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"L'Orientale"

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**TRANSNATIONAL AFRICA**

**PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS**

*(Arrival and registration: June 7. Working sessions: Centro S. Agostino, Via Guelfa 40, Cortona, From Tuesday 8 to Saturday 12 June. Departure: Sunday 13 June)*

**June 8 - morning**

*Opening and greetings by the organizers and Dr. Andrea Vignini (Mayor of Cortona)*

**PANEL 1. Regional and International Dimensions of Conflicts**

**Chair: Alessandro Triulzi** (Università di Napoli "L'Orientale")

**Matteo Guglielmo** (Università di Napoli "L'Orientale")

*Challenging global threats, inflaming regional instability: The Somali conflict and Ethiopia-Eritrea relations in the Age of the "War on Terror"*

Protracted states of conflict and political instability continue to represent the hallmarks of the Horn of Africa. In recent years there has been a spate of books on the Horn, as well as numerous papers, articles and conferences. Historically, conflicts in the region have occurred at all levels: both interstate and intrastate, as well as at the centre and in the periphery. Moreover, international politics has always gained a considerable degree of attention in the Horn, since the cold war to the global war on terror. However, the historical/traditional pattern of local actors aligning themselves with the global agenda, in order to attract international resources and support, has obscured some regional factors of instability, such as the internal dynamics of the Somali conflict and the "unfinished business" between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

From December 2006 to January 2009, due to the Ethiopian military intervention in Somalia, the Horn of Africa has experienced a further wave of insecurity. Moreover, militant Islamism has gained further momentum in Somalia, where new 'extremist' groups, such as *Al-Shabaab* and *Hizbul Islam*, are opposing a West-sponsored transitional government. Contextually, the Ethiopian intervention opened up a new front of war between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Even if United States have been said to back the Ethiopian decision to intervene, a deeper investigation on contemporary regional relations could reverse such an assumption. This paper aims at showing that almost ten years of global war on terrorism in Somalia ended up to hide the regional dimension of the conflict, inflaming some preexistent local factors of crisis.

In order to grasp the connection between global and regional factors of the Somali conflict, the contemporary relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea and their regional politics toward Somalia will be discussed. In so doing, the text will focus on the impact of U.S.-led war on terror in the Horn's *balance of power* and on how it tends not only to leave unsolved some "regional knots" but also to arise new patterns of crisis.

**Lotje Anne De Vries** (ASC, Leiden)

*The Governance of Authority; Daily practices of state building at the Southern Sudanese borders and its implications in a regional perspective*

This paper aims to illustrate the daily practice of the Southern Sudanese state in Kaya and Bazi; two different Southern Sudanese border crossings with neighbouring Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo at only 10 miles distance from one another. It furthermore explores the implications of these practices for the relations with its neighbours DRC and Uganda. The characteristics of the State and its 'daily practice', manifested in the behaviour of officials, in these two locations is quite different for a number of reasons. Kaya is Southern Sudan's most important border crossing in terms of trade and revenues. Bazi on the other hand, only half an hour drive from Kaya, has a commercially quiet border with DR Congo but is strategically important due to security concerns.

Based on socio-anthropological fieldwork, an analysis will be made of the Southern Sudanese state 'under construction'<sup>1</sup>. The fieldwork area was 'liberated' by the SPLA in 1997, after which forms of local government were established. People started to return to from exile, Kaya became an important source of revenue and Yei was turned into the headquarters of the SPLA/M and the capital of the New Sudan's liberated areas. The impact of the liberation in 1997, the signing of the CPA in 2005 and the coming events - elections in Sudan (April 2010) and referendum (January 2011) - all had and have great impact on the practices of governance and significantly influence(d) the relations with the neighbouring states.

Through the study of micro dynamics in the two villages and their linkages with on the one hand the centre of power in Juba and on the other the local relations with the neighbouring states, insights in the organisation of governance and the power relations providing the foundation of this organisation will be given and put in the perspective of translocal and regional dynamics.

**June 8 - afternoon**

**PANEL 2. Transnationalism: migration and popular culture**

**Chair: Maria Cristina Ercolessi** (Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

**Alessandro Jedlowski** (Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

*Pirated transnationalism. Piracy, Nigerian videos and the creation of a Pan-African popular culture*

The Nigerian video industry (Nollywood) is today considered the second largest film industry in the world (UNESCO report, April 2009) and the films it produces dominate the screens of most of the African countries. As some scholars such as John McCall, Onokoome Okome and Jonathan Haynes have emphasized, Nollywood films are participating in the creation of a Pan-African popular culture, which is able to cut across the cultural and historical legacies of colonialism, defining collective imageries about what does it mean to be African. Nigerian videos influence the way in which people speak and dress in countries as different as Zambia and Tanzania. Some of these videos, the so-called Hallelujah films, are used to convey religious messages by the evangelical in Congo Kinshasa and Ghana, while young directors and producers in Kenya and Cameroun are trying to replicate the industry in their own countries. These films are also popular within the African diaspora, in Europe as well as in the States and in the Caribbean and they are participating in the construction of diaporic images of modern Africa.

