



DEVELOPMENT THROUGH KNOWLEDGE

Vol 43 (4) March 2014

ISSN (Print): 0256 2804
(Online): 1995-641X

Yes, I'd like to join the Africa Institute of South Africa!

I enclose the amount of

for

Title:

Initials:

Surname:

Postal
address:

Country:

Postal Code:

Telephone:

Fax:

E-mail:

Signature:

Date:



**Africa Institute
of South Africa**

Development Through Knowledge

Postal address: PO Box 630, Pretoria, 0001, South Africa
Embassy House, 1 Bailey Lane, Arcadia, Pretoria
Tel: +27 (0)12 304 9700, Fax: +27 (0)12 323 8153
E-mail: publish@ai.org.za, Website: www.ai.org.za

About Us

The Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) was established in 1960 as an independent, non-profit research organisation. Our focus is primarily on political, socio-economic, international and development issues in contemporary Africa. We conduct research and support policy development; embark on training programmes; and establish, participate in and maintain networks for peace, development and prosperity on the African continent.

Join AISA Today

Membership of the Africa Institute of South Africa offers the following advantages:

- Subscription to *Africa Insight*
- Access to AISA's electronic publications
- Discount on AISA's other publications
- Membership of the reference library at a reduced rate
- Invitations to conferences and seminars

Membership Rates

Individuals and Schools

- South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland: R220 per annum
- Elsewhere: US\$32 or equivalent per annum

Institutional and Corporate Membership

- South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland: R440 per annum
- Elsewhere: US\$165 or equivalent per annum

Single copies back issues are available at R132 (South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland) or US\$22 (Elsewhere).

Contents

- 1 The Madagascar Crisis, SADC Mediation and the changing Indian Oceanic order**
Siphamandla Zondi and Busisive Khaba
- 18 Advancing African interests at the UN: South Africa's voting behaviour**
Suzanne Elizabeth Graham
- 38 A comparative analysis of local governance between South Africa and China**
Funeka Yazini April
- 57 Weaving the web of resilience: Managing community knowledge as resource for resilience and lasting peace in Africa**
Andreas Velthuisen
- 72 The festering sore of corruption in Africa and its implications for democratic consolidation**
Adeniyi S Basiru
- 81 Who owns mediation at the African Union (AU)? Understanding the causes of the AU Mediation ineffectiveness in the Libya Crisis**
Eric Blanco Niyitunga
- 97 Nigeria's South African Policy 1973-1993: A study in Historical materialism and international Relations**
Ojie Chikwumeka Ojione
- 121 Anthropological Perceptions of Gender in Soccer: The case of Tsakane Schools in Gauteng Province**
David Legodi Bogopa
- 132 An investigation into Kyoto protocol's CDM as Kenya's green economy transition mechanism**
Brenda Nyambura and Godwell Nhamo
- 154 What constrains effective public financial management in Africa Democracies? A preliminary analysis**
Benon C Basheka and Kedibone Phago

AFRICA INSIGHT

171 **Spatial analysis of human exposure and vulnerability to coastal flooding in Dar as Salaam, Tanzania**

Shangirirai Mutanga, Barnabas Mwiruki and Abel Ramoelo

The Madagascar Crisis, SADC Mediation and the Changing Indian Oceanic Order

The political stability of Madagascar has been fragile for decades. In 2009, Madagascar experienced what was considered to be an unconstitutional change of government when power was usurped from then president, Marc Ravalomanana, by then mayor of the capital, Andry Rajoelina, with military assistance. The 2009 crisis is indicative of the vulnerability of this island state to deep-seated structural factors relating to its history, geostrategic position on the Indian Ocean and elite cultures. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) would lead the condemnation of this forced change of government as unconstitutional and refuse to recognise Rajoelina as a head of state of what was then suspended Madagascar.

**Siphamandla Zondi
Busisiwe Khaba**

Siphamandla Zondi is a director at the Institute for Global Dialogue, and a research associate at Unisa

Busisiwe Khaba is a lecturer in Political Science at North West University.

Introduction

In 2009, there was a forced change of government on the big island of the Indian Ocean, Madagascar, when the charismatic mayor of the capital, Antananarivo, Andry Rajoelina, forced the charismatic president and former mayor of Antananarivo, Marc Ravalomanana, out of power. What began as public expressions of discontent over government response to socio-economic difficulties and complaints about corruption were transformed by Rajoelina into a major political movement for a change of government. Like a canoe tossed in the sea of the Indian Ocean, the political stability of Madagascar has been fragile for decades and the recent crisis is indicative of the vulnerability of this island state to deep-seated structural issues to do with its history, geostrategic position in the Indian Ocean and elite cultures. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) would lead the condemnation of this forced change of government as unconstitutional and refused to recognise Rajoelina as head of state of what was then suspended Madagascar. It would work with the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN) to galvanise concerted international action to force the island back to constitutional order via a negotiated settlement. With elections slotted

for the end of October 2013 and likely to lead to the establishment of a new government, the question is what is to make of the SADC intervention and what impact this will have on the long-term stability of the island. This article attempts to locate the developments of 2009–2013 in their proper historical, political and strategic context in order to understand both the SADC intervention and the bearing that this would have on the crisis in Madagascar.

Agency in Solidarity: The Regional Readiness to Intervene Peacefully

The mid-2009 ousting of President Marc Ravalomanana and his government by the military, working in tandem with Andry Rajoelina, the feisty 36-year-old mayor of the capital, set off a series of events that constituted the crisis in Madagascar. The AU and SADC acted swiftly, condemning this as illegal in terms of continental and regional norms and summarily suspending the island's membership, citing 'unconstitutional change of government'. Initially defiant and arrogant, Rajoelina, who was crowned the head of the transitional authority formed by coup plotters, softened up and became involved in political engagement with SADC envoys and leaders in the search for a solution to what the organisation saw as the illegal change of state power.

SADC was already dealing with a complex facilitated transition to peace, stability and hopefully democracy in Zimbabwe following the rupture of its decade-old political crisis with the pre- and post-electoral violence that exploded in 2008, forcing SADC to intervene to prevent further brutality by facilitating a negotiated way out of the heated crisis. Like the surprise defeat of the ruling ZANU-PF's push for a new constitution in a 2001 referendum,

the defeat of the ZANU-PF in the legislative elections of March 2008 caused panic on the part of the ruling party, leading to it turning to the tyranny of violence and oppression to avoid losing state power.

It is not just that the unconstitutional change of government in Madagascar violated regional and continental norms, but in each case there was also the fear in the region that the crises that resulted would have a domino effect on regional stability and development. Of course, the circumstances of each case are quite distinct and SADC's reading of them was also different. The point we are trying to make is that the will to protect regional norms and stability was an important factor in SADC's decision to become involved in the resolution of both crises. This is made all the more important by the fact that SADC has sought to pursue what is often called developmental regional integration, the key features of which are a combination of developmentalism (both as poverty eradication and building industrial development through investments and trade), regional stabilisation and international partnerships, and a grandiose plan for broad-based regional development called the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan.¹

The pervasive faith in peaceful settlements and the efficacy of peace diplomacy reflect a doctrine of international relations that combines an Africanist invocation of humanism as opposed to militarism, even against militarist tendencies by states in the region. For this reason, we should not be understood to be saying SADC states always prefer peaceful means all the time in all manner of crises in the region, or that they are just doves. But we draw inspiration from Ngoma's suggestion, which he does not elaborate much on, with regard to the DRC intervention that likens SADC states more to penguins than doves or hawks because they

exhibit the traits associated with both tendencies and more. The fundamental point here is that SADC states must be judged more on their actions than on theoretical models imported from significantly different experiences.

SADC, having been born out of the inland Frontline States, has had to learn to understand how to deal with particular challenges faced by member countries that are islands in the Indian Ocean. The challenges facing member states are similar across the board in many ways including the demons of ubiquitous poverty and underdevelopment, growth without development, authoritarianism, underdeveloped democratic systems, puppetry or neocolonial relations with former colonial powers, personalisation of power, environmental degradation and so forth, but these challenges have a slightly different bearing on island states. We would contend that generally these problems create much more precarious situations in island states than in inland states. Pressures arising from rising sea levels, growing sea piracy, worsening transnational crime on the seas, growth in shipping and sea traffic, and distances between them and trade partners in mainland countries all add different dynamics to the way in which islands like Madagascar experience the shared problems. The UN Conference of Island and Small Developing Countries in Mauritius in 2005 placed on record the uniqueness of the challenges facing island states, especially in the Pacific and Indian oceans. These included the small size of their domestic economies, their remoteness from other trade partners, inadequacy of arable land, overreliance on a few cash crops, major deficiencies in institutional capacity, and their tendency to operate in silos rather than as a group. These challenges, it was said, can lead to fragility of the political

systems and cause constant crises as was already the case in Comoros and Madagascar, and as it would be seen also in Maldives and Seychelles later.

What has also emerged recently is the impact that the growing geopolitical significance of the Indian Ocean for major global powers has on fragile island political systems. This has led to some describing what they see as the rise of a 'new geopolitical era' in the Indian Ocean region and an emergence of a 'regional geopolitical system'. This is challenging the dominance of the so-called industrial triad of the United States, Europe and Japan, together with the growing influence of large regional powers in Australia, India and South Africa, as well the role of China, Indonesia and other emerging powers. As a result, the Indian Ocean order has become complex as the power matrix that will influence the direction of the region changes fast in the aftermath of the Cold War.² Whether Southern Africa understands this and factors this in its engagement with challenges and opportunities in its member states on the Indian Ocean is not at all clear. But this is a subject in need of a full analysis that space in this article does not allow, safe to say that there is a great need for SADC to develop a strategy on how it wants to respond to the changing geopolitics of the Indian Ocean region, including positioning itself to be one of the key regional actors in the strengthening of Indian oceanic governance, security and economic cooperation.

Madagascar in Historical Perspective

The current crisis in Madagascar is just one in a number of crises displaying similar features since the island's independence from France in

1960. An ahistorical understanding of the crisis undermines the quality of our understanding of the nature of the problem that SADC has been dealing with for about four years now and obscures the reasons why there has only been limited success. It also limits our ability to anticipate a future of stability and security in the Indian Ocean Island. Unless put in its historical context, the crisis becomes a matter of power hunger among the major political personalities involved, especially Ravalomanana and Rajoelina, and their mobilisation of society for their differing political ends. Thus, factors deeply embedded in a historical complex marked by a succession of violent changes of government in the post-independence Madagascar, especially those of 1972, 1991 and 2002, are trivialised.

Even when the succession of crises is noted by way of background, the nature of the neo-colonial state that emerged after colonial rule, its dependent relations with political elite and states elsewhere, an inherited economic logic that was heavily dependent on the export of primary commodities, and a complex relationship between society and government are not sufficiently factored into explanations of the post-2009 developments. SADC's responses, its failures and successes, are not sufficiently linked to the very underpinnings of the organisation and regional integration. It is no coincidence that Madagascar's political crises share prominent features with other crises in the region, features like the tyranny of an otherwise vulnerable state, the authoritarian conduct of a small group of dominant political personalities, the spasmodic mobilisation of society, the active role of the armed forces, and the invisible hand of former colonial powers and/or other external powers.

With a population in excess of 22 million people and a land area off the south-eastern

coast of Africa, Madagascar is the biggest island in the Indian Ocean. It is one of the poorest states in the southern waters, which is a zone marked by a fragile political economy. It has a colourful pre-colonial history in which various polities governed various parts of the island, but formed political alliances with another that changed from time to time. It is only in beginning of the 19th century that these diverse political alliances changed when polities were united into a single kingdom that united Madagascar for almost a century before the kingdom collapsed in 1897 when the island was colonised by France. This fact is important for it means that colonisation disrupted an evolution of a sociopolitical system in Madagascar that built internal unity, while it also sought to expand the island's economic opportunities in the Indian Ocean rim. Successive administrations under the pre-colonial kingdom began a modernisation process by establishing educational institutions, improving the macro-organisation of the state, introducing the military establishment to ideas borrowed from contact with others, and the legal system also evolved. This is a kingdom that sought to manage contact with western and eastern sociopolitical system in a manner that did not disrupt Madagascar's own way of developing. For instance, Queen Ranavalona I, II and III responded in different ways to western encroachment by seeking to control the pace and nature of modernisation that was taking place. These queens were strong and astute political actors who sought to navigate Madagascar's survival as an independent country amidst growing pressures of imperialism.⁵ For instance, a contemporary western missionary once remarked: 'When Queen Ranavalona I sent fire and sword and took captives, Ranavalona II sends teachers and books.'⁴ They managed the gradual process of Christianisation and westernisation through

their promotion, of course out of necessity, of hybrid systems of education, health, law and administration where Malagasy traditional systems coexisted with western ones.

The French invasion of 1883 was driven towards securing economic interests that it felt were being undermined by the kingdom reneging on an agreement signed with wandering French merchants in the mid-1850s. The British approved the French colonisation, thus giving it an official stamp. To reduce Malagasy economic independence, the French destroyed their economic infrastructure including the main harbour used for international trade, markets and important buildings with distinguished Malagasy architecture. It would be another thirteen years before Queen Ranaivalona III surrendered and was forced into exile, first on Reunion Island and then later in Algiers. In the sixty-seven years of colonial rule, France sought to impose its civilisation and power on the Malagasy, but the flames of resistance were never fully extinguished. The occupation of France during the Second World War weakened the colonial government in Madagascar and spurred the already growing independence movement, forcing France to reform its colonial administration in order to quell resistance. These reforms would simply assist the march towards independence as it led to the proclamation of an autonomous republic within the French Community in 1958, which developed and adopted a constitution in 1959, clearing the way for independence in June 1960.

Independent Madagascar suffered the fate of most postcolonial states in Africa with deep-seated political fragility and economic vulnerability defining the successive stages of its development. There have been four of these stages, also called republics. The first, between 1960 and 1972, being the government of French-anointed President Tsiranana, was

marked by continuity, the perpetuation of colonial logic in politics and economics and a pervasive influence of France on the island's political economy. It may be regarded as the most neocolonial of the stages of independence and was brought to an abrupt end by student protests, many of which were inspired by radical and Marxist thinking. It is important to note that it was at this point that the militarisation of governance occurred. First, a major general, Gabriel Ramanantsoa, was appointed interim president but was forced by public disapproval of him to step down in 1975. He was succeeded by another military figure, Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava, who was assassinated within days of installation and General Gilles Andriamahazo, who only lasted for four months in the position.

The ascension to power of Vice-Admiral Didier Ratsiraka in 1975 and his introduction of a socialist political experiment, which helped his government find cover from the cross winds of a neo-imperial world during the Cold War, helped sustain his government for eighteen years. Although Ratsiraka ruled with an iron hand during a period of immense economic difficulties, beginning with the deleterious impact of the international energy crisis of the 1970s through a period of steady economic decline and the IMF-imposed austerity measures of the 1980s, it had staying power. Nevertheless, public discontent grew and by the late 1980s could no longer be suppressed as the incidents of protest grew. The military's heavy-handed clampdown on protesters in 1991 turned into a major political crisis, which brought his reign to an abrupt end.

An interim government was established under Ratsiraka's long-time political opponent and the leader of the largest opposition party, Albert Zafy. It is important to note that Zafy had unilaterally declared an alternative

Table 1 An overview of Madagascar presidents, tenure and political affiliation since independence

Tenure	Lead	Position	Political Party Affiliation/Support base
MALAGASY REPUBLIC (FIRST)			
1 May 1959 – 26 June 1960	Philibert Tsiranana	President	PSD: Social Democratic Party of Madagascar and the Comoros
MALAGASY REPUBLIC (SECOND)			
11 October 1960– 5 February 1972	Philibert Tsiranana	President	PSD: Social Democratic Party of Madagascar and the Comoros
February 1972– 11 February 1975	Gabriel Ramanantsoa,	Head of State	Mil: Military
5 February 1975– 11 February 1975	Richard Ratsimandrava	Head of State	Mil: Military
12 February 1975– 15 June 1975	Gilles Andriamahazo	Chairman of the National Military Leadership Committee	Mil: Military
15 June 1975– 30 December 1975	Didier Ratsiraka	Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council	Mil: Military
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR (THIRD)			
30 December 1975–4 January 1976	Didier Ratsiraka	Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council	FNDR: Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution
4 January 1976– 12 September 1992	Didier Ratsiraka	President	AREMA: Association for the Rebirth of Madagascar (renamed FNDR)
27 March 1993– 5 September 1996	Albert Zafy	President	Hery Velona Coalition
5 September 1996–9 February 1997	Norbert Ratsirahonana	Interim President	AVI: Judged By Your Work Party
9 February 1997– 5 July 2002	Didier Ratsiraka	President	AREMA: Association for the Rebirth of Madagascar
22 February 2002–17 March 2009	Marc Ravalomanana	President	TIM: Tiako I Madagasikara
17 March 2009–Present	Andry Rajoelina	President of the High Transitional Authority	TGV: Young Malagasies Determined
REPUBLIC OF MADAGASCAR (FOURTH)			
November 2010–Present	Andry Rajoelina	President of the High Transitional Authority	TGV: Young Malagasies Determined

Source: Marcus and Ratsimbaharison (2005); ICG (2012)

government and mobilised the readily available mass of disenchanted Malagasy to turn this into reality during the fracas following the shooting of protesters by forces loyal to Ratsiraka. Zafy and the opposition forces made of various formations managed to force Ratsiraka to agree to an agreement that provided for a transitional government called the High Authority of the State.

This led to the first democratic elections in November 1992, which Zafy won with about 45 per cent of the vote with Ratsiraka coming second with 29 per cent. The same happened when parliamentary polls took place in 1993. Thus the third republic began. While the switch to democracy is often celebrated as a Zafy legacy, in fact the first thing Zafy did once in power was to consolidate executive power in the office of the president after tensions with his prime minister. While this was approved by a popular referendum, the dynamic of personalities and personalisation of power emerged even during the democratic republic, and used popular approval to entrench itself. Zafy had sweeping powers and these together with the economic decline led to his impeachment by a two-thirds majority vote in parliament in July 1996, a development he accepted but regarded as a constitutional coup d'état.⁵

The 1996 elections saw Ratsiraka, who had returned from exile in France to contest the presidential elections in two rounds, emerge a winner with 49,9 per cent of the vote. He introduced constitutional reforms by which he attempted to decentralise power, thus giving a significant administrative power to provinces and local governments like the capital city of Antananarivo. However, these reforms were also meant to reduce and limit the power of parliament that he had seen impeach his long-time rival against expectations. This became a rallying point for his opponents who accused

him of having increased his own power and undermining democracy. Zafy would lead the parliamentary motion to impeach Ratsiraka on the grounds of perjury, nepotism, failure to resolve disputes and ill health, but the 40 votes fell short of the required 92. Ratsiraka introduced even more constitutional reforms to increase his power, which a popular referendum in March 1998 being approved by a narrow majority.

The beginning of the fourth republic (see table 1) was also messy. The 2001 elections saw the emergence of a new political figure in the mayor of Antananarivo, Marc Ravalomanana, as the biggest challenger to Ratsiraka. Indeed, Ravalomanana won the first round of votes, but fell short of 50+1 per cent required. The second round did not take place because Ratsiraka disputed the first round results and precipitated a political wrestling game. Ravalomanana's supporters installed him as the new president in February 2002 (see table 1) and started a tug-of-war between two parallel governments backed by their support bases. With Ravalomanana in control of the capital, Ratsiraka's resistance withered. In July, he flew out to France via Seychelles and went into exile. In Madagascar, although Ravalomanana declared himself president in February, the High Constitutional Court pronounced him an outright winner of the first round following a recount in April 2002.

Ravalomanana wasted no time in consolidating his power, first by sending soldiers to quell protests and then by introducing a raft of laws and policies designed to manage what he saw as a major source of fragility: a declining economy. Of course, the economy had been further battered by eight months of political disputes and conflict. The businessman turned politician steered the shift deeper towards market economics and was successful

in normalising economic relations with major trade partners, especially Germany, France, the US and South Korea. He promoted poverty eradication and environmental sustainability. His government attracted investments in eco-tourism, agribusiness and natural resource sectors. The government of the fourth republic also introduced visible measures to fight corruption in the bureaucracy. So, when the IMF agreed to write off the island's debt in 2004 and the country became the first to benefit from the US's Millennium Challenge Account, Ravalomanana was praised for turning the country around in a short period. There were rave notices internationally about how his government-introduced measures, which for the first time had strengthened the quality of governance and thus helped the economy achieve an enviable 7 per cent growth rate by 2006.

Ravalomanana went into the second elections in 2006 a very popular president and perhaps the most successful one on many accounts. But the threat to his power was still evident, including in the attempted coup just ahead of elections in November 2006. He won the first round of the 3 December 2006 elections by 54 per cent of the vote. He subsequently continued with the reforms that he had started, starting with the introduction of a new development plan called the Madagascar Action Plan, a plan that placed poverty eradication and economic growth at the centre. It also made commitments on infrastructure development, agriculture, environmental sustainability and so forth. Visible action on this front was reported quite early in his second term. He projected Madagascar's global ambitions a little more strongly than before, becoming a major voice for the issues facing small and island states. Yet, the accusations of corruption and authoritarianism grew. The mayor of Antananarivo who had succeeded him, Andry

Rajoelina, took on the mantle of public outcry over these grievances. The January 2009 protests grew and became a political movement to remove Ravalomanana from power. This led to the coup that we describe below.

It is clear from above that a number of factors have remained constant in the turbulent history of Madagascar. The first among them is the struggle to entrench a system of statehood and economy inherited from colonial rule, a process that had disrupted the endogenous process of development. As a result, as is in the case in many African cases, the state after independence retained the character and behaviour of its colonial predecessor, mainly the tendency to concentrate power and to facilitate patrimonial power relations among elites. Secondly, the economy, which was major driver of pre-colonial political developments and a major motivation for colonialism would also be a major driver of political convulsions after independence. All republics except the fourth faced severe economic difficulties to do with the structure of the economy that was designed to extract for imperial benefits rather than offer prosperity for all. The third factor is the style of leadership shown by all leaders after independence, a leadership tradition that combined authoritarianism and charisma;⁶ the fourth is the ever present neocolonial environment, sometimes manifesting the hand of France in political developments in Madagascar. Both rumours and circumstantial evidence point to an important role that France has had in many changes of government; the first French involvement in 1893 was driven by economic interests and saw a self-confident and internally focused queen of Madagascar as a stumbling block. It is not farfetched to argue that when French economic interests have been hurt, troubles have worsened in France.⁷ France maintains neocolonial possessions in the Indian Ocean, including the

islands of Mayotte and Reunion. It is increasingly involved in the fight to maintain its influence in the Indian Ocean as competition from China, India and other powers increases dramatically.⁸

The 2009 Crisis in Madagascar

Between January and March 2009, the then young mayor of Antananarivo, Rajoelina, assumed the leadership of public discontent about government over difficult socio-economic conditions and turned this into a mass uprising by thousands on the streets of the capital city, demanding the resignation of Ravalomanana. He worked to build alliances with key political opposition parties and crucial civil society formations to build a really strong challenge to the generally confident Ravalomanana. Government forces panicked and as they tried to clamp down on the riots some 70 to 80 people died in a few days and public anger grew even more. What had begun as pressure on government to improve conditions for the poor turned into a demand for regime change. By late January 2009, Rajoelina had taken the project a step further by establishing a parallel government he called the High Authority of the Transition (HAT). In early February, he asked his supporters to occupy the presidential palace, making it plain that his agenda was a putsch rather than just putting pressure on the Ravalomanana government to do better. In the scuffle with the security forces that followed 34 people died and hundreds were injured. Militancy and anger among the crowds simply rose even more and they became determined to depose Ravalomanana.⁹

Efforts mainly by the powerful church establishment, civil society formations and the UN to defuse the situation and prevent an

imminent crisis by persuading parties to the negotiation table failed. The Ravalomanana government saw the uprising as Rajoelina's desperate push for state power or power hunger, while Rajoelina dismissed the government as illegitimate in the eyes of the people. Neither side cooperated with mediators, failing to make compromises and thus rendering mediation efforts unsuccessful. Even as they met with mediators, violent demonstrations intensified on the streets and the violent clampdown by security forces also increased.¹⁰

The stalemate and a growing political crisis began to increase fissures within the security establishment, leading to a mutiny by sections of the military that could no longer undertake repression of demonstrators. It is said that Rajoelina and his associates had actually infiltrated some in the upper ranks of the military, striking a deal with them to refuse to suppress the uprising. But it is not certain just how true this is. The mutinous section of the military attached itself to Rajoelina and the demonstrators, giving a strong impetus to the uprising. On 17 March 2009, Ravalomanana succumbed to mounting pressure as rumours of deepening divisions within the leadership of his security forces spread and he gave up the fight, handed over power to a team of three military leaders who in turn immediately passed the responsibility over to Rajoelina.¹¹

The African community, especially the AU and SADC, condemned this development in strong terms. The AU decided that in accordance with the Lomé Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government of July 2000 and the AU Constitutive Act of 2002, what had happened in Madagascar constituted an unconstitutional change of democratic order and a violation of the cardinal principles and political values upon which the AU was formed. It decided in line with the Algiers Decision of

July 1999 not to recognise the Rajoelina government, to suspend Madagascar from AU business and demand a return to constitutionality with immediate effect. In line with the same Algiers Decision, the AU Peace and Security Council's 181st meeting of 20 March 2009 threatened further sanctions if the country was not returned quickly to constitutional order.¹² In a statement released through the media, the spokesperson of the then chairperson of the Council went to say the events could be 'interpreted as a coup'.¹³ The Council directed the AU Commission chairperson to liaise with SADC, the UN, and the International Organisation of la Francophonie to jointly work towards restoration of constitutional order, a decision that sanctioned the search for a diplomatic and political solution. In the process, the AU Commission chairperson appointed Mr Ablasse Ouedraogo as his special envoy to assist with mediation efforts in Madagascar.

Speaking through his new Prime Minister, Monja Roindefo, Rajoelina rejected the coup claim, which had also been adopted by the European Union and several other international organisations, arguing instead that '[i]t's the direct expression of democracy' when representative democracy and its institutions had failed the masses.¹⁴

A few days later, meeting in an extraordinary Summit chaired by South African president, Kgalema Motlanthe, in Mbabane, Swaziland, SADC immediately suspended Madagascar for 'an unconstitutional change of government'. It described as unconstitutional a series of actions that led to the 'illegal ousting of the democratically elected Government of Madagascar'.¹⁵ It also decided not to recognise Rajoelina's presidency because it 'did not only violate the Constitution of Madagascar and democratic principles, but also violated the core principles and values of the SADC Treaty, the

African Union Constitutive Act and the United Nations Charter'. It also resolved to galvanise the international community not to recognise the new government in Antananarivo. It also demanded that Rajoelina vacate the position of the president and return to power the government elected by the Malagasy people in an election in 2006. It further threatened tough action against the coup leaders and the HAT governing the island if they failed to heed the call to reverse the coup.

It is the decision to apply Article 5(b) and (c) of the SADC Treaty that is of particular interest to this article as it is concerned with how SADC works to transform conflict and stalemate to a dynamic process of change towards constitutional democracy. The Article enjoins the organisation to promote and protect the shared political values listed in Article 4 as sovereign equality of states; solidarity, peace and stability; human rights, democracy and the rule of law; equity, balance and mutual benefit; and peaceful settlement of disputes. The Summit noted that in accordance with Article 5(b), the values are enshrined in and promoted through institutions that are democratic, legitimate and effective. The illegal ousting of government was therefore considered as subversion of the values, systems and institutions that SADC has solemnly bound itself to promote. In this sense, the putsch in Antananarivo represented a threat to the very core of the region and SADC. In line with the principles in Article 4, mentioned above, the organisation considered it important to also undertake diplomatic moves to find a peaceful settlement to the conflict that led to the putsch and the conflict between Madagascar and itself arising from the unconstitutional actions. The organisation decided 'to engage all concerned parties in Madagascar with a view to facilitating the

efforts to peacefully resolve the current political crisis in the country'.¹⁶

For its part, the AU, at its Summit in Libya in July 2009, condemned the refusal by the HAT and Rajoelina to hand power back to the democratically elected administration of Ravalomanana. It also noted that efforts that it had undertaken through the Peace and Security Council, which mandated the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security to convey its messages to Rajoelina, were being ignored. It recalled its April 2009 Summit decisions that led to the establishment of the International Contact Group under the leadership of President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, bringing together various state parties in a concerted effort to bring Madagascar back to constitutional order. It noted that these efforts had not been prolific by July 2009 because of intransigence on the part of Rajoelina and the HAT.¹⁷

Instead, the systematic suppression of Rajoelina's opponents and violence against critical voices in Madagascar had actually intensified. Violations of human rights included the intimidation and arbitrary arrests of political party representatives, other activists and journalists.

At their extraordinary summit in Johannesburg on 20 June 2009, SADC Heads of State and Government appointed the former Mozambican president, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, as the chief mediator and therefore leader of the multi-stakeholder International Contact Group on Madagascar (ICG-M). Chissano, who was appointed Special Envoy for SADC after the March 2009 Summit, had after consultations and dialogue with Malagasy parties and interested members of the international community outlined before the June Summit a roadmap towards an inclusive dialogue among Malagasy parties, which became the basis of the Summit decisions.¹⁸ Chissano

had pointed SADC leaders to the degeneration of the political situation, especially in the city of Antananarivo, growing hostility among political parties and slow progress in the dialogue among Malagasy parties. This was also confirmed by assessment reports by the SADC, AU and UN teams that visited Madagascar after the coup. As advised by Chissano, SADC decided to put all its energy into promoting and facilitating dialogue in cooperation with international organisations, hence the appointment of Chissano as chief mediator.

At this point, SADC shifted from mere promoting of dialogue to a more interventionist and catalytic role of direct mediation. It also accepted the recommendation that to ensure an environment that would be conducive for successful dialogue, venues for negotiations needed to be somewhere in a region which all the parties considered acceptable. It insisted on a dialogue process and sustenance that would be fully owned by the Malagasy people and parties rather than one that was designed outside Madagascar. This was an indirect warning to international actors that SADC would not accept the violation of national sovereignty in the process of finding solutions to the Madagascar crisis. This is very important given the recent developments on the African continent such as in Cote d'Ivoire and elsewhere where external powers have become willing to engineer solutions through military and other unilateral interventions in weaker countries. This growing doctrine of humanitarian militarism or military interventions on humanitarian grounds has caused a great deal of concern on the African continent and the global south in general.¹⁹ SADC thus took a dim view of inflammatory statements or violent actions. With this appointment of Chissano, SADC facilitation also shifted from a regional intervention to an international effort in support of dialogue.

In a meeting convened in Maputo 2009, under the guidance of the chief mediator, Chissano, who was also supported by a fairly large mediation team, a power-sharing agreement was suggested among the leaders of the four key role-players in the crisis – Rajoelina, Ravalomanana, Didier Rastiraka and Zafy – as a way to resolve the crisis. The idea was to also establish a government of unity on the basis of a formula the parties agreed to. The parties agreed on the principle of shared government and to establish an interim authority with a president, a vice-president, a prime minister, three deputy prime ministers and a cabinet of 28 ministers by the end of September 2009. The agreement also settled the highly contentious matter of amnesty for Ravalomanana and Ratsiraka, both in exile, thus quashing their sentencing in absentia for embezzlement of public funds and threats to national security in the case of Ratsiraka and abuse of power and embezzlement against Ravalomanana. It also guaranteed Rajoelina immunity from prosecution for crimes that might arise from his assumption of power through a coup. The agreement thus offered protection for the three leaders for events of 2002, 2006, 2008 and 2009 but did not exonerate human rights violations because these could still be prosecuted through regional and international justice systems.²⁰

A key purpose of the agreement was to prepare the climate and political environment for smooth elections in a period of about 15 months, which was the end of 2010. Part of the undertaking was to ensure a fully operational transitional government and the establishment of an independence electoral management body. The UN, AU and SADC promised to provide support in organising the elections. However, Rajoelina and his supporters blocked the implementation of the accord. He reserved

all senior positions in the transitional authority for his side, thus excluding his nemesis. He even threatened to organise elections unilaterally,²¹ thus the actions, attitude and position of the Rajoelina side rendered the unity government a failure from the start. Rajoelina and his supporters refused to compromise or to implement the provisions of the agreements and tended to flaunt their power of incumbency by abusing their control over the state to get their own way.²²

Rajoelina changed his position many times. The intervention of the International Contact Group in August 2009 led to another round of intense negotiations, which produced the accord of 6 November 2009 signed by *chefs de file* of the political movements in Addis Ababa. The Additional Act to the Charter of the Transition, as the Addis Ababa agreement was known, was an agreement on the distribution of responsibilities within the unity government in order to get it functioning. Four months later, in March 2010, the chief mediator expressed his disappointment at the failure of the parties to implement the Maputo agreements and the Additional Act. He decried growing unilateralism, referring to actions of the Rajoelina government and the threat by Ravalomanana to return to Madagascar against the wishes of the Rajoelina government.²³

As a result, the timeline for elections that had shifted the presidential elections to March 2011, 24 months after the coup, would be postponed again to September 2011, March 2012, September 2012,²⁴ March 2013, July 2013, August 2013 and finally October 2013.²⁵ This delay is indicative of insufficient commitment on the part of the illegitimate government to keep its commitments and comply with the SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections.

A transitional roadmap endorsed and signed by ten political stakeholders in September 2011 included the contentious issue of the right of return for Ravalomanana.²⁶ Ravalomanana had remained in exile in South Africa since his ouster because Rajoelina simply refused to honour decisions that allowed him to return to Madagascar. Not only has the Rajoelina government tried and convicted him in absentia to five years in jail for abuse of power and embezzlement, it has sought to refer allegations against the deposed president to the much-feared International Criminal Court. Such actions and Ravalomanana's attempts to force his way back into Madagascar have helped delay the implementation of agreements and bring a swift end of the crisis.²⁷ Meanwhile SADC has taken the position from the beginning that he should be allowed to return to his home country, but does not want him and Rajoelina to contest the presidential elections.²⁸

The latest date for elections as at the time of writing this article in early October 2013 is 25 October 2013 and a second presidential round, if needed, is slotted for 20 December 2013. In the interim a political storm arose when, with Marc Ravalomanana barred for running for president as a result of his conviction and exile, his wife, Lola Ravalomanana, entered the presidential race against Rajoelina and Rastriraka. However, all three were barred from contesting in the upcoming elections by a Special Electorate Court (SEC) decision of 17 August 2013 as they had all not complied with the rules: Lalo Ravalomanana had not lived in Madagascar for six months as required, while both Rajoelina and Ratsiraka filed their candidacies after the deadline.²⁹

The court, which was established in mid-2013 to resolve disputes relating to electoral matters, also barred six other candidates from entering the race. Initially, the three major

candidates protested this decision and seemed intent on defying it. But pressure from SADC, the AU and the International Contact Group caused them to change their position and they all announced their acceptance of the decision of the SEC. Although the political climate ahead of the 25 October elections was tense and there had been some violence, the elections will open a new chapter in what must be a protracted and difficult process of transition.

Will Elections Mark a Successful Exit for SADC Mediation?

It was SADC's plan to assist the political actors in Madagascar to negotiate transitional arrangements and use the transitional government to prepare for credible elections that should mark the end of the problem as they saw it, namely, unconstitutional change of government. In this sense, the mediation is expected to end if there are no open disputes over the elections and its outcomes, which is quite likely now that the main protagonists are ruled out of elections. SADC would then normally shift from mediation through a special mechanism like the high offices of former President Chissano to providing political and administrative support to the newly elected government, which is the task to be undertaken by the SADC bureaucracy working together with international actors and the AU Commission.

This approach to regional peace diplomacy is optimistic. It is optimistic about the effect of the mediation and intra-Madagascar dialogue that has taken place. It assumes that agreements that have been signed and key measures that have been taken, under external pressure, lay the groundwork for a political climate and environment that allows not just the restoration of constitutional order, but also political

normalcy. This may however be reading too much from agreements and half-hearted actions taken in compliance to SADC and AU decisions and it may underestimate the extent to which the agreements and progress is more reluctant compliance rather than the genuine embrace of change needed for a new Madagascar. It may undermine the extent to which acquiescence to external demands and pressure papers over the deep-seated factors that led to the problem in the first place.

In order to be effective in the long run, SADC has to answer the following question honestly: What fundamentally is the problem in Madagascar? The problem is not the unconstitutional change of power. It is not Rajoelina, the Ravalomananas, Ratsiraka or Zafy. It is not just the hunger for power. It is not the failure to understand and commit to democracy or abide by regionally shared values and principles. It certainly is not the nature of Madagascar today that lies at the root of the problem. It is history. It is a historical complex that has played out in the island for a long time and continues to haunt its present and threaten its prospects of a better future.

SADC Mediation: Background, Challenges and Lessons Learnt from Madagascar

In 1996, SADC created the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security – an institutional framework for coordinating policies and activities on politics, defence and security. It is through this Protocol that the objectives of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security are pronounced. These objective include the protecting the region's people from instability, developing a common regional foreign policy and cooperation on matters related to security

and defence. Article 3(a) of the Protocol spells out the method for preventing and managing conflict by peaceful means, which can include preventative diplomacy, negotiations, conciliations, mediation, good offices, arbitration and adjudication by an international tribunal.

In essence, the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security has only been in existence for eighteen years. When it comes to mediation and conflict resolution efforts, SADC still faces many challenges which are not limited to but include the following: the overpowering personalities of some member states, lack of trust amongst state leaders, insufficient resources and funds, its rather limited influence over interstate affairs, and it slow and at times quiet interventions. Although SADC and the AU may share similar objectives in terms of mediation and conflict resolutions, as was in the case of Madagascar, there is a lack of coordination and perhaps clear and precise communication which, in turn, results in underperformance by both the AU and SADC.

Madagascar joined SADC as a regional member state in August 2005 under the leadership of Ravalomanana. The decision to join was interpreted by most as an intention to move away from the traditional former French colonisers' influence in Madagascar's political and socioeconomic affairs. It was also met with a lot of criticism. SADC had to consider three topical issues: Firstly, what would Madagascar's membership offer SADC? Secondly, what are the costs and benefits of SADC membership? And thirdly, how will this impact on bilateral relations between South Africa and Madagascar? When the situation worsened in Madagascar before the 2009 coup, SADC made efforts to intervene by sending in two assessment missions, one led by the then executive secretary and the other by Swaziland's foreign minister. After the first assessment mission

was concluded, there was no further follow-up preventative diplomacy.

On 19 March 2009, SADC announced that it did not endorse the overthrow of a legitimate government and that failure to comply and cooperate by Madagascar would result in sanctions and military interventions. The initial response from SADC after the coup was centred on efforts to remove Rajoelina and reinstate Ravalomanana as per regional solidarity, which recognises and endorses the constitutional legitimacy of governments. The threat of military intervention was not received well by Madagascar leaders and the former French coloniser, which deemed this as too harsh.³⁰

There consequently seemed to be a lack of coherence between the AU, SADC and other international organisations. Mediation in Madagascar was somewhat disjoint, the UN mediation mandate stopped mainly because of pressure from the AU. Thereafter the AU stepped back and let SADC take responsibility of mediation in Madagascar. The first year of mediation in 2009 was characterised by a clash of mediators and personalities. In 2010, South Africa under the leadership of President Zuma became more involved and assumed the leadership role in mediation efforts in Madagascar under the banner of SADC. This move by South Africa generally caused some commotion, as Rajoelina's camp refused to cooperate, citing favouritism and biasness towards the ousted Ravalomanana.

Indeed there are lessons to be learnt from mediation efforts by SADC in member states, including Zimbabwe and Madagascar. Notable lessons may be summarised as follows:

- Regional bodies should always maintain their objectivity across all borders of member states regardless of the status quo of any particular state or head of state.

- Proper communication and constant liaison between mediators is crucial in order to disseminate adequate and equal information.
- A well-structured procedure of mediation should be followed thoroughly to ensure consistency in all interventions.
- SADC should avoid the personalisation of mediation processes.

Conclusion

The crisis in Madagascar that began in 2009 was not the first and will probably not be the last as long as the root causes of the island's political fragility and economic vulnerability are not dealt with. These have to do with the turbulent history of the island country, especially following the colonial conquest by France in 1893, which brought an end to almost a century of a relative political stability under a succession of queens who understood how to focus the nation's energy on development and security in a changing ocean environment. The entrenchment of authoritarianism, economic exploitation and underdevelopment during colonial rule bequeathed to independent Madagascar a fluid political culture of authoritarianism and strong militaries that are able to influence political developments. The post-independence period simply entrenched and deepened these problems to the point where they have become embedded in the identity of the island, too difficult to undo. The personality traits of the island's leaders after independence helped perpetuate the deep-seated structural problems and continue to make structural transformation from conflict to peace difficult. Its location on the Indian Ocean during the period, when this area has been buffeted by many winds of change including the growing influence of middle and emerging



powers and rivalry between them and older global powers, is an important factor.

In this sense, while the SADC efforts have showcased the value of regional peace diplomacy, especially in harnessing international unity of purpose about the Madagascar crisis, and have helped prevent it from sinking to even deeper levels, they cannot be said to have ended the fundamental crisis in Madagascar. While this diplomacy has given Madagascar another chance to start afresh, there is no indication that the political elite on the island will seize the opportunity and conduct a complete rethink of their political cultures. Therefore,

for the foreseeable future SADC will need to involve itself further to shift the focus from resolving the symptoms of the crisis to dialogue on the deep-seated structural factors that may bring Madagascar back from the brink of collapse. The involvement of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation would be important given the effect that Indian Ocean governance has on the island's politics and economics. A solution must be found that directs the energies of the Malagasy people towards harnessing the strategic location of the island in the web of relations developing across the Indian Ocean.

Notes and References

- 1 See, for instance, Zondi, S., 2010. SADC integration and poverty eradication in Southern Africa. *Africa Insight*, 40(2); and Mulaudzi, C., 2006. *The politics of regionalism in Southern Africa*. Occasional Paper no. 51. Midrand: Institute for Global Dialogue, April.
- 2 These developments are analysed in Bouchard, C., n.d. *Emergence of a new geopolitical era in the Indian Ocean: Characters, issues and limitations of the Indianoceanic order*. Available at www.citeseerx.ist.psu.edu [Accessed on 12 April 2013].
- 3 Campbell, G., 2005. *An economic history of imperial Madagascar, 1750–1895: The rise and fall of an island empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 300–345.
- 4 Abraham Kingdom, 'Ranavalona II, Queen of Madagascar'. Available at www.mostlyvictorian.com/GOP1881/madagascar.pdf [Accessed on 5 October 2013].
- 5 This narrative draws mostly from Marcus, R.R., 2004. *Political change in Madagascar: Populist democracy or neopatrimonialism by another name*. Occasional Paper no. 89. Institute for Security Studies, August.
- 6 Thomson, A., 2006. *An introduction to African politics*. London: Taylor and Francis, p. 284; see also Cawthra, G., 2010. *The role of SADC in managing political crisis and conflict: The case of Madagascar and Zimbabwe*. Maputo, Mozambique; also see, Marcus, R. and Ratsimbaharison, A., 2005. Political parties in Madagascar: Neopatrimonial tools or democratic instruments? *Party Politics*, 11(4), June, pp. 495–512.
- 7 See, for instance, *Madagascar's battle for independence*. Available at www.globalsecurity.org [Accessed on 3 October 2013]. The US refers to Madagascar as a French sphere of influence. See 'Madagascar'. Available at www.state.gov/r/pa/el/bgn/5460.htm [Accessed on 1 October 2013].
- 8 De Paiva, B., 2011. France: National involvement in the Indian Ocean region. Strategic Analysis Paper, *Future Directions International*, 5 December.
- 9 Cook, N. and Ploch, L., 2012. *Madagascar political crisis*. CRS Report for Congress. Available at www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40448.pdf. [Accessed on 2 October 2013].
- 10 International Crisis Group (ICG), 2010. *Madagascar: Ending the Crisis*. *Africa Report No. 156*, 18 March.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Peace and Security Council, 2009. *Communiqué*, 20 March. PSC/PR/COMM.(CLXXXI). Available at www.africa-union.org [Accessed on 28 September 2013].
- 13 *AU Suspends Madagascar over 'coup'*, 20 March 2009. Available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-20-au-suspends-madagascar-threatens-sanctions> [Accessed on 29 September 2013].
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 *SADC suspends Madagascar*, 31 March 2009. Available at <http://www.southafrica.info/africa/sadc-310309.htm#.UJMW8xaPdG4> [Accessed on 28 September 2013].
- 16 SADC Communiqué. Extraordinary Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, 30 March 2009, Lozitha Royal Palace, Kingdom of Swaziland. Available at www.sadc.int [Accessed on 28 September 2013].
- 17 Paragraph 11 of 'Decision on the Report of the Peace and Security Council on Its Activities and the state of Peace and Security in Africa', Doc. Assembly/AU/6(XIII), p. 3.
- 18 SADC Communiqué, Extraordinary Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, 20 June 2009, Sandton, South Africa. Available at www.sadc.int [Accessed on 29 September 2013].
- 19 Several AU meetings and summits in 2009 noted this trend and positioned themselves to oppose the spread of this tendency on African soil. This development is also the subject of two important books on what later transpired in NATO's regime-change intervention in Libya.



- Campbell, H., 2013. *Global NATO and the catastrophic failure in Libya: Lessons for Africa in forging African unity*. Pretoria: Africa Institute. Forte, M., 2013. *Slouching towards Sirte: NATO's war on Libya and Africa*. Montreal: Baraka Books.
- 20 Irin News, 'Hurdles in the way of Madagascar's new deal'. Available at <http://www.irinnews.org/printreport.aspx?reportid=85706> [Accessed on 28 September 2013].
- 21 Cawthra, G., 2010. *The role of SADC in managing political crisis and conflict: The case of Madagascar and Zimbabwe*. Mozambique: Maputo.
- 22 Cook and Ploch, op. cit.
- 23 Statement by the Mediator on the Recent Developments in Madagascar, Joachim Chissano, SADC Mediator, 14 May 2010. The statement was widely circulated in southern Africa.
- 24 EISA, 2012. Africa election calendar: Madagascar. Available at <http://www.eisa.org.za/WEP/cal2012map.htm> [Accessed on 30 October 2013].
- 25 EISA, op. cit.
- 26 Cook and Ploch, op. cit.
- 27 ICG, 2012. *Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (II) Southern Africa*. Africa Report No. 191, 15 October.
- 28 SADC, Communiqué on Extraordinary Summit of SADC Heads of State and Government, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 10 December 2012. Available at www.sadc.int [Accessed on 1 October 2013].
- 29 Court clears the way for Madagascar elections. *Mail and Guardian on line*, 18 August 2013.
- 30 ICG, 2010. *Madagascar: Crisis heating up?* Africa Report No. 166, 18 November. Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/southern-africa/madagascar/166%20Madagascar%20-%20Crisis%20Heating%20Up.pdf> [Accessed on 13 April 2014].

Advancing African Interests at the UN:

South Africa's Voting Behaviour¹

In 2007, South Africa began its first ever stint as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Very quickly, interested observers around the world expressed disillusionment over the country's vote against the condemnation of human rights abuses in Myanmar and Zimbabwe among others, essentially casting doubt on the consistency of South Africa's foreign policy choices in that multilateral forum. Was the perception that the Republic had demonstrated ambiguity over the purpose behind its foreign policy accurate? And secondly, if these votes were seen as uncharacteristic of South African foreign policy, by implication this would suggest that South Africa had always voted 'respectably' at the United Nations (UN) (since 1994). Could this be 'validated' in respect of examining its voting behaviour at the UN since 1994?

Suzanne Elizabeth Graham

Suzanne Graham is a senior lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Introduction

This article has two aims: firstly, to analyse South Africa's voting behaviour at the United Nations (UN), with specific reference to the Republic's attempts to advance African interests, and secondly to assess whether or not there is consistency between South Africa's declared foreign policy on Africa and its UN voting actions. The article will cover the period 1994 to 2008. This incorporates South Africa's first post-apartheid participation in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) from the 49th session which opened in September 1994 up to and including the 62nd session which ended in September 2008 and which coincided with the end of South African President Thabo Mbeki's second term in office. It also examines South Africa's first term on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as a non-permanent member from 2007 to 2008.

Since 1994, South Africa has had to reposition itself within Africa and the world with the Republic's foreign policymakers attempting to act as spokespersons for a 'better Africa'² and to promote South Africa as a 'leader of the developing world'.³ However, despite casting off the image the Republic was known for at the UN during apartheid, the country was still regarded with suspicion by some for its historical role in Africa. A new representation of a transformed country

supporting its African neighbours and building up trust was essential.⁴ After all, South Africa's journey had been an unusual one, from outcast to hero in a few short years, and although its neighbours celebrated its transformation this did not necessarily imply a willingness to support South Africa's instant hegemonic role on the continent (whether or not the role was self-assigned or thrust upon the country). For its part the Republic did not want to be seen to be 'Africa's policeman'.⁵

Hegemonic tendencies aside, the Republic's national interests were intertwined with those of Africa, including its own trade and business interests, and so it aimed to use whatever measures of influence it possessed in giving the continent a voice multilaterally.⁶ The UN was the best forum to do this, being the only multilateral institution to have a global presence, and therefore the largest voluntary captive audience internationally. And when, for the first time in history, South Africa was chosen by 186 states, on 16 October 2006, to represent Africa's regional grouping and take up a non-permanent seat on the UNSC, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma declared the country's 'readiness to serve the peoples of Africa'.⁷

Bearing the above in mind, did South Africa commit itself to promoting Africa's interests at the UN, and perhaps more importantly, did it *act* upon these declarations in its UN voting? In order to examine this question a model of voting behaviour will be utilised, which will be explained in the next section.

Analytical Framework and Research Methodology

A three-step model of voting behaviour⁸ provides the framework for this article. The researcher designed this model as part of a

doctoral study, with the aim of setting out three basic steps to guide each of the study's themes under investigation, due to the absence in the literature of any viable, specific model to examine a state's voting behaviour⁹ in an international organisation. The model was useful in the sense that it allowed the structure of the discussion to become more visible.

The model incorporates how a state comes to *decide*, *act* and *respond* to outcomes in its foreign policy practices in three logical steps, reflected in Table 1 below. These are identified as: Step 1 – an analysis of a state's declared¹⁰ foreign policy through speeches, draft proposals, and formal and informal meetings; Step 2 – an examination of voting¹¹ actions and alignments and involvement in voting groups, all of which play a part in the final vote; and Step 3 – an interpretation of this voting action, which must include explanations from as many varied sources as possible, including the state and other observers. This model offers a useful framework for approaching an examination of a state's foreign policy rhetoric where it meets foreign policy practice, in this case at the UN specifically. It also enables the investigation of swathes of often repetitive UN resolution information to be placed in a coherent flow of understanding.

A second purpose of this article is to examine consistency¹² in terms of South Africa's declared foreign policy on Africa and its actual voting practices at the UN. Analysing consistency in foreign policy behaviour is decidedly normative and descriptive; however, for the purposes of this article, consistency is defined as recurring patterns demonstrating a link between foreign policy declarations and foreign policy actions.

In order to assess consistency, Table 2 below was used and falls within the second step in the model of voting behaviour related to

Table 1 Model of voting behaviour

Step 1. Declared foreign policy (government information)

- Foreign office/head of government's office
- Press office/media briefings

Guiding question:

- What are the themes driving a state's foreign policy?

Step 2. Voting action

- Yes/no/abstain/non-voting/adopted without a vote (consensus)

Guiding questions:

- What is the actual voting stance taken by the state within the UN?
- Does the vote align with a particular group?
- Is the vote consistent with the state's foreign policy?

Step 3. Interpretations of voting action

- Government views and observers' views (other states, the media, intergovernmental organisations [IGOs], non-governmental organisations [NGOs], analysts, other observers)

Guiding questions:

- Did the state attempt to explain its voting action at the UN (through speeches or press releases)?
 - What was the state's perception of its vote?
 - What does the vote signify (if anything)?
 - Was there an external response to the state's voting action? (External meaning statements by other states, the media, interested observers, analysts, academics and the like.) If so, what were the responses?
-

the actual voting action at the UN. The letter 'X' symbolises the state's voting actions at the UN and whether or not they can be considered 'consistent', 'inconsistent' or 'partly consistent'. It was acknowledged that because South Africa may have changed voting actions on the same or similar resolutions over the 14-year period, this does not necessarily imply inconsistency. After all, government policies may change over time. However, it was also noted that, according to a 2009 statement by the South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation,¹⁵ the principles underpinning the

Republic's foreign policy had remained consistent in the years under review. It is also worth noting that if a state professes particular issue areas to be 'central pillars'¹⁴ of foreign policy, for example, promoting Africa's interests, it is important to establish the government's commitment to implementing those pillars.

In order to assess whether or not the 'consistency' noted in the Minister's statement above, was true, if the voting actions taken were in contrast to foreign policy statements on related issues, then this was assessed as inconsistent. Similarly if South Africa's votes were in

line with its foreign policy, the voting behaviour was deemed as ‘consistent’. If the voting action taken was out of line with a previously declared policy on the issue, but the Republic was able to provide ‘explanation’ for its decision, it was assessed as partly consistent. Explanation was assessed according to context and whether or not South African foreign policymakers had openly declared a ‘change of heart’ concerning policy prior to the vote.

South Africa’s voting actions at the UN, in relation to attempts to advance African interests, will be examined next using the first step in the voting behaviour model.

Step 1: South Africa’s declared foreign policy on Africa

Just prior to the 1994 elections, the African National Congress (ANC) argued that once in government it would dedicate South Africa’s foreign policy ‘to helping to ensure that Africa’s people are not forgotten or ignored by humankind’.¹⁵ Similarly, in 1993, Mandela¹⁶ stated that ‘the concerns and interests of the continent of Africa should be reflected in (South Africa’s) foreign-policy choices’, and that South Africa could not ‘escape its African destiny’. In affirmation of this sentiment, Africa was listed

as a central pillar in Mandela’s six pillars of foreign policy in 1993.¹⁷ Moreover, in 1996, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo officially declared that Africa would be a clear foreign policy priority in the coming years.¹⁸ Over a decade later, this theme persisted. In the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) Strategic Plan 2005–2008,¹⁹ Foreign Affairs Minister Dlamini-Zuma reinforced South Africa’s commitment to Africa, declaring that ‘the future of South Africa is inextricably linked to the future of the African continent’.

Africa’s emphasis as a foreign policy priority has been informed by a number of considerations. Firstly, South Africa is unavoidably part of Africa and, as such, its economic development is strategically linked to the continent’s wellbeing. Secondly, South Africa has regional weight and there are expectations as to what to do with it. In September 1995, Deputy President Mbeki, in his address to a South African Heads of Mission Conference, explained the following: ‘the Southern Africa region expects that South Africa interact with them as a partner and ally, not as a regional superpower ... and make a significant contribution towards peace and development on the continent.’²⁰

Thirdly, South Africa’s ruling party, the ANC, was keen to create foreign policy that would help reverse apartheid’s ill-effects in

Table 2: Voting assessment and consistency table
(Was the state’s UN vote congruent with the state’s declared foreign policy on the issue in question?)

UN vote information: (title of the UNGA or UNSC resolution)	
Inconsistent	X
Partly consistent	X
Consistent	X

Explanation: (State explanation before or after the vote, context of the vote and any other relevant, supporting notes on the action in question)

Africa, as well as to repay some of the support offered to the ANC during those decades. Furthermore, South Africa had a desire to spearhead a continent-wide rethink over Africa's position in the world.²¹ This theme began to take shape in South Africa's 'Africa policy' initiated by Deputy-President Mbeki's 'I am an African' speech at South Africa's May 1996 Constitutional Assembly²² and later at the African Renaissance²³ Conference held in Johannesburg in 1998. Mbeki²⁴ defined the African Renaissance as a rebirth for Africa. Although not accepted with too much enthusiasm by the rest of Africa, described by some as too broad and as an 'empty policy vessel',²⁵ the doctrine of an African Renaissance was not discarded by South African foreign policymakers. Instead it remained a key part of South Africa's 'African Agenda'.²⁶ By 1999 a confirmed 'Africanist'²⁷ approach to the Republic's foreign policy became evident.

This mindset acknowledges the irrefutable fact that for Africa to prosper, which is wholly in South Africa's national interests, there must be a close relationship on the continent between democracy and good governance, peace and security and socio-economic development. Multilaterally, the caretaker for such a philosophy is the African Union (AU).²⁸ In an effort to work towards raising Africa's profile at the UN, these policies were to be nurtured through repetitive referencing at the organisation²⁹ by the South African delegation.³⁰

While serving as vice-chair of the Second Committee, South Africa announced that 'the goal of ensuring peace and stability in Africa' remained 'a high priority for the Government'.³¹ At the UNGA 58th session, the South African delegation was expected to make use of every opportunity to further this goal, with particular emphasis on decisions taken at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD);

encouraging support for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); campaigning for further debt relief; and promoting funding for the development and implementation of the Monterrey³² Consensus.³³

In a way, South Africa took on the responsibility of 'advertising' Africa, with the aim of encouraging support for the development agenda of Africa. The DFA would focus on Africa, using NEPAD as a framework in all UN specialised agencies,³⁴ for example the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund. Moreover, the DFA would work 'within existing groupings (G-77) in striving to achieve these objectives'.³⁵

During South Africa's tenure on the UNSC in 2007 and 2008, the Republic's main objective was 'to contribute to the resolution of lingering conflicts and stabilization of post-conflict situations on the African continent'. Foreign Affairs Minister Dlamini-Zuma declared that South Africa's behaviour on the Council would be informed by its foreign policy, which was based on 'a vision of an African continent that is prosperous, peaceful, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united and which contributes to a world that is just and equitable'.³⁶

As part of its UNSC responsibilities South Africa engaged in the activities carried out by the Council's subsidiary bodies tasked with overseeing the implementation of sanctions and the like. In this respect the Republic shared the leadership of the Security Council Mission to the AU in June 2007 with the United Kingdom (UK). South Africa's Dumisani Kumalo and the UK's Emyr Jones Parry were the ambassadors involved in this mission.³⁷ The Republic also chaired the Somalia Sanctions Committee and the Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa and co-chaired the Ad Hoc Working Group on Mandate Review.³⁸

It is apparent that South Africa has attempted to become actively involved in regional groups advocating the interests of Africa alone or as part of the developing world. As for the UN, South African foreign policymakers placed Africa firmly on their agenda at the world body. But does the Republic's rhetoric match its behaviour at the UN in relation to this third strategic foreign policy theme? This question will be the focus of the next section.

Step 2: Voting at the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Security Council

Having established South Africa's declaratory foreign policy on Africa, it is now necessary to consider how its delegation voted on questions relating to Africa at the UNGA plenaries between 1994 and 2008, as well as during South Africa's first term on the UNSC. Accordingly, adopted resolutions recorded by UNBISnet were reviewed, as well as those highlighted as significant by the UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa.³⁹

The following tables, based on Table 2 of this article, includes resolutions adopted without a vote (away); in other words resolutions adopted by general consensus and therefore without the need to technically record individual country votes. Owing to the significance of their content in relation to South Africa's declared foreign policy on Africa they are included in the analysis.

Of the overall 121 UNSC resolutions adopted in 2007 (56 resolutions) and 2008 (65 resolutions), 68 pertained to *Situations in Africa*. South African foreign policymakers saw the country's membership on the UNSC as a chance to supplement the role that the Republic was

already playing in conflict resolution and peace-building on the African continent. In the UNSC, country-specific issues in Africa included the situations in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Western Sahara, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Step 3: Interpretations of voting action – government views and observers' views

In 1997, it was suggested⁷⁸ that post-Cold War African states would seek to appoint an African representative state 'capable of defining and asserting the continent's aspirations in an indifferent world' and that perhaps South Africa's links with the United States, the UK and the European Union would not make it the natural 'candidate to represent a marginalized Africa'. It should also be noted that post-1994 President Mandela did not want to be seen to be outshining former African protagonists.⁷⁹ Considering this perspective, Deputy President Mbeki began redefining 'South Africa's relations with the US, Europe, the South and Africa'.⁸⁰

Through various initiatives spearheaded by South Africa, its position on the continent became more pronounced. After 1999, the Republic nurtured the idea that its priority was Africa's overall development. It would therefore make use of any multilateral platform to promote Africa's revival and hopefully win full continental approval in the process.⁸¹

South African foreign policy during Mbeki's terms has been characterised 'as pragmatic rather than principled', although it was apparent that 'strong stands' had been taken 'on issues of importance to Africa or to the Global South'.⁸² In fairness, South Africa was not alone

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

UN vote information

Plenary: Organisation of the high-level plenary meeting of the General Assembly to consider how to support the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Awav in 2002.

Plenary: United Nations Declaration on the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Awav in 2002.

Plenary: Final review and appraisal of the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Awav in 2002.

Plenary: New Partnership for Africa's Development: progress in implementation and international support. Awav in 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007.

Inconsistent	
Partly consistent	
Consistent	X

Explanation: There is no disputing South Africa's promotion of NEPAD at the UN. At the 56th UNGA session, President Mbeki declared his government's support for NEPAD as a product of 'the consciousness among the African people that they themselves hold the key to the continent's development, security and stability'. Mbeki went on to state that, even so, the UN also had a 'pivotal role to play in this regard'.⁴⁰

Moreover, it was President Mbeki⁴¹ who in 2002 introduced UNGA resolution 57/2 entitled *United Nations declaration on the New Partnership for Africa's Development*. It is important to point out that Mbeki attempted to avoid creating the impression at the UN of NEPAD being a one-man show. He openly declared his appreciation for fellow Africans, President Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Bouteflika of Algeria, President Wade of Senegal, and Ahmed Maher El Sayed, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, who had in a panel held earlier that day contributed significantly to the discussion on the international community's partnership with NEPAD.⁴²

South Africa's UN representative, Ambassador Kumalo, was vice-chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly for the Final Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. UNGA resolution 57/7 on the *Final review and appraisal of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s and support for the New Partnership for Africa's Development* was introduced by Kumalo in late 2002⁴³ on behalf of the AU. Once again, despite South Africa's leadership role, Kumalo was keen to stress the resolution's foundation in the African Renaissance, 'something owned and promoted by Africans themselves'.⁴⁴

It is also significant to mention that one of South Africa's declared foreign policy goals was advancing the ideals of NEPAD internationally. Kumalo did just that when he stated in the UNGA that the NEPAD resolution

... provided a strong base from which African issues can be projected within the General Assembly and its Committees, the Economic and Social Council, United Nations funds, programmes and specialised agencies and the rest of the international community.⁴⁵

Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa⁴⁶

UN vote information:

Plenary: Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. Awav in 1998; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2002.

Plenary: Implementation of the recommendations on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. Awav in 2003; 2005, 2006, 2007.

Inconsistent	
Partly consistent	
Consistent	X

Explanation: Minister of Foreign Affairs Dlamini-Zuma, in a speech alluding to South Africa’s imminent (first) term on the UNSC, declared that South Africa would respond to ‘the strong resolve of African leaders and indeed the people of Africa who would like to see [their] continent achieve peace as a prerequisite for sustainable development’.⁴⁷ South Africa promised to act in the interests of development while on the Council, but this would be a continuation of policy as the Republic had already pledged to do this when it hosted the WSSD in 2002.⁴⁸

In point of clarity, although the term ‘sustainable development’ has been associated mostly with the environment, this is often too limited in scope. Sustainable development in its most inclusive sense emphasises poverty reduction, health care and the environment⁴⁹

In response to UNGA resolution 55/217 (Awav) on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) adopted resolution 2002/1. This resolution provided a framework for advisory group(s) on African countries emerging from conflict to investigate the post-conflict developmental needs of war-torn states. The significant point here is that Ambassador Kumalo was appointed as Chairman of both the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Guinea-Bissau created in October 2002 and the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Burundi set up in August 2003 (and terminated three years later). Kumalo later applauded the Groups’ efforts in advocating wider international assistance for the two countries, both of which had previously received very little aid.⁵⁰

UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s (UN-NADAF)

UN vote information

Plenary: United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Awav in 1994.

Plenary: Mid-term Review of the Implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s (6 December 1996). Awav in 1996.

Plenary: Implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Awav in 2001.

Plenary: Final Review and Appraisal of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Awav in 2002.

Plenary: Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the GA for the Final Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Awav in 2002.

Inconsistent	
Partly consistent	
Consistent	X

Explanation: Ambassador Kumalo⁵¹ introduced draft resolution A/56/L.84 sponsored by South Africa, Egypt, Brazil, India, Norway and the United Kingdom amongst others, in support of the setting up a high-level plenary meeting on ways to promote NEPAD.

