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Social and Political Development

Lucky Asuelime
Suzanne Francis *Editors*

Selected Themes in African Political Studies

Political Conflict and Stability

 Springer

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Editors

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Chapter 1

Expanding the Frontiers of Africa's Political Environment

Lucky Asuelime and Suzanne Francis

Abstract Africa has a long, and contemporary, record of political instability. Any political history of the continent of Africa is incomplete without contextual accounts of these exchanges; that is, processes in which governments are overthrown, borders are shifted, countless human lives lost, property and infrastructure worth millions irreplaceably damaged, the displacement of untold numbers of innocent people, and economic meltdown. These issues beckon questions about the political development of African states. In this volume, authors explore a range of political and conflict situations, discuss efforts to develop indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms and consider some of the key political and economic issues facing the continent. Despite the challenges Africa faces, global economic indicators have indicated that Africa is on the rise in terms of economic growth and political development. In this edited collection we present a multi-disciplinary approach to selected issues in African studies on the key themes covering conflict resolution, indigenous peer review mechanism and functional developments, capitalism, and political foundations of educational development in Africa.

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Africa has a long, and contemporary, record of political instability. Any political history of the continent of Africa is incomplete without contextual accounts of these exchanges; that is, processes in which governments are overthrown, borders are shifted, countless human lives lost, property and infrastructure worth millions irreplaceably damaged, the displacement of untold numbers of innocent people, and economic meltdown. These issues beckon questions about the political development of African states. In this volume, authors explore a range of political and conflict situations, discuss efforts to develop indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms and consider some of the key political and economic issues facing the continent. Despite the challenges Africa faces, global economic indicators have indicated that Africa is on the rise in terms of economic growth and political development. In this edited collection we present a multi-disciplinary approach to selected issues in African studies on the key themes covering conflict resolution, indigenous peer review mechanism and functional developments, capitalism, and political foundations of educational development in Africa. Though Africa's challenges transcend individual sector issues, the root to understanding politics, conflict and economy in the study of Africa is located in deeply contextual microcosms, that enable the macro studies of Africa's political development.

The realities of conflicts, economic growth without development, policy development and the impact of capitalism and globalization continue to challenge existing theoretical and conceptual approaches. After several decades of independence and governance in the post-colonial period in Africa, many of the political and economic indicators are still not encouraging, despite important strides towards democratic consolidation and economic development. A country study approach to the continent of Africa illuminates the diversity of the African continent and indicates the ways in which the political and socio-economic contexts of African states bear directly upon the ability of states to solve the various political and economic challenges that they face. The global-local interactions defining the landscape of political realities are a further crucial feature in any analysis of contemporary African affairs and in attempts to design future policy to solve the continent's problems.

This book presents contemporary issues in African politics to the general discourse broadly construed as African Studies, showing how changes over the past six decades muddy and challenge existing theoretical lenses. We show new perspectives and the emergence of postmodern drivers of continuity and change in Africa's geo-political terrain. This, we hope, will lead to novel analytical frameworks, conceptual approaches, and empirical accounts of relevance to scholars working on Africa and to practitioners and policy makers of politics, governance, peace initiatives, and indigenous knowledge systems in Africa.

Structure of the Volume

In the first of two sections of the book—*Peace and Conflict*—authors offer unique perspectives of different forms of conflict in five African states—Somalia, Uganda, South Africa, Liberia and Zimbabwe. In Chap. 2—*Fractionality in Homogeneity? Value differences and Cross-Cultural Conflict in Somalia*—Olanrewaju examines the conflict in Somalia and its ramifications for Africa more broadly. He focuses upon the value systems within Somalia and claims that the conflict is a consequence of internal value differences. This new approach and analysis provides a means to understand how the factors underpinning conflict therein have rendered conflict resolution and transformation attempts futile. Through a focus on the structure of Somali society, Olanrewaju explores its unique stratifications and argues that the only meaningful solution to the structurally problematic crisis is through the development of genuine resolution efforts that above all else attempt to engage these value differences.

Mulumba and Namuggala discuss, in Chap. 3, *War Experiences and Gendered Responses to Post Conflict Reintegration: The Case of Northern Uganda*. Their contribution highlights the importance of exploring how women have been not only victims of violent conflict but also important actors in post-crisis recovery. In approaching the topic through fieldwork conducted in Lira district of northern Uganda in 2007, and using an actor oriented approach and gender-based analysis, the authors claim that the implementation of post conflict humanitarian programmes lacked a focus towards gender concerns. Despite this, women developed adaptive mechanisms. As recommendations that look beyond the mechanisms of adaptation, the authors highlight the role of agency and social networks as the panacea that leads to pragmatic reconstruction through empowerment for women returnees.

