for men, who saw it as an erosion of their power. They did not like that women’s status changed, that is, that they had the potential to escape patriarchal oppression. An elderly man asserted, ‘In families, democracy protects women and children. It provides equality to both women and men alike, which is not good, as men become sensitive when they hear the word [democracy]. It took power away from males to give it to females’.

The responses illustrated the perception of democracy as something villainous that has destroyed traditional practices and values. This attitude exists despite the positive elements of inclusiveness and equality, among others, offered by democracy. This shows that the transition was not well managed and that democracy is not yet entrenched in the popular consciousness of the Basotho.

Democracy as the Erosion of Traditional Cultural Values

Traditional Basotho living involved communal and collective lifestyles as reflected in the Basotho proverb that a person is a person through other people. The respondents appeared to blame every problematic issue in conflict with traditional expectations on the introduction of democracy, which was viewed as having destroyed Basotho cultural values. To the Basotho, the introduction of democracy has changed their traditional way of life, where everything was done communally and humanly. Democracy introduced individualism, which is associated with too much freedom, which has killed the spirit of oneness and teamwork.

Respondents felt that they had lost their past in terms of their traditional values and information. According to a councilor, ‘Discipline has gone down because this started at schools where children were given eggs to eat. That made our children refrain from maintaining Basotho values that ensured discipline among children, and now they eat every kind of food, including those that are rich in proteins like eggs’. As articulated above, tradition included respect and obedience by children, and their questioning attitudes were seen as an erosion of traditional values. An elderly female opined, ‘Schools have exerted a certain influence over children because they ask the ‘why’ questions if they are told about something. In our time, we grew up not asking the why questions. We were doing what we were told to do without wanting to know or asking for the reasons. We were given orders as children, and we followed. Today’s children want to know what will happen, and they ask too much’.

In rural Lesotho, there is an obvious lack of clarity about the rights, legalities, and responsibilities in modern society pledged to compliance with international law. Said the female politician, ‘The current laws that were passed in parliament gave [children] rights. It is because of the laws that are put in place that make us not instill the cultural values that we were brought up with’.
DISCUSSION

The postcolonial era in Africa has resulted in a number of alterations in the way societies operate, including changes in governance and consequent transformations of cultural values. As noted, during chieftaincy rule in Lesotho, decisions were communicated downward, from the government to the people, as well as upward, from the people to the government. Both leaders and followers discussed issues that affected their lives in public gatherings. This practice fits well with the communitarian theory of democracy, in which citizens collectively and voluntarily participate in decisions. This suggests that in Lesotho, civic education needs to make an effort to bridge the gap between tradition and modern practices.

Lesotho’s electoral type of democracy, a minimal form of the concept, offers limited responsibility to citizens, whose roles focus on respect for laws and leaders and good behavior. The interview responses point to a liberal form of democracy described in the literature. This corresponds with a description of Lesotho politics in terms of the personal interests of politicians, who focus on developing political parties for their own benefit.

The findings also support the view that citizens do not have much say in either the governance structure or economic interactions that most affect their lives. This is attributed to the way adults were socialized under the authoritarian, postcolonial system, which oppressed them. The findings here indicate that democracy is perceived as to the advantage of political leaders. The practices outlined contradict the theories of liberal and electoral democracy because citizens do not freely elect their representatives, and those elected do not look after the interests of citizens. The citizens in turn do not engage their representatives in insisting on taking part in policy and decision making, which are in theory elements of electoral democracy in Lesotho. The respondents revealed that the potential values of a modern form of liberal democracy are neither well practiced nor well understood.

Basotho have traditionally lived a communitarian lifestyle. The introduction of democracy was not a homegrown initiative emerging from popular struggle or experience. Rather, it was an imposition as a result of negotiations by political elites and colonists before Lesotho became independent. Democracy is thus seen as an invasion opposed to communitarian living, which led to confusion and misinformation in terms of the Basotho interpreting their rights and obligations under the framework of laws.

Lesotho is still transitioning from a patriarchal society to a democracy in which men and women are considered equal and therefore should equally exercise their rights and freedoms. Gender and children’s rights were introduced two years after the first democratic elections in 1993, that is, two years after the Beijing conference on women, which focused on advancing the empowerment of women. In this context, the timing of the advent of democracy in Lesotho contributed to catapulting elements of democratic rights into the traditional arena with little time for organic evolution. The status of women changed rapidly from their being viewed as minors and the

property of men, according to customary law, to becoming decision makers with potential access to power and economic independence.

**CONCLUSION**

The findings of this study point to strong cultural alienation among respondents in terms of understanding democracy as practiced under traditional rule and during the transition to a modern form of democratic governance. This can be seen in two ways: first, in the tensions between theory and practice, as reflected in undemocratic political machinations involving inter- and intraparty politics, nepotism, and corruption, and second, in how traditional cultural values that bind communities have been eroded. One example of the latter is expressed as resistance to children having a critical voice.

In Lesotho’s rural patriarchal society, there is evidence of an element of resistance to becoming a democratic society where rights and freedoms are exercised by all individuals alike. This was illustrated by reactions to children’s rights and gender equality. Education and awareness that has enabled children and women to behave differently from the past are seen as negative and blamed on democracy. There appear to have been misinterpretations and misinformation about the exercise of children’s rights, which caused confusion and consternation. The responses here were packed with blaming democracy for eroding culture as well as misinformation from politicians that made democracy seem the villain. These perceptions implicate how civic education has been provided by IEC and manipulated by politicians.

The findings demonstrate the need for informed political participation, well-trained civic educators, and citizens who can critically challenge the status quo. They also indicate that there is a need for more open and frank discussion about traditional communitarian values, including how and why they served a purpose and to what extent they can play a role in a modern democracy. This implies the need for well-thought-out civic education programs, which should promote democracy and citizenship by expanding choices and impart useful and correct information and knowledge to a thus far passive electorate.

It is recommended that civic education be conducted in a way that allows for dialogue in relation to the transition from traditional to modern practices, for example, providing opportunities to discuss traditionalists’ concerns about gender equality. Civic education should also encourage critical analysis of how the populace can use democratic processes for lobbying politicians so they can be held accountable for their behaviors and actions. Finally, effective civic education should include programs in schools and for parents that develop better understanding of discipline in the context of children’s rights and learning the value of critical questioning in order to contribute to society.
South Africa and the Two Faces of Xenophobia: A Critical Reflection

Adeoye O. Akinola

The intolerance that triggered genocide in Rwanda in the 1990s looms in many other parts of Africa. What often begins as mild expressions of dislike can easily develop into institutionalized discrimination, psychological trauma, physical abuse, and hate crimes and brutal killings. The literature is exhaustive on violent manifestations of xenophobia, but there is a dearth of studies on the nonviolent expression of hatred toward non-nationals in South Africa, where xenophobia is embedded in the culture and the evolution of statehood. A close look at the existing studies and at unstructured interviews reveals the nature of xenophobia in South Africa, including the factors responsible for the apparent dislike of foreigners, nonviolent xenophobic acts directed against ‘outsiders’, and ways to counter the phenomenon.

Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in South Africa, nor of course is the country unique in having to confront other acts of intolerance. In 1998, xenophobia became the subject of public discourse and attracted international concern when two Senegalese and a Mozambican were thrown from a moving train by a group of citizens blaming foreigners for their socioeconomic plight. In May 2008, South Africans experienced more xenophobic attacks against immigrants, particularly those from other African countries. These violent incidents resulted in the deaths of 62 people (citizens and noncitizens), the displacement of more than 33,000 people, and significant destruction of property.¹ In South Africa, xenophobia also manifests itself in a nonviolent manner, making measurement and reporting of its true extent difficult. Highly skilled laborers, professionals, students, and other legal immigrants have been subjected to verbal hostilities and xenophobic attitudes that have restricted their ability to work and study. In fact, South Africa has been described as the most xenophobic state in the world.²


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The world has also witnessed such examples of intolerance as Germany’s persecution of the Jews and others, ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia, genocide in Rwanda, and xenophobic episodes in Ghana. Nation-states and international institutions, however, do not have a working mechanism for combating intolerance and hate. Building on the general perception in South Africa that foreigners are social, economic, and political threats, successive governments have faced accusations of abetting the stigmatization of foreigners and fueling acts of xenophobia through the apparatus of governance, state institutions, the media, and support of public officials. The literature is exhaustive on the ills of racial discrimination, ethnic clashes, genocide, and violent form of xenophobia, but scholars have paid little attention to the issue of nonviolent xenophobia, especially the threat it poses to professionalism, development, and peaceful coexistence among diverse nationals. The realities of violent and nonviolent exhibitions of xenophobia in South Africa are such that this antisocial vice threatens to unravel the social fabric of the country.

UNDERSTANDING XENOPHOBIA

The word xenophobia derives from the Greek words xenos (stranger) and phobos (fear). Local populations often view these ‘strangers’ as ‘outsiders’ whose influence has disrupted the equilibrium of their milieu. These foreigners are often perceived as the ‘other’ in a negative and dehumanizing manner that categorizes them as inferior and disqualifies them being deserving of humane, equal, and fair treatment. At the root of xenophobia are issues of fear, primarily expressed through anger, hostility, and violence toward the target group. Although fear of foreigners is a common phenomenon, it is growing intensely in South Africa. This fear is manifested because of ignorance, and such fear sometimes generates negative responses. Xenophobic perceptions of the world often reduce complex social and cultural phenomena to simplistic, good and bad scenarios.

Antagonism between members of different groups often emerges from conflicts over material interests, the basis of the self-interest model. For example, individual vulnerability to economic and political deprivations that breed unemployment, low income, and declining standards of living can generate xenophobia. Under such con-

ditions, people transfer their frustrations to convenient targets, which actually diverts attention from the real causes of the socioeconomic issues. Some South Africans have adopted hostile attitudes in response to unattained promises and limited resources—such as those involving adequate housing, education, health care, and employment—associated with high expectations around 1994 during the transition from apartheid to democratic governance.10

Individuals suffering from poor economic conditions sometimes regard members of outgroups as threats to their livelihood, in the case of xenophobia exhibiting a high level of hostility toward non-nationals. The prejudice model jettisons tracing the sources of antagonism to individual interest. Rather, it considers such an attitude as stemming from psychological dispositions.11 The model asserts that hostility is derived from socially learned feelings of aversion shaped by cultural ideas and outgroup stereotypes, which are strengthened by having only artificial contact with members of the outgroup.12 Xenophobia within national borders tends to undermine social cohesion, peaceful coexistence, good governance, and observance of human rights.13 Noah Lewin-Epstein and Asaf Levanon have set forth two theories of intergroup hostility that embrace group-level characteristics: the group threat model and the cultural affinity thesis.14 The group threat model builds on the bases of the self-interest model, but extends the argument to the collective level.

L. Bobo and V. L. Hutchings argue that ‘feelings of competition and hostility emerge from historically and collectively developed judgments about the positions in the social order that in-group members should rightfully occupy relative to members of an out-group’.15 This argument shifts attention from economic group characteristics to cultural issues. The cultural affinity thesis posits that individuals have favorable attitudes toward those with whom they share cultural characteristics and social ties.16 For example, one analysis of Israeli data on national identity primarily supported the cultural affinity thesis, revealing that contrary to previous studies, ethnic national identity was negatively related to xenophobia among members of the Jewish community.17

There is also a sociobiological approach to understanding xenophobia, which proposes that human beings are biologically predisposed to favor members of their own group and discriminate against outsiders. One set of observers employs the analogy of infants shying away from strangers to argue that xenophobia is an innate behavior

central to the human makeup. This approach posits that conditions of economic and emotional insecurity simply exacerbate these natural tendencies. In other words, violence against outsiders is a spontaneous, inevitable aspect of the human condition. Following this approach, negative outcomes should be expected from increasing levels of immigration. A common stream of materialist analysis is based on the assumption that real competition over limited resources contributes to xenophobic sentiments among native populations. During an economic depression, when resources shrink and jobs and housing are scarce, competition between migrants and natives becomes more intense. Therefore, immigration is regarded as a more or less negative force whose outcomes are always detrimental to citizens. Migrant inflows limit the availability of jobs for citizens, create a surplus pool of labor, and reduce wages for citizens. In response, the volatile and disillusioned natives turn on foreigners as scapegoats. This is an appropriate lens through which to visualize xenophobia in South Africa.

**MOTIVATIONS FOR XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA**

South Africa has a long history of attracting migrant labor from across Africa, particularly from the member countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In earlier years, a majority of migrant workers were attracted by opportunities to work in mines before exploring other avenues of gainful employment in that resource-rich country. According to the Southern African Migration Project, the parents of 83 percent of citizens in Lesotho and the grandparents of 51 percent worked in South Africa. The corresponding numbers for Mozambique are 53 percent and 32 percent and for Zimbabwe 24 percent and 23 percent.

Post-apartheid governance of South Africa has made progress toward establishing a democratic society, with promises to respect the human rights of all citizens and residents. The country also accommodates the largest number of asylum-seekers in the world. Despite promises to abolish discrimination and intolerance, the country’s foreigners are still subject to discrimination by citizens and governmental political, economic, and educational institutions. These acts of intolerance make nonsense of the catchy phrase ‘Africa for the Africans’. Hatred of foreigners has crept into the psyche of Africans in expressions of extreme nationalism, ignoring the rhetoric of globalization and limitless borders.