In 2001, Kumalo⁵² praised the UN-NADAF for its contributions, for example through resolutions, reports, summits and conferences, to stimulating awareness of Africa's challenges throughout the 1990s. Kumalo especially wanted to express his delegation's gratitude for the G-77 and China's 'unflinching support' of his country's efforts to promote NEPAD at the UN.

UN vote information

UNSC: Resolutions 1742, 1751, 1756, 1768, 1771, 1794 (2007); 1797, 1799, 1807, 1843, 1856, 1857 (2008). The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1793 (2007), 1829 (2008). The situation in Sierra Leone. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolutions 1750, 1753, 1760, 1777, 1792 (2007); 1819, 1836, 1854 (2008). The situation in Liberia. South Africa voted in favour.

Resolution 1791 (2007), 1858 (2008). The situation in Burundi. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1755, 1769, 1779, 1784 (2007); 1812, 1828, 1841 (2008). Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1754, 1783 (2007); 1813 (2008). The situation concerning Western Sahara. South Africa voted in favour.

Resolution 1739, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1782 (2007); 1795, 1826, 1842, (2008). The situation in Côte d'Ivoire. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1744, 1766, 1772 (2007); 1801, 1811, 1814, 1816, 1831, 1838, 1844, 1846, 1851, 1853 (2008). The situation in Somalia. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1741, 1767 (2007); 1798, 1827 (2008). The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1778 (2007); 1834 (2008). The situation in Chad, the Central African Republic and the subregion. South Africa voted in favour.

Resolution 1749 (2007); 1823 (2008). The situation concerning Rwanda. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1809 (2008). Peace and security in Africa. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1804 (2008). The situation in the Great Lakes region. South Africa voted 'Y'.

Resolution 1774 (2007); 1824, 1855 (2008). International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the

Inconsistent	
Partly consistent	
Consistent	X

Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994. South Africa voted 'Y'.
 Explanation: DRC – In 2007, although the DRC showed signs of moving towards democracy after a civil war lasting six years, its North and South Kivu provinces were still experiencing violence. UNSC resolutions 1742, 1751, 1756 and 1794, which South Africa voted in favour of, extended the mandate of the MONUC through to 31 December 2008, emphasising MONUC's priority of dealing with the crisis in the Kivu provinces. UNSC resolution 1279 of November 1999 had established MONUC after the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in July that year. By 2010, resolution 1925 renamed MONUC the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – MONUSCO.⁵³ In early 2007, South African Ambassador Kumalo pledged his country's continued assistance to the DRC and praised the Congolese people for the progress they had already made.⁵⁴ Prior to its time on the UNSC, South Africa had supported the peace process and post-conflict reconstruction in the DRC by providing logistical support and personnel to MONUC. The Republic's first action on the Council was to lobby for sustained UN commitment to support for the DRC post-conflict. The South African government further declared that it would continue to support that process after its time on the Council.⁵⁵

Burundi – South Africa voted in favour of UNSC resolution 1791,⁵⁶ calling on the Government of Burundi and the Palipehutu-Forces nationales de libération (FNL),

... the two parties to the September 2006 Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement, to refrain from any action that might lead to a resumption of hostilities and to resolve outstanding issues in a spirit of cooperation.

Before 2007, South Africa and the AU had been involved in the Burundi Peace Process. Since independence in 1962 Burundi had been plagued by tensions between the Hutu majority and the ruling Tutsi minority which had culminated in a civil war in 1993 and great loss of life.⁵⁷ President Mandela joined the Organization of African Unity (OAU)-instigated peace process in 1999 and helped facilitate the Arusha Accord in August 2000. South Africa has since then remained a key role-player in the region.⁵⁸

In 2007, the Republic was therefore able to draw upon the experiences of its Minister of Safety and Security, Charles Nqakula, who was the Facilitator of the Burundi Peace Process⁵⁹ at the UNSC. The Secretary-General expressed confidence in South Africa's facilitation efforts which had also pushed for SC support for regional initiatives in Burundi. During its UNSC tenure South Africa called for the full implementation of the Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement in Burundi and worked with the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi in keeping the Council updated on events taking place in the small East African country.⁶⁰

Rwanda – Under South Africa's presidency in March 2007, UNSC resolution 1749 was adopted, lifting the sanctions that had remained against Rwanda since 1994. This resolution essentially allowed Rwanda to normalise its position internationally.

Somalia – UNSC resolution 1744 in February 2007 authorised an African Union Mission (AMISOM) for six months in Somalia to support dialogue and reconciliation, and 'to contribute to security for humanitarian aid and protect members of the Transitional Federal Government'. The South African delegate expressed his hope that this resolution would demonstrate to the people of Somalia that 'the international community cared about their situation'.⁶²

Sudan – In 2007/2008, the UNSC sought answers to the difficult questions concerning the deployment of the UNAMID and the implementation of the 2005 CPA between North and South Sudan. South Africa was keen to focus on the CPA and to highlight the humanitarian crisis in Darfur.⁶³ The referral of Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir to the ICC for alleged war crimes also surfaced at the UNSC at the time. South Africa and the AU and the Arab League favoured the postponement of the possible indictment of the Sudanese president, ‘not to block the referral’ but rather to defer it in line with the Rome Statute as it would only hinder the political processes underway in Sudan.⁶⁴ Despite this, South African Ambassador Kumalo expressed his country’s full support of ICC Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo’s issue of arrest warrants in April 2007 against Ahmad Harun, former Minister of State for the Interior of the Sudan, and Ali Kushayb, a ‘militia’ leader who had allegedly committed crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur.⁶⁵ Outside of the Security Council, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs chaired the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Programme in the Sudan.⁶⁶

Western Sahara – In 2007 South Africa voted in favour of UNSC resolutions 1754 and 1783 which extended the mandate of the 1991 MINURSO for two more six-month periods respectively. It did so as a result of the stalemate between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front over the future of Western Sahara. Morocco claimed the territory as its own while the Frente, which is a Saharawi national liberation movement based in Algeria, was working for the territory’s independence from Morocco. Despite its ‘Y’ vote, South Africa’s Ambassador Kumalo⁶⁷ declared his disappointment over yet another Western Sahara resolution that failed to acknowledge human rights violations in Western Sahara, adding

... the Council, which is very vocal about human rights issues in other parts of the world, has decided to be silent on the human rights of the people of Western Sahara. This double standard is the reason that people sometimes do not take the decisions of this Council seriously.

Kumalo⁶⁸ went on to state that his delegation was ‘amazed’ by the attempts of UNSC members to favour Morocco’s proposals over the POLISARIO Front when the ‘Moroccan proposal for autonomy (was) a unilateral attempt to prevent the Saharawi people from claiming their right to self-determination’.⁶⁹ It is interesting that South Africa would consistently refer to human rights and the self-determination principle in reference to Western Sahara at the Security Council, when it had in the same year willingly shifted Myanmar’s human rights situation from the UNSC to another UN body, arguing that the UNSC was the wrong place to discuss human rights. It should be noted that three years earlier, in 2004, South Africa had fully recognised the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). This ‘principled position on Western Sahara [was] based on South Africa’s rejection of colonialism in all its forms’.⁷⁰

Côte d’Ivoire – In 2007 South Africa voted in favour of UNSC resolutions 1739 and 1765 to extend the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI) created in 2004. The UNOCI replaced the United Nations Mission in Côte d’Ivoire (MINUCI) established in 2003 after the UNSC decided that the situation in that state represented a threat to international peace and security.⁷¹ Prior to South Africa’s term on the Council, the Republic had been involved in Côte d’Ivoire based on the ‘mandate bestowed on President Mbeki by the African Union and the UN to create the conditions for a political resolution of the conflict’.⁷² In 2007, Ambassador Kumalo pledged his country’s commitment to working with Côte d’Ivoire’s leaders and the international community in fulfilling the expectations of the Ouagadougou Political Agreement, to ensure that ‘peace, stability and prosperity would once more return to the people of the country’.⁷³ South Africa favoured UNSC resolution 1782 which, owing to the stalled Ouagadougou pact, called for renewed sanctions on Côte d’Ivoire including a ban on the trade in arms and rough diamonds, amongst other restrictions.⁷⁴

Liberia – South Africa voted in support of UNSC resolutions 1750 and 1777, which extended the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) created in 2003 to maintain a ceasefire and peace process after a 14-year period of civil war in the country.

Sierra Leone – After 11 years of civil war, the UNSC in 2007 was able to point to signs of peaceful progress in Sierra Leone. As a result, UNSC resolution 1793, adopted in December 2007 with South African support,

extended the mandate of the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL) until September 2008 in what would be the mandate's final extension. Resolution 1793 also welcomed the holding of democratic elections earlier in August and September 2007. South African delegate, Bongiwe Qwabe, expressed her country's continued bilateral support for Sierra Leone, praised Sierra Leone for the holding of free and fair elections, and offered her government's continued assistance through the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC).⁷⁵ The Commission was established in December 2005 through UNGA resolution 60/180 and UNSC resolution 1645 (2005). South Africa was elected to the 31-member PBC Organisational Committee from 2006 to 2008.⁷⁶

Ethiopia and Eritrea – South Africa voted in favour of UNSC resolutions 1741 and 1767, which extended the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) twice for six months each time. The border dispute between these two countries was described in the UNSC as an 'unstable security situation'.⁷⁷

in projecting an image of itself as crusader for the developing world, whether by design or accident.⁸³ Others had expectations that the country would use its prominent international position since 1994 to lead developing countries in negotiations with the Global North.⁸⁴

The Republic 'has emerged as an important voice in the WTO [World Trade Organization] as a spokesperson for African interests'.⁸⁵ Moreover, Mbeki's prominence at the 2000 Okinawa and 2001 Genoa G-8 Summits, the EU Portugal Summit and the United Nations Millennium Summit in late 2000 could reasonably suggest that South Africa's president was acting as Africa's representative.⁸⁶

South Africa's role became even more apparent in 2005 at the G-8 Summit in Scotland. The UK had invited representatives of the five biggest emerging economies to participate at the Summit at the Gleneagles Hotel. South Africa along with Brazil, India, China and Mexico became known variously as the G-8 + 5, the Outreach-5 (O5), the Plus Five, and simply the Group of 5 (G-5). The G-5 would work in collaboration to represent their regions' developmental and economic interests at subsequent G-8 meetings.⁸⁷

In essence, Mbeki became the foremost champion of the continent's political and socio-economic development agenda.⁸⁸

NEPAD and the Situation in Africa

South Africa helped with the adoption of all NEPAD-related resolutions at the UNGA. Whenever possible, South Africa promoted NEPAD as a 'holistic, integrated, sustainable development initiative for the economic and social revival of Africa'.⁸⁹ In 2002, the South African delegation took the initiative to lobby the UNSC at a special session on the Situation in Africa (UNSC meeting 4460) on ways for the Council to expand its commitments in Africa. Delegate Rejoice Mabudafhasi⁹⁰ considered NEPAD to be the tool with which the Council could do this, stating that NEPAD offered an

... historic opportunity for the developed countries of the world to enter into a genuine partnership with Africa, based on mutual interest and benefit, shared commitment and binding agreement, under African leadership.

Furthermore, in recognition of the fact that poverty and underdevelopment fuel conflicts, South Africa requested the UNSC to implement three elements of peace and security highlighted by NEPAD:

[T]he promotion of long-term conditions for development and security; building the capacity of African institutions for early warning; and

enhancing African institutional capacity for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.

President Mbeki made his perspective on the importance of the African continent plain in 2002 during his opening address of the WSSD:

[A] message must come from this original home of all humanity that we are ready and prepared to be judged not by the number and eloquence of the resolutions we adopt, but by the speed and commitment with which we implement our agreements that must serve the peoples of the world. Nothing, whatsoever, can justify any failure on our part to respond to this expectation.⁹¹

From January 2000 through to May 2002, debates took place in the UNSC over the 'Situation in Africa'. Ambassador Kumalo⁹² described the first meeting over Africa as a 'wonderful, wonderful day', the intimation being that finally the continent would be recognised as worthy of considered attention. At this 4087th UNSC meeting, 'The impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa' was discussed. Ambassador Kumalo⁹³ also used this opportunity to link AIDS to poverty and underdevelopment and argued that the difference between Global North and South countries could be found in their diverging levels of development.

During meeting 4096, delegates pondered sustained solutions to Africa's challenges in a month dedicated to Africa. At this meeting, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma,⁹⁴ commended the majority of African countries on becoming 'the torch-bearers of a silent democratic revolution' and was further convinced that the year 2000 heralded the 'dawn of the 'African century', during which 'Africa would accomplish a lot'.

Developing a stronger link between the UN, the OAU/AU and the African sub-regional organisations in the interests of conflict resolution became the focal point under consideration during the UNSC's 4465th meeting. By 2002, the 4538th meeting of the UNSC deliberated over the newly created Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa.⁹⁵

At the 4538th meeting, South African Ambassador Kumalo⁹⁶ expressed his delegation's appreciation for the Ad Hoc Working Group. He declared that under effective management the Working Group could potentially coordinate the activities of the UNSC, the UNGA and the ECOSOC in helping Africa cope with conflict. Previously an Ad Hoc Working Group on Africa had been created in May 1998 to deal with issues of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

The United Nations Security Council

Thematically, in the UNSC South African delegates were keen to promote the 'African Agenda namely peace, security and development'.⁹⁷ The theme of South Africa's presidency of the UNSC in March 2007 (and again in April 2008) was 'the relationship between the UN and regional organisations', especially with regard to the AU. The Republic also tied this cooperative relationship to Africa and the resolution of conflict on the continent.⁹⁸ Indeed, the Council's Mission to Africa in June 2007 included wide-ranging consultations at the AU headquarters where decisions were taken to ensure more of an alignment of UN and AU peace efforts in Africa.

At a special session of the UNSC in 2002, current South African Deputy Minister for Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Rejoice Mabudafhasi,⁹⁹ emphasised that the 'root

causes of conflict in Africa were poverty and underdevelopment', both of which fell outside the Security Council's mandate. In order to circumvent this technical complication, regional organisations should work more in concert with the UNSC.¹⁰⁰ During an August 2007 UNSC debate, South African Ambassador Kumalo expressed his country's complete support for the role of the AU in conflict prevention, describing the continental organisation as a 'huge asset in complementing United Nations efforts'.¹⁰¹

In September 2007, the UNSC hosted the first ever Summit on Peace and Security in Africa. At this 'historic' event, President Mbeki argued that the real disadvantage behind Africa's goal to attain security and peace was a lack of capacity and resources and the UN must play a greater role in assisting the AU with this problem.¹⁰² South Africa's efforts to forge closer cooperation between the AU and the UN resulted in UNSC resolution 1809 (2008) adopted during the Republic's second presidency. The resolution led to the creation of the AU/UN Panel of Distinguished Persons headed by former Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi and comprising other members from the US, Mauritius, Kenya, Japan and Iran.¹⁰³ Before the resolution was adopted, President Mbeki stated that he was 'heartened at the deepening co-operation between (the) Council and the Peace and Security Council of the AU'.¹⁰⁴

South Africa's participation on the UNSC was deemed a 'special opportunity' for the country to promote peace on the African continent through the African Renaissance and the African Agenda.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, in this respect the Republic 'advanced African common positions, where relevant, and sought to secure international support for the African Union's peace and security architecture and its peacekeeping missions'.¹⁰⁶

In its first year on the Council, South Africa represented Africa along with Ghana and the Congo (Brazzaville). Ghana had previously served two terms on the UNSC in 1962 to 1963 and 1986 to 1987, and was serving its third term from 2006 to 2007. The Congo had served on the Council in 1986 to 1987 and again in 2006 to 2007. In 2008 South Africa shared African representation on the Council with Burkina Faso, which had served on the Council in 1984 to 1985 and later in 2008 to 2009, and Libya, formerly a non-permanent member from 1976 to 1977 and later from 2008 to 2009.¹⁰⁷ Despite its relative inexperience on the UNSC compared with its African counterparts, South Africa was not shy in asserting its independence on issues.¹⁰⁸ In 2008, for example, both South Africa and Libya voted against a draft resolution intended to impose sanctions against Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, but Burkina Faso voted in favour of it.¹⁰⁹

In the UNSC there are two kinds of substantive issues: thematic issues and conflict/post-conflict situations or country-specific issues. In a review of South Africa's time spent on the UNSC in 2007 and 2008, the DFA highlighted the following African country-specific issues as 'significant aspects' of South Africa's participation in the Council: Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Western Sahara and Zimbabwe.¹¹⁰ Thematically, the Republic was

... instrumental in helping to revitalize the debate on the relationship between the United Nations and regional organisations in terms of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, which was the theme of [South Africa's] Presidency of the Council in March 2007 and again in April 2008. This initiative highlighted the need to coordinate positions between the UN and African Union on African issues, which make up a large part of the Security Council's agenda.¹¹¹

Chapter VIII of the UN Charter contains three articles (52, 53 and 54), essentially concerning the independent right of regional organisations to engage in efforts to resolve conflicts regionally as long as these engagements are in the interests of maintaining international peace and security and the UNSC is kept fully informed of actions undertaken. Additionally, the UNSC may at times request regional organisations to undertake conflict resolution activities on its behalf as such groups are geographically better suited to deal with certain regional situations.

During its presidencies of the UNSC, South Africa's initiative to encourage discussion on the relationship between the AU especially and the UN was very well received by African delegates. President Mbeki's personal involvement and that of Ambassador Kumalo were particularly lauded. When UNSC resolution 1809 (2008) on 'Cooperation between the UN and regional organisations, in particular the African Union, in the maintenance of international peace and security was adopted', the Chairperson of the Commission of the AU, Alpha Konaré, thanked South Africa for its 'leadership on all African issues'; for dedicating its presidencies on the Council to Africa, and 'for listening to African peoples and African leaders'.¹¹² In addition, the presidents, vice-presidents, envoys and representatives of 24 African countries also expressed their gratitude to South Africa for its contributions to this debate.¹¹³

The DFA asserted that, after South Africa's first year on the UNSC, its actions and behaviours on the Council had 'successfully complemented South Africa's direct foreign policies – particularly those involving African issues such as mediation in conflict situations in Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Democratic Republic of Congo'.¹¹⁴

However, South Africa has met with criticism over its time on the UNSC in 2007 to 2008. For example, its behaviour concerning Zimbabwe and Myanmar stirred up controversy. This aside, there is no disputing that the Republic used its leadership position in the UNSC to focus the world's attention on the interests of Africa and the developing world.

Conclusion

This article examined South Africa's voting behaviour at the UN between 1994 and 2008 in relation to its efforts to advance African interests. As South African foreign policymakers began recreating the country's image after 1994, they soon decided that the UN was one of the most important multilateral platforms for raising the profile of Africa (and the Global South). Since 1994, Africa has been listed as a focal point directing South Africa's foreign policy decision-making. From 1999 onwards, the African Renaissance and later the African Agenda have been well publicised in the Republic's international relations declarations. In consideration of the context outside of this article's mandate, the prioritisation of the African continent in South Africa's foreign policy has continued under President's Zuma's administration.¹¹⁵

Three areas stand out in South Africa's voting behaviour on issues related to Africa:

1. South Africa is Africa's destiny

President Mandela had indicated early on that Africa would be South Africa's destiny, but in many respects the reverse may be true. The Republic was well aware of its political and economic interests being tied to those of Africa. The logical step therefore would be to defend Africa's interests

internationally and therefore by extension defend South Africa's too. It is reasonable to argue that South Africa soon came to be a pivotal player at the UN, and in other multilateral forums, representing the continent and pulling, or bringing, it into a new millennium. President Mbeki, though quick to mention his collaborative efforts, is mainly recognised as the designer of NEPAD and the chief negotiator in protecting Africa's interests in talks with the Global North. Although other African states would discount South Africa as the continent's only representative in world affairs, there is no denying the Republic's committed drive to bring Africa into the limelight.

2. Mantras can move mountains, slowly

The Republic's UN delegation created an almost predictable mantra on Africa at the UN; wherever possible referring to two sources of conflict on the continent – underdevelopment and poverty.¹¹⁶ These challenges, although instigated at systemic level through colonisation and imperialism, had to be addressed internally by Africans themselves

in conjunction with a Northern awareness of the urgency to accept and assist Africa in working for stability, peace and security. Although this process has been slow, steps have been undertaken through NEPAD and the AU and by South African efforts on the UNSC to better coordinate a successful working relationship between the UN and African regional groups.

3. The bigger picture is of a prosperous South

South Africa's foreign policy position in Africa (and in the developing world as a whole) is undeniably linked to its interests in achieving equal weight for all nations in political and economic decisionmaking structures, especially at the UN. Therefore, South Africa's role on the continent and its performance in the UN are linked.¹¹⁷ By ignoring the rest of Africa or failing to step up to the plate, South Africa risks damaging its longer-term foreign policy goals of, firstly, reforming the UN with continental backing and, secondly, benefitting directly from this reform in the position of Africa's elected representative on an enlarged UNSC.

Notes and References

- 1 This article draws from the author's doctoral thesis, 2013.
- 2 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 1996. *South African Government Information: Department of Foreign Affairs Discussion Document*. Available at <http://www.info.gov.za/greenpapers/1996/foraf1.htm>.
- 3 Cornelissen, S., 2006. Displaced multilateralism? South Africa's participation at the United Nations, disjunctures, continuities and contrasts. In Lee, D., Taylor, I., and Williams, P.D., eds., *The new multilateralism in South African diplomacy*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 26–27.
- 4 Van Wyk, J-A.K., 2004. South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy: A constructivist analysis. *Politeia*, 23(3), p. 128.
- 5 Quoted in Landsberg, C., 2007. South Africa and the making of the African Union and NEPAD: Mbeki's Progressive African Agenda. In Adebajo, A., Adedeji, A. and Landsberg, C., eds., *South Africa in Africa: The post-apartheid era*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, p. 196.
- 6 Barber, J., 2004. *Mandela's world: The international dimensions of South Africa's political revolution 1990–1999*. Oxford: James Currey, p. 148.
- 7 BBC News, 2006. SA wins UN Security Council seat. 17 October. Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6057922.stm>.
- 8 It should be noted at the outset that the model examines a specific area of foreign policy implementation, in particular a state's voting behaviour in the UN, and not the actual foreign policymaking process preceding implementation.
- 9 Three main bodies of literature concerning voting behaviour in the UN exist. The first body pertains to studies on the various policies of member states within the UN system, as well as reference to their voting behaviour. The second

- body incorporates the particular use of quantitative techniques to study voting behaviour in the UNGA; qualitative discussions of voting alignments have been attempted in the third body of literature.
- 10 Declarations refer to official foreign policymakers' speeches, discussion documents, strategic plans, reports, and government legislation, as well as academics' and researchers' observations of government.
 - 11 Voting sources comprise speeches of South African delegates and representatives to the UN from the UN Documentation Centre, as well as an examination of the recorded votes in the UN Index to Proceedings and the United Nations Bibliographic Information System (UNBISnet) – the two main databases concerning voting records in the UN and found in the Dag Hammarskjöld online library.
 - 12 For a discussion on consistency in foreign policy see the author's doctoral thesis.
 - 13 Nkoana-Mashabane, M., 2009. Speech delivered by M. Nkoana-Mashabane, Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, during the Ministerial Outreach Programme at University of Limpopo, 16 October. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/mashabane.html>.
 - 14 Riddell-Dixon, E., 2005. Canada's human security agenda: Walking the talk? *International Journal*, 60(4), p. 1067.
 - 15 Morgan, D. and Webber, M., 2002. Sub-Saharan Africa: Nigeria and South Africa. In Webber, M. and Smith, M., eds., *Foreign policy in a transformed world*. Harlow, UK: Prentice Hall, p. 234.
 - 16 Mandela, N., 1993. South Africa's future foreign policy. *Foreign Affairs*, 72(5), pp. 86–97.
 - 17 The Republic wasted no time in becoming a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1994. Eight years later in July 2002, South Africa hosted the OAU's re-launch as the African Union (AU) in Durban and chaired the AU from 2002–2003.
 - 18 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 1996. *South African Foreign Policy Discussion Document*. South African Government Information: Department of Foreign Affairs Discussion Document. Available at <http://www.info.gov.za/greenpapers/1996/foraf1.htm>.
 - 19 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). 2005. *Strategic Plan 2005–2008*. South Africa: Department of Foreign Affairs. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/departments/stratplan08.pdf>.
 - 20 Chhabra, H.S., 1997. *South African foreign policy: Principles, options, dilemmas*. New Delhi: Africa Publications (India), pp. 71–72.
 - 21 African National Congress (ANC), 1997. *Developing a strategic perspective on South African policy*. African National Congress Discussion Document. Available at <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2348> [Accessed on 20 April 2007].
 - 22 Vale, P. and Maseko, S., 1998. South Africa and the African Renaissance. *International Affairs*, 74(2), pp. 271–287.
 - 23 For variations on the meaning and significance of the African Renaissance, see amongst others, Mbeki, T., 1998. Speech by T. Mbeki, Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, at the United Nations University: the African renaissance, South Africa and the world, 9 April. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0409.htm> [Accessed on 20 September 2011]; Makgoba, M.W., 1999. *African Renaissance: The new struggle*. Cape Town: Mafube Tafelberg; Alden, C. and Le Pere, G., 2006. South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy. In Carlsnaes, W. and Nel, P., eds., *In full flight: South African foreign policy after apartheid*. Midrand: Institute for Global Dialogue. It was in its fundamental sense a discussion, philosophy and paradigm promoting Africa's responsibility for its own revival as a democratic continent with the ability to be economically independent and to become a respected global force in its own right. Maduna, P.M., 2004. Speech by P.M. Maduna, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, at the African Renaissance Conference on Constitutionalism, 16 November 1999. Available at <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/991125125p1009.htm> [Accessed on 20 September 2011].
 - 24 Mbeki, T., 1998b. Statement by T. Mbeki, Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, at the African renaissance conference, Johannesburg, 28 September 1998. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0928.htm> [Accessed on 20 September 2011].
 - 25 Barber, op. cit.
 - 26 The African Agenda became cemented in DFA Strategic Plans from 2003 onwards. It essentially became the overarching phrase describing South Africa's African foreign policy, including the vision of an African Renaissance, NEPAD, the newly created AU in 2002, and Africa's partnership with the developed world. See Landsberg, C., 2010. *The diplomacy of transformation: South Africa's foreign policy and statecraft*. Pan Macmillan: Johannesburg, p. 139.
 - 27 Landsberg later referred to the development of South Africa's African-centred globalist foreign policy.
 - 28 Landsberg, 2007, op. cit. p. 195.
 - 29 Between 1994 and 2008, South Africa spent almost 70 per cent of that time as an elected African representative on the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (1995–1997, 2001–2003 and 2005–2007) (UN Press Release, 1996: Internet). It was also elected to the 53-member Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) as one of Africa's 13 representatives for a period of three years from 2003–2005 and again from 2008–2010 (UNDESA, 2010: Internet). During the UNGA's 58th session, South Africa served as Vice-Chair of the Second Committee (the Economic and Financial Committee). The previous year, 2002, the Republic chaired the Special Political and Decolonisation Committee as well as becoming one of the 168 Member States of United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) (UN Agencies, 2011: Internet). In 2004, South Africa served as Vice-Chair of the UNGA's Fifth Committee which dealt with the UN's budget and administration.
 - 30 See Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 2005. *Strategic Plan 2005–2008*, pp. 19–23; 72–73.
 - 31 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) News and Events, 2003. *President Mbeki to lead South African delegation to the 58th session of the United Nations General Assembly*. New York, Monday 22–Wednesday 24 September 2003. Department of Foreign Affairs. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2003/ung0922.htm> [Accessed on 12 April 2011].

- 32 The Monterrey Consensus was the pledge that developed and developing countries took at the 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development held in Mexico to work together to finance development in order to reach the 2015 MDGs. At the Conference President Mbeki took the opportunity to promote NEPAD as an example of a mutually accountable partnership between the Global North and South and as a necessary instrument in advancing the cause of development for Global South states.
- 33 See Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 2003, op. cit.
- 34 UN specialised agencies referred to the independent organisations collaborating with the UN and each other through the coordinating network of ECOSOC.
- 35 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 2003. *Strategic Plan 2003–2005*. South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs. Available at www.dfa.gov.za/department.stratplan04.pdf [Accessed on 10 March 2010] p. 10.
- 36 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) News and Events, 2007. *Role of SA in the UN Security Council*. Question No.8 published in Internal Question Paper No. 3 of 20 February 2007. Department of Foreign Affairs. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2007pa/pa8.htm> [Accessed on 20 April 2010].
- 37 S/2007/421, 11 July 2007. Report of the Security Council mission to Addis Ababa, Khartoum, Accra, Abidjan and Kinshasa, 14 to 21 June 2007. New York: UNSC.
- 38 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 2009. *South Africa in the United Nations Security Council (2007–2008)*. Department of Foreign Affairs. Available at <http://www.southafrica-newyork.net/pmun/PDF/bookletb5.indd.pdf> [Accessed on 20 May 2010].
- 39 Additional information was sourced from press statements, reports and speeches documented by the UN Department of Public Information (DPI).
- 40 Mbeki, T., 2001. General debate. UNGA Plenary, 56th session, 44th meeting, 10 November, New York. (A/56/PV.44).
- 41 Mbeki, T., 2002. *Final review and appraisal of the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s*. UNGA Plenary, 57th session, 11th meeting, 16 September, New York. (A/57/PV.11).
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 A/57/PV.43, 4 November 2002. Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other elections: Election of twenty members of the Committee for Programme and Coordination. UNGA Plenary, 57th session, 43rd meeting, New York.
- 44 Kumalo, D.S., 2002. *Final review and appraisal of the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s*. UNGA Plenary, 57th session, 43rd meeting, 4 November, New York. (A/57/PV.43).
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 The South African delegation highlighted poverty and underdevelopment as causes of conflict in Africa. However, it did so in the context of the resolution's other 'persistent and emerging challenges facing Africa'. There are many causes of conflict, not just in Africa, but in any region of the world. Joseph Nye's (2004, *Understanding international conflicts*) uses of main, precipitating and immediate causes, as well as Kenneth Waltz's (1959, *Man, the state, and war: A theoretical analysis*) images/causes of war in IR, the individual, the state and systems level of analysis offer substantive insight into conflict analysis.
- 47 Dlamini-Zuma, N.C., 2006. Speech at the London School of Economics (LSE) in the Political Science Lecture Series, 25 October 2006. The United Nations in the 21st Century. Available at <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/06102610451003.htm> [Accessed on 24 April 2011].
- 48 Department of Public Information (DPI), 2002. World Summit on Sustainable Development, 26 August–4 September plenary, Johannesburg, 2 September. ENV/DEV/J/24. Responsibility for Each Other, for Planet – Embodies Summit Hope. United Nations. Available at <http://www.un.org/events/wssd/summaries/envdevj24.htm> [Accessed on 30 September 2011].
- 49 Sachs, T.D., 2007. The Secretary-General's agenda: Indispensable for sustainable development. *UN Chronicle*, XLIV(1), pp. 20–21.
- 50 Crowley, C.C., 2007. Guinea-Bissau added to agenda of PBC. UNGA Peacebuilding Commission, organisational committee, 5th meeting 19 December, New York (PBC/26).
- 51 Kumalo, D.S., 2002. *Final review and appraisal of the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s*. UNGA Plenary, 56th session, 110th meeting, 15 August, New York. (A/56/PV.110).
- 52 Kumalo, D.S., 2001. *UN New Agenda for Development of Africa in the 1990s*. UNGA Plenary, 65th session, 38th meeting, 5 November, New York (A/56/PV.38).
- 53 United Nations Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC), 2011. *Helping bring peace and stability in the DRC*. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monuc/index.shtml> [Accessed on 20 April 2011].
- 54 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *European Union mission in Democratic Republic of Congo contributed successfully to country's political transition*, Security Council told. 9 January (SC/8936). UNSC, 5616th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc8936.doc.htm> [Accessed on 8 August 2010].
- 55 Mnguni, L.L.A., 2006. The future prospects of South Africa's foreign policy. Eskom Convention Centre, Midrand. Paper presented at the South African Army Seminar. Policy, Research and Analysis Unit: Pretoria.
- 56 S/RES/1791, 19 December 2007. Security Council resolution 1791 (2007) [on extension of the mandate of the UN Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB)]. Resolution adopted by the UNSC, 5809th meeting, New York.
- 57 Mandela, N., 2005. Foreword. In Bentley, K.A. and Southall, R., eds, *An African peace process: Mandela, South Africa and Burundi*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- 58 Bentley, K.A. and Southall, R., 2005. *An African peace process: Mandela, South Africa and Burundi*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- 59 Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, op. cit., p. 18.
- 60 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Security Council extends integrated office in Burundi until 31 December 2008, unanimously adopting resolution 1791(2007)*. 19 December (SC/9208).

- UNSC, 5809th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9208.doc.htm> [Accessed on 10 May 2011].
- 61 Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, op. cit., p. 19.
- 62 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Security Council authorizes six-month African Union mission in Somalia, unanimously adopting resolution 1744 (2007)*. 20 February (SC/8960). UNSC 5633rd meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc8960.doc.htm> [Accessed on 10 June 2011].
- 63 Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, op. cit., p. 21.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *International Criminal Court prosecutor tells Security Council Sudan's government 'not cooperating' in Darfur investigation, massive crimes continue*. 5 December (SC/9186). UNSC, 5789th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9186.doc.htm> [Accessed on 12 May 2011].
- 66 Mnguni, op. cit., p. 11.
- 67 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Security Council authorizes six-month African Union mission in Somalia, unanimously adopting resolution 1744 (2007)*. 20 February (SC/8960). UNSC 5633rd meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc8960.doc.htm> [Accessed on 10 June 2011].
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2008. *Security Council extends Western Sahara mission until 30 April 2008, unanimously adopting resolution 1783 (2007)*. 31 October (SC/9159). UNSC, 5773rd meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9159.doc.htm> [Accessed on 7 June 2011].
- 70 Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), 2010. *Role of South African government in peace and Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)*. Internal Question Paper No. 4 of 26 February 2010. Department of International Relations and Cooperation. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2010/pa/pq329.html> [Accessed on 3 April 2011].
- 71 United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), 2010. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unoci/> [Accessed on 28 August 2011].
- 72 Mnguni, op. cit., p. 11.
- 73 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Political agreement signed in March eased tensions in Côte d'Ivoire, but delays in implementation growing concern, Security Council told*. 22 October (SC/9150). UNSC, 5765th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9150.doc.htm> [Accessed on 5 June 2011].
- 74 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Security Council renews Côte d'Ivoire sanctions until 31 October 2008, unanimously adopting resolution 1782 (2007)*. 29 October (SC/9158). UNSC, 5772nd meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9158.doc.htm> [Accessed on 10 June 2011].
- 75 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Special Court for Sierra Leone faces funding crisis, as Charles Taylor trial gets under way, Security Council told today in briefing by Court's Senior Officials*. 8 June (SC/9037). UNSC 5690th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9037.doc.htm> [Accessed on 5 June 2011].
- 76 Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), 2010. *Organisational committee member*. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/orgcommittee.shtml> [Accessed on 28 August 2011].
- 77 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Ethiopia, Eritrea urged in Security Council presidential statement to implement boundary commission decision on disputed border, 13 November 2007 (SC/9169)*. UNSC, 5778th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9169.doc.htm> [Accessed on 10 May 2011].
- 78 Hamill, J. and Spence, J., 1997. *South Africa and international organisations*. In Carlsnaes, W. and Muller, M., eds, *Change and South African external relations*. Johannesburg: International Thomson Publishing.
- 79 South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), 2008. *South African Foreign Policy Monitor: South in Africa – an assessment*. Johannesburg: SAIIA.
- 80 Alden and Le Pere, op. cit., p. 54.
- 81 Bischoff, P-H., 2008. *Pan-African multilateralism: Transformative or disconnected? Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 35(2), pp. 177–195.
- 82 South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), op. cit., p. 1.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Venter, D., 2001. *South African foreign policy decision making in the African context*. In Khadiagala, G.M. and Lyons, T., eds., *African foreign policies: Power and process*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, p. 171.
- 85 Alden and Le Pere, op. cit., p. 60.
- 86 Venter, op. cit., p. 171.
- 87 Cargill, T., 2010. *Our common strategic interest: Africa's role in the post-G8 world*. Chatham House Report, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.
- 88 Landsberg, C., 2010. *The diplomacy of transformation: South Africa's foreign policy and statecraft*. Johannesburg: Pan Macmillan.
- 89 Mabudafhasi, R., 2002. *The situation in Africa*. UNSC 57th year, 4460 meeting, 29 January 2002, New York (S/PV.4460), p. 33.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Department of Public Information, op. cit.
- 92 Kumalo, D.S., 2000. *The situation in Africa: Impact of AIDS on peace and security*. UNSC, 55th year, 4087 meeting, 10 January, New York (S/PV.4087), p. 19.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Dlamini-Zuma, N.C., 2000. *The situation in Africa*. UNSC 55th year, 4096 meeting, 31 January, New York (S/PV.4096).
- 95 S/PV.4538, 22 May 2002. *The situation in Africa: Ad hoc working group on conflict prevention and resolution in Africa*. UNSC 4538th meeting, New York
- 96 Kumalo, D.S., 2002. *The situation in Africa: Regional security*. UNSC, 57th year, 4538 meeting, 22 May, New York (S/PV.4538).
- 97 Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, 2011. *South Africa at the United Nations*. Available at <http://www.southafrica-newyork.net/pmun/about.htm> [Accessed on 16 December 2011].
- 98 Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, op. cit., p. 10.
- 99 Mabudafhasi, op. cit.
- 100 S/2002/46, 11 January 2002. Letter

- dated 10 January 2002 from the Permanent Representative of Mauritius to the United Nations addressed to the president of the Security Council. New York: UNSC.
- 101 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Security Council reiterates commitment to conflict prevention in Africa; presidential statement follows day-long debate, 28 August 2007 (SC/9105)*. UNSC 5735th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9105.doc.htm> [Accessed on 5 June 2011].
- 102 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2007. *Darfur, Somalia high on Security Council agenda as members hold historic summit on peace, security in Africa, 25 September 2007 (SC/9128)*. UNSC, 5749th meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9128.doc.htm> [Accessed on 5 June 2011].
- 103 UN News Centre, 12 September 2008. *Former Italian prime minister to head African Union – UN peacekeeping panel*. Available at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=28037&Cr=african+union&Cr1> [Accessed on 29 September 2011].
- 104 S/PV.5868, 16 April 2008. *Peace and security in Africa*. UNSC 5868th meeting, New York.
- 105 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), 2006. *United Nations: History and present status*. Department of Foreign Affairs. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/inter/un.htm> [Accessed on 2 February 2012].
- 106 Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, op. cit., p. 6.
- 107 United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 2011. *List of countries elected members of the Security Council*. Available at http://www.un.org/sc/list_eng5.asp [Accessed on 2 March 2011].
- 108 The Republic did not vote in line with its African partners on UNSC resolution 1757 introduced by Belgium, France, Italy, Slovakia, the UK and the US. The resolution on the Establishment of a Special Tribunal for Lebanon strongly condemned the February 2005 terrorist bombings in Lebanon which killed former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and 14 others and called for those responsible to be brought to justice. Ghana and the Congo voted in favour of this draft but South Africa chose to abstain (S/RES/1757, 2007: 5). Ambassador Kumalo's technical argument in explaining that it was not appropriate for the Security Council to impose such a tribunal on Lebanon, especially under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, was, once again, evidence of the Republic's use of procedural manipulation or a ping-pong strategy in its decision-making. Similarly, in a draft UNSC resolution on the situation of Myanmar, there was no common 'African position'. South Africa voted 'no', whereas the Congo abstained and Ghana voted in favour expressing the belief that human rights issues were fundamental to international peace and security.
- 109 United Nations (UN) Press Release, 2008. *Security Council fails to adopt sanctions against Zimbabwe leadership as two Permanent Members cast negative votes*. 11 July (SC/9396). UNSC, 5933rd meeting. Available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sc9396.doc.htm> [Accessed on 8 May 2011].
- 110 Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, op. cit., pp. 18–22.
- 111 Ibid., p. 2.
- 112 S/PV.5868, 16 April 2008. *Peace and security in Africa*. UNSC 5868th meeting, New York, p. 34.
- 113 S/PV.5868, op. cit., p. 233.
- 114 Erasmus, J., 2008. *SA to head UN Security Council*. 12 February. Available at http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=288:unsecurity-council120208&catid=47:africanews&Itemid=116 [Accessed on 13 April 2011].
- 115 DIRCO Strategic Plan 2010–2013, 2010. Available at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/departement/strategic%20plan%202010-2013/index.htm>
- 116 Although these two issues have been emphasised by South Africa's UN delegation, they should not be considered the only causes of conflict in Africa.
- 117 Ajulu, R., 1995. *South Africa and the north/south: pragmatism versus principle*. In Landsberg, C., Le Pere, G. and Van Nieuwkerk, A., eds., *Mission imperfect: Redirecting South Africa's foreign policy*. Braamfontein: Foundation for Global Dialogue; Doornfontein: Centre for Policy Studies. p. 51.

A Comparative Analysis of Local Governance between South Africa and China

In April 2014 South Africa will be celebrating 20 years of democracy, which requires introspection on its state of local governance. China is used as a comparative case study because its economic growth has been strongly linked to local governance strategies. The article makes use of three variables to determine strategies that can drive local economic growth through global processes. The areas examined are local government reform and decentralisation processes, the fiscal control systems in the local governance process in both countries, and globalisation and local governance. This comparative analysis highlights both the deficiencies and the strengths that South Africa should consider implementing at its local governance level. The article also highlights that performance-driven theories and practice are essential tools for developmental states in facilitating policy intervention and implementation.

Funeka Yazini April

Funeka April is a research specialist in the Governance and Security Programme at the Africa Institute of South Africa. She is also a PhD candidate at the School of Economic Development, University of Limpopo.

Introduction

The impetus which informs the drive for a developmental state that promotes growth and development hinges on the capacity of the local sphere of government to discharge its responsibilities effectively. Around the world, local governments increasingly perform a pivotal economic developmental promotion role within their localities. In both developed and developing countries, local governments provide strategic guidance to local economic development (LED) promoters by actively coordinating and consolidating their actions towards achieving strategic LED objectives. They also intervene to enhance regulatory environments and invest strategically (directly or through innovative public-private partnerships) to address their economies' infrastructure and developmental needs.¹

In essence, a developmental state plays an active role in guiding economic development and using the resources of the country to meet the needs of the people. A developmental state tries to balance economic growth and social development. It uses state resources and state influence to attack poverty and expand economic opportunities. Chalmers Johnson defines the developmental state as a state that is focused on economic development and takes necessary policy measures to accomplish that objective.²

In other words, a developmental state is characterised by having strong state intervention, as well as extensive regulation and planning. South Africa as a developmental state over the past 20 years has made great strides in certain areas such as the building of RDP houses and ensuring that more disadvantaged youth that qualify have access to universities. However, the country is still battling with many service delivery issues such as sanitation, basic services, health, and housing backlogs. The fact is that economic growth and development need high quality and reliable government services – ranging from water and sewage to electricity generation, transport and spatial planning. The question therefore is at what level has the technical capacity of South Africa's developmental state been able to translate broad objectives into programmes and projects and to ensure their implementation.

In 1994, South Africa committed to building a developmental state that guides national economic development efficiently by mobilising the resources of society and directing them toward the realisation of common goals. The signing of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, shaped local government as the epicentre of the government delivery system and at the heart of poverty eradication initiatives.³ Furthermore, both the 2000 and 2006 local government democratic elections heralded a new epoch for the local sphere of government informed by the imperatives of fast-tracking service delivery to local communities, the enhancement of the financial performance of municipalities, the strengthening of human resource capacity and the broad consolidation of institutional capacity for municipalities. All these measures were designed to improve the growth and development of the country from a local and national perspective. However, given the current state of local governance it

is questionable whether South Africa has acquired the art of acting locally, nationally and globally as a way of facilitating its developmental growth and strategies such as the National Development Plan (NDP).

China, on the other hand, has managed to implement industrial growth plans at both the local and global level. China's developmental state is based on a successful solution to the principal agent problem. Central government solves the principal agent problem by creating incentives for officials at all levels of government to pursue their own economic objectives. These objectives have primarily been the achievement of rapid economic growth.⁴ China serves as a good comparative case study because, through its development models, it has the world's second largest economy by nominal gross domestic product (GDP) and by purchasing power parity after the United States.⁵ China is the world's largest producer and consumer of agricultural products and some 300 million Chinese farm workers are in the industry, mostly labouring on pieces of land about the size of US farms.⁶ It should be noted that China's economic growth is significantly created from special economic zones that spread successful economic experiences that are implemented at the local level.

China began to make major reforms to its economy at the local governance level in 1978. The Chinese leadership adopted a pragmatic perspective on many political and socio-economic problems, and quickly began to introduce aspects of a capitalist economic system. China's economic growth since the reform has been very rapid, exceeding the East Asian Tigers. Economists estimate China's GDP growth from 1978 to 2013 at between 9,5 and 11,5 per cent a year.⁷ Since the beginning of Deng Xiaoping's reforms, China's GDP has risen tenfold. Average wages rose six-fold between 1978 and 2005,

while absolute poverty declined from 41 per cent of the population to 5 per cent from 1978 to 2001.⁸

Furthermore, the success of China's township and village enterprises (TVEs), which are a major aspect of local governance, is one of the most distinctive institutional features of China's economic transition. Nationally, the output of TVEs, defined as all rural collectively owned enterprises, grew more than six-fold in real terms between 1985 and 1997, leading China's rapid industrial and overall growth. By 1993, TVEs already accounted for 36 per cent of the national industrial output, up from 9 per cent in 1978. Within the rural sector, the TVEs accounted for three-quarters of rural industrial output, or more than one-quarter of the national total.⁹

In South Africa, on the other hand, it is apparent that the local sphere of government is currently faced with critical challenges and problems pertaining to the effective and sustainable provision of basic services; administrative capacity and institutional performance to drive service delivery and the effective implementation of government policies and programmes.¹⁰ Increasingly, the South African government has devoted much attention and resources to the local sphere of government in order to ensure its efficacy in line with constitutional imperatives. This is attested to by the initiation of Project Consolidate in 2004 as part of providing hands-on support to low-capacity municipalities, the provision of Municipal Infrastructure Grants amounting to billions of rand, the setting up of legislated intergovernmental structures to ensure both vertical and horizontal interaction among and between the three spheres of government and the formulation of the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, 2003, with a view to

ensuring sound financial management within the local sphere of government legislation.¹¹

However, as South Africa celebrates 20 years of democracy, the state of local governance in South Africa is considered to be in a crisis state. Despite several years of such 'developmentalism' and the more recent attempts to make up for the fiscal deficit at local government level (with national transfers to local government coming in at around R70 billion for 2011/2012 but still constituting just 9 per cent of total national government expenditure), as well as the adoption of a new 'turnaround strategy', the realities are as bad, if not worse, than they were when the 'developmental state' turn was made.¹² Needless to say, the chaos at the local government level has contributed to the national government level, as South Africa's economy is only expected to grow at 3 per cent in 2014. Moreover, the rising fiscal deficit and current account deficit, which were forecast at 4,9 and 6,1 per cent of GDP respectively for 2013, make South Africa vulnerable to the reversal of capital inflows and at the mercy of investor sentiment.¹³

South Africa continues to face the triple challenge of chronically high unemployment, poverty and inequality amid a slow and volatile domestic and global economic environment. Given the strong diplomatic relations between South Africa and China, this article looks at measures South Africa can compare to and learn from Chinese local governance strategies in facilitating developmental growth at the local governance level. The comparison is done by assessing the ability of the South African state to take the lead in defining a common national agenda and to mobilise all of society to take part in the implementation of this agenda at a local governance level by comparing three key areas: the state of local

governance in both countries, the fiscal control systems in local governance, local government implementation and reform processes, and global economics and local governance. The fact is that South Africa as a developmental state must play a much stronger role in establishing clear, measurable and time-bound targets for common programmes, and for monitoring their implementation. This comparative case study will also determine whether South Africa is implementing developmental state objectives effectively.

South Africa's State of Local Governance

South Africa, unlike other emerging markets such as China, has struggled through the late 2000s recession, and the recovery has been largely led by private and public consumption growth, while export volumes and private investment have yet to fully recover.¹⁴ Per capita GDP growth has proved to be mediocre, though improving, growing by 1,6 per cent a year from 1994 to 2009, and by 2,2 per cent over the 2000 to 2009 decade.¹⁵ In the second quarter of 2010, the jobless rate increased to 25,3 per cent, and the number of people with work fell by 61 000 to 12,7 million. The biggest decline in employment was recorded in the manufacturing industry, which shed 53 000 workers.¹⁶ These dismal statistics are one of the reasons why there is a need for the government to implement effective measures at the local governance level in order for the National Development Plan (NDP) to work.

Another key factor identified as an example demonstrating lack of effective local governance is the recurring service delivery protests which have started costing the lives of the public. According to the Freedom of Expression Institute, South Africa currently has one of the

highest rates of public protest in the world.¹⁷ A quick trip to any South African municipality will demonstrate an endless array of essential unmet services. There are a number of reasons provided for the service delivery protests which include allegations of rampant corruption and nepotism within local government structures. Other causes identified include political opportunism, inadequate community engagement, dysfunctional ward committees, and poor performance by municipalities. The ineffective role of the municipalities in promoting sustainable development has, however, been established as one of the key causes of the public protests and instability. More importantly, the inefficient state of municipal affairs has contributed to the slow national economic growth and industrialisation.

Given the challenges of effective local governance at the operational level, some scholars have argued how the politicisation of development has now become an issue where individual interests override the greater common good. The corruption and bureaucracy cited earlier have contributed to the frequent lack of coordination between different government actors and private sector, donor and non-government organisation (NGO) LED initiatives, leading to often fragmented and uncoordinated initiatives at local level, thereby impacting on manufacturing, education, skills development, growth of the informal economy and so forth. Furthermore, key capacity constraints exist in terms of the fact that many projects are consultant driven and hence dependent in nature. Business planning is often not properly understood and is inadequate, LED committees and officials lack requisite management skills, and project planning to address the aforementioned challenges is poor.

South Africa is defined and regarded as a developmental state. In the context of the South

African Constitution, 1996, and specifically section 152, a developmental state implies that municipalities assume a greater and significant role in economic and social development. Local government is aptly defined as a sphere of government located within communities and well placed to respond appropriately to local needs, interests and expectations of communities. Moreover, local government is viewed as the coalface of public service delivery. This view is also articulated by Thornhill who states that local government is often the first point of contact between an individual and a government institution. Therefore, it is often argued that local government is the government closest to the people.¹⁸

Being the government closest to the people, it is to be expected that a core function of municipalities is the rendering of a variety of basic but essential services to the community within its jurisdiction.¹⁹ The provision of services by municipalities is a constitutional obligation. Part B of Schedule 5 of the Constitution, concerning functions falling concurrently within the national and provincial competence constituent units, identifies the following services that fall within the ambit of local government and its municipalities. These are water; electricity; town and city planning; road and storm water drainage; waste management; emergency services, for example fire-fighting; licences; fresh produce markets; parks and recreation; security; libraries; and economic planning.²⁰ Part B of Schedule 4 of the Constitution further identifies as functions within the exclusive domain of provincial government the following matters that are also the responsibility of municipalities: air pollution, building regulations, child care facilities, electricity and gas reticulation, local tourism, municipal airports, municipal planning, municipal health services, municipal public transport and municipal public works.²¹

The mandate for local government is also succinctly contained in the preamble to the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998):

A vision of democratic and developmental local government in which municipalities fulfil their constitutional obligations to ensure sustainable, effective and efficient municipal services, promote social and economic development, encourage a safe and healthy environment by working with communities in creating environments and human settlements in which all our people can lead uplifted and dignified lives.²²

The *White Paper on Local Government* asserts that 'basic services enhance the quality of life of citizens and increase their social and economic opportunities by promoting health and safety, facilitating access to work, to education, to recreation and stimulating new productive activities'.²³ Local government is required to take a leadership role, and to involve and empower citizens and stakeholder groups in the development process, in order to create social resources and engender a sense of common purpose in finding local solutions for sustainability. Local municipalities therefore have a critical role to play as influential policymakers and as institutions of local democracy. It is in this regard that local municipalities are now being pressurised to become strategic, visionary and vastly influential in the way they operate.

Within the urban context specifically, the 1996 Constitution defined a new developmental mandate for local government, namely, that it should become a key catalyst for locally led social and economic development.²⁴ This concept was taken up further in the 1998 Local Government White Paper and supporting legislation, which recognised that 'municipalities face great challenges in promoting human

rights and meeting human needs, addressing past backlogs and spatial distortions, and planning for a sustainable future'.²⁵ Additionally, at local government level the primary focus was essentially to pursue 'Developmental Local Government'.²⁶ The South African government decentralised power in order to create better opportunities for direct participation in service delivery, policy and decision-making processes by civil society. These actions were conducted in an effort to speed up reformation of developmental local government.

South Africa's local government implementation and reform process

One of the critical constitutional features of local government in South Africa after 1994 is its developmental orientation. For example, due to a range of structural disadvantages created by apartheid, rural areas still require a high level of government intervention to promote development, and if these interventions are to be successful and sustainable they must be guided by a clear vision.²⁷ In response to South Africa's legacy of apartheid, the newly elected democratic government launched its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) following the elections in 1994. The ANC government stated in this regard: 'The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future.'²⁸

The RDP was the ANC's vision for social justice after apartheid and the guiding framework for government policy in the first term. The RDP gave local government an expansive mandate to meet basic needs and promote people-centred government and outlined the key principles of democratic local government, such as a single tax base, participatory government,

cross-subsidisation of service delivery, and writing off of the debts accrued by black local authorities. The white paper would consolidate the RDP principles into a vision for developmental local government. Local government was conceptualised as an important bridge. Improved capital expenditure in the urban built environment (transport, energy, FIFA World Cup stadiums) would crowd in private sector investment, boosting growth in the first economy and hence job creation. Municipal expenditure on basic needs, as part of a wider social safety net for the poor, would help to combat poverty in the second economy.²⁹

However, the RDP process has faced serious capacity challenges in reforming the rural communities thereby strengthening local government. According to the Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority (LGSETA) Report published in 2012, 31 per cent of municipal managers have qualifications other than those related to finance, legal, public administration, planning and development and 28 per cent of chief financial officers do not hold finance-related qualifications.³⁰ Equally, 35 per cent of technical managers are without engineering qualifications. This state of affairs clearly impacts negatively on the performance of the municipalities in question as these senior municipal executives are expected to provide expert views and opinions to the political structures and political office-bearers operating within municipalities such as mayoral committees, the executive mayors and mayors.³¹

In a bid to augment RDP objectives, and local government in general, Project Consolidate was designed as a two-year national intervention (2004–2006) to support municipalities lacking the expertise to discharge their mandate to provide basic services. It also sought to address the fact that national and provincial departments were not fulfilling their

constitutional duty to support municipalities. Project Consolidate deployed technical experts to 136 municipalities – generally in rural areas or former homelands – which had the highest backlogs in basic services and were economically depressed.³² The Development Bank of South Africa introduced a similar programme, called *Siyenza Manje*, to support financial management and infrastructure planning. By April 2008, Project Consolidate and *Siyenza Manje* deployments totalled 1 124 in 268 municipalities.³³ By putting a number to the municipalities under stress, government had in effect announced that there was a systemic crisis in local government.³⁴ The problem, however, is that in practice these interventions did little to improve the financial performance of municipalities, which is perhaps the most important indicator of the health of local government.³⁵ Moreover, in his audit report for 2009/2010, the Auditor-General found that despite the ‘abundance of technical tools to support municipalities’ the results were only ‘fractionally better than the previous year’.³⁶

In addition to the technical interventions, the Local Government Turnaround Strategy (TAS) emerged from COGTA’s assessment of the state of local government in 2009.³⁷ The report found that while local government had contributed to democratisation, the system as a whole was ‘showing signs of distress’.³⁸ Indicators of this distress included ‘huge service delivery backlogs’, a breakdown in council communication with and accountability to citizens, political interference in administration, corruption, fraud, bad management, increasingly violent service delivery protests, factionalism in parties, and depleted municipal capacity.³⁹ These were symptoms of deeper systemic problems in local government and cooperative governance.⁴⁰ In some cases ‘accountable government and the rule of law had collapsed or were

collapsing’ as a result of corruption, profiteering and mismanagement. Following this report, the government adopted the TAS as an outcome in its five-year programme of action. Three key priorities for TAS were improving access to basic services; deepening participatory democracy; and improving financial management and administrative capacity.⁴¹

Fiscal control systems in local governance

A report published by the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in 2009 identified important issues with regard to councillor financial capacity, notably that there is inadequate legal support and advice for council decision-making.⁴² Weak leadership in strategic management, including corporate governance, a shortage of skills to implement financial management, legislation, misplacement of skills within municipalities and political considerations in the appointment of senior managers without the required qualifications has tremendously weakened the performance of municipalities.⁴³ Some municipalities have inadequate financial management capacity. The result is that budgeting, accounting, credit control and financial reporting systems are weak. Thus, about 60 per cent of the 283 municipalities cannot give evidence to account for the revenue they have received.⁴⁴ This means that the municipal managers and financial officers are unable to depict how and when financial transfers from government took place and cannot provide proof of where the amounts listed in their financial statements originate from.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Auditor-General’s report for 2009/2010 showed the extent of the challenge, when only seven of the 237 municipalities received clean audits.⁴⁶ Drawing on comparable findings from the Auditor-General’s report for 2007/08, COGTA’s state of local government report noted the worrying

state of municipal financial management: 54 per cent of municipalities in 2007/08 received qualified, disclaimer or adverse audit opinions and in 45 per cent of cases 'unauthorised, fruitless and wasteful expenditure' had led to the qualifications.⁴⁷

Academics such as Momoniat have outlined a number of shortcomings in local government finance control systems in South Africa, such as the increasing reliance of municipalities on transfers from national government to fund their activities owing to a lack of own-revenue effort and a lack of commitment to leverage private funding; the outstanding debtors of municipalities for which data is available amounted to US\$3,7 billion in the 2009/10 fiscal year compared to US\$3,4 billion in the 2007/08 fiscal year;⁴⁸ and the lack of fiscal programmes to strengthen the capacity of municipalities which remain fragmented and difficult to evaluate. This is a significant problem, particularly given concerns about financial capacity constraints in municipalities.⁴⁹

In the final analysis, fiscal control is essential for South Africa's local governance system to develop. Until the fiscal control element is sorted, it will be impossible for South African local government to meet 21st century demands where municipalities try and ensure that a 'reasonable' amount of current expenditures be financed by means of own resources. Instead, the lack of finance capacity has contributed to a history of dependence and of bailouts by the national government due to 'soft budget' policies. However, financing and budgeting are essential in addressing the mass protests by communities against poor service delivery. The fact is more and better quality services require sufficient funding and sound financial practices so that the sustainability of government finances at the national level are not jeopardised.⁵⁰

Global economics and local governance

One of the outstanding features of global governance is how the process of globalisation has become the rapid diffusion of industrial production at the local government level. Industrial development zones (IDZs) and special economic zones (SEZs) have become major components of promoting industrialisation at local level. One of the most important issues facing South African local governance regarding SEZ implementation is whether it will be able to successfully diversify its economies, particularly minerals, into the manufacturing of exports. South Africa currently has four IDZs in Port Elizabeth (Coega), East London (ELIDZ), Richards Bay (RBIDZ) and Gauteng (OR Tambo International Airport). The South African Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) has also developed a new policy which expands the IDZ programme to SEZs, which will be implemented in approximately ten provinces which will include the current IDZs.

The ability of local government to promote their economies at a global level with the national government strategy is critical if South Africa is to grow its economies in the same way that China did. Over the past ten years the IDZs have not been effective in growing the local government economies due to limited strategic planning and financing, poor guidance on government arrangements, and the poor coordination of the government agencies involved. Furthermore, with regard to foreign direct investment (FDI), which was instrumental in local government growth in China from 2002 to 2010, a total of 40 investors were attracted into only three IDZs that were actually operational – Coega, East London and Richards Bay – and have spent about R11,8 billion. The DTI itself spent about R5,3 billion on the programme.⁵¹

There are several factors that the South African government will have to consider in

order for the local governments to effectively implement SEZs. These include skills capacity, bureaucracy, local and national government alignment, and corruption. Unlike the period when China set up SEZs, there are now many SEZ programmes proliferating in the global market and making labour more competitive. Skills shortage is considered a major governance constraint on legitimate SEZ growth. In 2007, there was an estimated shortage of 300 000 skilled workers. Key capacity constraints exist in terms of the fact that many projects are consultant driven and hence dependent in nature. Business planning is often not properly understood and is inadequate; LED committees and officials lack requisite management skills; and project planning to address the aforementioned challenges is poor. Furthermore, of key significance for foreign investors to establish a business in an economic zone will be the availability of skilled workers to meet the competitive demands.

Bureaucracy and corruption, on the other hand, have contributed to the frequent lack of coordination between different government actors and the private sector, donor and NGO LED initiatives, leading to often fragmented and uncoordinated initiatives at local level, thereby impacting on manufacturing, education, skills development, growth of the informal economy and so forth. Bureaucracy also becomes a stumbling block, particularly when international investors start setting up business in the country. Bureaucracy has also been known to rear its head at many levels such as registering property, work permits and electricity. Local and national government alignment is critical in stamping out some of the bureaucracy that can emanate, thereby hindering FDI from increasing. Finally, with regard to corruption, this factor has already been discussed extensively in the finance section. The government

alignment process will also have to strategise a method of preventing greed from influencing the process.

It is also critical to note that the DTI is taking steps to combat challenges that may hinder the SEZs from flourishing at the local government level. Not only has the DTI redesigned and had SEZ legislation passed that would enable the development of diverse types of SEZs in accordance with the changing national economic developmental priorities as well as regional developmental needs and contexts,⁵² but it has also been actively working on a one-stop-shop model designed to reduce bureaucratic delays at a local level, thereby also stemming corruption and promoting government alignment. However, the key to this SEZ process is ensuring that developmental competitiveness will be able to help promote the potential of each municipality at the industrial stage onto the global economic platform.

Summarising the state of local governance in South Africa

Currently, local government remains predominately geared to the needs of the first economy run like private businesses with all the attendant consequences for poor 'clients'. All macro-development decisions affecting the local citizenry are taken by politico-bureaucratic and economic elites and democratic representatives have largely become rubber stamps. At the most visible level, increasingly violent service delivery protests have been the staple diet across the country for a number of years running and the scope and breadth of dysfunctional as well as poorly performing municipalities have not lessened.⁵³ The administrative, fiscal and global processes need to be dealt with urgently in order to fast-track local governance best practices.

The Deputy Minister of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Yunus Carrim, has admitted that national government failed to intervene early on when a host of municipalities were showing signs of failure, did not 'anticipate' the extent to which constant 'power struggles' within and between municipalities 'would paralyse service delivery' and 'didn't foresee the extent to which municipalities would become the soft underbelly of patronage and corruption in our country'.⁵⁴ Carrim's department, in its own State of Local Government Report in 2009, openly acknowledged the multifaceted crisis which includes widespread institutional and delivery 'paralysis', political factionalism, massive services backlogs, a spreading culture of patronage, fraud and nepotism, ineffective and inaccessible systems of accountability, huge amounts of fruitless and wasteful expenditure, lack of financial management and poor overall skills, as well as the increasing 'alienation' of ordinary people from local government.⁵⁵

What do these factors mean for a developmental state like South Africa? As indicated at the beginning of this article, a developmental state is characterised by having strong state intervention, as well as extensive regulation and planning. Brooks Spector argues that for a country like South Africa, the most crucial inputs necessary for a dependable state are (i) currently maintaining dependable, reliable energy supplies; (ii) a well-educated and well-trained workforce; and (iii) reliable, available water supplies that are used as efficiently as possible.⁵⁶ Based on the three identified prerequisites, it is essential for the South African state to intervene effectively by ensuring that they are provided, which would in turn resolve the litany of woes at the local governance level, including the three comparative areas highlighted such as fiscal control systems. If South

Africa is committed to building a developmental state that efficiently guides national economic development by mobilising the resources of society and directing them toward the realisation of common goals, then the government should not only place the needs of the poor and social issues such as health care, housing, education and a social safety net at the top of the national agenda, but also apply the necessary prescriptions like the three prerequisites no matter how unpopular they may become politically.

