

news

from the Nordic Africa Institute

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FROM THE CONTENTS

The Nigerian elections

Said Adejumobi

THEME: COPING STRATEGIES

Healing in Somaliland

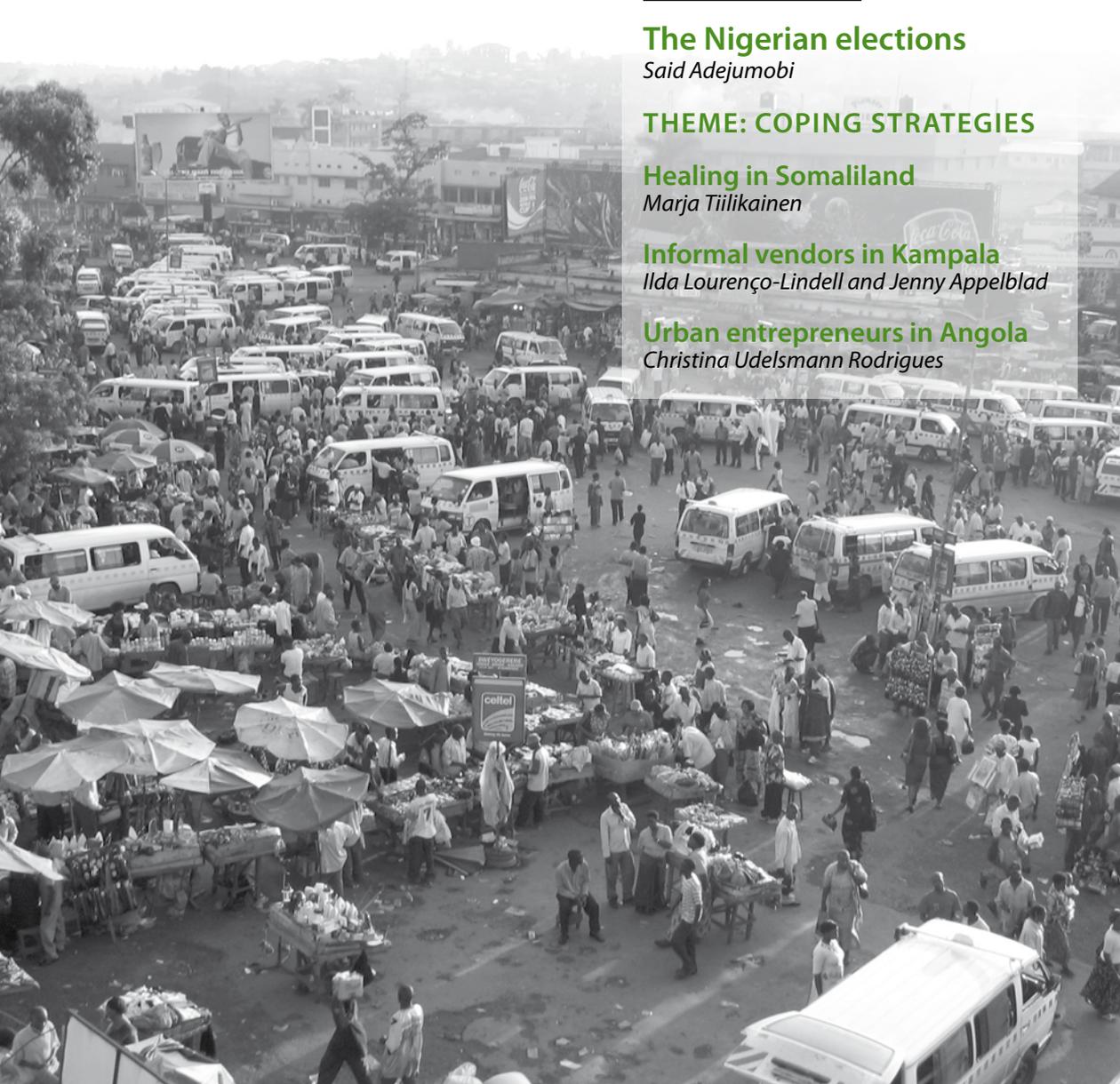
Marja Tiilikainen

Informal vendors in Kampala

Ilda Lourenço-Lindell and Jenny Appelblad

Urban entrepreneurs in Angola

Christina Udelsmann Rodrigues



CONTENTS

TO OUR READERS	1	May 2007 <i>Carin Norberg</i>
COMMENTARIES	3	Mobile patients, local healers: Transnational dimensions of healing in Somaliland <i>Marja Tiilikainen</i>
	6	Collective organising among informal vendors in African cities: The case of Kampala <i>Ilda Lourenço-Lindell & Jenny Appelblad</i>
	8	Angolan urban entrepreneurs: Old and new challenges <i>Christina Udelsmann Rodrigues</i>
	12	When votes do not count: The 2007 general elections in Nigeria <i>Said Adejumbi</i>
INTERVIEW	16	Gerard Niyungeko
	19	Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza
RESEARCH	22	Global trade and regional integration: African economies, producers, and living conditions <i>Yenkong Ngangjoh Hodu</i>
	24	Women's health activism, empowerment and medicalization <i>Elina Oinas</i>
	25	Liberation and democracy in Southern Africa <i>Henning Melber</i>
OBITUARY	26	A brief tribute to Archie Mafeje <i>Fred Hendricks</i>
NEWS FROM NAI	28	Nordic workshop on strategies for Africa
	30	World Social Forum in Africa 2007
	32	Master students from Göteborg University on field trip to Tanzania
REVIEW	33	Klaus Winkel: Hvorfor er det så svært for Afrika?
PUBLISHING	34	Recent publications
	36	Book exhibits

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*Cover photo: Old Taxi Park in Kampala, Uganda, December 2006.
Photo by Jenny Appelblad.*

To Our Readers



Coping strategies is the theme of this issue of *News from the Nordic Africa Institute*. Originally used by psychologists to define various states of stress and peoples' way of dealing with it, coping strategies has become a

concept used both in the academic arena and in the worlds of governments, consultancy and non-governmental organisations to define how people in different situations of stress (read poverty) adjust and survive. We present two articles dealing with the vendors or entrepreneurs in the so-called informal sector; collective organizing among informal vendors in Kampala and challenges to Angolan urban entrepreneurs. Both share the notion of an increasingly competitive environment. Instead of being supported in a more market oriented economy, ambulant urban traders and street vendors at urban market places risk being squeezed out due to new regulations, privatization and lack of funding. A third paper deals with coping strategies in the form of therapeutic journeys. This is an example of African migrant's illness experiences and health-seeking behaviour in a transnational context. Migrants remain connected to the countries and relatives they have left behind. Being at home is clearly important for the experience of being healed. It creates an opportunity for traditional healers to build personal transnational networks – and additional resources. Coping strategies normally develop to avoid risks but can also indirectly contribute to increasing opportunities.

In the January issue of *News* we carried an article by Jibrin Ibrahim on the prospects for credible elections in Nigeria. In this issue we bring you a follow-up commentary to the elections in April 2007 by Said Adejumo. His main

message is that the elections were the worst ever in Nigeria's political history. Among the reasons behind this disastrous result Adejumo mentions the gale of impeachments of elected state governors across the country and the third term agenda preceding the elections plus an electoral commission prone to manipulation and control from federal authorities.

Our two interviews cover two separate themes, one on music and the other on Human Rights. Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza is a musicologist from Uganda. At the beginning of 2007 she spent three months as a guest researcher at NAI. Her project was to study how 'African music' has been conceptualized and practised in two medium-size cities in the Nordic countries, Bergen and Uppsala. The interview with Gerard Niyungeko, incoming chairman of the African Court on Human and People's Rights, focus on the role of the Court, its relationship to the African Commission of Human and People's Rights and other human rights institutions.

We present two new research areas at NAI, the programme 'Global trade and regional integration: African economies, producers, and living conditions' and 'Women's health activism, empowerment and medicalization'. The two new researchers, Dr. Yenkong Ngangjoh Hodu and Dr. Elina Oinas joined the Institute in December 2006.

Under the heading of *News* from NAI we present three reports from staff members. In January 2007 the first World Social Forum in Africa took place in Nairobi, Kenya. Two NAI staff members participated in the Forum and report back from the event. In March 2007 a group of Master students in development studies from Göteborg University, Sweden, visited Tanzania as part of their training programme. The Editor of *News*, Karin Andersson Schiebe, joined them during the first week.

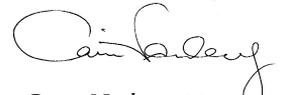
The third report covers the Nordic workshop on strategies for Africa, which was held at the Institute on 27 March 2007. Representatives from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden met to report and exchange views on ongoing strategy work. As a member of the EU Troika the Finnish delegation started with a presentation of the ongoing work on the joint African Union/European Union Strategy on Africa. The Danish delegation presented a background document to the new Danish strategy on Africa, which will be launched in May 2007 (more information can be found on www.afrika.um.dk). The Norwegian representative presented the outline of a policy paper entitled the new Platform on Africa, at present under discussion within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Finally the Swedish delegation presented the framework of the work plan and background papers for the Swedish paper on Africa expected to be submit-

ted to Parliament by the end of 2007 (see www.sweden.gov.se/rethinkingafrica).

Klaus Winkel, former head of evaluation at DANIDA has recently published a new book on Africa. The book (in Danish) is reviewed by Bertil Odén.

With this issue we welcome the new Research Director at NAI, Professor Fantu Cheru from the American University in Washington. Professor Cheru will take up his position at NAI in mid-August 2007.

On Wednesday, 28 March, 2007, Professor Archie Mafeje passed away in Pretoria. Fred Hendricks, guest researcher at the Institute, pays tribute to him and his work. Our thoughts and solidarity go to the members of his family. ■


Carin Norberg, May 2007

Welcome to www.liberationafrica.se

A new website was launched in April 2007 by the NAI project 'Nordic documentation on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa'. The site is a reference source for everyone interested in the late 20th century history of national liberation in Southern Africa and the role of the Nordic countries.

More information at www.liberationafrica.se.



Mobile patients, local healers: Transnational dimensions of healing in Somaliland

Photo by Karin Andersson Schiebe



By: Marja Tiilikainen
 Researcher at the Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki, Finland, and guest researcher at NAI in spring 2007.

"I have had this problem since 1990. Mostly I have pain in my head and also I have something, I don't know, turning around my body. All over the body. ... Doctors [in the US] did not find anything. Most of the time they ask you if you have any stress about the home or from work. Some of them give you advice to go home, to take a vacation, a long vacation, or to change the job, or what is wrong with your house and family problems and something like that. But I told them, everything is correct. And then I have some problem. But they could not find anything to tell.