According to the 2001 census, South Africa was home to 687,678 immigrants from SADC countries, 41,817 from the rest of Africa, 228,318 from Europe, and 40,888 from Asia. In all, immigrants made up 2.3 percent of South Africa’s total population in 2001. The number of immigrants has since increased dramatically because of eco-

23. Seun, foreign lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, interview, 8 February 2014.
nomic, industrial, and educational opportunities, which in 2012 lured some 3 million foreigners to the country, including 57,899 refugees and 171,702 asylum-seekers.24

South African populations, believing they are not benefiting from the wealth of the state, are angry about and uncomfortable with the flow of immigrants because of the perceived appropriation of the gains of apartheid by them.25 The persistence of unequal distribution of wealth and high levels of poverty in South Africa since 1994 is symptomatic of a perilous socioeconomic situation that makes migrants targets of xenophobia because of the exclusion, alienation, and frustration of citizens who feel they have been condemned to perpetual impoverishment in the post-apartheid era.26

In 2009 the Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative highlighted factors responsible for the May 2008 xenophobic violence: the failure of the post-apartheid government to meet citizens’ expectations for improvement in economic conditions and service delivery; competition in the informal business sector; media portrayals of foreigners that reinforced prejudices, such as depicting immigrants as entering the country in ‘waves’ and ‘hordes’ and referring to them as ‘job stealers’ and ‘aliens’; and the perception that state institutions were themselves tolerating the increasing intolerance toward foreign nationals.27

Most conflicts result from internal contradictions and agitations that have their roots in horizontal inequality among or between groups, which are frequently defined by nationality, language, skin color, or religion. For example, according to one interviewee, downwardly mobile citizens find it intolerable to see foreigners living a quality life, ‘enjoying the milk’ of the land.28 Another interviewee suggested that many South African men are lazy, idle, uneducated, and economically redundant individuals who rely on the government for ‘everything’, including household and personal belongings.29 Such sentiments could aggravate the tense relations between foreigners and local populations, especially those in rural areas.

Successive post-apartheid governments have struggled with satisfying the lofty expectations of black South Africans, who believe that the government should compensate them economically for the ills of the apartheid era. The South Africans interviewed for this study insisted that the government provide gainful jobs, housing, and land for the black population, even if it means confiscating the properties of the ‘outsiders’. Some observers maintained that the rise in unemployment and the government’s inability to deliver social services had sparked unrest in the country.30 This unrest has led to protests against the government, which have sometimes degenerated into xenophobic attacks on the ‘others’. Another reason for the hatred is the inability of the police to stop people from entering the country illegally. In any case, citizens

25. Comment by Seun, foreign lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 18 February 2014.
feel the police are not affected by the alleged scourge of violence and crime committed by foreigners, so they believe they must take the law into their own hands and 'flush out the foreigners'.

Many South Africans display animosity toward immigrants for having the right to access the same services as they do, that is, primary health care, education, and employment. Housing is particularly challenging for non-nationals who have legally acquired or rented government-subsidized houses from South Africans. Within some communities, nationals accuse such migrants as having stolen their homes. Indeed, foreigners have been blamed for all the ills of the society. West African immigrants especially are often blamed for the high crime and unemployment rates and the high incidence and prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other diseases. Every crime is perceived to be committed by an 'alien'; job seekers accuse foreigners of 'stealing' their jobs. One interviewee angrily asked, 'Why are they trooping into South Africa? Can't they stay in their countries? See [pointing around], they are the ones employed as lecturers. . . . The postgraduate students keep receiving bursaries from the university. . . . Some of us can't even get contract appointments. . . . How can we be slaves in our own country?'

**THE REALITIES OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Numerous observers of South Africa’s public culture have commented on its violence and xenophobia. Manifestations of disapproval against government actions or inactions have taken the form of (mostly violent) street protests. Therefore, acts of hostility toward foreigners should be understood within this context. In South Africa, the castigation of others as alien actually began during the colonial era, but it evolved and rose to a more sophisticated and insidious prominence under the apartheid regime. This castigation was often used against black South Africans, who were 'made temporary sojourners to the city, aliens whose usefulness lasted only for as long as it could build the city, cared for gardens and pools, or nurtured white children, and who were denied the rights of citizenship while residing in the city'. The attainment of majority rule in the 1990s failed to eradicate discrimination. Official racism ended, but the local populations continued to treat foreigners of black origin in the same way that the apartheid government mistreated the locals.

One result of the partition of Africa by colonial powers was that the amalgamation of different societies into an entity generated contested citizenships and a false sense of identity on the part of diverse, oppressed indigenous African groups. Postcolonialism, with the creation of artificial borders and dysfunctional and incapacitated nation-states, further alienated African populations, and extreme nationalism eroded the
The unattended importation of unskilled migrant labor from neighboring countries served as a pillar of wealth creation in gold-rich South Africa. The commendable roles of African countries, especially Nigeria, in the abolition of racism in South Africa contributed to the scramble of migrants to partake in the economic boom of post-apartheid South Africa. Indeed, the spatial development engendered by colonialism has made the country a haven for black Africans, who see South Africa, like the United States, as a heterogeneous and ‘free’ society that accommodates diverse nationalities and races and offers them equal opportunities. South Africans, however, do not see it this way. Foreigners are also quick to remind the local populations of how African countries ‘rescued’ South Africa from apartheid, but such a comment is an open invitation to violence.

In 1996 Human Rights Watch began investigating a series of alleged xenophobic attacks against non-South Africans of African origin and the complicity of government security forces. These investigations followed the 1995 crisis in which citizens of Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique were attacked in Alexandra (near Johannesburg) and their property stolen during what was referred to as operation ‘clean the street of foreigners.’ Another investigation confirmed that violence in Masiphumelele in August 2006 had been triggered by tensions over competition between Somali and locally owned businesses. Respondents said that the number of Somali-owned shops had significantly increased in 2006, leading to the closure of businesses owned by local residents, who could not compete with the relatively cheap prices offered by the Somali traders. Thus the residents organized attacks on Somali shops.

While the worst of the violence has abated, there have been other, nonviolent and subtle ways of expressing hatred toward foreigners. These include holding a hostile attitude toward non-nationals and generating barriers to deny them benefits they are due. In the universities, many foreigners have been denied teaching opportunities, and some of those who are ‘privileged’ to be employed are on contracts offering meager wages. It is not unusual for universities to place advertisements for both teaching and non-teaching jobs that specify that the ‘job is for South Africans.’

The hostile posture of diplomats in South Africa’s embassies across Africa attests to the spectrum of xenophobic attitudes. Respondents recounted the frustrations and humiliations experienced before being issued entry visas by South African embassies and consulates and then at the immigration office at O. R. Tambo International Airport, near Johannesburg. Instances of Nigerians being harshly deported on the basis of flimsy excuses have produced confrontations between the two hegemons in Africa. In an incident, a pregnant foreign woman reportedly almost lost her life because she was abandoned during delivery at a public hospital in KwaZulu-Natal. The ‘sin’ leading to her abandonment was clearly spelled out to her by a nurse: ‘Free health and safe delivery is for South Africans.’ Meanwhile, taxi drivers are known for charging higher fares for foreigners, and some shop owners openly charge foreigners higher

37. For comprehensive information, see D. Wada Nabudere (ed.), Globalisation and the Post-Colonial African State (Harare, AAPS Books, 2000).
40. Rose, foreign nursing mother, interview, Pietermaritzburg, 5 December 2013.
prices for goods. On farms, migrant laborers face low wages, dangerous work conditions, and the threat of deportation.

John Galtung defines structural violence as violent conflict based on the structure of society (positive), which is different from actor-generated personal and direct violence (negative). The South African state has failed to combat xenophobia and enforce a positive peace (preventive measures) and a negative peace (curative measures). Positive peace is a situation in which structures have been organized to promote greater equality among all members of the population. The South African police, however, have dismissed cases lodged by immigrants, and their reluctance to halt the 2008 attacks was widely condemned. Meanwhile, President Thabo Mbeki blamed the 2008 attacks on criminality and proclaimed that South Africans were not xenophobic. The government then initiated draconian measures to control undocumented migration through community policing that encouraged South Africans to spy on foreigners and report their suspicions to authorities. Mbeki’s comments were particularly shocking because of his pan-Africanist stance. Indeed, it is an example of the superficial rhetorical commitments of African leaders to Africa’s regionalism. The attraction of regional integration as a corollary for African states’ economic emancipation continues to be threatened by xenophobia.

In 2010 the South African Human Rights Commission noted that aside from the constitution, which highlights the protection of all human beings within the state, the fundamental rights of non-nationals are reaffirmed in international agreements to which South Africa is a signatory. treats such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights commit the state to respecting and upholding the basic human rights of the population within its territory regardless of country of origin. Examples are the right to life, liberty, and security as well as to equality before the law. Despite these protective measures, which inherently prohibit the dehumanization of non-natives, state institutions continue to pursue practices that degrade foreigners and exclude them from equal access to employment and protection by the state’s security apparatus. One example is the decrease in the issuance of temporary work permits; 52,704 work permits were issued in 1996, but only 15,834 in 2000. This decrease had little to do with labor market demand. Rather, it was in line with government policy. Foreigners were later denied employment under the Employment Services Bill of 2012, which states that foreigners can ‘only be employed when such does not impact negatively on existing labour standards or the rights and expectations of South African workers’. employers who do not comply with the law

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43. Ibid.
46. Crush, ‘South Africa’.
and hire foreign workers can be fined. In any case, foreigners seeking work in South Africa usually become mired in home affairs red tape.47

One interviewee said South African could be characterized as ‘the epitome of xenophobia’ because of the extreme hostility and its structural hatred toward non-nationals of black descent.48 During the critical periods described, it was apparent that government institutions, among them the police, offered little protection to foreigners, usually acting through inaction, thereby leading some observers to accuse them of complicity and tacitly endorsing xenophobia. Police and immigration officers have been accused of taking bribes and illegally confiscating property that belongs to the victims of attack and beating and subjecting illegal immigrants to debasement.49

Comments ranging from public officials to a highly placed professor to local market women reveal strong hatred toward non-citizens, especially immigrants from Nigeria, Congo, and Somalia.50 In an example cited in another study, a Congolese was attacked by a thief, cried for help, but nobody did anything. After the attack, he was told, ‘Because you are crying in English, we didn’t help you. If you are crying in Zulu, we will help you.’ When he reported the incident to the police, they replied, ‘You are not our brother, we can’t help you’.51

Politicians have engaged in xenophobic comments and attacks as well. Some have made unsubstantiated claims that the ‘deluge’ of immigrants is responsible for crime waves, unemployment, and spread of ‘killer diseases’. For example, in Mojaแปล, a lawmaker was arrested for leading attacks against foreigners that resulted in the murder of a Zimbabwean in Seshego, near Polokwane.52 The arrest was the third publicized incident since 2009 in which lawmakers from the ruling African National Congress were taken into custody for allegedly stoking xenophobic violence. One observer notes three ways in which the state has encouraged perceptions of non-nationals as violable aliens: legal status and documentation; associated practices in relation to arrest, detention, and deportation; and apparent lack of access to constitutional protections through the courts and other forms of political processes.53

Some point to the media for also provoking xenophobia.54 South Africa’s media continue to present strong stereotyping of, bias against, and hostility toward African immigrants that feed xenophobic attitudes.55 They are described by the media using expressions such as ‘flood’, ‘descend’, and ‘pour’ to create the impression of an uncontrollable and unstoppable process.56 One scholar asserts that the extent to which the media are ‘legitimizing the poisoning of social interactions between natives and foreigners, celebrating the abuse and exploitation of migrants undermines positive de-

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47. Ibid.
48. Mkize, foreign student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, interview, Pietermaritzburg, December 2013.
50. Paul, a medical doctor, interview, 6 December 2013.
56. Harris, ‘Xenophobia’, 175.
development outcomes of migration’. The manipulative role of the media in promoting aggressive nationalism is similar to that played by the media in Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, and more recently in Egypt and Libya.

**CONCLUSION**

Some immigrants, both legal and illegal, engage in criminality and ‘gangsterism’, but such behavior does not justify stereotyping foreigners as criminals or accusing them for the ills in society as if domestic crime by South Africans does not abound. Yes, some immigrants are undesirable, but many others have greatly contributed to the security and development of South Africa. Many are distinguished in their chosen professions. In fact, research shows that South Africa’s health and higher education sectors are dominated by foreigners, particularly those of African origin.

Achieving regional hegemony comes with responsibilities, and a major one is tolerance and accommodation of diverse nationalities. Despite the South African government’s announcement that it would reintegrate the victims of the 2008 attacks, it took no effective steps toward doing so or holding those responsible for the violence accountable. The impunity enjoyed by the perpetrators of violent xenophobia remains high, encouraging its recurrence.

Thus, more often than not, the government seems to tacitly encourage xenophobia or refuses to stop it. The failure of government to address such incidents validates the perception that such violence is tolerated and supported by state institutions and that the promotion of the national interest, unity, and shared identity have unintentional implications for xenophobia. Such action or inaction can engender violence between local populations and foreigners. Therefore, xenophobia can easily arise out of the perceived inability or unwillingness of foreigners to integrate or speak local languages, leading to resentment by local populations.

It is impossible to completely eradicate xenophobia, but it could be drastically reduced to an insignificant level in South Africa if the following recommendations were to be strictly implemented. First, the government must provide data on the actual population of immigrants and their status. It would give the media a true picture of the immigrant population and reduce the blanket insinuation that foreigners are flooding into South Africa. Second, the media should cease using derogatory language that stigmatizes and stereotypes foreigners negatively. They should be better informed about the economic importance of foreigners, the different categories of immigrants, and the rights and privileges they have as ‘citizens of the world’ and as extended by the South African state.

Third, politicians, government officials, and other functionaries should reconsider their stances on promoting xenophobia and make concerted efforts to attain peace and security for all residents of South Africa. Fourth, government, civil society, and international organizations must work together to find ways to encourage the public toward feelings of brotherhood and togetherness, which *ubuntu* (human kindness) represents. It is imperative to genuinely address structural violence in the form of the economic inequalities that continue to disempower the local population and generate

frustration and aggression toward non-natives. People should not be violently abused or psychologically disempowered because of factors beyond their control. Rather, they should be treated with respect because they are human beings, not on the basis of their national affiliations.

Fifth, there should be an outlet for addressing the structural, institutional, and psychological xenophobia experienced by non-nationals. The policies adopted by some universities for recruitment and the privileges of non-nationals do not conform to the rights of refugees to study and work and international standards in this era of ‘borderless’ states. Over the past decade, South Africa’s universities, which have dominated the top institutions in Africa, have exhibited an inability to combat xenophobia in recruitment and enrollment policies that may soon erode the quality of their knowledge generation and negatively affect their ratings. Appointments, especially in the area of knowledge manufacturing, should be based on merit. This is important to maintain the high quality of knowledge generation in South Africa’s higher education and medical sectors.