China: State of Local Governance

Governing in China is no easy task as it is a huge country divided into provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. Under the provinces and autonomous regions are autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities; and under counties and autonomous counties are townships and minority townships and towns. Municipalities directly under the central government and larger cities are composed of districts and counties. Townships are the most grassroots administrative unit in China. China has five levels of government. Below the central government are 31 provincial level units (42 million population on average), 331 prefecture level units (3,7 million people on average), 2 109 counties (580 000 people on average), and 44 741 townships (27 000 people on average).⁵⁷ Furthermore, there are about 730 000 more or less self-governed villages in rural areas below the township level.⁵⁸ Local governments have been accorded greater control over local economic activity and the redistribution of economic rewards.

The central administrative organ is the State Council of the People's Republic of China (PRC), that is, the Central People's Government. It is

the executive body for the highest organ of state power, and the highest state administrative organ. The State Council in turn is accountable and reports on its work to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.⁵⁹ State power within the PRC is exercised through the Communist Party of China, the Central People's Government and their provincial and local counterparts.⁶⁰ The People's Congress system is a fundamental political system in China that has helped spur the economic reforms that have taken place. According to the Chinese constitution, the National People's Congress is the highest executive institution with the biggest power in China. The Congress is managed by its Standing Committee. The people's congress system is a comprehensively representative system, and a fundamental form for people to rule the country. Principles for the democratic centralism are implemented through this process to guarantee people's democracy and rights, and ensure the concentrated and unified exercise of state powers.⁶¹

As indicated earlier, China's developmental state is based on a successful solution to the principal-agent problem. This successful solution is premised on performance legitimacy theory. Legitimacy is an endorsement of the state at a moral or normative level. It is normative by conceptual definition and is analytically distinct from that form of political support derived from personal views of goodness. Hooper argues that currently political scientists talk about the concept of government legitimacy.⁶² Max Weber describes legitimacy in terms of the citizens' willingness to obey the commands of the rulers. Twentieth century American political sociologist, Seymour Martin Lipset, on the other hand, maintains that a government is legitimate if and only if it is generally believed that the government performs at least as well as or better than all conceivable alternatives.⁶³

In the case of China, the developmental state has thrived as a result of state legitimacy which remains performance driven.

Performance legitimacy can be demonstrated through the economic reforms launched by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from the late 1970s, which have transformed the Chinese polity in far-reaching ways and have produced a number of unforeseen outcomes. Deng Xiaoping is often accredited as the economic reform architect of that era through the Four Modernizations which were agriculture, industry, science and technology, and military. There has been a progressive decline in direct state control over the economy, with powers devolved from state agencies to enterprises, a decrease in the use of mandatory planning mechanisms and a concomitant increase in the use of market forces to guide distribution and, increasingly, production choices.⁶⁴

At the local level, Deng's reforms actually included material incentives, rather than political appeals, which were to be used to motivate the labour force, including allowing peasants to earn extra income by selling the produce of their private plots on the free market. Furthermore, in the main move toward market allocation, local municipalities and provinces were allowed to invest in industries that they considered most profitable, which encouraged investment in light manufacturing.⁶⁵ It was on this basis that Deng attracted foreign companies to a series of SEZs, where foreign investment and market liberalisation were encouraged. The reforms centred on improving labour productivity as well. New material incentives and bonus systems were introduced. Rural markets selling peasants' home-grown products and the surplus products of communes were revived. Not only did rural markets at the local government level increase agricultural output, but they stimulated industrial development as well.⁶⁶

The reforms raised economic efficiency by introducing profit incentives to rural collective enterprises, family farms, small private businesses, and foreign investors and traders.⁶⁷ Cumulative FDI, negligible before 1978, reached nearly US\$100 billion in 1994; annual inflows increased from less than 1 per cent of total fixed investment in 1979 to 18 per cent in 1994.⁶⁸ This foreign money has built factories, created jobs, linked China from the local level to international markets, and led to important transfers of technology at both national and local government level.⁶⁹ The fact is China's strong productivity growth, spurred by the 1978 market-oriented reforms which were incorporated in the local governance process, are the leading cause of China's unprecedented economic performance. Despite obstacles that may exist under these circumstances, these aforementioned findings offer an excellent starting point for future research on the potential roles for local governance in facilitating national economic growth.⁷⁰

China's decentralisation and economic growth process

The decentralisation process in China has basically been accompanied by institutional changes such as granting more power in the form of non-public functions (such as investment approval and entry of non-state firms) to local governments. China initiated its first decentralisation within the planned framework by delegating more powers to local governments in 1957. The policies then included (i) delegating nearly all state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to local governments, such that the share of industrial output by the enterprises subordinated to the central government shrank from 40 to 14 per cent of the national total; (ii) central planning was changed from a national to a provincial basis, with decisions about

fixed investment to be made by local governments rather than the central government; and (iii) revenue-sharing schemes were fixed for five years and local governments gained the authority over taxes. The share of central revenue decreased from 75 per cent to about 50 per cent.⁷¹ Indeed, local incentives responded quickly to decentralisation, and local small industries boomed (e.g. backyard steel mills and local coal mines). However, a second wave of decentralisation started again in 1970 when local governments gained more authority over fixed investment and local revenue.

In rural areas, the household responsibility system was initiated in 1978. In just a few years, the system became the common form for microeconomic organisation in rural areas and directly led to the collapse of the People's Commune system. In cities, a series of comprehensive and specific reforms on enterprise management were taken, centring on power delegation and profit sharing. The 'contractual responsibility system' in both rural and urban areas made the households and SOEs de facto residual controllers and claimers. Accordingly, incrementally more resources were created.⁷²

From the administrative perspective, the reform period saw a significant strengthening of local governments' role in local economic management, such as investment approval, entry regulation and resource allocation. A particularly striking example is the opening up policy mainly in coastal regions. Starting from 1979, many provinces were allowed to set up their own foreign trade corporations. From then on, regional experimentation with opening up began, which included the 'one step ahead' policies implemented in Guangdong and Fujian in 1978, the establishment of four SEZs (Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen) in 1980, and declaring 14 coastal cities 'coastal open cities' in 1984.⁷³ Not only did these areas

enjoy lower tax rates and a higher share of revenues, but also, and perhaps more important, they enjoyed special institutional and policy environments and gained more authority over LED and the establishment of SEZs and economic development zones.

Another important dimension of administrative decentralisation was that more SOEs were delegated to local governments at the provincial, municipality and county levels, mostly to municipality governments since the early 1980s. By 1985, the state-owned industrial enterprises controlled by the central government accounted for only 20 per cent of the total industrial output at or above the township level, while provincial and municipality governments controlled 45 per cent and county governments 35 per cent.⁷⁴ With the change of ownership from the centre to local governments, local governments were provided with incentives in taxes and profits to step up the effort of revenue collection. At the same time, the spending of the fixed investment for local government-owned enterprises naturally fell on the shoulders of local government. Since SOEs usually provided a wide range of social services like education, health care and pension services for their employees, more local government ownership of SOEs naturally means that local governments faced the primary and final responsibilities for these expenditures, which continued to have significant effects on local public finance in the 1990s.

Having said that, concerns have been raised about China's decentralisation structure at the local governance level. Some have worried that it has led to an unhealthy rise in the power of the local governance system, which should be noted for the case of local governance in South Africa. On the other hand, some argue that the emergent system induces competition among local governments, serving not only to constrain their behaviour but also to provide them

with a range of positive incentives to foster local economic prosperity.

Local governance fiscal control system

The most important factor for local governance control has been the de facto decentralisation of powers away from central government agencies to those at lower levels, especially the effective decentralisation of the fiscal system. This more than any other factor has accounted for local variation. Before the most recent fiscal reforms, only about one-quarter of all state expenditure occurred at the central level and the major responsibility for financing infrastructure and providing social welfare occurred at the local level. The structure of the fiscal contracting system that was institutionalised in 1988 gave local governments a powerful incentive to encourage economic expansion but limited the centre's capacity to benefit sufficiently from this expansion.⁷⁵ These reforms transformed a province-collecting, centre-spending fiscal regime to an essentially self-financing regime for both the centre and the provinces.⁷⁶ Provinces collected and spent up to 70 per cent of budgetary revenues and while the provincial role for collection had declined in comparison with the Mao years, it had increased for expenditures. The Ministry of Finance provides the central supervisory role together with the local authorities. The local financial bureau manages to fund accordingly the plans of the local administration. Particularly important is the management of local enterprises that can provide revenue to the local government and the use of other state assets such as land to rent out for commercial activities. In fact, rather than frowning on commercial activity, local governments are positively encouraged to use state assets to raise funds to cover their management and operational costs.⁷⁷

However, it must be noted that despite the successful economic growth resulting from the local governance process, financial challenges have emerged that South Africa needs to be mindful of. Last year China announced its debt audit, which revealed liabilities carried by local governments that had ballooned to \$2,95 trillion by the end of June 2014.⁷⁸ Over the years, concerns have grown over the amount of debt in the country and its potential impact on the world's second-largest economy, requiring Beijing to embark on an audit. There has been disquiet about the burden on borrowing by local authorities, which have long used debt to fuel economic growth in their regions, often by pursuing projects that are not economically viable or sustainable. China's debt problem is considered to be a serious potential drag on its economy unless steps are taken to rein it in.⁷⁹ While debt has helped the investment-based economy expand strongly, economists and the government itself believe it is unsustainable, and the growth model should be rebalanced towards consumer demand.

Global economics and local governance

Globalisation has enhanced the relative importance of local government's developmental role in China. There is no doubt that the matrix of incentives created by intergovernmental relations shape the developmental role of subnational governments. In China, we have seen how close ties to local enterprises and the creation of a system of revenue sharing allowed local governments to share in the benefits of growth. The system also shaped local government activism by allowing for the tremendous growth in non-budgetary finance. The local government's capacity to mobilise investment was also an important factor.

As early as the mid-1970s, China's political leaders began to see the opportunities provided

by globalisation. The remarkable economic progress in East Asia had eroded China's scepticism regarding involvement in the international economy and impressed upon its leadership the need to accelerate its development. The rapid development of Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea meant that these economies were moving up the product cycle and were beginning to establish international production chains in order to outsource labour-intensive production to low-cost producers. China with its cheap labour, potentially huge domestic economy and personal contacts with the overseas Chinese community was an especially attractive location for developing trade and foreign investment. Diplomatic entreaties from the United States promised China access for Chinese exports to the American market.⁸⁰ As early as 1975, Deng Xiaoping, then vice-chairman of the CCP and first vice-premier, began developing a reform strategy that advocated accelerating Chinese industrial development by increasing advanced technologies from abroad and using foreign credits to pay for them. He argued that China should not adopt a closed-door attitude and refuse to learn from the good things of foreign countries.⁸¹

As indicated earlier, the promotion of foreign trade has been an important element of China's reforms. Central to China's trade reforms has been the decentralisation of the central government's control over foreign trade and foreign exchange in an effort to create more incentives for export. Changes in the national trade plan also gave subnational governments more autonomy. Beginning in 1979, the central government introduced the foreign exchange retention system, allowing export-producing enterprises and their super ordinate level of government to control a share of the foreign exchange they earned through exports.⁸² During the 1990s, China became by far the largest recipient of

FDI in the developing world, receiving 40 per cent of developing country FDI in 1997. Chinese FDI in 1997 and 1998 – at approximately \$46 billion – accounted for more than 25 per cent of all domestic investment and added some 16 million new jobs annually.⁸³ Reforms of FDI regulations have also promoted decentralisation and increased the autonomy of subnational governments. These began cautiously with the passage of the Joint Venture Law in 1979.⁸⁴

Access to foreign investment was gradually extended to different localities and the entire country was open to foreign investment by the end of the 1980s. Subnational governments were gradually devolved authority over FDI, with authority being extended to provinces on different terms. By the end of the 1980s, nine provinces, five cities and the SEZs could sanction projects valued at up to \$30 million without central government approval, while most interior provinces and cities could sanction projects up to \$10 million in value.⁸⁵ By the end of 1991, TVEs had attracted 12 per cent of total committed FDI.⁸⁶

The success of China's TVEs is one of the most distinctive institutional features of China's economic transition. Nationally, the output of TVEs, defined as all rural collectively owned enterprises, grew more than six-fold in real terms between 1985 and 1997, leading China's rapid industrial and overall growth. The local governments usually initiated internal fund raising, either from collective accumulation or from individual contributions to start up the community owned enterprises. By retaining property rights over TVEs, the community governments could take revenue from one enterprise and use it to develop another through an informal process of 'borrowing' and redistribution of debt, thus funds for investments could be accumulated.⁸⁷ In addition, although the managers of TVEs are often under

various forms of responsibility contracts that specify tenure and compensation schemes and take charge of the day-to-day enterprise management, they were still employees rather than entrepreneurs. The major decisions, including management appointment and major investment decisions, remain the purview of local officials, most importantly the Township Economic Commission and township heads or village party secretary.⁸⁸

Concerns for South Africa, however, are the current immediate threats to the Chinese economy which are overinvestment and lack of sustained demand. First of all, government subsidies in industrial parks have resulted in excessive investment in manufacturing capacity, making China highly dependent on export markets. In the 2000s, China invested around 40 per cent of GDP and the ratio has reached about 50 per cent in recent years, significantly higher than the world average of 20 per cent.⁸⁹ Moreover, in their pursuit of mobile capital, local governments have inadvertently created an extremely pro-business regime. Farmers are under-compensated to lower land-lease prices, labour rights are curbed to control wages, environmental laws are relaxed to save production costs, and housing prices are kept high to subsidise industrial land users. Local governments set up many financing platforms, usually trust and investment companies for urban renewal, which use land as collateral to obtain policy loans from state banks or use future land revenues and government guarantees to issue bonds to the public. This land-based developmental model is a lesson South Africa should examine because although it has contributed to the dramatic rise of the Chinese economy, the negative consequences are numerous and obvious. As mentioned, the already highly indebted Chinese local governments are apparently not in a position to reduce tax. As a matter of fact,

in 2012 the cash-strapped local governments were working very hard to collect more taxes from enterprises to make up the revenue short-fall resulting from the growth slowdown and cooling land market.

Conclusion: The Way Forward for South Africa

South Africa's goal is to achieve 'universal access to basic services for all households by 2014'.⁹⁰ It should be noted that there has been significant progress: 93 per cent of the population has access to a basic level of water – a stand pipe within 200 metres from a dwelling; 73 per cent of households has access to electricity; 67 per cent has access to basic sanitation (a ventilated pit latrine in the dwelling); and 59 per cent to once-a-week refuse removal. However, many obstacles remain in achieving the 2014 target.⁹¹ The fact is, almost twenty years after political freedom, South Africa's state of local governance as a developmental state is not inspiring. Strategically, a number of macro strategies are being finalised and pursued to improve the economic planning, coordination and implementation of the state. However, despite this proliferation of economic development thinking over the last few years, it remains unclear how much 'uptake' there has been at municipal (and provincial) level, or whether the capacity exists to take these policy frameworks and rework them into locally meaningful interventions as expressions of LED strategies.⁹²

While there are several lessons to be learnt from the China model, it is important to clarify that South Africa needs to implement a South African-driven model. The key lesson to be learnt from China regarding its ability to, for example, effectively implement fiscal control

systems at local government level is premised on performance legitimacy which has facilitated state intervention economically and politically. For performance legitimacy to work in South Africa, as a developmental state, it must be able to direct and support economic development by building a strong public service, creating an investor-friendly environment, supporting small business development, using SOEs effectively and driving strategic investment initiatives. The state has to play a role in keeping the economy competitive and close to the leading edge in the global development of knowledge and technology.

The state also has to be able to control its vast resources and directly apply them to the strategic tasks that will enable us to meet our goals. From the local governance level, it is important for South Africa to note how China has made rapid advances in areas such as education, infrastructure, high tech manufacturing, academic publishing, patents and commercial applications and is now in some areas and by some measures a world leader. For example, by 2009, China manufactured 48,3 per cent of the world's televisions, 49,9 per cent of mobile phones, 60,9 per cent of personal computers, and 75 per cent of LCD monitors.⁹³ Indigenously made electronic components have become an important source of recent growth. This modernisation strategy practised at the local level is central in raising economic efficiency especially at the rural development and SEZ level. However, all of these endeavours could not transpire without effective state intervention, implementation and monitoring processes, including the three requisites: (i) maintaining dependable, reliable energy supplies; (ii) a well-educated and well-trained workforce; and (iii) reliable, available water supplies that are used as efficiently as possible.

There is no denying that South Africa has not been effective in implementing its national policies designed to promote economic growth at the local governance level. Basically, purposive policy intervention is essential if South Africa wants to take a great leap towards development⁹⁴ by applying the three aforementioned requisites. Purposive policy intervention is an essential tool of performance legitimacy as it positions the developmental state to assert some level of control in facilitating economic growth. Based on the discussion of the Chinese local government structure, one draws the conclusion that besides policies and frameworks, the government showed the ability to devise and implement complex interventions

effectively. Giving authority at the provincial level over fiscal and administrative levels will still require some level of state oversight and intervention which should be buttressed by performance legitimacy. South Africa urgently needs to weed out unqualified local government officials who are non-productive and implement a system that rewards evident output. Finally, purposive intervention is essential for performance legitimacy because South Africa needs to move beyond creating wonderful plans such as the NDP and follow through by imposing a strict discipline on both industry and government through necessary interventions that promote the country's growth.⁹⁵

References

- United Nations., 2010. *How can local governments be catalysts for pro-poor economic communities?* Available at <http://www.Uncdf.org> [Accessed on 17 January 2014].
- Johnson, C., 1982. *MITI and the Japanese miracle*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mogale, T.M., 2003. Developmental local government and decentralised service delivery in the democratic South Africa. In Mhone, G. and Edigheji, O., eds, *Governance in the new South Africa*. Lansdowne: University of Cape Town Press.
- Knight, J., 2012. *China as a developmental state*. Center for the Study of African Economics. CSAE Working Paper 2012/2013.
- KPMG., 2009. *Infrastructure in China: Foundation for growth*. Available at <http://www.kpmg.com.cn> [Accessed on 8 January 2014].
- Kynge, J., 2006. *China shakes the world: The rise of a hungry nation*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- BBC news. 2013. *China's economic growth speeds up*. October 18. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk> [Accessed on January 8, 2014].
- Engardio, P., 2005. *China is a private sector economy*. Available at <http://www.businessweek.com> [Accessed on 17 January 2014].
- Saich, T., 2000. The blind man and the elephant: Analysing the local state in China. Presentation at the workshop on Mapping the Local State in Reform-Era China, Los Angeles, 8–9 June. Available at <http://www.hks.harvard.edu> [Accessed on 8 January 2014].
- Koma, S.B., 2010. The state of local government in South Africa: Issues, trends, and options. *The Journal of Public Administration*, June, 45(1), p. 1.
- Ibid., p. 6.
- McKinley, D., 2011. *A state of deep crisis in South Africa's local government*. The South African Civil Society Information Service. 10 March. Available at <http://www.SACSI.org.za> [Accessed on 8 January 2013].
- Donnelly, L., 2013. IMF reports doom and gloom for SA economy. *Mail and Guardian Online*, 1 October. Available at <http://www.mg.co.za>
- Anon., 2011. *South Africa economic update, focus on savings, investment, and inclusive growth*. World Bank Online. Available at <http://www.WorldBank.Org>: July 2011 [Accessed on 8 January 2013].
- Rogers, S. and Sedghi, A., 2011. How Fitch, Moody's and S&P rate each country's credit rating. *The Guardian Online*, 15 April. Available on <http://www.guardian.uk> [Accessed on 17 January 2013].
- Seria, N. and Cohen, M., 2009. *South Africa's unemployment rate increases to 23.5%*. Available on <http://www.Bloomberg.com>: 5 May 2009 [Accessed on 20 January 2014].
- Delaney, S., 2007. *Amandla! Protest in the new South Africa. Africa Institute of South Africa Young Graduates and Young Scholars, 15 May*. Available on <http://www.ai.org.za> [Accessed on 30 January 2014].
- McKinley, op. cit.
- Roux, N.L., 2005. *A reform model for the improvement of municipal service delivery in South Africa*. Available at <http://www.repository.up.ac.za> [Accessed on 20 January 2014].
- Cloete, F., 1994. Local government transformation in South Africa. In De Villiers, B., ed., *Birth of a constitution*. Kenwyn: Juta.
- Ibid., p. 57.

- 22 McKinley, op. cit.
- 23 Ibid., p. 2.
- 24 Republic of South Africa, 1998. *White Paper on Local Government*. Department of Provincial Affairs and Local Government, Pretoria, Government Printer.
- 25 Ibid., p. 4.
- 26 Rogerson, C., 2006. Local economic development in post-apartheid South Africa: A ten-year research review. In Padayachee, V., ed., *The development decade? Economic and social change in South Africa, 1994–2004*. Pretoria: HRSC Press.
- 27 African National Congress, 1994. *The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A policy framework*. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.
- 28 Ibid., p. 15.
- 29 Beck, K. 2012. *South Africa: Democracy, rule of law and the future*. 29 March 2012. Available at <http://www.freedomhouse.org> [Accessed on 1 February 2013].
- 30 Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority, 2013. *LGSETA Annual Report, 2012–2013*. Available at <http://www.lgseta.co.za> [Accessed on 30 January 2014].
- 31 Ibid., p. 8.
- 32 Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006. *Project Consolidate: The impact made through the deployment of service delivery facilitators*. Pretoria: DPLG.
- 33 Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2009. *Policy review on provincial and local government*. Unpublished Report by DPLG.
- 34 McKinley, op. cit.
- 35 Ibid., p. 1.
- 36 Auditor-General. 2011. *Consolidated general report on the local government audit outcomes 2009–2010*. Available from <http://www.agsa.co.za> [Accessed on 30 January 2014].
- 37 Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009. *State of local government: Overview report*. Pretoria: COGTA.
- 38 Ibid., p. 8.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 8–9.
- 40 Ibid., 9–10.
- 41 Presidency of the Republic of South Africa, 2010. *Service delivery agreements for Outcome 9: Responsive, accountable, efficient and effective local government*. Unpublished report by Presidency
- 42 South African Local Government Association, 2009. *SALGA Annual Report 2009*. Available at <http://www.salga.org.za> [Accessed on 1 February 2014].
- 43 Kanyane, M.H., 2006. *A conflict of interest in South Africa: A comparative case study*. Thesis submitted to the University of Pretoria. 21 June. Available at <http://www.upetd.up.ac.za/thesis> [Accessed on 31 January 2014].
- 44 Nombembe, T., 2011. *AG urges South African mayors to lead the drive towards clean administration by 2014*. Media release, 29 June. Available at <http://www.agsa.co.za>
- 45 Ibid., p. 1.
- 46 Auditor-General, op. cit.
- 47 Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, op. cit.
- 48 Schoeman, N., 2011. *Fiscal performance and sustainability of local government in South Africa: An empirical analysis*. Working paper 201, January. Available at <http://www.econrsa.org> [Accessed on 31 January 2014].
- 49 Ibid., p. 2.
- 50 Weingast, B.R., 1995. *The economic role of political institutions*. Stanford University. Available on <http://www.stanford.edu>
- 51 April, Y.F., 2013. *Assessing one-stop-shop best practices for South African investment: A comparative case study of Mauritius and Egypt*. *Africa Insight*, 42(4), March.
- 52 Nicolas, G., 2012. *Special economic zones: A step in the right direction*. *Daily Maverick*, 11 January. Available at <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za> [Accessed on 20 January 2014].
- 53 South African Cities Network, 2006. *State of South African cities report 2006*. Johannesburg: SACN. Available on <http://www.sacities.net> [Accessed on 31 January 2014].
- 54 South African Local Government Association, 2009, op. cit.
- 55 McKinley, op. cit.
- 56 Spector, B., 2013. *South Africa, a developmental state? No chance*. *Daily Maverick*, 26 February. [Accessed on 9 May 2014].
- 57 South African Cities Network, op. cit.
- 58 Ibid., p. 1.
- 59 Perry, E.J. and Wong, C., eds, 1985. *Political economy of reform in post-Mao China*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.
- 60 Henley, J., Kirkpatrick, C. and Wilde, G. 1999. *Foreign direct investment in China: Recent trends and current policy issues*. *The World Economy*, 22(2), March.
- 61 Satō, H., 2006. *Unemployment, inequality and poverty in urban China*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- 62 Hooper, W., 2010. *The scientific development concept: An essay in political philosophy*. Available at www.TheoIlgarch.com [Accessed on 12 March 2014].
- 63 Lipset, S.M., 1959. *Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy*. *The American Political Science Review*, 53(1), March.
- 64 Park, J.-D., 1997. *The special economic zones of China and their impact on its economic development*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- 65 Li, M., 2008. *Socialism, capitalism, and class struggle: The political economy of modern China*. *Economic & Political Weekly*, XLIII(52), pp. 77–96, December. Available at <http://www.econ.utah.edu> [Accessed on 2 February 2014].
- 66 Yang, B. and Yang, B., 1998. *Deng: A political biography*. London: M.E. Sharpe.
- 67 Jao, Y.C. and Leung, C.-K., 1987. *China's special economic zones: Policies, problems and prospects*. China: Oxford University Press.
- 68 Park, op. cit.
- 69 Hu, Z. and Khan, M., 1997. *Why has China developed so fast?* International Monetary Fund, Economic Issues No. 8. Available from <http://www.imf.org> [Accessed on 8 January 2014].
- 70 Ibid., p. 2.
- 71 Yang, D., 1994. *Reform and the restructuring of central-local relations*. In Goodman, D.S.G. and Segal, G., eds, *China deconstructs: Politics, trade and regionalism*. New York: Routledge.
- 72 Ibid., pp. 34–40.
- 73 Saich, op. cit.
- 74 Ibid., p. 9.

- 75 Wedeman, A., 2000. Budgets, extra-budgets, and small treasuries: Illegal monies and local autonomy in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 9(25), November.
- 76 Ibid., pp. 19–20.
- 77 Zhang, L.-Y., 1999. Chinese central-provincial fiscal relationships, budgetary decline and the impact of the 1994 fiscal reform: An evaluation. *The China Quarterly*, no. 157, March.
- 78 Anon., 2013. China says local government debt soars. *The New Age*, 30 December. Available at <http://www.thenewage.com> [Accessed on 8 January 2013].
- 79 Ibid., Opinion section
- 80 Shirk, S.L., 1996. Internationalization and China's economic reforms. In Keohane, R.O. and Milner, H.V., eds, *Internationalization and domestic politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 81 Lardy, N.R., 1992. *Foreign trade and economic reform in China 1978–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 82 Ibid., p. 1.
- 83 World Bank, 1999. *Entering the 21st century: World Development Report 1999/2000*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 84 Bajpai, N. and Sachs, J.D., 1999. *The progress of policy reform and variations in performance at the sub-national level in India*. Harvard Institute for Development Studies, Development Discussion Paper No. 730, November.
- 85 Lee, R.W. III., 1990. Issues in Chinese economic reform. In Feinberg, R.E., Echeverri-Gent, J. and Muller, F., eds, *Economic reform in three giants*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- 86 Zweig, D., 1995. Developmental communities' on China's coast: The impact of trade, investment, and transnational alliances. *Comparative Politics Journal*, Vol. 4, April.
- 87 Ibid., p. 14.
- 88 World Bank, op. cit.
- 89 Tao Ran and Fubing Su. 2013. *Reviving China's growth: A roadmap for reform*. 24 July. Available at <http://www.brookingsinstitute.edu> [Accessed on 15 January 2014].
- 90 Jain, H., 2010. *Community protests in South Africa: Trends, analysis and explanations*. Available at <http://www.ldphs.org.za> [Accessed on 21 January 2014].
- 91 Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, op. cit.
- 92 Ibid., pp. 21–24.
- 93 Hu and Khan, op. cit.
- 94 Hirschman, A., 1991. *The rhetoric of reaction: Perversity, futility, jeopardy*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- 95 Ibid., p. 15.

Weaving the Web of Resilience:

Managing Community Knowledge as Resource for Resilience and Lasting Peace in Africa

Inspired by the need to find a lasting solution to violent conflict, the author inquires how African communities can be resilient in the face of such conflict and at the same time serve as a building block for peace. It was found that a new peace-building architecture is needed that creates unlimited space for the full participation of African communities, where the knowledge of a community is the centre point of a concentric circle that focuses on peace building. If suitable mechanisms are used, community knowledge can be managed to enable the free transmittance of knowledge as part of a collaborative network of relationships that forms a resilient web and bridges the gap between African communities and other institutions to activate peace building.

Andreas Velthuisen

Andreas Velthuisen is a senior research specialist in the Institute for Dispute Resolution in Africa (IDRA) in the College of Law at the University of South Africa.

Introduction

The quest for peace is as old as humankind itself. Even during the most horrific wars, people were constantly seeking peace as one of the outcomes of a war. In all cases, peace eventually arrives, but in most cases peace is only temporary and soon erupts into renewed conflict that escalates into violence. Conflict has regularly had an impact on society, our communities and on us as individuals. If current trends are scrutinised, the situation will not change soon, despite our noble efforts and small successes in finding temporary peace.

The challenge for individuals and communities is to remain aware and resilient, because violent conflict might continue to influence their lives. Therefore, the research problem that is addressed in this article is how African communities can be resilient in view of pressures from global and local violent conflict and at the same time serve as a building block for global peace.

The purpose of this article is to engage this research problem, explaining how community resilience for peace can be attained. The specific aim is to propose some practical mechanisms for the management of community knowledge in Africa that would result in the community being a resilient building block for peace.

In achieving this aim, the article will relate the theoretical concepts of peace building, community knowledge and community resilience, followed by a discussion on community sites of knowledge and the knowledge centre as mechanisms to manage community knowledge for peace building. The knowledge foundation of the article is a literature study of reputable sources that successfully address the above-mentioned concepts, as well as interpretative observations and interactions by the author with communities cited as case studies.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework elucidates the concepts of peace building, community knowledge and community resilience. Inferences from the assertions by several scholars culminate in showing an explicit link between community knowledge and peace building.

Peace Building

In 1975, Johan Galtung introduced the terms 'peacekeeping', 'peacemaking', and 'peace-building' by stating that peace is not just peacekeeping or ad hoc peacemaking. Mechanisms of peace should be part of a structure and a 'reservoir' for 'the system' to remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war where it takes place.¹ Galtung advocated peace-building structures to promote sustainable peace by erasing the root causes of violent conflict and supporting indigenous capacities for peace management and conflict resolution.²

John Paul Lederach³ expanded on the understanding of peace building by asserting that it is a comprehensive concept that includes, spawns and sustains the many processes,

approaches and stages required to transform conflict into sustainable, peaceful relationships. Peace building involves a wide range of activities that lead to and take place after formal peace accords in the form of a dynamic social construct. An integrated approach to peace building should consider the complex and multidimensional nature of the human experience and rely on extensive social participation for sustainable transformation. The key to this approach lies in the relationship of the psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political and military actors involved. Cultivating a 'peace-building infrastructure' is not only aimed at terminating something undesirable, but is orientated toward the building of the total of patterns, processes and structures that form new relationships. Together with actors such as 'top' leadership (highly visible senior military, political and religious leaders), and 'middle-range leaders' (academics and intellectuals who influence political decisions and are respected on the grassroots level), it is the leaders of the local community who are the most familiar with the effects of violent conflict on the population.

Peck emphasised the concept of 'building blocks' for sustainable peace and security, as well functioning systems of governance that respond to basic human needs. A sustainable process involves participatory processes in order to ensure that the human rights of all people are protected and that all citizens are treated equally and fairly in terms of economic development and education towards a just society. Beck furthermore asserts that sustainable peace will entail the development of pluralistic norms and practices that respect the uniqueness of culture and identities.⁴

The concept of human security that became popular at the end of the previous century resulted in the adjustment of understandings

of security and peace. A positive state of being and feeling 'secure' started to inform thinking on peace building. A complementary 'bottom-up' approach subsequently developed instead of a 'top-down' approach as part of human security programmes aimed at the protection and empowerment of individuals.⁵

Donais⁶ proposes that the art of peace building lies in pursuing the appropriate balance between international support and home-grown, context-specific solutions. Local ownership is a key concept in peace building, and a principle that emphasises that the future direction of a country should be in the hands of the people of that country. Local ownership means the degree of control that domestic actors exercise over domestic political processes. Any peace process that is not embraced by those who have to live with it is likely to fail.

Justino, Brück and Verwimp⁷ found that conflict resolution programmes have been driven by state security concerns with inadequate consideration of local conflict dynamics in internal wars and the effect of violence and armed conflicts on the livelihoods of individuals, households and communities.

A sense of what happens to communities in conflict is well articulated in an assessment by Oxfam,⁸ which found widespread suffering among communities in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. The presence of several rebel groups resulted in the disintegration of state control and the outbreak of violence, with harsh humanitarian consequences. The suffering of communities is a dimension of a protracted conflict, where communities are trapped in a persistent cycle of abuse.

A further example of the need for solutions for communities in conflict is the major threat to the sustainable practice of pastoralist communities in the East African region posed by a long history of conflicts. The persistence of

these conflicts demonstrates the failure of modern governance and the rule of law, a function of the long-term marginalisation of pastoralist locales whose respective governments could not provide functional governance and rule-of-law frameworks and created opportunities for 'conflict entrepreneurs' who take advantage of conflict situations for political and business interests. Furthermore, conflict undermines the social and economic transformation of livelihoods, as well as strategies to cope including the effectiveness of traditional institutions. There is thus need for a deeper understanding of conflicts involving pastoralists to design strategies that address root causes, engaging local people and their institutions as an integral part of the search for solutions.⁹

Addressing these and other concerns in their *Handbook on peace building*, Accord concludes that peace building could be in the form of specific programmes with the focus on what is possible and aimed at contributing to peace consolidation, or a 'system-wide effort' focusing on understanding the mechanisms of peace building. Meaningful and sustainable peace building follows a strategic direction that recognises the multidimensional nature and multiple frameworks of peace building, peace consolidation, the interdependence of the actors involved, as well as a link between short-term measures (such as peace agreements) and long-term actions. Whatever the approach, internal actors lose the most from peace building and should have the highest degree of ownership and the greatest stake in the peace process and need to build peace themselves. The role of actors external to the community should be limited to creating a space that is conducive to self-development, thus providing the minimum support necessary without undermining the peace-building process.¹⁰

In providing a possible approach to peace building involving African communities, Brock-Utne reminds us that traditional leadership in Africa used various approaches to resolve all kinds of conflict, irrespective of the cause. In the African tradition, most conflicts and their resolution methods were predominantly local. Conflicts were between individuals, villages, communities or tribes who lived in communal or neighbouring areas. Local elders and/or tribal leaders often intervened in these conflicts. From about the 5th century BC (when kingdoms developed in Africa), communities were ruled by more powerful authorities than before, but on a community level the traditional methods of instigating and resolving conflicts changed very little.¹¹

An example of these peace-building abilities is the San (sometimes inappropriately referred to as 'Bushmen') of Southern Africa, who are still managing their conflicts in a vigilant, active and constructive way with full involvement of the community. Unlike states or governments, the community is not a superior dominant force but omnipresent and 'horizontal'. The community intervenes in all conflicts, aiming to preserve the collective unity of the community. Community norms prevent serious disputes and create a favourable emotional climate for dispute resolution. The whole community participates in reconciling the interests of the parties in conflict to achieve consensus, and to respond to violations of rights and norms. Conflicting parties are under social pressure to resolve their disputes and the community serves as a dynamic context for conflict resolution.¹²

Reflections

If the above assertions are evaluated, it infers that a new kind of social construct is needed to build sustainable peace. It has been found

that full social participation from communities would be required to achieve such a new construct, involving improved relationships with leaders of communities and respect for sometimes unique perspectives that contradict popular paradigms. Subsequently, the current need for African communities in conflict is for home-grown solutions that apply to a specific context, involving local knowledge holders who understand the causes, dynamics and consequences of violent conflict and what is needed to build peace. By 'local' is not only meant the prominent or dominant local politician or intellectual, but also key knowledge holders in a community whose knowledge claim may be just as valid as that of others. Modern peace building is about drinking from the same calabash and adding to it from own sources (meaning equal participation in knowledge sharing and learning), and not only tapping into the 'reservoir' of solutions offered by modern structures. Space needs to be created for communities to develop themselves, moving away from both top-down and bottom-up approaches to create freedom of action for communities to occupy a new central position in the building of sustainable peace, whether it is participating in temporary solutions such as peace agreements, or in finding lasting peace.

Community Knowledge

Aristotle told us that by their very nature people need to know things. The human race lives by art and science. People derive experience through memory. The ability to teach and to master the art of transmitting knowledge to others is the first proof of knowledge. Descartes and others pointed to the dialectic and transcendental aspects of knowledge.¹³ Heidegger explains knowledge in terms of hermeneutics,

meaning the crossing of boundaries; the capacity to listen to messages and interpret them and pass them on to other listeners, emphasising the importance of communication and discourse among people to share their experiences.¹⁴ Gadamer emphasises the relationship of the whole to the parts of the whole, and that it is not possible to understand any part of a phenomenon if there is no understanding of the whole.¹⁵ Michel Foucault refers to knowledge claims or the many different discourses in society. True knowledge is produced out of social relations as the foundation on which the subject, the knowledge domain and 'relations with truth' are formed. All knowledge claims may be valid in a specific cultural construct.¹⁶

Levi-Straus proposes that people who are subservient to the need to survive and continue to subsist in harsh material conditions are very capable of understanding the world around them, including nature and society, using the same intellectual means as any 'modern' philosopher or scientist. Even those without writing skills have a particular knowledge of their environment and the resources in it. Despite cultural differences, the human mind has everywhere the same limited capacity to understand the whole.¹⁷

Relating these affirmations to the African context, Nabudere reminds us that the process of reasoning remains a project of self-discovery that should take us to 'new emerging horizons', departing from the immediate horizon towards a 'fusion of historical horizons' to discover the 'lived experiences' of communities in their 'cultural context' and 'historical contingencies' of events.¹⁸

In this regard, Castiano¹⁹ argues that the meaning of life of an individual and self-realisation can only be found in community with others. African philosophers formulated their idea of African humanism (based on the

common values and worldviews inherent in the history of Africa) and adopted the collectivist idea that all activities of Africans, from child to adulthood, are community-based. Nyerere²⁰ specifically calls it 'African socialism', seeing society as an enlargement of the family that extends to the community, to the tribe, to the nation, to the continent, and to humankind. The social goal of living together strengthens the traditional African socialist values of equality, cooperativeness and self-reliance.

According to Boyles²¹ people can belong to different communities simultaneously. A community is not only a community of place or specific cultural grouping, but can also be a community of practice, based on the need for cooperation and the achievement of common goals. Nowadays communities include networks of 'cyber communities' with links across national boundaries to engage challenges that confront communities such as those engaged in violent conflict. A community of practice is 'an informal, self-organized, network of peers with diverse skills and experience in an area of practice or profession. Such groups are held together by the members' desire to help others (by sharing information) and the need to advance their own knowledge (by learning from others)'.

Knowledge is an important and complex community resource. Like all other knowledge, some people will claim that the origins of all knowledge are spiritual or the result of divine inspiration. The empiricists and positivists will say that knowledge is what you can observe or verify. Some philosophers will say knowledge is the result of reasoning. Analysts will argue that knowledge is the result of a process with an output that can be displayed and subjected to further critical reflection. However, sharing and learning of knowledge on the community level is endogenous and holistic, meaning that it encompasses what is found locally, is

dispersed across cultures and is in a continuous state of dynamic change. Endogenous includes indigenous knowledge (the knowledge that originated in a specific locality) and the influence of knowledge that is shared among people globally.²² Furthermore, community knowledge includes the worldviews of traditional societies that emerge from unwritten thoughts and discourse, as well as critical reflections to shape their circumstances and the intellectual and moral foundation of the reality of a people. In this regard the 'traditional philosopher' plays a vital role, meaning 'wise people' that are present at community level.²³

According to Cooperrider and Whitney,²⁴ every community is in possession of knowledge about positive experiences of the past. Positive discourse, hidden in oral culture, can be used as a resource to inspire present and future action for change. Labov²⁵ showed that personal experiences hidden in storytelling and works of art might offer an alternative perspective to dominant knowledge claims. Smith²⁶ explains that traditional community development involves community learning processes and the mustering of all knowledge assets, where intergenerational knowledge transfer, founded on human and collective social memory, takes place.

Reflections

Inferences from these affirmations show that community knowledge in Africa has a holistic and trans-dimensional character. Community knowledge in Africa is holistic in the sense that it encompasses several knowledge domains, including the normative-spiritual, empirical (lived-experiences), as well as knowledge that is the result of analysis and critical complementary reflection. Community knowledge is

trans-dimensional in that it has no geographical boundaries, including when applied in pursuance of common goals. The knowledge of a community tends to transgress the boundaries of space, time and cultures, transmitting what is obtained through narratives of memory, as well as in discourse with other entities across the globe. The result is that community knowledge is in continuous flux while the members of a community discover new knowledge, including knowledge of the self on the way to self-empowerment and capacity building. The community is not alone in this quest. Communities are supported by a transnational network of those who wish to cooperate and to share knowledge with communities as well as to learn from knowledge that has become localised. The challenge is to tap successfully into the myriad of knowledge claims that are available; including knowledge that remains hidden in a domain containing tacit knowledge such as spirituality, cultural values or simply what people understand about their own indigenous environment. The most valuable knowledge may be hidden in works of art and unstructured storytelling, which needs to be captured, processed, interpreted and merged with knowledge from more explicit domains such as empirical observation and formal analysis.

The real value of community knowledge lies in those positive lived experiences that can contribute to a body of knowledge that can not only solve local problems, but that can also assist broader African society to engage with challenges such as violent conflict. In doing so, the African community is not an isolated grouping of people in a specific locality, but forms part of a network and a concentric circle in which the community is an equal, collaborating partner. To take this rightful position, a community needs to be resilient.

Community Knowledge and Resilience

The Red Cross/Red Crescent describes a resilient community as a community that is knowledgeable, healthy, organised and connected and that has infrastructure and services, economic opportunities and natural assets. The resilient community can assess, manage and monitor its risks, learn new skills and build on experience. An organised community can identify problems, establish priorities and act. A connected community enjoys supportive relationships with external actors. Infrastructure and housing is not dependent on external actors, but the community has local capacity to build and maintain. The community is resourceful and flexible and has the capacity to act proactively to economic change and uncertainties. Resilient communities are able to protect, maintain and enhance their natural assets. Resilience should be based on a combination of normative and practical actions of humanistic behaviour that lead to resilience on a community level.²⁷

A religious perspective on resilience states that the communities of the future will only prosper if they recognise the spiritual, moral, emotional and intellectual development of the individual as a central priority,²⁸ a perspective that is of special significance considering the importance that spirituality and religion enjoys in most African communities.

However, as some observers point out, in some places the community systems that had boosted resilience through systems of reciprocity and exchange are now handicapped and many households in African communities as well as individuals within households are finding that the safety net is becoming much smaller. It is hoped that communities

themselves can regain the important role of becoming resilient again.²⁹

Reflections

If the assertions of scholars are scrutinised it can be inferred that the collective knowledge of a community can be used to become resilient in the face of ongoing conflict, to become a building block for peace in society or to recover after conflict. For a community in Africa to achieve resilience, it needs to muster all the knowledge that is available locally, found in relationships with broader society, globally and universally, taking into account a continuing timeline that implies what is claimed as knowledge today may not be valid tomorrow.

However, resilience not only requires knowledge, but also proactive action to protect, maintain and enhance self-empowerment and self-emancipation. Self-empowerment comes in the form of local capacity building to become independent from dominance, while enjoying supportive and equal relationships. Local capacity provides the all-essential 'membrane' for a tough community that is trying to recover from prolonged conflict. A resilient community needs to become a solid block on which society can build peace.

Managing Community Knowledge for Resilience and Peace Building

The community as a resilient building block for peace requires that the most valuable asset of the community, the knowledge embedded in the community, is accessed, captured, processed, interpreted and disseminated in order to be useful. Thus, before knowledge can

become a resource, it needs to become manageable, requiring specific mechanisms.

The Management of Community Knowledge

The need for the management of knowledge comes from the concept of knowledge management (KM) defined for the purpose of this discussion as the process of identifying, collecting, storing and transforming data and information into an intellectual asset that is available to all people. KM is the art and science of managing a process, to transform and enhance what people know, individually and collectively, into knowledge needed for defensible decisions and actions.³⁰ For the purpose of this article, the concept will be articulated as 'the management of knowledge', because since its inception the term KM became jargon that mostly refers to the management of data by means of computers.

Velthuisen³¹ concludes that the management of knowledge is about the activation of intervention, meaning that the normative knowledge foundation of African societies (including values, beliefs, axioms and ideologies) could be renewed by interventions that can promote the revival of African societies. The collective management of knowledge aims at replacing phenomena such as racism and impunity with positive norms such as justice, truth-seeking and humanistic values (recognising the importance of interconnectedness, sharing, mutual respect and maintaining the dignity of all people). If such interventions are successful, an innovative peaceful society might just become possible. To achieve this aim, it is found that the management of knowledge activates interventionist initiatives by the community, in cooperation with other

stakeholders, to arrest the destructive cycle of suffering and frustration that leads to violence, replacing it with a regenerated peaceful order. The management of knowledge therefore requires joint efforts by many actors, as a 'community of practice' to find solutions across cultures and specialities to engage with the space where 'real world' knowledge can be discovered. In practice, it means integrated inter- or intra-activity where entities are connecting with one another to produce knowledge, enabling knowledge to flow between entities where all communities can use it to activate interventions, with protective measures in place to ensure ethical behaviour.

In the current era, this kind of interconnectedness is facilitated by modern information and communication technology (ICT) systems, linking local, regional and international communities of practice and cross-functional groups (including remote village communities). Global technology has the potential to encompass diverse needs and cultures. Consequently, systems are developing to meet specifically the needs of the poor, steering towards to the needs of people, not just profit.³²

According to Griffiths,³³ resilience is the future purpose of knowledge management. Resilience is the capacity of any establishment to adapt, interact and deal with a continuously changing, complex and dynamic environment built upon the management processes of sense and response. Such an environment will challenge the capabilities and capacity of the establishment to solve problems and make decisions. Problem solving and decision making require critical thinkers with personal as well as collective knowledge and skills. The management of knowledge is an answer to capacity building for resilience, a course of action for strategic and operational planning that will determine the future of establishments.

The ideal of course is that a community becomes a 'knowledge village', such as the Dubai Knowledge Village, a connected learning community that develops the talent pool of the region (Arab countries) to step up its move into the knowledge economy. The Knowledge Village has been set up to develop Dubai into an education destination for regional and international learners. As an education and training hub, it is complemented by Dubai Internet City and Dubai Media City (which provide the facilities to train knowledge workers) and the mega-campus Dubai Knowledge Universities. The Dubai Knowledge Village thus provides the infrastructure for developing, sharing and applying knowledge.³⁴

Reflections

In view of the above statements, the management of community knowledge to build peace involves the capacity to merge the knowledge available to the community, to enable decisions, to design solutions and to take action to resolve conflict. The knowledge capacity to take action means that the community, as a collective, is able to function as the centre point of a concentric circle of collaborative relationships, displaying the ability to prevent this circle from becoming or continuing to be a destructive cycle of violence.

The community needs the capacity to be a resilient centre point, from where lasting peace germinates and develops through collaborative knowledge sharing and synergy of action. Collaborative learning, traditional ways of sharing knowledge, and the use of modern ICT platforms are powerful instruments of change. In this regard, the development of knowledge as a resource has no end-specification, such as financial and

physical resources, but grows continuously as perspectives and understanding of what is required in a peaceful world develop.

The crux is to find a solution for how to manage the endogenous knowledge embedded in and by communities, involving the intellectual capital of the community (referring to the 'wise' leaders, competent managers and expert knowledge workers in the community), as well as the social capital of the community (a network of this intellectual capital). Community knowledge should inform policy-making and strategic action and response aimed at terminating the cycle of instability and violence to eliminate conflicts on the African continent. Conceding that a 'Dubai' situation will seldom be affordable, the expectation is that the artful management of endogenous knowledge by African societies, using practical and affordable mechanisms on the community level, could effectively deal with violent impunity, create resilience and bring lasting peace.

Towards Alternative Models for Peace: The Community Site of Knowledge

Mashelkar states that the twenty-first century would be the knowledge century or the 'century of mind' in which innovation will be key to the production and processing of knowledge. A nation's ability to convert knowledge into wealth and social good, through the process of innovation, determines its future.³⁵

Nabudere³⁶ asserts that a new model of production and distribution should be based on the 'lived experiences' of all African people. A new programme of production has to affirm the identity of Africans and create conditions for their self-empowerment through their continued struggles for equity, peace and stability.

The Community Site of Knowledge idea originates from the late Prof Dani Nabudere,³⁷ using the agricultural sector as a case study of how community knowledge can build the resilience of a community. In a case study, Nabudere describes the formation of a Farm Group by the P'Ikwe community near Mabali in eastern Uganda, where a group of 12 households came together after a traumatising civil rebellion that occurred in eastern Uganda from 1986 to 1994. These groups became a learning centre and a unit of production and distribution for the nearby community after the Farm Group linked up with universities, other farm groups, and the government of Uganda and industry organisations. The Farm Group was able to develop different kinds of technology, enabling its members to improve their production and share of the market. Technological innovations drew profoundly from their indigenous knowledge base. This case study demonstrates a new innovative approach to development through the rediscovery and application of indigenous knowledge that has enabled millions of people to subsist for thousands of years in some of the most hostile environments.

Wanda, who is a leading exponent on the application of the concept in eastern Uganda, explains a community site of knowledge as 'a depository' of indigenous knowledge systems and 'nurseries' for alternative socio-cultural and political leadership that leads to organic restorative practices to address persistent marginalisation, discrimination and socio-cultural exclusions.³⁸ Wanda further describes how post-conflict communities increasingly turn to traditional practices of dispute settlement and reconciliation, with the intention of adopting and adapting informal justice systems to develop appropriate responses to the consequences

of civil war and oppression. Citing the Iwokodan community site of knowledge at Palisa, eastern Uganda, as an example, he shows how it was organised as a group, united by kinship and descent, and incorporated elements of modernity to preserve their traditional justice system and governance structure. Modelled on a modern government structure, the Iwokodan adopted restorative justice for conflict adjudication, recognising that modern courts are not able to deal with an overload of cases which leads to an unjust increase in cost to individuals.

After interpretative interaction with the community of P'Ikwe and Iwobudan, Velthuisen found that the community site of knowledge is a practice that can serve as an integrated model for communities to cope with socioeconomic and environmental conditions after an internal war. This model prescribes the application of sustainability and resilience in a community, within a local, global and spiritual cosmology and an approach to self-organisation and cooperation by poor people in need of self-transformation. In the case of P'Ikwe, persistent marginalisation by central government, knowledge production and the application of knowledge take place with the local community being the guiding actor and the centre of the application of endogenous knowledge. The community is situated at the junction where local knowledge and knowledge from outside the communities meet. In this way, communities are empowered to understand the challenges facing them. It was found that the concept, as applied in the agricultural sector, is suitable for developing models to address other social dysfunctions, such as the challenge of persistent disputes and violent conflict, early warning of emerging conflict and ways to build peace.³⁹

Reflections

After evaluating the community site of knowledge as an instrument for managing community knowledge it is found that the community is not only the centre point of a concentric circle to develop resilience, but is more than that: it is a seed that germinates and grows as the collective knowledge of the community grows. It is inevitable that this growth in knowledge will enable the community to take control and tap into the natural resources available to them, such as mining and agriculture, and which they have control over. A knowledge community may discover at some point that their knowledge is not so meagre, but a source of self-empowerment that allows them to break out of the paradigm of the 'marginalised poor' to become a powerful participant in decisions and actions to recover after prolonged conflict. Furthermore, a village community in Africa may not have the financial wealth of a Dubai to develop into a knowledge village, but may be able to serve the same purpose of developing, sharing and applying knowledge to be able to respond to the demands and pressures of society. However, this cannot be achieved in isolation. To become a knowledge village requires connection to a network of other knowledge hubs or centres.

The Knowledge Centre

The centrality of community knowledge in the resolution of disputes may require a suitable mechanism to restore equilibrium where knowledge has been marginalised or suppressed. In this regard, the knowledge centre became popular in indigenous communities as a response to the growing recognition of the validity of indigenous knowledge. Together with the growth of

ICT, physical or virtual knowledge centres are found all over the world, for example the knowledge centres that were created in Rwanda and by the International Criminal Court for Rwanda in Arusha that successfully merged and used knowledge on the 1994 genocide. Such a physical knowledge centre is usually combined with physical facilities to become important instruments to foster dialogue across disciplines and knowledge domains, to integrate knowledge into a cohesive whole towards greater collective understanding.⁴⁰

The knowledge centre model contains specific functions that feed into each other. The first function is the provision of information services. Further functions include research, enabling greater access for members of a community to observational data, and scientific integration, a combination of actions and events where value is added by various actors who participate in the interpretation and application of research results. Scientific integration is dependent on the services provided by the research function. The knowledge centre also provides learning facilities, through events such as workshops, hosting guest researchers (long and short term), and 'field campaigns', keeping in mind scarce resources.⁴¹

After extensive research by Velthuisen into the functioning of knowledge centres in Africa, it was found that the knowledge centre ideally functions within the context of 'metaphysical innovation', meaning a comprehensive transformation of societal perspectives to replace the negative values that underpin violence (such as racism) with positive humanistic values. In the knowledge centre, observational data from the community are collectively processed in an atmosphere of trust, respect and cohesiveness. In the case of an ongoing threat of violent conflict, knowledge centres can be decentralised to function on a local level where the centre can

serve communities affected by conflict. Ideally, people who represent all the knowledge claims of society (e.g. spiritual leaders, elected officials, legal representatives) should participate in the activities of the knowledge centre. Other participating actors (e.g. specialist researchers, trainers and designers) from outside the community eventually form a multidisciplinary reference group that functions as part of an intra-connected and transdisciplinary community of practice that focuses on the social innovation of a community in conflict. In linking the knowledge centres of several communities, knowledge is continuously fused and renewed, avoiding hierarchical control or manipulation.⁴²

In the functioning of a knowledge centre, protective mechanisms are discouraged and limited to the protection of cutting-edge knowledge (the knowledge that the entity depends on for survival) from manipulation, exploitation and abuse, guided by clear policies on what should be withheld and what should be shared.⁴³ However, referring specifically to indigenous knowledge systems, Odora-Hoppers reminds us that knowledge should be protected. Any knowledge strategy should recognise, protect, develop and promote indigenous knowledge systems. Protection should be defensive (also referred to as negative protection, which is protection from improper appropriation without due compensation or prior informed consent) or positive protection, which seeks to outlaw bio-piracy and to prevent misuse or theft of indigenous knowledge and related heritages.⁴⁴

Reflections

From the above assertions, it becomes evident that the establishment of knowledge centres is nothing new and can be found in the business world in practically every industry. In the case

of a knowledge centre in an African community, the centre is owned by the community and run by the community to the primary benefit of the community. The community of practice that develops in and around the centre may take joint ownership of the facility, but it should be situated inside the geographical boundaries of the community or be fully accessible to participating community members where practical considerations such as safety and a lack of infrastructure prevent such an ideal situation.

It was found that a knowledge centre could not function if the community is overprotective of what they know, unless of course hostility is discovered or in cases where a member or members of a community can be physically harmed because of knowledge sharing. Otherwise, a resilient community should have no fear of learning from the rest of society while teaching other people about what is required to sustain a peaceful society. Furthermore, it was found that if an interconnected cluster of knowledge centres in a community site of knowledge can be established, a web of resilience will be formed that will enable the sense, response and collaboration capacity of a community.

The knowledge centre serves as a facility for transmitting knowledge between African communities, as part of a community site of knowledge, and bridging the gap between the community and the wealth of knowledge embedded in, for instance, modern peace-building institutions. The relationship between community knowledge and peace building becomes evident if we accept assertions that lasting peace requires a multidimensional and holistic approach. It is now acknowledged by practitioners and scholars involved in peace building that the community and the individuals that belong to it are at the centre of actions for peace.

Conclusion

This discussion began by setting a specific aim, that is, to propose some mechanisms for the management of community knowledge that would lead to the resilience of a community as a building block for peace. The aim was achieved by first of all elucidating the concept of peace building, relating it to community knowledge as a resource for resilience, and arguing that a resilient community is not only a building block but the cornerstone of peace building. A discussion on how community knowledge as a resource for resilience can be managed to become a solid building block for peace revealed that a new kind of social architecture, which applies a multidimensional and holistic approach, is required for peace building in Africa.

It was found that a new architecture requires unlimited space for the full participation of African communities, where the knowledge of a community and the individuals that choose to belong to it are at the centre of actions for peace. In practice, this would mean moulding a resilient cornerstone by using the knowledge that is found in the community, sometimes hidden in beliefs founded on lived experiences.

However, community knowledge is not an isolated altar but a centrepiece to which the knowledge of other resilient communities can be added as building blocks. Community knowledge is also part of a foundation on which a resilient society can be reconstructed to form of a web of resilience for communities recovering after conflict. Building on this cornerstone requires bridging the gap between African communities and other entities through the free transmittance of knowledge as part of a network of relationships. In other words, the community provides the exclusive DNA of a body of knowledge that renders a community a

full and equal member of broader society and a global world.

Furthermore, it was found that for community knowledge to be the centre point of a concentric circle of collaborative relationships, decision-making structures and proactive actions to achieve social innovation, community knowledge needs to be managed. Mechanisms such as the community site of knowledge and knowledge centres are therefore needed to muster the knowledge of a community, to merge it into what can be used as a source of self-development, responding to the demands and pressures of a society in conflict. In an intrinsic network of relationships, the knowledge centre is the main entry point for knowledge learning and sharing as part of an 'African knowledge village' where new knowledge is constructed to become the fibre for post-conflict innovation towards lasting peace.

Recommendations

It is therefore recommended that all actors involved in a community start building resilience by using the endogenous knowledge foundation of the community. In this regard:

- Community leaders should organise the key knowledge holders of their community to develop the characteristics of a knowledge village in their communities and communities of practice.

Civil society organisations should mobilise the community to add value to community knowledge by designing and implementing home-grown solutions that would enhance resilience.

Businesses should engage with the community to involve them in creative value-adding ventures to produce goods and deliver services

not only for profit, but also in the interests of the community, creating opportunities for community knowledge to be applied.

Local governments and traditional structures should be supportive and participate in community efforts to become a knowledge village, recognising that a resilient community underpins good governance and a peaceful society.

Transnational organisations should reach out and engage with communities in

a relationship that is supportive and adds value to the community, refraining from exerting power and pressure or exploitation the community.

Learning institutions should form partnerships with communities (including communities of practice) to enable projects such as community-based participative research that would allow for joint knowledge production, mutual learning and conflict resolution capacity-building to find innovative solutions.

Notes and References

- Galtung, J. (ed.), 1976. *Three approaches to peace: Peacekeeping, peace-making, and peacebuilding, peace, war and defense: Essays in peace research, vol. II*. Copenhagen: Christian Ejlert, pp. 297–298.
- United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 2012. *What is peacebuilding?* [e-book]. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pbun.shtml> [Accessed on 10 October 2012].
- Lederach, J.P., 1997. *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, p. 20.
- Peck, C., 1998. *Sustainable peace: The role of the UN and regional organizations in preventing conflict*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, p. 1.
- Shinoda, H. and Uesugi, Y., 2005. *In search for new approaches of peacebuilding: Conflict and human security*. Tokyo: Kokusai Shoin, pp. 291–296.
- Donais, P., 2012. *Peacebuilding and local ownership: Post-conflict consensus building*. New York: Routledge, p. 1.
- Justino, P., Brück, T. and Verwimp, P., 2013. *Micro-level dynamics of conflict, violence and development: A new analytical framework*. The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex Working Paper 138, January, p. 3.
- Van Damme, S., 2012. *Commodities of war: Communities speak out on the true cost of conflict in the eastern DRC*. Oxfam briefing paper November 2012, p. 164. [e-book] Available at <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp164-commodities-of-war-drc-protection-201112-en.pdf> [Accessed on 1 March 2014].
- Odhiambo, M.O., 2012. *Impact of conflict on pastoral communities' resilience in the horn of Africa: Case studies from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda*. [e-book] Nakuru, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)/Resource Conflict Institute (RECONCILE), pp. 36–37. Available at http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/drought/docs/Report.pdf [Accessed on 12 March 2014].
- De Coning, C., 2013. *ACCORD peacebuilding handbook*. [e-book] ACCORD, pp. 27–42. Available at <http://www.accord.org.za/our-work/peacebuilding/peacebuilding-handbook> [Accessed on 12 March 2014].
- Brock-Utne, B., 2001. *Indigenous conflict resolution in Africa*. Presentation at weekend seminar on indigenous solutions to conflicts, 23–24 February. University of Oslo, Institute for Educational Research.
- Ury, W.L., 1995. Conflict resolution among the Bushmen: Lessons in dispute systems design. *Negotiation Journal*, 11(4), October, pp. 379–389.
- Warrington, J., 1994. *Aristotle: Metaphysics*. London: Everyman's Library, pp. 51–52.
- Heidegger, M., 1962. *Being and time*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 204.
- Gadamer, H.-G., 1976. *Philosophical hermeneutics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 98–99.
- Foucault, M., 1970. *The order of things*. New York: Pantheon Books, p. 95.
- Levi-Strauss, C., 1978. *Myth and meaning*. London: Routledge, pp. 12–15.
- Nabudere, D.W., 2011. *Afrikology, philosophy and wholeness: An epistemology*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, p. 162.
- Castiano, J.P., 2006. Community-based research in Africa: Implications for education. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 5(2), pp. 108–124.
- Nyerere, K.K., 1968. *Ujamaa: Essays on socialism*. Dar-Es-Salaam: Oxford University Press.
- Boyles, A., 1997. *The meaning of community* [e-book] The Bahá'í World. Available at <http://www.bahai.org/article-1-9-1-1.html> [Accessed on 3 May 2013].
- Nabudere, D.W. and Velthuisen, A.G., 2013. *Restorative justice in Africa: From trans-dimensional knowledge to a culture of harmony*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, p. 137.
- Asouzu, I.I., 2004. *The methods and principles of complementary reflection: In and beyond African philosophy*. Calabar:

- University of Calabar Press, pp. 115–116.
- 24 Cooperrider, D.L.P. and Whitney, D., 2005. *A positive revolution in change: Appreciative inquiry* [e-book]. GTE, pp. 14–17. Available at <http://appreciativeinquiry.case.edu/uploads/whatisai.pdf> [Accessed on 10 March 2014].
 - 25 Labov, L., 2001. *Uncovering the event structure of narrative*. University of Pennsylvania/Georgetown University Round Table, pp. 22–23. Available at <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/vesn.pdf> [Accessed on 9 March 2014].
 - 26 Smith, G., 2010. Carbon-based conservation projects in traditional communities in Ecuador and Suriname: An analysis of vulnerability and conflict potential. *Peace & Conflict Review*, 5(1), p. 5.
 - 27 Arup International Development's Study Team, 2012. *Characteristics of a safe and resilient community: Community based disaster risk reduction study* [e-book]. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, p. 7. Available at http://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/96986/Final_Characteristics_Report.pdf [Accessed on 5 May 2012].
 - 28 Boyles, op. cit.
 - 29 Vaitla, G., Tesfay, G., Rounseville, M., and Maxwell, D., 2012. *Resilience and livelihoods change in Tigray, Ethiopia*. [e-book] Feinstein International Centre, Tufts University, p. 32. Available at <http://fic.tufts.edu/assets/Resilience-and-Livelihoods-Change-in-Tigray-FINAL-30-10-12.pdf> [Accessed on 9 March 2014].
 - 30 Velthuizen, A.G., 2007. The management of knowledge: A model for the African Renaissance. Doctoral Thesis, Pretoria: University of South Africa, p. 5
 - 31 Ibid, pp. 283–284.
 - 32 UNESCO, 2012. *Towards knowledge societies for peace and sustainable development*. [e-book], pp. 1–27. Available at http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/wsis/Wsis_10_Event/wsis10_recommendations_en.pdf [Accessed 5 May 2013].
 - 33 Griffiths, D., 2013. *Resilience, the future of knowledge management?* [e-book] Knowacademy.com. Available at <http://knowcademy.com/2013/03/17/resilience-the-saviour-of-knowledge-management-2> [Accessed on 5 May 2013].
 - 34 Gurteen, D., 2013. *Dubai knowledge village*. Available at <http://www.gurteen.com> [Accessed on 25 May 2013].
 - 35 Mashelkar, R., 2002. The role of intellectual property in building capacity for innovation for development: A developing world perspective. In Odora Hoppers, C. (ed.), *Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems: Towards a philosophy of articulation*. Cape Town: New Africa Books, p. 188.
 - 36 Nabudere, D.W., 2003. Towards a new model of production: An alternative to NEPAD. *African Perspective*, 4(15), p. 27.
 - 37 Nabudere, D.W. 2009. *Knowledge for development: University–firm interactions in Uganda* [e-book]. Mbali: Marcus Garvey Pan-African Institute, February.
 - 38 Wanda, R.E., 2013. *Afrikology and community: Restorative cultural practices in East Africa*. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 6(6), pp. 7–16.
 - 39 Velthuizen, A., 2012. Community sites of knowledge: Knowledge creation and application for sustainable peace in Africa. *African Sociological Review*, 16(2), p. 17.
 - 40 Gibson, J., 2013. *Unpacking the 'indigenous' knowledge centre concept*. Paper presented at Dreaming 08 – Australian Library and Information Association Biennial Conference. Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs: Northern Territory Library. Available at <http://nt.kingfisherhost.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/ICIP-IEK-best-practice-datamanagementGuidelinesAprilFinal.pdf> [Accessed on 10 March 2014].
 - 41 Ronneberg, R. and Gilberg, T., 2013. *The concept of a knowledge centre as the coordinating unit of SIOS is finding its form*. SIOS. Available at <http://www.sios-svalbard.org/servlet/Satellite?c=Nyhet&pagename=sios%2FHovedsidemal&cid=1253983340076> [Accessed on 25 May 2013].
 - 42 Velthuizen, 2007, op. cit., pp. 278–286.
 - 43 Ibid. p. 279.
 - 44 Odora Hoppers, C.A., 2004. *Culture, indigenous knowledge and development: The role of the university* [e-book]. Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD), Occasional Paper No. 5, p. 24. Available at http://www.cepd.org.za/files/pictures/CEPD_Occasional_paper5_Culture_Indigenous_Knowledge_and_Development.pdf [Accessed on 20 May 2013].