However, even if the success of the industry is now internationally recognized, Nollywood is today facing a deep crisis that could transform its face. The popular success Nollywood has been able to meet inside and outside Nigeria is mainly due to the circulation of pirated copies. The industry has failed in structuring a proper distribution network that could guarantee the control of the incomes that the sell of the videos has created. Thus today, while the industry is celebrated overseas for its rapid and astonishing popular success, most of the producers have interrupted their activity and the industry is desperately searching for new commercial solutions.

Under the light of a recent fieldwork in Nigeria (January and February 2010), this presentation explores the interrelationship between piracy and transnationalism in what concerns both the success and the actual crisis of the Nigerian industry. If on one hand piracy has been the main vector of Nollywood success, it is today becoming the reason of its failure. The transnational success of the pirated distribution has given Nollywood an international dimension that the industry is now unable to face. The future of Nollywood is an open question mark, and the local actors are working toward very different solutions. Some directors are moving back to television broadcasting, some other are trying to make a step forward, restructuring the production and distribution system to bring Nollywood films in cinema theatres. Finally other directors simply decided to leave the industry, convinced that sooner or later a new media industry, born in some other African country out of the ashes of Nollywood success, will dominate the African screens. Departing from the analysis of the interception of piracy and transnationalism, this presentation will explore the different strategies adopted by Nigerian producers and directors to face the crisis, opening up the space for a critical debate about the future of the industry.

**Audrey Jolivel** (CEAN, Bordeaux)

*State and mobility in Senegal or how migration management redefine transnationalism*

This paper is analysing connections between State and “international migrations” in Senegal. I will focused on how migration management by the state interferes with the transnational paradigm (non state actors role, state sovereignty relativity) and provokes mutations and ruptures in citizenship (links between a population and a state). Therefore, the paper will take into account contributions of state-centred theories (realism-idealism debate) as well as contributions of transnationalism studies<sup>1</sup> (Sindjoun). Both approaches are needed to explain the complexity, nature and scale of mobility and its connections with the state, as it is the case for forced migration (refugees) or trans-communities migrations, which have specific territory practices that cross boundaries. In many ways, practices of mobility in Senegal may corroborate the discourse of the end of the State<sup>2</sup> (Badie), but the paper tries to go beyond the strict separation between state and transnational actors in order to understand their interdependencies<sup>3</sup> (Krasner) and how it is changing citizenship and the notion of the state itself. Moreover, it is important to quote that those interdependencies are acting in the specific context of West Africa where dynamics and logics such as settled way of life, nomadism, individualism, communities’ way of life, localism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism become intermingled. The main difficulty remains to consider that sociological bases of any state are the existence of a “safe and recognized<sup>4</sup>” international borders (Gonidec) where “floating population”, defined by its mobility (smugglers, refugees, seasonal migrant’s workers...) represents a potential threat to the state<sup>5</sup>” (Bennafla). Then how to interpret the extraterritoriality of Diaspora issues or the absence of a national migration policy? Indeed, in practice, the state of Senegal is not looking for “determine who belongs and who does not belongs, who can come and leave, and make those distinctions intelligible and applicable<sup>6</sup>” (Torpey). Should we deduce that the State of Senegal has no real scope facing transnational movements? In fact, mobility is considered essential for the state and is part of its identities where state’s discourses and practices on migration have consequences on citizenship (defined as a status, a practice and a process). Citizenship is central in the study of transnational relations (analyzed in this case as individuals and networks mobility) to explain its interdependencies with the state. To conclude and to clarify my objectives, I will say that the paper aims at examining “the disarticulation of the national and international order, jostling principles of state sovereignty, territoriality and citizenship<sup>7</sup>” (Appadurai) through the “international” migration issue in Senegal.

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<sup>1</sup> SINDJOUN L. (1999), « L’Afrique dans la science des relations internationales », *revue africaine de Sociologie*, vol3, n°2 ; (2001), «Transformation of international relations», *International Political Science Review*, special issue, vol.22, n°3, juillet.