Sixth, South Africa should adhere to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and other instruments that promote the assimilation of refugees. Expanding the channels of legal migration and removing stringent barriers to the issuance of visas in South African consulates across Africa would help greatly, thereby reducing cases of illegal migration and curtailing bribery and corruption, the cheap labor syndrome, and other practices that impede the peaceful coexistence of natives and ‘outsiders’. The government should be willing to grant permanent residence to legal immigrants who have lived in the country for long periods or have satisfied immigration conditions. Such a step may not totally prevent violent attacks, but it would reduce the institutional barriers faced by immigrants. Seventh, it would be feasible to inculcate the public with the values of tolerance to overcome xenophobic attitudes. One way to do that is through peace education, which has often been viewed as an antidote against violence as well as a preventative measure against other forms of discrimination. Hjerm warns, however,

The educational system works within the boundaries of a society and does so by the use of existing symbols and myths of national images. This means that the educational system may in fact contribute to the creation and maintenance of a division between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Education may thus not always be the antidote sought for in the fight against nationalism and xenophobia. There seems to be a tension between the two roles of the educational system as, on the one hand, a mediator of the dominant cultural, commemoration of imagined nationality and, on the other hand, a promoter of democracy, multiculturalism and ethnic and cultural divergence.58

In another article, Hjerm notes, ‘The risk of xenophobia diminishes with decreasing levels of knowledge, which implies that not only is the teaching of democratic values of importance but also the educational system’s main task of teaching basic skills to its pupils. This is not to suggest that xenophobia will disappear with better

dispersion of knowledge, only that the power of common knowledge should not be underestimated in fighting racism and xenophobia.\(^{59}\)

Above all, it is imperative that the South African government promote good governance and implements policies that allow South Africans to appropriate the dividends of democracy in the post-apartheid dispensation. The low quality of life of an average black South African remains a concern, and unless concerted efforts are directed at increasing citizens’ socioeconomic status, all other attempts to combat xenophobia and other ‘hate’ practices will remain an exercise in futility.

Community-Driven Development in Nigeria: Development Projects and the Political Empowerment of the Disenfranchised

Kingsley S. Orievulu

Donor assistance designated as community-driven development projects can improve beneficiaries’ income, but these projects tend not to sufficiently affect some important sociopolitical aspects of people’s lives, because they are taken for granted. In Nigeria, where citizens have been systematically excluded from decision-making processes by government, such projects’ capacity to boost social cohesion is expected to herald change through their ability to empower communities. Field research involving the National Fadama Development Project, however, suggests that the focus on economic gains characteristic of these types of projects and the frenetic pursuit of deadlines, among other things, are among the factors impeding success. Thus, although optimism about such projects should not be dismissed, the realities suggest that the Fadama project fails to filter through certain aspects of beneficiaries’ lives as they struggle to grasp and deal with other conceptually important issues relating to power and social change.

Community-driven development (CDD) projects have become popular in many parts of the world. Their implementation is believed to have empowered the rural poor, such as farmers and others at the grassroots along with neglected peoples in various communities.¹ Many of the success stories are linked to the participatory model used in these projects wherein beneficiaries are ostensibly incorporated into the development plan and thus transformed from mere recipients of aid handouts into agents of development.² In Africa, as in many other parts of the global South, numerous aid agencies are promoting CDD projects, spending billions of dollars on...


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loans and credit facilities. The rise of the CDD approach, especially in the 1990s, was in reaction to the widespread critique of the previous top-down and centralized development models that characterized the structural adjustment era, spearheaded by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Thus, the emergence of this approach shows the quest to (relatively) mitigate the trend around the hitherto narrow fixation on economic (stability) issues characteristic of the structural adjustment programs (SAPs).

The National Fadama Development Project in Nigeria is one of the many development programs that emerged from the CDD framework. Its aim is to provide food security, sustainable rural development, empowerment, and good governance. It is structured as a cooperative activity whereby farmers and other economic interest groups (EIGs) converge to improve different areas of their socioeconomic life. A body of evidence points to the successes of the project, and ipso facto, the CDD approach.

The literature has generally argued that the CDD approach enhances social capital, improves social cohesion, and empowers the poor through the networks of trust that emerge among different EIGs. Qualitative analysis of available data for this study, however, points to an overly optimistic view of prospects in Rivers state, focusing on the experiences of the third phase of the project (Fadama III). Participants consisted of project stakeholders from the World Bank Nigeria office, Fadama offices (including project facilitators), and local beneficiaries in the local government areas (LGAs) of Emohua, Gokana, and Ikwerre. Twenty individual stakeholders were interviewed to understand the dynamics of project implementation as well as the lived experiences of the project’s impact on people, primarily at the grassroots level. The research strategy included qualitative analysis of face-to-face interviews, observation of beneficiaries’ meetings and capacity-building workshops organized for beneficiaries, project reports and appraisal documents, and other documentation related to the project.

The participants were knowledgeable officers and beneficiaries within the World Bank, the National Fadama Coordinating Office (NFCO), the State Fadama Coordinating Office (SFCO), Fadama community associations (FCAs), and Fadama user groups (FUGs). The participants shared their perceptions about project implementation and outcomes and the process. They revealed that substantive actualization of the project’s prospects were stalled by such issues as fixation on economic accumulation; government failing to pay their allotted contribution, associated beneficiary contribution issues, and the pursuit of deadlines and output within the World Bank and government hierarchies. The beneficiaries get so caught up in business plans that ultimately the project fails to yield effective results in sociopolitical life.


4. W. D. Schanbacher, *Politics of Food: The Global Conflicts Between Food Security and Food Sovereignty* (Oxford, Praeger, 2010). Models of the structural adjustment era have been criticized for insensitivity to the plight of the poor, a narrow focus on stabilizing economies, and instrumentality in the wholesale transfer of particular economy models in developing countries.

5. Pseudonyms are used here instead of the actual names and offices of the participants.
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Emerging within the family of participatory approaches, community-driven development has gained currency among donor agencies, development institutions, national governments, and development practitioners in the quest to reduce poverty through development assistance. It emphasizes community control of decisions and resources as requisite for development. In other words, people who share similar needs and visions have the opportunity to be theoretically endowed with the capacity to make decisions for the use of resources toward development based on their own preferences.

The goal of the CDD approach is to strengthen and finance inclusive community groups by providing them with the information and an enabling environment to pursue business and development ventures attuned to their needs. The approach helps empower people at the grassroots level, regardless of gender, financial status, or other institutional support by government. It is a strategy, not a project, designed to give power and agency to citizens, especially those on the lowest rungs of the society.

This grassroots-oriented model is linked to participation in recognition of the importance of human and social capital for development sustainability. Because participation also involves capacity building and access to information on the ins and outs of projects and the communities involved, it serves as the needed boost in the transformation process of the rural poor from simply being receivers of aid to partners and agents of social change. It is also important in the context of efforts toward enhancing downward accountability at different levels of governance. This people-centric approach is a prominent feature of CDD projects.

Conventional wisdom about CDD highlights empowerment and good governance, as the approach ‘aims to harness social capital and enhance it by strengthening incentives for participatory development’. The simple rubric provided through this approach helps to achieve the goal, especially when supported by strategic monitoring and evaluation for growth and sustainability. Thus, the poor become part of the body mechanic—the entire process—within the broader development framework. This is why community groups are the most-favored target population in CDD projects and why they have the onus of efficiently managing their human and natural resources on a participatory basis. In sum, social capital is enhanced, empowerment is developed, and governance is improved through this approach’s participatory features.

In critically exploring the aforementioned points, two assertions can be made. First, the CDD approach enhances social capital and, de facto, improves collective action. Second, this social capital is a source of popular power—the power required to

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7. Binswanger-Mkhize et al., Local and Community Driven Development; Wienecke, ‘Community-driven development in Central Asia’, 22.
10. Dongier et al., ‘Community-driven development’.
11. Ibid., 326.
improve local governance and accountability—because it can improve people’s economic strength and political awareness. In other words, consistent and constant deliberation among beneficiaries in a CDD framework provides a platform for collective political bargaining. This is intrinsic to the model of project design, implementation, and governance and makes it easier for groups to see prospects for influencing policies when they are able to build a strong political front.

One study from the social capital–empowerment perspective suggests an increase in people’s trust of strangers (for instance, as represented by local officials who met with residents) and in participation in village meetings, such as about projects for which grants have been obtained. However, this same study also showed that ‘group membership and participation in informal collective action activities declined.’ Issues such as time constraints were identified to have contributed to this situation. A study on the effects of one CDD project, the Programme Nationale d’Infrastructures Rurales (National Rural Infrastructures Program, PNIR) in Senegal, found ‘significant improvement in access to clean water and health services’ as well as a ‘decrease in child malnutrition.’ These objectives were to reinforce the empowerment aspect to the approach. A 2007 study from Indonesia included the collective action impact of the approach in the identification of development needs and cooperative assistance. Although it argued for the social capital–collective action nexus, it ignored that the communities studied also possessed collective traits that may not have been the outcome of the CDD project.

Despite optimism about CDD, a 2004 study is instructive in warning that community participation does not always augur well for project sustainability. Issues of elite capture have also been highlighted as negatively affecting how the poor are targeted and how projects are sustained. There is, however, no agreement on the place of elite capture, as some studies show that more people have benefited in communities where local elites tended to control projects as opposed to communities with a long history of democratic approaches to activities. The importance of getting it right with CDD projects is heavily emphasized, hence the view that one of the dangers of such projects is the bastardization, or naive conceptualization and application, of concepts such as participation and empowerment. Understanding the prospects of the CDD approach enables more efficient engagement with the Fadama project in terms of the scope of sociopolitical empowerment.

18. Dasgupta and Beard, ‘Community-driven development’.
THE FADAMA PROJECT

Nigeria’s model of leadership has been an issue of debate the world over. The withdrawal of the military from politics in 1999 and the emergence of the People’s Democratic Party government of President Olusegun Obasanjo led many to expect the dawn of democratic and accountable leadership, but this has been far from realized. Political leadership in Nigeria continues to show elements of the legacies of the military paradigm.20 Citizens remain disempowered, with voices that do not matter, and political accountability appears to be largely nonexistent, primarily because citizens do not actually chose their leaders. The current electoral process is ridden with pervasive corruption, including vote buying, ballot stuffing, intimidation, assassinations, and the ‘politics of selection’, in which leaders are selected for the people or imposed on them.21 As a result, citizens are systematically disenfranchised, and this sours their general perception of politics. Thus, a sense of hopelessness prevails among the grassroots regarding the role of the electoral system in bringing about legitimate and accountable political leadership in the country.22 Consequently, citizens have to endure different forms of sociopolitical and economic exploitation, marginalization, intimidation, co-optation, and there is massive underdevelopment of human capital on a broad scale. These are endemic forms of disenfranchisement with which Nigerians have had to deal under the so-called democratic dispensation since 1999.

Tackling this situation has proved difficult, because citizens lack the structures, avenues, and most important, the information required to realize their place within the sociopolitical sphere. Many people, especially at the grassroots level, are politically unaware and largely disempowered. This is where the prospects of empowerment within the CDD framework could become an effective transformative tool in breaking the vicious cycle of bad governance in Nigeria. Although the Fadama project provides a possible platform, one must question to what extent its prospects are tenable.

The Fadama development project was designed through a partnership among the Nigerian government, the World Bank, and the African Development Bank (AfDB). It aims to improve the lives of the rural poor in Nigeria through the agricultural sector. It evolved as part of a bid to stem the growing problem of poverty and hunger in light of the introduction of the Millennium Development Goals.23 It was designed to consist of three phases: Fadama I (1993–1998), Fadama II (2003–2008), and Fadama III (2009–2013).

Because of the need to increase the year-round production of food, Fadama I focused on improving agricultural productivity. The phase was successful in relatively increasing food productivity in areas where it was implemented, mainly in the north.

The country partnership strategy (CPS) and the rural development strategy undertaken by the government were instrumental in rolling out the project’s two later phases.24 Fadama II aimed to sustainably increase ‘the incomes of Fadama users through empowering communities to take charge of their own development agenda, and by reducing conflicts between Fadama user groups’.25 It was designed to meet its targets by empowering the mainly rural beneficiaries through funds transferred directly to them as well as by providing different levels of institutional and social support—facilitations, training, capacity building, and provisioning of resources. It is important to note that to enhance project sustainability, the concept of local ownership was incorporated into the project. The AfDB premised its funding on the participation of beneficiaries, and the World Bank insisted on the CDD approach to facilitate decentralization of the project’s implementation.

In the third phase, the project became a nationwide endeavor. The Nigerian government and the World Bank signed a financial agreement in November 2008 to kick-start this part of the project in all 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, FCT Abuja. As a result, the World Bank approved a credit of $250 million for Fadama III, whose total cost was estimated at more than $450 million. Each participating state government, including the FCT, signed a subsidiary loan agreement to have the project implemented there.26 Thus, with the World Bank providing about 55.6 percent of the estimated cost, the remaining 45 percent was to be borne by the federal, state, and local governments, as well as the beneficiaries of the project. Whereas the governments contributed in terms of the counterpart fee, the beneficiaries were required to pay a beneficiary contribution, mostly the smallest in terms of magnitude or compared with those of the state and LGAs.27

The goal of Fadama III was to increase ‘the income of users of land and water resources on a sustainable basis’ and to contribute effectively to the value chain.28 The use of the CDD approach—based on the needs identified by the people as opposed to models imposed by technocrats and policy makers—was fundamental to the goal. Local beneficiaries thus became involved in the processes of consultation, needs assessment, implementation and monitoring, and governance for sustainability. This is meant to improve beneficiaries’ ability to act as a unit, or cooperatives, so they can be more informed about issues concerning them and participate more efficiently in decision making. This accounts for the inclusion of such components as capacity building and advisory services, as well as invitations to civil society organizations (CSOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to participate in project design. This ap-

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27. A counterpart fee is a percentage of money contributed by governments to a project fund to complement the subsidiary World Bank loan for project implementation. The beneficiary contribution is the percentage paid by chosen economic interest groups in the project. The rationale here is for beneficiaries to contribute to the project implementation as part of the CDD project’s ownership framework.
28. Quote is from the Third Fadama Development Project (Fadama III) handbook, Abuja, 2010; interview with participant TTL-WBA, Abuja, November 2012.
proach enhances the position and status of beneficiaries as they realize their place in the society. This realization could thus become the ultimate outcome of this approach with regard to the Fadama project. In essence, it would transcend economic empowerment and enable citizens to understand their position as important members of the society who have a voice that should be heard.