The Festering Sore of Corruption in Africa and its Implications for Democratic Consolidation

This article interrogates, in theoretical cum descriptive fashion, the nexus between corruption and democracy, using sub-Saharan Africa as a research backdrop. Drawing mainly from secondary data and leaning towards a modernisation theoretical framework, it argues that the festering sore of corruption has produced antitheses that are injurious to economic development and ultimately democratic development. It submits that if this state of affairs continues unchecked, consolidating democracy will be extremely difficult.

Adeniyi S Basiru

Adeniyi Basiru is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Lagos, Nigeria

Introduction: A Background Sketch

Across the length and breadth of the continent of Africa, aside from the phenomenon of poverty, another issue on which there is broad consensus is corruption; a gargantuan monster that has thwarted the continent's march to sustainable development and peace. Indeed, for many concerned Africans it remains a festering sore on the continent's public spaces with serious implications for democratic accountability. It is a monumental problem confronting the continent. Interestingly, although various national regimes in Africa have sought to address the problem by making the fight against corruption the major features of their nations' policies¹ the problem seems to have defied solution.²

This underscores the intractability of corruption in contemporary African society and its attendant consequences on governance. Although there have been a plethora of works on the subject of corruption in Africa, there seems to be a dearth of academic research on its impact on democracy and good governance. The significance of this study is therefore predicated on this gap in the literature. The purpose of this study therefore is to interrogate the nexus between corruption and democratic consolidation. The study draws its data from

secondary sources via desk research and adopts a histo-analytical approach.

In terms of organisation, the article has been divided into six sections, starting with an introduction which presents the article's significance, purpose, methodology and organisation. Following this introductory section, the second section lays the conceptual framework for the article by operationalising the concepts that are germane to the study. The third section probes the nexus between corruption and democracy. The fourth section examines relevant literature on the causes and etiology of corruption in Africa, while the fifth section x-rays the impact of corruption on democracy and economic development in Nigeria. The sixth section concludes the article with a number of submissions on how to tame the monster of corruption in Africa.

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

In a discourse of this nature it is apposite to conceptualise and give operational meanings to some of the concepts so as to enhance their theoretical significance. In this article, the concepts of corruption and democratic consolidation are germane and are thus conceptualised, starting with the former.

Defining corruption

Corruption, in spite of its ubiquity like terrorism, poverty, injustice and so on, is difficult to define. This is because corruption like other culturally woven concepts in the social sciences is contextually and territorially bound. In other words, the phenomenon of corruption can mean different things in different countries.³ For example, what would be considered in Nigeria as a 'mere' gift may be regarded as corruption in other countries! This problem of equivalence

makes the task of defining corruption perplexing. As Egwemi notes, 'conceptualizing corruption is not an easy task. It is a daunting and challenging venture'.⁴ As a result of such conceptual crises, it has been defined variously by both scholars and institutions.

Needless to say that despite the multiplicity of conceptions, the World Bank's definition is hegemonically used and accepted in policy and scholarly circles.⁵ Before we examine the Bank's definition, it is germane to survey literature for some of these definitions. Etymologically speaking, the word corruption comes from the Greek word *corruptus*, meaning an aberration or a misnomer.⁶ To this end, Dobel defines it as 'the betrayal of public position, resources and power for private gain'.⁷ Nye considers it as 'behaviour that deviates from the formal duties of a public role (elective or appointive) because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) wealth or status'.⁸ Finally, the World Bank conceives corruption 'as the misuse of public power for private gains'.⁹

What can be deduced from the above definitions is that corruption depicts conduct – individual or corporate – that deviates from accepted norms in the society. It is played out at different levels of social interactions. At the nuclear family level, corruption manifests when a husband in relation to his wife deviates from culturally acceptable roles. Conceptually and culturally, such a husband is corrupt. At the governmental level, it depicts official misdemeanour on the part of public servants, elected or appointed. This occurs when public servants deviate from laid down regulations, for example regulations on spending, contract awards, tenureship, employment and suchlike. Also to be emphasised in the conception of corruption is that it is a relational phenomenon between two parties, the corruptor and corruptee.

Corruption usually involves a party, an individual or a group that intends to subvert or actually subverts laid down procedures in order to satisfy another party which may also be an individual or group. At another level, it may play out when a party that is entrusted to act on behalf of a collective refuses to act voluntarily until he is influenced or induced to act by another party. All these conform to the Yoruba adage that 'it is not the person that steals palm oil from the roof ceiling that matters but who he gives it to'. In this case, both are involved in the crime. This suggests that the act of corruption is two-way traffic involving two parties.

From the foregoing, corruption is conceived for our purpose in this article as the abuse or misuse of official power or a private, illegal act committed by elected/appointed public officials before, during and after office. Instructively, this sort of aberrant behaviour could play out in all spheres of society as it is not limited to the public sector. For example, a company chief executive who hobnobs with the auditor to subvert a laid down process is perhaps conceptually corrupt. In the public sector, the focus of this discourse, it manifests in many ways.¹⁰

In fact, the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption and Related Offences lists acts of corruption in the public sector as including the following:¹¹

- The solicitation or acceptance, directly or indirectly by a public official or any other person, of any goods of monetary, or other benefit, such as a gift, favour, promise or advantage for himself or herself or for another person or entity, in exchange for any act or omission in the performance of his or her public functions;
- The offering or granting, directly or indirectly, to a public official or any other person of any goods of monetary value, or other benefit, such as a gift, favour, promise or advantage for himself or herself or for any person or entity, in exchange for any act or omission in the performance of his or her public functions;
- The offering or granting, directly or indirectly, to a public official or any other person for the purpose of illicitly obtaining benefits for himself or herself or for a third party;
- The diversion by a public official or any other person, for purposes unrelated to those for which they were intended, for his own or her own benefit or that of a third party of any property belonging to the state or its agencies, to an independent agency, or to an individual, that such official has received by virtue of his or her position;
- The offering or giving, promising, solicitation or acceptance, directly or indirectly, of any undue advantage to or by any person who directs or works for, in any capacity, a private sector entity, for himself or herself or for anyone else, for him or her to act or refrain from acting, in breach of his or her duties;
- The offering, giving, soliciting or accepting directly or indirectly, or promising of any undue advantage to or by any person who asserts or confirms that he or she is able to exert any improper influence over the decision-making of any person performing functions in the public or private sector in consideration thereof, whether the undue advantage is for himself or herself or for anyone else, as well as the request, receipt or the acceptance of the offer or the promise of such an advantage, in consideration of that influence, whether or not the influence is exerted or whether or not the supposed influence leads to the intended result;
- Illicit enrichment;

- The use or concealment of proceeds derived from any of the acts referred to in this article; and
- Participation as a principal, co-principal, agent, instigator, accomplice or accessory after the fact or in any other manner in the commission or attempted commission of, in any collaboration or conspiracy to commit, any of the acts referred to in this article.

Finally, it must be emphasised that corruption straddles both the public and the private sectors. The experience of Africa has shown that there are public–private partnerships in corruption.

Democratic consolidation

The term ‘democratic consolidation’ genealogically assumed global currency with the arrival of the third wave of democratisation.¹² Prior to this era, it was restricted in use to the Anglo-Saxon scholarly community.¹³ Then it was meant to describe the challenge of making new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short term, of making them immune to the threat of authoritarian repression.¹⁴ Remarkably, the globalisation of the third wave beyond the Iberian Peninsula courtesy of neoliberal triumphalism¹⁵ led social theorists to refine the concept.¹⁶

By this time, the term assumed the general meaning of reducing the probability of democratic breakdown in new democracies.¹⁷ In this form, Bratton¹⁸ conceptualises it as the widespread acceptance of roles to guarantee political participation and political competition. From a slightly different angle, Ojo¹⁹ sees it as the process by which democracy becomes so broadly and profoundly legitimate among citizens that it is very unlikely to break down. In a related argument, Diamond sees it as ‘the process of achieving broad (and) deep legitimation

such that all significant political actors, at both elite and mass level, believe that the democratic system is better for their society than any other realistic alternative they can imagine’.²⁰

Aside from conceptualising and contextualising democratic consolidation, democratic theorists have also attempted to identify the pre-conditions for its attainment, namely, the substantive and stability factors.²¹ The first encompasses the multiplicity of institutions, norms and beliefs that could nurture democracy in a given society.²² The second and the most fundamental, especially in new democracies, is stability.²³ Indeed, stability is regarded as the sine qua non for democratic consolidation.

In the words of Ogundiya, ‘the tiny gap between stability and consolidation is that stability begets consolidation. Indeed democracy must be stable for it to be consolidated’.²⁴ In the larger context, political stability is also consequent upon legitimacy, the acceptance of a regime as valid by the citizens. Thus, when the citizens accept democracy voluntarily without coercion, democratic stability is assured in the society.²⁵ For the purpose of this article, democratic consolidation is the capacity of a country to nurture legitimising values over a long time with little or no threat to democratic project.

Corruption and Democracy: Any Symbiosis?

Can democracy be nurtured in a corruption-ridden society? Or put broadly, is there a symbiotic relationship between corruption and democracy? The modernisation scholars of the 1950s once contended that growth emanating from modernisation would in the long run promote democracy.²⁶ According to Seymour Lipset, the leading modernisation theorist of this era, the more well-to-do a nation is, the

greater the chances that it will become and sustain democracy.²⁷ In a cross-national quantitative comparative research study, he found a positive linear relationship between levels of socioeconomic development and democratic advancement. As he puts it, 'economic development involving industrialization, urbanization, high educational standards, and a steady increase in the overall wealth of the society, is a basic condition sustaining democracy, and it is a mark of efficiency of the total system'.²⁸

Though this theoretical lens it can therefore be inferred that any phenomenon that subverts economic development also does the same for democracy and, once democracy is arrested, the entire gamut of the society wallows in crisis and instability.²⁹ In fact, in development studies, there appears to a general consensus that incidences of corruption retard development especially in countries that are battling with economic survival.³⁰ In Africa, the corruption of the state and its institutions has been touted as being responsible for the underdevelopment crisis ravaging the continent. In these jurisdictions, some of the resources which would have been deployed to facilitate development have found their way into private pockets and individual accounts in foreign countries.

In the case of Nigeria, some foreign rights groups estimate that Nigeria lost a minimum average of \$4 billion to \$8 billion per year to corruption over the eight years of the Obasanjo administration.³¹ In a similar vein, in 2006, the head of Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Nuhu Ribadu, estimated that Nigeria lost some US\$380 billion to corruption between independence in 1960 and the end of military rule in 1999.³²

The central argument in all this is that corruption has negative consequences for economic development, social peace and public accountability; therefore, it delegitimises

democratic rule. The late Nigerian dictator, General Sani Abacha, a former Nigerian military ruler, once averred, 'besides having a negative impact on the political and economic sectors of the nation, corruption has also undermined the principles of equity and social justice which are fundamental to the orderly evolution of a humane, democratic, strong and united country'.³³

Deciphering the Hidden Drivers of Corruption in Africa/Nigeria

To begin with, all communities, irrespective of their level of sophistication, have some values that define them. These value systems shape the conduct and behaviour of members of the community, to the extent that any affront to these values by any individual or group of individuals is seriously punished by the community. Although these values vary from community to community, there are some that are almost universal. For example, virtually all communities frown on conduct where an individual alone or in concert with others steals what belong to another individual or group.

Usually there are serious sanctions against the perpetrators of such conduct in a community. As a matter of fact, this was the culture of most societies in pre-colonial Africa. For example, a political culture that abhors corruption is found among the Kanyok people of the southern Congo – the famous Luba story in which the Kanyok approve of 'community spirit' and 'deplore selfishness' shows the anti-corruption content of the political culture of the Kanyok people.³⁴ Among the Yoruba of Western Nigeria, a thief who stole a commodity, no matter how insignificant that commodity was, would be deemed to have committed a crime not only against the owner of the commodity

in question but also against the community as a whole. The sanction was even heavier if the stolen commodity belonged to the entire community. Generally, it was not only the thief that bore the brunt of the community sanction but his family as well. In all of these, the community did not make a distinction between private or public stealing, both were considered immoral and reprehensible. Perhaps this cultural practice was what obtained in most traditional communities in Africa before the advent of colonialism. Thus, contrary to the positions of some Eurocentric scholars that corruption was culturally ingrained in pre-colonial Africa,³⁵ stealing and all forms corruption were morally reprehensible in Africa.³⁶

At this juncture one question is pertinent: If corruption and other forms of stealing were not ingrained in the African past, why is the phenomenon prevalent in the continent today? Indeed, answering this question probably calls for the historicisation of African social formation. To begin with, it is instructive to note that, first, every history has an epoch that defines its character; second, each historical epoch changes with the passage of time. In this way, today's Africa has been preceded by four historical epochs and each has shaped the evolution of the political units in the continent. Specifically, in its transition to modernity, Africa passed through five epochs: the pre-slave trade stage which was embryonic; the slave trade era that blossomed for almost three centuries; the post-slave trade phase of the nineteenth century; the colonial era and the post-colonial period.³⁷ However, the colonial epoch has apparently had the most impact on the continent's sociopolitical landscape.

The colonial epoch was the epoch when the traditional political structures that had defined governance for centuries were forcefully altered and transformed by externally imposed state

structures. In the words of Robin Hallett, the colonial era was a median point which marked the end of an old order.³⁸ And given the circumstances of their emergence, the grafted states had to depend on force to extract economic surplus from the natives. In essence, whether the system of rule was direct or indirect, the logic of the colonial states in Africa was the same: hard policing of the colonial economies for the benefit of the metropolises.³⁹

Consciously or unconsciously, the superintendents of these states, in the process of opening the colonies up for capitalist penetration, liquidated the old social structures and values; in their stead, new ones were created.⁴⁰ In British Africa, colonialism created two conflicting values: the primordial values embedded in the traditions of the natives and the civic values domiciled in the new states and the bureaucracy.⁴¹ Interestingly, while the natives regarded the former as sacred and thus related to it with respect, the latter was considered alien, anachronistic and illegitimate. It was the realm to be looted and desecrated when the opportunities to do so arose. In consequence, what was morally wrong in the primordial realm was considered morally right in the civic realm. It was in this milieu that the state and its numerous institutions became the arena of corruption where public servants stole to service the other realm.

Disappointingly, the postcolonial state that succeeded the colonial state was not structurally different from its precursor. It was merely de-racialised and Africanised; it retained its brutal and accumulative character. At independence, the inheritors of the colonial state, in their race to catch up with their counterparts in the metropolises, took accumulation to the next level. This soon generated its own contradiction as the state, now superintended by Africans, rather than the private sector, now became an avenue for access to wealth and prestige and

was therefore sought by whatever means.⁴² Politics then assumed the character of warfare as both the ruling and the opposition parties engaged in a fierce battle to control the soul of the state. The regimes in power, in order to survive the onslaught of the oppositions, moved to centralise and personalise power in the presidents, thereby destroying the inherited democratic structures.

As a matter of fact, all manner of strategies were deployed to achieve this objective: the banning of opposition parties, the weakening of the parliaments and the judiciaries. With these institutions all gone or comatose, politics became less routinised and patrimonial, as the president, now the father of the nation,⁴³ became the chief dispenser of state patronage, usually to his tiny group of supporters; whereupon favouritism, nepotism, bribery and abuse of power ensued. In Nigeria, allegations of corruption were used as a justification by the military to intervene in 1966.⁴⁴ Indeed, upon assumption of power, the first assignment of the regime was the setting up of tribunals of inquiry to probe the activities and assets of some suspected politicians.

Sadly, despite the anti-corruption crusades of the military interventionists, they too were soon caught in the web of corruption. The point that has been made so far is that the forces of imperialism liquidated the traditional structures that for centuries had constituted the bulwark against corruption and other forms of malfeasance. Instead, these forces brought new ones which not only redefined government but also society. Indeed, it is not only the state – the public realm – that is corrupt but also the primordial realm. In essence, all aspects of social life in Africa have been monetised and devalued by capitalist penetration.

What Implications for Democracy?

It must be stressed that when an economy is strong, resilient and virile, it garners people's support which translates into popular legitimacy. Indeed, since the publication of Seymour Lipset's early seminal work, it has been demonstrated that macro-level variables such as gross national product (GNP), literacy and regime type all play a very important role in creating the necessary conditions for the emergence and survival of democracy.⁴⁵ In this way, any externality that thwarts economic growth could also jeopardise democracy. This is where corruption comes into the picture. In the first instance, a nation inundated with corruption cannot be viable economically nor can the system generate enough support/affection for the survival of the democratic system.

In post-military Nigeria, the resources that would have been utilised for developmental purposes are either siphoned off outside the country or diverted to fund 'political' projects with the attendant effects on the people. As a matter of fact, most commentators on Nigeria's affairs today attribute the scourge of violence and insecurity ravaging the country to increasing poverty and unemployment. Indeed, there is no gainsaying the fact that the greatest threat to democratic consolidation in Nigeria today is corruption-induced poverty. As the Human Right Watch reported in 2007, 'despite record-setting, government revenues in recent years, corruption and mismanagement remain a major cause of Nigeria's failure to make meaningful progress in improving the lot of ordinary Nigerians'.⁴⁶

Under these circumstances, the disarticulated people had to realign and find something to rely on, whereupon ethno-nationalism and

religious fundamentalism increased in salience. With the shift from feeling Nigerian to relying more on ethno-nationalism and other forms of communal solidarities, the consequence was that the strong ties that united the country during the anti-military struggles disintegrated. Sadly, these ethno-driven contentious politics soon degenerated into full-blown violence in various parts of the country. Before the amnesty programme in 2009, the oil-rich Niger delta region was a hotbed of militancy and kidnapping; likewise, the Boko Haram insurgents that have been tormenting the people of the north-east since 1999. The point here is that beyond the facade of insecurity wrought on nations by militants and insurgents lies the hidden driver, corruption-induced underdevelopment.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Arising from the previous sections, a few valuable conclusions can be drawn. First, corruption, contrary to the contentions of some Africanist scholars, is not rooted in traditional African society but was brought into the African social milieu by colonialism. Second, the postcolonial ruling elites (military and civilians) inherited the colonial structure and took it to another level. Third, the obsession of these elites with the primitive accumulation of public funds makes development secondary

and, in the absence of development, democracy can hardly consolidate. Finally, since virtually every nation in Africa is mired in the crisis of political corruption, it is doubtful whether democracy, conceptualised as popular power, can germinate not to speak of consolidation.

Given the foregoing, what should be done? First, there is an urgent need to reform the electoral systems in most countries since flawed elections have been implicated as incubators of corrupt political leadership. In the case of Nigeria, I recommend the authorities revisit the Uwais's electoral reform panel report. Second, there is need to review the laws that set up the anti-corruption bodies so as to make them more autonomous. The current practices where they are controlled by presidents do not augur well for the fight against corruption. Third, the immunity provisions that shield most chief executives against being investigated for corrupt offences while in office, should be revoked forthwith.

Fourth, the media and civil society organisations must redouble their efforts in their fight against corruption. Africa needs more occupational movements in as many cities as possible. Finally, since state legitimacy is vital for democratic growth, the states in Africa as they are currently constituted are illegitimate in the eyes of their 'citizens' and this explains why people always want to loot them. They therefore need to be re-legitimised via reconstitutionalisation.

Notes and References

- 1 On the Nigerian anti-corruption agenda, see Ribadu, M.N., 2006. Nigeria's struggle with corruption. An abridged and edited version of presentation to US Congressional House Committee on International Development, Washington, DC, 18 May. See also, Schiller, C., 2000. *Improving governance and fighting corruption: An IMF perspective*. Washington, DC: IMF, 31 March.
- 2 In the context of Nigeria, see Ologbenla, D., 2007, Leadership, governance and corruption in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 9(3), pp. 97–118; Egwemi, V., 2010. Beyond anti-corruption rhetoric: Some comments on a decade of anti-corruption war in Nigeria, 1999–2009. *African Journal of Modern Society*, 1(2), pp. 120–131.
- 3 See Andvig, J. and Fjeldstad, O.-H., 2001. *Corruption: A review of contemporary research*. Research Report. Norway: Michelsen Institute Development Studies and Human Rights, p. 4.

- 4 Egwemi, V., 2012. Corruption and corrupt practices in Nigeria: An agenda for taming the monster. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(3), pp. 72–85 at 73.
- 5 See Nnorom, C. and Waziri, A., 2008. Gender and corruption in the Nigerian political system, 1999–2007. *Unilag Journal of Politics*, Vol. 4, p. 7.
- 6 Cf. Waziri, F., 2010. Opening remarks. In CLEEN Foundation, ed., *Corruption and governance challenges in Nigeria*. Monograph Series. No 7. Lagos: CLEEN Foundation, p. 1.
- 7 Dobel, J.P., 1978. The corruption of a state. *American Political Science Review*, 72(3), pp. 958–973.
- 8 Nye, J., 1967. Corruption and political development: A cost-benefit analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 51(2), p. 417.
- 9 See World Bank, 1997. *The state in a changing world*. Washington, DC: World Bank, p. 3.
- 10 Igbuzor, O., 2008. *Strategies for winning the anti-corruption war in Nigeria*. Abuja: Action Aid.
- 11 Egwemi, op. cit., p. 75.
- 12 See Huntington, S., 1991. *The third wave of democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- 13 See Lipset, S.M., 1959. Some social prerequisites for democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, 69–105.
- 14 Ojo, E.O., 2008. Press freedom and democratic consolidation in Nigeria nascent democracy (1999–2007). *Unilag Journal of Politics*, Vol. 4, pp. 164–191.
- 15 Fukuyama, F., 1989. The end of history. *National Interest*, Vol. 16.
- 16 Beetham, D., 1994. Conditions of democratic consolidation. *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 60, pp. 157–172.
- 17 See Schedler, A., 1998. What is democratic consolidation? *Journal of Democracy*, 9(2), pp. 91–107.
- 18 Bratton, M., 1998. Second elections in Africa., *Journal of Democracy*, 9(3), July.
- 19 Ojo, op. cit. p. 171.
- 20 Diamond, L., 1999. *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 21 Svobik, M.W., 2007. When and why democracies consolidate: Coups, incumbent takeovers, and democratic survival. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1337082> [Accessed on 7 February 2013].
- 22 Guillermo, A.O. and Philippe, C.S., 1986. *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Comparative perspective*. Vol. 4. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press; Putnam, R.D., 1993. *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- 23 Schedler, op. cit.
- 24 Ogundiya, S., 2010. Corruption: The bane of democratic stability in Nigeria. *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(4), pp. 233–241, at p. 235.
- 25 Mishler, W. and Richard, R., 2001. Political support for incomplete democracies: Realist versus idealist theories and measures. *International Political Science Review*, 22(4), pp. 303–320.
- 26 Read Rostow, W., 1960. *Politics and the stages of economic growth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 27 Lipset, S.M., 1960. *Political man*. New York: Basic Books.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Igbuzor, op. cit.
- 30 Bello Imam, cf. Egwemi, op. cit., p. 76.
- 31 Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2007. Criminal politics: Violence, 'godfathers' and corruption in Nigeria. *Human Rights Watch*, 19(16A), October.
- 32 BBC News, 2006. Nigeria leaders 'stole' \$380 billion. *BBC News Online*, October 20. Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6069230.stm> [Accessed on 20 September 2013].
- 33 *Guardian Newspaper* (Lagos), June 29, 1994, p. 4.
- 34 See Yoder, J., 1998. Good government, democratisation and traditional African political philosophy: The example of the Kanyok in Congo. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(3), pp. 483–507.
- 35 See Bayart, J., 1996. *The state in Africa: The politics of the belly*. London & New York: Longman; Bayart, J., Ellis, S. and Hibou, B., 1999. *The criminalization of the state in Africa*. Oxford & Bloomington, VA: International African Institute; Chabal, P. and Daloz, J. 1999. *Africa works: Disorder as political instrument*. Oxford & Bloomington, VA: International African Institute.
- 36 For this fact, see Tignor, R., 1993. Political corruption in Nigeria before independence. *Journal Modern African Studies*, 31(2), pp. 175–202.
- 37 Africa passed through five epochs in its history: the pre-slave trade stage which was embryonic; the slave trade era that blossomed for almost three centuries; the post-slave trade phase of the 19th century; the colonial era and post-colonial period. See Mangut, J. and Wuam, T., 2012. Introduction. In Wuam, T. and Mangut, J., eds, *Colonialism and the transition to modernity in Africa* Ibadan: Sun-Adex Printers, p. xv.
- 38 Hallet, R., 1980. *Africa since 1875*. London: Heinemann.
- 39 Rodney, W., 1972. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House.
- 40 See Omotola, J.S., 2006. Through a dark glass darkly: Assessing the new war against corruption in Nigeria. *Africa Insight*, 36(3 & 4), pp. 214–228.
- 41 This argument is drawn from the classic work of Peter Ekeh. See Ekeh, P., 1975. Colonialisms and the two publics in Africa: A theoretical statement. *Studies in Society and History*, 17(1).
- 42 Ake, C., 1996. *Is Africa democratizing?* Monograph No. 5. Port Harcourt: Centre for Advanced Social Science (CASS), p. 7.
- 43 The titles of Osagyefo and Nwalimu were given to Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. For details, see Vande Walle, N., 2003. Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(2), pp. 297–322.
- 44 The Gowon Administration was, for example, an evidently corrupt government. Ten out of the twelve military governors in that regime were indicted for corruption. See Dudley, B., 1982. *An introduction to Nigerian government and politics*. London: Macmillan, p. 77.
- 45 Lipset, op. cit.
- 46 Human Rights Watch, op. cit.

Who owns Mediation at the African Union (AU)?

Understanding the Causes of the AU Mediation Ineffectiveness in the Libya Crisis of 2011

This article is a conceptual analysis that examines the causes and factors that hamper African Union (AU) efforts to peacefully resolve and manage African conflicts through mediation. The article uses the Libya crisis of 2011 as a case study and asks the question of who owns mediation at the AU in order to understand factors that have always undermined AU mediation capacity, thus rendering it unable to fulfil its promises to the African people. AU mediation efforts have, repeatedly, been marked by both success and failure whenever the AU tries to resolve and prevent the outbreak of violent conflicts on the continent.

Eric Blanco Niyitunga

Eric Niyitunga is a visiting research fellow at the University of Johannesburg.

Introduction

When the Cold War, an ideological battle between the Western and Eastern blocs, ended in early 1990s, it became difficult, indeed almost impossible, for Africa and its people to attain peace and stability. Post-Cold War Africa became a continent of chaos full of violent armed conflicts and civil wars. From West Africa all the way to the East Africa and the horn of Africa, from the North through Central Africa all the way to Southern Africa, innocent civilians, rather than soldiers, were increasingly targeted, some being killed and others displaced. These civil and ethnic wars on the continent contributed to mass migration, mass refugee flows, mass repression, internally displaced persons, rebellion and guerrilla warfare, electoral violence, environmental degradation and food crises. Dersso notes that the demise of the superpower rivalry dramatically changed peace and security dynamics both in Africa and the world.¹ Arguably, violent conflicts and civil wars in Africa are noted by this article to have seemingly become irresolvable on the continent, thus posing threats to international peace and security. A study conducted by the Commission for Africa in 2005 notes that

post-Cold War Africa has experienced more armed conflicts and civil wars than any other continent in the world.²

The role of regional organisations alongside the United Nations (UN) in helping to maintain international peace and security is particularly recognised and articulated in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.³ For this reason, the African Union (AU) stands as the only regional organisation that helps the UN to address and prevent conflicts and violence on the continent. Indisputably, assessing the prospects for the AU mediation efforts in conflict management and peace-making on the continent requires an accurate understanding of the establishment of the AU as a regional body with the mandate of resolving African conflicts. Sithole argues that the formation of the AU in 2002 was actually aimed at finding durable African solutions for African problems.⁴ This is the reason why the AU institutions and powers were meant to bring about fundamental shifts away from the constraints imposed on actions under the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) charter.⁵

It is important to realise the relevance of mediation, in theory and practice, in assessing the AU's benefits and outcomes in conflict management on the continent. More precisely, Nathan notes that one of the challenges at the AU in its efforts to address violent conflicts is the lack of serious attention paid to peaceful means of resolving conflicts such as mediation, negotiation and arbitration by African scholars in its open forums and conferences.⁶ Equally, the current literature on peace and conflict studies demonstrates that in various conferences and forums, scholars, politicians and human rights activists tend to discuss and debate the theory and practice of peacekeeping, peace building and peace enforcement while putting less focus on mediation.

A study conducted by Nathan explains that academicians, politicians and activists have put much effort into and focus on studying international peacekeeping, while overlooking the relevance of mediation in conflict management and peace-making.⁷ Former UN general secretary Boutros-Ghali, in his report on *Agenda for Peace*, argues that in major policy statements on peace and conflict, scholars and peace practitioners explain their perspectives on the concepts of early warning, peace operations and other topics, but surprisingly say little about mediation and its practicality in conflict prevention and management.⁸

This article investigates causes and factors of the failure of AU mediation efforts during the Libya crisis of 2011 and how the AU mediation capacity can be strengthened to resolve and prevent violent conflicts in Africa. The article argues that the failure of the AU to mediate the Libya crisis of 2011 and to prevent The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military intervention in the country impacted negatively on the organisation's credibility, authority and reliability in being entrusted with the management of African conflicts. The setback revealed serious institutional weaknesses in the organisation and deep political divisions within member states. The AU's mediation team, known as the Eminent Panel of the Wise (EPW), comprised former African leaders who lacked the experience and expertise needed to deal effectively with a complex geopolitical crisis, the implications of which encompassed not only Africa but also the Middle East and Europe. This inexperience was compounded by an imbalance and misalignment in the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC). The deep resentment and divisions among AU member states regarding Colonel Muammar Gaddafi thwarted the development of a clear and consistent approach on Libya in the face of NATO's determination to oust him and effect a regime change in the country.

The central question of inquiry of this article is therefore to explore what could be the causes of the failure of AU mediation efforts during the Libya crisis of 2011. This article also suggests different approaches that will reinforce the EPW as the AU mediation team in order to peacefully address and prevent violent armed conflict on the continent. The vital argument of this article is that the existing imbalances and the lack of mediation expertise in the PSC and the EPW of the AU, the existing deep resentment and divisions among the AU member states and the geopolitics of Libya are the major internal causes that handicapped any mediation effort advanced by the AU. This article, similarly, notes that the external attacks through NATO, the historical rivalries between Gaddafi and the West, and the unconstitutional regime change advanced by the West in Libya are the external causes that rendered the AU mediation effort in the Libya crisis of 2011 fruitless.

This argument will be clarified and structured in two parts. The first part examines the historical background of the AU and the establishment of the EPW, which is the AU mediation team, and the PSC of the AU, which are mandated with the maintenance of peace and security on the continent. In this part, the character and nature of the EPW, root causes that always render AU mediation a failure in conflict management in Africa, will be comprehensively examined. Moving on from this, the second part of this article conducts a critical analysis to explore possible external causes that undermine the AU mediation efforts in managing African conflicts through peaceful means. Finally, the article concludes by highlighting policies and strategies that will help strengthen the AU mediation efforts to manage and resolve violent conflict successfully on the continent.

The case study of Libya in this article will help us understand the major reasons why the

AU peace plan for Libya failed. Understandably, the Libya crisis of 2011 has seriously affected the AU's credibility, authority and reliability in being entrusted with the management of African conflicts. It revealed the weaknesses of the AU and the African member states as a whole. It also brought to light some of the unchecked gaps and missing links in the EPW, the AU mediation team, which have made it impossible for the AU and its organs to maintain peace and security on the continent. To a large extent, this Libyan case confirms that African solidarity as one of the AU values is an ideal rather than a reality. Kwame Nkrumah once argued that, as Africans, if we continue in the state of disunity many disasters and calamities must befall our continent.⁹ The miserable failure of the AU mediation efforts in the Libya crisis of 2011, which culminated in violent armed conflict, actually confirmed that more disasters and calamities await our continent unless we become united. Furthermore, Kasaija argues that the crises in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya exposed the hollowness of the AU as an African solution to African problems.¹⁰ This case study will therefore explain in detail the major internal factors that have hindered any effort of the AU to fulfil the promises it has made to the African people of maintaining peace, security and stability being embedded in the AU organisational structure.

Internal Factors

The idea of an African Union resulted from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which originated from the concept of Pan-Africanism, a school of thought advanced by our African heroes of independence who saw that the African people would rid themselves of colonialism and find African solutions to African

problems only if they became united. Wapmuk argues that, in 1963, the then President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, argued that a federation of African states or a union government for Africa would be the most effective vehicle for Africa's economic, social and political emancipation.¹¹ Wapmuk further argues that Kwame Nkrumah's proposal of a united African government became an issue and resulted in a serious debate between the Casablanca group led by Ghana, supporting immediate continental unification, and the Monrovia group led by Nigeria, favouring functional cooperation.¹² It was during this debate that, on 25 May 1963, the OAU was formed as a compromise between the two contrasting groups.¹³

The vision and mission of the OAU was concerned with the struggles to liberate the African continent from the tyranny of the colonial masters. Sithole argues that the OAU brought with in the hope that African countries would unite in eradicating colonialism as well as facilitating economic and social development.¹⁴ The OAU faced numerous challenges, both internal and external, which hampered its success in the areas of continental development, poverty eradication and ending the numerous civil and ethnic wars resulting from the human rights abuses.¹⁵ Regrettably, to a large extent the OAU failed miserably in its mission to eradicate conflict and poverty across the continent. This resulted in African leaders led by the late Gaddafi, the then president of Libya, calling in 2002 for the OAU's conversion into the African Union (AU). The failure of the OAU to tackle African problems from their root causes coupled with its inability to adapt to the demands of a changing world driven by the forces of globalisation necessitated its transformation to the African Union in 2002. It was well understood that the non-interference principle in internal affairs embedded in OAU

Charter Article III (3)¹⁶ of member states was one of the major factors that led to the OAU failure, as it stood by watching while some African leaders became dictators, violating people's human rights and committing crimes against humanity.

At its launch in Durban, South Africa, on 9 July 2002, the AU was received with much excitement by African states. It was and still is perceived with great expectations by many Africans and the international community as a regional bloc aimed at resolving and preventing the outbreak of violent conflict on the continent. Subsequently, Sithole argues that the inauguration of the AU was thus greeted with high levels of optimism and euphoria, and the expectation that the AU would tackle all the problems and crises that its predecessor OAU had failed to deal with, thus bringing hope to African people.¹⁷ Equally significantly, Sithole further notes that the AU was anticipated by many Africans as their last hope for overcoming all the limitations and challenges of the OAU.¹⁸ Shockingly, the AU is still facing the same challenges as its predecessor the OAU faced, including divisions among its member states and lack of mediation expertise to name just a couple, thus making it impossible for it to fulfil its promises to the African people.

In 2004, two years after the creation of the AU, the PSC was formed. The PSC was a major component of the architecture through which issues relating to economic and social development, peace and security in Africa were to be dealt with. It is worth noting that the primary objective of the AU PSC is to promote peace, security and stability and to create conditions conducive to sustainable development in Africa.¹⁹ The formation of the AU in 2002, and the subsequent formation of the PSC in 2004, established concrete institutions dedicated to the promotion of peace, security and stability on the African continent.²⁰ For this reason, Annan

could confidently argue that the AU PSC was a powerful tool in the prevention and resolution of violent conflicts on the continent.²¹

Nevertheless, the success of the PSC remains an ideal rather than a reality. It is therefore noted that the AU suffers from institutional problems which make it impossible to succeed in its peace-making initiatives. In some cases the AU has succeeded in stopping threatening mass atrocities against innocent civilians, as noted in the electoral conflict of 2007–2008, which resulted from the highly contested general elections in Kenya. The AU has also made a positive impact in successfully resolving Burundi's long-standing ethnic civil war of 1993–2007 and has brought constitutional order to the country. However, in other cases the AU has failed miserably in conflict management in Africa, as it became impossible for the AU to successfully resolve conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire, in the ongoing crisis in Egypt, in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo, and in the Libya crisis of 2011. To assess the essential factors affecting AU mediation efforts in conflict management in Africa is therefore the central purpose of this article. Why were the AU mediation efforts deemed to fail in the Libya crisis? After explaining the historical background of the AU, it is therefore the purpose of this article to explore some of the imbalances and missing links entrenched in the AU PSC which hamper every peace-making initiative on the continent.

Gaps in the African Union Peace and Security Council

During the inauguration of the AU in Durban in 2002, the African leaders signed the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and

Security Council (PSC) of the AU. This protocol came into force on 26 December 2003 and it stands as the decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of violent conflict on the continent.²² Motivated by the vision to promote peace, security and stability in Africa, the AU purposed to anticipate and prevent conflicts, and where conflicts have occurred, to undertake peace-making and peace building functions and post-conflict reconstruction activities to prevent the resurgence of violence.²³ Understandably, in the AU vision, the PSC is the AU's decision-making body responsible for the maintenance of peace and security on the continent.

Given the failure of the AU mediation efforts during the Libya crisis of 2011, the current AU PSC suffers from much ambiguity which needs to be assessed. Vorrath, in her exemplary study, argues that though the establishment of the PSC on the continent has progressed, its outcomes have not met the ambitions of both African and external actors.²⁴ What went wrong for the PSC to do not effectively succeed in resolving Libya crisis of 2011 before the crisis deteriorated into violent armed conflict? It is noted with regret that the AU mediation efforts have been jeopardised by the unchecked gaps within the PSC itself. Therefore, the purpose in this section of the article is to explore various gaps inherent in the PSC of the AU.

The PSC has weak structures; in other word it faces structural violence within itself. This structural violence is highly manifest in its institutional components, most notably the African Standby Force, the Continental Early Warning System and two other advisory bodies. Vorrath puts it clearly when she argues that, so far, the PSC components are only partly functional.²⁵ Why partly functional? This article argues that it is because of the unchecked structural violence within the PSC. Moreover, Sithole argues that if

the AU had well-defined and equal mechanisms for Early Warning Systems to detect and act against any looming violence, African conflicts could have been somehow averted through preventive diplomacy activities.²⁶ Therefore, the existing unchecked structural violence embedded in the PSC obstructs any efforts made by the AU in a bid to detect and prevent conflicts before they turn violent.

Another gap in the PSC is the confusion between the regional integration and the regional organisation. As the article has explained, the PSC suffers from structural violence or imbalance; this in turn affects to a large extent the degree to which regional integration under the AU varies. Vorrath argues that West and Southern Africa, for example, both have relatively strong regional economic communities (RECs) with established security mechanisms. North and East Africa, in contrast, lack such adequate structures for the establishment of the respective regional brigade.²⁷ Similarly, weak regional structures are even more obvious in Central and East Africa. In this region there are many overlapping organisations, but few effective peace efforts have been undertaken.²⁸ This article argues that this imbalance indicates that in several regions in Africa, a political framework for effective peace endeavours is largely absent, and yet the PSC relies on regional organisations for conflict management on the continent.²⁹

It is worth noting that it will always be very difficult for the AU PSC to play a vital role in conflict management in Africa without functional regional organisations. As was well demonstrated in the Libya crisis, this article maintains the argument that the failure of the AU mediation team during this crisis occurred as a result of a lack of strong and functional regional organisations in the northern part of Africa. It is argued that the Arab Maghreb

Union (AMU), as the North African regional organisation officially linked to the AU, has been weak and ineffective ever since it was established. This weakness and ineffectiveness led to the Arab League, an organisation that is not linked to the AU, becoming the key regional player during the Libya crisis of 2011.³⁰ Therefore, the Arab League usurped the role of the AMU and hijacked the AU mediation efforts, subsequently announcing its support for foreign intervention which culminated in thwarting the AU's mediation efforts to find a political solution within the framework of the PSC-initiated roadmap.³¹ Equally, Sithole argues that the call for the imposition of a no-fly zone by the Council of the Arab League, which was later supported by the NATO member states, provided the essential political cover for the use of a Western military operation in Libya, which turned into a regime change.³²

In sum, these imbalances in the PSC led to the UN marginalising and ignoring the role of the AU as a regional body. Chapter VIII, Article 52 of the UN Charter recognises the existence of regional arrangements to deal with any threats to international peace and security, on condition that activities undertaken are consistent with the purposes and principles of the UN.³³ However, because of weak structures and unchecked gaps in the PSC, failure to act without delay in the Libya crisis became the norm and, as a result, the AU mediation efforts were ignored by the UN Security Council (UNSC). Kasajja highlights the fact that had the AU PSC immediately established a fact-finding mission, it would have been very difficult for the UNSC to ignore it in the Libya crisis.³⁴ Therefore, this article argues that unchecked gaps in the PSC were one of the many reasons that paved the way for the UNSC to pull the rug from under the feet of the AU in this crisis.³⁵

It is important to understand that the above gaps have affected the manner in which AU member states fail to contribute as they should, thus making the AU organisation suffer from lack of funds. This has led to the PSC relying on external funds either from the UN or the European Union (EU). These external funds result in the PSC lacking decision-making capacity, thus fearing to make any decision that appears to oppose what donors order it to do. Vorrath argues that the AU organisation is not in a position to bear its operating expenses, which makes it dependent on external financial support, mostly from the UN and the EU. In the case of Libya, the intention of the superpower and the major powers through NATO troops was a regime change under in the guise of responsibility to protect (R2P). They considered Gaddafi a threat to their national interests and to remove him from power was the first item on the agenda during the Libya crisis of 2011. Therefore, regardless of the above-mentioned gaps in the AU PSC, this article argues that the PSC could not have done much since it relies on financial support from both the superpowers and the major powers. This led to a fear of losing funds which immediately impacted on the AU roadmap for the 2011 Libya crisis. Having understood the unchecked imbalances and structural violence that the AU PSC currently suffers from, it is the purpose of the next part to examine the existing gaps in the AU EPW.

Gaps in the African Union Eminent Panel of the Wise and Lack of Mediation Expertise

The EPW is the AU mediation team and is composed of retired heads of African states. It is based on the false and debatable assumption

that any former head of state is a gentle and wise person. This is the reason why this AU mediation team is called the Eminent Panel of the Wise (EPW). However, this article calls this AU mediation team, the Eminent Panel of the Failures on the basis that some of these leaders failed to uphold human rights, peace, security and justice in their countries when they were head of states. When in office they were corrupt and tyrannical with regard to the people whom they professed to serve; hence, their profile does not qualify them to be either eminent or wise. Similarly, others were the product of the Cold War in the sense that they were proxies of the West serving the interests of the West. The baffling question is now: how will they serve the interests of the African continent?

Understandably, many of these ex-leaders assumed power by shedding people's blood through military coups; furthermore the African conflicts that they are now called upon to mediate in are the legacy and consequences of their poor leadership. Moreover, some of these retired heads of African states are military by profession and therefore lack mediation skills and experience. For this reason, it is a fatal mistake to allow them to make up the EPW as mediators, because their presence mostly does not help solve African conflicts but rather becomes a stumbling block to successful peace-making on the continent.

This article argues that there is a great need for the AU EPW to be composed of prominent scholars of peace and diplomacy with proven professionalism, achievements and experience in mediation. Similarly, there is a great need for African scholars to put much effort into mediation, because mediation is not as easy as people may think. Bercovitch and Houston refer to mediation as an approach to conflict management in which a third party, which is not a direct party to the dispute, helps disputants through

their negotiations and does so in a non-binding fashion.³⁶ Similarly, Nathan defines mediation as a process of dialogue and negotiation in which a neutral third party assists two or more disputant parties, with their consent to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict without resort to force.³⁷ Therefore, mediation is a science and subject which needs much professional attention. Susskind and Babbit note that retired leaders of the states are trapped into playing mediator roles because of their acceptability to the parties rather than their prior mediation expertise and experience.³⁸ It is worthy of note that African retired leaders may be skilled and trained in some other profession, but in mediation they are absolutely not. Therefore, this article argues that they are unskilled and inexperienced in mediation and thus fail to understand at least the essentials of the mediation processes and the dynamism of conflicts. A study conducted by Nathan notes that mediators who are highly skilled and experienced might not be successful in every case but they are much more likely to succeed than unskilled and inexperienced mediators.³⁹ Trained and experienced mediators are better equipped to manage the complexities of deep-rooted conflict and the passions and intransigence of the disputant parties.⁴⁰

This article maintains the argument that trained and experienced mediators are familiar with mediation strategies and tactics, conflict theory and dynamism, giving them a wider range of options and tools, and they are less likely to make mistakes.⁴¹ There are therefore structural gaps and imbalances in the AU when it comes to the appointment of who should be in the EPW. It is and will always be a fatal mistake to appoint any mediator to the AU EPW mediation team simply because they are retired heads of states and other national leaders. Unless these structural gaps and imbalances

in the EPW mediation team are thoroughly checked and dealt with, they will continue to hamper the success of any AU mediation efforts to manage and peacefully resolve conflicts and civil wars on the continent.

Consequently, violent armed conflicts on the continent have been the result of mediation failure; therefore, to appoint an inexperienced mediator to the EPW mediation team simply because they are retired heads of state may be equated to promoting conflict on the continent. It is worth noting that skilled, competent and experienced mediators are more likely to succeed than those who are inexperienced. Admittedly, poorly conducted mediation can exacerbate conflict and possibly hamper post-reconstruction processes. This assumption is to a large extent confirmed by the AU mediation processes in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya, and the current conflict relapse in South Sudan, to name but a few.

In order to promote the success of mediation at the AU, the EPW mediation team should therefore be composed of professional diplomats with a proven track record as mediators.⁴² The gaps already mentioned mean that the AU mediation team lacks needed mediation expertise in conflict management, and therefore make it impossible for the AU to succeed in conflict management on the continent. This article thus advocates for a structural solution to these gaps within the EPW mediation team which would lie in establishing an expert mediation team that functions independently of states.⁴³ This article has so far explained the major structural gaps and missing links that are embedded in the formation of the AU. It is the purpose of the next part to examine the origin and causes of resentment and divisions among African states.

Unchecked Divisions among African States

The disunity among African states did not happen yesterday; it dates back to the colonial era. When African states were fighting against Western imperialism on the continent there emerged two contentious groups among them. Ghana under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah advocated for a union government for Africa or federation of African states, which he saw as being the most effective vehicle for Africa's economic, social and political emancipation.⁴⁴ However, his proposal became an issue of serious debate and brought to light contentious issues among African states. It created misunderstandings among these states and thus divisions became the norm. The Casablanca group led by Ghana supported immediate continental unification, while the Monrovia group led by Nigeria favoured functional cooperation.⁴⁵ In a bid to harmonise these divisions and bring what the article refers to as a superficial consensus among African states, a compromise between the two groups resulted in the formation of the OAU.

This article argues that the formation of the OAU was a result of a compromise between the deep-rooted divisions among African states. It is interesting to note that the root causes that led to the divisions have not yet been tackled or dealt with. Compromising a crisis may bring a short-term solution but the fact remains that it fails to deal with the root causes of the crisis. Based on this assumption, it is important to note that the AU as the successor of the OAU inherited these unchecked divisions and they have been hampering its performance to the present day. What could be the cause of these divisions among African states? This article advances the argument that these divisions arise from

the divide-and-rule policy which has its origin in colonialism. It may be argued that even though African states profess independence, colonialism and its consequences have never left the continent. Modern colonialism on the continent seems to be very sophisticated in the sense that it becomes hard to discern and understand in its real form. This article maintains that modern colonialism may be discerned in the presence of foreign aid and loans coupled with their conditionality on the continent.

As much as foreign aid and loans may have positive effects on the economic growth of the continent, their negative impact on political leadership and decision-making processes at the AU summit has not yet been ascertained. The fact remains that Western donors (creditors), from whence foreign aid and loans emanate, will have the power to control and dictate how decisions should be made in the state (debtor) that has received their aid or loans. This can be illustrated by the fisherperson who goes to the river or lake to fish. The fisherperson attaches a hook to a fishing line with a small piece of meat as bait to attract the fish in the water. When the fish sees the meat it comes to eat believing that it is safe thus becoming trapped on the hook. The fisherperson then pulls in the fishing line to catch the fish. It is important to understand that the fisherperson's intention is not to help the fish grow but to kill the fish and feed on it. Therefore this article argues that loans and foreign aid from the West are not meant to help African states either grow or prosper. These loans and foreign aid put African states in a box to be trapped and dictated to by the West. This is the root cause of the divisions among African states as this article clearly explains. If the rich states of the North constantly give aid to those in need in the South, there will be some countries in the

South that will not benefit but become worse off, and dependency instead of creativity and action will become the norm, thus obstructing any approach advanced to deal comprehensively with African problems. Such foreign aid perpetuates absolute poverty rather than alleviating it.⁴⁶ Therefore, because insecurity, violence and injustice feed on poverty, conflict on the continent becomes intractable.

In the case of the Libya crisis, the AU peace plan for resolving the crisis was handicapped by this modern colonialism. This is in the sense that, if state A (debtor) from Africa has received aids and loans from state B (creditor) in the West and this creditor as a result of its own interests in Libya was involved in the regime change and NATO troops on Libya territory, this creditor had power over the debtor. Consequently, this creditor influenced the AU summit on the Libya crisis through the debtor in the sense that the stand of the debtor had to support the interests of the creditor – not Africa as whole. This was the reason why divisions became the norm at the AU summit on the Libya crisis. This article therefore argues that foreign aid and loans oppress and trap Africa states and they consequently become the greatest unseen weapon of the West, bringing about hostile divisions among the AU member states. It is worthy of mention that the debtor becomes afraid of the creditor to the extent that the debtor feels inferior and thus lacks the strength to question and challenge the authority of the creditor on issues affecting Africa.

One of the negative effects of foreign aid and loans from the West on the political leadership and decision-making processes at the AU was the development of hostile divisions among the AU member states on the Libya crisis. These divisions jeopardised the AU mediation efforts to find a lasting political solution to the crisis. In his study, Kasaija notes three contentious

divisions which emerged among the AU member states. The first position was taken by Uganda, South Africa and to an extent Kenya, which accepted the UNSC resolution 1973 in principle but criticised the way NATO countries went beyond the contours of the resolution as it turned into regime change. The second position was advanced by President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, who supported the NATO operation and the regime change doctrine. Subsequently, he went on to undermine the credibility of the AU by arguing that the Libyan situation had degenerated beyond the AU capacity. These countries found themselves in a trap in the sense that their masters (creditors) were very involved in removing Gaddafi from power; thus, they were afraid to take a stand that would oppose their creditors. Standing with the AU decisions and a political solution to the Libya crisis of 2011 would have meant questioning and challenging the authority of their creditors.

The final position was advanced by Zimbabwe, Algeria and Nigeria, who vehemently opposed the NATO operation in Libya and highlighted the fact that Western countries were taking advantage on the UN to get rid of the Gaddafi regime.⁴⁷ Admittedly, President Mugabe of Zimbabwe castigated the NATO operation for being a heartless 'terrorist organisation' fighting to kill Gaddafi.⁴⁸ With these antagonistic positions rising from the AU member states, AU mediation efforts became ineffective during the Libya crisis.

Another reason for the divisions among African states is the fact that Gaddafi felt himself to be powerful in Africa; he therefore interfered in the domestic affairs of other African countries. As observed by Koko and Bakwesegha-Osula, Gaddafi's repeated interference in the internal affairs of several African countries earned him very few genuine friends among African leaders.⁴⁹ Therefore, the

AU roadmap to peace in Libya did not materialise because the continent was not united in the adoption of a common position to resolve the Libya crisis. This article concludes this part by arguing that a lack of unity among African states led to Nigeria and South Africa voting in favour of a UNSC resolution which actually hindered the AU roadmap for peace in Libya. It is advanced by this article that both Nigeria and South Africa are currently contending for a permanent seat on the UNSC; thus voting against the UNSC resolution would make them lose the seats they aspired to. This is the reason why these two African countries chose to vote in favour of the resolution; a resolution which handicapped the AU effort to find a peaceful durable political solution to the Libya crisis of 2011.

In spite of all these internal factors, it can be argued that the AU did provide what it considered a mutual political solution to restore peace and security in Libya. Unfortunately this solution was thwarted and handicapped by the Western powers since it did not originate from the West. Admittedly, the PSC of the AU established a roadmap which was intended to resolve the Libya crisis peacefully. This roadmap included the call for urgent African action for the cessation of all hostilities; cooperation with the competent Libyan authorities to facilitate the timely delivery of humanitarian assistance to the needy population; the protection of foreign nationals, including African migrants living in Libya; and the adoption and implementation of the political reforms necessary for the elimination of the causes of the current crisis.⁵⁰

Furthermore, the PSC immediately established an AU high level ad hoc committee on Libya comprising five heads of state (Congo-Brazzaville, Mali, Mauritania, South Africa and Uganda), together with the chairperson of the Commission. This committee was

commissioned to engage with all the parties in Libya and to constantly assess the evolution of the situation on the ground, facilitate an inclusive dialogue among the Libyan parties on the appropriate reforms, and engage the AU's partners, such as the Arab League, the EU and the UN in order to provide an early durable solution to the crisis.⁵¹

Surprisingly, the UNSC subsequently passed resolution 1973, which authorised member states that had notified the UN Secretary General, acting nationally or through regional organisations or arrangements, and acting in cooperation with the UN Secretary General, to 'take all necessary measures' to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including Benghazi.⁵² This UNSC resolution 1973 undermined all the PSC efforts to restore peace and security peacefully in Libya. The Western powers took advantage of the statement 'take necessary measures' to launch attacks on the Gaddafi regime, thus the 'responsibility to protect' became their tool which they used to carry out unconstitutional regime change in Libya. As highlighted by Apuuli, the UNSC resolution 1973 paved the way for military attacks against Libya by the Western powers.⁵³ He further argues that the resolution also imposed a no-fly zone over Libya, which made it impossible for the AU ad hoc committee to travel to the country without UN authorisation to deliver its roadmap.⁵⁴

This article argues that the AU was prevented by the Western powers from delivering its political solution to the Libya crisis; indeed, the AU political solution was not even reported. Jean Ping, the former AU chairperson, argued that African issues have long suffered from a lack of exposure in the mainstream Western media, marginalisation and misrepresentation or from outright silencing. The AU's mediation

efforts in Libya are a classic example of how African efforts go unreported or are twisted to suit a hostile agenda.⁵⁵ He also argued that the Libya crisis explains how the AU is always side-lined when it comes to finding solutions to African problems.⁵⁶ Having understood the internal factors that led to the ineffectiveness of the AU mediation effort, it is therefore the purpose of the second part of this article to explain the external factors that also hampered the AU mediation efforts during the Libya crisis of 2011.

External Factors

The second category of causes that undermines AU mediation efforts in conflict management on the continent as a whole is the external factors or forces. As clearly noted in the Libya crisis of 2011, these external factors are argued to be the Western states, particularly the Britain, France, the United States of America (USA), and NATO and its member states, which have many interests on the continent. Unanimously, the USA, Britain, France, Belgium, Canada, Denmark and Italy, with the support of the Netherlands, Spain and Turkey, all under the banner of NATO, 'abused' the UN provisions and undermined the AU's mediation efforts to find a solution to the Libya crisis.⁵⁷ Accordingly, US military aircraft fought to defend the Libyan rebel stronghold of Benghazi after Washington said it was ready to support a no-fly zone and air strikes against Muammar Gaddafi's forces.⁵⁸

What this article finds hypocritical is the fact that Western states put so many sanctions including the no-fly zone on the late Gaddafi's regime while arming and fighting for the rebel movement. This culminated in a regime change which prevented any attempts by the AU to find a peaceful solution to the crisis. The same

Western policy was applied to Rwanda in the 1990s during its civil war; the West put so many sanctions on the then regime while arming the Revolution Party Force (RPF) – a rebel movement. As a result, when the then President Habyarimana perished in an air crash, genocide became the norm. It is interesting to note that the death of Habyarimana and the Rwandan Arusha negotiations in Tanzania remain a mystery because these events are not spoken of nor have they been investigated.

In an interview with *The Guardian*, Guido Westerwelle, the German foreign minister, said that Germany remained strongly opposed to any military intervention in Libya or the use of air strikes against Gaddafi. He further foresaw the many consequences of a Western military operation for the Libyan people and Africans in general; thus he warned the West to refrain from sending troops to Libya territory. He argued that any Western military intervention in the Libya crisis would culminate in a civil war that could go on for a long time, therefore Germany should not take part in any military operation against Gaddafi.⁵⁹ One of the consequences advanced by this article is that after the death of Gaddafi, the National Transitional Council (NTC) did not have a smooth transition, which created a power vacuum, and Libya is thus more insecure and full of militia groups than ever before.

The geopolitical situation, the historical rivalries between Gaddafi and the West and the desire of the West to control oil-rich states are also argued by this article to be reasons for the diplomatic tensions behind the Western military operation and NATO bombardments under the guise of a responsibility to protect civilians in Libya. It is interesting to note that the USA supported NATO intervention for the purpose of installing a regime that would better serve US strategic interests, as well as the

operations of the giant oil and gas companies.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Koko and Bakwesegha-Osula argue that the Western military operation in Libya was motivated by its historical stance on the Gaddafi regime, the geostrategic importance of Libya and its need to control the country's strategic resources.⁶¹

Chapter VI Article 33 of the UN charter advocates for peaceful means of resolving any conflict before resorting to the use of force.

The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.⁶²

It is therefore lamentable that NATO forces ignored calls to halt the bombardments which clearly undermined the continental body's efforts to bring about a political solution in the Libya crisis. Sithole argues that the AU's efforts to restore peace and security were seriously undermined by the Western military forces under the NATO umbrella, which were mandated to perform unconstitutional regime change in Libya and make sure that Gaddafi was silenced by putting him to death.⁶³ Arguably, the killing of Gaddafi may in itself be considered as a crime against humanity because if we were to countenance an eye for an eye this world would be left blind. To consider his death anything other than a crime against humanity would imply that justice lies in the hands of the superpowers and the major powers. This article argues that peaceful means, as articulated in the UN Charter, refer to the use of negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, or any other nonviolent method. It is very evident that

the UN was powerless to the extent that it is controlled by the USA, Great Britain, France and the NATO member states, as was demonstrated in Libya. Accordingly, peaceful means were never given a chance; instead unwarranted and unjustified military forces were unleashed.

This interference was further articulated in a joint letter published in the media on 15 April 2011 in a statement by President Obama (USA), then President Sarkozy (France), and Prime Minister Cameron (UK), who declared that they could not contemplate Libya's future with Gaddafi in power. They further indicated in the same letter their hope for Libya's future without Gaddafi, insisting that he had to go for good.⁶⁴ In an interview with the BBC, Jean Ping, the former AU chairperson, argued that whereas the AU saw Gaddafi as being a legitimate president ready for negotiations, with whom the AU could have made a lasting and credible mutual political agreement, Barrack Obama of the USA and many other international leaders saw him as a dictator, ruling without legitimacy, stating that Libya's future had to be without Gaddafi.⁶⁵

Additionally, the call for Gaddafi to leave the country by the EPW, the AU mediation team, was hampered by the arrest warrant which was issued immediately against Gaddafi by the international community through the International Criminal Court. This later rendered the ceasefire impossible and made it difficult for Gaddafi to leave the country as the West saw that he was going to escape death. It also jeopardised the AU mediation efforts, thus maximising the prospects of continued armed conflict since it fuelled Gaddafi's determination to remain in Libya and fight to the bitter end.⁶⁶ Regardless of the unchecked gaps and imbalances embedded in the AU PSC and EPW, what could the AU mediating team have done in view of the unconstitutional regime change initiated by the West? Absolutely nothing – this

regime change ambition supported by the West frustrated any attempts advanced by the AU mediation efforts to restore peace and security in Libya. Moreover, the Transitional National Congress (NTC) rejected the AU's political solution simply because the NTC was backed by Western military forces.

This article equally finds that the West is usually involved in every armed conflict on the continent. It is worth mentioning that since the NTC became a proxy of the West and gained much support from the West it has become the debtor and the West the creditor. Thus, the NTC had no other option other than to reject the AU peace plan and continue to press for the vision and ambition of unconstitutional regime change initiated by the West.

Conclusion

This article arose from a simple question – who owns mediation at the African Union? Mediation is a vital element of peace-making and conflict management when dealing with disputes. It is also considered to be an initiative executed by a neutral third party who comes in to help conflicting parties find amicable solutions to their problems. Its purpose is, therefore, to resolve and manage conflicts, as well as to prevent them from recurring. The Libya crisis of 2011 therefore exposed the weaknesses and deformities of the AU and confirmed that mediation is owned by external forces, namely, the West.

The success of the AU mediation efforts in the Burundi ethnic conflict of 1993–2006 and in the Kenyan post-electoral violence of 2007–2008 can be used to argue that the AU owns mediation. Nevertheless, this article argues that in the Burundi ethnic conflict, the AU mediation efforts were backed by the USA and

the UN; accordingly, the AU became a channel through which the USA and UN could work. The argument is that the USA and the UN owned the mediation process. In the case of the Kenyan electoral violence of 2007–2008, it was the USA and the UN that owned the mediation in the sense that they asked the AU to appoint Kofi Annan, the former Secretary General of the UN, as mediator and kept monitoring every process of mediation.

From a non-academic point of view, one can argue that the AU owns the mediation process but this article maintains the argument that unless mediation is institutionalised and the root causes of the unchecked gaps and imbalances in the AU PSC and EPW, coupled with the unchecked divisions among AU member states, are dealt with, and the external influence of the West is balanced and in some cases resisted; the AU will not successfully own mediation in conflict management on the continent. The evidence in this article suggests that mediation at the AU is owned by external forces, particularly the West, as it advances their national interests at the cost of the African people. A study conducted by Paul Williams on the role of the AU in conflict management on the continent argues that the existing imbalances and gaps in the AU PSC and EPW can only be addressed through political commitment and a technical institutional reform approach.⁶⁷

This article contends that EPW should be comprised of mediators with techniques, expertise and proven experience in mediation. It also argues that mediation should be institutionalised and be given priority by the AU in any conflict management and peace-making on the continent. The cost of mediation is about a million times less than the cost of peacekeeping.⁶⁸ This article also argues that the EPW, also known as the AU mediation team, should be institutionalised and should work independently

of the African states. This is because mediators who are experienced and skilled are more likely to succeed than those who are inexperienced. There is a need to redefine, institutionalise and consolidate mechanisms and processes for mediation at the AU. Nathan notes that if the EPW mediating team is not set up and institutionalised as the AU's mediation unit, then this team could be located elsewhere under the Chairperson of the Commission.⁶⁹

It is worth mentioning here that there is need for African leaders to learn from the example of the fisherperson highlighted in this article and understand that the solution to African problems will not come from elsewhere but from

within the continent itself. Today's African leaders and scholars ought to understand that they have a responsibility to serve the interests of their fellow Africans and not their own self-interests, and that they need to stop being a proxy of external forces. If they persist in this, it will require a new generation of pan-Africanism vision both in theory and practice to take over and unselfishly serve the interests of fellow Africans. As clearly demonstrated, Western powers took advantage of the lack of unity among African leaders in order to ignore, undermine and hijack the AU mediation efforts during the Libya crisis. United we conquer the unconquered whereas divided we fall.