<sup>2</sup> BADIE B. (1992), « L’Etat importé », Paris, Fayard; (1995); «La fin des territoires », Paris, Fayard

<sup>3</sup> KRASNER S. D. (1995), « Power politics, institutions and transnational relations », in *Bringing Transnational relations Back*, in Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>4</sup> GONIDEC (1995), « La crise africaine, une crise de l’Etat », *Afrique 2000*, n°20.

<sup>5</sup> BENNAFLA K. (1999), « La fin des territoires nationaux ? Etat et commerce frontalier en Afrique centrale », *Politique africaine*, 73, p.25-49.

<sup>6</sup> TORPEY J. (1998), « Aller et venir : le monopole étatique des « moyens légitimes de circulation » », *Cultures et conflits*, numéro spécial « Sécurité et immigration ».

<sup>7</sup> APPADURAI A. (1990), « Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy », *Public Culture*, 2,2.

June 9 - morning

**PANEL 3. Coping with the Past – local and translocal**

**Chair: Achim von Oppen** (Universität Bayreuth)

**Koffi Noël Kouassi** (Université de Bouakè, Abidjan/EHESS Paris)

*Résurgence et dynamique de l'institution guerrière kroumen dans le cadre ivoirienne*

Cette contribution a pour objet l'implication des institutions traditionnelles de sécurisation des communautés rurales dans la crise ivoirienne. Le cas des guerriers kroumen de Tabou, dans le Sud-ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire nous sert d'entrée pour signaler la non-problématisation de cette dimension de la crise ivoirienne. Or, se présentant comme le creuset de la mobilisation des jeunes dans les activités de sécurisation des communautés rurales, dans le cadre du conflit ivoirien, l'implication de ces institutions traditionnelles renferme de nombreuses contradictions. Mais à l'état actuel de la réflexion, nous ne pouvons véritablement entrer en profondeur dans la discussion. Ce papier montre que dans le cas des kroumen de Tabou, l'institution guerrière fait partie intégrante de leur organisation coutumière mais elle est en état latent en période de paix. L'attaque du pays kroumen a favorisé sa résurgence. Elle a été le cadre de la mobilisation des populations villageoises contre les rebelles. Avec l'évolution de la crise, on a constaté le retrait des guerriers traditionnels. Mais se réappropriant l'identité des guerriers, certains autochtones prolongent la résistance traditionnelle, l'annexant aux barrages patriotiques.

Cette communication s'appuie sur des données du programme « TRANSGUERRES » qui s'intéresse à la mobilisation violente des jeunes dans le cadre du conflit ivoirien de septembre 2002. Leur production se fonde la démarche ethnographique. Les enquêtes sont menées par une équipe de doctorants sous la direction de Jean-Pierre Chauveau.

**Mots-clés:** Institution guerrière ; kroumen ; Conflits fonciers ; Crise ivoirienne ; Autodéfense ; Résistance ; Tabou

**Discussant: Silke Oldenburg** (Universität Bayreuth)

**Paul Stacey** (Roskilde Univ.)

*The potent legacy of indirect rule and undemocratic progress in northern Ghana*

All over sub-Saharan Africa there are currently two broad governance programmes being implemented that are hailed by the international community as direct evidence of improved and embedded democratisation. First is the devolution of power away from the state which is accompanied by an often accelerated process of district creation. Second is the resurgence of traditional authorities and the role these should play in facilitating grassroots socio-political development. All over the continent, these two processes have influenced a wealth of literature that purports an African form of democracy taking shape that is more likely to succeed because unique African political institutions are being incorporated at local levels. The analysis takes exception to this optimistic view, that the incorporation of traditional authorities into local government institutions is a straight forward undertaking that can only fulfill the objectives of decentralisation reform and the developmental ambitions of donors. This is done by undertaking a historical investigation into the role traditional authorities have played in a district in northern Ghana, Kpandai, and traces how their incorporation into local government institutions continues to be undermined by the persistence of colonially established power structures.



On a broader level the thesis traces path dependency and the construction and reproduction of differentiated citizenship status that can also be witnessed in many other African locations. Here the thesis gives an insight to a prolonged political stalemate, between constitutional protection given today to colonially established chiefly institutions on the one hand and the contemporary democratic ambitions of the Ghanaian state and donors on the other. The analysis finds support from Mamdani's adage that the site of societal struggle in sub-Saharan Africa lies with customary law which is a central stumbling block for the attainment of democracy. Here the case shows that despite the considerable progress made in Ghana in its transition to a stable democracy, it still retains some potent, ultimately undemocratic institutional legacies from its past.