**Institutional Framework of Implementation and Funding**

Fadama III is implemented through an institutional arrangement at the national, zonal, state, LGA, and community levels where the beneficiaries are located. The national level coordinates the project through the NFCO, whereas the six geopolitical zonal offices help to ‘decentralize the monitoring and supervision of the project’ on a national scale because of the enormity of the project.\(^\text{29}\) The SFCO is in charge of coordinating the project at the state level, whereas the local Fadama desk and the local Fadama development committee oversee the activities of the grassroots level.

The FCA, regarded as the apex association, is the entry point for grassroots beneficiaries at the community level.\(^\text{30}\) It houses the different EIGs, also known as FUGs, which vary according to business interests. FUGs are cooperatives that have an interest in furthering different development plans that coincide with the project guidelines and overall objectives. Groups’ subproject local development plans (LDPs) must therefore reflect the goals of the project. Their activities are guided by project facilitators chosen by the state office because they are thought to understand the context under which the people (co)exist. This institutional arrangement is the arena where power relations play out, as beneficiaries have minimal or no real contact with the World Bank.

Project funding is a three-way disbursement arrangement once FCA projects’ and FUG subprojects’ LDPs qualify through the screening process and are approved for funding by the state office. Here, only FUGs within an FCA can be funded. These FUGs, however, must have paid their beneficiary contributions into an individually assigned and approved bank account before they become eligible for funding. All cash-related transactions are conducted through this bank account. Only youth FUGs are exempt from this requirement, because they are seen as largely unemployed and in dire need of empowerment. Hence, the funds they receive are less than those of recognized EIGs, which are seen as cooperatives in business. Once disbursement is approved, funds are released in three tranches for (sub) project implementation. This funding arrangement is summarized as follows.

*[In] Fadama . . . if you are preparing a plan for two million naira as a group, . . . it is not going to be released to you at once. . . . Let’s say your own contribution is 200,000 naira, they look at what you will do in the first phase of the project, and probably it is 400,000 naira. So out of 2 million, they will release only 200,000 naira to join with your own 200,000 naira, making it 400,000 naira. . . . When you have done something, and they see it on the ground, then they release another tranche for you.\(^\text{31}\)*

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30. Ibid.
When the final installment has been disbursed, subprojects are said to be completed. As such, the SFCO’s attention shifts to other locations where implementation is being introduced, whereas completed projects are to be sustained through profits from the FUGs, which must ensure the sustainability of their subprojects. They must bear the costs for this sustainability drive, as the project has been completed. Thus the SFCO offers capacity-building and advisory services to assist in achieving sustainability, but in many cases, these have been belated, culminating in losses incurred by cooperatives and demoralization. Funding is one area that exposes the intricacies within this project, with poor people trying with difficulty to navigate its curves.

Achievements

The Fadama project has generally succeeded in improving food productivity, household income, and increased rural infrastructure since its inception in the 1990s. Although there were shortfalls in Fadama I, it crafted avenues that broadened the scope and range of the project, thus incorporating access to markets, reductions in conflict among users of land and water resources, and improving other areas within the value chain. These accomplishments are conspicuous in the World Bank’s report on Fadama II, which emphasized exceeding the set baselines of the project objectives. It stated that ‘the real income of 50 percent of beneficiaries . . . is estimated to have increased by 63 percent’. This level of increase in beneficiaries’ real income thus signifies a huge success in terms of permutations around this project as highlighted even in an International Food Policy Research Institute report, which states, ‘The percentage increase in the value of productive assets was significantly higher for the poor people than for other groups, suggesting that the project successfully targeted poor and vulnerable people with its support for productive asset acquisition’.

The project also exceeded the target of successfully implementing LDPs in 60 percent of the FCAs formed. In this regard, it surpassed many of the initial targets, with an established 1,470 FCAs and 1,246 LDPs completed of the 1,318 submitted. The extent of the success of the project is thus clear, hence the awards of excellence the

33. These include storage and preservation of produce; involvement and empowerment of key stakeholders, including civil society, in the design and implementation of projects; and broadening the scope to include other important areas within the value chain (for example, processing).
34. T. M. Kuti et al., ‘Analysis of the impact of National Fadama Development Project II (NFDP II) in alleviating poverty among farmers in the Giwa local government area of Kaduna state, Nigeria’, Ocean Journal of Applied Sciences, 1:1 (2008), 11–12. This study also assessed the extent to which participation in the project enhanced levels of production efficiency in the case study.
37. Ibid., 11–12.
project has received in 2007 and 2013. This was accompanied by the availability of soft loans facilities for different thriving groups and prospects for enhanced social capital and community cohesion.

RIVERS STATE AND THE REALITIES OF THE FADAMA PROJECT

Rivers state embarked on implementing Fadama III in 2009 after signing the loan agreement with the federal government. Based on this agreement, the state had the responsibility of ensuring adequate implementation of the project in the LGAs, which in turn, accepted such terms as paying counterpart fees. Currently in Rivers state, only twenty of the twenty-three LGAs are participating in the project as a result of the politics of the counterpart fee, which some LGA leaders have failed to pay.

Available data based on experiences in Rivers state suggest that a high premium was placed on economic accumulation above all other outcomes. The project focuses on business: cooperatives, procurement issues, markets, sales, loans, and profits. Groups were always reminded of the need to commit funds and save money to execute their subprojects. At capacity-building workshops, they were instructed on the need to liaise with the Fadama office and service providers to market their goods for profit making. Essentially, the mood around the project is one of generating economic gains. Success is measured by the number of beneficiaries and the recorded amounts of profits earned by groups: ‘Here in Rivers State, the project took off [in] December 2009, and between that time and now, we have been able to disburse [to] about 615 [FUGs] in about 78 [FCAs]. We have been able to do that in various fields of agriculture and the associated activities within the value chain from production to processing; marketing . . . to consumption’.

This narrative focuses on the number of beneficiaries, the amount disbursed to identified business interest areas, and most important, the economic gains attained in terms of profit and the availability of food products in the markets. These literally synchronize with the expressed targets and projections of the donor institution in the implementation plan. It is little wonder that when asked to appraise the project, an official responded boldly, ‘[F]rom my own assessment . . . they are doing well. . . . We have recorded a savings from a group that sold this Christmas [period]. They paid it in, and the facilitator came here with the [bank] statement to show that they have paid in about a million [naira], which means that they are doing well’.

This focus on economics, although necessary, affects, sometimes negatively, every facet of the Fadama project’s implementation in several other areas, such as the ability to realize the sociopolitical aspects of the project.

Achieving enhanced social cohesion appears to be largely untenable through the project. The ability of beneficiaries to adequately grasp its social empowerment content is hindered by the frenetic pursuit of timelines, although this may be a possible

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38. See ibid; Abimbola Adubi, World Bank Country Office, TTL-NFDP III, e-mail correspondence, Abuja, 27 April 2013. Internal email circulated within the Fadama offices nationwide from the team leader congratulating the team on an award the project received in Africa.


40. Interview with participant RVSPC, Port Harcourt, January 2013.

41. Ibid.
outcome of the participatory nature of the CDD approach. It is apparent that the implementation of the project in Rivers state took on a fire-brigade approach, dabling in projects and actions without adequately planning for them, as a result of the limited timeline (2009–2013), thus militating against adequate sensitization and implementation.42 This meant that facilitators were not adequately prepared or motivated for the task. Service providers seemed to be haphazardly employed in certain instances, and subprojects were valued unequally. One participant lamented, it had also led to deep feelings of regret from previously enthusiastic beneficiaries.43

It is important to note that government defaults in the payment of the required counterpart fee have contributed to hampering the fulfilment of important components of the project.44 It also means that especially among defaulting LGAs, citizens do not benefit from the project. At the state level, it leads to delays in obtaining the empowering knowledge to be gained through capacity-building workshops and the provision of advisory services. This has been a familiar experience in Rivers state since 2011, when the government last contributed to the fund. This stalled groups’ improvement, putting them in a precarious situation, as one of the possible means of tackling the states’ payment default is to halt project implementation.45 In such cases, citizens are ultimately the ones hurt. It also means that achieving any real goal beyond small-scale economic gain may be far-fetched because implementation is in shambles and people are unable to tap into the full depth of the project. When governments default, project implementation stutters, and actualizing intrinsic potential becomes difficult. In considering these serious but largely underexplored issues, it becomes obvious that the capacity of the project to transform citizens into social forces able to deconstruct sociopolitical conditions in the state is greatly limited.

POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT AND THE CDD APPROACH

It has been argued that the CDD approach improves social capital and leads to empowerment and good governance. Although these prospects may not be completely out of reach, the foregoing suggests that the Nigerian reality somehow deviates from this pattern, especially in relation to political empowerment. To say that the CDD approach can have an impact on political governance through the emergence of an informed and empowered citizenry, able to affect state politics, is noble, but does the Fadama project have this capacity? Based on this study’s findings, the answer is no. The outcome of Fadama, in this respect, is similar to findings about the KALAHICIDSS project in the Philippines.46 This project was designed to enhance community participation in municipal infrastructure investment, and community participation

42. Interview with participants IFACRV and IIFACRV, Port Harcourt, June and July 2013.
43. Interview with participant FUGAWC, Emohua, February 2013. This beneficiary, who regrets committing so much in the project, apparently lost money as a result of group’s inactiveness and the SFCO’s reluctance toward communities judged as ‘failures’ in the project.
44. Interview with participant RVSPC, Port Harcourt, January 2013.
45. Interview with participant SM&E-ABJ, Abuja, November 2012.
46. Labonne and Chase, ‘Do community-driven development projects enhance social capital?’ The KALAHICIDSS Project is a large-scale CDD project developed in 2001 through a partnership between the government of the Philippines and the World Bank.
was meant to enhance social capital based on the collective action-empowerment discourse. The people, however, were not motivated enough to attend or develop ideas for community assembly meetings that fell outside of the framework of donor-funded projects. As a consequence, it became difficult to conceptualize and deliberate sociopolitical issues, especially when linked to the Fadama project and the prospects of enhancing social capital as well as collective group empowerment.

This study of Rivers state, with regard to possibly transposing the prospects of the CDD approach in the Nigerian sociopolitical sphere, explored the perception of participants about the connections among taking part in the Fadama Project, in elections, and in policy discussions in Nigeria. The responses from beneficiaries suggest that the majority hardly see any link between the project and politics. Influencing policy, changing the power dynamics in Nigeria, and affecting accountability at any level were far too utopian to achieve. One beneficiary argued that the project had no relationship to politics. Allegiances differ in politics, so mixing them could result in disharmony within the community.47 In essence, the project has a totally different prospect when it comes to development broadly, and the lines should not be blurred. A few other participants, mainly from the donor community and government offices, however, were optimistic about its sociopolitical prospects. The minority among the beneficiaries, who saw a slim chance for social change, believe that transforming these prospects into policy interventions could work through credible elections. As one of them exclaimed, however, this is not possible at the moment in Nigeria, where leaders are not elected but “selected”.48

This boils down to the question of the nature of politics, the emergence of political leaders and appointed public officials, and the place of the citizens in the process. Many supposed leaders do not serve the interests of the people, but those of their ‘godfathers’ and the political parties that ‘selected’ them. Indeed, Nigeria has proved difficult for many visionary leaders to transform over the years because of the structures abetting corruption, ineptitude, and the network of political cabals that have stalled all attempts at reform. It is therefore unrealistic to believe a single project can easily change such an environment despite its apparent prospects.

Although much can be done by government and donors to ensure that avenues such as those created by the Fadama project are utilized to foster more cohesion among communities, it is quite daunting to do so. Issues such as commitment to the payment of outstanding counterpart fees and ensuring an effective monitoring and evaluation mechanism for the project go a long way in revealing the level of readiness to actualize change. The same applies to adequately popularizing the project and making it accessible to different types of beneficiaries at the grassroots level. The extent to which the government and the World Bank are able to push these issues can reinforce their readiness to effect change. The question remains, however, as to what extent they are prepared to challenge the status quo if the current sociopolitical context is favorable for the economic (stability) drives characteristic of the World Bank’s development strategy.

47. Interview with participant OMLFUG, IKLGA, February 2013.
48. Interview with participant YEGFUG, GLGA IKLGA, June 2013.
An optimistic perspective insists that empowerment is still attainable by participating in the CDD project. It will happen financially through business profits and socio-politically through capacity building and the process of constant deliberation on issues for group development based on the participatory nature of the CDD approach. Here, CSOs and NGOs also play an intrinsic role, especially by providing and facilitating sociopolitical awareness and empowerment (through campaigns) for beneficiaries. Their role is important because they serve as a bridge between the state and the society, and they act as the moral conscience of the state and the mouthpiece of citizens. This accounts for their incorporation into the framework of CDD projects, especially in terms of adequately capacitating beneficiaries in regard to the benefits of the project. Beyond that, however, they can empower these mostly poor and politically unaware citizens and inform them of their place in the society and of their rights as well as the potential influence they wield in relation to political governance by means of the long-term outcome of the Fadama Project. Through this process, the citizens can become both financially and politically empowered to negotiate more favorably within the political sphere. This prospect seems unlikely, however, at least in the near future in Nigeria.

Although this sounds pessimistic, it becomes clearer when set in line with the findings on the effect of time constraints on people’s participation at meetings that are not part of funded projects. If people hardly attend meetings that fall outside the funded economic interest areas, when will they develop the deep sense of commitment to a political cause? The pursuit of particular goals tends to overshadow goals that do not present immediate sources of sustenance, such as the lofty goal of changing the sociopolitical landscape. Without the necessary information on how politics works and proper capacity building, it becomes nearly impossible for them to become politically relevant. As beneficiaries have reported, the absence of CSOs and NGOs within the framework of project implementation and sustainability makes it a mammoth task to attain political empowerment. This is because these institutions are not there to speak for the people and to pressure the governments into fulfilling their side of the deal. It also implies that the beneficiaries lack a support system they can fall back on when the going gets tough in the implementation and sustainability of their subprojects. Such issues make it even more difficult to conceptualize issues relating to social change.