When I heard that they have here [in Hargeysa] the medical place, I came to the doctor. And, in fact he showed me what is wrong with me. I realised what is wrong. I realised the problem is not a medical problem, they told me this problem is the jinn. You know, jinn is ancient creature, right? ...

And this is the first time for fifteen years I know what is wrong with me. If you don't know what is wrong with you, but you are feeling sick, this is another sickness, right? So, when I came here, I found the problem. And, actually, most of my problem left as I know the problem... Still I am feeling something now, but I can say, 80 percent of what I was feeling is already gone. I am feeling very good

now, and more healthy than when I came here. So, Alhamdulillah, I continue now to read the Koran and whatever medicine they have here. So I am very much hoping I am at the end soon."

Ahmed, a pseudonym for a Somali man from the United States, is one of the patients whom I met during fieldwork in Somalia. His journey back to the Horn of Africa to consult a popular Islamic sheikh, whom he calls a 'doctor', is an example of African migrants' illness experiences and health-seeking behaviour in a transnational context. It is well known that patients in general search for various alternative or supplementary therapies in addition to biomedical treatments. In the case of migrants the search for a remedy crosses not only borders between different health care sectors but also national borders. These therapeutic journeys can be approached from the wider framework of transnational studies, which have highlighted the importance of transnational networks for immigrants living in today's globalized world: at the same time as immigrants are integrating into receiving countries, they remain connected to the countries and relatives they have left behind. Hence, a focus on transnationalism and diaspora may provide us invaluable views for understanding today's African societies.

But what do ill Somali migrants look for in Somalia, a country with poor health facilities? And what kind of impact may Somalis returning 'home' have on local, 'traditional' healing traditions? I try to explore these questions in my on-going postdoctoral study having its roots in comparative religion and medical anthropology. I carried out fieldwork in Northern Somalia, often referred to as Somaliland, in the summer of 2005 and 2006, a total of 3.5 months. The fieldwork

was concentrated mainly in the Hargeysa area. The data was gathered by ethnographic methods including observations and interviews of several healers and patients from the diaspora. I also attended healing and religious rituals organized mainly by women, interviewed doctors and nurses, and visited mental wards.

Travelling home

The infrastructure of Somaliland, including public health services, which were weak even before the civil war, was ruined during the war. Post-war conditions and needs, extreme poverty and lack of control on the part of the government have contributed to flourishing entrepreneurship in the health sector. In addition to private clinics run by medical doctors, there are several clinics run by Islamic and other healers who use different techniques to give a diagnosis and treat the patients. For example, they recite the Koran, give herbal medication, arrange spirit possession and other healing rituals including animal slaughtering, consulting spirits, doing cupping and burning, and treating fractures.

It is very difficult to know, how many of those Somalis who visit Somaliland in particular during summer time, actually visit local healers. According to Sheikh Mahamed Rage, who is one of the most popular healers, he receives around 1,000 patients a year from abroad, and about half of them come from the Middle East, United States, Australia and Europe, including the Scandinavian countries. Based on my data, Ahmed's case is a typical one among patients returning from the diaspora. Despite continuous, vague symptoms, a doctor in the resettlement country did not manage to give him a diagnosis or prescribe proper treatment. In another category are those returning Somalis, who have been diagnosed in the diaspora, but do not (or whose family does not) accept/trust the diagnosis, treatment or medication. In particular, Somali families seem to find psychiatric and neurological diagnoses such as schizophrenia, psychosis, depression, autism and epilepsy difficult to accept, because symptoms related to these conditions have traditionally been

understood in the framework of spirits, evil eye and witchcraft. The third group of Somalis who visit healers in Somaliland are those who accept the diagnosis and use the medicines given by a doctor, but search for alternative treatment in order to restore health or stop taking (chemical) medicines regularly. Diabetes patients, who wish to get rid of insulin injections by drinking camel milk, provide an example. The fourth group are migrants whom the medication or treatment given by a doctor does not help, or for whom the treatment is too expensive. For instance, I met a woman who searched for treatment for infertility, because she could no longer afford the hormonal treatments in Canada.

The fifth category consists of people whose problems are seen to be tied to the way of living in Europe and other diaspora countries. The problems are typically connected to drug and alcohol abuse, sometimes followed by crimes and jail sentences, or hospitalization in mental wards. Often families bring them back to Somaliland, hoping that they will recover and get rid of bad habits in the midst of their own culture and religion, combined with herbal and other treatments. Some migrants also return to Somaliland when doctors give them no hope, telling them that their disease is incurable, possibly leading to death. Finally, healers may be visited in order to have a health-check, to prevent illnesses and get protection from harmful agents. In addition to physical visits, healers are contacted from abroad by telephone, e-mail and fax.

Healers and transnational networks

Healers in Somaliland are an important resource for ill Somalis in the diaspora: they provide migrants with meaningful explanations, certainty, and alternatives in particular in the field of mental distress and chronic disease, where biomedical diagnosis may be difficult to accept. The sense of being at home and the element of hope are clearly important for the experience of being healed. But mobile patients are also a resource for healers in Somaliland, whose mobility with Somali passports is restricted. Patients from abroad

are for them an opportunity to build personal transnational networks. Satisfied patients may bring further contacts, medical equipment, gifts, money and new patients to healers in Somaliland, or maybe even arrange an invitation and visa to enter Europe or the United States.

Different healers have different resources. It is already quite common to have a mobile phone, but the poorest healers, who do not have many patients (at least not from abroad), may not be able to afford one. In addition, a new generation of healers, who have better education than the older sheikhs and other healers, has better access to and more interest in modern technology that may help them to develop their practice, and also attract patients from the diaspora. The arrival of

transnational patients to Somaliland probably also motivates healers to develop their practices to better serve this client group.

Healers in Somaliland also have access to the global flow of information through radio, television and internet, and in an interesting way new, modern elements and tools such as blood pressure meters, anatomic pictures and x-rays are increasingly being adopted as part of Somali healing, alongside herbal medication, exorcism by reciting the Koran or diagnosing witchcraft from eggs. Globalization and modernization, together with mobile Somali patients open up new possibilities and horizons to healers, and change their practice towards 'glocalized' Somali medicine. ■

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Acknowledgments: I am grateful to the Nordic Africa Institute, which provided me with a travel grant for fieldwork in Somaliland in 2006 and a Nordic Guest Researcher's Scholarship for two months' visit at the Institute in spring 2007.

Collective organising among informal vendors in Kampala

By: Ilda Lourenço-Lindell and Jenny Appelblad



Jenny Appelblad is a Phd Candidate at the Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, Sweden.

Within the NAI research project 'Collective Organisation among Informal Workers in African Cities' several sub-studies are conducted in different cities. This is a summary of some findings from Kampala, where privatisation of the city markets' management has changed the conditions for vendors and their organisations.



Photo by Susanne Linderos

Ilda Lourenço-Lindell is a researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute.

The research project entitled 'Collective Organisation among Informal Workers in African Cities' (see www.nai.uu.se/research/areas), led by Ilda Lourenço-Lindell at the Nordic Africa Institute, sets out to investigate the economic and political challenges that are facing urban informal workers today, particularly their collectively organised responses to those challenges. The project adopts a multi-local approach in order to explore variations in trends and political dynamics between different urban settings in Africa. The project includes sub-studies in Maputo, Accra and Kampala. This article presents some of the findings of the Kampala study, conducted in the later half of 2004. It reports on the impact of the privatisation of the management of city markets on vendors' associations.

In Uganda, as in other countries, the informal economy has expanded greatly in recent years. Uganda has a total workforce of close to 11 million. About 2.5 million of these are found within the formal economy, while the remaining majority are earning their living within the informal economy. In Kampala this is particularly

evident in a rapid growth of city markets and of the number of street vendors. According to the latest population census, trading is one of the most common income activities in Kampala. The attitude of the city authorities towards vending activities in the city has been one of intolerance and harassment. Vendors have long been organised and in the mid-1980s there existed vendors' associations in 52 markets across Kampala.

In the 1990s the Ugandan government embarked on national reforms of decentralisation and privatisation. The local government also began to privatise services, including the management of city markets. At first, existing vendors' associations were promised they would be given priority to be the managers of their respective markets. But after a short while, the government abolished the 'local artisan arrangement', which had made it possible for the vendors' associations to run the management of the markets. Instead it was decided that all contractors bidding for management contracts had to be Value Added Tax compliant, i.e. private companies or cooperative societies. Thus today, the majority of the markets

within Kampala District are managed by private companies or cooperative societies. This privatisation of the management of markets in Kampala has had consequences for market vendors and their associations. In this respect, one can discern different trends and developments that the privatisation process has given rise to.

In some of the studied markets, the vendors formed cooperative credit societies, in order to be able to bid for the management contracts. This change has taken two different directions. In some markets, the vendors' association has ceased to exist, out-competed by a cooperative society coming into existence - for example in Nakawa Market, the second largest in the city. In other markets, the vendors' association and the cooperative co-exist and adopt different roles - as is the case of Bugolobi Market. There, the cooperative is the highest management body, collects funds and provides basic infrastructure, whereas the association provides social services and solves disputes between the traders.

In a number of markets, private companies have been awarded the management contracts. This means that these markets are being managed by 'outsiders', who are not traders in the markets. The relations between such private companies and vendors' associations vary significantly between markets. In some cases, the vendors' association is allowed by the private company to continue to exist in the market, as the association is seen as an easy way of getting the practical administration work done (allocation of stalls, conflict solving etc). One example of this is St. Balikuddembe Market, the largest market in the country.

In other cases, however, the private company tries to break up the vendors' association and hinder vendors from organising through the use of violence and force. This is what happened at the Parkyard Market, where efforts by the vendors to form an association in 2003 met with harassment by the management company.

The above changes in the management of markets have implications for the representation and influence of vendors. Cooperative societies are less inclusive than associations, in the sense that they are limited to a small number of members, i.e. those able to buy shares. In the cooperatives, the rights to vote and to be voted for as regards leadership positions are limited to the members holding shares. In addition, the cooperatives appear to have lost the rights-perspective that many of the vendors' associations had. These features of cooperatives have sometimes given rise to conflicts in the markets. It appears that these cooperatives are less able to represent the interests of the majority of vendors in the public arena, than the associations were.