**Joan Haig** (University of Edinburgh)

*'Keeping in Touch with Home': Zambian Hindu transnationalism and belonging*

Research into Africa's transnational migrants has sidelined, if not neglected, African migrant groups that fall outside a racially-bounded perception of 'African' culture. This paper uses the case of Zambia's Indian community to reconceptualise 'African' transnationalism. Like elsewhere, the Indian minority of Zambia constitutes individuals with a variety of citizenship affiliations, many of whom are Zambian passport-holders. As well as being a 'receiving' state for Indian migrants for over a century, Zambia is also a 'sending' state for Zambian migrants, including Indian 'twice migrants' (Bhachu, 1985). Most twice migrants seek educational, employment or marital opportunities abroad, and some – dubbed the 'ex-Zambian Indians' – eventually acquire alternative citizenship or permanent residency in the UK, USA, Canada or Australia, and occasionally India. Importantly, ex-Zambian Indians often maintain strong links to Zambia. Many have constructed ex-Zambian Indian associations in their new destinations in order to build and maintain a distinctly 'African' Indian identity. Most send remittances and charitable donations back to Zambia, and maintain land and/or investments in Zambia, where often someone in their extended family retains Zambian citizenship or residency. Rarely have twice migrants, so far, relinquished material or familial attachments to Zambia altogether. Often, it is as twice migrants that Indians from Zambia are able to access the investment and dual citizenship privileges offered in strategic countries by the Indian state (Dickinson and Bailey, 2007). However, some economically successful migrants have used these privileges to bolster their identity as Zambians, and their status and 'legacy' within Zambia.

These transnational activities are presently structured by the migrants themselves – what Itzingsohn calls 'immigrant-based transnationalism' (2000: 1127). Such activities, and the complex identity-building which both results and is required by them, transcend state boundaries and particularistic ideas of national belonging. Indeed, as this paper will show, ex-Zambian Indians often treat citizenship itself as 'flexible' (see Ong, 1999 and Benhabib, 2000). Given the historical insecurities of Asians generally in Africa, members of the Indian minority in Zambia regard migration of community members – whether permanent or temporary – as inevitable. In this paper I focus on research carried out with the Hindu Indian community between 2006 and 2008. My research entailed archival and ethnographic methods, including participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and projects with youth groups. Here I will first sketch a contextual history of Indians in Zambia. Second, I will discuss the second migration of Zambian Indians – particularly Hindus – to other countries. Third, I will examine the attachments to Zambia, and some transnational activities, of some Hindu Indians who have migrated from Zambia to the United States and the United Kingdom. The paper adds to the growing literature on African transnationalism by showing how minority migrants from Africa continue to maintain links and contribute to the development of Africa. Such minorities also challenge current thinking within

transnational studies which structure transnational patterns in terms of bilateral politics and a sending-receiving state relationship.

**Discussant: Agnese Formica** (Università degli Studi di Urbino)

**June 9 -afternoon**

**PANEL 4. New Trends in Economic Partnerships/China and Europe in Africa**

**Chair: Peter Kragelund** (Roskilde Univ.)

**Ulrike Lorenz** (IAS, Leipzig)

*Negotiating trade agreements, producing regionalizing orders? The Economic Partnership Agreements between the EU and Southern Africa*

The relations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries constitute the main share of the EU's external relations with the South. These relations date back to the Yaounde Conventions, followed by almost 30 years of four Lomé Conventions that introduced the principle of non-reciprocal trade preferences. With the signing of the Cotonou Agreements in 2000 however, this then long-standing principle was again dismissed in favour of WTO compatible trading arrangements to be negotiated until end 2007. Apart from introducing a new trade regime, these so call Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) also signify a substantial transformation process of the spatial character of the relations between the EU and the ACP countries from being conducted mainly bilaterally to taking place on an interregional level.

The paper hypothesises that interregional trade agreements form a major part of the EU's promotion of a new spatial idea of "constructing regions", which has, so far, more often been emulated than criticised. Yet, in case of the recent negotiations of the EPAs between the EU and the ACP countries, this model and consequently the idea of European integration has been met with strong resistance. The paper argues that the EPA negotiation process thus constitutes a prime case to scrutinize the assumption that this resistance is related to ongoing complex "re-ordering" processes determining the EU's External Relations with the South.

The paper will in a first part present the theoretical background of political order. Taking the EPA negotiations between the EU and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) EPA grouping with a focus on Botswana, South Africa and Mozambique as case studies in the second part, the paper will scrutinize mechanisms of production of a regionalising order taking place in the negotiations within an actor-based network of national, regional and interregional relations within Southern Africa and with the EU.