Furthermore, political empowerment is meant to be bolstered when these groups develop and share similar ideological perspectives regarding their sociopolitical sphere by engaging as units in different extracurricular activities and forming a cohesive force. They fail, however, to gather enough momentum to do so because they hardly meet because of various constraints. In fact, some people prefer to separate the project from their political affiliations, thus destroying any possibility of the emergence of any group-centered ideology. Hence, the drive to change the status quo in governance suffers a great deal because the social capital required is not enhanced due to groups’ disintegration and lack of identity and ideology. Without support systems such as NGOs, and in the face of a failing endeavor, people abandon their projects and

49. Labonne and Chase, ‘Do community-driven development projects enhance social capital?’
50. Interview with participant OMLFUG, IKLGA IKLGA, February 2013.
seek other ventures for making a living. This is the reality of the projects’ prospects in the quest to reform the polity.

Above all, the beneficiary contribution, designed ostensibly to enhance local ownership, poses a snag for the poor, some of whom cannot even afford fifty cents a day because they lack a source of income. Its continuation causes many beneficiaries to withdraw from the project. They see projects such as these as burdens and as such are crowded out because they cannot compete. Moreover, those who manage to participate continue to struggle to grasp the business aspects the implementers emphasize. These people thus find themselves struggling to get the business plan right and in the process fail to realize other conceptually important elements of the project.

CONCLUSION

The Fadama project in Nigeria is perceived as having great potential, a widespread optimism based on acclaimed success stories shared among the government and the donor community. As such, it was imperative to explore its prospects for sociopolitical change in governance. While its prospects remain writ large, the realities and intricacies of the project have inhibiting effects on the actualization of the lofty ideals associated with the CDD approach. In regard to the Fadama project in Rivers state, the ‘successes’ appear to be linked primarily to improved socioeconomic well-being, while effects within the broader spectrum of sociopolitical affairs remain doubtful. The project appears inadequate for transforming citizens into effective social forces to affect political governance and accountability based on the realities found in the case study. The realities hint at a scenario in which beneficiaries still struggle to get the business plans right and then to attain the minimal levels of economic accumulation, which seems to be the main goal of the donors. Being able to influence governance or leadership through this project may be too much to ask in contemporary Nigeria, at least in the near future.

Going forward, interesting areas for inquiry include the near absence of incidents of elite capture within the project, at least from the sample population. A rather fascinating finding is the ‘elite invitation’—referring to an elite group being chosen by communities or the SFCOs as EIG leaders based on their previous contributions to their community’s development. A participant was chosen to lead an FUG although she was absent at its formation. She had been the secretary of a previous government-led rural women’s cassava processing collective, Eñruoma, in the late 1980s. Another woman, a retired teacher, was chosen because of her prestige, having taught a number of the successful elites in the village. They became leaders neither by election nor by personal choice, but because of their contributions at different times and in different contexts in the village. They were thus invited into the position of ‘elites’ for the Fadama project. What does it mean when elites are invited to participate in a development project? Is it a legitimating act for the project, or are there altruistic angles to it? Such questions warrant further investigation.

51. See Wienecke, ‘Community-driven development in Central Asia’, 32.
Meeting a ‘democratic yardstick’ in managing state intelligence services in Uganda is inherently undermined by ambiguities in the institutions’ regulatory framework, which provides them an open-ended mandates and fails to require dedicated oversight by representative bodies. The services report to and are in reality at the disposal of the president. Parliament serves only as a budgetary rubber stamp. Reforming the intelligence sector to conform to norms of democratic governance requires greater empowerment of oversight institutions, transparency, and clearly defining service mandates.

How does a country strike a balance between the risks inherent in expanding access to intelligence information and the advantages derived from democratic control and oversight of intelligence services? This issue is discussed here in the case of Uganda by looking at the Internal Security Organisation (ISO) and the External Security Organisation (ESO) to analyze whether the country can achieve adequate intelligence oversight within the context of a transitional democracy. The following questions guided this study: Does Uganda’s intelligence legislation allow effective intelligence control and oversight by the elected civilian authority? Can Uganda as a transitional democracy achieve the stated universal democratic principles of managing intelligence services? Does the prevailing political environment allow room for improvement?1

Intelligence services are distinguished from other government agencies by the special powers they possess to collect information, such as by intercepting communications, conducting covert surveillance, making use of informants, and entering dwellings surreptitiously.2 Oversight and accountability are widely regarded as funda-

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mental to the development of effective intelligence services. Oversight theoretically helps an organization enhance its effectiveness, productivity, and integrity. There are strong legal and political arguments as to why oversight and accountability systems should be in place, and their proper use leads to more effective intelligence agencies.3

Uganda moved from military hegemony in the late 1980s, to single-party politics in the 1990s, and to multiparty politics in the 2000s. The country has a functioning constitution providing for an independent judiciary, an executive branch, and a multiparty parliament with elections held every five years. There are still some challenges, however, such as the absence of an independent election commission and an executive able to dominate the legislature. Civilian control of intelligence services is the norm in democracies around the world, but this is a relatively recent phenomenon in transitional states.

Some principles of intelligence management represent important parameters that any country aspiring to be a democracy typically exhibits. First, a country’s intelligence services should be subjected to democratic control and oversight lest they serve more easily to undermine democratic governance and the fundamental rights of the people. Second, constitutions and other law should define parameters of agencies’ basic missions, areas of responsibility, limits, methods, structures, relations with other services, management, oversight, and means of redress in the case of violations by them.4 According to democratic theory, once spheres and organs of government are transparent and accountable, they can be effective and garner the public’s support.5 The challenge, however, is how to strike a balance between the risks inherent in gaining access to intelligence information and the advantages derived from the democratic control and oversight of intelligence services.

UGANDA’S INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM

Uganda’s intelligence system, like that of other African countries, traces its roots to the colonial police.6 In the postcolonial period, Uganda’s goes back to the General Service Unit (GSU), which was created in 1964. In 1971 President Idi Amin established the State Research Bureau and the Public Safety Unit.

From 1979 to 1985, the country experienced a number of intelligence schemes under short-lived regimes, such as the National Security Agency of Obote II and unofficial outfits such as the Uganda People’s Congress functionaries, the National Union of Students of Uganda, and the Crack Force, Tito Okello’s special forces. These served not only as regime survival tools, but also as state agencies for the protection

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6. Ibid.
of national security. They were established by the legitimate governments of the day, but having a clear legal framework under which to operate was another matter.8

In 1986, Ugandans marked a turning point with the promise of new leadership by the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which, on the surface at least, established a different intelligence dispensation in terms of legal legitimacy compared with those above. The Internal Security Organisation and External Security Organisation were established by an act of Parliament in 1987 with constitutional obligations and functions.

The Security Organisations Act of 1987 designates the ISO and ESO as the country’s security or intelligence organizations, but practically there are in reality four. The other two are the Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI), the intelligence branch of the Uganda Peoples Defence Force (established and regulated by the UPDF Act of 2005), and the Criminal Investigations and Intelligence Department (CIID), the intelligence arm of the Uganda Police, combining the former Special Branch and Criminal Investigations Department. The CIID should be regulated by the Uganda Police Act of 1994 because the two departments it replaced were regulated by that act, but the new nomenclature, CIID, was not enacted through new legislation or an amendment of the Uganda Police Act.

Field responses indicated that the various departments have caused problems in defining intelligence as well as its scope. The legal instruments may be clear about ISO and ESO as state intelligence organizations, but the public is not always clear about which agency does what and where one reports transgressions by them. Some NRM Party functionaries have time and again created unofficial outfits claiming to gather intelligence, such as the Popular Intelligence Network and the Kalangala Action Plan.9

The current dispensation, however, has deliberately integrated the intelligence services compared with past permutations. For instance, in terms of developing a framework for addressing national security challenges, the National Security Council (NSC) was established in accordance with article 219 of the constitution through the National Security Council Act of 2000. The limitation here is that the main functions of the NSC are not to provide oversight of intelligence services but to inform and advise the president and coordinate on policy concerning intelligence and security and national security needs. It would make more sense if the NSC also performed oversight on the security agencies on behalf of the executive given its composition and structure. Other coordinating structures include the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), which coordinates the activities of the ISO, ESO, CMI, and CIID. These services are independent of each other.

The Joint Anti-Terrorism Task Force (JAT) was formed in 1999 to consolidate government efforts to fight terrorism, especially urban terrorism. It is composed of the ISO, ESO, CMI, and the police. According to a senior intelligence officer in the Ugandan services, ‘JIC and JAT aim at boosting the cooperation of the intelligence services, which mainly involves sharing intelligence information on various topics like

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training, terrorism, and drug trafficking, but do not do oversight on the respective services.'

One can argue that the laws and probably the structures exist in Uganda for broader control of the intelligence services, but they are not synchronized, which does not serve democracy well. Clauses 10 and 2 of the Security Organisations Act, for example, make the disclosure of information by government employees an offense punishable by imprisonment. Clause 10 is not in sync with the Whistleblowers Protection Act of 2010, in particular, clause 2, which offers individuals in the private and public sectors protection for exposing improprieties. Uganda also enacted the Access to Information Act of 2005 to provide for the right outlined in article 41 of the constitution. Thus, intelligence reform is called for to harmonize intelligence legislation and other related laws. Another shortfall is that the information prohibited from being shared by government employees is not defined in the law, which might discourage whistleblowing in cases of institutional abuse.

Another problem related to oversight is the belief that intelligence services cannot disclose their activities to the public without also revealing them to their targets. Therefore, the security forces will not entrust intelligence information to any body except the presidency. Thus, generally speaking, anything in Uganda concerning intelligence is top secret. The intelligence budgets are classified. Intelligence successes are kept secret from the public as well as the Parliament. The argument for secrecy may stand the test of expediency, but many acts not necessarily helpful to the security of the nation may be committed, such as abusing the rights of innocent people and public resources. Some have argued that democracy and secrecy are incompatible.

POLICY CONTEXT: NORMATIVE AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

In the 2000s, Uganda began implementing reforms in the military and political spheres. A review from 2002 to 2005 produced the White Paper on Defence Transformation (2004). In 2005 Ugandans voted for a return to multiparty politics, turning away from the one-party system in place since 1987. The intelligence sector did not, however, appear to undergo significant, if any, reforms. The minister for security claimed, ‘Even opposition MPs are part of the oversight committees in Parliament, even those that oversee the intelligence services. The intelligence services are now visible to the public.’ The parliamentary committees he referred to were general oversight committees, none dedicated specifically to intelligence.

Proper oversight of intelligence services is, however, vital to democracies. As one observer noted, ‘Well-calibrated accountability structures attempt to insulate security and intelligence agencies from political abuse without isolating them from executive control. In general, the solutions adopted by democratic states deal with this paradox

10. Ibid., interview, Kampala, 10 July 2013.
11. V. F. Filip, ‘The intelligence phenomenon in a new democratic milieu: Romania—A case study’ (MA thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, 2006), 1,
12. Ibid.
in two ways: first, by balancing rights and responsibilities between the agencies and their political masters; and second, by creating checking mechanisms outside the executive branch.\textsuperscript{15}

Intelligence activities in Uganda continue to be shrouded in secrecy, as is typical in other transitional states. Members of Parliament indicated that other than budget appropriations for intelligence activities, which are part a larger budget for the president’s office, they do not have any oversight over the intelligence services, perhaps theoretically due to the sensitivity of intelligence activities. The security minister contended that Uganda, as a state in the making, has to move cautiously with issues involving the democratization of intelligence systems. He argued, ‘A degree of cohesion is still just growing in the country after a long spell of political disturbance. Ideological clarity is still in question among the political actors. So the government is cautious because security operations can be revealed to those who should not know.’\textsuperscript{16} One wonders, however, whether the issue is the state being in the making or a government that is taking its own time to embrace democratic values. Democratic societies hold elected leaders accountable for the work of all government agencies and bodies funded by public money, and intelligence services are not exceptions to this rule.\textsuperscript{17}

The legal framework to regulate and control the intelligence services can be traced to the constitution of the country. Chapter 12, article 218, gives Parliament the power to establish intelligence services and to determine their composition, functions, and procedures. The framers apparently intended to give Parliament the power to establish the intelligence apparatus. The article bars creation of an intelligence service ‘by the government except by or under an Act of Parliament’.\textsuperscript{18} Actual practice, however, seems sometimes to have been in violation of constitutional provisions. As noted above, Uganda has more than two intelligence services, but only the establishment of ISO and ESO followed constitutional procedure.

Article 218 was operationalized by the Security Organisations Act. A director general, appointed by the president and who reports directly to the president, oversees the organizations established by it.\textsuperscript{19} This clause manifests the weakness in the law in the president’s dominance. Parliament plays no role in the appointment of intelligence chiefs as in democracies. In Uganda, the same holds for other public appointees, such as the inspector general of the police and commissioner general of the police.

On first sight, Uganda’s intelligence legal frame could pass as judicious legislation, given that it was a first for the country in establishing intelligence services by legislation. Since then, Parliament has passed more people-centered laws—like the Access to Information Act, the Interception of Communications Regulation Act, and the Whistleblowers Act—which security organization legislation now contradicts.

Oversight is apparently presumed to be done by various institutions at different levels and to varying degrees. These include agencies’ internal administration; the

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\textsuperscript{15} Lauren Hutton, ‘Intelligence and accountability in Africa’, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2 June 2009.

\textsuperscript{16} Solomon, ‘Intelligence oversight’, interview with Muruli, Kampala, Uganda, 8 May 2013.

\textsuperscript{17} Aidan Wills, Guidebook: Understanding Intelligence Oversight (Geneva, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2010).

\textsuperscript{18} Agaba, ‘Intelligence sector reform in Uganda’, 55.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
executive authority headed by the president and supported by the minister for security; the legislature through committees; and even the judiciary at some point. The statutory bodies include the Public Procurement and Disposal Authority, the Uganda Human Rights Commission, and the Inspectorate of Government.20 Most of the bodies outlined have general oversight responsibilities. The concern is whether such institutions and structures could meet the task of overseeing the intelligence services, given that sector’s unique nature compared with other areas of government. Indeed, the character of intelligence presents a challenge to general oversight bodies as they lack the necessary expertise in intelligence practices and tradecraft.