As Nigeria prepares to celebrate its centennial in 2014 following its amalgamation in 1914 and 54 years of independence, questions abound on how and why the union has succeeded and failed. In Chap. 4—*Hanging on the Balance: The interplay of Forces and the Resilience of the Nigerian State*—Olaniyan provides an explanation for the resiliency of the Nigerian state in spite of the various challenges that continues to threaten its very existence. He argues that the survival of the Nigerian state is located in contending centripetal and centrifugal forces operating in equilibrium level—which in itself leads to instability. The eventual triumph of either of the forces determines the outcome. For the continued existence of the State as a unit, efforts must be made to ensure the prevalence of centripetal forces.

The contribution by Emser and Francis—*Human Trafficking in South Africa: Political Conundrums and Consequences*—in Chap. 5, shows how the dominant discourse around human trafficking has come to define policy and prevent concerted solutions to the most pervasive form of trafficking. Despite over a decade of concerted international attention, little inroads have been made, especially in attempting to address its most prominent manifestation—human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Attempts to solve the human trafficking

problem have focused upon draconian measures around state security (and curbing migration), or on eradicating the sex industry through criminalisation of consumers and sex workers. Such counter-trafficking measures remain largely ineffective as they have had little measurable effect on the supply or demand of those trafficked. The preoccupation with the dark, exploitative side of the sex industry has been at the expense of a focus upon labour trafficking. Hence, only the ways in human trafficking is manifested is addressed, and not the root causes of the phenomenon.

In Chap. 6—*The Movement for Democratic Change and the Changing Geo-Political Landscape in Zimbabwe*—Asuelime and Simura explore the impact of the Movement for Democratic Change on the political development of Zimbabwe with its many external ramifications. The major factors that seem to determine the space and pace of the Zimbabwean geo-political entity are tied to land policy and economic conditions. These conditions continue to polarize the polity and have implications for agencies within and without Zimbabwe.

In Part II of the volume, the focus shifts to *Politics and Economy* in Africa. Akinola, in Chap. 7—*Globalization and the Contradictions of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*—looks at the inevitability of globalized liberal democratic systems as a viable alternative to ensuring good governance. He explores how due to a lack of institutionalized democratic principles, this is not the case in Nigeria. The nexus between globalization, democratization and development is therefore placed as a mere veneer. This is more so as reports from democracy-globalization projects in Nigeria suggest that globalization, ironically, has not only generated contradictions that threaten sustainable democracy but also reduces the possibility of genuine and sustainable democratic governance in Nigeria.

In Chap. 8, *African Growth Miracle in a Changing Global Order: A Myth or Reality?*—Oloruntoba examines the dynamic and multi-storied reports on Africa by international development agencies that show that Africa is at the verge of its own unprecedented economic advancements. He challenges this perspective and claims that this is not the case as Africa is still plagued with issues such as poverty, unemployment, political instability and cultural decadence that will impede on the fruition of such positive projections. He calls for cautious optimism with recommendations for laying a solid foundation for sustainable economic development on the continent.

Cobbett and Frieson in Chap. 9—*Motsepe's Gift: or How Philanthropy Serves Capitalism in South Africa* takes a specific incident in time (an announcement by an individual billionaire) and problematizes it to capture different aspects of South Africa's economic history. The recent decision by South Africa's mining magnate Patrice Motsepe to donate half of his wealth to charity is explored as an instrument through which the relationship between capitalism and philanthropy is examined. "It is capitalists who are philanthropic. . . Philanthropy presents a more humane face of capitalism and conceals its penchant for avaricious accumulation". In this discourse, the authors question the relationship using South Africa—where the gap between wealth and poverty continues to widen—as a case to argue that the social order has kept a small powerful capital class in place while allowing new black elite to increase its ranks.

In Chap. 10—*The political foundations of the development of higher education in Africa*—Mngomezulu takes the debate beyond those regarding the relevance, primacy and development of higher education. He presents a narrative of contestations in power dynamics between African constituencies and colonial administrators—both hoping to use the provision of higher education facilities to achieve narrow political and economic objectives. In a broader context wherein colonial presence and interest persist in parts of Africa, the colonialists pursued this means as a way to sustaining hegemonic tendencies. On the other hand, the Africanists embrace this means as a mechanism to rid themselves of colonial oppression. Mngomezulu draws from different parts of Africa to effectively demonstrate how the politics played itself out in the development of higher education on the continent. Had it not been for political factors, the development of higher education in Africa may have not happened at all.