**Agnese Formica** (Università degli Studi di Urbino)

*Some field research findings about the impacts on Zambia of agricultural cooperation with China*

In the field of China - Africa relations, especially within the FOCAC<sup>8</sup> framework, the term cooperation includes all the activities capable to produce a mutually beneficial outcome<sup>9</sup> (in the political, economic, social sphere) for China and African partners.

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<sup>8</sup> The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation [www.focac.org](http://www.focac.org). A cooperation mechanism in the sphere of south - south cooperation, which consists of a platform for dialogue and consultation among China and African countries and

Agriculture is a very important sector in China – Africa relations. For a country like Zambia, this sector is fundamental to pursue a sustainable development: because it contributes to GDP, because it helps diversifying the economy, because it is able to improve the living standard of the majority of population, which lives out of it. Despite agricultural development is presently a priority of Zambian government, many serious challenges hinder its proper development, for example: lack of financial support for commercial agriculture, lack of funding and know-how for research, extension services<sup>10</sup> and rural infrastructures.

Even though for China cooperation in agriculture doesn't have the same strategic importance as cooperation in the extractive industries, it still detains an economic and political value. From the economic point of view, Zambia offers incentives for Chinese investments in agriculture and agro processing; from the political point of view, technical cooperation in agriculture is a fundamental tool of Chinese *soft power* strategies in Africa. An example of this could be the International Agricultural Universities Presidential Forum on Agricultural Development in Africa organized in Beijing in June 2009 by China Agricultural University, Gates Foundation and AGRA (Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa) in order to have an opportunity for academic agricultural experts from Africa, China and the West to meet and understand how academic relationships could contribute to address African agricultural developmental needs.

Chinese presence in Zambian agriculture can be divided into three categories: the first involves the intergovernmental development assistance projects which include technical cooperation; the second involves Chinese companies investments in farming activities in Zambia; the third involves Chinese investments in the agro processing sector.

The aim of this paper, based on the results of a two months period field research in Zambia, is to analyze projects belonging to each of the categories mentioned above, to show how these could be mutually beneficial for China and Zambia and to point out what are the obstacles to the full realization of a win – win outcome, like: non flexibility of agreements and procedures, cultural barriers, lack of strategic vision of the Zambian government and excess of emphasis on market economy logics.

## June 10 – morning

### **PANEL 5. International diffusion and transfer in development**

**Chair: Paul Nugent** (University of Edinburgh)

**Perrine Bonvalet** (CEAN, Bordeaux)

*Policy Transfer, Idea Diffusion and Mediators: Why do International and Benin AIDS Policies look so much alike*

Following international recommendations regarding antiretroviral treatments, Benin has been promoting universal access through its national AIDS policy since the beginning of 2000s. AIDS policy in this country is elaborated by the National AIDS Council (CNLS), placed directly under the authority of the President and within a field where actors of different nature join together to decide

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regional organizations, created, in 2000, for developing countries to properly address the challenges of economic globalization and promote a common development.

<sup>9</sup> Also defined as Win-Win Cooperation.

<sup>10</sup> Extension services are all the programs that public or private institutions of a country promote in order to train farmers and introduce them to the use of new and more effective technologies.



the main policy orientations. The implementation of AIDS care is then undertaken by the National program on AIDS (PNLS), mainly funded by the Global Fund to fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The social aspects of the pandemics are dealt with through the Multisectoral HIV/AIDS Control Project funded by the World Bank. Bilateral cooperations and international NGOs have also started various programs in the country in order to compensate for the state “failure” to provide for national access to antiretroviral treatments.

As this mapping of Benin AIDS field highlights, international actors play a tremendous role in influencing the design of AIDS national policies: Benin, as many other African countries, closely follows an international lead defined by the WHO and UNAIDS. If the international community emphasizes the necessity to give the leadership to the beneficiary state, this attitude of “a follower” seems to indicate that this new international stand has yet to translate into concrete effects on the ground.

This paper will focus on the relationship between actors at the international level (cooperations, international organisations, individuals) and actors at the national level (state, individuals...) and will use a policy transfer theoretical framework.

First, we will question the position of the Beninese state in designing its own policies. Policy transfer studies provide us with useful theoretical tools to account for the paramount position of international actors by highlighting the relationships between international and national actors. Drawing on previous research and new empirical evidence for Benin, we will show that historical paths, aid dependency and the lack of national capabilities are some of the reasons that explain why Benin (but most African countries as well) let international organizations and bilateral co-operations take the lead on AIDS policies.

Then, we will apply theories focusing on idea diffusion rather than strict policy transfer as complementary tools to grasp transnational interaction between individuals and its impact. Spread by international actors, ideas founding Benin’s AIDS policy have been interiorized by key high level nationals, closely linked to the international level. We will pay attention to these key individuals who can be seen as “mediators” between the international and the national levels. The analysis of the French hospital twinning programme ESTHER will be mobilized here to illustrate this point.