References

- 1 Dersso, S.A., 2012. *The quest for Pax Africana: The case of the African Union's peace and security regime*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Institute of Security Studies, p. 17.
- 2 Commission for Africa, 2005. *Our common interests*. Report of the Commission for Africa, March 14.
- 3 Charter of the United Nations, 26 June 1945. Available at <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>.
- 4 Sithole, A., 2012. *The African Union Peace and Security mechanism's crawl from design to reality: Was the Libyan crisis a depiction of severe limitations?* Durban. South Africa: ACCORD, p. 111.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Nathan, L., 2005. *Mediation and the African Union's Panel of the Wise*. Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science, p. 1.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Boutros-Ghali, B., 1992. *Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping*. Report of the Secretary-General, A/47/277-S/24111. New York: United Nations, p. 22.
- 9 Mottiar, S. and Van Jaarsveld, S., 2009. *Mediating peace in Africa: Securing conflict prevention*. Durban, South Africa: ACCORD, p. 35.
- 10 Apuuli, K.P., 2012. *The African Union's notion of 'African solutions to African problems' and the crises in Côte d'Ivoire (2010–2011) and Libya (2011)*. Kampala, Uganda: Makerere University, pp. 135–160.
- 11 Wapmuk, S., 2009. In search of greater unity: African states and the quest for an African Union government. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 1(3), pp. 645–671.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Sithole, op. cit.
- 15 Wapmuk, op. cit.
- 16 Organization of African Unity Charter, 1963., p. 2.
- 17 Sithole, op. cit.
- 18 Ibid., p. 113.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Mottiar and Jaarsveld, op. cit.
- 21 Ibid., p. 114.
- 22 Available at <http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/38-peace-and-security-council> [Accessed on 12 November 2013].
- 23 Available at <http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/38-peace-and-security-council> [Accessed on 12 November 2013].
- 24 Vorrath, J., 2012. *Imbalances in the African Peace and Security architecture*, p. 1. Available at http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2012C29_vrrr.pdf [Accessed on 21 November 2013].
- 25 Ibid., p. 2.
- 26 Sithole, op. cit., p. 18.
- 27 Ibid., p. 2.
- 28 Vorrath, op. cit., p. 2.
- 29 Ibid., p. 3.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Sithole, op. cit., p. 10.
- 33 UN Charter, Article 52.
- 34 Apuuli, op. cit.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Bercovitch, J. and Houston, A., 1993. Influence of mediator characteristics and behaviour on the success of mediation in international relations. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 4(4), pp. 297–321.
- 37 Laurie, N., 2009. Plan of action to build the African Union's mediation capacity. Presented at the seminar 'Towards enhancing the capacity of the African Union (AU) in mediation', AU Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 15–16 October, p. 2.
- 38 Susskind, L. and Babbitt, E., 1992. *Overcoming the obstacles to effective*

- mediation of international disputes, in Bercovitch, J. and Rubin, J.Z., eds, *Mediation in international relations: Multiple approaches to conflict management*. London: Macmillan, p. 46.
- 39 Nathan, 2005, op. cit., p. 11.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., p. 14.
- 44 Wapmuk, op. cit.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Pacho, T.O., 2013. *Critical and creative education for the new Africa*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, p. 58.
- 47 Apuuli, op. cit.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Koko, S. and Bakwesegha-Osula, M., 2012. *Assessing the Union's response to the Libya crisis*. Umhlanga Rocks, South Africa: ACCORD, p. 7.
- 50 African Union, 2011. Communiqué of the 265th Meeting of the Peace and Security Council PSC/PR/COMM.2 (CCLXV), 10 March, para. 7.
- 51 Ibid., para. 8.
- 52 United Nations Security Council, 2011. Resolution 1973, S/RES/1973 17 March, para 4.
- 53 Apuuli, op. cit.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 The African Union and the Libyan Crisis: Putting the Records Straight, 2011. Letter from the chairperson. Issue 1. November.
- 56 BBC Hard Talk. AU 'ignored' over Libya crisis. 25 March 2011. Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/hardtalk/9436093.stm> [Accessed on 27 March 2011].
- 57 Sithole, op. cit., p. 3.
- 58 Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/17/libya-no-fly-zone-united-nations> [Accessed on 14 November 2013].
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Sithole, op. cit. p. 4.
- 61 Koko and Bakwesegha-Osula, op. cit., p. 8.
- 62 UN Charter, p. 11.
- 63 Sithole, op. cit., p. 9.
- 64 Mbeki, T., 2011. The potential of African students in the light of recent events in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Speech delivered at Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa, 26 August, p. 3.
- 65 Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/hardtalk/9436093.stm> [Accessed on 21 November 2013].
- 66 Sithole, op. cit., p. 10.
- 67 Williams, P.D., 2011. *The African Union's conflict management capabilities*. USA: Council on Foreign Relations, p. 2.
- 68 Fischer, D., 2000. Preventing violent ethnic conflicts: Local, national, and global strategies. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 11(1), pp. 91–102.
- 69 Nathan, 2009, op. cit., p. 14.

Nigeria's South African Policy 1973–1993:

A Study in Historical Materialism and International Relations

Historical materialism as a discourse assumes that the economic determines the political and other dimensions of society.

Nigeria had set specific conditions for renewed relations with apartheid South Africa. These were yet to be met and the intensity which characterised Nigeria's pursuance of an aggressive anti-apartheid policy in the 1970s began to wane as from the 1980s. This article is of the view that 'dramatic changes' might have occurred in Nigeria itself which altered the level of priority on Southern Africa. These 'dramatic changes' were in the form of economic constraints which naturally led to a change in foreign policy choice for Nigeria between 1983 and 1993. This article is a study of the ebbs and flows in Nigeria's South African policy over two decades. Specifically, the article examines the extent to which the economic downturn occasioned by the fall in crude oil revenue from the 1980s altered Nigeria's hitherto aggressive anti-apartheid policy.

Ojieh Chukwuemeka Ojione

Ojieh Ojione works in the Department of History and International Studies, Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria.

Introduction

After independence in 1960, Nigeria was unconditionally and totally committed to the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. After the First Republic in 1966 and at the end of the civil war in 1970, successive Nigerian governments, bolstered by the buoyancy of the oil wealth, pursued an aggressive anti-apartheid policy against South Africa. The period after Nigeria's civil war in 1970, that is, the Murtala/Obasanjo era (1975–1979), was characterised by a radically inspired anti-apartheid Nigerian South African policy. This was the period when even though Nigeria never sent an expeditionary force to that struggle, what it did was more than rhetoric. It took a committed tough line with regard to the racist regime in Southern Africa. This was in addition to spending large sums to aid anti-colonial struggles. Thus,

... more than most countries on the African continent, Nigeria was in the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggles. General Murtala Mohammed made the liberation struggle in southern Africa one of the cardinal programmes of his administration and every Nigerian government since his unfortunate assassination has toed that path.¹

In the face of the oil wealth of the 1970s, Nigeria's posturing towards an aggressive South African policy was feasible because, for Nigeria to increase or even sustain its vigorous anti-apartheid commitments, it had to maintain an equivalent economic and military capacity supported by a willing public and an equally less hostile external environment.² In Nigeria's first thirty years as an independent nation, it had 'generated about US\$500 billion in petroleum exports, much of which has accrued as revenue to the central government'³ and 'some of the oil wealth was also devoted to a vigorous foreign policy which saw Nigeria becoming the arrow head of nationalist and anti-apartheid struggles in Africa'.⁴ However, by the 1980s Nigeria's vigorous anti-apartheid policy had begun to lose steam. Thus, even though the fight against apartheid in South Africa had remained the major thrust of Nigeria's African policy up to 1993, the intensity which had characterised the pursuance of this policy in the 1970s began to wane in the 1980s. It is possible that 'dramatic changes'⁵ had occurred which altered the level of priority on the Southern Africa anti-apartheid crusade.

The suggestion that such 'dramatic changes' should mean the new political environment in South Africa itself (under President FW de Klerk), which naturally led to improved relations between it and other (including African) countries, has been a dominant argument and a valid one at that. It fails, however, to explain why Nigeria for instance, which had set conditions for the lifting of sanctions against the racist regime in Pretoria, began to parley it even without those conditions being met. Nigeria had initially described the new political environment in South Africa as cosmetic because, even though these reforms gave South Africa a seeming new look and elicited an international change of attitude towards

it, changes that manifested in for instance the lifting of the ban on new investments by the European Community and Japan's increased cooperation with South Africa were referred to as hasty gestures by Nigeria. Whereas Nigeria acknowledged substantial changes in the policy of the racist regime, it insisted that such changes could only have 'desirable and lasting impact on the political situation in South Africa [if] the core legislation which sustains the anti-apartheid system should be scrapped forthwith'.⁶ Nigeria's President Babangida insisted that Nigeria's minimum demand before 'dining with the racist' 'is that apartheid should be dismantled, Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency lifted and negotiations commenced with the authentic black leaders to bring about a multi-racial democratic system'.⁷

Babangida's Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu reiterated that

the Federal Government was in no haste to lift economic, political, social, cultural and sporting sanctions against South Africa until there was complete dismantling of all structures of apartheid by the De Klerk administration [so that] lifting sanctions against the racist ... was premature. [While acknowledging the] courage and sincerity of the leadership of the De Klerk's government ... the on-going reforms in South Africa have not fundamentally transformed the system of apartheid ... because there is still the fundamental issue of Africans not participating fully in the democratic process and the principle of one man one vote.⁸

Ironically, despite these standpoints and the fact that these conditions were not yet fulfilled, a certain rapprochement in Nigeria/South African relations had become discernible even in the 1980s so that an almost thirty years of

Nigeria's hostile attitude towards South Africa was being relaxed, climaxing in President de Klerk's visit to Nigeria in 1992. Interestingly, this trend (that is, of reduced aggression in Nigeria's anti-apartheid policy) coincided with a time when Nigeria's earnings from oil began to plummet. Hence, this article is an examination of the extent to which the wealth of the oil boom of the 1970s propelled Nigeria to assume an assertive anti-apartheid policy from 1973 up to the 1980s followed by a decline in aggressive policy afterwards. Meierding⁹ in this regard notes that whereas 'the state's foreign activities were the subject of considerable analysis in the 1970s and 1980s ... since the oil glut of the mid 1980s and the end of the Cold War, local and international analyses have dropped off' – a contention which corroborates that of Odularu,¹⁰ who opines that:

In 1970, the end of the Biafran war coincided with the rise in the world oil price, and Nigeria was able to reap instant riches from its oil production. Starting in 1973 the world experienced an oil shock that rippled through Nigeria until the mid-1980s. The enormous impact of the oil shock could not escape scholarly attention. For almost twenty years (1970s–1990s), the virtual obsession was to analyze the consequences of oil on Nigeria, using different models and theories. A set of radical-oriented writers was concerned with the nationalization that took place during the oil shock as well as the linkages between oil and an activist foreign policy.

This was especially so in the light of 'the country's attempts to use oil as a political weapon, especially in the liberation of South Africa from apartheid'.¹¹

In essence, therefore, this article studies materialism and international relations by deliberately seeking to examine how the

economic factors of the oil boom (the period of affluence: 1973–1983) and the oil doom or gloom (the period of lack: 1983–1993) shaped Nigeria's policy towards South Africa during these years. With its emphasis on the economic factors, if this article therefore tends to undermine other factors such as ideology, patterns of political socialization and behaviour, religion and cultural values, geopolitical context and so on which are equally germane to foreign policy discourses, it is not because these factors are undervalued.¹² After all, the non-economic can and does play a crucial role in shaping the forces of international relations. Also, the present writer is by no means a Marxist or its adherent.

Theoretical Considerations

In the late Victorian period, 'Britain showed a strong commitment to liberal principles in the conduct of her foreign affairs'.¹³ Such a liberal policy, especially with the British foreign trade policy options of the period, Alves¹⁴ notes is a 'rational realist policy of wealth accumulation and power furtherance'. This is because consideration of a nation's interest demanded 'free exchange with other countries'.¹⁵

McKay¹⁶ notes that a 'general nature' of Australia's 'preferred stance within the international community' is its being 'one of the pioneers of what has become known as the philosophy of *middle power activism*' (emphasis added). This is an approach to world affairs 'based upon the recognition that Australia ... is not able to ... apply strong economic leverage'.¹⁷ The foregoing by way of a theoretical consideration has to do with the nexus between material preponderance and effective political power and, thus, is in consonance with realists' acknowledgement of 'the centrality of domestic politics as a determinant of international behaviour'.¹⁸

Adeniji¹⁹ notes that ‘there is a correlation between strong performance in foreign policy and the cycle of affluence’. Economic propriety as an influence on foreign policy is well captured in prospect theory, which assumes that risk involves some prospects of loss.

This theory states there are two phases affecting decision-making: (1) framing, where perception or presentation of the situation in which decision must be made affect the disposition towards some alternatives over others; and (2) evaluation, where the decision-maker assesses gains and losses relative to a movable reference point depending on the perspective of the decision-maker.²⁰

It ‘contends that how individuals weigh options is heavily influenced by how the choices are framed’ and this is particularly so, when decision makers seek ‘to “spin” a discussion to their favor’.²¹ Kowert and Hermann²² note that ‘many in the field of international relations recently have embraced’ prospect theory, which ‘directs attention ... toward the situational context’ given the assumption ‘that the situation ... shaped behavior [and policy actions]’.²³ In its conventional sense therefore, prospect theory is about ‘how policy decisions are made at either domestic or international level in response to stimuli at the same level’.²⁴

Applying prospect theory to Argentine foreign policy, McClure²⁵ submits that it explains ‘how losses or gains at one level can affect decisions made at the other or vice versa’. Thus, ‘applying prospect theory to ... Argentine foreign policy appears to be based on its “*fall from grace*”’ throughout the twentieth century (emphasis added). For the Nigeria/South African relations, the ‘fall from grace’ element was Nigeria’s economic downturn, which resulted in the abandonment of its hitherto aggressive South African policy and embracing the policy of economic diplomacy ‘which involved

negotiating trade concessions, attracting foreign investors, and rescheduling debt repayment to Western creditors’.²⁶ Thus, for Nigerian leaders, ‘the ambitiousness and intensity of foreign activities decline when the state is economically weak’.²⁷

This fits into the theory of historical materialism as articulated in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. ‘The basic assumption of the theory is that the historical process is determined by the type of economic relations prevalent during a specific time period. That is, the economy, or mode of life, determines the political, cultural, religious, legal and other dimensions of society.’²⁸ As a theory, it ‘privileges the economic in explanation of the non-economic phenomena’.²⁹ Despite the criticisms this contention has faced on account of its narrow focus on material and economic aspects of life, its relevance in explaining international phenomena remains relevant. Hence, for instance, for the period of economic prosperity which McClure terms variously as ‘times of plenty’, ‘a prosperous economic climate’ or ‘the domain of gains’, he associates the same with that of a domestically risk-averse foreign policy. The period of downturn, variously called ‘decline’, ‘economic collapse’ or ‘the domain of losses’, he associates with shifting foreign policy direction. In this way, McClure³⁰ talks of Juan Peron’s populist nationalism in which he (Peron) ‘crafted a bold foreign policy’ which ‘was only sustainable during a brief period of heightened economic affluence based on the massive currency reserves Argentina had accumulated during the Second World War and the surge of demand created by the end of the war’.³¹ This foreign policy, however, proved difficult to sustain ‘as the world returned to a state of normalcy’.³² Thus, as ‘Argentina began to sink into an economic recession’ in early 1949, Peron, in order

to encourage economic resurgence 'modified his foreign policy model, pursuing a strategy friendlier to the US'. Hitherto, Argentina had 'practically rebelled against Western powers in order to demonstrate Argentine's ability to operate independently as a great power'.³³ 'Peron's Argentina took a strong position against US-led pan-Americanism and sought to establish itself as a sub-regional hegemon and counter to the North' [but as the Argentine economic crisis deepened, Peron] 'began to seek help, and in doing so he needed to make concessions and alter his foreign policy'.³⁴

The foregoing thesis is about 'abandoning ... ideological foreign policy in an effort to save the economy'.³⁵ For the present Nigeria/South Africa thesis, with the increased revenue which the oil windfall afforded Nigeria between 1973 and the 1980s as a result of the Middle East War, Nigeria was in a good position to undertake an aggressive anti-apartheid policy against South Africa (even independently). Hence, in August 1979, Nigeria, under President Obasanjo, nationalised the British Petroleum Company in Nigeria in reaction to Britain's indecision over Zimbabwe's independence³⁶ given 'the United Kingdom government's publicized intention to recognize the puppet Muzorewa regime'³⁷ in Zimbabwe, as well as 'BP's interest in the then apartheid South Africa'³⁸ to which it sold Nigeria's crude oil in 'contravention of Nigeria's foreign policy, which was at that time anti-apartheid'.³⁹ With increased oil revenue there 'was unprecedented national wealth which gave tremendous economic muscle to the country's foreign policy'⁴⁰ so that oil revenue as a magic wand to bring about an aggressive foreign policy was readily available. In this regard, former President Shagari is reputed to have boasted 'we shall use all weapons at our disposal, including oil if it becomes unavoidable to pursue

and fight for the interest of Nigeria'.⁴¹ As is consistent with historical materialism we are able to perceive 'the domestic political system' serving as 'the theoretical framework for the conception of the whole'.⁴²

Hence, with the downturn occasioned by the oil glut of the 1980s, a change in policy was required. As in the case of Argentina, whose change in foreign policy was occasioned by 'the fall of the economic basket into which Peron put all his eggs',⁴³ Nigeria's sole economic base was oil and, with this, it undertook its South African policy of the 1970s given that 'countries with large resource base have certain luxuries in problem solving'.⁴⁴ However, when the 1980s oil boom became oil doom there came the need for a friendlier policy model.

The argument that could emerge at this point, and rightly so of course, is that the use of Argentina as a comparative device vis-à-vis an African case study appears weak given that the former was a case of a less powerful state's foreign policy vis-à-vis a super power, whereas Nigeria was facing an average power; South Africa. But sight must not be lost of the fact that some Nigerian regimes of the oil boom era (bolstered by oil wealth) did take hard measures against super power nations whose actions ran counter to Nigeria's anti-apartheid position. The nationalisation of BP is already familiar in this regard. When Nigeria recognised the MPLA faction in the liberation struggle in Angola, it was in defiance of the UK/USA/South African position.

If these actions are termed inferior simply because they fell short of a direct attack on these powers, Nigeria was not in need of such. In any case Nigeria was still in substantial need of the friendship of the Western powers whose markets provided outlets for Nigeria's oil. Some of them too needed and still need Nigeria. The US, for instance, had been unable

to impose effective sanctions on Nigeria when there were calls for sanctions to bring down the autocratic regime of General Sani Abacha in the 1990s. This was on account of oil. Nigeria and the USA are friends so that even though

... as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Nigeria never officially sided with the US, but its foreign policies and UN votes did not contradict American interests. The US welcomed Nigeria's political moderation, encouraged its regional prowess, and tolerated a string of military governments, punctuated by brief intervals of civilian rule. Together with Britain, US military assistance and arms sales helped equip Nigeria's army, the largest in Africa.⁴⁵

The situation was such that even in the face of fierce criticism against the draconian regime of General Sani Abacha, 'his close business associate Gilbert Chagoury secured an invitation to a White House dinner by donating \$460 000 to Vote Now 96, a Miami-based non-profit voter registration group linked to the Democratic National Committee'.⁴⁶

Calls for economic sanctions against Nigeria in the type already imposed on Iran, Iraq, and Libya were deemed unrealistic. Mindful of Nigeria's position as the biggest US trading partner and oil supplier in Africa, big business successfully lobbied against the idea of an oil embargo. Visa restrictions and other light sanctions were all the United States and its European allies could or would muster to support democracy in West Africa's regional power.⁴⁷

The foregoing notwithstanding, to assume that Nigeria was indispensable would be misleading let alone to assume that it was a rich country. The point must be made that even in the days of its aggressive anti-apartheid campaigns

Nigeria had actually been biting off more than it could chew.

Nigeria occupies an odd position in the international system. Through most of its independent political history it has been the leading state in its sub-region and aspired to continental hegemony. Yet, Nigeria is also an economically less developed state, dependent on primary commodity production for the majority of its domestic revenue and almost all of its foreign exchange earnings. Nigeria is not a Great Power, but nor is it precisely a dependent state, especially since the primary commodity it produces, petroleum, is so strongly desired by the developed world and highly geographically concentrated.⁴⁸

Accordingly, Henderson⁴⁹ contends:

Despite its petroleum wealth and over two decades of industrialization programs, Nigeria has not reached two intertwined national goals: elected, accountable government and an industrialized economy. Rather, massive government expenditure and pervasive corruption from its once immense oil revenues have reduced Nigeria to its current status of being considered a least-developed country by the United Nations Development Program. Only its widely touted efforts towards its other national goal of being acknowledged as 'the African regional superpower' – in terms of its population, size of economy and military force – appear to have been recognized, at least in West Africa.

From the foregoing, it appears that an exaggerated perception of Nigeria as an economic power had resulted in its undertaking responsibilities that were out of proportion to its resources and thus requiring a remodelling of its priorities when its previously astronomical oil revenue took a nosedive in the 1980s.

Apart from the Southern African project, this fact, that is, of synchronising endeavours with resources, also played itself out in the 1990s when Nigeria nearly single-handedly footed the bill of the ECOMOG mission in Liberia, resulting in its spending US\$1 million daily for the upkeep of its troop and other logistics in Liberia and spending US\$12 billion and losing 1 000 soldiers in Liberia between 1991 and 2003.⁵⁰ Testifying before a commission of inquiry on communal clashes in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria, former ECOMOG boss and a one-time Nigerian Chief of Army Staff, Lt General Victor Malu (Rtd) noted how he brought home from Liberia an unprecedented number of corpses of Nigerian soldiers killed in the Liberian war and had directed that they 'be buried secretly in the night to avoid national uproar and panic'. On its own, the Nigerian Army claimed to have expended ₦135 million on medical bills for about 150 ECOMOG soldiers with bullet and other war-related injuries from the operations in Liberia, and it was speculated that some 400 ECOMOG soldiers were infected with the AIDS virus from Liberia.⁵¹

In consequence of the foregoing, Nigerians who were initially less critical of the ECOMOG mission during the Babangida regime were to later become more critical over the Obasanjo ECOMIL, with the hue and cry over ECOMOG being the cost implication of the Liberian project for the Nigerian state. Hence, when the ECOMIL operations came up years later, President Obasanjo had to insist on a Nigerian intervention in the Liberian crisis that was done in conjunction with the United Nations and the Western powers as different from the ECOMOG mission of the 1990s, which was shouldered by Nigeria near single-handedly.

The Props of Nigeria's Foreign Policy with regards to South Africa 1960–1970

For the first thirty years after independence in 1960, the fight against the apartheid regime in South Africa remained a major thrust of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria at independence had shown great indignation and condemnation for the apartheid policy of the South African government. Nigeria's First Republic (1960–1966) Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa had, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of March 1961, called for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. Later, in June, at the Geneva Meeting of the International Labour Organization (ILO), Nigeria's Labour Minister, Mr JM Johnson 'moved a resolution to the effect that South Africa should be asked to quit the ILO. The motion was carried by 163 votes to nil with 89 abstentions'.⁵² In November, the South African Dutch Reformed Church had been expelled from Nigeria. In the same month, a government motion withdrawing Commonwealth privileges from South African nationals was unanimously passed by the Nigerian House of Representatives.

These anti-apartheid sentiments displayed by the First Republic rulers suffice for us to draw a conclusion. This is that the issue of apartheid in South Africa was a clear-cut one that provided a consensus among the various political opinions as to what attitude to adopt.⁵³ This is because when, for instance, the Action Group (AG), the opposition party in the Nigerian Northern House of Assembly, tabled a motion censoring Western countries and the United Nations for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1961, the Northern People's

Congress (NPC), the majority party, rejected its debate. This was on the ground that it was a foreign affair on the exclusive list of the Federal Government. Meanwhile, the same House had earlier debated the issue of South Africa given its consensus nature even though it was a foreign affair.

Even in the face of these instances of Nigeria's abhorrence for the apartheid regime in South Africa, however, the absence of an assertive/vigorous anti-apartheid policy could be discerned on the part of the First Republic rulers. This was why the regime was castigated as having fallen 'far short of what is commensurate with the country's capacity and leadership potentials in Africa'.⁵⁴ It was accused of not giving assistance to freedom fighters in Southern Africa by not putting military training facilities at their disposal in the way Ghana did for instance. Also, the freedom fighters were not encouraged to come to Nigeria, and provisions were not made for those who came.⁵⁵ For instance, when in 1961 Henry Nkumbula, the leader of the Northern Rhodesia National Congress, spent a week in Lagos in a bid to get an audience with the Prime Minister Sir Abubakar, he was unable to do so because the Prime Minister was 'too busy'. Again, in July 1961, Francisco Xavier Ndego, the leader of the Popular Idea of Equatorial Spanish Guinea Party, was jailed for two months for entering Nigeria without valid documents and was deported after serving the sentence.⁵⁶ In the 1961 conference of African States in Monrovia, Nigeria's Prime Minister Balewa had cautioned other Heads of State on the danger of giving indiscriminate help to nationalists so that, in the United Nations in 1961, Nigeria proposed a resolution setting 1970 as target date for the independence of all colonial territories.⁵⁷

On the whole, the First Republic Nigerian rulers appear not to have come to grips with

the full implications of the institutional racism of South Africa, hence the absence of vigorous anti-apartheid strategies in that period.⁵⁸ But these contentions may be misplaced and lacking in adequacy if they were not predicated on the economic profile of the country at that time. The factor of the emergence of Nigeria from the claws of colonial rule only complemented the greater circumstance of economic constraints. Nigeria's less assertive anti-apartheid policy derived from the urge to retain its Western (economic) allies especially Britain – Nigeria's biggest trading partner at that time. Britain and other European countries had considerable economic interest in South Africa. Nigeria lacked the economic capacity to go it alone in the event of a severed relation with the Western powers, which could result from a completely hostile attitude towards South Africa by Nigeria. Nigerian leaders were not unmindful of the effects of severed relations with the Western powers, as Nigeria did not enjoy economic independence. Hence, even beyond the issue of apartheid, when General Abacha began to sense possible Western (particularly US) sanctions against Nigeria over his regime's human rights abuses:

The Nigerian Military government has mounted a large public relations campaign aimed at forestalling government sanctions and freeze on assets. According to the Washington Post, General Abacha has spent over \$10 million in a lobbying public relations.⁵⁹

A 1989 publication by the Federal Military Government, *Four years of the Babangida administration*, summarised the priority issues of Nigerian foreign policy: the abolition of apartheid in South Africa; the enhancement of Nigeria's relations with member countries of the European Economic Community (EEC), the United States

of America (USA), the Soviet Union, *and with other major industrialized countries to increase the flow of foreign investments and capital into Nigeria* (emphasis added).⁶⁰

Oil accounts for 90 per cent of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. Of this figure, 44 per cent goes to the USA, 5 per cent to Canada, and the remaining 51 per cent goes to Europe. Apart from the Dutch and British major Shell oil company, four US companies – Mobil, Chevron, Ashland, and Texaco – have drilling rights in Nigeria. The USA has continued to purchase over half a million barrels of Nigeria's oil a day⁶¹ and Nigeria is the USA's second largest international oil supplier.⁶²

Nigeria therefore needed to guard against any action capable of steering it on a collision course with potential 'benefactors' – the western powers. It is, therefore, reasonable to argue as we shall see that if the economic factor prevailed more than any other in prodding Nigeria into a more vigorous anti-apartheid policy after the civil war, a reduced prospect by the same token should require soft-peddalling.

Oil Wealth and Nigeria's South African Policy

'The petroleum price increases of the early 1970s and the Arab energy embargo of 1973 generated an enormous rise in Nigerian state revenue' and the 'Federal Government used this new income to pursue a more ambitious sub-regional foreign policy'.⁶³ Oil as the major revenue earner for Nigeria at the turn of the last century had earned for it some US\$280 billion.⁶⁴ Before the great oil price increase of 1973 to 1974, which was occasioned by the Middle East crisis, Nigeria was a relatively poor country. The Yom Kippur War of October 1973 'led directly to the quadrupling of crude oil

prices within four months'.⁶⁵ Thus, the abundant oil revenue was there to facilitate Nigeria's new aspirations. OPEC oil price increase from US\$3,00 a barrel in October 1973 to US\$11,20 in April, 1974 had nearly quintupled Nigeria's revenue in nine months from US\$160 million in September 1973 to US\$770 million during May 1974, 'providing a striking 45 per cent increase in the real 1973 gross domestic product'.⁶⁶ While in 1960 petroleum production was one per cent of the GDP, by 1979 it was 35 per cent. Oil, therefore, became the major revenue earner accounting for four-fifths of all federal government revenues, by constituting 91 per cent of merchandise exported in 1978 compared to one per cent in 1960.⁶⁷

Whereas in the 1960s oil accounted for 2,6 per cent of Nigeria's export earnings, it rose to 65 per cent in the 1970s and to 98,6 per cent in the 1980s⁶⁸ and constituted 'over 80,0 per cent of total government revenue'.⁶⁹ In consequence of the unprecedented earnings from oil, which once within a seven-year period, that is between 1979 and 1985, stood at \$104,06 billion,⁷⁰ Nigeria had somehow become a wealthy nation with its leaders persuaded to assume 'that finance was no longer a constraint to economic growth and development'.⁷¹ Hence, one of its former leaders is famed to have declared that 'Nigeria's problem was not money but what to do with money'. This was as 'successive military administrations devoted their attention not to creating incomes, but to expenditure'.⁷²

The consequence of increased oil revenue was of course huge government and foreign exchange surpluses, and expanded government expenditures at home and abroad, including the pursuance of a more assertive (foreign) South African policy. For Gowon in whose era this oil bonanza began to manifest, Africa was to become the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy. This largely took the form of financial

and sometimes material assistance to fellow African states. Gowon 'reputedly spent money lavishly to please Nigerian neighbours'.⁷³ Needless to say, such attempts to be friendly 'with geographic neighbours and achieve a sub-regional leadership role were facilitated by Nigeria's oil boom'.⁷⁴ Hence, between 1972 and 1975, Nigeria gave out a total of ₦3 377 895 as aid in respect of drought and other natural disasters to sister African countries. Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe received a total of ₦1 297 400 as a gift on their attainment of independence. Figures of other donations during the period under review include ₦644 000 to Niger, ₦500 000 to Zambia, ₦400 000 to Sudan and ₦124 000 to Sao Tome and Principe.⁷⁵ Then, the exchange rate was ₦1 = US\$1.65.

Such gifts were equally extended to even non-Nigerian friends and distant countries outside Africa, as Gowon undertook in May 1975⁷⁶ to pay civil servants' salaries in Grenada and Guyana and helped to balance their recurrent budgets⁷⁷ following their near bankruptcy, and even though 'Granada at that time was not on Nigeria's list as a friendly country'.⁷⁸ Gowon had earlier in 1973 'decided to assist in the development of Papua and New Guinea ... [because] they are small countries inhabited by black people'.⁷⁹ Nigeria even bailed out Britain from its financial obligations in Jamaica to the tune of ₦20 million⁸⁰ and provided financial 'assistance to its [Nigerian] neighbours, with the aim of weaning them off dependence on France'.⁸¹ Specifically on South Africa, 'the leadership of General Gowon was forthright and unequivocal in rejecting the policy of dialogue with South Africa, and very articulate in suggesting at the 29th session of the UN General Assembly that South Africa be expelled from the body'.⁸²

The era of an aggressive anti-apartheid policy reached its peak during the Murtala/

Obasanjo regime that overthrew General Gowon in 1975. This was with a renewed declaration of Africa as the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Though, a declaration that amounted to 'a new combative attitude towards African affairs'⁸³ because actually, by 1974, the new emphasis of the Nigerian government had become 'using the oil bonanza to accelerate development',⁸⁴ including the pursuance of an aggressive foreign policy. The oil wealth, which engendered the combative posture of the Murtala/Obasanjo era, was equally available to Gowon and could possibly have taken him (Gowon) to the present (Murtala/Obasanjo) combative stature but for his sacking in 1975. In this regard, Sotunmbi⁸⁵ notes that 'a major objective of Gowon's foreign policy was to gradually build up Nigeria's power and prestige in Africa and the Black world' with his successors only furthering 'this objective, using slightly different means'.⁸⁶ Thus, the assertive phase had actually begun to unfold in Gowon's era but reached its height and assumed a combative dimension in the Murtala/Obasanjo era, as demonstrated in the Angolan issue and other Obasanjo initiatives like the nationalisation of the BP assets in Nigeria.

In all, 'Murtala Mohammed (1975–76) and Olusegun Obasanjo (1976–79) advanced a more assertive, activist foreign policy'.⁸⁷ Murtala and Obasanjo implemented a more militant pan-African foreign policy that, in particular, aimed to challenge the minority rule regimes of Southern Africa. The new leaders were more verbally anti-Western than their predecessor and more prone to dramatic gestures. Nigeria intervened in the Angolan civil war, supporting the MPLA against the US-supported FNLA and UNITA. In 1976, [Nigerian] leaders encouraged other African states to boycott the Montreal Olympic Games in order to protest New Zealand's interactions with apartheid South Africa.⁸⁸

Thus, by 1975, Nigeria had further strengthened its support for liberation struggles and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. It was in these circumstances that the Murtala/Obasanjo regimes took on the role of black Africa's spearhead against continued white rule in Southern Africa, so much so that Nigeria became the leader of black opinion on the Southern Africa problem.⁸⁹

The regime did much in the area of propaganda against apartheid in the UN, OAU and other international fora. Between 1975 and 1979, Nigeria launched virulent attacks on the apartheid regime. Nigeria boycotted the 1976 Commonwealth Games in Montreal in protest against apartheid. In 1976, in reaction to the Soweto massacre, the Nigerian Government brought some South Africa youths to Lagos, Nigeria to form the South African Revolutionary Youth Council (SARYC), and this was to form the basis of increased assistance to the youths in their anti-apartheid crusade. Olaoye⁹⁰ notes that 'in the seventies many ... South Africans and nationals of other Southern African countries like Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia... were given full scholarship by the Nigerian government'. Also, the National Action Committee Against Apartheid (NACAP) was set up to handle the propaganda against apartheid. Such liberation groups as the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC) and so on were encouraged to open offices in Lagos. Mr Thabo Mbeki who became South Africa's second post-apartheid president after Nelson Mandela, actually manned the ANC office in Lagos, Nigeria during the apartheid era. In 1977, the South African Relief Fund was launched in Lagos, realising a whopping US\$15 million within a few months. In collaboration with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Nigeria, from 22–26

August 1977, hosted a World Conference for Action Against Apartheid, where its head of state, General Obasanjo, 'called on the whole world to rise to positive action in its total and final war against apartheid'.⁹¹ The initiatives from this conference resulted in the Security Council Mandatory Arms Embargo against South Africa.⁹² In 1978, Nigeria participated in the drafting of United Nations Resolution 435, which embodied the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia with the hope that Namibian independence was capable of focusing more international attention on the racist enclave.

The furtherance of the economic dimensions of Nigeria's anti-apartheid policy of this era was equally discernible in the policy statements of the regime. For instance, during his visit to the United States, one of the strongest points made by General Obasanjo was to present Nigeria as an alternative investment base for Western companies operating in the racist enclave. The truth is that Nigeria's anti-apartheid campaigns on the economic front were so virulent that the racist regime had to react by claiming a superior economy to Nigeria's, using gross national product and per capita income statistics to buttress its claim. In his contribution to the Security Council's debate on the Southern African situation in 1978, Nigeria's Permanent Representative at the UN, Leslie Harriman, posited 'that the minimum the Council should do was to stop all investments and loans to South Africa'.⁹³

When in August 1979 Nigeria nationalised the assets of BP and Barclays Bank and black-listed other British firms, this was in reaction to Britain's indecision over Zimbabwe's independence,⁹⁴ given 'the United Kingdom government's publicized intention to recognize the puppet Muzorewa regime'⁹⁵ in Zimbabwe, as well as 'BP's interest in the then apartheid

South Africa⁹⁶ to which it sold Nigeria's crude oil in 'contravention of Nigeria's foreign policy, which was at that time anti-apartheid'⁹⁷ and not on account of Nigeria's indigenisation policy (which would have been an economic consideration). When it became obvious that the US corporate interest in South Africa further feathered the nest of the racist regime, Nigeria applied political pressure on the USA to the extent that even by 1976, bilateral relations between Nigeria and the USA had become strained to the point where the Obasanjo regime had to refuse Henry Kissinger, the US Secretary of States, a visit to Nigeria during his African tour.

The issue of Angola provided the height of not only the manifestation of Nigeria's aggressive South African policy (furthered by economic leverage), but also its confrontation with the USA. The Angolan issue was perhaps the most important aspect of the Southern African question that triggered a heightened commitment from the Murtala/Obasanjo regime. In July 1975, Nigeria had in defiance of the UK/USA/South African support for the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) thrown its weight behind the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as the legitimate government of Angola.

General Murtala Muhammed had, in the build-up to Angolan independence, supported a government of national unity of the three liberation movements, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), MPLA and UNITA under the leadership of Holden Roberto, Agostinho Neto and Jonas Savimbi respectively. This (i.e. the idea of a government of national unity) was actually an initiative that most African states had also supported. But, following reports that apartheid South African troops had invaded Angola to support the FNLA and UNITA to form the government of independent

Angola, Nigeria threw its weight behind the MPLA, whose sole governance of Angola the Soviet Union had earlier supported against the USA's endorsement of a coalition government of the FNLA and the UNITA. When the MPLA emerged victorious, its government in Luanda received huge financial assistance from Lagos⁹⁸ to the tune of US\$20 million⁹⁹ or its Nigerian naira (₦) equivalent of ₦13,5 million.¹⁰⁰

The Nigerian action of 25 November 1975, that is, when it announced its recognition of the MPLA as the legitimate government in Angola, was not only to the chagrin of the USA but startled the international community as it seems to have made a statement to the effect that Nigeria was capable not only of taking an independent stance on global issues but could rally other nations to its side. In a similar vein, McClure¹⁰¹ notes how Argentina had 'practically rebelled against western powers in order to demonstrate Argentine's ability to operate independently as a great power'. This is made manifest in this Nigeria/South Africa treatise as Nigeria was able to lobby African states to ignore America's caution in supporting the MPLA by citing Cuban military presence in Angola.¹⁰² Murtala achieved this through his heart-rending speech on 11 January 1976 at the extraordinary summit conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on liberation struggles in Africa. Here he declared that Nigeria was determined, in conjunction with other African states, 'to put a stop to foreign interference in our continental matters'.¹⁰³

However, 'the "golden age" of Nigerian foreign policy was short-lived. Under the democratically elected president, Shagari (1979–83), oil revenue peaked, then dramatically declined ... Shagari pursued a modest foreign policy. Activist aims were abandoned'.¹⁰⁴ Although the Shagari regime between 1 October 1979 and 31 December 1983 worked with a constitution that

ensured the pursuance of an anti-apartheid policy and the Buhari regime of 1984 to 1985 was no less committed to an anti-apartheid policy, an absence of the steam which characterised this policy in the 1970s became apparent. 'Given the state's dependence on petroleum revenue, as oil prices continued to decline, Nigerian leaders possessed limited means of achieving these foreign policy goals. From 1986–88, Babangida's new government was forced to respond to the economic crisis by implementing a structural adjustment program.'¹⁰⁵

In the wake of the oil windfall, agricultural exports atrophied and non-oil mining collapsed. Manufacturing grew rapidly in the boom era, spurred by massive state investments and protectionist measures. Subsequently, however, declining public revenues, import constraints, and inconsistent reform fostered deindustrialization, leaving Nigeria's export profile and productive structure little changed from the patterns that obtained three decades earlier.¹⁰⁶

In the same vein, Odularu¹⁰⁷ notes that 'the oil boom of the 1970s led Nigeria to neglect its strong agricultural and light manufacturing bases in favour of an unhealthy dependence on crude oil. By 2000 [with the decline in oil earnings] Nigeria's per capita income had plunged to about one-quarter of its mid-1970s high, below the level at independence'.

While it suffices to note that the Obasanjo military regime (1976–1979) initiated austerity measures variously code-named 'Low Profile' and 'Tighten Your Belt', the issue of Nigeria's declining economic prospects 'were first articulated by President Shehu Shagari' when in 1982 he presented the Economic Stabilization Act to the National Assembly and 'some austerity measures were taken by the Shagari Government and they became the focal point of debate throughout the 1980s'.¹⁰⁸ But even as the regime initiated the austerity measures, the

recession in the economy continued reaching 'crises point in the 1983–1984 period, when oil prices declined precipitously by 45 per cent of the 1980 level'.¹⁰⁹ Exacerbating the economic malaise was 'an overly rampant corruption in the [Shagari] period 1979 to 1983', during which period 'it is estimated that between US\$5 billion and US\$7 billion was illegally transferred out of the country' 'by top government functionaries'.¹¹⁰ The situation was such that whereas by 1979, when the Shagari administration came on board, Nigeria's debt profile stood at N2,1 billion, by 1983 when he left office it was between 11 and 12 billion naira.¹¹¹

Although the Shagari regime had asserted that 'the crusade against South Africa's racism is at the center of Nigeria's foreign policy',¹¹² the prominent approach of this regime was to use international fora to call for comprehensive sanctions against the minority regime in South Africa. Specific instances included 20 May 1981 when Dr Alex Ekwueme, Nigeria's Vice President, called for collective mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa at the UN/OAU International Conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa in Paris. On 11 March 1982, he repeated this call while addressing the Main Plenary Session of an anti-apartheid conference in London. Also, Nigeria boycotted international sport meets that accredited the racist regime. Hence, President Shagari once said 'that any sporting organisation which defied African opinion would forfeit African goodwill ... politics and sports could not be kept separate'.¹¹³ Ekwueme criticised Britain for its continued sports link with South Africa in negation of the Gleneagles Agreement that member countries of the Commonwealth should sever sporting links with South Africa.¹¹⁴ The Shagari regime had inherited and 'adroitly assumed a key role in the Lancaster House negotiations on the constitutional future

of Zimbabwe¹¹⁵ and when Thatcher's Britain continued with its indecision on the Zimbabwe question and 'appeared to block efforts to reach transitional arrangements, President Shagari sent a firm protest to the British government'.¹¹⁶

By and large, the net effect of 'the weak economic base of the Shagari administration' was 'a fledgling foreign policy characterised largely by rhetoric and little action in concrete terms. The [climax being a] moderation of Nigeria's traditional aggressiveness on apartheid'¹¹⁷ so that, 'under the Shagari administration ... Nigeria's characteristic foreign policy activism ... took a nosedive ... [and] This was due to the crisis-ridden economic base.'¹¹⁸ Thus the 'golden age' of Nigerian foreign policy came to an end and never have those heights been attained again.

The Buhari regime seized powers as a result of the economic indiscipline of the Shagari civilian regime, so that, to pursue a successful foreign policy, it had to lay a very strong emphasis on the adoption of realistic objectives, policies and programmes, as well as take 'tough but necessary measures to revamp the economy'.¹¹⁹ The guiding factor behind the regime's foreign policy became the pursuit of Nigeria's economic well-being, rather than seeking sheer political grandeur to secure the title of 'giant of Africa' through an overzealous pursuit of a pan-African policy. Thus, the regime adopted the policy of concentric circle, which sought to prioritise Nigeria's foreign policy interest from the sub-regional to the regional, continental and global levels. The situation was such that, if Nigeria's foreign policy objectives were laid out in concentric circles, the objectives closest to Nigeria's interest would be at the epicentre of these circles (and these should include Nigeria's national, economic and security interests including its self-preservation by the protection of its citizens and its territorial integrity as

well as the defence of its political independence). This will then gravitate to the periphery through Nigeria's immediate neighbours, then to the sub-regional (ECOWAS), Africa and global levels. Even though the regime continued to call for sanctions against South Africa, the issue of South Africa's apartheid and liberation struggles may not have been the primary African policy of the Buhari regime, as was the case with the Murtala/Obasanjo regime, since according to Buhari, 'our principal priorities is to put on a more constructive footing, relations with our neighbours with whom we share identical goals of regional stability and peace'.¹²⁰ And Nigeria's national, economic and security interests were inextricably tied up to the security, stability, economic and social well-being of its immediate neighbours. South Africa is not Nigeria's immediate neighbour. Its citizens were not involved in the 'irregularities along our borders [which] have inflicted deep wounds on our national development, [so that] we were constrained, in the short term, to seal our borders with our neighbours to eliminate acts inimical to our own *economic well-being*' (emphasis added).¹²¹

As with the preceding Shagari regime, we should therefore expect a continuation of the lull in Nigeria's pursuance of an aggressive South African policy. Many of the anti-apartheid actions from then on were basically rhetorical rather than practical actions, as was the case between 1975 and 1979 in particular. The combative foreign policy stance of Nigeria towards South Africa had started to give way to diplomacy so that, on the issue of apartheid in particular, Nigeria had begun to appeal to the conscience of men to recognise its illegitimacy as it went on to defining its legal status at conference platforms. Hence, when Nigeria under General Buhari as head of state, hosted a Conference on the Legal Status of the Apartheid

Regime in South Africa, its Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Ibrahim Gambari, while addressing the opening session, noted that:

At the end of your deliberations, you should be able to come up with a well-reasoned legal programme for combating the Apartheid Regime in South Africa Your deliberations must be carried out in the true legal tradition so that your recommendation will remain insailable to agents of the fascists as well as lead to development of a democratic, just and fair society.¹²²

Addressing the same conference at its opening, the Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, Nigeria's Major-General Joseph Garba (Rtd), noted that the conference in addition to other aims would estimate 'the right of the oppressed people [of South Africa] to armed struggle and the international legal status of the national liberation movements'.¹²³ Such were the forms which Nigeria's anti-apartheid campaigns reverted to as the focus of Nigerian regimes during this period (from 1983) was to revamp the economy, embracing viable options from within and without even at the risk of abandoning its earlier role of being in words and action the cynosure of the world's anti-apartheid campaign. Buhari (the head of state) himself realised the nexus between economic buoyancy and the pursuance of a vigorous foreign policy and stated that:

To lay a solid foundation for the successful pursuit of Nigeria's foreign policy this administration has from its inception laid a very strong emphasis on the adoption of realistic objectives, policies and programmes. We have taken tough but necessary measures to revamp

the economy, rid this country of waste and extravagance and inculcate discipline in our body politic.¹²⁴

'It has thus become a fashion among successive Nigerian leaders to take any action on behalf of anti-racism at a level guaranteed not to damage Nigeria's economic relations with the major Western powers'.¹²⁵ A tentative conclusion here would suffice; that is to say that contrary to the popular contention, as Nigeria began to relax its hostility towards South Africa beginning with this period, there had not been noticeable anti-apartheid policies on the part of the regime in South Africa itself. Thus, a contradiction of the more general approach to explaining the improved relations between South Africa and other nations as from the 1990s, which has been to associate the same with the improved policies within the politics of South Africa itself and, by so doing, one tends to lose sight of the geopolitical events within the precinct of these other nations themselves and which those events in South Africa could only have bolstered.

The Oil Recession and Nigeria's South African Policy

Since the 1970s, the Nigerian economy had been bedevilled with the problem of overdependence on one natural resource, that is, crude petroleum. 'But it was in the early 1980s that the problem assumed real crisis proportion'.¹²⁶ It is true that, as from 1974, the oil sector began to account for over 90 per cent of the country's exchange earnings, with earnings from the sector rising from ₦510 million in 1970, to ₦1.9 billion in 1973, ₦8 billion in 1977, ₦5.4 billion in 1978 and the all-time high of ₦13.5 billion in 1980. After this date, it began to experience a precipitous decline due to the unprecedented

fall in the world price of oil. In 1982, for example, earnings from oil were ₦9 billion while in 1993, it declined to ₦ 8 billion. Coupled with the decreased earnings from oil as from 1982, was the burden of foreign indebtedness which rose from 4,2 per cent in the early 1970s to a record level of 30,8 per cent of foreign exchange earnings in 1985.¹²⁷

As noted earlier, the oil boom of the 1970s led Nigeria to an unhealthy dependence on crude oil. The economic implications were overwhelming, ranging from unprecedented large expenditures on debt servicing, and a serious decline in industrial output, since most industries produced at less than 10 per cent capacity utilisation in 1984. Of course, the declining economic strength brought in its wake the waning of the political will to pursue an assertive foreign policy during this period.

History has since shown that, in its twilight years, the Shagari regime (1979–1983) could not sustain the tempo of the aggressive anti-apartheid policy of the preceding era. 'The regime's initiative in proposing and hosting the first OAU Economic Summit in Lagos in April 1980 (after barely six months of its existence) further underscores the high position which inter-state economic cooperation and economic development of Africa have come to occupy on Nigeria's foreign policy agenda.'¹²⁸

Although Nigeria's economic dislocations had their beginnings in the 1970s, they reached their peak in the 1980s, having been exacerbated by the corruption which thrived unrestrained during the civilian era of Shehu Shagari. Whereas Shagari inherited from Obasanjo 'a negligible level of external indebtedness and an appreciable foreign exchange reserve', Buhari inherited from Shagari 'a burden of external loans'.¹²⁹ The successor Buhari regime had via 'concentric circles' distanced South Africa on its foreign policy agenda. So

that even as it aspired to return Nigeria to the path of relevance in global affairs, as had happening in the Murtala/Obasanjo era, 'the terrain of foreign policy had altered significantly' given the absence of the 'background of relative buoyancy' within which 'Mohammed and Obasanjo operated'.¹³⁰ This was the environment of Nigeria's foreign policy of this era. The stage was therefore beginning to be set for the pursuit of economic diplomacy which became the plank upon which Nigeria's foreign policy was to rest as from the next regime (of General Ibrahim Babangida 1985–1993).

The Babangida regime, which came into being in August 1985, had inherited a battered and failing economy requiring not only a reorientation but also an imagination to arrest and reverse. The claim of the regime in its first national broadcast that, 'Africa's problems and their solution shall constitute the premise of our foreign policy'¹³¹ 'including articulated advancement of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa',¹³² was reduced to mere rhetoric lacking the actions of the 1970s, because the enormity of the economic crisis facing Nigeria then required synchronising its resources with obligation. At this stage, we are perhaps in a better position to understand the future path of Nigeria's South African policy against the background of Nigeria's domestic and external environments.

We have already delineated the nature of the economic factors at play in shaping Nigeria's South African policy in the 1970s, and so for Nigeria to increase or even sustain its vigorous anti-apartheid commitment it had to maintain an equivalent economic and military capacity supported by a willing public and a less hostile external environment.¹³³ What was therefore required was a kind of diplomatic reengineering to reshape Nigeria's hitherto total attack to one of accommodation. This resembles

what prevailed in the Argentina of Juan Peron from 1949 to the early 1950s, when Argentina sank into an economic crisis and Peron had to modify his hitherto aggressive Western policy particularly with regard to the USA.¹³⁴

It was not surprising therefore when, in July 1988, Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Minister Ike Nwachukwu announced 'that economic diplomacy had been adopted by the federal government as a plank and instrument of Nigeria's foreign policy'.¹³⁵ Efforts at evolving a strategy of economic diplomacy had become noticeable in the diplomatic shuttles of Bolaji Akinyemi (Nwachukwu's predecessor) aimed at selling Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) 'to key Western officials, institutions and private sector operatives in the conviction that the goodwill of the West in such matters as debt re-scheduling and foreign investment inflows would be beneficial to the country's adjustment programme'.¹³⁶

The idea of economic diplomacy sought to 'employ Nigeria's foreign policy apparatus to advance the course of our national economic recovery'.¹³⁷ It sought 'the promotion of export trade, investment and increased financial assistance from friendly countries'.¹³⁸ This had to do with the recognition of the 'fundamental nexus between economics and politics in the international system'.¹³⁹ It was a product of the realisation that 'our foreign policy should reflect our changing national circumstances as well as adapt to the realities of a rapidly changing international environment'¹⁴⁰ and, hence, reinforced materialism in international relations.

In its pursuance of economic diplomacy, Nigeria had to cease its radical posture on African issues so as not to be alienated by its creditors whose support as it were was required for revamping its economy. Nigeria has over the years, in pursuance of an African-centred

foreign policy, been unequivocal in its liberation and anti-apartheid campaigns. However, this was more the case in the 1970s up to the 1980s when the oil wealth provided the magic wand for a leverage to successfully confront the US and Britain over the liberation struggles and eventual independence of Angola and Zimbabwe on 10 November 1975 and 18 April 1980 respectively. This steam began to wane given Nigeria's economic downturn. This was so to the extent that Nigeria was accused of 'showing signs of unprecedented tolerance of imperialism on the continent'¹⁴¹ through some of its foreign policy pronouncements and actions. Some of these actions were justified in Professor Akinyemi's (External Affairs Minister) principle of reciprocity. This principle, with the notion of 'primacy-of-consultation' as its mantra, became an excuse for Nigeria not to denounce the US bomb attacks on Tripoli and Benghazi in April 1986. Professor Akinyemi accordingly insisted that there was a time for Nigeria to speak and another to remain silent. He notes that, whereas

... there is no disputing the fact that we have responsibilities to Africa, there should also be no disputing the fact that Africa has responsibilities to Nigeria ... if we owe a responder to stand up for and respond to Africa, we are owed an obligation to be consulted ... we must not and cannot allow states which of their own free will adopt policies that lead to crisis to assume that Nigeria will automatically be dragged into the crises.¹⁴²

Ate¹⁴³ notes that this principle (i.e. of reciprocity) 'represented an instinct on the part of Nigeria ... to exercise influence on vulnerable African entities at a juncture in which it lacked the *material requisite* to exercise such influence in the region' (emphasis added). Thus, as

predicted earlier, the future path of Nigeria's foreign policy was becoming discernible. The level of priority for Africa was beginning to alter and by implication also the level of commitment to the anti-apartheid campaigns.

This was because there was no way Nigeria was going to sustain a radical posture on continental issues without alienating Western creditors whose support was required in revamping the economy. Despite the significance of domestic factors as a determinant of foreign activity levels, Nigerian foreign policy has also been consistently influenced by prevailing dynamics in the international system. While Nigeria possesses greater power than its sub-regional peers, it lacks the military might to guarantee deterrence of Great Power aggression. The state's economic dependence also renders it vulnerable to international punishment. These constraints have an impact on foreign policy decision making.¹⁴⁴

Nigeria, like other African countries, has an industrial subsector largely dependent on foreign inputs in the form of vital equipment, spare parts and expertise from donor states in the West. The situation is that these donor countries also have investment, trading and even military interests in the recipient countries. Thus, the policies and worldviews of the latter cannot be at variance with those of the donor states otherwise the stage would be set for sabotaging any foreign policy option of these recipient countries that were hostile to those of the donor countries.¹⁴⁵ This explains the relative ineffectiveness of the policies of African countries against the apartheid regime in South Africa. This is because, as African states are largely dependent on Western capital markets, Western countries are more interested in protecting their investment capitals in South Africa for instance and elsewhere than in

gaining cheap popularity among economically dependent African states.¹⁴⁶

Nigeria operated within this scenario. Thus, in the face of its economic woes of the 1980s it could not pursue a vigorous anti-apartheid policy, especially when most of its economic allies had begun to soft-pedal on their harsh policies towards South Africa. Besides, South Africa possessed advanced technology which other Third World countries, including Nigeria, needed. An apartheid (and the later post-apartheid) South Africa possessed a military and economic capacity greater than Nigeria's and any other African country.

South Africa has become the economic powerhouse of the continent. This country, which is by far the most developed country in the continent, accounts for more than 20 per cent of the continent's GDP and uses 50 per cent of its modern energy. Its GNP is more than three times that of the other eleven members of the Southern African Development Community put together and is three times larger than that of Nigeria.¹⁴⁷

South Africa accounts 'for about a third of Africa's economic strength with a Gross Domestic Product of about \$193 billion, [and] is wealthier than Nigeria at \$53'.¹⁴⁸ The need for an economic synergy between Nigeria and South Africa is such that

... some commentators have gone as far as suggesting that the future of the entire continent rests on the fate of Nigeria and South Africa [So that] 'No state except Nigeria or South Africa is in a position to play a major role outside its immediate region ... African security issues ... should be left largely to African nations, with South Africa and Nigeria playing the principal roles.'¹⁴⁹

Similar sentiments were observed within South Africa itself even in the apartheid era. Mr Roelof Botha, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs in the apartheid era, noted during a parliamentary committee debate on his country's foreign affairs budget in September 1981 'that a Nigeria–South Africa axis would be a useful foreign policy option to serve as a bulwark against foreign intervention on the African continent' [so that] 'if South Africa and Nigeria could be drawn together, it would be of tremendous benefit to Africa, as a whole, and to each country, as each had the resources and production capabilities to complement the other'.¹⁵⁰ As a result of this kind of thinking, there were calls in Nigeria for a drastic review of Nigeria's long-standing opposition to diplomatic contacts with the apartheid regime even on economic grounds. Professor George Obiozor (a one-time Special Assistant to a Nigerian President on Foreign Affairs; Director General of Nigeria's foremost foreign relations research institute The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs [NIIA] and Nigerian Ambassador to the USA) also added his voice to this call.¹⁵¹

On the whole, the 1990s began to witness a thawing in Nigeria's aggressive South African policy. On 9 April 1992, South Africa's President de Klerk paid a state visit to Nigeria. In September, a Nigerian educational team visited South Africa and in October the national teams of both countries played a football match in Lagos, Nigeria. Relations between both countries from thenceforth continued to improve until the eve of Babangida's exit from office on 27 August 1993.

But there is another explanation for this thawing in relations between Nigeria and South Africa and this has been said to be the political and social reforms in South Africa itself under President de Klerk which was to inform Nigeria's rapprochement with it. The

manifestations of this 'new era' included the release of Nelson Mandela and the Sharpeville Six after twenty-seven years' incarceration, lifting the ban on anti-apartheid groups – ANC, PAC – the all-white referendum, the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, the lifting of the state of emergency and so on. The foregoing notwithstanding, there was however occasional flimsy insistence by Nigeria that those reforms only met partially with the requirements for renewed ties with South Africa, because according to the then Nigerian President Babangida, Nigeria's minimum demand before 'dining with the racist had been that apartheid should be dismantled ... to bring about a multi-racial democratic system'¹⁵² as the changes in South Africa (as listed above) were cosmetic and Nigeria was not deceived by them¹⁵³ since there was 'still the fundamental issue of Africans [black South Africans] not participating fully in the democratic process and the absence of the principle of one man one vote'.¹⁵⁴

Nevertheless, in spite of these shortcomings, Nigeria began to dine with the racists. Criticisms against De Klerk's visit and other pro-South African gestures of the Nigerian government were astutely defended in very high quarters using the reform measures put in place in South Africa as excuses even though they were said to have fallen short of Nigeria's insistence on the principle of one man one vote. When on political grounds Nigeria severed relations with Israel, it continued with the impasse even when other countries including Egypt in whose sympathy Nigeria became Israel's enemy had normalised relations with the latter. Nigeria was to only follow suit in 1992 when it had adopted the foreign policy of economic diplomacy so that economic exigencies have necessitated this gesture. The same is true of South Africa, as George Obiozor insists that 'within Africa ... South Africa possesses

technology which is needed in Third World countries including Nigeria'.¹⁵⁵

It is therefore reasonable to argue that Nigeria's renewal of ties with South Africa resulted from the recognition that it stood to gain economically from such a move. This may be substantiated by the fact that the then Nigerian Foreign Affairs Minister, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, lost ₦45 billion for Nigeria between 1970 and 1983 for refusing to sell oil to South Africa, which during the period imported oil worth ₦50 billion. Between 1970 and 1984, Nigeria imported ₦33 billion worth of consumer goods from outside Africa. Goods, a considerable proportion of which South Africa could have supplied 'given our comparative proximity' and would have saved about ₦9.9 billion for Nigeria Akinyemi noted.¹⁵⁶

These advantages Nigeria then sought to utilise, so that as South Africa was reforming during this period these reforms provided an excuse for Nigeria's resumed contacts with South Africa. That Nigeria/South African relations after apartheid were to assume an essentially economic dimension, especially with Nigeria as the weaker partner, shows how grossly short-changed Nigeria had been in its aggressive anti-apartheid policy. The much famed De Klerk's visit to Nigeria in 1992 was nothing but a business delegation. In the 'Abuja-Pretoria Entente'¹⁵⁷ a term that aptly describes post-apartheid Nigeria/South Africa's relations, Nigeria is literally littered with South African 'blue chip' companies. South Africa's Mobile Telephone Network (MTN) prides itself as the network with the largest number of subscribers in Nigeria. South Africans own DSTV, the most popular cable/satellite television broadcast network in Nigeria. They own Protea Hotels, Stanbic Bank – the list is endless 'with 55 South African firms working in Nigeria'¹⁵⁸ without a commensurate equivalent of such

investments in South Africa by Nigerians. So that, in the post-apartheid clime Nigeria, which for thirty years had no dealings with South Africa, emerged as its 'third largest trading partner – and largest single continental importer'.¹⁵⁹

Conclusion

Nigeria could not have continued to pursue an aggressive anti-apartheid policy until the principle of one man one vote was realised in South Africa. This was because its economic disabilities as from the 1980s left it with no option than to begin to fraternise with the racist regime, which it did from the early 1990s. This is consistent with materialism and international relations and equally consistent with national aspirations, as our Argentine example in this article attests. The turnaround in Nigeria/Israel relations makes Nigeria's revision of its relations with South Africa consistent. Nigeria reviewed its relations with South Africa when economic interest dictated that it abandon its aggressive policy in favour of a more malleable posture.

The fact that the dossier of Nigeria's official foreign policy pronouncements does not present with a chronicle of claims of economic exigencies dictating the tone of foreign policy, and specifically with regard to the renewal of ties with South Africa, is consistent with the practice in international relations where evidence of attributes of the national interest notion, because of its subliminal nature, are not concretely made visible in nations' actions. Hence, for instance, Nigeria was wont to claim solidarity with the supposed changes in South Africa in the thawing of their relations. Normally, '[p]olicy makerd are unwilling to defend the justness of a foreign policy of self-interest.

Instead, they keep invoking selfless justifications'.¹⁶⁰ Explaining this with the US presence in Afghanistan and Iraq, Schwartz¹⁶¹ notes that contrary to the selfless justifications that the motive 'was not to keep America safe, but to help the oppressed Iraqis ... or to shield other countries from the dangers of bin Laden and Hussein', 'America went to war to protect the interest of Americans' – '[w]e overthrew those countries governments strictly for our own benefit' 'although administration officials are afraid to say so openly'.¹⁶²

Transposed to the Nigerian/South African relations studied here, Nigeria's aggressive anti-apartheid policy of the 1970s could be explained by the economic clout which the oil boom of that period provided. Nigeria was thus able to use its oil muscle as a weapon in its diplomatic arsenal, but when as from the 1980s it was faced with dwindling resources the capacity to sustain this policy became adversely affected. Its policy options thus

simply had to change but Nigeria could not have openly made such a declaration. This is consistent with liberal international relations theory which ascribes great importance to domestic conditions as causes of international behaviours. In the Nigerian case, understanding foreign policy requires consideration of the prevailing economic conditions. The state has pursued a far more active foreign policy in periods of prosperity, such as the 1970s, than during recessions, such as in the 1980s. Even some neorealists 'have recognized that rational states will refrain from aggressive international action when the costs are too high'.¹⁶³ On the whole, the rapprochement which Nigeria established with South Africa is equally consistent with the application of prospect theory as a veritable tool in nations' foreign policy choices. The nexus between materialism and international relations has been found to be consistent in this study.