Uganda’s intelligence legislation fails the ‘democratic yardstick’ because, among other faults, it gives the intelligence services open mandates, inadequately defining their functions.21 The agencies thus have open-ended latitude in collecting, receiving, and processing information. This creates the perception that the intelligence services would naturally employ their privileged collection methods against legal political activities to the disadvantage of the political opposition. Indeed, the political opposition has alleged harassment and accused intelligence officers of involvement in election malpractice.

The legislative mandate of the intelligence organizations thus raises questions for a country that wants to claim democratic credentials. ISO and ESO are responsible for, among other things, internal and external intelligence data on security involving espionage, subversion, political and economic sabotage, and terrorism. They also monitor the running of government departments.

Intelligence operatives play a part in interpreting the scope of their mandate. For instance, the primary role of ISO and ESO, according to a senior officer in the intelligence services, is ‘to detect and, working with the police and other security agencies, to prevent the commission of politically motivated crimes, which include, any form of rebellion against the democratically agreed constitution of the country, sectarianism, attempts by foreigners to influence events in the country’s selection of leaders’.22 There could, however, be aberrations, especially in regard to issue of preventing politically motivated crimes. Without independent and effective oversight, who can say whether an act is politically driven?

Intelligence services by the nature of their work have the potential to infringe on civil rights. This is why democracies insist that their work be grounded in clear legislation and be accountable.23 The issue of intelligence mandate is, however, controversial in some jurisdictions. A respondent from Parliament wondered whether it is even possible in transitional states to define the mandate of an intelligence service when there is not yet agreement on what constitutes a national security threat. He observed, ‘National security is still a contested concept in the country between the ruling politicians and those in opposition. Uganda has been in a fighting mood for over twenty years. Fighting internal insurgents and terrorism from external movements, do you expect the government to say this is what the intelligence should collect and not

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21. Security Organisations Act, clause 3, states that the organizations shall ‘collect, receive, and process internal and external intelligence data on the security of Uganda’.
collect’?24 By this he meant that the government is perhaps justified in being slow to delimit the reach of the security services. An open mandate for an intelligence service can, however, be dangerous because it is always subject to interpretation. This can actually be a burden to the service in question. In a democracy, it is in the interest of the national intelligence services to have clearly defined mandates.25

The staffing of agencies has the potential to undermine a country’s democratic endeavors. Democratic systems usually aim to ensure that civilian intelligence services remain separate from the military.26 Agencies in Uganda, however, seem to have dual military and civilian functions. Field responses explained this situation by noting the historical connection of the intelligence services and the army from the 1980–1985 war days. Those who established the intelligence services in 1986 were soldiers. It might be that intelligence practices are stuck in the past, instead of complying with the law, and make the civilian intelligence services look like appendages of the military. Since 1986 every ISO director general except one has been a military officer, although the Security Organisations Act established the ISO and ESO as civilian services.

It is likely that the military component has been intertwined with the Terms and Conditions of Service (2000) for intelligence agencies. It requires staff to undergo military training, it does not state that intelligence officers must be soldiers.27 Much as the duality may be an advantage given the circumstances of the nature of the security threat, but it also undermines the democratic credentials of the intelligence services, as practices in established democracies require that civil intelligence services be independent of military forces.28

The Security Organisations Act has been faulted for not clearly establishing accountability and oversight or a mandate for the intelligence services. Some commentators suspect that legislating only vague functions and mandates represents a deliberate omission of detail to provide authorities a shield and latitude.29 Others argue that the legal regime could comply with democratic requirements but is simply undermined by a lack of effective external oversight mechanisms to monitor agencies. Field responses indicate that only internal mechanisms under agency leadership appear to be effective. As noted, the various oversight bodies are unequal to the task of overseeing the intelligence services in part due to the sensitivity of the subject. For example, Parliament’s Presidential Affairs Committee, which should be overseeing the intelligence services given the privileged legal position of Parliament, interacts with the agencies only on budget appropriations. The intelligence budget is handled in the office of the president and is passed by the legislature without questioning, as doing otherwise might jeopardize national security.30 The president’s broad mandate and other responsibilities, on top of being the sole overseer of the intelligence services,

25. Matthews, Ginwala, and Nathan, ‘Intelligence in a constitutional democracy’, 126–49. For instance, in responding to a review commission of South African intelligence, the South African National Intelligence Agency recommended that policy of the South African government provide a more unambiguous definition of security threats in alignment with developed democratic societies.
26. Wills, Toolkit, 11.
28. Wills, Toolkit, 11.
30. Solomon, ‘Intelligence oversight’.
could mean that abuses and challenges within the agencies pass unnoticed. It was reported that in a 5 August 2013 letter, the president raised the matter of the alleged misuse of funds within ESO, under the cover of classified expenses, and directed the auditor general to inspect the issue.\footnote{Tabu Butagira, ‘Museveni asks ESO to explain cash use’, \textit{Daily Monitor}, 4 September 2013.}

The problems above, however, are not characteristic of transitional democracies alone. Even in advanced democracies, political control over intelligence remains far from assured, especially in the realm of covert operations.\footnote{Ibid.} For instance, the transparency bar appears to remain quite high in South Africa, yet it is considered to be an African example of the intelligence services having been brought under democratic control. The South African Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence presents annual reports to the legislature, but the documents are not accessible to the public. Thus, citizens are unable to learn much about the work of the committee in overseeing the intelligence organizations and how it assesses their performance.\footnote{Ibid.}

\textbf{CHALLENGES, OPPORTUNITIES, AND RECOMMENDATIONS}

Uganda’s slow journey to democratization of its intelligence services can be attributed to a number of challenges, including weak political cohesion, fear of the risks inherent in expanding intelligence knowledge beyond those who must know, lack of intelligence knowledge beyond the executive, balancing intelligence and respect for human rights, insufficient funding for oversight and the services, inadequate legislation involving intelligence, and lack of trust between political leaders and the intelligence services. Mistrust between the government and other political actors appears to negatively affect democratizing intelligence management in Uganda. Government leaders and intelligence operatives are not comfortable with opening up the intelligence file beyond the presidency. A democratic society expects its intelligence services and its activities to fall within the boundaries of the law, unhinged from the magnanimity of any individual. Their focus should be not just the survival of the state, but human rights as well.\footnote{Ibid.}

According to a senior intelligence officer, members of Uganda’s intelligence services most of the time are not confident in discussing intelligence with members of general parliamentary committees.\footnote{Solomon, ‘Intelligence oversight’, interview, Kampala, 10 July 2013.} They would prefer to appear before specialized parliamentary intelligence committees, where members are under oath to handle national security matters with care. There is also the challenge created by undefined mandates, which sometimes results in agencies being ‘everywhere and nowhere’, due to the lack of required resources and expertise. A broader approach to national security might be good for operational purposes, but this should not necessarily apply to intelligence services. This ambiguity has led many to view the intelligence services in Uganda as too influential, powerful, and intrusive and able to encroach inappropriately into politics, governance, and social life.\footnote{Ibid.} Because democratic societies care about the ac-

34. Ibid.
35. Solomon, ‘Intelligence oversight’, interview, Kampala, 10 July 2013.
36 Ibid.
tivities of their intelligence organizations, their mandates define the functions of officers.\textsuperscript{37} Thus, there are some universal principles that any country aspiring to democratic credentials would require of its intelligence services. To achieve them, Uganda would need to undertake a number of reforms.

The government should carry out an intelligence review with the aim of amending the existing legal framework to conform to current democratic principles unanticipated at the time enacting legislation was approved. The new legislation should define the mandate and oversight procedures for the services. There should be broader participation of various stakeholders to enforce legitimacy and create confidence between the intelligence services and the general population. Toward this end, dedicated intelligence oversight institutions must be established to replace general oversight bodies for effective accountability. An intelligence committee in Parliament should be legislated to oversee intelligence activities beyond rubberstamping budget appropriations to ensure political and professional neutrality.

The intelligence minister’s position must be clearly delineated in terms of the occupant’s role and degree of supervision of relevant agencies. The president should also cede to the intelligence minister some of the powers and roles for supervising agencies that legislation currently assigns to that office. The president should select heads of the intelligence services in coordination with Parliament, as done with the head of the police, commissioner of prisons, and heads of other public institutions. This is already provided for in articles 111 and 113 of the constitution, which aims at making sure presidential appointees are in the people’s interest.

The recommended parliamentary committee on intelligence oversight should work with or liaise with other statutory and non-statutory government and nongovernmental oversight bodies and watchdogs to find and solve weaknesses in the oversight process. These bodies, if coordinated well and empowered by law, could greatly assist Parliament, as they operate between the people and government. Some of those not funded by the same government being overseen could be helpful in not suffering fear from financial retaliation.

The intelligence services should open up some aspects of oversight bodies. They have to appreciate that not everything involving intelligence should be or must be kept secret. What they should hold dear is their methods and agents, but not necessarily issues of administration and policy. The public can know the budget of the intelligence services and form opinions on whether they are sufficiently supported to be effective. One must consider the resources available to an institution in determining whether the institution is capable of being efficient in its duties.

Researchers in Uganda should focus more on the intelligence sector since it is there to serve the people, like other sectors of government. They could bring forward benchmarked data to show how other countries have reformed their intelligence systems and point out the benefits to the leadership and the people in those countries. This might give the government the confidence to undertake more reform of the intelligence services toward transparency.

The civil society organizations could help through more civic education. As a connection between the people and the government, they should educate the citizenry about its rights and the role of the intelligence services and where to make reports in case of violations of their rights. They should also be on the forefront of calling for reforms in the intelligence legal framework to demand transparency. Deepening democracy in Uganda requires building strong state institutions and letting them perform, not relying on the personal magnanimity of a leader. Government must provide oversight institutions with adequate funding and training to enable them to oversee the intelligence services as they would with other agencies and departments.

It is a general principle that most intelligence work is done in secret, but at the same time there is concern over whether secrecy is always necessary in intelligence under a democratic dispensation. In Uganda, the legal framework is far from ensuring strong and effective democratic control of intelligence oversight. Today, for effective intelligence oversight to be realized, Uganda needs to reform the legal framework involving the intelligence services.
Representative institutions in a democracy, such as legislatures and local government, are indispensable cogs in the machinery of the state. As such, they are expected to work harmoniously to satisfy the needs of the people and engender the belief that they are rightful public institutions. Evidence demonstrates that one dysfunctional local institution can adversely affect the legitimacy of other representative institutions and by extension the legitimacy of the state. In the case of Malawi, dysfunctional local government has had a negative effect on the legitimacy of Parliament. This domino effect exposes the potential for strengthening the legitimacy of the state by maintaining robust local institutions that satisfy the socioeconomic needs of the people at the grassroots level.

**Legitimacy is the oil that lubricates the machinery of the state, preventing friction and conflict in the political system. Without legitimacy, state institutions are fragile and tentative.**¹ The introduction of multiparty democracy in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s brought the promise of legitimate participatory government and improvement in people’s socioeconomic status.² More than two decades later, however, the legitimacy of state institutions, especially representative institutions like legislatures, remained ‘low and volatile’ according to Afrobarometer assessments.³ Such a situation has the potential to threaten the sustainability of democracy in Africa.⁴

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After thirty years of a one-party dictatorship, in 1994 Malawi introduced multiparty democracy and institutional reforms to ensure separation of government powers and citizen participation in governance and development. To explore Parliament’s legitimacy since 1994, a study conducted between 2010 and 2011 examined the factors that led to Malawi receiving a ‘low and volatile’ legitimacy rating.

The study demonstrates that the legitimacy of Malawi’s Parliament has significantly been affected by dysfunctional local government institutions, namely, district councils. Citizen’s socioeconomic needs are not being met by the essentially non-existent local institutions, and people put the blame squarely on Parliament, which they perceive as the next institution in the representation and accountability hierarchy. Thus, dissatisfaction with local service delivery creates a domino effect that spreads the legitimacy crisis to other representative institutions in the governing hierarchy and ultimately to the state as a collection of institutions. The effect, however, also highlights the potential for strengthening state legitimacy by building effective local institutions that satisfy the needs of the people at the local level.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY STRUCTURES

Malawi is divided into twenty-eight administrative districts, each with a district council that coordinates and oversees all development activities within its jurisdiction. The district is divided into parliamentary constituencies, which are further divided into wards, the smallest geographical local development units. The latter are represented at the district council level by elected ward councillors.

The district councils are the hub of decision making and resource generation for local development, responsible for making bylaws and policy. Each consists of elected ward councillors; elected members of Parliament (MPs) as non-voting ex-officio members; traditional leaders, also as non-voting ex-officio members; and five non-voting representatives from civil society appointed by elected council members. Ward councillors are elected every five years and are charged with facilitating and coordinating such local development activities as those involving clinics, roads, schools, and water. The ward is the development coordination unit closest to the people, making ward councillors the key local development coordinators and accountable to their electorate.

During Malawi’s nineteen years of multiparty democracy, however, it has had ward councillors for only five years of those, from 2000 to 2005. From the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1994 to the first multiparty local government elections in 2000, Malawi was preoccupied with institutional reforms that would result in 1998 in the National Decentralisation Policy and Local Government Act. When the first term of the first cohort of ward councillors expired in the second quarter of 2005, the government did not conduct local elections, citing financial constraints and the need for further institutional reforms. As a result, administrative officials at the local level have

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6. ‘Malawi postpones 2010 local polls’, Mail and Guardian, 1 December 2009. When this paper was going to press in May 2014, Malawi held tripartite elections to elect the president, members of Parliament, and ward councillors.
been serving as decision makers and implementers of local development policy. This dual role has subsequently compromised the quality of local development processes and governance principles, especially in the areas of transparency, accountability, participation, representation, policy making, and rule of law.\(^7\) Malawian local government can thus be characterized as weak and dysfunctional.

The Malawian Parliament consists of the National Assembly and the president as head of state. The president calls for the seating of Parliament in consultation with the Speaker, but does not participate in parliamentary debate or decisions or influence the body’s composition. Malawi has a single-member, constituency-based system. MPs are directly elected by the electorate from their respective geographical constituencies, 193 in all, using a first-past-the-post voting system. This framework establishes direct accountability between MPs and their respective constituents.\(^8\) The Parliament is charged with representing the people at the National Assembly, making laws, and overseeing the other branches of government, including the executive.\(^9\)

**POLITICAL LEGITIMACY**

Government, as the machinery of the state, is said to be legitimate when the governed view its existence as justifiable and when they perceive the government as having the right to rule.\(^10\) Thus, legitimacy ‘involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society’\(^11\). Legitimacy is thus a necessary precondition for building a sustainable democratic state.\(^12\)

What should a state do to engender the belief that its institutions are justifiable? This question is central in the legitimacy discourse if one believes that in contemporary politics, legitimacy is no longer a philosophical question of ‘why people obey the state’ but a sociological question of ‘why they do obey a particular state or system of rule’.\(^13\) The question requires identifying factors that the governors manipulate to turn power into authority and the governed evaluate to determine whether the governors and their institutions are rightful authorities.