This paper is part of a more comprehensive research analysing the impact of the “normalisation” of AIDS policy in Benin – from exceptional measures to normalized policy within the national health system – on the state and its relationship to external actors. The fieldwork for this research will take place in Cotonou in March – April 2010 and October 2010–April 2011.

**Discussant: Paul Stacey** (Roskilde Univ.)

**Danielle Minteu Kadje** (CEAN, Bordeaux)

#### *Transnational Codevelopment and Migration in France, Mali and Senegal*

Transnational Codevelopment has various impacts, among them on local development, social and spatial relations. This paper aims to analyse the case of migrants from Senegal and Mali living in France. These migrants take progressively part in codevelopment practices, particularly in social, economic and political activities, flows and exchanges. Drawing from my doctoral research, this presentation analyses the impact of transnational migration in France on the transformation of the rural region in Mali and Senegal. Those countries are particular because of their high emigration rate. Majority of Malians and Senegalese in France come those droughts regions and this long term migration began during the post second world war economic boom in France and was made possible due to the economic treaties binding both countries. The paper focuses primarily on the case of France and on the integration of these migrants at the regional level; it will analyse how the

migrants are organized in development associations which cooperate with NGOs and France local authorities in order to support developmental projects in their countries of origin. The paper argues that the transnational codevelopment challenges traditional roles and norms of the State. Further, transnational migrants do not belong exclusively to either home or host country. They build up connections with and owe allegiances to both: they are “Here” (France) and “There”(Africa). This paper highlights the paradigm of transnational spaces in policy analysis. It focuses essentially on development and diaspora and can be viewed as a new approach to poverty reduction.

**Keywords:** Codevelopment, Development cooperation, Transnational migration, policy-making, France, Mali, Senegal.

**Discussant: Stefanie Müller-Baumert** (IAS, Leipzig)

**Stefanie Müller-Baumert** (IAS, Leipzig)

*Higher Education in Africa – Transnational aspects of the transformation process in the higher education sector in South Africa (1990-2010)*

The political restructuring of the higher education landscape in South Africa since the beginning of the countries’ transformation process in 1994 is of particular interest when talking about ‘Transnational Africa’. The analysis of transnational dimensions in this process promises new insights in how a previously nationally oriented policy field becomes a more globally oriented one. Furthermore, the analysis sheds light on transnationally informed policy formulation, the restructuring and re-positioning of higher education and the role of education in a globalising world. The apartheid policy had resulted in an extremely fragmented system of higher education and in South Africa being isolated from the international community and from global changes. I argue that these historic circumstances have first delayed the opening of the South African system of higher education (as well as the opening of individual institutions) with regard to processes of internationalisation and transnationalisation, followed by a period of accelerated and intense transnationalisation in the aftermath of the first democratic elections in 1994.

The end of apartheid in South Africa led to a highly participative national reform process in the field of higher education. A National Commission for Higher Education (NCHE) was appointed to “preserve what is valuable and to address what is defective and requires transformation” .

The access for previously disadvantaged population groups had to be widened and a thorough scrutiny for existing qualities of higher education had to be done. Among the commission’s main tasks were the identification of international best practices and the inclusion of external experiences into the South African system. From this point onwards international developments would deeply and continuously irritate and challenge the national reform agenda for higher education at different levels of the system.

To make theoretical sense of the incorporation of these international best practices, I am using the theoretical concept of *transferts culturels* . The theoretical approach is informed by the spatial turn debate which is nourished by the observation that the clarity of spatial frameworks for social action, which came along with the formation and later dominance of the nation state understood as a container, has disappeared and given way to an irritating and challenging plurality of forms of territorialisation and dialectical processes of de- and reterritorialisation.

The paper intends to briefly introduce the reader to the higher education landscape in South Africa under apartheid before outlining the developments in the sector after 1994 in more detail. It is particularly interested in revealing transnational elements in the reorganisation of the higher education system and in addressing questions of spatiality theoretically.

June 10 – afternoon

**PANEL 6. International donors and development**

**Chair: Maria Cristina Ercolessi** (Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

**Valeria Saggiomo** (Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

*Islamic NGOs and development approaches: the case of Somalia.*

The scope of this paper is twofold: on one side, this paper will briefly explore the notion of development in Islam, particularly among Islamic NGOs; on the other it will verify this eventual conception of Development on a specific case study.

Is there a common understanding of the notion of “development” among Islamic NGOs? Do they pursue a particular development model? Does this model fit with the practice of Islamic NGOs in Somalia in the health and education sector?