Notes and References

- Olaoye, W., 2011. Africa: Why is South Africa so ungrateful? *Daily Trust* 29 August (online version).
- Ogwu, J., 1986. *Nigeria foreign policy: Alternative futures*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and Macmillan Nigeria, p. 68.
- Lewis, P.M., n.d. *The dysfunctional state of Nigeria*, p. 83. Available at www.cgdev.org/doc/shortofthegoal/chap3.pdf [Accessed on 28 December 2011].
- Ukiwo, U., 2003. *Policy levers in Nigeria*. CRISE Policy Context Paper 2. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), p. 10. Available at www.crise.ox.ac.uk/policycontext2.pdf [Accessed on 2 February 2012].
- Ogwu, op. cit.
- Agbeba, P.E., 1991. De Klerk's reforms and Nigeria's Southern African policy. *Nigeria Forum*, 11(5&6), pp. 144–153, p. 153.
- See *The Guardian* (Lagos) 8 January 1988, p. 1.
- See *Daily Times* (Lagos) 18 July 1991, p. 1.
- Meierding, E., 2010. IR theory as politics, international politics as theory: A Nigerian case study. *African Nebula*, Issue 2 September, pp. 1–17, p. 6.
- Odularu, G.O., 2007. Crude oil and the Nigerian economic performance. *Oil and Gas Business*. Available at <http://www.ogbus.ru/eng/> [Accessed on 28 December 2011].
- Mongabay.com. *Nigeria – Foreign Relations*. Available at www.mongabay.com/history/Nigeria/Nigeria-foreign-relations.html [Accessed on 2 February 2012].
- Osoba, S., 1980. The economic foundations of Nigeria's foreign policy during the First Republic, 1960–1965, in Akinjogbin, A. and Osoba, S., eds, *Topics on Nigerian economic and social history*. Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, p. 208.
- Alves, A., 2008. *Richer and weaker': From realist means to liberal ends. Britain's relative decline in the late nineteenth century*. Virginia: University of Virginia. Available at <http://www.virginia.edu/.../AnaAlvesRicherandW...> [Accessed on 2 February 2012].
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- McKay, J., 2004. *Punching above its weight? New directions in Australian foreign policy since 1996*. Analysis International Solution in Development. Available at anaysisinternational.net.au/punching.h... [Accessed on 5 September 2010].
- Ibid.

- 18 Meierding, op. cit., p. 13.
- 19 Adeniji, O., 2000. *Essays on Nigerian foreign policy, governance, and international security*. Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House, p. 11.
- 20 Beavis, M., 2006. *The IR theory knowledge base*. Available at <http://www.Irtheory.com/know.htm>. [Accessed on 17 March 2014], p. 16.
- 21 D'Anieri, P., 2010. *International politics: Power and purpose in global affairs* (Brief Edition). Boston, MA: Wadsworth, p. 126.
- 22 Kowert, P. and Hermann, M., 1997. Who takes risks? Daring and caution in foreign policy making. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(5), pp. 611–637, p. 613.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 McClure, J., 2004. *The domestic and international dimensions of risk: Prospect theory and Argentina*. Unpublished MA thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, California.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Mongabay.com. op. cit.
- 27 Meierding, op. cit., p. 12.
- 28 Beavis, M., 2012. *The IR theory knowledge base*. Available at <http://www.Irtheory.com/know.htm>. [Accessed 17 March 2014], p. 8.
- 29 Sam Pawlett. What is historical materialism? Available at www.marxmail.org/faq/historical_materialism.htm. [Accessed on 17 March 2014].
- 30 McClure, op. cit.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Aligbe, C., 1988. Nigeria 27 years in global politics: From Dr Jaja Wachukwu to Major General Ike Nwachukwu. *The Nigerian Interpreter*, 2(3), pp. 12–14, p. 13.
- 37 Olusanya, G.O. and Akindele, R.A., 1986. The fundamentals of Nigeria's foreign policy and external economic relations, in Olusanya, G.O. and Akindele, R.A., eds, *Nigeria's external relations: The first twenty-five years*. Ibadan: University Press Limited, p. 5.
- 38 Moyola, M., 1999. Merge set to take BP Amoco out of Nigeria. *Africa Today – Voice of the Continent*, p. 44.
- 39 Banwo and Ighodalo, 2011. Expropriation/takings and Nigeria's consent to ICSID's jurisdiction: A leeway for international investors? *Business Day*, 24 November (Online version).
- 40 Fawole, W.A., 2003. *Nigeria's external relations and foreign policy under military Rule (1966–1999)*. Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press, p. 2.
- 41 Babawale, T., 1991. Foreign policy, politics and the crisis of peripheral capitalism in Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979–1983. *Journal of Issues in Social Science*, 1(2), October, 5–13, p. 5.
- 42 Maclean, J., 1988. Marxism and international relations: A strange case of mutual neglect. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 17(2), pp. 295–319, p. 298.
- 43 McClure, op. cit.
- 44 Phillips, W. and Ensign, M., n.d. The status of theory in foreign policy. *The Political Science Review*. Available at http://www.mmsi.org/pr/10_01/pe.pdf [Accessed on 5 September 2010].
- 45 Modupe, C.F., 1997. *Nigeria*. www.fpiif.org/reports/nigeria [Accessed 2 February 2012].
- 46 Maier, K., 2000. *This house has fallen: Nigeria in Crisis*. London: Penguin, p. 18.
- 47 Ibid, pp. 18–19.
- 48 Meierding, op. cit., p. 10.
- 49 Henderson, R.D.A. 1996. *Nigeria: Prospects for stability*. Available at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1996/com66e.htm> [Accessed on 28 December 2011].
- 50 Olawale, R., 2003. Again, Nigeria plunges into Liberia. *The Guardian*, 21 July, p. 21.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Idang, G., 1977. *Nigeria: Internal politics and foreign policy (1960–1966)*. Ibadan: University Press, p. 123.
- 53 Akinyemi, B., 1986. *Foreign policy and federalism: The Nigerian experience*. Ibadan: Macmillan Nigeria, p. 123.
- 54 Nnoli, O., 1976. Nigerian policy towards Southern Africa. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, 2(1&2), pp. 15–33, p. 21.
- 55 Akinyemi, 1986, op. cit., p. 123.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 .
- 58 Busari, A., 1977. Nigerian's relations with South Africa 1960–1975. *Africa Quarterly*, 16(3), pp. 67–89.
- 59 Modupe, op. cit.
- 60 Mongabay.com. op. cit.
- 61 Modupe, op. cit.
- 62 Meierding, op. cit., p. 7.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Maier, op. cit., p. xxi.
- 65 Aluko, O., 1981. *Essays in Nigerian foreign policy*. London: George Allen & Unwin, p. 193.
- 66 Schatz, S., 1983. The Nigerian economy since the great oil-price increases of 1973–74. *Africa Today*, 29(3), p. 33.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Alkali, R.A., 1997. The World Bank and structural adjustment in Nigeria: Lessons for Vision 2010. *Africa Peace Review*, 1(1), pp. 61–96, p. 65.
- 69 Ahmed, A., 1990. Structural adjustment in Nigeria: The impact of the SFEM on the economy – A Keynote Address Lagos 30 June, 1987, in Olaniyan, O. and Nwoke, C, eds, *Structural adjustment in Nigeria: The impact of SFEM on the economy*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. iii.
- 70 Alkali, op. cit., p. 66.
- 71 Olaniyan, O., 1990. Introduction, in Olaniyan, O. and Nwoke, C, eds, *Structural Adjustment in Nigeria: The Impact of SFEM on the Economy*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 2.
- 72 Ukiwo, op. cit.
- 73 Fawole, op. cit., p. 13.
- 74 Meierding, op. cit., p. 7.
- 75 Ogunsanwo, A., 1978. Nigeria's foreign relations 1970–1975. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, 4(1&2), pp. 35–59, pp. 40–41
- 76 Aluko, op. cit., p. 201.
- 77 Garba, J., 1991. *Diplomatic soldiering: The conduct of Nigerian foreign policy, 1975–1979*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, p. 26.
- 78 Duke-Abiola, A., 1999. *From Abubakar to Abubakar (40 years of Nigeria's foreign policy)*. Abuja: Newsbreak Communications, p. 89.
- 79 Aluko, op. cit., p. 201.
- 80 Aligbe, op. cit., p. 12.

- 81 Meierding, op. cit., p. 7.
- 82 Nnoli, op. cit., p. 16.
- 83 Otubanjo, F., 1989. Introduction: Phases and changes in Nigeria's foreign policy, in Akinyemi, A.B., Agbi, S.O. and Otubanjo, A.O., eds, *Nigeria since independence: The first 25 years. Volume X – International relations*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria), p. 5.
- 84 Schatz, op. cit.
- 85 Sotunmbi, A., 1981. *Nigeria's recognition of the MPLA government of Angola: A case study in decision-making and implementation*. NIIA Monograph Series No. 9. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 7.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Meierding, op. cit., p. 7.
- 88 Ibid., pp. 7–8.
- 89 Kirk-Green, A. and Rimmer, D., 1981. *Nigeria since 1970: A political and economic outline*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, p. 20.
- 90 Olaoye, op. cit.
- 91 Scott-Emuakpor, L.E., 1980. *A march of progress: Collected speeches of His Excellency General Olusegun Obasanjo*. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, p. 176.
- 92 Gambari, I., 1984. An address by Nigeria's External Affairs Minister, at the opening session of the International Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Regime in South Africa and other Legal Aspects of the Struggle Against Apartheid, Lagos, 13 August, p. 2.
- 93 Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1978. Nigeria urges Security Council to take effective action against Vorster and Smith. Press Release No. 140, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 2 February.
- 94 Aligbe, op. cit., p. 13.
- 95 Olusanya and Akindele, op. cit., p. 5.
- 96 Moyela, op. cit.
- 97 Banwo and Ighodalo, op. cit.
- 98 Olusanya and Akindele, op. cit., p. 5.
- 99 Sotunmbi, op. cit., p. 27.
- 100 Akinyemi, B. 1980. Nigerian foreign policy in 1975: National interest redefined, in Oyediran, O., ed., *Survey of Nigerian affairs 1975*. Ibadan: University Press for the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 112.
- 101 McClure, op. cit.
- 102 Olusanya and Akindele, op. cit., p. 5
- 103 Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1976. *A time for action: Speeches of General Murtala Muhammed*. Lagos: Federal Government Printer, FGP/2199/676/100/00.
- 104 Meierding, op. cit., p. 8.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Lewis, op. cit.
- 107 Odularu, op. cit..
- 108 Alkali, op. cit., pp. 70, 74.
- 109 Ibid. p. 75.
- 110 Ogundipe, S., 1985. IMF, yes? In how we got to the IMF. *Vanguard*, 28 October, pp. 8–9.
- 111 Ogunlusi, B., 1985. IMF, the debate has begun. *The Guardian*, 5 October, p. 8.
- 112 Williams, D., 1982. *President and power in Nigeria: The life of Shehu Shagari*. London: Frank Cass, p. 24.
- 113 Ibid., p. 202.
- 114 Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1982. *Dr Ekwueme addresses anti-apartheid conference in London*. Late Press Release No. 450, Lagos: Executive Office of The President. 18 March.
- 115 Ogwu, op. cit., p. 69.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Babawale, op. cit., p. 5.
- 118 Ibid. p. 12.
- 119 Buhari, M., 1984. Nigeria's foreign policy. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, 10(2), pp. 1–7, p. 1.
- 120 Ibid. p. 2.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Gambari, op. cit.
- 123 Garba, J., 1984. Being excerpts from an address as the Chairman of the United Nations Committee against Apartheid at the opening session of the International Seminar on the Legal Status of the Apartheid Regime in South Africa and other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against Apartheid, Lagos, 13 August.
- 124 Buhari, op. cit.
- 125 Babawale, op. cit., p. 6.
- 126 Olusanya, G.O., 1990. Foreword, in Olaniyan, O. and Nwoke, C., eds, *Structural adjustment in Nigeria: The impact of SFEM on the economy*. Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. i.
- 127 Olaniyan, O., 1990. Introduction, in Olaniyan, O. and Nwoke, C., eds, *Structural adjustment in Nigeria: The impact of SFEM on the economy*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 4.
- 128 Olusanya and Akindele, op. cit., p. 8.
- 129 Otubanjo, op. cit., p. 7.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Ita, B., 1986. *Collected speeches of the President Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida*. Lagos: Federal Department of Information, p. 13.
- 132 Oyovbaire, S. and Olagunju, T., 1991. *Foundations of a new Nigeria: The IBB era*. Lagos: Precision Press, p. 61.
- 133 Ogwu, op. cit. p. 69.
- 134 McClure, op. cit.
- 135 Obiozor, G., 1991. Foreword, in Ogwu, J. and Olukoshi, A., eds, *The economic diplomacy of the Nigerian state*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. x.
- 136 Ogwu, J. and Olukoshi, A., 1991. Nigeria's economic diplomacy: Some contending issues, in Ogwu, J. and Olukoshi, A., eds, *The economic diplomacy of the Nigerian state*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, pp. 4–5.
- 137 Nwachukwu, I., 1988. *The dynamics of Nigeria's foreign policy* (A mimeograph).
- 138 Ogwu and Olukoshi, op. cit., p. 3.
- 139 Aligbe, op. cit., p. 8.
- 140 Obiozor, G., 1992. *Basic issues in Nigerian foreign policy: IBB's foreign policy pronouncements (1986–1991)*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- 141 Amale, A., 1991. The constraints of economic diplomacy, in Ogwu, J. and Olukoshi, A., eds, *The economic diplomacy of the Nigerian state*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 127.
- 142 Akinyemi, B. 1986. Address of welcome to Major General Ibrahim Babangida at the formal opening of the All-Nigeria Conference on Foreign Policy at the Nigerian Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies Kuru on 7 April 1986.
- 143 Ate, B., 1990. Personality, the role theory,

- structural adjustment programme and policy-making in Nigeria's foreign relations, 1985–1987: Focus on the 'Lagos Forum', in Olusanya, G. and Akindele, R., eds, *The structure and process of foreign policy making and implementation in Nigeria, 1960–1990*. Lagos and Ibadan: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and Vantage Publishers, p. 447.
- 144 Meierding, op. cit., p. 12.
- 145 Osagie, E. 1988. A survey of the Nigerian economy since independence, in Olukoshi, A.O. and Ate, B.E., *Economic development and foreign policy in Nigeria*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 26.
- 146 Agbebaku, op. cit.
- 147 Ezeoha, A. and Chibuike, U., 2005. *South Africa, NEPAD and the African Renaissance*. ASC Working Paper 64. Leiden, Netherlands: African Studies Centre, p. 20–21.
- 148 Adekeye, A., 2006. *Prophets of Africa's Renaissance: Nigeria and South Africa as regional hegemon*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 6.
- 149 Ibid. p. 7.
- 150 See *Nigerian Chronicle* (Calabar) 28 September 1981, p. 3.
- 151 Onobrakpeya, E., 1984. Analyst seeks review of Nigeria's policy in South Africa. *The Guardian*, 11 August, p. 3.
- 152 See *The Guardian* (Lagos) 8 January 1988, p. 1.
- 153 Obiozor, op. cit.
- 154 See *Daily Times* (Lagos) 18 July 1991, p. 6.
- 155 See *African Concord* (Lagos) 18 May 1992, p. 18.
- 156 See *National Concord* (Lagos) 24 June 1986, p. 8.
- 157 Ajulo, S.B., 1998. *Towards an integration of the notion of 'pax Nigeriana' in relation to Nigerian foreign policy*. Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, p. 5.
- 158 Adekeye, op. cit., p. 21.
- 159 Ibid.
- 160 Schwartz, P., 2003. Liberian campaign: A moral crime. *The Punch*, 5 August, p. 17.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 Meierding, op. cit., p. 12.

Anthropological Perceptions of Gender in Soccer:

The Case of Tsakane Schools in Gauteng Province

The focus of this article is on gender relations with specific reference to soccer in the South African school environment and at various levels, namely, national, provincial and local. The main aim of this article is to highlight some of the challenges faced by girls at school level and women at all levels in soccer participation. The study follows a qualitative approach which includes primary and secondary sources. In terms of primary sources, person-to-person interviews were conducted with female learners and educators, as well as their male counterparts. The secondary sources included literature from journals, books, newspaper articles and so on. A feminist Marxist theoretical approach has been used to understand gender inequalities in soccer within the context of township schools in Gauteng province, South Africa. In the final analysis recommendations are made in the hope that schools and policy makers will make use of them to improve the situation at school level and also improve school sports policies.

David Legodi Bogopa

David Bogopa is a lecturer in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Introduction

This article focuses on gender relations within the context of schools in Tsakane township in Gauteng province, South Africa. The section on the research methodology outlines the research techniques used to gather the data for this study. This section includes a description of the specific literature that was used to gather data; the data collection tools and techniques; and the instrument(s) for data collection such as the interview schedule. A qualitative approach was chosen and a rationale for this decision is provided. The composition of the population for the study is also outlined. In addition, the procedures for data collection and analysis are explained.

In this study, theory played an important role as it investigated the connections between theory and practice. A feminist Marxist theoretical approach is outlined with a view to understanding gender inequalities in soccer within the context of township schools in Gauteng province. The study seeks to contribute to the field by providing new knowledge and insights.

The methodology discussion is followed by a critical literature study, with an integrated critical analysis of relevant documentation. Literature from various sources was consulted. For example, relevant issues involving sport

from disciplines such as history, sociology and anthropology are briefly outlined. This section is followed by a discussion of the findings and recommendations.

The Significance of this Research

The study aims to make a contribution to the anthropology of soccer with specific reference to South African schools. The anthropological focus of this study will attempt to provide a framework within which one might address issues of gender in sport in Gauteng province, particularly at school level. The intention of this study is to contribute to policy improvement in soccer.

Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this article is to determine the meaning of gender from an anthropological perspective within the context of soccer in selected study areas in Gauteng province. Furthermore, the study sought to understand issues of gender in soccer in the post-apartheid period in the context of the selected study areas in Gauteng province, South Africa. In addition, the intention was to determine the impact of gender on perceptions of soccer development among black African youth. Lastly, the study aimed to make recommendations for policy improvement in soccer in Gauteng province and possibly nationally.

A Brief Historical Background

The South African Football Association (SAFA) soccer policy contains various articles covering a whole range of issues. For example, Article 3

covers issues of neutrality and non-discrimination. This article¹ states that discrimination of any kind against a country, private person or group of people on account of ethnic origin, gender, language, religion, politics or any other reason is strictly prohibited and punishable by suspension or expulsion. Further, in terms of Article 48,² the Committee of Women's Football shall consist of a chairperson, a deputy-chairperson and not more than ten persons shall be responsible for the following: (48.1)³ drafting and submitting proposals on policies on women football development; (48.2)⁴ dealing with all matters relating to women football; (48.3)⁵ monitoring women's football competitions and (48.4)⁶ submitting regular reports to the National Executive Committee (NEC).

In light of the above SAFA policy, there is a tendency in our culture to socialise men to be competitive and women cooperative. In the South African context, there are cultures which for a long period relegated women to the domestic sphere and this is evident when we analyse sport participation of both men and women. In many sporting activities in South Africa the numbers of women are still small, including soccer, cricket and rugby, which are sports that draw the largest crowds of spectators.

This article focuses on two schools geographically situated in Tsakane township in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality in Gauteng province. These two schools were established during the apartheid period and learners and educators are still grappling with issues related to sport recreational facilities, as well as gender relations problems in sport. For example, in these two schools there is no space for the learners and educators to showcase their sporting talent, both in terms of playing and coaching sport. The female learners in these two schools face double oppression, namely, the oppression from the top

by the Gauteng Basic Education Department, as well as oppression from within their schools because they are not afforded an equal opportunity to participate in sport.

Some scholars have previously conducted research on gender relations, including Ortner,⁷ who argues that women are universally oppressed and devalued. She points out that this is not as a result of biology as such, which ascribes women their status in society, but rather due to the manner in which every culture defines and evaluates female biology.⁸ Ortner⁹ further argues that in every society, greater value is placed on culture than on nature. According to Ortner,¹⁰ culture is the means by which humanity controls and regulates nature. Finally, Ortner¹¹ concludes that women are closer to nature and men closer to culture. Women are seen to be closer to nature because their bodies and physiological functions are more concerned with the natural processes that include menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth and lactation.¹²

According to Scupin and DeCorse,¹³ men are viewed as intelligent, stronger and emotionally mature. However, many communities view women as sexually dangerous and women found having extramarital sex were either executed or severely punished. In this way sex for women outside marriage was unacceptable but not for men.

Research Methodology

This article follows a qualitative approach and one of the main data collection techniques that was used in this study was interviews (held with primary sources). Accordingly, interviews were conducted in Gauteng province with learners and educators at both primary and secondary schools in Tsakane township, using

an interview schedule. Twenty-four learners of both sexes were interviewed, as well as 12 educators of both sexes. These learners and educators were interviewed with a view to obtaining their perspectives on gender inequalities in sport within the context of South Africa townships schools, particularly in Gauteng province.

Secondary information was gathered from journals, books, newspapers, magazines, internet articles and policy documents.

A Feminist Marxist Anthropological Theoretical Approach

A feminist Marxist anthropological theoretical approach was used in this study to understand the issue of gender inequalities in sport within the context of South Africa with specific reference to townships schools in Gauteng province. The scholars who have previously used a feminist Marxist anthropological approach to understand the subordination of women include Ortner,¹⁴ Strasser and Kronsteiner,¹⁵ Moore,¹⁶ Leacock,¹⁷ Peach,¹⁸ Blanchard and Cheska,¹⁹ and Birell.²⁰

These scholars focused on gender relations within the context of various cultures. A feminist Marxist anthropological approach takes two main perspectives on gender, namely, those who argue that gender is biologically constructed and those who view gender as socially and culturally constructed.

Ortner²¹ argues that a woman's physiology and her specialised reproductive ability make her appear closer to nature, while man has to seek cultural means of creation. In view of the notion of women as being closer to nature, Ortner²² argues that within the context of the Kaulong culture in New Britain, women were considered polluting from before puberty to after menopause, but were also regarded as

becoming particularly dangerous during childbirth and menstruation. In the Kaulong culture, women must refrain from approaching gardens, dwellings and water sources during childbirth and menstruation.

According to Blanchard and Cheska,²³ women's sport in countries such as Mongolia and Tonga has not substantially progressed because of the fact that there are no opportunities available for women.

Strasser and Kronsteiner²⁴ conducted research in two Sunni villages in eastern Turkey, using a feminist Marxist anthropological approach to understand gender relations within these two villages. They²⁵ discovered that women have seldom owned the means of production in these two villages in Turkey. They also discovered that women were involved in agricultural production but were not involved in decision-making regarding the distribution of their agricultural production. Further, Strasser and Kronsteiner²⁶ argue that within these two villages patriarchy was a dominant force which sharply defined forms of power between men and women.

According to Moore,²⁷ women throughout the world are associated with nature while men are associated with culture. The idea of associating women with nature is derived from women's reproductive function. Sharing these sentiments, Leacock²⁸ argues that female subordination is a consequence of capitalism, not an innate reflection of gender differences. The above scholars, Moore²⁹ and Leacock,³⁰ argue within the context of patriarchal societies where it was generally believed women could only look after children and were seen as subordinates to men and, thus, kept away from the public sphere.

Peach's³¹ study focused on women's participation in the United States of America defence force during the Persian Gulf War. This study

was conducted on the basis of the question raised by American military personnel, government officials, public policy makers and members of the public as to whether women should be included in military combat. Peach³² accordingly used a feminist Marxist anthropological theoretical framework to understand gender relations in the context of the American defence force. Peach³³ subsequently discovered that the exclusion of women from participating in the Persian Gulf War was based on the following reasons: firstly, the notion that women lack the physical ability to perform adequately; secondly that women's pregnancy capacity and child-bearing make them inappropriately combatants; and thirdly, that women's participation in combatant units would reduce unit cohesion by distributing male bonding and promoting sexual activity within the defence force.

Birrell³⁴ also used Marxist theory to explain gender relations within the context of sport in general, but without focusing on a specific country. Birell³⁵ argues that in terms of feminist Marxist theory, there is an assumption that women are oppressed within patriarchal cultures. Sport is seen as a gendered activity: it not only welcomes boys and men more enthusiastically than girls and women but also serves as a platform for celebrating skills and values marked as masculine. Sport in many patriarchal societies is referred to as a 'male preserve'; hence Marxist feminist theorists find sport to be a logical site for the analysis of gender relationships.

Within the context of the African continent, with specific reference to Morocco, Bodey³⁶ argues that sport has traditionally been considered a man's preserve. Men own, organise, coach, compete in and watch sport to the exclusion of women. Religious, medical and societal beliefs have demoted women to their homes as wives and mothers. Cultural expectations

in many communities relating to appropriate feminine behaviour and gender-bound roles curtailed women's active participation in sport for a long period.

Critical Data Analysis

There was a general feeling amongst the boys and girls at the township schools that soccer is a rough, contact sport and therefore girls would not be able to cope when participating in soccer. The boys argued that soccer participation required energy and strength and very few girls possess these physical qualities; hence this prevents them from participating in soccer. However, there were a few girls who firmly believed that if they were to be afforded a fair opportunity to play soccer they could excel. For example, in one of the schools, there was a field used for different sporting codes, including netball, cricket and soccer, but this space or field was generally occupied by the boys and girls were denied an opportunity to play.

There were also mixed feelings among the educators in these two schools about gender relations in soccer. There were male educators who still believed that soccer is only for boys and men. However, a few of the male educators also believed that if girls were to be given an opportunity to play soccer they could make it to the top level. On the one hand, the majority of the female educators argued that soccer is a contact sport and it is too rough for girls and women to participate in, while on the other hand there was a minority of female educators that argued that girls and women could participate to their fullest potential if an environment conducive to such participation could be created. I further observed that in the two schools that were investigated, there were girls' soccer teams and female educators who

coached soccer; therefore they should be given an opportunity to play. If one is serious about playing soccer, regardless of whether one is a male or female, nothing is impossible.

Critical Discussion on the Literature Review

Research on women's soccer is one of the areas that have been neglected by social science scholars in South Africa and beyond. This is also evident within the context of anthropology in South Africa. However, scholars who have contributed to the anthropology of soccer include, among others, Stuart,³⁷ who looked at the introduction of soccer in Bulawayo. Stuart³⁸ draws attention to a previous study done by West³⁹ on inter-ethnic soccer rivalry in Bulawayo. Stuart⁴⁰ argues that West's⁴¹ study was interested in looking at 'class' within the context of soccer in Bulawayo. For example, soccer in Bulawayo was played by the African elite while the unskilled and semi-skilled working class was more interested in sporting codes such as boxing. West⁴² concludes that soccer in Bulawayo was merely another vehicle for elite expression. Stuart⁴³ challenges West⁴⁴ findings, arguing that soccer played an important part in imagined ethnicity in Africa. Soccer has played and continues to play a central role in the social and political development of Africa.

The above scholars, namely, West⁴⁵ and Stuart,⁴⁶ made a meaningful contribution within the anthropology of soccer by looking at issues of class and ethnicity in Bulawayo. However, their studies ignored the issue of gender relations. Societies are comprised of males and females and it is therefore imperative to look at gender relations when conducting research, largely because soccer is played by both males and females.

On the other hand, Hargreaves⁴⁷ discusses gender inequalities in South Africa within the context of cricket, rugby and soccer. For example, of the three sporting codes she cites cricket, where an R8 million sponsorship deal was clinched to develop men's cricket in Soweto. Moreover, considerable amounts have been spent on men's soccer and rugby development.⁴⁸ Further, according to Hargreaves,⁴⁹ the general absence of women in decision-making positions in South African rugby reflects the deep-seated power imbalances between men and women in South African sport.

Nauright⁵⁰ also made a meaningful contribution on the historical development of soccer in South Africa during the 1930s and 40s. He looked at the popularity of soccer among the white working class. He states that soccer was organised on city and regional levels and it achieved a mass following in the former Transvaal (now subdivided into Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North-West and Gauteng provinces) and Natal (now known as KwaZulu-Natal province). Nauright⁵¹ argues that the South African society of the time was not only segregated by race, but there was also gender discrimination in the work environment as well as in public leisure activities. For example, Nauright⁵² argues that women played sport in South Africa but the majority of them could not make it into the professional ranks owing to many obstacles such as a lack of competitive sport leagues, a lack of sponsorship and cultural stereotypes. According to Nauright,⁵³ the history of women's sport in South Africa needs the attention of scholars in order to conduct further research.

Anthropological scholars who also made a contribution to research on soccer include Anderson, Bielert and Jones,⁵⁴ who focused on issues of race and ethnicity in South Africa. These authors⁵⁵ state that, before 1990, South

African soccer was racially divided and white players were not afforded opportunities to play soccer because it was dominated by blacks. However, according to Anderson et al.,⁵⁶ the release of Nelson Mandela from prison brought about some changes and improvements, for example white soccer players got a chance to participate in soccer. In terms of ethnicity in soccer, Anderson et al.⁵⁷ argue that the majority of soccer teams in Johannesburg are composed of players from different ethnic groups. One example of ethnic biases in soccer was when some soccer fans made the claim that the Zulu-speaking soccer referees were 'bad' and biased when officiating at soccer matches.

The above-mentioned anthropological research by Hargreaves,⁵⁸ Nauright⁵⁹ and Anderson et al.⁶⁰ makes a valuable contribution to the anthropology of soccer in South Africa. For example, Hargreaves⁶¹ and Nauright⁶² cover issues of gender relations in soccer. On the other hand, the Anderson et al.⁶³ study did not look at gender relations in soccer but acknowledged the fact that there was a need to look at such gender relations for future research since soccer is played by both females and males.

Pelak⁶⁴ looks at how South African women soccer players have previously negotiated material and ideological barriers and constructed new sporting identities. Pelak⁶⁵ focuses on the micro-level experiences of competitive soccer athletes within the macro-level structures in South Africa which continue to be shaped by the legacies of apartheid and colonialism. Pelak⁶⁶ carried out her research at SAFA headquarters in Johannesburg, as well as in Cape Town in the Western Cape province. She conducted semi-structured interviews and her population size was seven soccer players and eleven soccer administrators in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Pelak⁶⁷ discovered that South African soccer was divided along gender lines,

for example men and boys dominated soccer while women and girls continued to be marginalised.

Bogopa^{68,69} also contributes to the anthropology of sport within the context of South African soccer. In both contributions he illustrates about the unequal opportunities afforded to women to participate in soccer, as well as participation in soccer administrative. For example, Bogopa⁷⁰ mentions that when the South African women's soccer team played against Nigeria, the event was ignored by both the print and the electronic media in terms of coverage. Bogopa⁷¹ also covers issues of gender relations at the FIFA World Cup tournament which was held in South Africa in 2010. Bogopa⁷² discovered that during the entire World Cup tournament there were no female radio or television commentators, there were no female match officials and there were no female stadium announcers.

Naidoo and Muholi⁷³ have also contributed to research on gender relations in soccer. Their research focused on the South African women's national soccer team, also known as Banyana Banyana. Naidoo and Muholi⁷⁴ interviewed key women soccer players and coaches and, to supplement interviews, they also used sources from previously published texts. The authors⁷⁵ discovered that women were still not fairly represented in South African soccer structures. For example, the former South African women's national soccer coach complained about sexual harassment incidents where some of the male technical team was sexually involved with female soccer players. This is relevant to this study since the study is examining gender issues within the context of South African soccer.

The above scholarly contributions by Pelak,⁷⁶ Bogopa,^{77,78} and Naidoo and Muholi⁷⁹ are relevant to my research since they also

tackle issues of gender relations in soccer within South Africa.

Vidacs⁸⁰ contributed within the anthropology of soccer with reference to the Cameroonian national soccer team. Vidacs⁸¹ discusses issues of ethnicity and nation building within the context of Cameroonian soccer. For example, Vidacs⁸² argues that it is clear that ethnicity is highly relevant to understanding the African continent; in this context to understanding the Cameroonian ethnic conflict which involved the Bamileke and the Bassa. However, Vidacs⁸³ maintains that many researchers tend to focus more on issues of ethnicity and ignore issues of nation building. Vidacs⁸⁴ argues that the Cameroonian national soccer team's participation in the 1990 World Cup tournament resulted in nation building in both Cameroon and the African continent.

The above-mentioned study by Vidacs⁸⁵ contributes within the anthropology of soccer from the Cameroonian perspective with regard to issues of ethnicity and nation building. However, the missing link in the study is the issue of gender relations. The study looks at soccer in Cameroon as if it is played by males only and neglects to mention participation in soccer by women.

Another anthropological contribution on soccer includes Mennesson's⁸⁶ research, which was based on ten-year ethnographic fieldwork in France. This research focused on two sporting codes, namely, women's soccer and women's boxing. Mennesson⁸⁷ conducted 50 interviews including female soccer players and boxers, as well as their coaches. Mennesson⁸⁸ discovered that soccer in France still privileges males and power relations also favour men. Further, Mennesson⁸⁹ discovered that women engaged in soccer were concerned about being marginalisation, for example men were in a position of power and they control the

development of soccer in France. Female managers were relegated to the women's committee with few means at their disposal to advance women's soccer in a meaningful manner.⁹⁰

However, there are also scholars and sport journalists who have acknowledged improvements within soccer, as well as scholars who acknowledge improvements in women's soccer in South Africa. These scholars include, among others, Bogopa,⁹¹ who argues that, in 2000, the whole of the African continent witnessed a women's soccer tournament, the Women African Cup of Nations, which was held in South Africa. During this tournament, the African masses were entertained with brilliant soccer, the women were really committed and they displayed a lot of skills. There were women coaches as well as women soccer officials and the Nigerian team emerged the victors of the tournament.

Sanlam, a South African insurance company, has previously injected a lot of money to establish a women's soccer league for some few years to come. Sanlam started by sponsoring women's soccer at the amateur level in all nine provinces with a view to teams eventually establishing themselves and graduating to the professional ranks at a later stage. Currently, women's soccer teams are competing in various regions and the teams that work hard will be promoted to the professional level in the near future.⁹²

According to Haugaa Engh,⁹³ the introduction of the Sanlam sponsorship for the women's soccer league has created an opportunity and more sponsorship has come on board, for example Vodacom, Cadbury and Nike began to sponsor women's soccer when Sanlam's sponsorship ended.

Further, ABSA and Sasol are currently supporting the women's national soccer team

financially, for example there are ABSA regional development leagues and ABSA has donated R20 million to running these regional leagues. Sasol also assists with the women's national teams in terms of transport and equipment.⁹⁴

According to Haugaa Engh,⁹⁵ the South African women's national teams, namely, Banyana Banyana (senior team) and Basetsana (junior team) have achieved new heights in performance in the past few years. For example, the senior national team finished second in the African Women's Championship in 2008 and the junior national team has won the championship three years in succession.

Another notable achievement was the crowning of one of the national women's soccer players (Noko Alice Matlou) as the 2008 Confederation of African Football's Woman Footballer of the Year. It has also been discovered that there are currently about 200 000 women and girls participating in soccer in South Africa.⁹⁶

The deputy-president of SAFA, Chief Mwebo Nonkonyana, was recently interviewed about the outcome of the 2013 SAFA elections. He was elated about the inclusion of three powerful women administrators, Nomsa Mahlangu, Ria Ledwaba and Natasha Tshiklas. The trio was elected into executive positions within SAFA. The deputy-president argued that the inclusion of these three women 'shows that we can no longer allow a situation where women in our football are only deemed good enough to be receptionists or PAs whose job is to answer phones and take minutes'. He further argued that; 'We want more women in the regions to work hand in hand with the people who are already there and those who excel in their duties will definitely be rewarded for their hard work.'⁹⁷

Findings

I have discovered that there are still stereotypes attached to who must play soccer, for example the majority of male learners and educators still hold the view that soccer belongs to boys and men. There are also female learners and educators who believe that soccer is only for males. However, there are a few males and females (learners and educators) who reject these stereotypes. I have also discovered that in one school the lack of space prevented girls from participating in soccer because they had to firstly fight with the boys to occupy the space needed in order to play. The available sporting facilities in both schools investigated were not suitable for playing soccer; for example in one of the schools they played soccer on a brick paved area which exposed them to danger particularly if the boys were to fall. In another school soccer is played on a bumpy field and the grass is not maintained.

Further, the challenges facing these two schools are a lack of soccer equipment for both the girls and the boys, as well as a lack of sponsorship. Another challenge is game time for playing soccer. For example, during the five official school days every week, no time is allocated to sport and this creates problems for participation in soccer.

Recommendations

- There is a great need for the general public to change its perceptions and start treating women with dignity and respect. Responsibility for this also lies with the government, which seems to be taking an armchair position with regard to these issues.
- It is up to the government to look at these issues in a positive way. It must ensure that the rights of women are integrated into policy-making decisions and that their interests are advanced in an all-inclusive manner. This can be achieved by affording women opportunities to participate as soccer coaches as well as soccer administrators.
- There is a great challenge facing schools, communities, governments, sport policy makers and other stakeholders involved in sport matters. The mindset must change and women must be accommodated in soccer.
- There is also a great need for schools to organise soccer tournaments for both girls and boys. Wednesday afternoons should be set aside so that girls and female educators can participate in soccer training and tournaments.
- The private sector also needs to come on board and channel some financial resources towards assisting in soccer development in township schools. Sponsorships need to focus on women's soccer by providing money for soccer balls, soccer kits and training equipment.
- There is also a need for female teachers and girls participating in soccer to be encouraged to continue to play soccer. Soccer equipment should be supplied at school level so that female teachers and learners can play soccer.
- School sports policies need to be reviewed every two years with a view to tapping into some of the missing issues such as gender relations. School authorities need to organise workshops and start reviewing existing school policies.
- Further anthropological research is greatly needed with a view to contributing within

the anthropology of soccer, as well as to resolve some of the problems encountered in soccer. This can be achieved by making research funding available to anthropology scholars in South Africa who are interested in the anthropology of sport.

Conclusion

In this article an attempt has been made to explain the importance of this research. Accordingly, the aims and objectives were outlined, as were the research techniques used to gather data. Further, the historical background on gender inequalities in sport within the context of sport in general and of South African township schools in Gauteng province in particular has been outlined.

A feminist Marxist anthropological theoretical approach has been outlined to understand issues of gender inequality in sport. An attempt has also been made to take a critical look at the gender inequalities in sport based on the existing literature and own point of views. The way forward in addressing issues of gender inequality in soccer within the context of South African township schools would be to find suitable mechanisms that could be utilised effectively. For example, sufficient funding is needed to organise workshops with a view to improving sports policy, whereupon an implementation process must take place. Time allocation, space for recreational facilities, personnel and financial resources are obstacles likely to be experienced during implementation and operationalisation.

Notes and References

This is part of my doctoral studies and I would like to acknowledge Dr TS Petrus, Prof HC Pauw and Prof P Cunningham for their comments and guidance. I would also like to acknowledge the National Research Foundation (NRF), the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) for the financial support to make this research possible.

- 1 South African Football Association Constitution, 2011, Final Draft. Available at http://www.safa.net/UserFiles/www.safa.net/SAFA_CONSTITUTION_2013.pdf [Accessed on 20 August 2013].
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ortner, S., 1974. Is female to male as nature is to culture? In Rosaldo, M. and Lamphere, L., eds, *Women culture and society*. Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Haralambos M. and Holbron, M., 1991. *Sociology: Themes and perspectives*. London: HarperCollins.
- 13 Scupin, R. and DeCorse, C.R., 1998. *Anthropology: A global perspective*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- 14 Ortner, op. cit.
- 15 Strasser, S. and Kronsteiner, R., 1993. Impure of fertile? Two essays on the crossing of frontiers through anthropology and feminism. In Del Valle, T., ed., *Gendered anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- 16 Moore, H.L., 1988. *Feminism and anthropology*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- 17 Leacock, E., 1979. Class, commodity, and the status of women. In Diamond, S., ed., *Toward a Marxist anthropology: Problems and perspectives*. New York: Mouton.
- 18 Peach, L.J., 1997. Gender and war: Are women tough enough for military combat? In Brettell, C.B. and Sargeant, C.F., eds, *Gender in cross cultural perspective*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- 19 Blanchard, K. and Cheska, A.T., 1985. *The anthropology of sport*. USA: Bergin & Garvey.
- 20 Birrell, S., 2000. Feminist theories for sport. In Coakley, J. & Dunning, E., eds, *Handbook of sport studies*. London: Sage.
- 21 Ortner, op. cit.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Blanchard and Cheska, op. cit.
- 24 Strasser and Kronsteiner, op. cit.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Moore, op. cit.
- 28 Leacock, op. cit.
- 29 Moore, op. cit.
- 30 Leacock, op. cit.
- 31 Peach, op. cit.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Birrell, op. cit.

- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Bodey, K., 2007. Organizational justice: A case study of female sport managers in Morocco. *Impumelelo Interdisciplinary Electronic Journal of African Sport*. Available at http://www.ohio.edu/sportsafrica/journal/Volume2/morocco_organization_justice.htm [Accessed on 20 August 2013].
- 37 Stuart, O., 1996. Players, workers, protesters: Social change and soccer in colonial Zimbabwe. In MacClancy, J., ed., *Sport identity and ethnicity*. Oxford: Berg.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 West, O.M., 1990. African middle-class formation in colonial Zimbabwe, 1890–1965. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University.
- 40 Stuart, op. cit.
- 41 West, op. cit.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Stuart, op. cit.
- 44 West, op. cit.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Stuart, op. cit.
- 47 Hargreaves, J., 1997. Women's sport, development and cultural diversity: The South African experience. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20(2), pp. 191–209.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Nauright, J., 1997. *Sport, cultures and identities in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Anderson, C.M., Bielert, T.A. and Jones, R.P., 2004. One country, one sport, endless knowledge: The anthropological study of sport in South Africa. *Anthropologica Journal*, 46(1), pp. 47–55.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Hargreaves, op. cit.
- 59 J Nauright, op. cit.
- 60 Anderson et al., op. cit.
- 61 Hargreaves, op. cit.
- 62 Nauright, op. cit.
- 63 Anderson et al., op. cit.
- 64 Pelak, C.F., 2005. Negotiating gender/race/class constraints in the new South Africa. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1), pp. 53–70.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Bogopa, D., 2008. The paradox of gender and sport development: The case of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan. *Impumelelo Interdisciplinary Electronic Journal of African Sports*. Available at http://www.ohio.edu/sportsafrica/journal/Volume3/theparadoxofgender_bogopa.htm [Accessed Retrieved on the 20 August 2013].
- 69 Bogopa, D., 2010. Perspectives on the World Cup Tournament in South Africa. *Impumelelo The Interdisciplinary Electronic Journal of African Sport*. Available at <http://www.ohio.edu/sportsafrica/journal/bogopareflections.htm> [Accessed on 20 August 2013].
- 70 Bogopa, 2008, op. cit.
- 71 Bogopa, 2010, op. cit.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Naidoo, P. and Muholi, Z., 2010. Women's bodies and the world of football in South Africa. In Desai, A., ed., *The race to transform sport in post-apartheid South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Pelak, op. cit.
- 77 Bogopa, 2008. op. cit.
- 78 Bogopa, 2010, op. cit.
- 79 Naidoo and Muholi, op. cit.
- 80 Vidacs, B., 2011. Banal nationalism, football, and discourse community in Africa. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 11(1), pp. 100–117.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Mennesson, C., 2012. Gender regimes and habitus: An avenue for analyzing gender building in sports contexts. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, vol. 29, pp. 4–21.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Bogopa, D., 2001. Sport development: Obstacles and solutions in South Africa. *The African Anthropologist Journal*, 8(1), pp. 85–95.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Haugaa Engh, M., 2012. Tackling femininity: The heterosexual paradigm and women's soccer in South Africa. In Cornelissen, S. and Grundlingh, A., eds, *Sport past and present in South Africa*. London: Routledge.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 *The New Age*, 30 September 2013, p. 1.

An Investigation into Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism as Kenya's Green Economy Transition Mechanism

This article focuses on the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) as a transition mechanism to Kenya's green economy and the contribution of CDM projects towards sustainable development in Kenya. Accordingly, a positive checklist approach to sustainable development indicators was applied as informed by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The key findings were that the main sustainable development indicators claimed by CDM projects were local economy stimulation, job creation and poverty alleviation.

**Brenda Nyambura
Godwell Nhamo**

Brenda Nyambura is a master's student at the Trade Policy Training Centre in Africa (TRAPCA) with research interests in sustainable development, the green economy and climate change, with a particular focus on Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism.

Godwell Nhamo is a full professor and chair for the Exxaro Chair in Business and Climate Change hosted by the Institute for Corporate Citizenship at the University of South Africa (Unisa). Professor Nhamo has published widely on the green economy, climate change and other related environmental topics.

Introduction

The concept of a green economy has recently found its way to the top of the global political agenda. The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development that took place in June 2012 (popularised as Rio+20) pointed out that the green economy concept emerged as a result of the realisation that there was a need to simultaneously integrate and advance environmental and economic goals.¹ A report by the Rio+20 Preparatory Committee further noted that sustainable development has been the overarching goal of the international community since the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. Hence, both Rio summits recognised that a different approach to development was necessary if countries were to achieve sustainability by integrating economic, social and environmental aspects.² This was to be done through the realisation of the inter-linkages of the three sustainable development pillars indicated herein, leading to improved economic outcomes across the world.

The undeniable fact that greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions that contribute to global warming and lead to climate change compels the world to work towards a coordinated international response. This has been met by the demand to urgently change the manner in which

we live, by moving towards a green and low carbon development pathway.³ Climate change impacts have compelled global, regional and national policy makers to engage and embrace the green economic development framework in efforts to mitigate climate change and attain sustainable development.

According to United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD)⁴, a green economy in the context of sustainable development, poverty eradication, employment creation, equity and inclusiveness enhances the ability to manage natural resources sustainably. This implies having lower negative environmental impacts, increased resource efficiency and reduced waste. The undeniable link between green economy and sustainable development, as well as poverty eradication, is well captured in the Rio+20 outcomes document entitled *The future we want*. This document concludes that 'the green economy is a platform for achieving sustainable development in a manner that endeavours to drive sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth, job creation and poverty eradication'.⁵ This is most significant in the wake of various global crises attributable to climate change.

Linked to the sustainable development agenda and the green economy is the issue of the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism (CDM). One of the CDM projects approval criteria are the sustainable development indicators⁶ used during the evaluation by the CDM designated national authority (DNA). In Kenya, the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) is the DNA and has come up with the sustainable development indicators for CDM project evaluation.

The aim of this article is to evaluate the impact of the CDM on Kenya's green economy transition. The specific objective is to provide insights into sustainable development benefits

as outlined in the CDM project design document (PDD) at registration level. Evidence is sought at this point to come up with deductions that reveal how the CDM contributes to Kenya's green economy transition in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, as stipulated by Rio+20.

This article is structured as follows. Firstly, it explains the methodological approach and choice of sample to be employed. Secondly, it focuses on the CDM and explores the linkages to trade, sustainable development and the green economy. It then presents key findings of the research and gives the conclusion.

Methodology and Sampling Frameworks

The data and information were generated from publicly available documents that included the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the United Nations Environment Programme Risoe Centre (UNEP-Risoe) and Kenya's NEMA websites. Altogether, in April 2013, there were 34 CDM projects at various levels of development in Kenya available on the UNEP Risoe CDM website. Of the 34 CDM projects, the article used a sample of fourteen registered projects which had their PDDs available for analysis. Twenty of the CDM projects were still at the validation phase while five projects had had their validation terminated.

The question raised for the article is of a qualitative nature and to this end we made use of a positive checklist approach to analyse⁷ the sampled PDDs. This approach uses a list of sustainable development indicators drawn on the basis of the indicators felt to be important to ensure sustainable development in Kenya. The approach also checks the CDM project benefits as indicated in the PDD against this list. The list of

indicators is presented in Table 1 and has been adopted from a UNFCCC⁸ report. The list covers the economic, environmental and social development dimensions of sustainable development, encompassing most of the criteria used by other studies. The data and information were mainly secondary, as outlined in the PDDs of the CDM projects sourced from the UNFCCC website (www.unfccc.int). The results reflect the expected contributions to sustainable development at the time the CDM project is validated.

A key point to note is that assessing the PDDs involves some subjectivity and therefore the researchers made the following assumptions:

- Since project developers do not state negative statements in the PDDs, this study only considered and assessed positive contributions to sustainable development.
- Claims of reduction in GHG emissions were not treated as sustainable development since this is a prerequisite for a CDM project.
- Each claim to more than one indicator in each sustainable development criteria was considered.

Table 1: Sustainable development dimensions and indicators positive checklist

Dimension	Indicator	Description
Economic	Stimulation of the local economy including job creation and poverty alleviation	Economic improvements for the population through: direct or indirect job creation or retention of jobs during the operation and construction phases; domestic or community cost savings; poverty reduction; financial benefits of the project for the national economy of the host country; enhancement of local investment and tourism; improvement of trade balance for the country; reinvestment of clean development mechanism proceeds into the community; creation of tax revenue for the community
	Development and diffusion of technology	Development, use, improvement and/or diffusion of a new local or international technology, international technology transfer or development of an in-house innovative technology
	Improvement to infrastructure	Creation of infrastructure (e.g. roads and bridges) and improved service availability (e.g. health centres and water availability)
Environment	Reduction of pollution	Reducing gaseous emissions other than GHG, effluents, and odour and environmental and noise pollution; and enhancing indoor air quality
	Promotion of reliable and renewable energy	Supplying more or making less use of energy; stabilising energy for the promotion of local enterprises; diversifying the sources of electricity generation
		Converting or adding to the country's energy capacity that is generated from renewable sources; reducing dependence on fossil fuels; helping to stimulate the growth of the renewable power industries
Preservation of natural resources	Promoting comprehensive utilisation of the local natural resources (i.e. utilising discarded biomass for energy rather than leaving it to decay, utilising water and solar resources); promoting efficiency (e.g. compact fluorescent lamps rather than incandescent lamps); recycling; creating positive by-products; improvement and/or protection of natural resources, including the security of non-renewable resources such as fossil fuels, or of renewable resources such as soil and soil fertility; biodiversity (e.g. genetic diversity, species, alteration or preservation of habitats existing within the project's impact boundaries and depletion level of renewable stocks like water, forests and fisheries); water, availability of water and water quality	

Social	Improvement of health and safety	Improvements to health, safety and welfare of local people through a reduction in exposure to factors impacting on health and safety, and/or changes that improve their lifestyles, especially for the poorest and most vulnerable members of society; improved human rights
	Engagement of local population	Community or local/regional involvement in decision-making; respect and consideration of the rights of local/indigenous people; promotion of social harmony; education and awareness of local environmental issues; professional training of unskilled workers; reduction of urban migration
	Promotion of education	Improved accessibility of educational resources (reducing time and energy spent by children in collecting firewood for cooking, having access to electricity to study at night, and supplementing other educational opportunities); donating resources for local education
	Empowerment of women, care of children and the frail	Provision of and improvements in access to education and training for young people and women; enhancement of the position of women and children in society.

Source: UNFCCC

Theoretical Underpinnings

The concept of a green economy has surfaced prominently in recent policy discourse following the 2007/8 to 2011 economic, food, fuel and climate change related crises. To address these multiple crises, world leaders sought a holistic approach that would answer the questions about the sustainability of current economic development models.¹⁰ This comprehensive approach entailed the transformation of economies into green economies to enhance sustainability and eradicate poverty. The design and purpose of the CDM, as stipulated under Article 12 of the Kyoto Protocol, was to provide developing (CDM host) countries with an avenue to enhance sustainable development. According to UNFCCC,¹¹ the CDM projects offer developing countries benefits that include, among others, the transfer of climate and environmentally compatible technologies, improved livelihoods, job creation, increased investments (attracting foreign direct investment) and increased economic activity.

The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)

Being a relatively new concept, the CDM, under the dispensation of a green economy, has not received much publicised attention, especially for Kenya. The studies in place have assessed the benefits of CDM projects in general¹² and looked at the forestry sector and the geothermal sector as a means to greening the economy in Kenya, as well as CDM governance in the country.¹³ This gap in the literature has informed the need for this study to try and bring to light the contribution of the CDM projects to sustainable development in Kenya. The study aims at offering practical guidance to policy makers and state players by assessing the realisation of the benefits of CDM projects as stipulated in the project PDDs.

The CDM is supervised by the CDM Executive Board and supported by various expert working groups and the UNFCCC Secretariat. The CDM Executive Board works under the authority and guidance of the Conference of the Parties,

serving as the Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (COP/MOP) to the UNFCCC (www.unfccc.org). Each CDM project undergoes the 'CDM project cycle' before the Executive Board can issue carbon credits. Licensed auditors (designated operational entities [DOEs]) then validate and verify this information to ensure the projects are additional to 'business-as-usual' scenarios. CDM host governments retain control over individual projects through domestic sectoral regulation and their designated national authority (DNA). The DNAs then issue 'letters of approval' (LoA) to certify a project's contribution to sustainable development as defined by the host country. For the projects to be registered with the UNFCCC, LoAs are required.¹⁴ In Kenya, the NEMA serves as the DNA.

Three common forms of CDM projects exist: carbon sinks, energy efficiency projects, and renewable energy.¹⁵ In as much as the CDM in developed countries has been a hive of activity, there has been strong opposition from experts in developing countries. The experts are of the view that CDM projects sell off low hanging fruit (cheap to implement) CDM projects, while the hosts are forced to invest in more expensive measures to meet their future reduction targets.¹⁶ According to the Institute for Security Studies (ISS),¹⁷ energy efficient CDM projects top the list of the most favoured, as opposed to renewable energy CDM projects from wind, solar, or geothermal energy. The latter set of CDM projects are costly and take longer to realise emission reductions.

Since its inception in 1997, the CDM has experienced rapid growth and has become an immense global market, with 6 755 registered projects as at April 2013.¹⁸ The associated carbon trade market was said to be worth \$84 billion in 2012, with the African continent having received a 2,2 per cent share of total investments in CDM projects. The continent was hosting a mere 149

projects of the total registered CDM projects, of which the majority were in South Africa. Most CDM projects go to bigger developing economies such as China and India as opposed to those in Africa (to the extent that one may be forgiven for thinking of the CDM as the 'China Development Mechanism'). There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon and these are the focus of the following few paragraphs.

China is the world's largest GHG emitter after the United State of America (USA) and the European Union (EU). Nevertheless, the country has received much of the carbon finance and has accounted for 60 per cent of transacted Certified Emission Reductions (CER) volume.¹⁹ This is because countries such as China and India are able to offer buyers of carbon credits low transaction costs and major industrial opportunities as a result of economies of scale. CDM projects of this nature involve emissions-saving technologies or investment in large hydroelectricity projects that 'replace' electricity generated by fossil fuels.²⁰

Schneider and Grashof²¹ point out that CDM projects that involve the destruction of hydrofluorocarbon-23 (HFC-23) in HCFC-22 facilities have very low abatement costs of less than 1 US\$/tCO₂e and hold a very significant share of the CDM. China and India are therefore big hydrochlorofluorocarbon (HCFC) producers and receive significant CER revenue from HFC-23 destruction and nitrous oxide (N₂O) from projects which currently make up 67 per cent of all CERs issued to date.²² These CDM-type projects contribute very little or not at all to sustainable development and, as noted by CDM Watch,²³ credits from projects like these have flooded carbon markets without delivering any development benefits. Such countries are incentivised to artificially increase the production of HFC-23 in order to maximise profits. Since most Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries are

agro-based economies, CDM projects seeking to reduce huge amounts of GHGs are limited.

While CDM projects in renewable energy and other small-scale energy projects have the potential to deliver livelihood benefits to African countries, they are relatively expensive. The equipment cost is significantly high and the revenue from CERs comparatively lower as compared to other project types. Since the CDM is a market and ultimately geared to maximising profits, this project type is therefore less likely to attract the big investors. According to Willis et al., large-scale renewable energy CDM projects have a long operation life and, due to the uncertainty of the future of the Kyoto Protocol, there has been insufficient financial incentives created by CERs from such projects.

Kenya is among the few African countries that have taken up CDM project development seriously. Interest in the CDM and clean renewable energy project development in Kenya stems from the year 2000 when Kenya energy generating company (KenGen) showed interest in obtaining benefits from CDM projects to develop energy resources. In 2005, the country ratified the Kyoto Protocol, a move that facilitated engagement with CDM project development initiatives. To this end, the Kenya National CDM Guidelines were formulated in 2001 and refined through DNA in 2007.²⁴

CDM and trade linkages

Other green economy transition benefits related to CDM projects are brought about by the dual relationship between trade and the CDM. While the CDM may influence trade in various ways, trade may also have effects on the CDM. The CDM has the potential to influence trade as engagement may result in changed trade patterns²⁵ as countries strive to meet the Kyoto Protocol targets whilst addressing climate change. From

the very definition of the CDM, it emerges that, ideally, it is a GHG reduction investment that not only allows for sustainable development in the host country but also allows for trade in CERs between developing and developed countries. The transactions between the host country and the developed country in the CDM resemble global trade. CERs buyers or developed countries avoid reducing emissions in their own country, which would require higher costs and rather opt to buy permits (CERs) from CDM host countries, which is a more cost-effective approach. This is a classic example of comparative advantage.²⁶ With this in mind, the CDM presents developing countries with an opportunity to attract much more trade from developed countries given their CDM potential.

Furthermore, as UNCTAD²⁷ points out, international trade (through CDM projects) presents a good platform for enhancing green economy transition both nationally and at the international level. A country's enhanced access to green technologies is facilitated through trade and the transfer of new environmentally sound technologies and processes can be achieved through openness to trade and investment. In order to bring the potential of global climate change mitigation to fruition through the CDM, the ability of developing countries to diffuse and maintain low-carbon technologies is important. A report by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and UNEP points out that the key factors in achieving sustainability and GHG emissions reductions are financing, technology transfer and cooperation between developing and industrialised countries, aspects covered fairly under the CDM arrangement.²⁸

Another perspective of the CDM trade relationship is the investment aspect, as CDM projects may bring FDI flows. This is because multinational companies (MNCs) perceive new CDM-related business opportunities, including

CERs, as providing a competitive advantage.²⁹ In addition to direct financial benefit, there is the potential of a trickle-down effect in the host country in terms of technical knowledge and additional investment.³⁰ These potential benefits of the CDM to the host country raise expectations and make it a widely welcomed concept among the developing countries. This has led such countries to go further and put in place CDM-related motivations for FDI flow, such as efficient institutional arrangements to promote and process CDM projects, CDM awareness and training programmes.³¹ Although these are not independent determinants of CDM-related FDI flow, they play a great role in attracting CDM investments.

Very importantly, trade may have effects on the CDM. Trade policies designed to address climate change may affect how the CDM is actualised. Examples of such policies are emission trading schemes, promotion of clean technologies and renewable energy.³² Additionally, host countries are free to introduce domestic CDM laws, policies and instruments that help facilitate the implementation of CDM projects. Such policies may include regulations on foreign investment in CDM projects, the types of projects that may be implemented and taxes on CERs.³³ These may have a positive effect on the CDM if, for example, a host country has put in place definite measures to promote clean and low-carbon technologies. Negative effects on the CDM may be as a result of complicated host country requirements on investments and sustainable development criteria. Stringent requirements by host governments for sustainable development may discourage investors and drive them to countries with less stringent CDM project regulations.

Green Economy Pathway

The importance of the green economy concept for African economies was well expressed by delegates to the Seventh African Development Forum in October 2010. They called on African governments to 'prioritize and promote green economy as a vehicle for addressing the challenges of climate change effects on ecosystem sustainability and harnessing the opportunities provided by its vast and diverse ecosystems and natural resources'.³⁴ As this research tries to untangle the intricacies of the CDM and green economy in general, as well as the CDM and Kenya's green economy in particular, it emerges that the concept of sustainable development has been discussed by many researchers. Drawing from UNEP³⁵ the pathway to a green economy can be analysed through action on three fronts: capitalising on natural capital, green industrialisation and creating enabling policies and institutions. Each of these pathways will be discussed in the following sections.

Capitalising on natural capital

Africa's natural resources (capital) are central to social and economic development. Among such natural capital assets are the renewable and non-renewable resources accounting for an estimated 24 per cent of total non-human wealth in SSA.³⁶ This demonstrates huge potential in the gains that could be achieved by expanding investments to enhance natural capital. Bearing in mind that the CDM encompasses renewable energy projects, energy efficiency projects and forestry projects, exploiting the CDM potential in biodiversity-based industries is important. This presents significant benefits to a country and presents opportunities for 'leapfrogging' towards a green and low-carbon

economy. Hence, we expect new investment opportunities that result in the maintenance and rehabilitation of valuable African ecosystems.

Embarking on green industrialisation

According to the World Bank,³⁷ the need for the use of clean energies so as to achieve greater industrial efficiency is imperative. Although the financial and technological challenges for advancing to a green economy are substantial, the presence of massive clean energy potential in Kenya offers a great opportunity for industrial development supported by clean technologies. Remaining locked up in carbon-intensive sectors may undermine future competitiveness, particularly in Africa.³⁸ To this end, the solution lies in promoting green and low carbon development. In this light, the CDM is seen as a vital mechanism in moving to a low-carbon world. Maximising on renewable energy technologies, a fragment of the CDM, enhances energy and resource efficiency and also helps reduce the carbon intensity, that is, the amount of carbon dioxide emitted for each unit of economic output.

Creating enabling policies and institutions

The role of the state in the transition to a green economy cannot be understated. Strengthening regulatory reform is a tool that governments can use to assist in the transition to a green economy.³⁹ A green and low carbon economy transition demands functional institutions in all spheres of government – state, provincial and local – as well as having all key stakeholders participating, including civil society.⁴⁰ The CDM system assigns the DNA in the host country a vital role in assessing the appropriateness of a CDM project. It is the DNA's role to check the suitability of the CDM projects and whether they fulfil the sustainable development requirements of the host country. Research has

revealed that DNAs have limited technical capacity to oversee the sector.⁴¹ The CDM verification processes are found to be highly variable between countries and most only carry out very basic checks according to a broad sustainability matrix and few countries actually check projects in the field⁴² or carry out monitoring and evaluation exercises. As Monceau and Brohe⁴³ observe, most DNAs are found wanting when it comes to promoting sustainable development benefits from CDM projects. This is further asserted by Wolfgang et al.,⁴⁴ who point out that most host countries do not have clear criteria, rather a general list of non-binding guidelines.

Some researchers such as Brunt and Knechtel⁴⁵ argue that the impact assessment of the sustainable development contribution of CDM projects adds to project costs, which host countries may not have. However, Olhoff et al.⁴⁶ are of the view that while the sustainable development assessment does involve some costs, the benefits of well-designed projects are more. Improving capacity, efficiency and transparency of the DNA, therefore, is timely and of great consequence in terms of achieving the expected sustainable development goals.⁴⁷

While the impetus for transforming to a green economy may be overwhelming, certain underlying factors such as financial challenges, lack of adequate technology as well as a lack of political will, hinder its achievement. As UNECA⁴⁸ points out: 'If green investments and growth are to become effective and promoted on a wide scale, barriers to them must be identified and tackled.' Davidson et al.⁴⁹ argue that although there are potential benefits for developing countries through the CDM, key restricting factors, both external and internal to the host country, lie in the way of realising these benefits. Further, owing to the high costs associated with the transaction of CDM projects, as well as the complicated processes,

the CDM market in Africa and other developing countries is limited. Given this scenario, more projects in the voluntary carbon market exist as these are not subjected to the guidelines and rules of the CDM.⁵⁰ However, to date, the CDM continues to expand and is the largest offset mechanism.

How do CDM Projects Contribute to Green Economy?

As previously mentioned in this article, sustainable development is pegged on three dimensions: economic development, social development and environmental protection. These broad areas of sustainable development are operationalised by the DNA to reflect major national developmental objectives. Since the CDM is a project-based mechanism and although a specific project may only contribute marginally towards national sustainable development, positive contribution indicates overall sustainability of a development path for a given economy.⁵¹ Assessing the contribution of CDM projects towards sustainable development and poverty eradication should only be done on a specific project basis.⁵²

According to Sirohi,⁵³ poverty remains a welfare concept that denotes the lack of (economic) resources to sustain the basic demands of life. Considering the green economy's role in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), CDM projects would therefore have to provide employment (to increase income) either directly or on a multiplier effect on a continuing basis outside the CDM project boundary. This requires that the broad sustainable development dimensions should make sense at a project level in order to determine whether specific CDM projects contribute to sustainable development.