When discussing political legitimacy, there is often a temptation to assume that different state institutions have similar levels of legitimacy at a given point in time.

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9. Ibid.
12. Adrian Leftwich, ‘From democratization to democratic consolidation’ in David Potter et al. (eds.), *Democratization* (Cambridge, Polity Press / Open University, 1997); Lipset, *Political Man*.
This is not necessarily the case.\textsuperscript{14} For example, the legitimacy of local government authorities may not be as high or low as that of a parliament or executive. Ultimately, however, the legitimacy of the state is the aggregate of legitimacies of the different state institutions. Three main dimensions of legitimacy emerge from analysis of classical and modern literature: juridical, symbolic, and instrumental.

Juridical legitimacy is when the governed perceive their governors and their institutions as rightful authorities based on established laws, policies, and procedures. For instance, MPs are legitimate when they are duly elected by the electorate according to procedures set in law. This perspective was crystallized by the Romans when legitimacy assumed the form of lawfulness. For instance, the emperor was legitimate when chosen or elected by electors as per laws and procedures.\textsuperscript{15}

Max Weber identified three main types of authority: traditional, charismatic, and rational/legal. Traditional authority is attained through the governed respecting and adhering to established traditions, while charismatic authority rests on a leader’s character. Rational/legal authority hinges on established rules and procedures that provide leaders the right to rule. Weber argued that as societies modernize, they become more biased toward bureaucratic governments, which tend to follow the impersonal, rational/legal procedures of governance.\textsuperscript{16}

The Roman concept of civil legitimacy and the Weberian concept of rational/legal authority represent forms of juridical legitimacy. They correspond to the contemporary concept of popular elections and consent in conformity with laws and procedures and are key criteria for political legitimacy.\textsuperscript{17} With the juridical dimension, a legitimacy crisis would entail the governed not recognizing a governing institution on the basis that it does not conform to existing laws and procedures. Using this yardstick, a parliament would be considered legitimate if it is constituted through elections following established laws and procedures and its actions and processes are deemed to follow set rules.

Notions of political legitimacy in a specific society are embedded in the culture.\textsuperscript{18} In a study of African ideas and languages in African political culture, Michael Schatzberg presents a moral analysis of legitimate governance. It is premised on the portrayal of a ruler as a ‘fatherchief’, who has an obligation on the one hand to nourish and nurture his ‘family’, and on the other to punish his ‘children’ when they do wrong and pardon them if they repent. Another premise concerns the role of women. While they are not considered equal to men, they are supposed to be respected as ‘counsellors and advisers’. Yet another premise suggests that if leaders cling to power permanently, their power will be considered illegitimate. In this context, political fa-

\textsuperscript{14} Dogan, ‘Conceptions of legitimacy’.
thers should allow their children to grow, mature, and take on the responsibility of ruling. This implies that rulers who feed their families, respect and listen to their wives and daughters, and allow their children to succeed them in power, enjoy popular support and hence are legitimate.

This conception of legitimacy overlaps with Weberian traditional authority and its belief in popular recognition of leaders who rule following established traditions. It also ties in closely with Pierre Englebert’s notion of ‘societal embeddedness’, whereby a state is said to be legitimate when its institutions have historical connections to the society’s way of life, and people relate to and pay allegiance to the state within their traditional institutions. In African cultural settings, authority is recognized from a familial perspective, whereby a governor represents the fatherchief, with responsibilities toward his family or, in other words, the governed. Thus, symbolic legitimacy hinges on affective and symbolic familial ties of the governed to the governors. The governed recognize and accept the governing authority on the basis that they feel emotionally attached to the governors. In this context, a legitimacy crisis ensues when people cease to recognize the governors as their fatherchiefs, or ‘parents’, and they perceive themselves as orphans, without parental care.

Probably the most common analysis of state legitimacy in Africa is based on the state’s political and economic performance. The discourse on African states as weak, impotent, soft, prebendal, lame Leviathan, patrimonial, predatory, and kleptocratic forms the basis for the argument that poor performance leads to the loss of legitimacy for these states. Thus, the legitimacy of state institutions is based not only on whether they are legally instituted, but also on expectations that they be adequate providers, sometimes even beyond their legal mandate.

This perspective is consistent with Jean-François Bayart’s analysis of African politics as the ‘politics of the belly’, which describes the phenomenon of ‘eating’ the fruits of power. Leaders who share these fruits enjoy popular legitimacy, while those who do not lose legitimacy. Bayart’s analysis was largely in the context of the distribution of patronage resources by political leaders. Performance-based legitimacy, however, goes beyond the informal distribution of resources to include the legal distribution of government resources by those governors or institutions vested with the authority to do so. The legitimacy of the governors and their institutions is therefore defined by the extent to which they satisfy the needs of the people. Thus, instrumental legitimacy is premised on people accepting the authority of an institution on the basis that they perceive the institution to have satisfied, or to have the potential to satisfy, their needs.


The legitimacy of a state institution appears to be derived from the intersection of the institution's legal mandate, societal embeddedness, and public perception of the satisfactory performance of the real or imagined mandates of the institution. In other words, political legitimacy is derived at the intersection of juridical, symbolic, and instrumental legitimacies. Juridical legitimacy forms the legal foundation upon which symbolic and instrumental legitimacies are built. Instrumental legitimacy, however, seems to carry more weight in sustaining overall legitimacy.

Numerous political legitimacy indicators have been proposed and used by different analysts. The two main indicators for this study are majority support of the state or state institution (typically through an electoral process) and subjective adherence of the people to the system (such as when one has confidence in the system or trusts it). Since people's trust in the system may rise or wane depending on their perception of the system's performance, procedural fairness, or affective connection to the system, this latter indicator cuts across juridical, symbolic, and instrumental legitimacy conceptions.

**METHODODOLOGY**

A case study approach was used in this research, combining synchronic analysis (involving variations of observations at a given point in time) and diachronic analysis (involving variations of observations over a period of time, 1994 to 2011). Quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to collect and analyze data. The aim was to tap into the representativeness and hence generalization potential of quantitative data and the depths of qualitative data in clarifying meanings and perceptions.

For quantitative assessment, secondary statistical data from the Afrobarometer database were used. At the time of the study, Afrobarometer had been conducting national public surveys on democracy, markets, and civil society in eighteen African countries since 1999, with a total representative sample size of about 25,400 respondents. These surveys were conducted in Malawi in 1999, 2003, 2005 and 2008, and based on a national representative sample of 1,200 respondents. This study used selected indicators in these surveys for views and opinion on democracy and democratic institutions, in particular Parliament.

The qualitative approach entailed conducting fifteen focus group discussions (FGDs) constituting of nine to twelve people per group in the three regions (Northern, Central, and Southern) of Malawi; six in-depth interviews (IDIs) with

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23. For instance, David Easton talks of the ratio of deviance to conformity as measured by violations of laws, the prevalence of violence, the size of dissidence movements, or the amount of money spent for security. David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York, John Wiley, 1965). Mattei Dogan proposes the number of coups d'état as the most visible indicator of legitimacy. Dogan, 'Conceptions of legitimacy'.

24. Dogan, 'Conceptions of legitimacy'.


MPs from the three major political parties represented in Parliament and from the three main regions; six IDIs with Parliament support staff; and two IDIs with representatives from two nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) involved in monitoring Parliament (Table 1). The key characteristics used to recruit the FGD participants were region, education level, and whether they came from rural or urban areas. These characteristics were selected on the basis of a preliminary quantitative bivariate analysis where region, education level, and rural/urban residence were significantly related to people’s trust in Parliament.27 The six Parliament support staff members were conveniently selected from the offices of the clerk, the Research Unit, the Hansard Department, and the Parliamentary Committees Department. The two NGO representatives were also conveniently selected.

R statistical software was used to analyze quantitative secondary data.28 Descriptive statistics (univariate and bivariate analyses) were used to feed into and complement qualitative analysis and to assess trends and patterns in the data. All qualitative interviews were recorded electronically and transcribed verbatim. Thematic qualitative analysis was conducted to analyze the qualitative data using ATLAS.ti software.29 This entailed reading through the transcripts, coding the responses, and categorizing the codes in emerging themes and further in line with the objectives and theoretical framework of this study.

One major potential limitation of this study is the use of secondary statistical data. That such data were collected based on study objectives and sampling frames that were not congruent to this study in all respects posed challenges during data collation and analysis. For instance, preliminary data collation and analysis were conducted on numerous variables to collapse categories of responses so that they conformed to the objectives and framework of this study. Further, in so far as quantitative analysis was concerned, the study was limited to the indicators measured in the Afrobarometer surveys. The choice of Afrobarometer secondary quantitative data was, however, care-

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27. Using Pearson’s chi-squared test: regional belonging versus trust in Parliament, p = 0.0002; education versus trust in Parliament, p = 2.838e-05; urban/rural location versus trust in Parliament, p = 0.05 (confidence interval =/> 95%).
fully made after analyzing the indicators and confirming that a significant number of them were in line with the objectives of this study and that some dimensions that were missing in the quantitative measurements were covered in the qualitative approach.  

**FINDINGS**

The findings of this study support the thesis that dysfunctional local government has a negative effect on the legitimacy of Parliament in Malawi.

**Parliament’s Symbolic and Instrumental Legitimacy Crises**

Evidence suggests that Malawians’ perception of the rightfulness and acceptability of Parliament conforms to the three dimensions of legitimacy discussed above. Its rightful authority depends on the legal institution of the authority, the performance of the authority in addressing people’s needs, and, related to performance, the perception of the authority as ‘parent’ or provider.

From the juridical perspective, evidence suggests that most Malawians recognize and accept the legal institution of parliament. For instance, in the 2008 survey, 70 percent of Malawians thought that parliamentary elections ensure that MPs reflect voters’ views in the legislature. This proportion was higher than the one observed in 2005, when only 33 percent held this view. From the juridical point of view, one can

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30. The study was approved by the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee, and consent to conduct interviews was sought from the respondents as well as the relevant authorities, such as the office of the clerk and traditional leaders in the communities visited.
therefore say that the Parliament is legitimate to the extent that it is elected following legally established procedures deemed to be fair by the people.

Additional evidence, however, shows that since 1994, despite accepting Parliament on the basis of its legality, most Malawians have been dissatisfied with the performance of MPs as individual agents and subsequently Parliament as a collection of MPs. As can be seen in Figure 1, the proportion of Malawians who approve of their MPs’ performance has generally deteriorated over time, from 52 percent in 1999 to 33 percent in 2008. From the instrumental legitimacy perspective, this signifies a brewing crisis for Parliament, especially when considering that if a large proportion of the governors are disliked by the governed, the governing institution loses legitimacy. The qualitative evidence adds perspective to these trends and confirms the link between instrumental and symbolic legitimacy in explaining this situation. The quantitative findings and qualitative evidence together reveal that Parliament has largely failed as a ‘parent’ to take care of the local needs of the people.

A few select quotations illustrate the above finding. One person offered, ‘From what I know, the duty of an MP is to look after his constituency, which has voted for him to take up that seat and be able to know the problems that people are experiencing in his constituency. When he does that, he takes all such issues to the Parliament, but our MP does not mention such issues even though he goes there. . . . It’s like we don’t have a parent to look after us.’ The reported failure of MPs, and hence the Parliament, to address the local needs of the people led some respondents to suggest impeaching non-performing MPs and finding alternative avenues of representation. Said one focus group member, ‘It’s just so sad that we cannot impeach our MP. We need that law. . . . Had Parliament accepted that non-performing MPs get impeached, as is the case with the president, Mr. Pitala [a pseudonym] would have gone a long time ago.’ Another person offered, ‘Maybe there should be a provision that if Parliament fails, we have [traditional] chiefs here. Probably they should also be allowed to go [to Parliament] and present the needs of the people.’ Such suggestions as these for altering current laws signify discontent with the existing legal frameworks, hence a simmering legitimacy crisis of the existing representative institutions.

Quantitative evidence suggests that Malawians consider constituency service, or local development, to be the second most important job of an MP. Data from 2008 showed 39 percent of respondents making this statement, with the majority, 53 percent, citing representation as the most important element of the job. Law making came in third, with 5 percent, and oversight, fourth, with 2 percent. Malawian law designates legislation, representation, and executive oversight as the key roles of Parliament, while constituency service has emerged as an additional role for MPs. This

31. Dogan, ‘Conceptions of legitimacy.’
34. Mixed gender FGD, Rural Northern Region, Mzimba, 16 November 2011.
35. Act no. 6 of 1995 repealed the provision of the constitution for recalling members of Parliament. Traditional chiefs cannot run for seats in Parliament. Their only opportunity had been through the constitution’s provision of a Senate, but that provision was repealed by Act no. 4 of 2001.
36. The fact that constituency service was second to representation suggests that people’s expectations of MPs are not based in complete naïveté about the designated roles of members of Parliament.
can be attributed to societal dynamics, especially poverty,\textsuperscript{37} which makes addressing people’s socioeconomic needs a priority for almost every local representative, including MPs, irrespective of their designated roles. Dysfunctional local government is the trigger for MPs being expected to carry out constituency service and local development roles.