According to the UK based Research Project “Religions and Development”, despite the huge body of literature on Islamic social theory which is at the base of a tentative Islamic notion of development, “there is no specific tradition in Islam that deals with what can be classified as development” (Mohammed R. Kroessin, 2008). However, as some scholars argue, two main paradigms seem to be relevant to this discourse: improvement in the economic conditions of individuals in a given society, and social justice (Mohammed I. Ansari).

In order to understand how Islamic NGOs approach development in the places where they work, we will not theological primary sources that indirectly deal with the concept of development, as in most of Islamic studies. Instead, secondary sources will be used to get an understanding of the development discourse among Islamic NGOs; this includes reports and articles by academics and scholars, available in English language and limited literature produced for Islamic NGOs on the theme of development, for instance the Arab Human Development Report and related reactions from the Muslim world. In addition to this, primary sources linked to the Islamic NGO world will be explored; this includes the analysis of websites that disseminate Islamic NGOs advocacy strategies, code of conducts, NGOs financial statements, and analysis of those blogs that are structured as question-answer fora where religious authorities address believers doubts regarding conformity of religious prescriptions with modern life. The choice of these specific sources of information is justified by the need to consult sources that reflect the current dynamics of Islamic norms and practices.

The resulting discourse on development in Islam will then be verified at local level through the Somali case study. We will select two typical development sectors, education and health, and will analyze the work done by Islamic NGOs in these sectors in Somalia, the approach that is followed and promoted.

**Discussant: Aboubakr Tandia** (Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar)

**Rozenn N. Diallo (Bordeaux)**

*The Mozambican State-international donors’ relationship: an analysis through the conservation arena.*

The conservation field, that is to say the protection of biodiversity within conservation areas such as National Parks, attracts important international funds in Mozambique, especially since the

end of the civil war in 1992. Many international donors intervene in this sector, financing the management of some areas, but also contributing to shaping the new legislation related to the sector.

In August 2009, a “Conservation Policy” has been approved by the Council of ministers, after two years of negotiation between the main ministries, and the main international donors and conservation organizations involved – that is to say the World Bank, the French Agency for development, the GTZ, and the WWF. Many meetings have been organized between donors and ministries, in order to elaborate this Policy. The analysis of the interactions between the different actors allows apprehending a conservation arena, where the decisions were taken as far as the Policy was concerned.

The study of the elaboration of the Conservation Policy questions the way a global issue – sustainable development through environmental protection and poverty reduction, thanks to conservation areas – is dealt with in a context of important dependency towards the international funds. A sociology of the actors, of their interactions, but also the study of the diffusion and (re)appropriation of global narratives that are carried out by donors within the Mozambican scene will be the main issues that this paper will tackle with.

This paper is based on fresh empirical data, for I have been conducting my field research in Mozambique during several months since April 2009. Many interviews were realized with the main actors directly involved in the Policy process, that is to say with Mozambican actors, as well as representatives of the international donors and conservation organizations. This empirical material is thus the base for an analysis of the Mozambican State-international donors’ relationship. Indeed, the Mozambican State can be thought through its relation with international donors, analyzing its position within the conservation arena.

This relation appears as particularly marked by the domination of the World Bank in the Mozambican conservation agenda. Indeed, the Bank is running a conservation program within the Ministry of Tourism that basically managed the whole process, above all by forming a ‘Conservation Group’, composed by the main international donors and conservation organization involved. This Group played an important role in the shaping of the Policy, having a quite large influence.

## June 11 - morning

### **PANEL 7. Conflict, identity and state-building in regional perspective**

**Chair/discussant: Klaas van Walraven** (ASC, Leiden)

**Silke Oldenburg** (Universität Bayreuth)

*Strengthening National Identity in a Transnational Setting: The Perception of War and Conflict in Goma/ DR Congo*

North Kivu, the war torn province in Eastern Congo is a transnational setting par excellence: transnational actors doing business in the mining sector, the largest transnational peacekeeping forces of the United Nations (MONUC) trying to provide security, transnational humanitarian aid organizations giving a helping hand and armed groups from neighbouring countries are fighting their wars in the Kivus. Historically the Great Lakes region has always been a hub of migration and commerce between the West and the East of Central Africa, which facilitated exchange of people and goods between the different kingdoms and peoples. Hereby the ethnic complexity of North Kivu is a major factor of tensions, rumours and conflict. The profound and prolonged war in the

Kivus generates interventions of different actors, interests and discourses of security, profit and “aid”.