Where private companies had taken over the management of markets, the market fees had been raised, without visible improvements in infrastructure services provided and in some cases vendors were being harassed by the companies' fee-collectors. Particularly where the vendors' association was suppressed, vendors had no longer a channel for communication with the city council. Vendors perceive the council to be more interested in the revenue generated by the private company and to turn deaf ears to their protests.

In sum, organised vendors seem to be facing serious challenges in the context of privatisation of market management. Large numbers of vendors are unable to become members of cooperative societies, while others see their associations being repressed or losing influence, for example in relation to the city council. This loss in representation appears to make them more vulnerable to the profit-making companies and the revenue-minded city council. Recent developments however might bring changes to this state of affairs. Among these is the emergence of an umbrella body of organisations of informal workers and of a close relationship between informal workers' groups and trade unions. ■

The authors wish to thank the Centre for Basic Research in Kampala, local research colleagues, interviewed representatives of trade unions, leaders of associations and vendors in the markets.

Angolan urban entrepreneurs: Old and new challenges



By: Cristina
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Rodrigues
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Lisbon, Portugal.

Urban entrepreneurs in Angola show a great capacity to deal with quite challenging market transformations and changes. This capacity is one of the main ingredients for developing national entrepreneurial potential, which is present among small-scale informal operators, private entrepreneurs of different business volumes and even among individuals that work for large companies.

The at times radical economic transformations that have taken place in Angola over the last few decades have led people in general and entrepreneurs in particular to develop diversified strategies, which have in turn been characterised by rapid shifts to adapt to markets and other factors. This urban economic dynamism in Africa is well described and particular initiatives to support urban entrepreneurs have been developed taking this fact in account. The small-scale, informal activities of the 'urban poor' are of an entrepreneurial nature, which is highly considered by the micro-financial organisations in the field. In general, the studies insist on the cross-strata nature of informal entrepreneurial activities and Allan Cain (2004), specifically referring to the case of Angola, even attempts a distinction between the "national private sector" and "local entrepreneurs". Other recent approaches foresee a clear emergence of a new type of African entrepreneur, "neither micro- or small-scale informal sector vendors nor traditional or multinational large-scale formal sector firms", but "new generation entrepreneurs" (McDade and Spring, 2005).

The challenge of supporting Angolan entrepreneurship

The consolidation of informal, small-scale activities and the support of these new entrepreneurs

are current challenges for the Angolan economy. There is a need to move from the micro-informal, survival-type entrepreneurship approach to encompass a broader range of actors and capacities in the analysis and support of private sector development, particularly through education.

Angola's entrepreneurial context has been through important transformations over the last half century. The high economic – and particularly, industrial – growth of the still-colonial 1960s and early 1970s was suddenly interrupted in 1975 when the country gained independence and when all the Portuguese entrepreneurs fled the country, leaving behind their firms and a mass of low/mid-level, low-skilled or unskilled workers. In response, the socialist-oriented centralised government nationalised economic units, merging some of them and assigning their management to the few people remaining who could run these businesses, due to their management skills and/or political skills. At this point, all economic sectors were state-owned and managed, and no free individual initiative was allowed. Additionally, the Angolan civil war, which lasted until 2002, strongly discouraged entrepreneurship.

As the general difficulties and failure of the economic model and practice became more evident, both state structures and individual entrepreneurs began to question the system, the

former through the economic reforms which began officially in the 1990s and the latter through a series of strategies and schemes, notably of an entrepreneurial nature. In fact, these 'alternative', at times illegal, individual activities had already started to give rise to what was then called 'the parallel market' and more recently the informal sector and the informal economy.

The various smaller-scale transformations which accompanied these major socio-economic shifts contributed to the rise and development of particular entrepreneurial situations, different settings in rural and urban areas, and different rhythms in places where the war was almost absent and where it was more intense. The analysis presented in this article is not complete, i.e. it does not cover all urban, individual or group situations. What it does do is combine ongoing and past urban research in Angola and in firms, seeking to interpret the various references to the close relationship between socio-economic change and entrepreneurial strategies in a broad approach, possibly extendable to the national socio-economic outline. It leaves aside – although recognising its importance to the social and economic context – the analysis of national, multinational and international business, especially related to oil and diamonds, seeking to focus rather on individual, local and smaller-scale initiatives, which certainly need to combine with the macroeconomic networks mentioned but which have a de-centralised role and potential that can contribute to economic development "from below", and therefore show that they support, and provide mechanisms for, sustainable development. Also, it does not diminish the weight that structured investment of major national incomes – such as oil revenues – in the micro-enterprise sector might assume in Angola, as is clearly supported by the recent UNDP country programmes.

There is a strong need to develop a vigorous private sector in Angola. De Vletter particularly insists that the development and fostering of the micro-entrepreneurial sector in Angola is key at this stage, while Aguilar indicates that one of the ways to develop private initiative is the "formalisation of the informal sector". A closer look at

some examples of how Angolan entrepreneurs have managed with the various, at times rapidly changing, constraints of the last few decades brings out some key factors that should be gradually incorporated in entrepreneurial development policies, not, of course, excluding the importance of other factors or the need to examine local and regional situations on a case-by-case basis.

Angolan entrepreneurs' strategies

Specialisation and diversification are two of the main entrepreneurial trends in urban Angola nowadays. These phenomena are more apparent and more numerous in the larger urban centres and therefore have greatest importance in the capital, Luanda. In fact, the population grew rapidly and constantly in Luanda throughout the colonial and post-independence period, and the successive masses of people arriving in the city soon gave rise to a rapid and massive growth of the informal economy. As in other cities spared by war (except for specific short periods) the growth of the population accompanied by the decrease of formal sector employment gave a substantial push to the emergence of all sorts of entrepreneurial initiatives. In Luanda, the most expressive feature of this exponential growth is the Roque Santeiro open-air retail market where, over the years, new activities beyond retail trading have emerged. Some are of a commercial nature – the supply of goods to ambulant traders, repair services, small-scale production, photocopies, laundry, mobile-phone rental, etc. – and some provide services associated with the functioning of the market itself – passenger and goods transport, warehouses, rental of stalls, provision of electricity, security, money-exchange, etc. This diversification has also grown in other urban markets in Angola, at the same rate as the growth of the local economy and markets.

The ambulant urban traders, besides diversifying their products, have had to make an additional effort to follow the market rhythms and trends. In larger cities like Luanda, they have had to follow their clients to crowded or traffic-congested areas, offer them a variety of products and services, vary the type of products they sell according to the time

of day – for instance selling soap and toothpaste in the morning, fish before lunch, nail polish in the afternoon and alcoholic beverages at the end of the day – and be where clients will most probably need them: shoe polishing services are more frequently found in the main entrances to premises in the centre of Luanda and at the door of public services, offices, firms.

Other production activities have also experienced sharp growth and diversification in Angolan urban centres. Among these, perhaps the most important, which can be found in every Angolan town and city, consists of a specialised network of producers of concrete bricks, the most common material used for house building. The urban transport sector has also been adapted to local needs and markets: while in Luanda, nine-seater vans have become one of the most appropriate means of transportation – in terms of cost and rendering the best adapted services – in Benguela and in Huambo, motorcycle transportation (*kupapata*) is now the best way of allying entrepreneurs' capacities and clients' needs, given the road conditions and displacement flows.

These capacities are not exclusive to small-scale informal entrepreneurs but characterise a broader set of individuals at different economic levels and situations. There is also adaptation to individual/corporate and market conditions in general among medium- and large-scale entrepreneurs, as would be expected. Some companies, like the plastic producer Cival in Luanda, had to combine orientation of the product to the market and cope systematically with the reduction in raw materials importation subsidy. Cival began producing plastic shoes on a massive scale in the 1980s, while in the 1990s its managers found that the production of buckets and bowls would better suit the market and the possibility of importing the raw materials for these kinds of products. Even in state-owned companies, the initiative of a few capable managers has been able to produce positive results, although obstacles of another nature arise. At Ematebe, a paper company that the post-independence government idealised as the national supplier – given its local conditions, namely the proximity of the paper pulp producer

of Alto da Catumbela – the company was unable to maintain its production due to the high dependence on imported raw materials and to the opening of the country to the free market. This caused the abandonment of the firm by employees who could no longer bear the instability and who found better opportunities in the local economy (namely in the informal economy). Yet, the majority of those who stayed with the company found ways of developing activities that could provide some income for the few remaining employees. With the scarce resources available to the company, the factory managers began to import less expensive raw materials to produce chalk, to work as intermediaries in the trading of school books and school materials, and to recycle paper, producing paper, notebooks and mattress stuffing, among other products.

Seizing opportunities and developing appropriate economic responses is one of the relationships that best describes the character of the entrepreneur, and in this field Angolan entrepreneurs at different levels have shown great ability in recent decades. This applies to small-scale domestic-type activities such as house rental – a common urban strategy in African towns and cities – or the building of small home businesses like bakeries, restaurants, video-clubs and photo studios, among others, a widely exploited economic area in Angolan towns and cities. In fact, these activities are well described for the African urban context (see Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004 for the Zambia example and Kamete, 2004 for Harare) and generate different kinds of results. It also applies to finding opportunities away from the house. On the southern Angola-Namibia border, cross-border trading – especially since the end of the war – has led to the proliferation of all sorts of entrepreneurs seeking business opportunities. Individual small-scale traders, warehouse owners and employers, and vehicle importers with medium/high capital, of different national origins, all quickly moved to the border, trying their best to succeed. And those whose business has been affected by the recent tightening of border controls (from 2003 on), have started converting to other activities or shifting their trading routes

to other border crossing points that are not yet as tightly controlled.

Many other examples could illustrate the entrepreneurial qualities that exist among a vast number of individuals in Angola, particularly in urban centres. Angolan urban entrepreneurs show a great capacity to deal with market transformations and changes, which have been, over the last few decades, quite challenging. This capacity is one of the main ingredients for developing national entrepreneurial potential, which is present among small-scale informal operators, private entrepreneurs of different business volumes and even among individuals that work for large companies. Considerable sums are currently being invested in the development of entrepreneurial capacities among the urban poor, namely through micro-financing initiatives, but little is being done regarding those intermediate and/or better positioned entrepreneurs who have already accumulated significant social, economic or educational capitals. Apparently, there is now the need to take an almost natural next step in terms of education and, specifically, the develop-

ment of entrepreneurship, both directed at the urban poor and at the potential entrepreneurs of other social *milieus*. This is particularly important among young people who are not only the majority of the population but also the majority of those who find themselves living in towns and cities with few or no employment opportunities.