On the project level, this means operationalising the broad national sustainable development criteria by the host country by creating indicators representing project-level activities.⁵⁴ These indicators are then used to validate CDM projects individually. To assess a specific CDM project at the time of validation, the project's sustainable development attributes in the PDD are checked against project-level indicators that resonate with the pillars of sustainable development. However, to assess the actual contribution of a CDM project to sustainable development in the host country requires ascertaining the actual contribution through surveys with project participants. This is because the expected contribution of the CDM project may differ from the actual contribution over time.

It is undeniable that if implemented optimally, the CDM concept could bring sustainable development benefits to developing countries in addition to being instrumental in achieving the goals of the Kyoto Protocol. However, a major concern and probably the single most important factor for the successful implementation and actualisation of CDM projects in developing countries such as Kenya is CDM project financing.

As previously mentioned in this article, the premise underlying the CDM was for Annex I Parties (developed countries) or private entities from developed countries to invest and finance emission reduction projects in developing countries in return for CERs from those projects. However, according to Willis et al.,⁵⁵ Annex I Parties normally purchase CERs from such projects on delivery, an element that evades equity to CDM projects. This implies that local project developers must find funds elsewhere. 'Only few transactions follow an investment model whereby a buyer invests either in equity or debt and gets emission reductions as part of the returns.'⁵⁶

In light of the challenges developing countries face, the Nairobi Framework brought together UN agencies and regional organisations to support equitable access to the CDM. These partners and others began funding technical support and capacity-building programmes for the CDM, particularly in Africa.⁵⁷ In this endeavour, several funding options are available to African countries for the sole purpose of funding CDM projects. Kollikho⁵⁸ notes that in Kenya, the Kenya electricity generating company (KenGen) has made tremendous efforts since 2005 in developing its projects through CDM funding and elucidates major constraints that have hampered progress with some of the funds in Kenya. Requirements by certain government funds for KenGen to incur the costs of the whole documentation processes before they could consider the projects in their portfolio translate to rigorous costs for KenGen and, thus, pursuing projects with such funds would not be viable. Kieskamp⁵⁹ further points out that in some cases it is difficult for countries and companies to provide the much needed capital, particularly for CDM projects that involve new and unfamiliar technologies.

Nonetheless, the Kyoto Protocol rules allow for unilateral projects, that is, projects implemented by investors in the host country. This is why, according to UNFCCC,⁶⁰ emission reduction purchase agreements (ERPAs) is the most common kind of arrangement. This is an arrangement whereby a project developer commits to implement an emission reduction project and an Annex 1 entity commits to buying the credit generated by the project at specified prices. Currently, KenGen has signed three ERPAs with the World Bank for three of its projects. According to Michira,⁶¹ the energy sector in Kenya has become a magnet for private investors keen on funding CDM projects,

consequently profiting from the lucrative electricity generation business owing to increased demand versus strained supply. All the facts presented here have a bearing on CDM and the green economy transition in Kenya. Having deliberated at length some of the key issues the article is focusing on, in the next section we will present the findings from the researchers' empirical work.

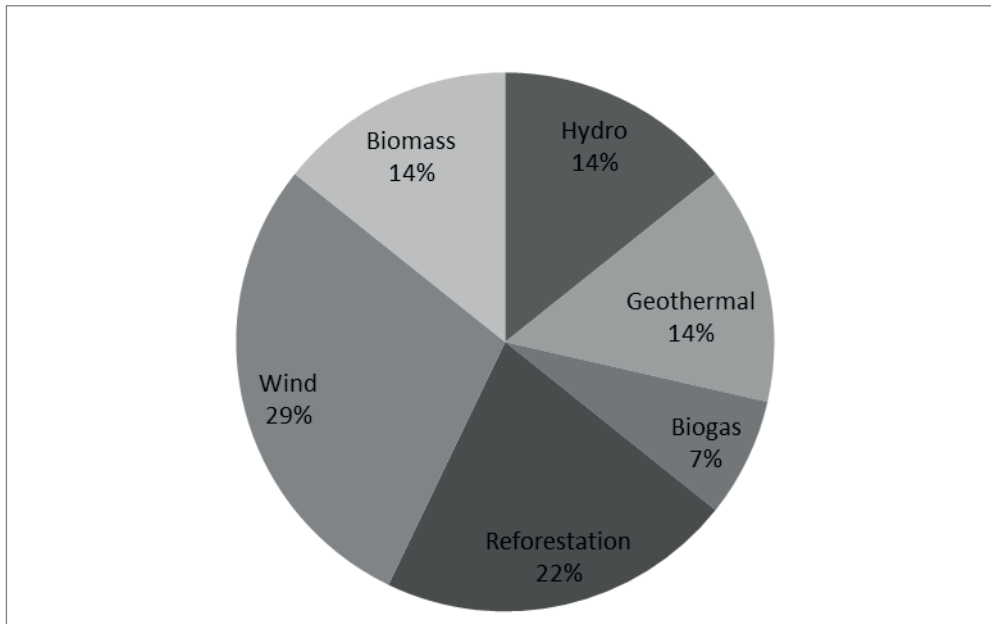
Key Findings

The analysis of the question raised under the methodology section deserves a keen assessment of the PDDs available publicly from the UNFCCC website. The PDDs used in this study represent statements made on registration of the CDM projects and are therefore the expectations of the CDM projects at the time the project is being validated. Table 1, previously discussed under the methodology section of this article presents detailed indicators per each sustainable development criteria. These indicators were used for the analysis of issues in this article. Three indicators per criteria were used to assess each of the projects. This was found to be sufficient since one indicator could adequately cover various benefits claimed in the PDDs. For example, the stimulation of the local economy, including job creation and poverty alleviation, could cover two or more statements made in the PDDs.⁶²

CDM projects in Kenya by CDM project category

The Kenyan scenario captures the diversity of CDM project types, which include biogas, reforestation, biomass, wind, geothermal and hydro projects, as detailed in figure 1. Wind projects take the largest share (29%) of CDM projects followed by reforestation projects at 22 per cent. In

Figure 1: Number of CDM projects in Kenya per category (n = 14)

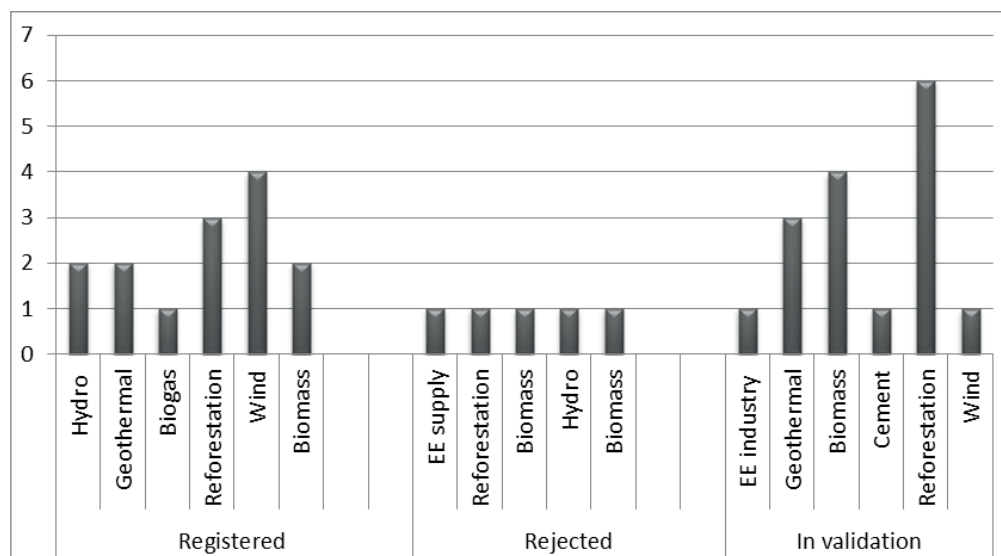


Source: Authors, based on UNEP Risoe CDM/JI Pipeline Analysis and Database, 1 April 2013.

contrast, Alexeew et al.,⁶³ from an assessment of CDM projects in India, found that majority of CDM projects were biomass followed by wind projects. The large share of wind projects in Kenya could be because wind energy is easily converted to electricity and, thus, the development of wind projects in the country would reduce the country's overreliance on its hydro resources which are greatly affected by variance in weather. According to Castro and Michaelowa,⁶⁴ in comparison with other project types, reforestation projects do not require high levels of funding and thus have a relatively shorter planning stage and implementation. In addition, they are all small-scale projects and benefit from the simplified procedures for small-scale projects. This explains why they take a relatively large share of CDM projects in Kenya.

If one looks at Figure 1 in the aggregate, renewable energy projects including geothermal, biomass, hydro and wind projects make up most (71%) of the total projects in Kenya. Much has been documented about the 'unattractiveness' of renewable energy projects to investors as compared to other project types. Willis et al.⁶⁵ observe that investors shy away from renewable projects since the equipment cost and overall transaction cost is significantly higher per emission reduction. Overall, the revenue from CERs is smaller for renewable energy projects than other types of potential CDM projects. This is evidenced by the UNEP Risoe pipeline (as of 2012) where more than half, 69 per cent, of the CDM projects are renewable and they take only 34 per cent of the total CERs. The majority of CERs are from a relatively small number of

Figure 2: CDM projects according to stage of registration in Kenya



Source: Authors, based on UNEP Risoe CDM/JI Pipeline Analysis and Database, 1 April 2013.

industrial chemical projects such as HFC23 and N₂O and this supply affects CER prices. Given the above, it is possible that renewable energy projects may face several difficulties in attracting project finance and the ISS⁶⁶ concludes that due to these facts, energy efficiency projects are generally more in number than renewable energy projects in Africa.

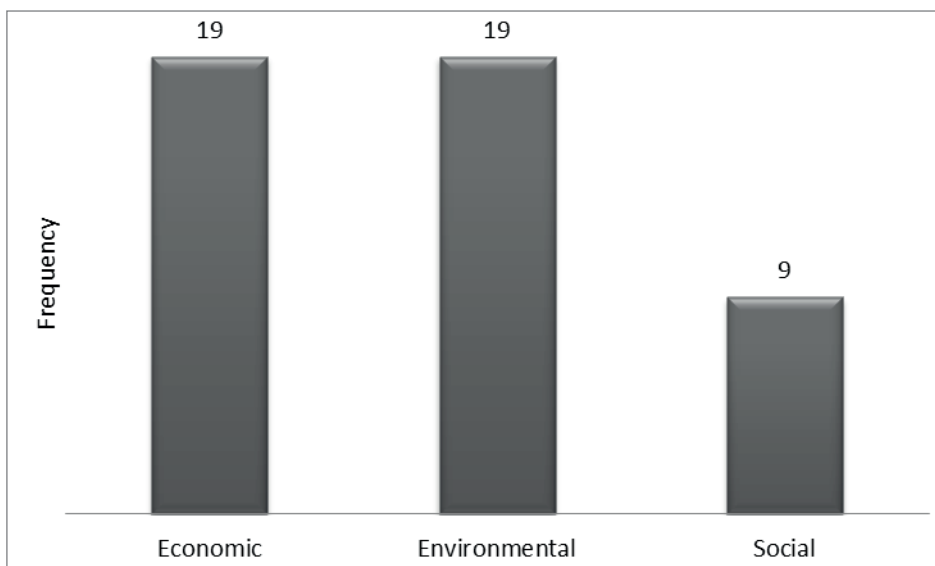
The findings of this research, however, contrast with the above conclusion. The majority (71%) of the registered CDM projects in Kenya, as of April 2013, are renewable energy projects. A plausible explanation for this is that owing to the rising electricity demand that has raced ahead of supply, electricity supply in Kenya is majorly unreliable, with power outages ever so often and therefore the need for alternative sources of power. The trend presented above that the majority of CDM projects in Kenya are renewable projects is further reflected in figure 2 where consideration of both the rejected CDM

projects and those in the validation phase reveals that renewable CDM projects are still higher in number.

Rejected CDM projects do not seem to follow any particular trend and, furthermore, rejection does not appear to be related to project type. In contrast, Castro and Michaelowa⁶⁷ found that rejections are related to project category and type as most rejected projects are energy efficiency projects. In addition, they conclude that project size does not have an effect on the success or rejection of a project. Since this study could not ascertain the sizes of the rejected projects, comparison to previous studies could not be done. From the views of project participants though, some of the reasons for project rejection include withdrawal by the project participants and failure to meet the eligibility criteria put forward by the UNFCCC.

Of those projects still in validation, reforestation projects are the highest. This could

Figure 3: Sustainable development claims by criteria



Source: Authors, based on PDDs registered in Kenya as of April 2013.

either be because of the simplified procedures for small-scale projects or because, as earlier mentioned, such reforestation projects do not require high-level funding as compared to other project types. Certain sectors are absent from the Kenyan CDM pipeline and these include those involving industrial gases, mining, transport and municipal waste management.

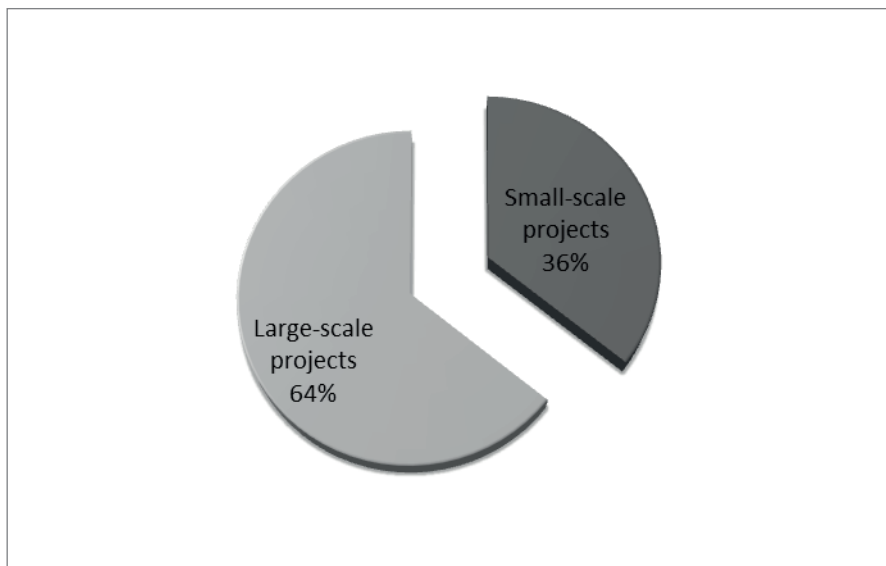
Sustainable development claims by criteria

Checking against the list of indicators in Table 1, the sustainable development claims of the 14 registered CDM projects in Kenya are shown in Figure 3. Generally, all of the sampled fourteen projects make claims to economic and environmental contribution while only a few projects make claims to any social contribution.

Claims of economic and environmental benefits, at 40,4 per cent, far exceed those of

social benefits at 19,1 per cent. In comparison, UNFCCC,⁶⁸ on an analysis of PDDs of 3 864 CDM projects registered and undergoing registration as of June 2012, found that claims of environmental benefits exceeded those of economic benefits, albeit by a small margin, and far exceed social benefits claims. TERI,⁶⁹ from an analysis of 202 PDDs, found that economic benefits were mentioned by most of the projects, social benefits came in next and lastly environmental benefits. By contrast, however, Olsen and Fenhann⁷⁰ found that social benefits were claimed more than economic and environmental benefits. Further analysis of the projects in Kenya reveals that claims to economic and environment contributions are the most prevalent, since most CDM projects list contribution to more than one indicator in the economic and environmental criteria.

Figure 4: Nature of CDM projects in Kenya (n = 14)



Source: Authors, based on PDDs registered in Kenya as of April 2013.

Nature of CDM projects

The nature of CDM projects here refers to whether they are small scale or large scale. This is of great importance since small-scale projects benefit from the simplified modalities and procedures for small-scale CDM project activities. A look at the composition would therefore inform the research on whether the simplified modalities and procedures act as an incentive for the growth in number of small CDM projects in Kenya. Figure 4 represents the results.

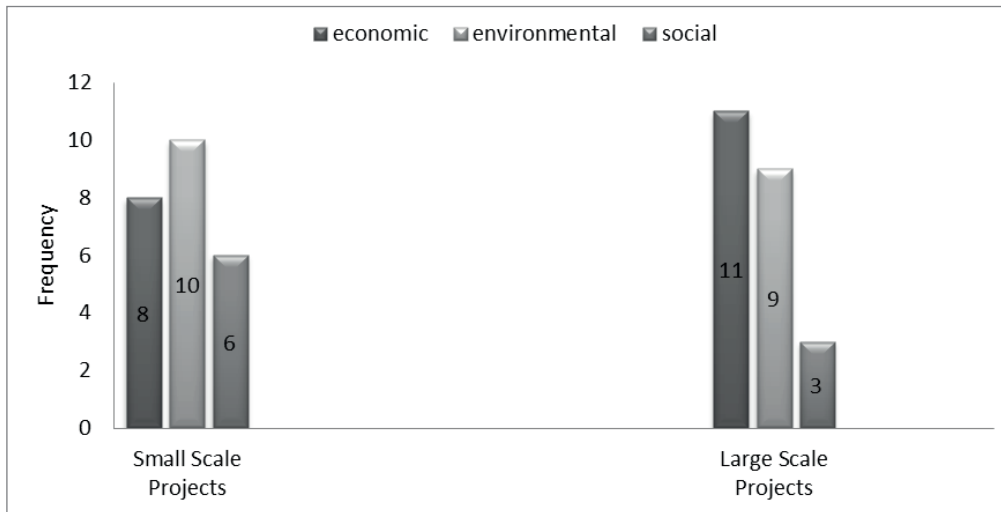
Large-scale projects comprise a larger percentage (64%) of total projects as compared to 36 per cent for small-scale projects in Kenya. The simplified modalities and procedures for small-scale CDM project activities can therefore be concluded to influence in some way the number of small-scale projects in Kenya albeit not by a large number. The project size and project type are linked to some extent

as evidenced from the UNEP-Risoe database; the small-scale projects consist of reforestation, biomass and biogas projects, while the large-scale projects include hydro, wind and geothermal. It can be concluded that project scale does to some extent serve as an indicator for project type.

A major factor that determines the scale of a CDM project is the transaction costs.⁷¹ As previously mentioned in this study, the transaction costs of large-scale projects, unlike small-scale projects, are just a small fraction of the total project cost and thus these types of project are more economically attractive for foreign investors when accruing CERs will lead to a profit. This could help explain the scenario in Kenya where large-scale CDM projects take a larger share than small scale projects.

A further analysis of the sustainable development claims in the PDDs according to project

Figure 5: Sustainability claims according to project size (n = 14)



Source: Authors, based on PDDs registered in Kenya as of April 2013.

size (figure 5) was conducted. While social benefits are claimed the least by both project size categories in figure 5, small-scale projects claimed more social benefits than large-scale projects. This seems to be in agreement with researchers such as Yap⁷² and Subbarao,⁷³ who claim that small-scale CDM projects are most likely to contribute to sustainable development and especially social benefits for the poor. Large-scale projects seem to focus mainly on economic benefits as they are found to make more economic claims than small-scale projects.

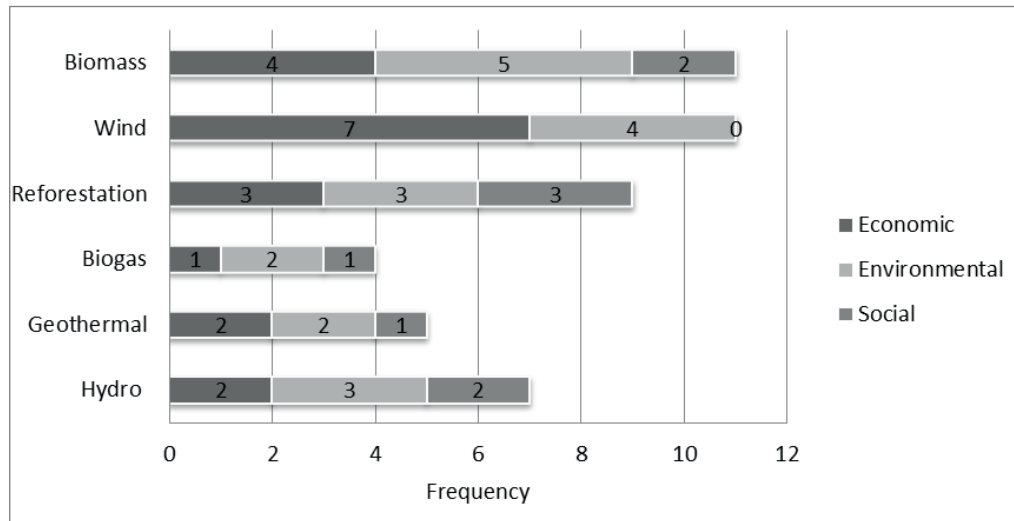
Small-scale projects, on the other hand, claim more environmental benefits. In comparison, Olsen and Fenhann⁷⁴ found that small-scale projects tend to deliver more economic and social benefits while large-scale projects deliver more 'other benefits' and environmental benefits. In the aggregate, small-scale projects claim the most sustainable development

benefits and this is in agreement with the general observation from literature.⁷⁵

Sustainable development claims by project type

Biomass and wind projects make the most claims to sustainable development indicators. While wind projects make the most number of claims, they make no claim to social criterion benefits. All the other CDM project types make claim to all the three sustainable development criteria benefits (figure 6). Renewable energy projects, which include biomass, wind, hydro, biogas and geothermal, is the category with the most sustainable development benefits. In comparison, Olsen and Fenhann⁷⁶ found that wind and hydro projects make most claims to sustainable development contribution. Similarly, Alexeew et al.⁷⁷ found that biomass, hydro and wind projects make on average higher contributions to sustainable development and make claim to all sustainable development

Figure 6: Sustainable development claims by project type (n=14)



Source: Authors, based on PDDs registered in Kenya as of April 2013

dimensions. In contrast, Olsen and Fenhann⁷⁸ found that CH₄ reduction, and especially cement projects, was the category with high sustainable development benefits and not renewable energy projects.

Wind projects claim the most economic benefits. This confirms the observation in the literature that large-scale projects such as wind projects are usually located in the best sites to take advantage of available resources and thus are more economically advantageous. Biomass projects claim the most environmental benefits. However, under the social criterion reforestation projects claim the most benefits and this observation further speaks to the earlier mentioned conclusion that small-scale projects claim more social criterion benefits.

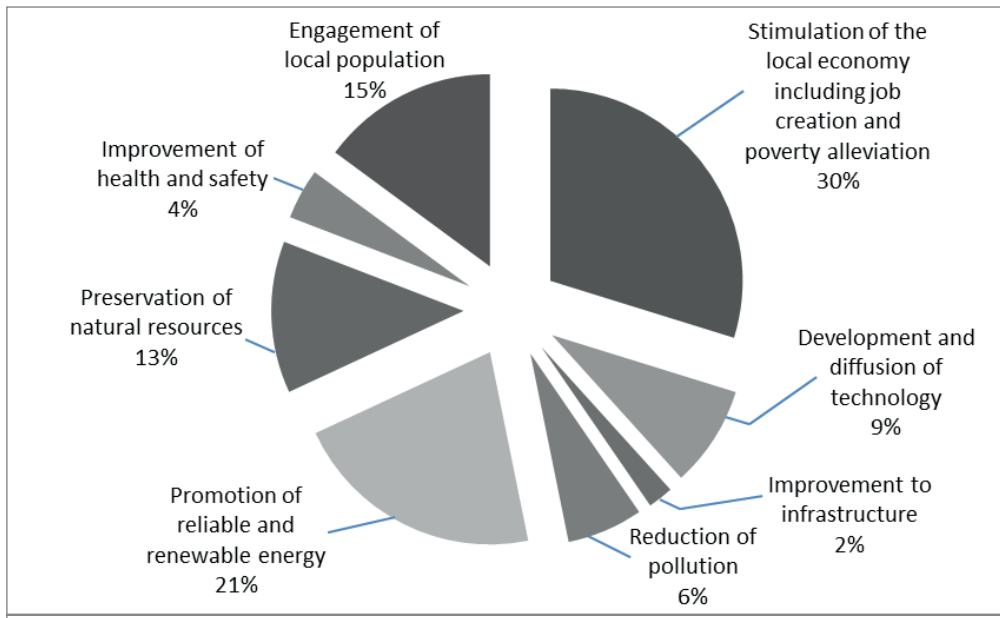
Sustainable development claims by indicator

In their PDDs, all CDM projects cited local economy stimulation, job creation and poverty

alleviation as an indicator and this covered 30 per cent of the indicators mentioned. The high percentage may point towards the relative emphasis on the different aspects of sustainable development that project developers make (figure 7). Promotion of reliable and renewable energy (21%) came in next as the second most cited claim. This observation cements the conclusion by UNFCCC⁷⁹ that similar projects tend to claim similar sustainable development contributions. This is keeping in mind that most of the CDM projects in Kenya are renewable energy projects.

Engagement of the local population was third at 15 per cent. In comparison, the UNFCCC⁸⁰ found that stimulation of the local economy, including job creation and poverty alleviation (29%), was the most claimed benefit, reduction of pollution (22%) was next and promotion of renewable energy (19%) was third. Although the indicators used by different

Figure 7: Sustainable development claims by Indicator (n=14)



Source: Authors, based on PDDs registered in Kenya as of April 2013

researchers differ, Olsen and Fenhann⁸¹ found that the most claimed benefit is employment generation followed by economic growth contribution and, lastly, improved air quality. The TERI⁸² found that improved local quality of life and employment generation were the indicators that were most mentioned.

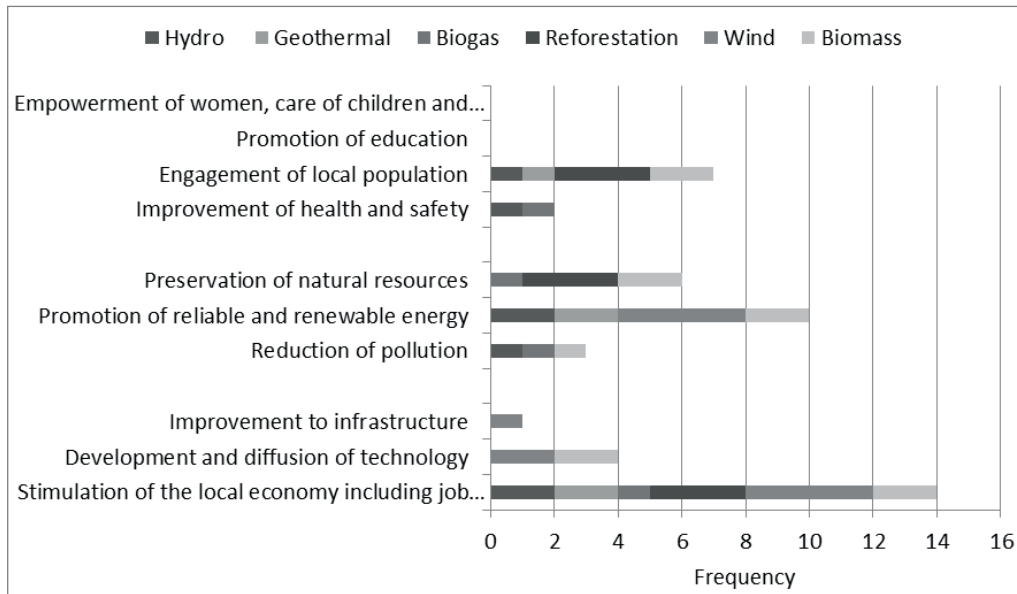
Reduction of pollution was among the least cited claims, with only 6 per cent of the projects claiming this benefit. Moreover, only 9 per cent of the projects claimed development and diffusion of technology. Olsen and Fenhann (2008) and the TERI⁸⁵ note that technology transfer is not a mandatory requirement for CDM projects and this may explain why only very few projects cite it as a benefit. In comparison, infrastructure creation was claimed by 59.4 per cent of the 202 CDM project sample used by the TERI. However, in the aggregate, indicators

under the environment and economic criteria were cited equally and this was because most CDM projects cited more than one indicator. Social indicators were the least cited.

Sustainable development claims by project category

Figure 8 shows the sustainable development indicators mentioned by different CDM project types. The most outstanding benefit claimed by all types of project, as previously mentioned in this article, is simulation of the local economy through job creation and poverty alleviation. Although the percentages differ, the UNFCCC⁸⁴, and Olsen and Fenhann⁸⁵ found similar results. This trend reveals that project developers place more emphasis on economic contribution of the projects than other criteria. This indicator is mentioned most by wind projects and,

Figure 8: Sustainable development claims by indicator per project type (n = 14)



Source: Authors, based on PDDs registered in Kenya as of April 2013.

in comparison, the UNFCCC⁸⁶ found that HFC projects make most claims to this indicator followed by wind projects.

Under the environmental criterion, the most claimed indicator is promotion of reliable and renewable energy. All project types except biogas and reforestation projects make claim to this indicator and this feeds into the theory that the need for alternative sources of energy in Kenya drives the need for renewable energy projects. Wind projects, on the other hand, claim improvement to infrastructure and technology transfer, indicators that are not claimed by other project types except biomass, which claims technology transfer. In comparison, the UNFCCC⁸⁷ found that technology transfer was claimed by all project types, with higher percentages being claimed by geothermal and relatively high percentages by biomass and wind projects. Hydro and reforestation projects claimed lower

percentages of technology transfer, while biogas and hydro projects are the only ones that claim both improvement of health and safety and reduction of pollution indicators.

The most claimed social indicator is engagement of the local population. Reforestation projects mention the formation of constituency community associations which are granted exclusive forest-user rights to all non-wood forest products and also offer income generation through tree seedlings. In comparison, the UNFCCC⁸⁸ found that health and safety was claimed the most followed by engagement of local population. None of the project types make claims to empowerment of children and promotion of education. This is partly due to the gender specificity of the indicators towards women and children.

All projects claim all the indicators in each sustainable development criterion, except wind

projects which do not cite any social benefits. In contrast, Alexeev et al.⁸⁹ found that wind projects contribute to a significant extent to all dimensions including social benefits. Of all the 14 CDM projects analysed, wind projects take the largest share (29%) and reforestation projects come second at 22 per cent. Probable explanations for this could be that, firstly, wind energy is easily converted to electricity and the development of wind projects in the country would reduce the country's overreliance on its hydro resources, which are greatly affected by variance in weather. Secondly, all the reforestation projects are small scale and therefore benefit from the simplified procedures for small-scale projects.

The most claimed indicator by all the CDM projects is local economy stimulation, job creation and poverty alleviation and this represents 30 per cent of the indicators mentioned. The high percentage may point towards the relative emphasis on the economic prong of sustainable development that CDM project developers make. Promotion of reliable and renewable energy (21%) came in next as the second most cited claim. This observation cements the conclusion by the UNFCCC⁹⁰ that similar projects tend to claim similar sustainable development contributions. This is keeping in mind that most of the CDM projects in Kenya are renewable energy projects.

Under the environmental criterion, the most claimed indicator is promotion of reliable and renewable energy. All project types except biogas and reforestation projects make claim to this indicator and this feeds into the theory that the need for alternative sources of energy in Kenya drives the need for CDM projects that provide renewable energy.

Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, the focus of the article was to evaluate the impact of the CDM on Kenya's green economy transition. In general, renewable energy projects including geothermal, biomass, hydro and wind projects make up most (71%) of the total projects in Kenya. This conclusion contradicts observations by previous researchers that renewable projects are less attractive to investors since the equipment costs and overall transaction costs are significantly higher per emission reduction. A plausible explanation for renewable CDM projects in Kenya being in the majority is that electricity supply in Kenya is majorly unreliable, thus creating the need for alternative sources of power. Of the CDM projects in Kenya, large-scale projects make up 64 per cent, while small-scale projects make up only 36 per cent. Two conclusions for this observation are made. Firstly, the transaction costs of large-scale projects, unlike small-scale projects, comprise just a small fraction of the total project cost and, thus, large-scale projects are more economically attractive for foreign investors where accruing CERs will lead to a profit. Secondly, the simplified procedures for small-scale projects play a big role in encouraging the development of small-scale CDM projects in Kenya. When the project size and project type are considered, the small-scale projects consist of reforestation, biomass and biogas projects, while the large-scale projects include hydro, wind and geothermal.

This study concludes that project scale does to a large extent serve as an indicator for project type in Kenya. Small-scale projects made a slightly higher number of sustainable development claims and especially social claims as compared to large-scale projects. Of all the projects, renewable energy projects made claim to the most sustainable development indicators.

The most claimed indicator was local economy stimulation, job creation and poverty alleviation (30%) followed by promotion of reliable and renewable energy (21%) with engagement of the local population in third place at 15 per cent. This study concludes that CDM project developers, particularly of large-scale projects, pay more attention to the economic dimension of sustainable development compared to the other two sustainable development dimensions. In addition, similar projects make claim to similar sustainable development contributions and, therefore, the fact that renewable energy projects are the largest project type explains why

'promotion of reliable and renewable energy' is the second most cited claim. Reduction of pollution was among the least cited claim with only six per cent of the projects making this claim and only nine per cent of the projects claiming development and diffusion of technology.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the TRAPCA and Exxaro Resources Limited for sponsoring the research which led to the publication of this article.

Notes and References

- United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD), 2012. *The future we want*. Available at https://rio20.un.org/sites/rio20.un.org/files/a-conf.2161-1_english.pdf [Accessed on 5 June 2013].
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), 2011. *Economic report on Africa 2011: Governing development in Africa – the role of the state in economic transformation*. Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa.
- Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2011. *Carbon trading in Africa: A critical review*. Monograph No. 184. Available at <http://www.issafrica.org/pgcontent.php?UID=31241%2633> [Accessed on 12 October 2012].
- UNCSD, 2012, op. cit.
- Ibid, p. 10.
- Government of Kenya, 2007. *Kenya Vision 2030: A globally competitive and prosperous Kenya*, Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- UNCSD, 2012, op. cit.
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 2010. *The contribution of the Clean Development Mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol to technology transfer*. Bonn: UNFCCC Secretariat.
- UNFCCC, 2012. *Benefits of the Clean Development Mechanism 2012*. Bonn: UNFCCC, p. 15.
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2011. *Towards a green economy: Pathways to sustainable development and poverty eradication – A synthesis for policy makers*. Nairobi: UNEP.
- UNFCCC, op. cit.
- Mutia, T.M., 2010. *CDM projections for Kenya: Towards a green geothermal economy – The case of Olkaria and Menengai Geothermal Power Plants*. Available at <http://www.os.is/gogn/unu-gtp-report/UNU-GTP-2010-21.pdf> [Accessed on 20 October 2012].
- Hoch, S., 2012. *Can carbon credits help Kenya to become green? The relevance of CDM for Kenya*, Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Stiftung East and Horn of Africa.
- Hoch, op. cit.
- UNFCCC, op. cit.
- Castro, P., 2010. *Climate change mitigation in advanced developing countries: Empirical analysis of the low-hanging fruit issue in the current CDM*. Zurich: University of Zurich, Centre for Comparative and International Studies.
- ISS, op. cit.
- UNEP Risoe database 2013.
- ISS, op. cit.
- Ibid.
- Schneider, L. and Grashof, K., 2007. *Capacity development for the Clean Development Mechanism: Lessons learned in Ghana, India, Indonesia, South Africa and Tunisia*. Postfach: GTZ Climate Protection Programme.
- World Bank, 2011. *State and trends of the global carbon market*. Washington DC: World Bank Carbon Finance.
- CDMwatch, 2011. A compilation of our writings and activities at COP 17. United Nations Climate Conference 2011, Durban, South Africa. Available at <http://www.carbonmarketwatch.org/wp.../01/CDMWatch-at-COP-17sm21.pdf> [Accessed 13 January 2013].
- Mutia, op. cit.
- Ogalo, V. and Mungai, O., 2012. *Agriculture, climate and trade linkages in EAC*. Geneva: CUTS International.
- Wang, H. and Firestone, J., 2010. *Evaluating CDM distribution using an international trade framework*. Brussels: European Climate Platform (ECP).
- UNCTAD, 2011. *The green economy: Trade and sustainable development implications*. Geneva: UNCTAD.
- WTO-UNEP, 2009. *Trade and climate change: A report by the United Nations Environmental Programme and the World Trade Organization*. Nairobi/Geneva: WTO-UNEP.
- Saner, R., 2005. *Hype or reality: Can the CDM trigger FDI?* European Climate

- Policy Research Seminars Report #2. Brussels: European Climate Platform (ECP).
- 30 Davidson, S., Muir, J. and Quinlivan, P., 2011. *Effective capacity building in Kenya: Re-thinking the CDM finance approach*. Available at http://www.gak.co.ke/nibs/web_resources/EFFECTIVE%20CAPACITY%20BUILDING%20IN%20KENYA-%20RE-THINKING%20THE%20CDM%20FINANCE%20APPROACH.pdf [Accessed 10 October 2013].
- 31 Saner, op. cit.
- 32 Derksen, S. and Jegou, I., 2011. *The trade and climate change linkages*. ICTSD Global Platform on Climate Change, Trade and Sustainable Energy. Available at http://ictsd.org/downloads/2011/05/trade_climate_change_brief_for_unfccc-secretariat-final.pdf [Accessed 1 October 2013].
- 33 Curnow, P. and Hodes, G., 2009. *Implementing CDM projects: A guidebook to host country legal issues*. Roskilde: UNEP Risoe Centre.
- 34 UNECA, AfDB and AUC, 2010. *Seventh African Development Forum: Acting on Climate Change for Sustainable Development in Africa*. ADF VII, 10–15 October 2010, United Nations Conference Centre. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- 35 UNEP, op. cit.
- 36 World Bank, 2006. *Where is the wealth of nations? Measuring capital for the 21st century*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 UNECA, op. cit.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 UNCSO, 2012, op. cit.
- 41 Olsen, K. and Fenhann, J., 2008. Sustainable development benefits of Clean Development Mechanism projects: A new methodology for sustainability assessment based on text analysis of the project design documents submitted for validation. *Energy Policy*, 36(8), pp. 2819–2830.
- 42 World Bank, op. cit.
- 43 Monceau, T. and Brohe, A., 2011. *Sustainable development and social equity*. Briefing Paper 1. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS).
- 44 Wolfgang, S., Rudolph, F., Arens, C., Eichhorst, U., Kiyar, D., Wang-Helmreich, H. and Swiderski, M., 2009. *Further development of the project-based mechanisms in a post-2012 regime*. Postfach: Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety.
- 45 Brunt, C. and Knechtel, A., 2005. *Delivering sustainable development benefits through the Clean Development Mechanism: A background paper for the COP-11 side event: Promoting the developmental benefits of the CDM: An African case study*. Poznan: The Pembina Institute.
- 46 Olhoff, A., Markandya, A., Halsnaes, K. and Taylor, T., n.d. *CDM sustainable development impacts*. Available at <http://cd4cdm.org/publications/cdm%20sustainable%20development%20impacts.pdf> [Accessed on 6 August 2012].
- 47 UNECA, op. cit.
- 48 Ibid., p. 70.
- 49 Davidson et al., op. cit.
- 50 Africa Biodiversity Network, Biofuelwatch, Carbon Trade Watch, The Gaia Foundation and Timberwatch Coalition, 2011. *The CDM and Africa: Marketing a new land grab*. Available at http://www.africanbiodiversity.org/system/files/PDFs/CDM%20Report_Feb2011_lowres.pdf [Accessed on 17 December 2012].
- 51 Olhoff et al., op. cit.
- 52 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 53 Sirohi, S., 2007. Is it a 'win-win' strategy for rural poverty alleviation in India? *Climatic Change*, 84, pp. 91–110.
- 54 Olhoff et al., op. cit.
- 55 Willis, M., Wilder, M. and Curnow, P., 2006. *The Clean Development Mechanism: Special considerations for renewable energy projects*. Pre-publication draft. New Haven, CT: Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies.
- 56 Gonzalves, J., 2006. *An assessment of projects on the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) in India*. Geneva: UNCTAD, p. 14. Available at http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditcted20065_en.pdf [Accessed on 5 September 2012].
- 57 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 58 Kolkho, P., 2010. *CDM financing for future geothermal projects in Kenya*. Presented at Short Course V on Exploration for Geothermal Resources, organised by UNU-GTP, GDC and KenGen, at Lake Bogoria and Lake Naivasha, Kenya, 29 October–19 November.
- 59 Kieskamp, P., 2010. *CDM project financing*. REACH Program, Asian Development Bank. Available at <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/22051881/CDM-project-financing> [Accessed on 4 July 2013].
- 60 UNFCCC, op. cit., pp. 2–12.
- 61 Michira, M., 2012. Kenyatta kin in Sh 11 Bn Ngong wind energy plan. *Business Daily*, 21 October. Available at <http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/Kenyatta-kin-in-Sh11bn-Ngong-wind-energy-plan--/-/539552/1538484/-/item/0/-/9k3y1k/-/index.html> [Accessed on 30 April 2013].
- 62 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 63 Alexeev, J., Bergset, L., Meyer, K., Petersen, J., Schneider, L. and Unger, C., 2010. An analysis of the relationship between the additionality of CDM projects and their contribution to sustainable development. *International Environmental Agreements*, 10, pp. 233–248.
- 64 Castro, P. and Michaelowa, A., 2008. *Empirical analysis of performance of CDM projects*. Available at <http://www.climatestrategies.org/research/our-reports/category/39/138.html> [Accessed on 17 May 2013].
- 65 Willis et al., op. cit.
- 66 ISS, op. cit.
- 67 Castro and Michaelowa, op. cit.
- 68 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 69 The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI), 2012. *Assessing the impact of the Clean Development Mechanism on sustainable development and technology transfer*. New Delhi: TERI.
- 70 Olsen and Fenhann, 2008, op. cit.
- 71 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 72 Yap, R., 2000. *Overview of CDM small scale projects*. Manila: Climate Change Information Centre, Available at <http://www.cd4cdm.org> [Accessed 5 February 2013].

- 73 Subbarao, S., 2010. *Renewable energy projects under the Clean Development Mechanism*. Otago: University of Otago.
- 74 Olsen, K. and Fenhann, J., 2006. *Sustainable development benefits of clean development projects*. CD4CDM Working Paper No. 2. Roskilde: UNEP Risoe.
- 75 Olsen and Fenhann, 2008, op. cit.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Alexeew et al., op. cit.
- 78 Olsen and Fenhann, 2008, op. cit.
- 79 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Olsen and Fenhann, 2008, op. cit.
- 82 TERI, op. cit.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 85 Olsen and Fenhann, 2008, op. cit.
- 86 UNFCCC, op. cit.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Alexeew et al., op. cit.
- 90 UNFCCC, op. cit.

What Constrains Effective Public Financial Management in African Democracies?

A Preliminary Analysis

While the management of the area of public finance is highly legislated, the waste with which these resources slip through the public coffers remains a paradox. The purpose of this article is to examine the five self-reinforcing variables that are mostly fingered for this dilemma. These are (i) public finance as a political process; (ii) parameters for open and orderly public finance management dispensation (spread across the three branches or spheres of government); (iii) the impact on socioeconomic costs and benefits of revenue collection and expenditure; (iv) the complexity of public finance with its interrelated subsystems; and (v) poorly organised citizenry and weak civil society organisations which cannot demand accountability. These are major obstacles to effective public financial management.

**Benon C Basheka
Kedibone Phago**

Benon Basheka is dean of Business and Management at the Uganda Technology and Management University in Kampala, Uganda.

Kedibone Phago is professor of Public Administration and head of department of the Master of Public Administration programme at the University of Limpopo in Polokwane, South Africa..

Introduction

In the over 200 nations of the world today, developed or developing, poor or rich, democratic or dictatorial, adequate finances are needed to deliver a whole range of public services. All governments collect taxes from citizens in a sufficient and appropriate manner and should use those resources responsively for the benefit of all citizens. Citizens in every country expect good governments. Good governments in a democracy address the needs of their citizens by delivering a range of expected public services such as roads and infrastructure, health services, water and sanitation and national defence and protecting the life and property of the citizens. The national budget remains the main instrument through which these transactions are planned and implemented. Accordingly, countries need to create sustainable sources of revenue that will make service delivery predictable.¹

The Auditor General has a constitutional mandate to report directly to legislature which is the representative institution of the citizens. The Parliamentary Accounts Committee, local government accounts committees and other accountability committees expect reports from all accounting officers as a mechanism for promoting financial and administrative

accountability. In any country, effective public financial management (PFMA) systems should entail strategies for the prudent management of revenues as well as expenditures. The South African Public Finance Management (PFMA) Act 1 of 1999 and the Division of Revenue Act 5 of 2012, as well as regularly updated Treasury Regulations, are among the much hailed legislative interventions. This is because they seek to govern revenue, address equitable distribution among the different spheres of government, and curtail fruitless expenditure.^{2,3}

The management of government finances remains an area with substantial leakages of public resources.⁴ In this regard, African democracies demonstrate an uneasy case due to a multiplicity of factors that this article undertakes to explore in detail in subsequent sections. These factors are: (i) public finance as a political process; (ii) parameters for open and orderly public finance management dispensation (spread across the three branches or spheres of government); (iii) impact on socioeconomic costs and benefits of revenue collection and expenditure; (iv) complexity of public finance with its interrelated subsystems; and (v) poorly organised citizenry and weak civil society organisations (CSOs) which cannot demand accountability as major obstacles to effective PFMA.

Paradoxically, governments as agents of the citizens who are part of constituting a state often claim to have established institutions to manage public finances effectively. However, these institutions in African states are perpetually at fault as the amount of public resource leakage remains unacceptably high. This is usually seen through the auditor-generals' reports which have been scathing and condemning of governments' handling of public finances. These audit reports have been clear on issues of corruption and fruitless expenditure

patterns, among other things. Elected leaders who ought to be stewards of public resources have equally done a poor job and so are their 'counterparts in crime' – the administrators who receive monthly salaries from taxpayers' moneys. The blame list would also not exclude the citizens themselves and CSOs that appear to have only increased their apathetic attitude as a result of lost faith and confidence in their own governments. In the majority of countries they cannot demand accountability from the political and elected leaders on how their taxes are being spent. Yet, PFMA remains an absolutely critical administrative function that holds the key to improving the quality of public services which benefit all the citizens.

Hughes⁵ rightly demonstrates that financial management involves, arguably, the most important part of the internal management of government. By its nature, public finance involves the spending of someone else's money by some officials with such responsibilities entrusted to them. The money belongs to the public and those who run the government are only doing so on trust in a principal-agent relationship. In democratic countries, the elected have an opportunity to run the government as agents on behalf of the citizens.⁶ African governments accordingly act as agents of the citizens who are the principals. The principals elect their representatives who ought to act in the best interests of the citizens. They must therefore be accountable and accessible in performing their duties.

Prakash and Cabezon⁷ conclude that PFMA is a critical instrument in the implementation of economic policy and it works by influencing the allocation and use of public resources through the budget and through fiscal policy. Therefore, these authors assert that the need for a well-functioning PFMA system is of critical importance. Such a system should ensure

that funds are used productively in a transparent and efficient manner. Most 'democratically elected' African governments continue to have deep wounds in their public service agenda caused by the opportunistic behaviour of individuals entrusted to manage the public purse. Politicians and their technical 'managers' or administrators are often involved in this type of opportunistic behaviour, which mainly benefits individuals rather than society at large.

The problems that stand in the way of effective financial stewardship must be pinned down in a scholarly manner to enable intellectual discourse and the generation of strategies to address them. This article first takes a preliminary shot at some of the existing situations to interrogate the question of poor financial stewardship. Democracies with weak PFMA systems do not observe the fundamentals of good governance inclusive of the PFMA arena. For instance, while such democracies may have a single treasury account or a consolidated fund for government monies, such arrangements are not properly enforced. Instead, this poor enforcement often results in multiple agencies and individuals operating bank accounts outside the established procedures. In weak systems, resources may be used for purposes other than those authorised by law.⁸ The executive may prove to be more powerful than the legislature on PFMA and yet, in a democracy, parliament is required to hold the original mandate on such matters of public finance. This article is an attempt to answer a basic research question on these public finance management intricacies, namely, what are the factors constraining the effective management of government finances in African democracies?

In limiting our analysis to African democracies we recognise the uniqueness and common elements among the African countries which shape the environment of PFMA. Given the

dearth of research on the determinants of effective PFMA in developing countries, the case of Africa provides an appropriate template. In this article, we first briefly explore the literature on PFMA to provide an appropriate theoretical framework for our analysis. In the next section we then examine the state of PFMA in Africa. This is primarily done through the use of the findings from the Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA) assessment reports whose overall analysis indeed paints a bleak picture of PFMA. The article then discusses the constraints to effective financial management, a debate that is conducted on five key factors that are most fingered. We then make suggestions on what needs to be done to address the challenges that stand in the way of effective PFMA in African democracies before the article gives concluding remarks and suggestions for future empirical research.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The objectives of effective PFMA include proper planning and budgeting for public income and expenditure, effective and efficient administration of government revenues, proper use of budget resources, effective control of public expenditure, accounting and reporting on public finance and full accountability for all public spending.⁹ These objectives have to be contextualised specifically to a democratic society. Gildenhuis¹⁰ highlights critical democratic principles that should guide any effective PFMA in a democracy. The principles include (i) reasonableness and equitability; (ii) optimal utilisation of public resources; (iii) participation (direct or indirect); and (iv) tax consent and reasonable distribution of the tax burden. It should also include (v) the provisions that

only the collective body of elected politicians has the authority to introduce taxes, to collect them and to decide how and on what they shall be spent; (vi) the responsibility and accountability of the elected officials to the taxpayers; (iv) sensitivity and responsiveness; (viii) efficient and effective programme execution by the executive; (ix) social equity (which addresses itself to two important questions, namely, how more and better services can be supplied and how the same quality services can be supplied at a lower cost). Finally, it is the principle of (x) openness, which demands that PFM and administration take place in public and not under the cover of secrecy or so-called confidentiality. This principle requires that accounts be given in public of all financial transactions.

The literature is clear that good governance reforms have been an important theme in the majority of African countries. Of these reforms, PFMA reforms were part. Driven by the agenda drawn up by the development partners, PFMA reforms are aimed at creating an effective PFMA system. Schick¹¹ is convinced that for public management reform to be successful, an amalgam of opportunity, strategy and tactics is needed. Mhone¹² demonstrates that the stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes which preached the need to promote procedural rationality in terms of economic, social and political outcomes only demonstrated the superiority of market forces in the efficient allocation of resources. Accordingly, the need to roll back and deregulate a number of controlled activities was justified. A number of home-grown opportunities were neglected in the majority of countries and this significantly contributed to the failure of the reforms.

While Folscher and Cole¹³ later maintained that fiscal discipline had been achieved and allocative efficiency improved through some reforms, they equally admitted that efficiency

concerns at the operational level remained problematic. Wildeman and Jogo¹⁴ have recently reported that the success of governments in achieving fiscal discipline varied in a number of aspects. These aspects include the development of three-year rolling budgets, the synchronisation of fiscal and monetary policy, and the establishment of intergovernmental fora where political and administrative consensus was sought on key financing issues. However, Schiavo-Campo¹⁵ remains less convinced of the success of other financial reforms like the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) implementations. Further, 'the lesson from the discouraging MTEF experience so far is certainly not to forget the need for a medium-term perspective for the annual budget, but to re-size, redefine and reformulate the MTEF approach in a manner suitable to the possibilities and constraints of the different countries'.

Hughes,¹⁶ in his extensive analysis of the subject, demonstrates that reform in PFMA has been one of the keys to overall public management reform. In countries that implemented this well, the financial reforms have worked best. This implies that countries that did not implement them well did not see any benefits. The African countries seem to have got the implementation of the reforms wrong. It is in this context that Peterson,¹⁷ for example, doubts any successful reform in an African context. However, a close evaluation of his arguments points to his satisfaction with the successful Ethiopian example of PFMA reforms in Africa which is a country that could fit what Hughes refers to. He uses the plateau metaphor to illustrate one of the principal causes of the failure of public sector and PFMA reforms in Africa – the focus on summits of sophisticated techniques (international best practice) rather than improving the bedrock of plateaus – basic systems and their execution (appropriate to locale). He

concludes that many PFMA reforms in Africa have been akin to the attempts of climbers to summit high altitude peaks. Few make it, and those that manage to do not stay long, and most fatalities occur in the descent. His view is that, in recent years, financial summits in Africa have included several techniques that governments and their technical advisors have slipped on – MTEFs, performance/programme budgeting, integrated financial management information systems, accrual accounting, and business process reengineering, to name just a few.

From a democratic point of argument, and at an abstract level, it is useful to think of those working in an organisation as the ‘agents’ of a ‘principal’ who is responsible for setting the goals of the organisation. The ‘problem’ arises because, first, the agent’s own objectives differ from the principal’s and, second, the agent has more information than the principal about how far it is possible for the principal’s goals to be met.¹⁸ Agents delivering public services may be answerable, financially or otherwise, to multiple principals. The ideas by Ajam and Aron¹⁹ are of relevance at this juncture. The authors contend that an improvement in the quality of services that the government needs to deliver is crucial to maintain the impressive fiscal stability gains at the macro level. On a broader level, once there is fiscal stability, the satisfaction of the citizens as a result of improved services is the likely outcome. This, however, depends on how the agents decide to use the fiscal resources.

One of the main pillars of a PFMA system is that all government money should flow into a single holding source, such as a government account held in the central bank.²⁰ Constitutionally, in the majority of democracies it is clear that no public revenue collecting

agency or individual should retain the money beyond a certain period, and most countries have rules about remitting public monies within a certain time into the account of the government. The establishment of a single treasury account, the authors argue, is a central feature of almost all developed economies but applies to African democracies as well. No agency or individual outside the government or without the approval of the Ministry of Finance is allowed to operate any bank account on behalf of the government. Similarly, all payment and commitment of government resources should follow checks and balances established by law and regulations. In almost all African countries, the approval of expenditures by parliament is a critical legal requirement. How often do governments in Africa spend money without scrutiny and approval by parliaments?

Public Financial Management in Africa: Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Assessment Findings

Tanzania was a pioneer in the application of the PEFA framework in a pilot testing PEFA methodology in 2004, before the launch of the framework in 2005.²¹ It was also the second country (after Uganda) where the PEFA framework was adapted and applied to local governments. In 2007, Tanzania was the first country to try and adapt the PEFA framework to parastatals, an exercise that resulted in ten separate reports on various parastatals. In Uganda, several PFMA diagnoses were conducted. These diagnoses included the following:

- The 2001 Country Financial Accountability Assessment (CFAA)
- The 2001 and 2004 Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) assessment
- The 2004 Country Integrated Fiduciary Assessment (CIFA)
- The 2005 Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA) assessments of local and central government
- A 2005 IMF assessment of expenditure arrears, regular fiduciary risk assessments conducted by the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom
- The 2008 PEFA self-assessment (PEFA Lite) conducted by the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) of Uganda
- Annual PFMA assessments conducted for the purposes of poverty reduction support credits (PRSCs) and the recent Joint Budget Support Operation mission reports

These diagnosed areas therefore become important countries for assessing the subject of our article. We also include South Africa, Kenya, the Central African Republic and Zambia in our analysis. We now turn to the state of PFMA in each of these countries in the section below.

To comprehend the state of PFMA in Africa, we analyse the findings of the PEFA assessment reports across selected African countries. The PEFA framework assesses the PFMA systems of a country. The framework has been developed as a contribution to the collective efforts of many stakeholders to assess whether a country has the tools to deliver three main budgetary outcomes, namely, aggregate fiscal discipline; strategic resource allocation; and the efficient use of resources for service delivery. Most African countries receive budget support from development partners and it is becoming increasingly clear that the budget support

arrangement works best when there are good standards of PFMA.²² With this goal, development partners have agreed on the performance measures of a PFMA system.

Negatu, Santi and Tench,²³ in their discussion paper on improving governance and PFMA through budget support with a focus on the experience of the African Development Bank, recently demonstrated that country PFMA systems in Africa remain weak and need substantial improvement. Phago²⁴ concurs and highlights that the role of the African Development Bank in instituting recovery interventions from the global economic crisis of 2008 has not been a success. This assertion by Phago also points to a lack of effective PFMA interventions at the highest level in the continent. Furthermore, the findings of the Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting²⁵ in a 2005 report showed that fiscal transparency was propagated as part of a larger policy goal of good economic governance pursued to achieve poverty reduction and attain the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In this report, on a survey covering 15 African countries, the expert group noted that Africa was making progress towards better economic management and it would appear that the prodigious pace of reform is likely to continue. However, a *mélange* of global and regional events discourage opaque budgeting processes by supporting fiscal transparency and accountability specifically and better economic management in general.

Andrew²⁶ points out that a range of factors are seen to influence the quality of PFMA systems and outcomes, which are here presented as five major themes:

- Growing economies have stronger PFMA.
- Stability delivers PFMA progress, although there may be a peculiar 'starting from scratch' dividend for countries enjoying post-conflict stability.

- States with larger domestic, non-mineral income sources have stronger PFMA.
- Longer periods of broad reform commitment foster PFMA progress.
- Colonial heritage matters (maybe).

Different African countries are at different levels of PFMA system development. For instance, a 2010 Public Finance Management Assessment, based on the PEFA Framework Report (2010), on the Central African Republic (CAR), a country that has persistently been coup prone was released. It found that despite the technical progress achieved by the Ministry of Finance and Budget, the credibility of the budgets voted under the initial budget laws was limited, while the extent of their implementation clearly left room for improvement.²⁷ The absence of an audited budget was reportedly the major weaknesses in the CAR fiscal management. Despite progress in the budget preparation process, there remained several deficiencies. Government budget preparation does not follow a set calendar, remaining within the major statutory timeframes and allowing the key actors adequate time. The budget schedule is drawn up each year and notified to the different actors in the process through the budget circular signed by the prime minister. Over the period of the current PEFA assessment, these annual budget calendars have never been respected, especially for transmission of the draft budget to the National Assembly.²⁸

In a different assessment, the 2009 PEFA report on Kenya found that the budget had become a more credible instrument in terms of revenue collection and distribution. There was evidence that arrears were contained and reduced, that the timeliness in release of funds had improved, and that the system of direct disbursements to institutional levels had improved budget access. However, the financial

management system of that country had issues. Problems were reported in budget variation in comparison to outturn and unpredicted freezes of certain cost items that were imposed after the post-election crisis of 2009. The overview and consolidated budget reporting was poor given the integrated financial management information (IFMIS) system which was being implemented, but had not yet reached full coverage and functionality at the time of the PEFA assessment.

Still on Kenya, while the assessment revealed improved allocative efficiency related to the MDGs and Vision 2030, functional reporting did not take place, although sector clusters were used to determine and discuss the MTEF framework. Large segments and votes in the budget covered allocations to several sectors, such as to provincial administration, local government or constituency development and, hence, did not reveal the intended or achieved functional purpose. The most essential budget documents were available from government websites or could be purchased from the government printer's shop in Nairobi at a reasonable price. However, an overview of these documents on the websites did not provide sufficient information. The documents provided little overview and editorial consistency and the information published had analysis and compilation problems. While parliamentary committees and members of Parliament were involved at earlier stages in the budget process and hearings, the formal process in Parliament came late in the process albeit in accordance with the constitution.²⁹

Two important spending areas within budget execution had improved since the last PEFA assessment, namely, payroll and procurement. The new payroll system has meant a major improvement, but it is not yet fully rolled out and it is not integrated with IFMIS. It has,

however, the potential to become a complete and well-functioning system in the future, partly depending on how well it is implemented and managed as a distributed system in several centres within government. New procurement legislation started to be implemented in 2007 and some improvements in the practice have been evidenced in the PEFA assessment.

The legal framework for PFMA and guidance of operations was neither clear nor comprehensive and fragmented into successive Treasury circulars over a long time. The internal audit, especially on a central level, has developed well and is showing a commendable professional ambition although it still requires improvement. The effectiveness of internal control is thus still an area of concern, especially when it comes to management responsibility together with follow-up and enforcement as a result of external and internal audit. The introduction of audit committees in ministries would be promising but has still to prove its effectiveness and usefulness. Issues identified by the Auditor-General in the annual audit reports also raise concern about the overall quality of at least parts of the financial records.

In South Africa, the PEFA assessment initiated and sponsored by the European Commission in 2008 had its primary goal to assess the status of the PFMA system of the central government. It was intended to identify both areas of strength and weakness. Considered at the aggregate level, and restricted to an assessment of primary expenditure, South Africa scored very well with respect to the credibility of the budget, especially with regard to revenue estimates versus outturns and aggregate original primary expenditure estimates versus outturns. However, when the assessment considered expenditure in greater detail, and looked beyond primary

expenditure, there were important issues that impacted negatively on the credibility of the budget. These included the lack of predictability in the disbursement of donor sector budget support, the large proportion of off-budget donor activity, the lack of a consistent definition of budget estimate for donor funds, and the lack of alignment of donor budget estimates and financial reporting with the government's fiscal year. It also included major weaknesses in procurement and expenditure frameworks.

However, by way of comprehensiveness and transparency, South Africa's national government PFMA systems and procedures were found to be quite outstanding. The PFMA reforms carried out since the mid-1990s had evolved a comprehensive budgetary process where fiscal forecasts were realistic and debt management was based on a clear and well-articulated debt management strategy. The debt management was found to have regular, accurate and timely reporting and monitoring of the debt stock. The budget documentation was found to be complete, comprehensible and comprehensive. The documentation included the macroeconomic assumptions, the fiscal balance along with the makeup of any deficit financing, the debt profile and status, the financial assets, the historical budget outturns and clear explanations of the impacts of new major revenue and expenditure policy initiatives.³⁰

Some other African countries had made some progress. For instance, the Public Financial Management Working Group for Tanzania mainland reported in November 2010 that the budget preparation and documentation process was extensive, and was supported by very detailed budget preparation manuals issued by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs (MOFEA) to the ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) and separately to the

local government authorities (LGAs). Transfers to the autonomous government agencies (AGAs) were recorded in the budgets of the MDAs, but the remaining part of the AGAs' budgets was not part of the budget documentation, as the AGAs' budgets were approved by their own authorities established by individual laws. Some AGAs posed serious fiscal risks. It was not known to what extent potential fiscal liabilities created by the public enterprises (PEs) were taken into account in the fiscal planning, as these were not highlighted in the government budget documentation.

While Tanzania had a good record of overall budget performance and fiscal discipline in the context of economic growth and macroeconomic stability, with regard to the legal aspects of PFMA, the processes of the PFMA system faced a number of shortcomings. There were concerns about the engagement of the legislature in the budget process. These concerns were in the areas of the quality of budget classifications, the lack of a realistic resource-supported medium-term sectoral analysis, wider goals without adequate financing possibilities, and the full integration of recurrent and development budgets. There is a need to improve the quality of budgeting and bring back credibility to the budget as a firm government financial and operational plan. Predictability and control of budget execution are very weak, with the uncertainty in the availability of funds for the MDAs being an example of the lack of predictability. Owing to the persistence of modified cash rationing, MDA requests for cash releases cannot always be met, resulting in difficulties in implementing their policies as plans. On the other hand, the ineffectiveness of payroll controls and insufficiency of internal controls and audit in non-salary expenditures in the MDAs have also been identified as areas of concern.

Tanzania has had an Integrated Financial Management System (IFMS) since 1998 and this was one of the earliest such systems to be implemented in East Africa. As a central payment, accounting and reporting system, it has proved to be very useful system. This system was subsequently rolled out to 86 out of 133 local governments in addition to all central government ministries and 22 sub-treasuries. This has significantly increased the timeliness and quality of expenditure information produced by these units. However, significant problems remain prevalent. The IFMS bank reconciliation module was not operational, resulting in around 5 per cent of transactions between MOFEA and the Central Bank not being reconciled through the automatic reconciliation process on a monthly basis. The Data Warehouse was also not operational for some time when the MOFEA became unable to access the information stored in this warehouse for any kind of analysis. Major capacity and implementation challenges existed at local government IFMS implementation sites with around half the sites not having had their chart of accounts updated for the last eight years. Limited capacity had been built in the systems unit of the Office of the Accountant General, resulting in ongoing dependence on the vendor. For these reasons, the quality of accounting and reporting in the MDAs was questionable, with external audit reports regularly calling for these issues to be addressed.