Drawing on data of ethnographic fieldwork in Goma (January-December 2008; June-September 2009) the capital of the North Kivu province, I want to focus on youths’ perceptions of conflict, identity and future perspectives in this highly complex scenario. My research partners were well aware of different transnational constellations surrounding questions of power and economical networks in their sociopolitical environment, allowing them an interpretation of these external interventions. As contribution for the Cortona Summer school I like to provide an analysis of the “Kivu Crisis” in autumn 2008, when Laurent Nkunda’s politico-military movement CNDP (*Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple*) tried to take over Goma. In this framework I want to demonstrate how images of armed groups (CNDP, but also MONUC) are entering sites of Congolese identity construction. Even if the CNDP reclaimed for itself being a purely Congolese rebellion in quest for security for the ethnic minority of Tutsi, there were always rumours, linking the CNDP to Rwanda. As for the Aid agencies, *Gomatraciens*<sup>11</sup> like to comment their work with the proverb “No Nkunda, no money – no Nkunda no job”. Weiss and Carayannis (2005)<sup>12</sup> show how Congolese national identity became stronger while on the other side excluding the group of Rwandophone peoples. By means of narratives and rumours during the Kivu crisis 2008 I will show how particularly young people are creating themselves a status of victimcy. While there are a lot of transnational phenomena at play in Goma, a strong sense for national identity is generated in spite of ethnic differences.

Questions to be dealt with during the Summer School would be: How do youths in Goma perceive and analyze ongoing processes of transnational interventions? What consequences does that imply for questions of national identity? How do young people react towards the present transnational actors and how are they dealing with discourses of “war” and “peace” while observing and commenting on their fragile environment? Focusing on these questions, I hope to understand more about the nature of identity-making for a generation which is very often labeled by pessimist observers as a lost one.

**Discussant: Lotje Anne De Vries** (ASC, Leiden)

**Aboubakr Tandia** (Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar)

#### *Transnational actors and dimensions of the Casamance conflict*

In prolongation of recent research this paper diverges from a commonplace State-to-State approach of the Casamance conflict by focusing on the actors and dimensions of this forgotten civil war. This conflict has been analysed from the perspective of bilateral relations of neighbouring countries of the war system of Casamance and Guinea Bissau conflict spots. As such policies and analyses of resolution of the conflict are caught in this inter-national prism while the communities on the ground are wandering throughout borders in the trap of mine bombing, rebel and community violence, and transnational crime.

Based on recent and supplementary coming fieldwork, this contribution will pay attention to borderland geopolitics of the conflict with the aim of depicting and analyzing the unconsidered role of non-State and local actors, apart from rebel and criminal groups, such as youth, migrants and security forces as well as local borderland representatives and administrators. In their diverse and complex interactions around and within the conflict, these protagonists give a transnational

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<sup>11</sup> Gomatracien: Inhabitant of Goma.

<sup>12</sup> Weiss, Herbert F; Carayannis, Tatiana (2005): The Enduring Idea of the Congo. In: Larémont, Ricardo René, ed.: Borders, Nationalism, and the African State. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 135-177.



dimension to the conflict which has been reduced to its cross-national territoriality. The actors have also been the different governments, presidents and the Casamance rebellion and its allied groups in the Bissau-Guinean military.

The “transnationality” of actors and dimensions are not only revealed by their identity and territorial distribution. Historically they have been in one way or another linked to the local cross-border conflictuality. In addition to a horizontal approach of the conflict that looks at territorialities and social representations of the Casamance conflict-region, a vertical approach will convoke historical dynamics of the conflict. Among these we can mention the changes of the social space of the communities, the socio-demographic inducements of migrations related to the conflict, the emergence of a local war economy, and new social polarizations such as youth-adult and inner youth cleavages linked to the conflict.

So the aim of this research is to go beyond the inter-national geopolitics of the conflict and its territorial development which is now going northward and eastward. It seems in effect that a transnational geopolitics grounded on a borderland approach of the conflict may help understand the most current developments of the conflict. The core issue here is how, and to what extent do the transnational characters of the conflict challenge the ways in which it has been so far perceived, understood, and managed?

**Keywords:** Actor, Dimension, transnationalism, Conflict, Casamance conflict

**Discussant:** Audrey Jolivel (CEAN, Bordeaux)

**Federica Guazzini** (Università degli Studi di Siena)

*A War-like State? Eritrea and the boundaries of tensions in the Horn of Africa*

**Discussant:** Matteo Guglielmo (Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)

## June 11 – afternoon

*Football World Championship – Inauguration ceremony/match*

*Introduction and comments: Antonio Pezzano*

## June 12 – morning

*Plenary discussion on school: feedback from students; suggestions and proposal for future edition.*