This entails a better knowledge of local potentials and constraints, and the support of entrepreneurial projects which show a better adaptation to market and institutional conditions. De Vletter specifically proposes a series of conditions for the development of entrepreneurial activities in urban centres, namely those concerning policies and regulations, funding and micro-financing programmes, and the development of human capital. This should, however, be complemented and improved through the promotion of more initiatives directed at those particular individuals whose activities and/or projects are more appropriate and show more potential, a perspective which combines present day needs and conditions with a visualisation of a better future. ■

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When votes do not count: The 2007 general elections in Nigeria

The author of this article was part of the Coordinating Team of the ECOWAS Observer Mission to the Nigerian elections and shares his analysis of why the elections were such a failure as regards developing democracy in Nigeria. The views expressed herein are personal and in no way reflect the official position of ECOWAS.



By: Said Adejumobi
Associate Professor of Political Science at the Lagos State University, and currently a Governance Adviser at the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja, Nigeria

With fifty political parties competing for power, Nigerians went to the polls on 14 and 21 April 2007 to elect new political leaders at the state and federal levels including a new president for the country. The elections were a historic attempt at the transfer of political power from an elected civilian administration to another. Although, civil rule was reinstalled in Nigeria in May 1999 after 15 years of military interregnum, it was yet to conduct a civilian to civilian transfer of power at the federal level, as the mandate of the out-going president, Olusegun Obasanjo was renewed in 2003, for a second term of four years in office.

Nigeria has had a chequered electoral history with successive elections being marred by serious irregularities and controversy. This has led in most cases to the collapse of democratic experiments as occurred in 1966 and 1983. The 2007 general elections provided a good opportunity to occasion a break with the past, and rekindle public confidence in the electoral and democratic proc-

ess of the country. Unfortunately, this was not to be. The elections were regarded as the worst ever in Nigeria's political history. The elections were severely condemned by virtually all Election Observer groups – local and international – who monitored them. They were considered to be extremely fraudulent, not credible, or free, fair and transparent. In one word, the elections were a sham. The preliminary statement of the European Union Election Observer Mission of 23 April 2007, issued shortly after the presidential elections, aptly captures the general perception and conclusion on the elections. According to the statement, “the 2007 state and federal elections have fallen far short of basic international and regional standards for democratic elections. They were marred by poor organization, lack of essential transparency, widespread procedural irregularities, significant evidence of fraud, particularly during result collation process, voter disenfranchisement at different stages of the process, lack of equal conditions for contestants and numerous incidents of violence. As a result, the elections have not lived up to the hopes and expectations of the Nigerian people and the process cannot be considered to have been credible”.

Put differently, the elections were a betrayal of the Nigerian people as the results did not largely reflect the wishes and aspirations of the people. But how did Nigeria steep off the learning curve in electoral administration and management?

What went wrong with the conduct of the 2007 elections, to have produced such a controversial and illegitimate outcome? Is Nigeria jinxed with regard to the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections?

Contrived political tension and confusion

The prevailing pre-election environment dating back to 2006 is quite important in understanding why the elections foundered. In 2006, when national attention and discourse should have been focused on how to conduct free and fair elections, the polity was unduly heated with several diversionary agendas and actions by the federal government. First was the issue of the third term agenda. The president wanted to manipulate the constitution to afford him a chance to run for another four years in office against the provisions of the constitution. The constitution only allows a maximum of two terms of four years each for both the president and the state governors. The third term agenda was extremely unpopular in Nigeria and therefore had a coalition of major stakeholders including some members of the political class, civil society and the media effectively mobilizing against it. The Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, was the spear-head of the resistance by the political class against the third term agenda. The third term agenda was to be a substitute for the general elections; hence its discussion precluded any meaningful planning towards the elections by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). In other words, had the third term agenda succeeded, there could possibly have been no competitive elections in Nigeria in 2007. Inevitably, the third term agenda was defeated by the Nigerian people as the National Assembly refused to endorse it and voted it out.

The second issue that provoked political tension and confusion was the gale of impeachments of elected state governors across the country through the mechanics of the state anti-graft agency – the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The issue was not whether corrupt elected public officials should be tried and removed from office or not, apparently,

Nigerians believe they should be. However, the issue was the unprocedural and Gestapo way in which it was conducted. Some allegedly corrupt state governors were abducted, and members of the State Houses of Assembly were harassed, intimidated and threatened, forcing them to initiate impeachment proceedings against their state governors. In Balyesa, Plateau, Oyo and Anambra states, the governors were removed from office. The timing, procedure, and selective nature of the exercise compromised this. The Supreme Court has since reversed three of the four cases and reinstated the governors of Oyo, Anambra and Plateau states.

It was not only the governors that were affected; President Obasanjo unilaterally declared the office of the Vice President vacant, after the latter defected to a new political party, the Action Congress (AC) in order to actualize his presidential ambition. It took a Supreme Court decision for the Vice President to retain his position.

The threat of impeachment virtually froze the political space, as political activities were almost suspended for fear of political prosecution on allegations of corruption.

The party primaries further heightened political tension. Internal democracy was the exception rather than the rule in virtually all the political parties. The party leadership constituted themselves into a cabal of political barons, who disregarded the result of party primaries and unilaterally anointed the party candidates for the general elections. This constitutes the first phase in the subversion of the people's will.

Weak electoral institution, false start

There are structural and institutional dimensions to the problem of electoral management in Nigeria. Nigeria's electoral commission is not an independent one. In spite of the reform of the electoral law in 2006, the electoral commissioners are appointed by the president, and they report to him. The commission also does not enjoy financial autonomy as the executive determines its level of funding and disbursement. Indeed, a curious part of the electoral law is that those to

be appointed as electoral commissioners must be qualified to be members of the House of Representatives. The interpretation of this, which may not necessarily be in the spirit of the law, is that those appointed as members of the electoral commission should be party members, as party membership is a major criterion to be elected into the House of Representatives. Nigeria does not allow independent candidacy in elections.

With this structural problem, the electoral commission has always been prone to manipulations and control from the federal authorities.

The preparations of INEC for the elections were very shoddy and non-transparent. The voter registration exercise, which took off on 7 October 2006 was marred by complaints from the electorate. INEC had introduced a computerized direct data capturing process to modernize the voter registration exercise and prevent the abuse of the process through multiple registration. However, the whole exercise was poorly executed with inadequate provision of the necessary equipment and materials to facilitate it. As a result, INEC had to extend the period of the registration, which ought to have ended in December 2006, to 2 February 2007. At the end of the exercise INEC claimed to have registered about 61 million voters declaring the exercise a 'huge success' despite criticisms from the civil society and National Assembly. INEC did not display the voters' registrar as provided for in the electoral law, but only did so a few days prior to the elections.

The most disturbing of INEC's actions was its insistence on disqualifying some party candidates from contesting the elections; powers not conferred on it by the electoral law. The power to disqualify candidates is reserved for the courts. In a suspect move, the EFCC suddenly generated what it called an 'advisory list' of 'corrupt' politicians who should not be allowed to contest for public office. The federal government quickly responded to this, by setting up an ad hoc administrative panel to consider the list. Within a few days, the panel completed its work with a recommendation that those indicted should have their names gazetted, and disqualified from contesting the 2007

elections. Their names were swiftly gazetted by the federal government, and INEC subsequently disqualified them. Major opposition leaders including the Vice President became casualties of this policy.

On 16 April 2007, the Supreme Court in a landmark but unanimous judgement nullified the action of INEC with the ruling that INEC did not have the powers to disqualify candidates for elections. Before the judgement, INEC had already shortchanged some candidates at the state and House of Assembly elections held on 14 April 2007, who were illegally disqualified and their names not included on the ballot paper.

As the preparations for the elections preceded, rather than form a partnership with credible civil society organizations with vast experience on electoral matters like the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), the INEC Chairman, Maurice Iwu waged a ceaseless war against those groups and the media. Some of the groups were denied accreditation to monitor the elections and were also harassed by the state security agents.

Flawed elections, manufactured results

Elections were conducted on two dates: 14 and 21 April 2007. The first was at the state level for the governorship and House of Assembly and the latter at the federal level for the presidency and National Assembly. Apart from a slight adjustment in voting time, which for the first election was 9.00 am – 3.00 pm and for the second, 10.00 am – 5.00 pm, and also the level of voter turnout which was more for the first election, the two elections had basically the same features. Some of the features as documented by virtually all the election observer groups include:

- Late commencement of voting in many parts of the country
- Inadequate voting materials – ballot papers, result recording sheets, etc.
- Poor training and orientation of electoral officials
- Lack of secrecy in the voting process as there was no provision for polling booths
- Use of transparent ballot bags as opposed to

ballot boxes, which compromised the security and safety of the ballot papers especially for the purpose of storage and recounting in case of dispute

- Omission of names or pictures of some candidates from the ballot papers
- Prevalence of under-age voters especially in the northern parts of the country
- Rampant cases of ballot bag snatching at gun point by party thugs and militias
- The stuffing of ballot bags with already thumb-printed ballot papers
- Reported cases of collaboration between security officials and party agents to rig elections
- Presence of heavily armed soldiers on the streets across the country which militarized the whole exercise
- Violence and intimidation of opposition political party members and agents
- Lack of transparency in the collation, counting and tabulation of votes
- Falsification of election results

During a campaign rally of his party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), President Olusegun Obasanjo had declared that the elections were going to be a 'do or die' affair; this is exactly what it turned out to be. His party, the PDP swept the polls with 28 governorship seats out of 36, and 24 million votes to win the presidency, trouncing its closest rival with a difference of about 18 million votes. The general conclusion of both the local and international observers is that those elections hardly reflect the wishes of the people, and the votes of the people did not count. The Nigerian judiciary, which in recent times, has discharged itself creditably well, has the onerous responsibility of rekindling hope in Nigeria's democratic process as the battle for justice and fairness in the elections shifts to the Election Tribunals.

There are tortuous and challenging days ahead for Nigeria's fragile democratic experiment. The reform of the country's electoral institution will constitute a major step in rebuilding public confidence in the nation's faltering democracy. ■

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Interview with Gerard Niyungeko

Chairman of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights

Dr Gerard Niyungeko was elected as chair for the African Court in September 2006. He has an impressive record as researcher and policy advisor in the field of international and human rights law. At the time of election to the Court he had been professor of Law at the University of Burundi at Bujumbura for many years, where he held a UNESCO Chair in Education for Peace and Conflict Resolution, and was a consultant to the Political Affairs Department of the African Union Commission. He has also acted as counsel at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, and been advisor to a number of legal bodies in Africa. In Burundi he was on a number of occasions active in the peace building efforts among other things as a member of the implementation Monitoring Committee for the Arusha Accord for Peace and Reconciliation. The interview was conducted by Lennart Wohlgemuth, Professor at Göteborg University, Sweden.