External audit reports, including the consolidated financial statements, were submitted to the legislature in a timely manner (within nine months of the end of each fiscal year external scrutiny and audits). While the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) has significantly reduced its backlog over the last couple of years, the quality of its reports needs to be improved. Capacity building of the members of the PAC

and the two other accountability committees of the House – the Local Authorities Accounts Committee and the Parastatal Organisations Accounts Committee – is ongoing and is complemented by strengthening the capacity of the Secretariats of these Committees. There has been limited follow up by the Executive to PAC reports, since Treasury memoranda have not been issued for the last five years. An emerging good practice over the last two years is the structured response of the Permanent Secretary of MOFEA to the PAC on the main issues raised in audit reports at the time of the Annual Review of Budget Support around November every year.⁵¹

Uganda's PEFA report⁵² suggested aggregate fiscal discipline to be characterised by a lack of credibility in the budget which increased the risk of fiscal targets not being achieved. Arrears were increasing and it was possible for accounting officers in IFMS-enabled MDAs to place orders outside the IFMS controls. In MDAs that were not IFMS-enabled, manual systems lacked strict inbuilt commitment controls. However, the budget process and budget documentation were transparent and laid a firm base for budget discipline. This is despite the fact that internal controls in execution were often ignored and internal audit was still weak. While IFMS provided monthly tracking of budget execution and external audit coverage was almost complete and standards of audit had been raised, particular areas of expenditure, such as payroll and procurement, were insufficiently controlled and had substantial public financial leakages.

It was reported that the system of PFMA in the country had weaknesses in internal control. This is particularly in procurement and payroll which may allow diversion of resources away from planned uses to lower priority uses and private uses. Basic systems are in place, but

non-compliance and violation are common, which combined with high levels of corruption weakens accountability. If public resources are regarded as spoils of office rather than a sacred trust, they will certainly be subjected to misuse. Further controls then have the effect of widening areas of collusion and adding to transaction costs and delays rather than focusing more resources on the eradication of poverty.

Table 1 above serves as an attempt to consider summarised observations regarding the key country-specific PFMA weaknesses and strengths. What is clear here is that the state of PFMA systems in these selected African democracies on average portrays a scenario of serious weak systems. But what exactly accounts for this despite the fact that the continent prides itself on its highly trained technocrats in political science, public administration, economics and business management, among others. Their technocratic capabilities should translate into an accumulated wealth of skills that would improve the way the public purse is being managed. At the helm of public affairs management are a group of 'experienced' political and administrative actors who work as agents of the citizens. In the following section, we consider the role and contribution of five factors. These factors in our view complement each other in explaining the dominant PFMA inefficiencies. However, we suggest them in an order that portrays a potential ranking of the importance of each of the factors in explaining the situation. We now document how and why we suggest that the five factors have played a major role in explaining the current state of PFMA in Africa.

Constraints to PFMA

The five factors explaining PFMA in Africa are discussed below. Firstly, in all countries, a

Table 1 PFM country weaknesses and strengths

Country	Assessment period	PFM weaknesses	PFM strengths
Central African Republic (CAR)	2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget credibility was low • Limited efforts in implementation of budget • The absence of an audited budget was a sign of the major weaknesses in the CAR fiscal management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical progress achieved by the Ministry of Finance and Budget (MFB) • Progress in the budget preparation process • The credibility of the budgets voted under initial budget laws was limited
Uganda	2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggregate fiscal discipline was characterised by a lack of credibility of the budget which increased the risk of fiscal targets not being achieved. • Substantially, internal controls in execution were often ignored and internal audit was still weak. • Arrears were increasing and it was possible for accounting officers in IFMS-enabled MDAs to place orders outside the IFMS controls. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The budget process and budget documentation were transparent and laid a firm base for budget discipline. • IFMS provided monthly tracking of budget execution and external audit coverage was almost complete and standards of audit had been raised • Presence of basic systems for good financial management
Republic of South Africa	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of predictability in the disbursement of donor sector budget support. • Presence of large proportion of off-budget donor activity. • Lack of a consistent definition of budget estimate for donor funds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High credibility of the budget especially with regard to revenue estimates versus outturns and aggregate original primary expenditure estimates versus outturns. • Soundness of national government PFM systems in terms of comprehensiveness and transparency • Regular, accurate and timely reporting and monitoring of the debt stock.
Tanzania	2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was limited credibility in the quality of budgeting. • Predictability and control of budget execution was very weak – the uncertainty in availability of funds for the MDAs was an example of a lack of predictability. • Due to the persistence of modified cash rationing, MDA requests for cash releases were not always met, resulting in difficulties in implementing their policies as planned. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved central payment, accounting and reporting system external audit reports including the consolidated financial statements were submitted to the legislature in a timely manner (nine months from the end of each fiscal year) • Public Accounts Committee had significantly reduced its backlog. • Structured response of the Permanent Secretary of MOFEA to the PAC on the main issues raised in audit reports at the time of the Annual Review of Budget Support around November every year was strong.

Kenya	2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whole functional reporting did not take place • Large segments and votes in the budget covered allocations to several sectors, such as to provincial administration, local government or constituency development and hence did not reveal the intended or achieved functional purpose. • The documents on the websites did not provide sufficient information. The formal process in parliament came late in the process albeit in accordance with the constitution. • The legal framework for PFM and guidance of operations was neither clear nor comprehensive and fragmented into successive Treasury circulars over a long time. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The budget had become a more credible instrument in terms of revenue collection and distribution of resources. • Arrears were contained and reduced. • There was timeliness in release of funds and the system of direct disbursements to institutional levels had improved budget access.
-------	------	---	--

Source: PEFA Assessments Reports (2005–2010)

budget, which is one the central tools for PFMA, is usually a political process.³³ An assessment of the effectiveness of the PFMA system has to take this political process into consideration. In this regard, the assessment provides parameters for budgetary transparency. The emphasis is to create ‘an environment in which the objectives of policy, its legal, institutional, and economic framework, policy decisions and their rationale, data and information related to monetary and financial policies, and the terms of agencies’ accountability, are provided to the public on an understandable, accessible, and timely basis’. Budgets that are easily available to the public and which allow the public to be active participants in the policymaking process, and that present consolidated information, are regarded as transparent budgets.³⁴

Secondly, PEFA³⁵ frameworks provide important parameters for an open and orderly PFMA system. They are (i) budget comprehensiveness and transparency; (ii) policy-based budgeting; (iii) predictability and control in budget execution; (iv) accounting and reporting; and (v) external scrutiny and audit. The introduction of

sound systems and procedures in these areas should lead to budget credibility. In the opinion of Pretorius and Pretorius,³⁶ while several definitions of PFMA exhibit significant variations, a common denominator is the recognition that PFMA at least covers not only technical accounting and reporting issues, but also the overall taxing, spending and debt management of government, which in turn influences resource allocation and income distribution. An undeniable fact in the authors’ view is also that there is an increasing trend to see it not purely as a technical system or set of subsystems, but rather a system of multiple role-players, complex relationships and dynamic and inter-related processes. Creating an effective PFMA system thus involves multiple considerations.

Thirdly, institutions governing public finances have a determining impact on the economic and social costs and benefits of revenue collection and expenditure. In fact, ‘successful “societal evolution” hinges on the systems and procedures societies develop to manage public finance and procurement’.³⁷ The systems have to be put in place by those in

leadership. Government institutions, of which public financial institutions become part, are led by both political and technical leaders. The failure in PFMA in Africa has to primarily rest on those in leadership who generally have done a poor job. They have watched informal systems overtake formal systems and procedures. On this subject, the views of Van de Walle³⁸ are helpful. This author reports that since the 1980s, African leadership has, at best, shown lukewarm commitment to reforms and has exhibited an unbecoming tendency to manipulate data to project an effigy of improved economic management, although the truth often reflects a negative picture on a number of variables (presumably including PFMA issues).

The management literature strongly suggests that the extent to which members of an organisation contribute to harnessing the resources of the organisation depends on how well the managers (leaders) of the organisation understand and adopt an appropriate leadership style in performing their roles as managers and leaders. Indeed Obiwiri, Andy, Akpa and Nwankwere,³⁹ in their study based on the Nigerian context, conclude that efficiency in resources mobilisation, allocation and utilisation and the enhancement of organisational performance depends, to a large extent, on leadership style. Lee and Chuang⁴⁰ further remind us that the excellent leader not only inspires subordinates' potential to enhance efficiency but also meets their requirements in the process of achieving organisational goals.

Fourthly, Witt and Müller⁴¹ help us to understand the complexity of public finance which they posit comprises a complex set of closely inter-related subsystems (e.g. tax and customs, budgets, expenditure, inter-governmental finance, parliamentary oversight, internal and external financial control). The examples given on the weaknesses in Africa's PFMA point to

weakness in almost all the subsystems but certainly pin more blame on those in leadership at different levels including the political or administration. Moreover, these weaknesses point to how weak institutions and leadership can jointly affect the establishment of effective systems of financial management due to opportunistic behaviour; as transaction economists would put it. Unconvinced of the practicality of separating politics from administration, a complementary arrangement has been suggested but only on governance principles. For example, the complementarity of politics and administration is based on the premise that political office-bearers and administrators join together in the pursuit of sound governance.⁴²

Political will and commitment, which include ownership of the overall development agenda by leadership rather than waiting for guidance from external forces abroad, is a critical variable for effective financial management. However, African democracies show a serious deficit of this type of financial stewardship regarding political will and commitment. It is the responsibility of governments of the day to create the legal and regulatory environment for democratic fiscal transparency and accountability as enshrined in each country's constitution. Those in leadership at political and administrative level must show a high degree of accountability and financial fiduciary and must also set specific targets for each of the other players involved in using public resources at whatever level of administrative jurisdiction. In further describing the constraints to effective PFMA in African states, the question that arises is: What exactly should be the role of leaders in this whole debate? The Economic Commission on Africa⁴³ recommends that leaders should play a key role in (i) setting the agenda to democratise the formulation of macroeconomic policy frameworks; (ii) building

up the capacity and knowledge base of the citizenry on issues related to budgets; and (iii) institutionalising regular access for social groups in decision-making.

Fifthly, beyond the political and administrative leadership, citizens and CSOs must also do a good job. The basic premise for citizen participation is that citizens, NGOs and CSOs have a right to know and determine how public revenues are collected and spent. While CSOs already engage as external watchdogs and partners in showing up capacity for reporting and fostering transparency and also engage in situations where laws allow and even require practices that governments are not acting on, they should use a lack of PFMA reach to de-concentrate. They can do so by influencing the debates in parliament where the people's representatives sit. At the parliamentary level, there are several standing committees directly concerned with financial matters like the committee on budget (where it exists in African democracies); Public Accounts Committee (PAC); the Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises (COSASE); the Local Government Accounts Committee (LGAC); and the Committee on the National Economy, which deals with issues relating to the national economy including scrutiny of loan agreements.

Mafunisa poses useful questions in regard to separating politics from the public service. Using experiences from the South African jurisdiction, he contends that the usefulness of the dichotomy model (Wilson and Goodnow's politics-administration dichotomy) lies in its intentions – to protect public administration from interference by elected office-bearers and members of political parties in the day-to-day administrative activities.⁴⁴ It also helps to protect public administration from political patronage. This is in essence where party political

connections become the overriding criteria in public human resources functions such as recruitment, transfer, training and promotion. However, practical experiences suggest that almost all African democracies have political interference now cropping up whenever useful decisions intended to improve the public service are to be taken. Public finance has been one area where this political interference has moved into full gear (especially during procurement processes around election time). Incumbents quite often use their influence to dip their fingers in public coffers to fund election campaigns or draw kickbacks from contractors. Based on entrenched patronage frameworks, which such politicians have imbedded in the public service at all levels of government, they influence the award of government tenders to their supporters. This practice makes it hard to offer efficient public services as contractors provide shoddy work.

What should be done to address the Identified Challenges?

Introduced initially in response to widespread public criticism of the public service performance, the overall ethos of the public sector reforms that became a household name in African countries was greater public sector efficiency.^{45,46} Manning⁴⁷ contends that the public sector reforms which hinged on the doctrines of new public management (NPM) had two key tenets, that is, allowing managers to manage and making managers accountable, and these were to be based on clear performance targets. NPM reforms are regarded as a common response to common pressures – public hostility to government, shrinking budgets and the imperatives of globalisation.⁴⁸ Existing practices now confirm that this efficiency has not been

attained to a significant extent. What then must be done to reverse this situation? We recommend a need for transparency in government operations as an important precondition for macroeconomic fiscal sustainability, good governance and overall fiscal rectitude. Designing and setting up an adequate accountability and control structure is a significant aspect of any public spending environment. The increasingly complex budgetary systems impose the need for reliable and effective control systems.⁴⁹

There is a need to modify the existing relationships among government agencies at the centre and at local levels. Cook,⁵⁰ for example, suggests that if governments are to improve their PFMA systems, the minimum expected of them is to improve accountability and control networks. They need to substantially modify the relationship between government bodies both horizontally and vertically, with a strong call to incite government departments to work together in order to achieve the desired results set by politicians.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

This article argues that improving PFMA is not without its difficulties. Moreover, the complexity of PFMA with sophisticated approaches

requires having a buy-in from a number of stakeholders at different levels. This article undertook to consider the constraints on effective PFMA in African democracies. In addressing this, the article argues that since most African democracies have political interference cropping up whenever useful decisions are to be made, especially in public finance, relevant solutions should be sought. In finding such solutions, this article recommends a need for transparency in government operations as an important precondition for macroeconomic fiscal sustainability, good governance, and overall fiscal rectitude. This effort must balance the competing democratic principles of PFMA and protect the interests of multiple stakeholders. Effective PFMA systems are a necessity for the efficient use of resources, create the highest level of transparency and accountability in government finances and ensure long-term economic success. In this article, we have theoretically examined the role of leadership, institutional arrangements, capacity, citizens and CSOs in explaining the African scenario. We suggest further empirical research that would examine the contribution of each of these factors. This can in the interim be conducted in two countries using a comparative approach, the results of which could later be extrapolated to other African jurisdictions.

Notes and References

- 1 Wildeman, R. and Jogo, W., 2012. *Implementing the Public Finance Management Act in South Africa: How far are we?* South Africa: Institute for Democracy in South Africa.
- 2 Republic of South Africa, 1999. *Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- 3 Republic of South Africa, 2012. *The Division of Revenue Act 5 of 2012*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- 4 Reinikka, R. and Svenson, J., 2004. *Fighting corruption to improve schooling: Evidence from a newspaper campaign in Uganda*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- 5 Hughes, O.E., 2003. *Public administration and management: An introduction*. 3rd edition. Australia: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 165.
- 6 Shah, A., 2007. *Participatory budgeting. Public sector governance and accountability series*. Washington, DC: World Bank, p. 27.
- 7 Prakash, T. and Cabezon, E., 2008. *Public*

- financial management and fiscal outcomes in Sub-Saharan African heavily-indebted poor countries. IMF Working Paper No. WP/08/217, p. 6.
- 8 Ibid., p. 9.
 - 9 Kiragu, K., 1999. Public financial management. In Adamolekun, L., ed., *Public management in Africa: Main issues and selected country studies*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, p. 68.
 - 10 Gildenhuis, J.S.H., 1997. *Public financial management*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.
 - 11 Schick, A., 2002. Opportunity, strategy and tactics in reforming public management. *OECD Journal on Budgeting*, 2(3), Paris.
 - 12 Mhone, G., 2003. The challenges of governance, public sector reforms and public administration in Africa: Some research issues. *IDMN Bulletin X*, pp. 1–18.
 - 13 Folscher, A. and Cole, N., 2006. South Africa: Transition to democracy offers opportunity for whole system reform. *OECD Journal of Budgeting*, 6(2), p. 37.
 - 14 Wildeman and Jogo, op. cit., p. 11.
 - 15 Schiavo-Campo, S., 2008. Of mountains and molehills: The Medium-Term Expenditure Framework. Conference on Sustainability and Efficiency in Managing Public Expenditures, p. 7.
 - 16 Hughes, op. cit., p. 165.
 - 17 Peterson, S.B., 2011. Plateaus not summits: Reforming public financial management in Africa. *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 31, pp. 205–213.
 - 18 Grout, P.A. and Stevens, M., 2003. *Financing and managing public services: An assessment*. United Kingdom: Centre for Market and Public Organisation, University of Bristol, p. 8.
 - 19 Ajam, T. and Aron, J., 2007. Fiscal renaissance in a democratic South Africa. *Journal of African Economies*, 16(5), pp. 745–781.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA), 2005. *Public financial management: Performance measurement framework*. Washington, DC: Washington Secretariat, World Bank.
 - 22 World Bank, 2006. *Budget support as more effective aid? Recent experiences and emerging lessons*. Development Policy Lending Retrospective. Washington, DC: World Bank.
 - 23 Negatu, G., Santi, E. and Tench, K., 2010. *Improving governance and public financial management through budget support: The experience of the African Development Bank*. Discussion Paper No. 88B European Centre for Development Policy Management. Available at <http://www.ecdpm.org/dp88B> [Accessed on 15 September 2013].
 - 24 Phago, K., 2010. An analysis of recovery interventions by the African Development Bank. *Africa Insight*, 40(2), pp. 13–27.
 - 25 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2005. *Rethinking the role of national development banks: Overview of Multi-stakeholder consultations on financing for development, 2004–2005*. New York: UN-DESA, p. ix.
 - 26 Andrews, M., 2010. *How far have public financial management reforms come in Africa?* Working Paper Series rwp10-018. Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government.
 - 27 Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA), 2010. *Public Financial Management: Performance Measurement Framework*. Washington, DC: Washington Secretariat, World Bank.
 - 28 European Union, 2010. *PEFA Report on Central African Republic*. Public Financial Management: Performance Measurement Framework.
 - 29 European Union, 2009. *PEFA Report on Kenya*. Public Financial Management: Performance Measurement Framework.
 - 30 European Union, 2008. *PEFA Report on South Africa*. Public Financial Management: Performance Measurement Framework.
 - 31 European Union, 2010. *PEFA Report on Tanzania*. Public Financial Management: Performance Measurement Framework.
 - 32 European Union, 2009. *PEFA Report on Uganda*. Public Financial Management: Performance Measurement Framework.
 - 33 Pretorius, C. and Pretorius, N., 2008. *Review of public financial management reform literature*. London: DFID.
 - 34 Poterba, J. and Von Hagen, J., eds, 1999. *Fiscal institutions and fiscal performance*. Chicago, OH: University of Chicago Press.
 - 35 PEFA, op. cit. 2005.
 - 36 Pretorius and Pretorius, op. cit.
 - 37 Porter, D., Andrews, M., Turkewitz, J. and Wescott, C., 2010. *Managing public finance and procurement in fragile and conflicted settings*. WDR Background Paper, World Bank. Available at <http://wdr2011.worldbank.org/procurement> [Accessed on 20 November 2013].
 - 38 Van de Walle, N., 2001. *African economies and the politics of permanent crisis, 1979–1999*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
 - 39 Obiwuru, T.C., Okwu, A., Akpa, V.O. and Nwankwere, I.A., 2011. Effects of leadership style on organizational performance: A survey of selected small scale enterprises in Ikosi-Ketu Council Development Area of Lagos State, Nigeria. *Australian Journal of Business and Management Research*, 1(7), pp. 100–111.
 - 40 Lee, H.C. and Chuang, T.H., 2009. The impact of leadership styles on job stress and turnover intention: Taiwan insurance industry as an example. Available at <http://www.hclee@ttu.edu.tw> [Accessed on 18 October 2013].
 - 41 Witt, M. and Müller, I., 2006. *Implementing the Paris Declaration in Public Finance: Challenges by capacity development*. Eschborn: GTZ.
 - 42 Svava, J.H., 2001. The myth of the dichotomy: Complementarity of politics and administration in the past and future of public administration. *Public Administration Review*, 61(2), pp. 176–183.
 - 43 Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 2002. *Guidelines for enhancing good economic and corporate governance in Africa*. Final Draft Report Prepared for the NEPAD Steering Committee, Addis Ababa, May.
 - 44 Mafunisa, M.J., 2003. Separation of politics from the South African public service: Rhetoric or reality? *Journal of Public Administration*, 38(2), pp. 85–101.
 - 45 Hughes, 2003, op. cit.
 - 46 Polidano, C., 1999. *The new public management in developing countries*. IDPM Public Policy and Management Working Paper no. 13, University of Manchester.
 - 47 Manning, N., 2001. The legacy of new public management in developing

- countries. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 67(2), pp. 297–312.
- 48 Polidano, op. cit.
- 49 Bourgon, J., 2009. New directions in public administration: Serving beyond the predictable. *Public Policy and Administration*, 24(3).
- 50 Cook, A.L., 2004. *Managing for outcomes*. Working Paper 04/15, New Zealand Public Management Systems, New Zealand Treasury.

Spatial Analysis of Human Exposure and Vulnerability to Coastal Flooding in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Disasters in coastal cities have shown an ever-increasing frequency of occurrence.

Population growth and urbanisation have increased the vulnerability of properties and societies in coastal flood-prone areas. Analysis of human exposure and vulnerability is one of the main strategies used to determine the necessary measures of flood risk reduction in coastal cities. This study applied multi-criteria evaluation techniques to determine areas vulnerable to floods.

**Shingirirai S. Mutanga
Barnabas Mwiruki
Abel Ramoelo**

Shingirirai S. Mutanga¹ is a research specialist in the Science and Technology Programme, at the Africa Institute of South Africa and in the Industrial Engineering Department at the University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Barnabas Mwiruki is a PhD candidate at Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Abel Ramoelo is part of the Earth Observation Research Group, Natural Resource and Environment Unit at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Pretoria, South Africa and the Sovenga Risk and Vulnerability Assessment Centre at the University of Limpopo, South Africa.

Introduction

Climate extremes in Sub-Saharan Africa have had a considerable effect and are expected to intensify over the coming decades.¹ Generally, disasters in the region have shown an ever-increasing frequency of occurrence since 1960,² with some countries that often experience long dry spells witnessing the worst ever floods. Floods are among the world's most frequent and damaging type of disaster and affect millions all over the globe annually.³ Over time wider development pressures such as urbanisation coupled with rapid population growth exacerbate climate extreme threats, which undoubtedly compound the already complex socioeconomic and ecological relationships. In particular, population growth and urbanisation have increased human exposure and vulnerability to floods especially in coastal cities.^{4,5,6} Flooding is an old problem; however, in light of the ever-increasing frequency and effect, measuring vulnerability is a crucial task if science is to help support the transition to a more sustainable world.^{7,8} The ability to measure vulnerability in coastal cities is thus a key factor in effective risk reduction and disaster resilience. Given the limited research on flood vulnerability this study used GIS-based spatial analysis techniques to identify areas with high

flood vulnerability to aid decision makers in flood management.

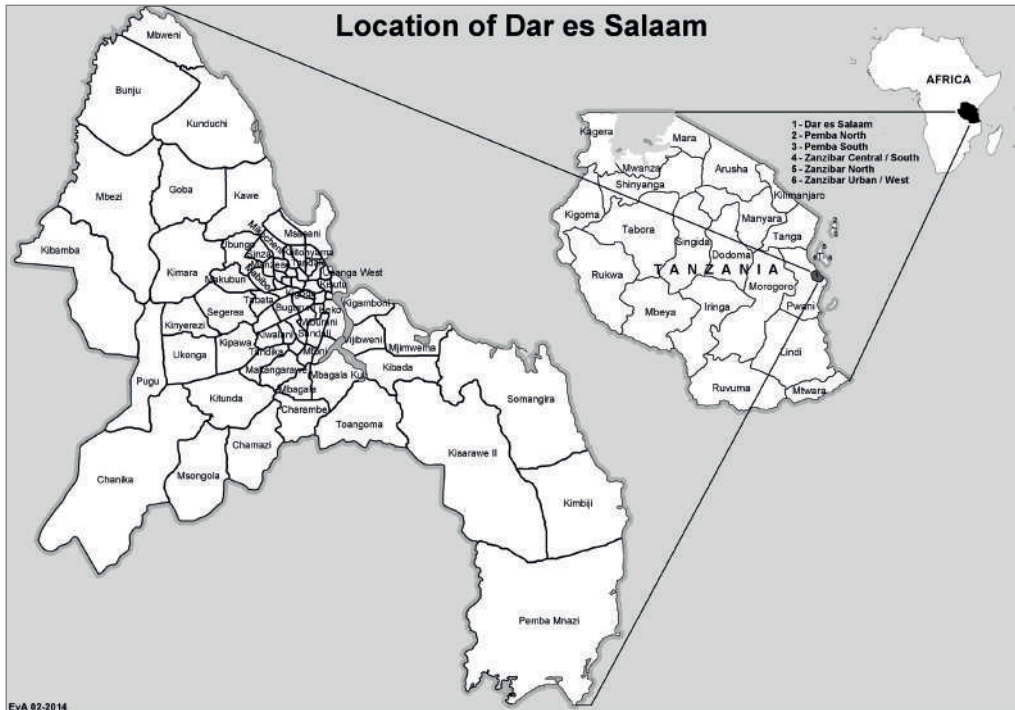
The term 'vulnerability' is applied in several disciplines suggesting diverse operational formulations in specific contexts.⁹ According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) vulnerability is 'the degree, to which a system is susceptible to, or unable to cope with adverse effects of climate change, including climate variability and extremes.'¹⁰ It is seen as a function of three components, namely, exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity.¹¹ Exposure refers to the degree to which a system experiences environmental changes.¹² In other words, it is the predisposition of a system to be disrupted by a flooding event due to its location in the same area of influence. Sensitivity is the degree to which a system is subject to influences of climate-related stimuli.¹³ Adaptive capacity is the ability to plan and prepare to accommodate changes and recover from impending consequences. Factors that determine the adaptive capacity of human systems include economic wealth, technology and infrastructure, information, knowledge and skills, institutions, equity and social capital.¹⁴ Adaptive capacity is closely linked with susceptibility. Susceptibility relates to system characteristics including the social context of flood damage, especially the awareness and preparedness of people regarding the risk they live with, the institutions they are involved with in mitigating and reducing the effects of the hazards, and the existence of possible measures. Although this cannot be measured it provides an indication of the level of preparedness in building the resilience of a system to disasters. Resilience has different defining characteristics including recovery and the ability to retain the same state irrespective of the amount of change.¹⁵ Vulnerability is therefore not confined to physical vulnerability factors but also includes socioeconomic and

resilience factors. This study, therefore, viewed vulnerability in the context of the three key components highlighted above. However, its scope is confined to physical, environmental and institutional factors and does not consider the social and economic factors which have been analysed in great depth by Kebede et al.'s¹⁶ study.

Flood Impact Highlights

In China, losses caused by floods account for 3 per cent of the national GDP,¹⁷ while serious flood episodes in Spain have resulted in loss of life and much material damage.^{18,19} In Africa alone between 1996 and 2005, 290 flood-disasters left 8 183 people dead and 23 million people affected, with economic losses of USD\$1,9 billion. The 2011 floods that swept across South Africa have claimed over a 100 people's lives, left 33 municipalities declared disaster areas, thousands of houses damaged and farmers agonising over crop damage with the potential to push food prices higher.²⁰ Considering the economic and devastating effects of floods on our society, we cannot overlook the need for science to predict, monitor and mitigate this phenomenon.²¹ Between 2008 and 2012, the coastal city of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania recorded the worst ever floods.²² These claimed more victims than any other event during the same period²³ with an estimated 1,5 million people being affected.²⁴ Using Dar es Salaam as a case study, this article identified flood-prone areas and their spatial extent for prioritising appropriate flood control measures. A similar study by Kebede et al.²⁵ on the coastal city analysed physical exposure based on elevation, sea level rise and extreme sea level under a range of climate and socioeconomic scenarios. However, in addition to demographic indicators and height above sea

Figure 1: Map showing geographical location of Dar es Salaam



Source: Author

level, this study further considers the proximity to drainage systems (rivers) to determine the extent of vulnerability. While identification of the spatial extent of the area most vulnerable to flooding is one of the most important non-structural measures for the mitigation of floods, depicting highly vulnerable areas is critical for prioritisation purposes.

Study Area

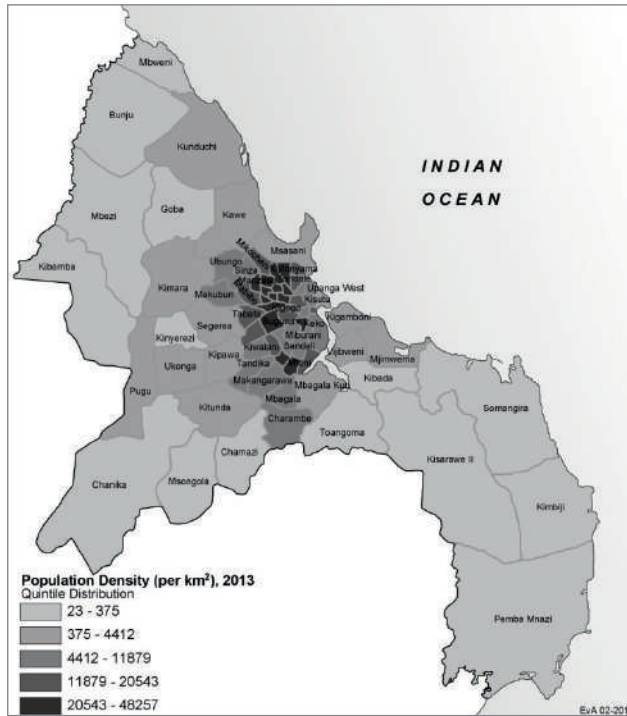
The study was undertaken in the city of Dar es Salaam, located on the east coast of Tanzania at 6° 51' S latitude and 39° 18' E longitude (see fig. 1). The city covers a total area of 1630,7 square kilometres, which is approximately 0,2 per cent

of Tanzania's mainland.²⁶ The city is divided into three districts which are subdivided into 74 wards.

The city has a total population of approximately 4,4 million which is approximately 29 per cent of Tanzania's urban population.²⁷ The average annual growth rate is about 5,6 per cent.²⁸ It is one of the fastest growing cities in the continent, with the majority of the people living in unplanned informal settlements. According to UN Habitat, 65 per cent of the total population live in unplanned communities covering 10 000 ha with a population density of 3,1 per cent and an average household size of four.²⁹ See figure 2.

The city is a hub for most national economic activities such as tourism, forestry, fishing and

Figure 2: Dar es Salaam: population density map



Source: Author

urban agriculture, as well as for international trade not only for Tanzania but also landlocked countries such as Zambia, DRC, Malawi, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda.

The city of Dar es Salaam is generally hot and humid throughout the year. The average rainfall is approximately 1000 mm, mainly received during two short rainy seasons spanning October to December and March to May. Rainfall variability is predicted to increase as a result of the increased frequency of El Nino events.³⁰ The variations in rainfall are strongly related to sea surface temperature (SST) variations in the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic, which can sometimes alter standard oscillation outcomes.³¹ Annual precipitation over the whole country is projected to increase by 10 per

cent by 2100, although seasonal declines of 6 per cent are projected for June, July and August, and increases of 16,7 per cent for December, January and February.³² Records from Dar es Salaam's sea level network station indicate a drop in sea level between 1980 and 2005. However, these records are contrary to the predicted average global sea level rise of 0,10 to 0,90 metres and believed to aggravate flooding in the coastal region.³³ The records could possibly be an underestimation considering they are over a short duration, meaning they could have a significant bias due to inter-annual to decadal water level variability. Given the stable sea level measurements across several years this study therefore premised the city's

vulnerability on proximity to drainage areas and construction below sea level.

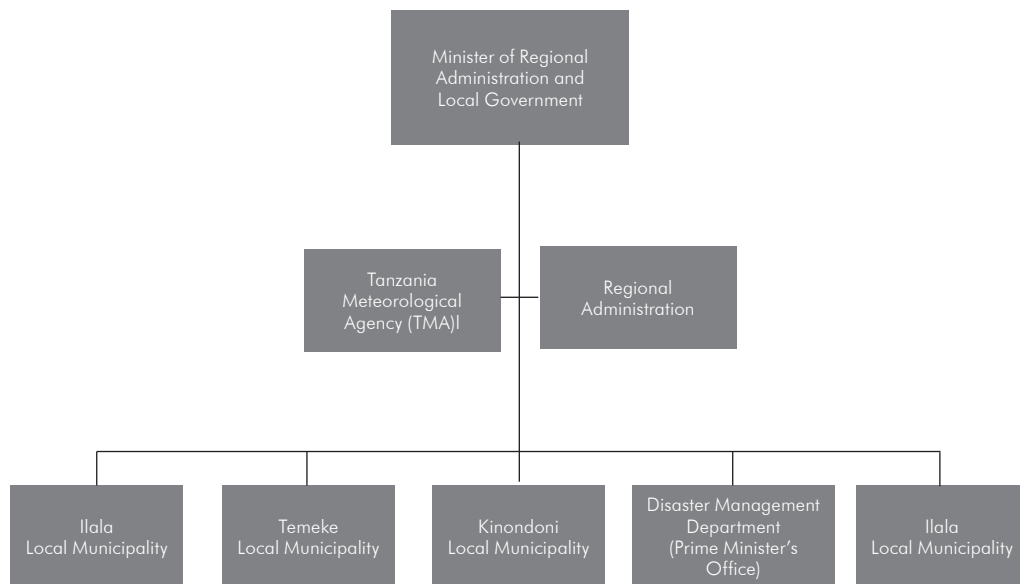
Rainfall amount and intensity are variables of concern in flooding. The latter has shown an exponential trend over the past 15 years with records of over 38 years of recorded history. A recent example is the latest flood event which occurred in Dar es Salaam on 21 and 22 December 2011 which claimed about 13 lives. The heavy rain and flooding destroyed infrastructure and related developments, causing losses of millions to property. It was claimed the worst event in 57 years by the Tanzania Meteorological Agency. It is worth noting that this flood occurred during a short dry spell between the two rainy seasons in the region.

Tanzania’s institutional framework

Dar es Salaam City is governed by the City Council of Dar es Salaam and the Municipal Councils of Ilala, Temeke and Kinondoni. The City Council has a coordinating role and attends to issues in the three Municipal Councils. The municipalities fall under the ‘Mother’ Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government. Although the disaster matters are dealt with by each Municipal Council, above these is the Dar es Salaam Regional Administration (see fig. 3). Furthermore, because of the cross-cutting nature of the disaster issues, the central government has established a Disaster Management Department in the Prime Minister’s Office which attends to all disaster issues and incidences at all administrative levels.

A specialised entity dealing with flood disaster warnings in the country is the Tanzania

Figure 3: Tanzania’s key stakeholders for disaster management.



Source: Authors

Meteorological Agency (TMA). The agency provides weather forecasts and extreme weather warnings. Cloud evolution is monitored through satellite technology and subsequent warnings and advisories are disseminated to the public as needed through various stakeholders such as the mass media and the disaster management department within the Prime Minister's Office.

Methods

Data collection

Datasets used in this study were based on field measurements and surveys collected using techniques applied by Abbott³⁴ and Karanja.³⁵ Essentially, field-based measurements were taken using global positioning system (GPS) to identify various land use patterns in particular areas with settlements and other infrastructure. Points collected had attributes such as height above sea level and other spatial characteristics, that is, household density and proximity to drainage patterns. Other datasets, in particular meteorological data, demographic datasets together with delimitations in form of wards vector data and demographic data sets as well as topographic maps, were obtained from Meteorological Agency and the Disaster Management Department. These were used to create a two-dimensional model of the study sites. The development of a two-dimensional floodplain model was identified as a preferred initial approach for predicting the risk of floods and the vulnerability of communities in the city of Dar es Salaam. Essentially, this step was undertaken to identify areas that are below the low elevation coastal zone (LECZs), which in this case was determined to be 10 metres. The Council's primary development sites below sea level would then suggest

that sea level rise and storm surge are considered the primary source of flood risk for the sites investigated.

Data analysis

The study applied decision analysis methodology, an approach in which an individual decision maker contemplates a choice in an uncertain environment. In particular, multi-criteria decision making was used and selection was facilitated by evaluating each choice on the set of criteria, which is measurable. This study approach has been used in previous studies.^{36,37,38} GIS was used to delineate flood hazard zones. Essentially, as shown in the schematic flow of figure 4, the study used distance from the rivers and LECZs, that is, areas 10 metres below sea level, as the key criteria for identifying flood exposed areas. The study applied multi-criteria evaluation techniques to determine areas vulnerable to floods and the Boolean overlay approach and the weighted linear combination approaches were used for this. The study provides a useful way to examine alternatives for evaluating criteria in order to reduce uncertainty for the decision solution. Essentially, spatial multi-criteria decision making methods (SMDM) aim to achieve solutions to spatial decision problems derived from multiple criteria. Firstly, the areas exposed are produced by numerically overlaying the study area using the Boolean overlay. All criteria are combined by logical operators such as intersection and union.

In the latter part of the study the number of variables for consideration in the multi-criteria evaluation and analysis were increased. Among these, slope, aspect, soil, distance from the river, population density and the ward areas were the key physical elements identified. Various alternatives were thus ranked from the best case scenario to the worst case

through the physical characteristics of the sites. After ranking, a pairwise comparison was done to determine the weights to the worst case scenario. These weights were then linked to population density maps that were created on the basis of field and demographic datasets in GIS. Figure 5 shows the schematic representation of the model used in this study. It is known that input data to GIS multi-criteria evaluation procedures usually present the property of inaccuracy, imprecision and ambiguity. The method assumes that the input data are precise and accurate. To deal with this, sensitivity analysis and error propagation have been applied.

Results and Discussion

The results for this study show that just over 17 per cent of the city's population live within the LECZ, which is defined by 10 metres below sea level. Approximately eight per cent of the total area of the city lies below the 10 metre contour, which is consistent with Kebede's analysis; however, the demographic characteristics have changed significantly. A similar analysis by Kebede using the 2002 demographic statistics estimated 5,3 per cent of the total population, which means that the total number of people has more than doubled. The total city population according to the latest census report has

Figure 4: Phase 1 – Schematic representation of the methodology used.

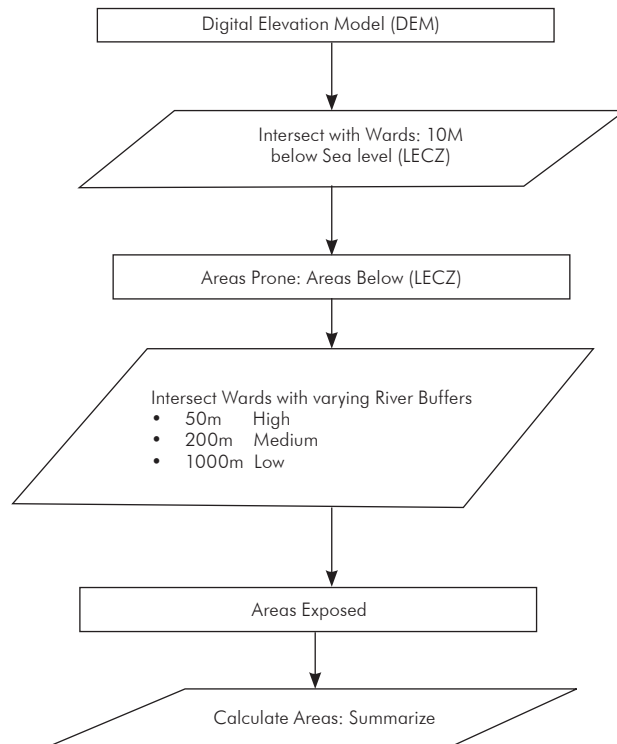
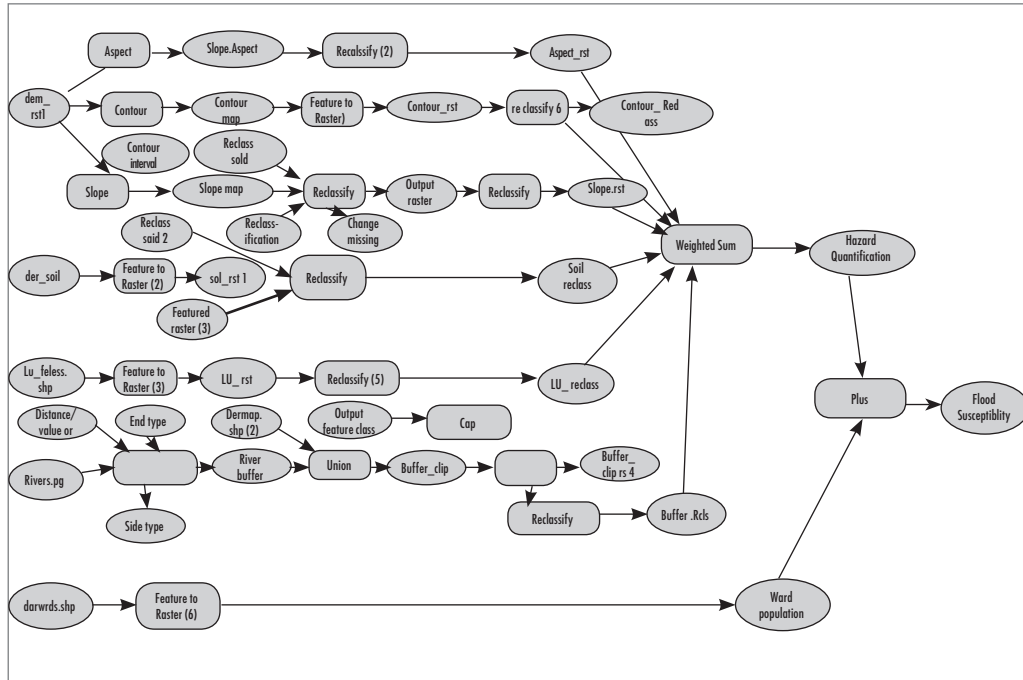


Figure 5: Phase 2 – Model generation on flood susceptibility.



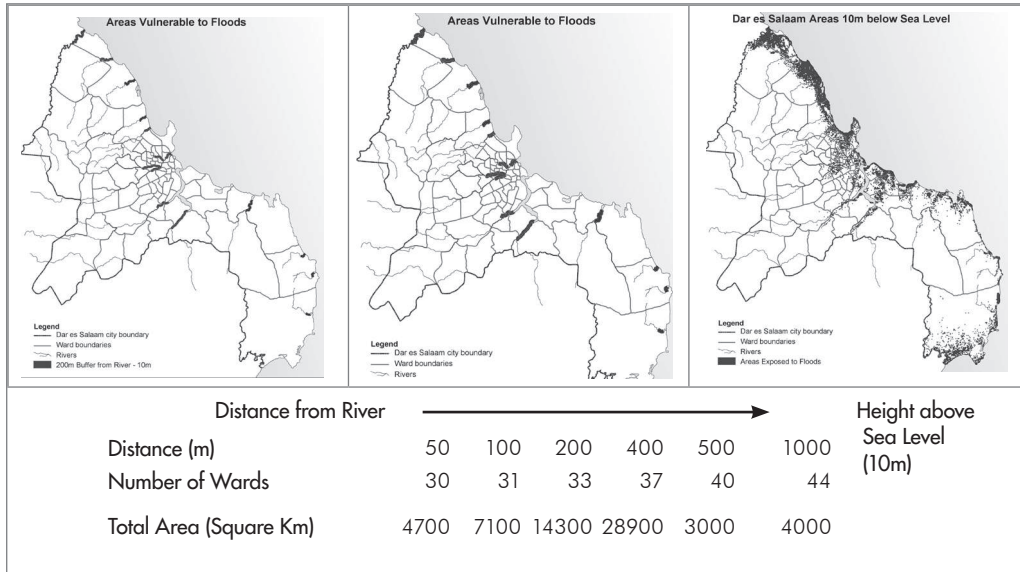
almost doubled from about 2,5 million people to almost 4,5 million.³⁹ Such a trend can be explained by coastal migration and urbanisation.

Based on slope and distance from the rivers, approximately 30 out of 73 wards are exposed to floods. These have an estimated total area of 404,7 square kilometres, as shown in figure 6. In addition, areas that are closer to the rivers are more exposed to floods than those that are a distance away. This result is consistent with previous analysis which used extreme water level scenarios as an indicator for flood exposure. In total not less than 20 per cent of Dar es Salaam's land is susceptible to flood hazards. In essence, the more the city experiences climate extremes in the form of higher rainfall the higher the probability of floods and the more the vulnerability of residents and property

close to rivers and below the LECZ. However, although it is known that input data to GIS multi-criteria evaluation procedures usually present the properties of inaccuracy, imprecision and ambiguity, the method nevertheless assumes that the input data are precise and accurate; hence, the number of wards above might not be a true reflection although it does give an indication for decision-making purposes.

The assumption of delineating areas as being prone based on distance from the river and slope alone cannot guarantee a true reflection of the reality. In order to provide appropriate flood control measures a further analysis was undertaken. This analysis aimed to increase the degree of certainty through a more robust multi-criteria model with more variables. These include other factors such as

Figure 6: Areas vulnerable to floods under varying distance from the rivers



Source: Authors

demographic distribution, precipitation and drainage density, and sensitivity indicators like soil and vegetation, which may also influence the extent of flood vulnerability.⁴⁰ The predicted flood prone areas and degree of vulnerability is shown in figure 7. It is of particular note that areas with a high population density, such as Kawe, Vingunguti and Kunduchi, are highly vulnerable and have a high flood susceptibility score.

As shown in figure 7, most of the vulnerable wards have areas which fall under 20 metres above mean sea level. These include Kunduchi, Kawe, Mikocheni, Msasani, Kinondoni, Upanga and Kisutu. These among others are the highly susceptible zones of Dar es Salaam as they fall within the LECZ. Further, figure 8 corroborates this result with Kunduchi, having an area of over 50 square kilometres, Kimara and Kawe (with over 40 and 30 km² respectively) being the largest areas susceptible to floods. This does not, however, take into account sea level

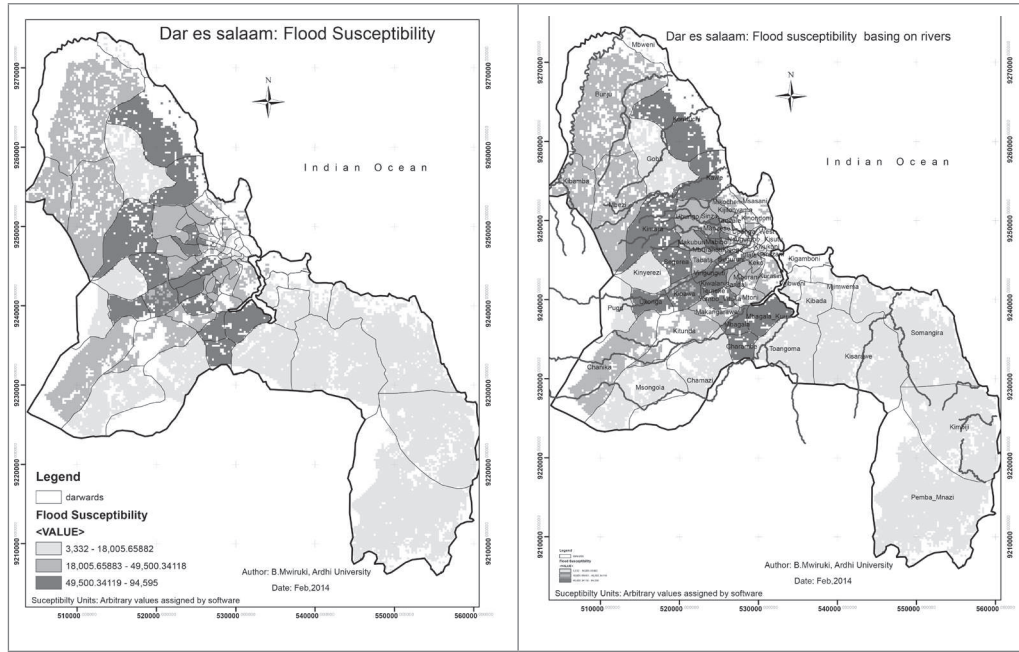
rise, which is a key factor predicated by Kebede to expose approximately 31 000 people under threat from a 1 in 100 year return period storm.

The wards that are heavily affected by proximity to rivers include Kigogo, Buguruni, Kipawa, Vingunguti, Ukonga, Mburahati, Mabibo and Kawe, as shown in figure 7. This figure shows the highly vulnerable areas areas/places with the highest population density and overall population. Overall, the combined total population vulnerable to floods based on proximity to rivers and living below the LECZ is approximately 16 per cent of the total population of Dar es Salaam. In addition, not less than 20 per cent of the total area is susceptible to floods in the coastal city.

Coping: Adaptive Capacity

According to the spatial distribution of flood vulnerability and its components, the extent

Figure 7: Flood susceptibility in Dar es Salaam



Source: Authors.

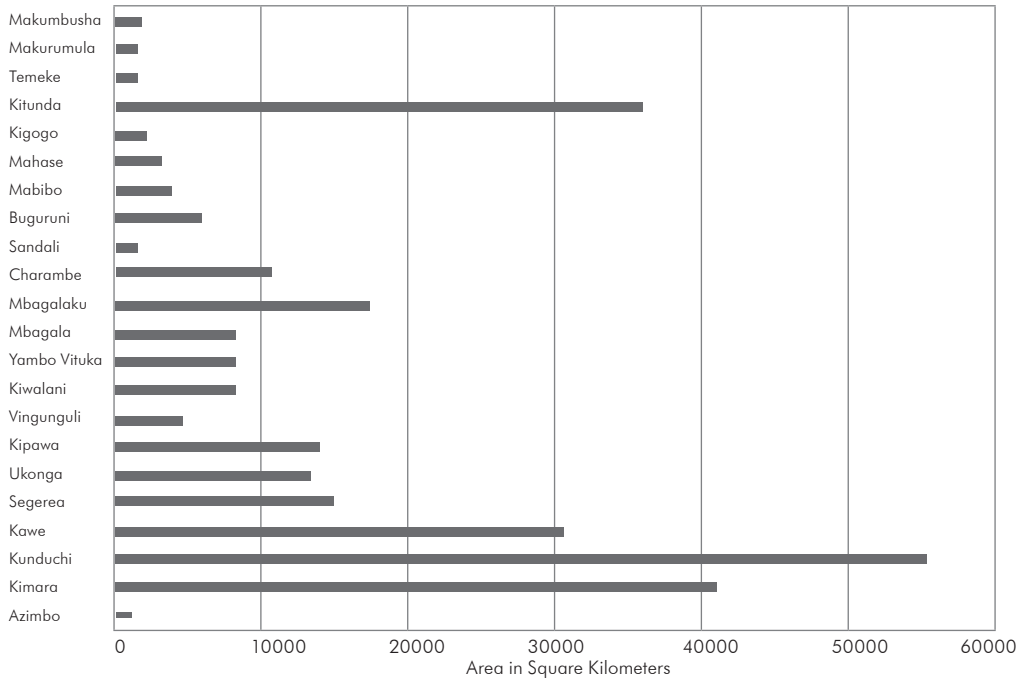
of flood vulnerability is closely related to exposure and variation in flood vulnerability, which are in turn influenced by sensitivity and adaptive capacity. Therefore, any flood management plan should take these into account in order to respond to various degrees of flooding. Table 1 illustrates Tanzania's adaptive capacity focusing on its preparedness and management.

This study observed that poor drainage systems on residential blocks in areas like Msasani Bonde la Mpunga in Dar es Salaam City; areas known to be a natural waterway and a flood basin increase vulnerability to floods. Nonetheless, with the rising urban poverty it is not surprising to see the rapid increase in unplanned settlements within the flood prone areas, thus increasing the vulnerability of the urban poor.

Some of the adaptive measures in place include seasonal displacement, raising foundations for main buildings and toilets and building walls in front of doors/windows. There are also some community initiatives such as the construction of storm water drainage systems and the establishment of special committees for dialogue with the government. Nevertheless, given the severity of some of the extreme climate conditions such as the December 2011 floods, these measures are far from coping with such catastrophes.

One of the strategic responses by the government of Tanzania to reduce future growth in exposure has been the steering of development away from low lying areas to areas that are not threatened by sea level rise and floods. The implementation of such

Figure 8: Graph showing wards and the areas prone to floods



Source: Authors.

a policy has not been effective as evidenced by many new unplanned shops and houses being erected in low elevation coastal zones. The enforcement of such as policy is equally a challenge given the sporadic formation of informal settlements that dominate urbanisation in the city. According to World Bank reports, Tanzania's policy relating to informal settlements has varied over the past decades, witnessing slum clearance during the 1960s, which ceased due to financial constraints, followed by squatter area upgrading projects which were abandoned when the World Bank funding ceased.⁴¹ Certainly these informal settlements have mushroomed to unprecedented levels. Following the recent floods of late 2011, the government has once again embarked on demolishing settlements or houses built in

areas susceptible to floods while providing them with temporary shelter elsewhere. While such a project requires massive capital investment the Disaster Management Committee in collaboration with the Town Planning office lacks adequate funding and technical capacity not only for the rehousing of inhabitants but also the demolition of houses in the flood prone areas.

The lower income communities (urban poor) live in the flood prone areas hence they face greater risk. They have lower adaptive capacity to climate catastrophes; often they have less access to information, scant resources to withstand adverse impacts, and fewer safety nets. In addition, among many problems salt water intrusion has been identified as one of the key challenges particularly in Msasani Bonde la

Mpunga. This is corroding the foundations and walls of their houses. Despite these challenges with little assurance that their homes and belongings will be safe in the case of evacuation, the poor are still reluctant to leave these flood prone areas.

Conclusion

This study provides yet another quantitative GIS analysis predicting areas vulnerable to floods based on physical characteristics and demographic parameters. Findings indicate that more than 20 per cent of the total area of Dar es Salaam is susceptible to floods. Without

Table 1: An overview of Dar es Salaam’s flood vulnerability in view of some adaptive capacity indicators

Indicators of adaptive capacity	Low	Medium	High	Comments
Planning for flood disasters	√			Often ad hoc arrangements in response to floods, attention is mostly on droughts which occur inland more than floods in coastal regions.
Economic growth		√		Tanzania stands out as a model of sound economic performance with a growth rate of over 6% in 2011 and 2012. ⁴² Nonetheless the growth has failed to have an impact on those who make up 80% of the country’s (mostly the poor) population. Hence, they remain vulnerable to flood disasters.
Financial resources	√			Most projects are donor funded. Slum clearance or squatter upgrading projects in flood prone areas have been abandoned due to financial constraints.
Technology resources and human capital	√			According to the United Nations <i>Emergencies, disaster preparedness and response report</i> , ⁴³ lack of access to technology and skills within ministries, departments and agencies are areas of major concern.
Institutions		√		Technically speaking, the policies, strategies, plans and structures needed to support disaster management in Tanzania are in place. However, careful analysis reveals widespread weaknesses in prevention and disaster mitigation strategies, preparedness, emergency responsive capacity and sustainable recovery options.
Population growth and increased vulnerability			√	Projected 85% population living in Dar es Salaam exposed to floods ⁴⁴ .
Floods frequency and severity			√	With the increased frequency and the worst flood since 1957 having been experienced in 2011, a lack of sufficient and good quality observational local climate data hinders accurate planning for early warning of floods.

Source:⁴⁵

considering sea level rise, approximately 16 per cent of the 17 per cent of people living in LECZ is vulnerable to floods and this figure is expected to grow exponentially given the increasing demographic trends. The majority of this population is exposed and vulnerable to floods particularly those living in high density areas such as Kawe, Vingunguti, Kunduchi and Mbagali Kuu. The study therefore advocates for priority to be given to these areas for flood protection and management. The study underscores the notion that construction of settlements and other infrastructure within the low elevation zones, compounded by the changing climate and high variability, increases the vulnerability to and risk of floods in the city.

Although key institutions and structures have been developed to address flood disasters, namely, city planning and disaster management departments, it remains clear that these lack the financial and technical support needed to properly implement the intended policies and strategic programmes set to cope with climate change hazards. As a result the lower income communities (urban poor) who live in flood prone areas remain highly vulnerable as they face greater risk. Like many other cities in the developing world lack of a long-term approach, weak institutional capacity, absence of enforcement of laws and regulations, accompanied by the very high rate of urban growth and resource constraints, Dar es Salaam has emerged with low adaptive capacity in facing the scourge of floods. To help reduce vulnerability to climate

variability and change mainstreaming, good financial investment, technical support, research and development, strict adherence to and proper implementation of enacted programmes and ensuring proper service delivery are key elements that will be needed in future.

The study recommends the need to enhance climate change and disaster management awareness through mainstreaming in communities, while school and college curricula should incorporate them in all social and economic planning. This would minimise ad hoc and ineffective disaster mitigation which is often the case in this city. Research and development in flood disaster management is a key pillar which is required to support politically based framework organs. Therefore the study recommends substantial investment to support scientific research which drives climate change and disaster resilience, coping and adaptation initiatives. In addition the study recommends strict adherence to government approved physical plans. Breach or disrespect of such plans in dubious ways must be avoided at all costs. Above all this study agrees with the report on Urban Poverty and Climate Change in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which appraised the need to improve the quality of life of poor residents by providing them with basic services such as clean water, improved storm water drainage, sanitation facilities and better healthcare. Efforts made in this direction will reduce both current and expected future vulnerability to climatic variability and change.

References

- 1 Masters, L. and Duff, L., 2011. *Overcoming barriers to climate change adaptation implementation in Southern Africa*. South Africa: AISA & IGD.
- 2 ICSU, 2012. Workshop on Projects for the Implementation of Science Plans on Sustainable Energy and on Natural and Human-induced Hazards and Disasters. Pretoria, South Africa.
- 3 Bakker, M.H.N., 2009. Transboundary river floods: Examining countries international river basins and continents. *Water Policy*, 11, pp. 269–288. IWA, USA.
- 4 United Nations Population Division (UNPD), 2007. *Population division of the department of economic and social affairs, world Population prospects: The 2006 revision and world urbanization prospects: the 2007 revision*. Available at <http://esa.un.org/unup> [Accessed on 13 October 2010].
- 5 UN-Habitat, 2004. *The state of the world's cities 2004/2005: Globalization and urban culture*. London: UN-Habitat (United Nations Human Settlement Programme), Earthscan.
- 6 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2001. *Climate change 2001: Impacts adaptation and vulnerability*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 7 Yazdi, J. and Neyshabouri, S.A.S., 2012. Assessing flood vulnerability using a rule-based fuzzy system. *Water Science and Technology*, 66, p. 8.
- 8 Kasperson, J., Kasperson, R., Turner, B.L., Hsieh, W. and Schiller, A., 2005. Vulnerability to global environmental change. In *The social contours of risk, volume 11: Risk analysis corporations and the globalisation of risk*. Earthscan London, pp. 245–285.
- 9 Briguglio, L., Cordina, G., Farrugia, N. and Vella, S., 2009. Economic vulnerability and resilience concepts and measurements. *Oxford Development Studies*, 37(3), pp. 229–247.
- 10 IPCC, op. cit.
- 11 McCarthy, J.J., Canziani, O.F., Leary, N.A., Dokken, D.J. and White, K.S., 2001. *Impacts, adaptation and vulnerability*. Available at http://www.grida.no/publications/other/ipcc_tar/?src=/climate/ipcc_tar/wg2/index.htm [Accessed on 1 March 2012].
- 12 Chen, P. and Chen, X., 2012. Spatio-temporal variation of flood vulnerability at the Poyang Lake Ecological Zone, Jiangxi Province China. *Water Science and Technology*, 65(7).
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Adger, N., 2006. Vulnerability. *Global Environment Change*, 16, pp. 268–281.
- 15 Resilience Alliance, 2001. Available at <http://www.resalliance.org> [Accessed on 10 December 2012].
- 16 Kebede, A.S. and Nichols, R.J., 2011. Exposure and vulnerability to climate extreme: Population and asset exposure to coastal flooding in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *Regional Environmental Change*, 12, pp. 81–94.
- 17 Shi, Y., Xu, S., Shi, C., Sun, A. and Wang, J., 2009. A review on development of vulnerability assessment of floods. *Progress in Geography*, 28(1), pp. 41–46.
- 18 Masgrau, L.R. and Palom, A.R., 2012. Flood vulnerability and commercial activities: The case of the city of Girona Spain. *Journal of Disasters*, 36(94), pp. 676–699.
- 19 Llasat, M.C., Llasat, B. and Lopez, I.L., 2009. A press database on natural risks and its application in the study of floods in north-eastern Spain. *Natural Hazards Earth System Sciences*, 9, pp. 2049–2061.
- 20 Chamuka, T., 2011. *Possible short to long term impacts of the January 2011 floods to South Africa and some of her SADC trading partners*. Available at <http://www.ngopulse.org/article/possible-short-long-term-impacts-january-2011-floods-south> [Accessed on 29 June 2012].
- 21 Satterthwaite, D., Huq, S., Pelling, M., Reid, H. & Lankao, P., 2007. *Adapting to climate change in urban areas*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development. Available at <http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/105491IIED.pdf> [Accessed on 12 December 2010].
- 22 Van Langenhove, G., 2012. *Towards a post-2015 framework for disaster risk reduction*. Available at <http://www.preventionweb.net/posthfa/dialogue/discussion/21/changes-in-severity-and-frequency-of-extreme-weather-and-climate-events-and-consequent-changes-in-behaviour/p1> [Accessed on 20 December 2012].
- 23 Western Governors Association, 2004. *Creating a drought early warning system for the 21st century: The National Integrated Drought Information System*. Denver. Available at www.westgov.org [Accessed on 25 June 2012].
- 24 World Food Programme, 2007. Available at <http://www.wfp.org/stories/floods-across-sub-saharan-africa-hit-15-million-people> [Accessed on 12 December 2012].
- 25 Kebede, A.S. and Nichols, R.J., 2011. Exposure and vulnerability to climate extreme: Population and asset exposure to coastal flooding in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *Regional Environmental Change*, 12, pp. 81–94.
- 26 International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), 2007. *GIS services*. Available at <http://www.ilri.org/GIS> [Accessed on 4 October 2010].
- 27 National Bureau of Statistics, 2012. Available at <http://www.nbs.go.tz/sensa/PDF/2012%20PHC%20POPULAR%20VERSION.pdf> [Accessed on 13 January 2014].
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 IPCC, op. cit.
- 31 Clark, Webster and Cole, 2003; IPCC, op. cit.; Nicholson, 2001; Nicholson and Kim, 1997; Nicholson and Selato, 2000.
- 32 Agrawala, S., and others, 2003. *Development and climate change in Tanzania: Focus on Kilimanjaro*. Paris, France: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).
- 33 IPCC, op. Cit.
- 34 Abbott, J., Chambers, R., Dunn, C., Harris, T., De Merrode, E., Porter, G., Townsend, J. and Weiner, D., 1998. Participatory GIS: Opportunity or oxymoron. *PLA Notes*, 33, pp. 27–34.
- 35 Karanja, I., 2010. An enumeration and mapping of informal settlements in Kisumu Kenya, implemented by their inhabitants. *Environment and Urbanization*, 22(1), pp. 217–239.

- 36 Sani, Y., 2008. Multi-criteria analysis for flood vulnerable areas in Hadejia-Jamaare river basin, Nigeria. ASPRS Annual Conference, Portland, Oregon.
- 37 Musungu, K., Motala, S. and Smit, J., 2012. Using multi-criteria evaluation and GIS for flood risk analysis in informal settlements of Cape Town: The case of Graveyard Pond. *South African Journal of Geomatics*, 1(1).
- 38 Lamelas, M.T., Marino, O., Riva, J. and De la Hoppe, A., 2012. Comparison of multicriteria analysis technique for environmental decision making on industrial location. Chapter 9 in INTECH.
- 39 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2012. More people move to urban areas as Tanzanian population gallops. Available at http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/tanzania/2013/04/19/6599/more_people_move_to_urban_areas_as_tanzanian_population_gallops/ [Accessed on 27 February 2014].
- 40 Chen and Chen, op. cit.
- 41 World Bank, 2002. *Upgrading low income urban settlements*. Country Assessment Report, Tanzania.
- 42 World Bank, 2012. Tanzania economic update: From growth to shared prosperity. Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/2012/11/01> [Accessed on 28 December 2012].
- 43 United Nations Report, 2012. Emergencies, disaster preparedness and response. Available at <http://tz.one.un.org/index.php/what-we-do/emergencies-disaster-preparedness-and-response?showall=1&limitstart> [Accessed on 20 December 2012].
- 44 Kebede and Nicholls, op. cit.
- 45 Mutanga, S. and Mwiruki, B., 2012. *Managing vulnerability to climate extremes in Africa: Some policy insights into frequent flooding in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*. Policy Brief 82. Pretoria, South Africa: AISA.