Qualitative evidence suggests people interpret constituency service or local development as providing such public services as clinics, schools, roads, and water kiosks, that is, services that largely fall within the ambit of local government and ward councillors, not MPs. From the instrumental legitimacy perspective, evidence further overwhelmingly shows that constituency service and local development are related to people’s perception of Parliament’s acceptability. Thus Parliament’s legitimacy is overwhelmingly tied to people’s perception of whether their socioeconomic needs are being met. As can be seen in Figure 2, the more people disapprove of MPs’ performance, the more they lose trust in Parliament and vice versa.\textsuperscript{38} Since trust is an indicator of legitimacy, this implies that the more people who disapprove of their MP’s performance, the more Parliament, as a collection of MPs, loses legitimacy.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Trust in Parliaments and Approval of MP Performance in 12 Sub-Saharan Countries}
\end{figure}


\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{37}\ Joel Barkan et al., 'The African legislatures project: First findings', African Legislatures Project, Centre for Social Science Research, Cape Town, 7 January 2010.
\item \textsuperscript{38}\ The twelve countries are Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.
\end{enumerate}
The qualitative evidence confirms that Parliament’s legitimacy is strongly associated with MP performance and that it has been compromised by the people’s perception that MPs have failed to satisfy local needs. As one person asserted, ‘Parliament is useless and irrelevant as we speak, because it doesn’t address our needs. If we say we want portable water here, why should we wait for five years or ten years for us to access safe water?’

**EFFECT OF MALAWI LOCAL GOVERNMENT LACUNA ON PARLIAMENT’S LEGITIMACY**

As noted earlier, ward councillors in local government, not MPs, are institutionally mandated and financially supported to facilitate local development. In this context, people’s expectation that MPs should address the people’s local socioeconomic problems is *prima facie* misplaced. This is understandable, however, given dysfunctional local government, where there are no ward councillors. Further, it is also understandable in the context of manipulative or ignorant aspiring MPs who campaign on the platform of bringing local development to their constituency when the institutional set up does not effectively support MPs to fulfill this role.

Not having had ward councillors since 2005 left local development in disarray, with administrators performing non-sanctioned dual roles of deciding on and implementing local development without meaningful popular accountability. Thus the gap in local governance and development left local people with no option but to transfer the local development responsibility to MPs, with disastrous results in regard to the MPs’ ability to deliver and to their legitimacy.

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**Figure 3**

**Trust in the Malawian Parliament**

![Graph showing trust in the Malawian Parliament from 1999/2000 to 2008.](http://www.afrobarometer.org)


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Quantitative evidence from 1999 to 2008 confirms the potential for strong legitimacy for Parliament when local government is working effectively and the potential for a legitimacy crisis when local government is in disarray. Figure 3 shows rising public trust in Parliament from 1999/2000 to 2005 and declining trust thereafter. The gain in trust and hence legitimacy from 2000 to 2005 coincides with the period when local governance systems were fully operational. The drop in trust from 2005 to 2008 coincides with the absence of ward councillors. This, together with the qualitative evidence, suggests that the legitimacy of Parliament is dependent on the vibrancy of local government. The crumbling of local government from 2005 seems to have affected Parliament’s legitimacy, hence the possible onset of a domino legitimacy crisis in representative institutions.

Evidence also suggests that people came to expect MPs to carry out local development activities because during political campaigns, legislative candidates promised the electorate local development. These promises capitalized on people’s poverty and the absence of effective local government. In some instances, the MP’s promises were due to their ignorance of the role of parliamentarians. This finding cuts across responses from MPs and the general public. Said one MP, ‘It is confused in Malawi. Most of the people out there, most of the people will tell you that the role of a member of Parliament is to bring development in the villages. We [MPs] are not supposed to do that. In fact, it is just an overflow of our responsibilities based on probably the campaign promises we make out there.’40 A focus group participant asserted, ‘The most surprising thing is that during the campaign period, [the MP] was full of promises about the things he would do for this area, but now, after winning, he has completely forgotten about us. . . He promised clean water, bridges, good roads and even good education for our children.’41

Thus dysfunctional local government, in the context of poverty, public expectations raised by politicians’ promises during election campaigns, and MPs’ subsequent failure to satisfy expectations negatively affected the legitimacy of Parliament. From the public’s perspective, Parliament’s failure to fulfill their needs points to its irrelevance.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING STATE LEGITIMACY IN AFRICA**

The evidence from Malawi shows that weak or dysfunctional local government has the potential to adversely affect the legitimacy of such representative institutions as Parliament and, by extension, the state as a collection of institutions. In this case, putting in place a robust and working local development system could be one way of strengthening the legitimacy of representative institutions and hence the state. This might be a step toward satisfying people’s socioeconomic needs at the grassroots level and ensuring the instrumental legitimacy key to the sustainability of any institution.

Following the principle of external validity, the insights from the Malawi case can be applied to other countries with contexts similar to it in order to understand and

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40. Interview with member of Parliament, Mangochi, 16 November 2012.
possibly rectify brewing legitimacy crises in their representative institutions.42 Zambia is one country whose citizens are characterized as dissatisfied democrats like Malawians.43 A quick look at Zambian local government shows that as much as the legal framework for governance and development is in place, certain challenges—among them, poor funding and lack of citizen participation in local development program planning, implementation, and evaluation—are affecting its effectiveness.44 It is therefore interesting to note that in 2009, only 51 percent and 45 percent of Zambians trusted their parliament and president, respectively.45 Such low percentages of popular trust in representative institutions in democracies have been characterized as ‘astonishingly low confidence’ and a ‘serious strain on legitimacy [of the state]’.46 The challenges faced by Zambian local government may begin to explain a possible domino effect on the low levels of trust and therefore legitimacy of the parliament and the executive.

A quick look at public expectations regarding the most important part of MPs’ jobs in Africa confirmed that local service delivery and development are key in the public’s eye and hence legitimacy of representative institutions. The people of Kenya, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zambia generally considered constituency service and representation to be the two most important parts of an MP’s job, superceding law making and oversight.47 It seems common for MPs in Africa to be expected to carry out constituency services at the local level and be assessed by the public based on their performance in this arena. This is consistent with Andrew Heywood’s observation that ‘physical distance from government affects the acceptability or rightfulness of its decisions. Decisions made at a “local” level are more likely to be seen as intelligible and therefore legitimate’.48 This implies that if local governments in African countries are dysfunctional, and if people at the local level become dissatisfied with local service delivery and development, as in Malawi, the legitimacy of representative institutions above the local government level will be compromised significantly as well. By extension, a domino legitimacy crisis could well spread high up the representation hierarchy and eventually affect the executive and ultimately the state as a collection of institutions.

CONCLUSION

Evidence presented here shows that in Malawi, dysfunctional local government that failed to satisfy the socioeconomic needs of the people at the grassroots level has negatively affected the legitimacy of Parliament, which, from the public’s perspective,

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45. Calculation from Afrobarometer data.
is the next institution in line in the perceived representation and accountability hierarchy. This domino effect has the potential to adversely affect the legitimacy of other representative institutions and ultimately the legitimacy of the state. Drawing from these findings, it seems possible to strengthen Parliament’s legitimacy, and hence state legitimacy, by addressing the local needs of people through creating robust and effective local government systems. Following principles of external validity as applied in case studies, the insights from the Malawi case can be analytically extrapolated to other African countries whose contexts are similar to Malawi’s.
Cross-Border Armed Banditry in the North East: Issues in National Security and Nigeria’s Relations with Its Immediate Neighbours, edited by Bassey E. Ate and Bola A. Akinterinwa


Reviewed by Adeniyi S. Basiru

Cross-Border Armed Banditry in the North East is a collection of carefully researched papers edited by Bassey Ate and Bola Akinterinwa, two authorities in the field of national security. This volume is the product of a national workshop organized by the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs, in Yola, Adamawa state, in October 1999. A reading provides convincing evidence that the scholars and practitioners who contributed to the book approached the subject with critical and analytical minds. In all, there are twenty chapters, each dealing with a particular aspect of banditry in northeastern Nigeria.

In chapter one, ‘The activities of armed banditry’, Alhaji Bukar Abba Ibrahim, chief executive of Yobe state, chronicles the activities of armed bandits in his state and recommends ways to curb the menace. One such recommendation calls for establishing a military garrison command for Nigeria’s borders (p. 3). In chapter two, Dahiru Bobbo reviews the security cooperation structures between Nigeria and its northeastern neighbors. One of these structures, the National Boundary Commission, has initiated various programs, but according to the author, its efforts have been overshadowed by the region’s sociocultural dynamics.

In chapter three, a representative of the Special Services Department of Adamawa state’s government house identifies the causes of cross-border criminality and attempts to proffer workable solutions. He contends that since criminals are humans, the appropriate synergy must be forged between the people, the border communities, and the security agencies.

In chapter four, the author notes that border security goes beyond the heavy presence of security agencies, encompassing proper boundary demarcation and functional integration of border communities. He avers, however, that such an agenda is
often beyond the capacity of the states, so the central government must come to their rescue. As a result, he contends, ‘It is imperative for the federal government to set up [a] Regional Development Fund similar to the ecological disaster funds for the purpose of developing the border areas’ (p. 37).

Using the Billiri conflict of 2000 as a case study, Ibrahim Ahmadu, in chapter five diagnoses the causes of farmer-grazer conflicts in Adamawa state, identifying several factors but singling out ‘officiophobia’ as the most pervasive. In other words, the state, which mediates conflicts over land between farmers and pastoralists, often favors the former. Using sections 13 and 14 of Law 1 of Adamawa state (1997) as reference points, the author demonstrates how the state’s land policy has contributed to ‘green conflicts’. He submits, ‘While this law gives compensation to farmers for damage to their crops, it is silent on what compensation a pastoralist is entitled to’ (p. 41). In chapter six, Tahir Mamman, using a state-citizen relations framework, argues that while the security agencies controlling the borders see their duties as being informed by the oaths they have taken, the people in the borderlands do not see themselves as citizens who must support the state and its agencies, including those at the border. In other words, border communities tend to offer their allegiance to the bandits rather than the state.

In chapter seven, Bola Akinterinwa and Charles Quaker-Dokubo explore the dynamics of internal security in Chad and attempt to draw implications for Nigeria. They argue that the inability of successive regimes in both countries to improve the human condition of their people coupled with Nigeria’s porous borders have contributed to insecurity in the north. They conclude that resolving the political situation in neighboring countries would go a long way toward stemming insecurity in northern Nigeria. Musa Omar in chapter eight embarks on a historical excursion to decipher the roots of contemporary security challenges. In doing so, he identifies modernization and decommunalization as the major culprits. Although, he asserts, it might sound utopian to revert to the pre-modernization era, the government must strive toward the decentralization and communalization of security.

In chapter nine, Bassey Ate dissects the nature of the security conundrum between Nigeria and its neighbors and proffers practical solutions. According to him, there is hardly anything that Nigeria can do to disentangle itself from the ethnocultural and religious affinities that history has thrust upon it and its neighbors, but nonetheless it must be more pragmatic in its policies regarding them. For example, Abuja must continually engage the governments of Nigeria’s neighbors in sustained efforts at promoting cooperation (p. 91).

In chapter ten, Maxwell Gidado attempts to lay bare the nexus between constitutional order and internal security by examining the 1999 Nigerian constitution. According to him, the defective nature of the document makes it unsuitable for resolving a number of the country’s nagging problems, and thus it lacks the capacity for engendering stability. Professor Eskor Toyo, in chapter eleven, takes an economic approach to insecurity in northeastern Nigeria. Using predation as his conceptual framework, he contends that the pull factors that are drawing marauders from Niger and Chad are rooted in the predatory nature of capitalism. He states, ‘Wherever wealth achievement is by predation, armed robbery or armed banditry will feature’ (p. 109). Thus, he avers that the ultimate solution to the region’s conundrum lies in economic revolution in Chad, Nigeria, and Niger (p. 117).
The role of cross-border communities and security agencies in the management of security in the borderland is the concern of Kyari Tijani in chapter twelve. Tijani demonstrates how the complex realities of the modern era have contributed to eroding the roles of traditional institutions in stemming crimes in border communities. He succinctly states his argument, asserting, ‘Faith in Islam has certainly become misplaced today in a Nigeria in which the principle of each unto himself seems to have replaced communal solidarity and cohesion’ (p. 125).

In chapter thirteen, Aliyu Mohammed identifies and discusses the security challenges in regard to armed banditry, boundary disputes, communal backlash, and so on. Warisu Alli, in chapter fourteen, expalicates the roles of extra-national actors in fueling insecurity in the northwest. Although he recognizes the part informal alien gangs play, at the same time he believes that their roles are small when compared with those of the transnational mafia organizations that trade has facilitated through globalization.

In chapter fifteen, Jimi Peters and Moses Mamman examine the dynamics of the environment in shaping conflicts in the border areas. Specifically, they explain how environmental degradation and desertification have affected communities in the Lake Chad basin, forcing people, mostly pastoralists, to move toward Nigeria. Such movement, the authors assert, has provoked violent reactions from Nigerians. Yusuf Mogaji, in chapter sixteen, identifies the causes of insecurity in Taraba state and then proffers appropriate confidence-building strategies for tackling it. One strategy is for the government to establish a national grazing reserve authority to satisfy legitimate demands of pastoralists (p. 176).

In chapter seventeen, Umaru Mohammed Birai discusses the impact of internecine conflicts and wars in neighboring countries on Nigeria’s internal security. He asserts that decades of war, mostly in Chad, have tremendously affected the Nigerian section of the border. Garba Ibrahim, in chapter eighteen, presents the policy options available to the government in tackling insecurity in the northeast. Although he references numerous policy options, Ibrahim clearly favors local authority reorganization. In chapter nineteen, Nuhu Yakubu’s methodology differs remarkably in the sense that while other authors have focused on the northeastern zone, he attempts to compare the experiences of the northeast with those of the northwest. Yakubu finds that the two zones exhibit similar patterns in terms of exposure to violence. In the last chapter, A. I. Asiwaju attempts to analytically link the concepts of border, crime, and criminality and compares the experiences of the states in the northwest to draw valuable conclusions about the state of insecurity in the entire region.

This volume not only helps assuage the dearth of literature on cross-border armed banditry in West Africa, it also enhances understanding of the subject. Four omissions are, however, evident. First, the twenty chapters should have been grouped into parts to bring together similar themes. In chapters three and four, the names of the authors, rather than the agencies for which they work, should have appeared; the individuals, not government agencies, presented papers. Third, an introductory chapter would have been helpful in which the editors briefly summarize the major arguments of the book. Fourth, the book lacks a list of contributors. These observations notwithstanding, Cross-Border Armed Banditry in the North East is graciously recommended to scholars and researchers of international relations, especially those working in the area of cross-border armed banditry and criminality.