The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was recently established after many years of struggle. What difference will this Court make to the human rights situation in Africa?

As you are aware, the main legal instrument for protection of human rights in Africa is the African Charter for Human and Peoples' Rights that was adopted by OAU in June 1981 and came into force on 21 October 1986. To oversee the implementation of the Charter the African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights was established. This Commission has now been operational for more than 20 years and has made an important contribution to the promotion and protection of human rights in Africa.

In its duty to protect human rights by taking on serious complaints on human rights abuses the Commission has been successful but has had one major drawback – it lacks the ability to make binding decisions. Not being a court it cannot make judgments only recommendations.

In order to strengthen the protection mandate a strong opinion has been raised in Africa that an African Court should supplement the existing institutional setup for human and peoples' rights. A Protocol on the establishment of such a Court was finally adopted in June 1998 and entered into force in January 2004.

The Court is thus just in its very first phase. First in July 2006 were the eleven judges sworn in and a place for the Court decided upon namely Arusha in Tanzania. We have only met twice within the Court among other things appointing a Bureau and we are only moving to Arusha later this year (2007). We know that we must work together with all available institutions, which already exist, with the objective to give all possible protection to victims of human rights abuses.

How are you going to fulfil this very important objective?

The first priority is to as quickly as possible to build up the Court to become a strong and well functioning institution. We have to move into our new headquarters, start the recruitment process and work out proper rules

and regulations, which will guide our work. We also have to start as soon as possible to take on complaints, and deal with them promptly but with highest possible quality. The quality of the judgement we will make is of utmost importance for establishing our legitimacy. We also have to develop a communication network as quickly as possible both for making us known so that we receive the complaints that need to be taken into consideration but also to allow for as large as possible visibility of the judgements we make so that they will impact on human rights offenders in the future.

The tasks I see before us are immense but so are also the expectations all around Africa and also in many quarters outside Africa. We therefore have to see not only to ourselves but also to how to work together with other organs working on human rights on the African scene. In particular we have to come to an understanding with the Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights on how to divide the work between us. We also know that human rights NGOs which today exist all around Africa play an important role both for human rights promotion and for overseeing that abuses which occur come to our knowledge.

Are there any other major challenges you see for the coming year.

Yes I want to stress three major points. The first is that as part of the future development of the African Union all three branches – the executive, the legislative and the judiciary- have to develop simultaneously and separately, each of them independent from the other. This will be of utmost importance for the Court that it is independent from the executive, since it will have to deal with allegations of abuses of human rights against member states of the African Union. Secondly member states should allow citizens individually or in groups such as local NGOs to go straight to

the Court with their complaints, as the Protocol invites them to do. This could allow for a broader protection of human rights throughout the continent. Thirdly the Court should manage its budget independently within the financial rules of the African Union. This is a tricky question and has been one of the major shortcomings in the past for all institutions involved in human rights promotion and protection.

You have personally been involved in teaching, research and practical work all your life. What are your views on the relationship between research and the policy dialogue related to this research?

In this particular area the importance of having a close relationship between research and policy implementation is more important than in any other area. I have never questioned the need for both and have always with ease moved from one to the other. I really hope that after my tenure as a judge of the African Court, which is set to a maximum of six years, I will return to my university and continue my research. I feel that I have a lot more to write and I am sure that my stay with the Court will give me even more.

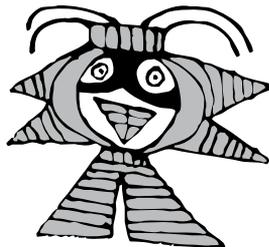
A final question. You have been active in advising on the development of the new Constitution and new laws that govern the efforts to build up a peaceful Burundi in the future. What is your expectation about how well Burundi will succeed in this direction?

I am optimistic knowing very well how difficult a transition from a very violent and long historical past to a peaceful and democratic future is. There are many hurdles on the way. However all of us who participated in the process have done our best to create a legal environment that will make that transition possible. I also think that there is very much good will among the people of Burundi for the process to proceed as we all hope it will. ■

Background: The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights

In 1981, after strong pressure both from within Africa and from the international community, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) approved the Charter for African Human and Peoples' Rights, which included a suggestion to establish a commission for human rights issues. In 1986 the African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights started its activities, with responsibility for the promotion and protection of human rights in Africa. During the more than 20 years that have passed since then, it has – despite very limited support from Africa and elsewhere – produced a large number of well worked out verdicts on violators of human rights all over Africa. The Commission does, however, not have any possibilities for sanctions, and cannot condemn states or groups that commit human rights crimes. Therefore, the idea of creating a court as a complement to the Commission has been on the agenda from the start, supported not least by a coalition of African and international human rights NGOs.

In 1998, the African Union (AU) took a decision to create such a court, and in January 2006 it was formally created at an AU Heads of State meeting in Khartoum. The eleven judges were elected in June the same year, after being nominated by the member states, and it was decided that the court should be placed in Arusha. In September 2006, the judges elected a chairman: Professor Gerard Niyungeko, a Burundian with broad experience from constitutional and international law.



Interview with Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza: “African music does not exist but means a lot”

Photo by Mai Palmberg



Dr. Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza is a Senior Lecturer of Music at Makerere University, Uganda. She has published on popular music, Church music, school music competitions, sexuality in music and dance, politics, gender and music. She has performed and organized workshops on music based on Ugandan indigenous musical styles in Norway, Finland, United States, Canada, Italy, Britain, and Austria. She was a Guests Researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute in January–March 2007.

I was not meant to get much schooling at all. My mother had nine children, while my dad had fifteen children with three wives. My father did not think I, as a girl, needed to go to school beyond the first five grades, and did not pay school fees. One day, as I was playing in the street a car came, and they had to stop. A nun came out, and asked why I was not in school. I had picked up just a bit of English and was able to say: “No school fees”.

The nun then asked my mother to come with me the next day to the hospital where she was working, and there and then promised to pay the school fees for me. For high school I could have gone to a boarding school 40 kilometres away, but my mother did not want me to be so far away. The alternative was a music school much closer to our home. So only by chance did I get into music education.

After high school I continued studies at Makerere University. Music training was not high in status, the acronym MDD for Music, Drama, Dance was translated into our language, Buganda, into “Musiru ddala ddala”, which meant a “a very stupid person”. And a woman going into music performance was regarded as turning into a prostitute. But my mother did like the Catholic national choir that I joined.

A decisive turn in my studies was a visit by Canadian musicologist Jean-Jacques Nattiez. I worked as a research assistant for his research on music in its social context. He recommended me to study in the United States, at the University of Pittsburgh, which I then did from 1997 to 2001. We have since collaborated on some projects.

Meeting ‘African music’ in Bergen...

My project here at the Nordic Africa Institute has been to study how ‘African music’ has been conceptualised and practised in two medium-size cities in the Nordic countries, Bergen and Uppsala. The idea came to me when I was in Bergen to visit the Grieg Academy, the department of music at the University of Bergen, with which we collaborate in the department of music, dance, and drama at Makerere University, among other things on setting up a music archive in Uganda.

While I was in Bergen I was asked to speak on “African music”, and I asked myself what that was. It was difficult to make a general statement. Once I walked into an eating-place where they were playing the music of an exile Ugandan, Godfrey Orema. I asked the proprietor what this was and was told: “It is African music, I love it.” I was beginning to wonder what this

'African music' was. I met it again in classes in 'African dance' and 'African drumming'. I started to ask what it was that drew people to African music, what cultural images were involved, and how those who consume African music also define it.

I have seen the concept of 'Africa' stand for weird exotic dresses, mostly accompanying music from West Africa, with batik shirts and kangas, all generic markers to make the consumers feel they get the real African stuff.

... and in Uppsala

I could have chosen many other places than Uppsala to supplement my observations in Bergen, but Uppsala fitted fine. It is also a fairly small city. And, above all, through the opportunity to come to the Nordic Africa Institute as guest researcher I got the funding needed. I have been here for about two months, and carried out interviews, attended performances, met audiences at my lectures in Uppsala, Bergen, Copenhagen, Roskilde, Lund, and Turku/Åbo. The lectures have been very interactive, like research tools themselves.

Ethnography reversed

A Bergen newspaper headlined one article "An African studying us". Klaus Wachsmann has said that an ethnomusicologist must go out to other peoples and study their cultures. I am aware that what I am doing is ethnography in reverse, and I do not do it on the same terms as all those ethnographers who over the years have studied Africans. The Western anthropologists have written about people believing that their study

objects have no way of knowing what they wrote. I know that what I say will be accessible.

Africans and rhythm

In Norway many people I talked to told me to see a video, which contrasted music in Norwegian and African lives. This video, "The Muse within – with Africa in the Mirror", was made by professor Jon-Roar Bjørkveld in Oslo. It says that Africans have rhythm, Europeans don't, and that this music in the body shows something vital that is lacking in the West, a severance of roots to the sources of life. The film is illustrated by various Africans dancing – a woman in the market place, railroad workers etc.

But there is something artificial about the video sequences, the music is from a radio and those who dance look into the camera. It is a manipulated product. The film is a good example of how Africa, with its music and dance, is what Westerners desire to be.

Hybridity

So what is African music? To me it does not exist. There are many musics from and in Africa. The concept 'African music' is a brand name, for marketing. Also, all music in Africa is hybrid in one way or the other, it is not pure. Blending cultures preceded colonisation and Christianity in Africa.

I am convinced that music alone does not create images. Images are created by the meanings assigned to them. There are many different kinds of music in Africa. The wailing music used at funerals would not fit the images of those who use African music for their lost rhythm and sensuality. ■

The article is based on talks with and by Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza, written down by Mai Palmberg in cooperation with Sylvia in February-March 2007, while she was a guest researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute.

New research director

The Nordic Africa Institute has recruited a new research director: Prof. Fantu Cheru, who currently holds a position as teacher of African and Development Studies courses at the School of International Service, American University, Washington DC. He will take up his position at NAI in August 2007.



Originally from Ethiopia, Cheru is a leading expert on African development, with field experience in more than 20 African countries. He currently serves as a member of the UN Secretary-General's Panel on International Support for the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) as well as being Convenor of the Global Economic Agenda Track of the Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy.