In the final chapter of the volume by Okem—*Ten Years and Counting: An Implementation Review of the African Peer Review Mechanism*—he highlights the myriad of challenges facing the African continent—poverty, low literacy, high maternal and infant mortality, widespread human rights abuses, as well as endemic corruption. These, he locates in the various contestations regarding the cause(s)—colonialism, poor governance epitomised by weak institutions, corrupt government officials, and human rights abuses. The institution of the African Peer Review Mechanism in 2003 is directly discussed as a means to address these approaches and address the socio-political and economic ills plaguing the continent. This chapter provides a review of the African Peer Review Mechanism and is an attempt to assess the success made thus far, as well the challenges to its implementation.

Part I
Peace and Conflict

Chapter 2

Fractionality in Homogeneity? Value Differences and Cross-Cultural Conflict in Somalia

Ilemobola Peter Olanrewaju

Abstract Despite the fact that intra-state conflict is a common feature of post-colonial African states, the seemingly endless duration of the Somali crisis necessitates investigation into underlying factors that lead to this protraction. The Somali case has proved immune to peace talks, military interventions, and the restructuring of government by the international community. The lingering crisis produced alarming figures of dead and displaced persons; a collapsed State giving room for anarchy; an unhindered militia presence on both land and sea; and persistently becoming a menace and threat to the peace of its immediate neighbours, the region and the world. All these visible manifestations of the Somali state can be regarded as convulsions of its internal value differences. Thus, this study seeks to examine the Somali value systems, the differences emanating from the protection of such values, and how they have rendered conflict resolution attempts futile. In placing emphasis on the structure of the Somalian society, this study explores its unique stratifications that have kept the state collapsed. A descriptive-analytical approach is applied of secondary sources data. The findings of this research reveal the divisive characteristics of values in Somalia which have manifested in segmentation, clannism and loyalty. This has led to an endless violent struggle for dominance among the clans and social classes in Somalia culminating in a total collapse of the state. It is therefore concluded that value differences have been detrimental to peace in Somalia. This study recommends that genuine resolution efforts should thoroughly consider and engage these value differences.

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Introduction

Conflicts are protracted unnecessarily just because inalienable values are translated into interests merely to fit into the traditional processes of bargaining and negotiation (Burton 1986: 51–52).

Since independence many African countries have suffered under intra-state wars, the so-called civil wars or violent conflicts. This is tragic, as well as ironic, since one of the objectives of most independent states was to correct the divisive politics of colonial rule through the unification of all citizens in one nation. In some countries (Nigeria, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo and so on) politics of identity promoted a single national identity for this purpose. Ironically, such politics seem to have contributed to a rather increased intra-state war elsewhere. Haruna (2003: 2) contended that:

The major problem since independence has been the emergence of intra-state and inter-state conflicts inherent in the contemporary African societies. Violent conflicts and wars have been the order of the day, multiplying and spreading incessantly from one sub-region of the continent to another, accentuated by religious and ethnic intolerance, brazen struggle of power, inter-territorial border disputes, neo-colonialist manipulations, etc., all of which have culminated not only in the destruction of lives and properties, but also in the wholesale generation and production of refugees and displaced persons.

This implies, however, that despite being free from colonial rule, African countries still languish in series of intra-state conflicts in view of failure to recognize and respect the diversities of values, customs, traditions and beliefs of diverse peoples forcefully amalgamated by the colonial lords. These diversities were ‘deliberately’ ignored when struggling for self-governance, but they subsequently became challenges for post-independent societies.

Values are beliefs held sacrosanct by individuals or groups about what is desirable, proper, good or bad. Values that people have vary both among countries and among regions within countries (Kalmijn and Uunk 2007). Values play a central role in a wide variety of conflicts (Druckman et al. 1988: 489), and violation of these values could ignite civil unrest.

This paper focuses on the underlying value differences that have exacerbated the Somali crisis. Why has it been difficult for the disputing clans to surrender their arms and embrace ways of lasting peace? Despite the popular belief by anthropologists that the Somali society is homogeneous in nature, there are deep multiple partitions which cut across the internal Somali genealogy (Lewis 2004).