Fantu Cheru has served both as an advisor and consultant to a number of governments and donor institutions, including the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), UNDP, UN-Habitat, the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD), among others. Cheru also served as the UN's Special Rapporteur on Foreign Debt and Structural Adjustment for the UN Commission for Human Rights in Geneva from 1998–2001.

One of Cheru's recent publications is *The African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalization* (2002).

New research programme: Global trade and regional integration: African economies, producers, and living conditions



Photo by Susanne Linderos

By: Yen Kong
Ngangjoh Hodu
Researcher at
the Nordic Africa
Institute

Promoting development in Africa through trade does not only require the elimination of barriers to trade between countries, but needs a focused Regional Integration (RI) strategy, trade facilitation support programmes, more effective and binding Special and Differential (S&D) treatments at the multilateral level, the extension of the 'Everything But Arms' (EBA) initiative to other non-LDCs in Africa, and the building of capacities to implement trade agreements to take advantage of the new global system. The programme, being conducted in different phases aims at embarking on multidisciplinary analyses and debates on these sets of issues raised in the new paradigm of trade/development discourse. It also revisits the impacts of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) regime and the new scramble for Africa led by China and other emerging economies on the livelihood of poor Sub-Saharan African citizens.

Phase 1: Rethinking the EU/Africa EPAs debates

The programme aims at exploring the following

concerns which are either directly or indirectly related to Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) debates; namely:

- reconstructing the debates on the nexus between trade and development, bearing in mind the controversies surrounding the discourse on the international law of development
- revisiting the puzzles surrounding the idea of mainstreaming development in a World Trade Organization (WTO)-compatible Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the two unequal partners
- examining the international law implication of a failure to reach a consensus on EPA
- exploring the question as to whether any future EPA with the EU could lead to socio-economic development of African Members of the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group
- finding out possible issues of concerns for the African countries to be prioritised in any future EPA
- exploring how the African countries could coordinate their negotiating strategies without jeopardizing their vested interests in already existing RIs and the Doha Agenda
- questioning whether African countries may rely on RI as an alternative to multilateralism.

Phase 2: Challenges and prospects for regional clustering

If regional integration remains a cornerstone in the developmental paradigm, with the declared aim of supporting the efforts to reduce detrimental dependencies in the South on the global market and its structural discrimination, the proclaimed notion of 'trade as aid' might need to

embark on a different set of strategies than those currently imposed or pursued. Some impacts of the legal structure provided by the multilateral system include at times the undermining of local production with lasting structural effects on the African economies. Similarly, effective and meaningful RI remains a challenge as much as the building of supply side capacity to take advantage of the different RI processes. The second phase is geared toward;

- generating debates on how to resolve the inherent conflict of overlapping RI membership and the form that intra/extra African RI should take
- sorting out ways to establish corrective mechanisms to ensure balanced distribution of the benefits of Africa's RI among the stake holders

- addressing ways by which Africa's regional clustering can lead to international competitiveness without jeopardizing the desire to strengthen local economies and people.

Phase 3: Mainstreaming Africa's development concern in a multilateral world

Phase three of the programme aims at providing some insights into the development paradigm directed by the global trading regimes from interdisciplinary perspectives. It critically examines, in the context of the often conflicting notions of the international law of development and paragraph 4 of the Doha Ministerial Declaration, ways of altering the present development strategies in order to put poverty alleviation in Africa through fairer trade into the right context of the WTO development debates. ■

AEGIS European Conference on African Studies

The second biannual conference of the African-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS) will take place in Leiden, The Netherlands, on 11–14 July 2007. The theme of the conference is 'African Alternatives: Initiative and Creativity beyond Current Constraints'. Several NAI researchers are hosting panels at the conference:

- ♦ Dorte Thorsen, with Ann Whitehead: Generations of Migrants in West Africa (panel no. 28).
- ♦ Signe Arnfred: Sexuality and Politics in Africa (panel no. 31).
- ♦ Amanda Hammar, with Graeme Rodgers: Political Economies of Displacement in Southern Africa (panel no. 37).
- ♦ Mai Palmberg: Cultural construction of the nation: which way Africa? (panel no. 88).

In addition, The Nordic Network 'Islamic Movements in Africa South of the Sahara' will organize a panel on Islamic education and activism in sub-Saharan Africa. Convenors: Sören Gilsaa and Annette H. Ihle (panel no. 30).

More information on the ECAS conference: <http://ecas2007.aegis-eu.org/>
and on the panels: <http://ecas2007.aegis-eu.org/Panels.aspx>

New research project:

Women's health activism, empowerment and medicalization

Photo by Susanne Linderos



By: Elina Oinas
Researcher at
the Nordic Africa
Institute

'Our bodies are the evidence of global inequality and injustice. They are not mere metaphors for the relationship between inequality and disease. But our bodies are also the sites of resistance. We do not die quietly. We challenge global inequality. Our resistance gives us dignity. In the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), the voices of our comrades, friends and children echo around the world to resist injustice. Our voices demand life even as our bodies resist death.' (Zackie Achmat, John Foster Lecture 10 November 2004)

'We are not going to change people's perceptions, we are not going to change behavior because the value of life is not significant in South Africa, because people continue to die while we know full well what we can do to save people's lives.' (Sipho Mthathi at SA Commission on Gender Equity on 1 April 2003)

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has become a major threat to African societies, affecting a wide range of areas from gender relations and intimacy to economic and political development. While

the social and biomedical implications of the epidemic are becoming increasingly well documented, and enormous investments made in HIV policies, the political agendas and initiatives of the affected communities themselves have been little discussed in research.

The current study concentrates on HIV/AIDS activism in South Africa by studying the politics of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), a large movement that engages young women from various backgrounds. The TAC is a remarkable and visible movement in the HIV/AIDS field as it approaches the illness from a different angle compared to mainstream HIV prevention approaches. The TAC both politicizes HIV, and medicalizes it: the TAC advocates that anti-retroviral AIDS medication be made available on a mass scale through public health care.

The study, conducted in collaboration with Katarina Jungar at Åbo Akademi University, Finland, explores how knowledge, power, globalization and health are interlinked in the activist discourses. The issue of access to medical treatment seems to be crucial in grassroots mobilization around HIV, and should be studied more closely. Similarly, the community contexts of treatment programs need attention, as biomedicine is inherently a social and political enterprise. The study detects lessons to be learned from activist movements for health promotion and health policies.

The study wishes to contribute to the research fields of gender and health in social sciences, especially Sociology; but also to Feminist Theory, African Studies and Science and Technology Studies. ■

Report from a research project: Liberation and democracy in Southern Africa

Photo by Susanne Linderos



By: Henning Melber
Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, and previously Research Director at NAI

This project was conceptualised and coordinated by the Institute's Research Director Henning Melber, who was assisted by Nina Klinge-Nygård. It was undertaken between 2001 and 2006 and had at its centre the relationship between liberation from foreign rule and the consolidation of democracy in a political, sociological and socio-economical perspective. Its main focus was to empirically investigate and analytically reflect on related issues in the Southern African region. Particular emphasis was on the former settler colonies of Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as South Africa. The aim was to gain insights into the scope and limitations of social emancipation in the region governed by previous liberation movements. The specific constellation of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa might have resulted in a particular obstacle on the way towards genuinely democratic structures, institutions and foremost individuals. To explore and investigate the limits and possibilities by means of case studies in a comparative and regional perspective was the main goal of the project.

A network of activities established contacts and links with institutions and individual scholars committed to similar research topics in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In particular, collaboration with a number of agencies such as the Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID)

and the University of Namibia (UNAM) as well as the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) at the University of Cape Town and the Democracy and Governance Project of the South African Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) had been established and resulted in continuous forms of collaboration and interaction, not least the collaboration in seminars and conferences jointly organised in Windhoek and Cape Town. Regular visits to the Southern African region for several weeks at least once a year were used for knowledge creation and dissemination activities such as lectures, panel debates, seminars and conferences, often in direct collaboration with local organisers. Details on these and other related activities are recorded in the Institute's annual reports for 2001 to 2006. These also show that the coordinator undertook numerous other activities beyond the defined scope of the LiDeSA project in recognition of his other tasks and assignments as research director.

The project officially ended in October 2006, when the coordinator resumed office as director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. An evaluation of the project was undertaken during the end of 2005 and presented in early 2006. It came to a positive judgement. Some of the recommendations could still be implemented (such as the focus on socio-economic aspects of transition to Independence in Namibia), while others (such as a monograph on Namibia and an involvement of scholars from Angola and Mozambique) could not be pursued further. Several results will be published still in 2007.

Among the direct printed results of the project and other activities by the research director were a total of 17 Discussion Papers and four Current African Issues published by the Institute between 2001 and 2007. A detailed list of Melber's publications can be found at www.nai.uu.se/research/areas/archive. ■

A brief tribute to Archie Mafeje

Archie Mafeje, one of South Africa's legendary social scientists, has passed away. He was a respected scholar and deeply committed to the Pan-Africanist cause of proper political, economic and cultural emancipation. It is precisely this mixture of a normative concern for what is good for Africa together with his sharp analytical mind that made Archie Mafeje such a powerful intellect on the continent with such an enduring influence on scholarship about, on and in Africa.

He had a doctorate in Anthropology from Cambridge University, but he was one of the fiercest critics of the role that this discipline had played as a handmaiden to colonialism. In response, Mafeje saw himself as liberated from the constraining boundaries of disciplines. His voice was unambiguously African and he brought his Western learning to bear on a profound understanding of the limits of decolonisation. He did this by deconstructing the essential concepts of Anthropology and revealing what lies hidden – its basis in alterity. But he did more than that. Since he was deeply concerned about African claims to study, understand and interpret their own reality, he exposed the manner in which the supposed makers of anthropological knowledge position themselves vis à vis the assumed objects. Invariably, given its history as well as its political and ideological importance in Africa, especially around the concept of 'tribe', the makers were suffused, according to Mafeje, with deep-seated white racism. In contrast, Mafeje committed himself to combating the distorted images produced and reproduced about Africa from the outside, by reference to the notion of authenticity in his ethnographic practices.

After a short stay at the University of Fort Hare, Mafeje, along with many others, was expelled for political activities. He eventually started

a degree in biological sciences at the University of Cape Town in 1957. After graduating in 1959, he immediately began a BA with anthropology as his major. He achieved his Masters degree, cum laude, in Political Anthropology.

Archie Mafeje's illustrious career took him all over Africa. He held senior positions at the University of Dar es Salaam, the American University in Cairo and Makerere College. It was while he was in The Hague as a visiting professor at the Institute of Social Studies that he met his wife, the Egyptian scholar and activist Dr Shahida El Baz.

It is difficult to isolate important events in the life of such a complex and multi-faceted individual as Archie Mafeje, but there are four that stand out as crucial in shaping his life and his work:

Firstly, his experience at the University of Cape Town when in 1968, he was appointed to the position of senior lecturer in social anthropology but a combination of the apartheid government's intransigence on the appointment of black staff members to white universities on the one hand and deceit and complicity on the part of the University of Cape Town on the other prevented him from taking up his post. There can be little doubt that this racist decision profoundly shaped Mafeje's intellectual trajectory. He concerned himself directly with the details of the social and economic challenges facing the newly independent countries and in the process, he developed an encyclopaedic knowledge of Africa.

Secondly, in 1969, his appointment to the position as Head of Department of Sociology at the University of Tanzania was a vital homecoming for Mafeje. Unfortunately, it was also the scene of a horrific motor car accident in which he was involved.

Thirdly, his return to Namibia shortly after it became independent where he experienced the worst kind of racist abuse from his colleagues.

Fourthly, the sad finale of his return to South Africa.

If there is one constant in Mafeje's life then it is his lifetime involvement in the work of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). During the long years of his exile from South Africa, CODESRIA became Mafeje's home where he contributed in no small measure to charting an Afrocentric approach to the study of African social, economic, cultural and political problems. But he also had an enormous impact outside of Africa where he had many experiences as visiting researcher, fellow or professor at Cambridge University, at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, at the University of Copenhagen, at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, at Umeå University in Sweden and at North Western University in Chigaco.

He was undoubtedly the doyen of the emerging community of African social science scholars. During the 1970s he wrote a path-finding article, 'The Ideology of Tribalism', and entered numerous debates challenging the concept of a dual economy, on the nature of the agrarian and land questions in Africa, and on the significance of the Soweto uprising in South Africa, but his most productive years were during the 1980s and 1990s, publishing widely on a diverse range of topics.

Mafeje was a principled scholar who made a great contribution to the development of the social sciences in Africa. He was persecuted for his political ideas by the apartheid regime in South



Archie Mafeje in the 1970s.

how to understand the constraints that confront the neo-colonial state in Africa, how to combine social history with ethnographic experience and generally how to marry scholarly pursuits with political commitment.

Mafeje represents the collective conscience of African social science and because of his widespread legitimacy and credibility across the continent it is not surprising that he is not liked by those outside who wish to write about Africa in ways that distort and harm the interests of people here. His irreverence, his irrepressible spirit have inspired us and we have all benefited enormously from his fertile mind. We will always have a very deep appreciation for his role in the social sciences in Africa as a whole.

Archie Mafeje described himself as being South African by birth, Dutch by citizenship, and Egyptian by domicile. His homecoming was intended to unite the spaces and places of his birthright, citizenship and domicile. Alas, it was not to be. ■

Prof. Fred Henricks, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at Rhodes University, South Africa and guest researcher at NAI, spring 2007.

Nordic workshop on strategies for Africa

On behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Denmark and Sweden, the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI) hosted a one-day workshop focusing on the ongoing Nordic Africa Strategy processes. Participants from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland together with researchers from NAI and representatives from Sida, discussed the policies behind the strategies and the goals and aspirations of each country as well as joint concerns.

The joint EU/AU Africa Strategy under development was presented by **Finland**. During its EU presidency in 2006, Finland was involved in initiating the work on the Strategy. On a national basis, Finland traditionally does not work with strategies. However, considering that there is a newly elected government, a new "white paper" for Africa may be under way. The Finnish representatives stressed the fact that it is difficult to move away from the traditional donor/recipient perspective, but it is important to bring in other perspectives into the development discussion. The fact that migration is more of a problem for EU than for Africa was brought up as one of the issues where the EU/AU views on strategy may differ.

Norway presented its Platform for Africa. The platform will probably be revised and its use evaluated soon. It outlines more thematic, less geographical priorities. The platform puts emphasis on Norway's comparative advantages: Norwegian tourists and oil in North Africa; oil in Angola; heavy involvement in the peace talks in Burundi; traditional political contacts with and immigrants in Norway from East Africa. Norway's aid to Africa amounted in 2005 to NOK 4,3 billion, compared to investments of NOK 35 billion. The discussion in Norway focuses more on quality than on quantity, when it comes to aid. There are various strategies on different levels.

Aid, should be seen in a broader context, identifying joint interests, particularly when comparing aid and investment numbers.

Sweden introduced the beginning of its work on a new strategy. The previous one was launched ten years ago. A discussion on concentrating aid is ongoing. Sweden is currently involved in 120 countries. The new strategy aims to look at Sweden's comparative advantages; to choose involvement where it makes a difference. Large sector programmes rather than budget support are seen to be more defensible to the Swedish taxpayers. The Swedish study aims at analysing investment flows and regional trade. South Africa could be studied in this context: is it Africa's China? When it comes to relating to China, Sweden sees EU as a more equal partner than the individual Nordic countries; hence EU is an important actor for Sweden. African bargaining power comes today from China, as China has no conditionality. Sweden has recently commissioned research papers from NAI and other relevant institutions in order to obtain policy relevant data. A draft strategy is scheduled to be ready late this autumn.

Denmark initiated a revision of the earlier strategy on Africa, from 2004, last year. The Danish work started with a regional meeting in Pretoria last October and was followed by an analytical overview and a high level seminar in March 2007. A synopsis will be presented in April and this will constitute the base for a public debate in May/June. The strategy is scheduled to be launched in September and be part of the EU/AU summit in December. The selected themes for the strategy are: youth/empowerment; differentiation (meaning clear criteria on country selection for programmes); African integration; climate change; and the need to strengthen a broader dialogue and cooperation beyond aid and poverty reduction.

The Nordic countries have a long-standing relationship with Africa. It is unique in the sense that it is not based on colonial bonds, but on a genuine interest for development. The EU strategy on Africa is based on the will of all the countries in the union, hence, it may be considered somewhat wide and not focusing on the particular interests of the Nordic EU members. This was one of the conclusions of the workshop, emphasising the need for individual

country strategies to feed into regional and global initiatives on Africa. From the Institute's point of view the workshop was seen as a fruitful occasion for the persons involved in the strategy work to meet, share ideas and discuss important visions for the future of Africa and the role of the Nordic countries. We are eagerly looking forward to the resulting policy documents. ■

*Nina Frödin,
the Nordic Africa Institute*

Conferences recently organised by NAI

- ◆ Political and Economic Aspects of the EU Africa Strategy
26–27 April 2007 in Uppsala, Sweden
- ◆ Informalizing Economies and New Organising Strategies in Africa
20–22 April 2007, Uppsala, Sweden

Reports are available at www.nai.uu.se/news/conferences.

Publications received

The following publications have been submitted to the Institute for possible review:

Ecological Urbanization. Environment & Urbanization, vol. 18, no. 1. London: SAGE Publications, 2006.

Ecological Urbanization II. Environment & Urbanization, vol. 18, no. 2. London: SAGE Publications, 2006.

Eriksen, Tore Linné, *Det første folkemordet i det tjuende århundret. Namibia 1903–1908*. Oslo: Unipub, 2007.

Reducing risks to cities from disasters and climate change. Environment & Urbanization, vol. 19, no. 1. London: SAGE Publications, 2007.

parts of Africa, despite repressive legislations in many countries against homosexuality. Many of the Christian groups present at the forum were critical to the gay and lesbian presence and demonstrations against homosexuality took place.

At the International Council's evaluation meeting that took place the day after the forum, the debate at times became heated: "We invite you for free to come to our slums, then you should allow us to come for free to you", the representative of the People's Parliament of Kenya said. The People's Parliament of Kenya is an organisation which works with local democracy and has its centre in Kibera, the large informal settlement outside of Nairobi. They criticized the high entrance fees to the forum. They also said that the prices for food were adapted for European wallets and that the water that had been promised to be distributed for free was sold at a high price. Representatives from the Organizing Committee responded to the critique by clarifying that the forum is dependent on communal ownership by all the participants, otherwise the forum will be entirely dependent on sponsor money. The entrance fee for Kenyans in Nairobi had been lowered as a response to the protests and thousands of people had been let in to the area for free. Other issues that were discussed during the evaluation meeting were the sometimes faulty logistics, the lack of proper translation tools and the many traders present at the forum. Many people at the evaluation meeting feared that even the World Social Forum is undergoing a trend of commercialization of which the many traders are an expression.

During the last day of the forum the *Social Movement Assembly* was arranged. This assembly was open to all forum participants and aimed to summarise the forum. "The Declaration of Social Movements' Assembly" had been formulated as a response to the conflicts that had appeared dur-

ing the forum. The following is an excerpt of the declaration: "We denounce tendencies towards commercialisation, privatisation and militarisation of the WSF space. Hundreds of our sisters and brothers who welcomed us to Nairobi have been excluded because of high costs of participation. We are also deeply concerned about the presence of organisations working against the rights of women, marginalised people, and against sexual rights and diversity, in contradiction to the WSF Charter of Principles." Read the whole declaration



Photo by Caroline Kyhlbäck

Closing ceremony in Uhuru Park, downtown Nairobi.

at www.focusweb.org/social-movements-assembly-in-nairobi.html.

The World Social Forum continues to be the world's largest discussion space, despite its challenges and shortcomings. It is a space where committed people meet and exchange their visions for a better world. As participants from the privileged part of the world, we were overwhelmed by the power and creativity expressed by activists from every corner and sector of the world. The WSF proved that the vision of "Another world is possible" still persists. ■

*Caroline Kyhlbäck and Eva-Lena Svensson
the Nordic Africa Institute*

Master students from Göteborg University on field trip to Tanzania

In News no. 2/2006, we presented a number of Master courses in African and development related studies at universities in the Nordic countries. In this issue, we follow up on the subject by reporting from a field trip organised by the Centre for African Studies at Göteborg University (Sweden) for the students on the Master's course in African Studies and International Development Cooperation.

The course is being given for the second time in the academic year 2006/2007 and contains three main blocks: African studies, international development cooperation, and a thesis. The field trip to Tanzania was part of the international development cooperation block and took place in late March/early April. Many of the students also used the opportunity to collect data for their thesis.

The main part of the field trip (eight days) was spent in Dar es Salaam, followed by a three-day visit to the Lindi region in southern Tanzania. I, as a staff member of the Nordic Africa Institute, had the opportunity to join the group from Göteborg for the Dar es Salaam part of the trip and will therefore only report from that.

The purpose of the stay in Dar was to provide practical examples and deepen the students' knowledge about development cooperation, and also about Tanzania itself. This was done through visits to, and lectures by representatives of, Tanzanian ministries and government authorities (Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, National Audit Office), donors (Sweden, Norway, Finland, the European Union, the United Nations



Photo by Karin Andersson Schiebe

Guided tour of the campus with the Tanzanian students.

Development Programme, the World Bank), NGOs (HakiElimu and Tanzania Gender Network Programme) and the academic community (i.a. political science, economics, sociology) which gave different perspectives on development aid. In addition, seminars were arranged with the Tanzanian commissioner for the African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights, a publisher, and the leader of the opposition party CUF. The programme also included glimpses of 'Tanzanian reality' in the form of visits to the first Nordic development cooperation project in Tanzania, Kibaha, and to the University of Dar es Salaam, where we had a chance to interact with Tanzanian Master students.

Emma Harrysson, one of the participating students, is very satisfied with the trip and says that it gave lots of impressions to reflect on and also raised some new questions. ■



Photo by Karin Andersson Schiebe

The Swedish students in lunch discussions with students from the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam.

*Karin Andersson Schiebe
the Nordic Africa Institute*

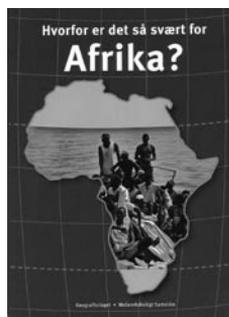
Review of Klaus Winkel: *Hvorfor er det så svært for Afrika?*

Klaus Winkel has spent most of his professional life in Danish development cooperation. (He was also the chairman of NAI's programme and research council between 1996 and 1998.) This is a book (in Danish) in which he summarises his experience from and reading on tropical Africa, its problems and development. The book is aimed at readers with a general interest in these issues and secondary school students. It is thus not a research document, but rather a broad popular presentation of most of the issues that are normally brought up when Africa's slow pace of development is discussed. The initiative should be welcomed, as there are very few books in a Scandinavian language, which try to give a comprehensive and condensed view of the factors behind the development in postcolonial tropical Africa.

As the title "Why is it so difficult for Africa?" indicates, focus is on the factors that may explain why the economic and political development in tropical Africa has lagged behind other parts of the world. The author suggests that his focus might lead the readers to include him among the "Afro-pessimists", while he rather calls himself Afro-realist, whatever that is.

The book covers four main aspects. 1) The historical dimension including the cradle of the human being, some snapshots of precolonial African kingdoms, the slave trade, the colonisation, the colonial period and the postcolonial period. 2) The environmental dimension, including climate, natural resources and the illness panorama. 3) The structures of the postcolonial society, its heritage and its social, political and economic implications. 4) Africa and the rest of the world, including brain drain, development cooperation and the "new scramble for Africa".

The text is based on a mixture of the author's own experiences, anecdotes, interviews and a significant amount of reading. It is easy to read



Hvorfor er det så svært for Afrika? ("Why is it so difficult for Africa?") by Klaus Winkel. Odense, Denmark: Geografforlaget og Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, 2007.

and includes some beautiful photos.

My main concern with the book is the imbalance between description and analysis. It contains a lot of descriptions, but very limited discussion of why the described conditions have been so detrimental in Africa and how they have interacted to block a better economic and social development.

The author emphasises the joint effects and interaction between the climate, the geographical conditions and the illness panorama as explanatory factors for the slow development. How those factors are weighted against bad politics, weak institutions, Africa's role in world trade and other factors is, however, not explicitly spelt out.

The author is not afraid of European stereotypes on Africa and "the African". Initially I became frustrated on meeting them in the book, but then I thought that perhaps it is a good idea to tackle them hands on, as they might be part of some of the intended readers' mental baggage.

One lacuna is that the role of South Africa for the development of tropical Africa is almost neglected, both the destructive one during the apartheid regime, and the present role as driver of regional cooperation and source of foreign investment and modernisation in many countries. ■

Bertil Odén

Recent publications



Katja Jassey and Stella Nyanzi

How to Be a 'Proper' Woman in the Times of AIDS

ISBN: 978-91-7106-574-2, 36 pp, 90 SEK/ca. 9 euro, Series: Current African Issues no. 34

This publication does not present facts 'out there' or solutions for some remote others. Instead of stepping high as development and academic experts, the authors identify with other women and how they as Women make meaning of proper woman-ness, respectability and personhood in the face of HIV/AIDS politics. When is one social script of being a proper Woman valid and what invalidates it? What kind of changes and norms are implicitly or explicitly promoted through development interventions? Can sexuality be separated from material, social and political realities? Why are there so many contradicting messages and forces around ARV medicines? Why is there so much silence and so much noise at the same time around HIV/AIDS? Can HIV/AIDS be a force for inclusion rather than exclusion?

This questioning quilt made up of the authors' personal storylines, experiences of being proper (or indeed improper) women, reflections, of narratives of other women told by themselves or the men in their lives, of quotes from other books, and photos. Through the use of personal and reflexive dialogue between a Western policy maker and an African researcher, the publication aims at encouraging others to do the same. The authors do not say what is right and what is wrong, they say "Stop! Stop a while and think about yourselves. Stop and think for yourselves."

Katja Jassey is a Swedish development consultant working with issues around communication and social analysis. *Stella Nyanzi* is a Ugandan medical anthropologist currently engaged in ethno-graphic research about sexuality and reproductive health among youths in The Gambia.



Karolina Hulterström, Amin Y. Kamete and Henning Melber (Compiled by H. Melber)

Political Opposition in African Countries

The Cases of Kenya, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe

ISBN: 978-91-7106-587-2, 86 pp, 110 SEK/ca. 12 euro, Series: Discussion Paper no. 37

This Discussion Paper is another result of the project 'Liberation and Democracy in Southern Africa' (LiDeSA), which was coordinated at the Institute between 2001 and 2006. The papers are revised versions of presentations to a Session of the Research Committee 'Comparative Sociology' at the XVI World Congress of Sociology held at the end of July 2006 in Durban. They explore the role of opposition parties under different aspects in several East and Southern African countries, which differ according to the socio-political determinants.

Karolina Hulterström is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Uppsala University and a member of the research project 'Democracy and the Rule of Law in East Africa'. *Amin Y. Kamete* is co-ordinator of the research programme 'Gender and Age in African Cities' at the Nordic Africa Institute. *Henning Melber* is Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden.

Margaret C. Lee, Henning Melber, Sanusha Naidu, Ian Taylor (Compiled by H. Melber)
China in Africa

ISBN: 978-91-7106-589-6, 46 pp, 90 SEK/ca. 9 euro, Series: Current African Issues no. 35

The contributions to this compilation add in various ways to the ongoing discussion on China's role in Africa. They offer a blend of general overviews on the new scramble for Africa's resources, the Chinese expansion into Africa and case studies on Uganda and South Africa. They present reflections on and insights to a current theme, which is widely and controversially debated also within Africa.

Margaret C. Lee is Associate Professor of African Studies in the Department of African and Afro American Studies, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *Henning Melber* is the Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. *Sanusha Naidu* is a research fellow at the Centre for Chinese Studies at the University of Stellenbosch and member of the research project 'The New Scramble for Africa'. *Ian Taylor* is a Senior Lecturer at the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews and also affiliated to the Department of Political Sciences, University of Stellenbosch.



Henning Melber (Ed.)
Governance and State Delivery in Southern Africa
Examples from Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe

ISBN: 978-91-7106-588-9, 68 pp, 110 SEK/ca. 12 euro, Series: Discussion Paper no. 38

This Discussion Paper highlights in complementary ways problems and challenges for governance issues under centralised state agencies, which base their authority and legitimacy on a dominant party and its influence. The case study on Namibia argues for a need for parliamentary and administrative reform to improve the efficiency of lawmakers. The Botswana chapter explores the decision on the location of the country's second university as an act without consultation of the local population. The Zimbabwe paper advocates an approach in favour of using the African Peer Review Mechanism as an instrument to assist in a change towards better governance.

All the authors have intimate knowledge of the matters discussed through their own involvement with the respective cases and/or their individual positioning within these societies. This publication is among the final results of the project 'Liberation and Democracy in Southern Africa' (LiDeSA), which was undertaken at the Institute between 2001 and 2006 (see page 25).

Christian John Makgala is Senior Lecturer at the Department of History, University of Botswana in Gaborone. *Henning Melber* is Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala. *Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatssheni* is Senior Lecturer in international studies at Monash University (South Africa Campus). *Gerhard Totemeyer* has been a professor of political science at the University of Namibia, the Director of Elections, and Deputy Minister for Regional and Local Government and Housing in Namibia.



Titles published by the Nordic Africa Institute can be ordered via orders@nai.uu.se.

More books for sale and for download: www.nai.uu.se/publications.

Book exhibits

NAI publications will be displayed at the following book exhibits:

Cape Town International Book Fair, 16–19 June 2007.
Information at www.capetownbookfair.com

International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, 2–6 July 2007 in Trondheim, Norway.
Information at www.svt.ntnu.no/ices2007

European Conference on African Studies (ECAS), 11–14 July 2007 in Leiden, The Netherlands.
Information at www.aegis-eu.org

Göteborg Book Fair (Bok & Bibliotek), 27–30 September 2007.
In Göteborg, Sweden. Information at www.bok-bibliotek.se

Frankfurt Book Fair, 10–14 October 2007.
In Frankfurt, Germany. More information at www.frankfurt-book-fair.com

African Studies Association, 18–21 October 2007 in New York.
Information at www.africanstudies.org

Report on Darfur

'Mapping Darfur', published one year after the peace agreement was signed, is based on a series of seminars organised by NAI, the Life and Peace Institute and ABF Stockholm. The key intention was to increase the understanding of the causes of the crisis in Darfur.

The report can be downloaded at www.nai.uu.se/news/lectures/darfur.



Anne-Marie Kempe In Memoriam

It is with great regret that we announce the death of Anne-Marie Kempe, a previous staff member of the Nordic Africa Institute, who died suddenly on 12 April 2007. During her time as a NAI staff member – from 1986 till 2001 – Anne-Marie Kempe worked inter alia as an assistant within the Somali Camel Research Project, with publishing and IT. Her sudden death means the loss of a dear friend to many NAI staff members.



Photo by Karim Kerrou

Anne-Marie Kempe
(1962–2007).