

AFRICAN STUDIES CENTRE
13 Bevington Road, Oxford OX2 6LH
Tel: +44(0)1865 613900
www.africanstudies.ox.ac.uk



18th Annual Researching Africa Day Workshop

“African Studies Beyond the Binary: Critical Encounters at the Intersection”

Saturday, 3 March 2018

Investcorp Lecture Theatre, St Antony’s College, Oxford

09:00 – 19:00

Timetable

09:00 – 09:15 *Registration in foyer of the Investcorp Lecture Theatre. Tea and coffee.*
09:15 – 09:20 *Welcome – Professor Miles Larmer, on behalf of the African Studies Centre*

09:20 – 10:30 Panel 1: “African” articulations and global currents
10:35 – 11:45 Panel 2: Shadows of the past

11:45 – 12:45 *Lunch*

12:50 – 14:30 Panel 3: People, place and politics
14:35 – 15:45 Panel 4: Technology, entrepreneurialism and self

15:45 – 16:00 *Coffee break*

16:00 – 17:10 Panel 5: State-building, infrastructure and international engagement
17:15 – 18:25 Panel 6: Security and counter-terrorism

18:25 *Close*

Panel 1. “African” articulations and global currents

Chair: Prof. Miles Larmer

- *Shifting Masculinities: The Family Life of African Men in Canada*
Alphonse Ndem Ahola (University of Alberta, Canada)

Upon moving to Canada, I gradually realized the complexity of dwelling in another homeland for an African man. Faced with the Canadian social framework regarding the family and gender relations, how are Canadian men of African descent experiencing being torn between conflictual cultural trends? How are they negotiating new forms of masculinity? How can convenient abstractions about femininity and masculinity be questioned in the light of these men’s experience? I study men as interacting members of their family and analyze their attitudes accordingly, the family being the primary site where Canadian standards are negotiated, contested, and creatively adapted.

A body of anthropological research examines challenges women face in the context of dominant patriarchy. In displacement, these women are said to be engaged in building family life in which they do

not only play the role of the submitted party (Iacovetta and Epp 2016). How men are positioned within that social context is analysed in terms of the economic challenges they face (Simmons 2010), and the difficult relationships they may have with family members (Caarls and Mazzucato 2015). Little attention is paid to men's voices regarding their challenges, how they perform new acts of masculinity, drawing both on their cultural background, and on dominant Canadian standards.

This study attempts to fill this void. Its distinctive approach is accounting for African immigrant men's challenges and successes by looking at the conflictual yet complementary coexistence of different sets of cultural and social norms, by examining how these men draw on these distinct sets of norms to maintain family ties and pursue their goal of achieving a better Canadian life. While early and current approaches of masculinity investigate a specific set of cultural norms and standards, (Butler 1990), this study theorizes the intersectionality of multiple sets of norms and investigate how diacritic practices of men in displacement inform adjustment strategies and unrepressed willingness to survive a system that seems to leave little room for values other than those of the main stream.

- *A Postcard from Modernity: How Seydou Keïta's Work Became a Synecdoche for African Portrait Photography*
Ivonne Marais (University of Oxford, U.K.)

Malian photographer Seydou Keïta is renowned across Africa and the global art world as the premiere African portrait photographer. His recognisable aesthetic of black and white images has circulated across display mediums, from gallery shows to fashion magazines. His work also often stands as an early example of modernism in Africa. Yet the process in which his rise to international recognition occurs belies a narrative of visual appropriation and strikes to the core of the current expectations forced on African artists as having to be 'authentically African' while working within expected Western media such as photography.

This paper proposes a study of Keita's 'discovery' by the Western art world and how this change in context has altered the meaning of his work to apply to a western visuality of African photography that was fostered by colonial postcards. The paper goes on to question how this narrative has influenced perceptions of contemporary African art and if Keita's dominance in the field of portrait photography has hindered the acceptance of portrait photography that challenges the relationship between viewer and subject.

- *Colliding or Blending? Exploring the 'Betwixt and Between' of Midwifery in Malawi Using Respectful Maternity Care as a Case Study*
Susan Bradley (City, University of London, U.K.)

In low-income countries, such as Malawi, global policies to reduce maternal mortality have transformed birth. Once a socially located event carried out by traditional birth attendants in the village, birth is now a technical experience mediated by skilled birth attendants in health facilities. Women's psycho-socio-cultural needs have been significantly neglected, with many women eschewing facility-based birth that is often perceived as dehumanised and disrespectful. Recent advocacy efforts and a growing human rights discourse have generated a range of internationally endorsed charters and guidelines, and fuelled increasing pressure on countries to take action to address disrespectful care.

Doctoral research on barriers and facilitators to respectful maternity care in Malawi revealed a collision of traditional *uMunthu* values and democracy, rights and responsibilities, reflected in poor attitudes to public service and lack of leadership and accountability, that allowed normalisation of unprofessional and disrespectful behaviour. This was set in the context of the British legacy of a highly centralised, hierarchical health system, where midwives were trained in English for a dual nurse-midwife role that was technically focused and based on a British model. The impacts of these broader dynamics cascaded down through the health system, challenging midwives' efforts to provide quality care and disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable women. Midwives found themselves betwixt and between: nurse or midwife; professional or technician; and medical and social models of birth.

Malawi is caught at the intersection of a western-centric rights agenda, rooted in notions of universal human rights and individualised conceptions of choice, and the country's own understandings of community and consent, its constraints and realities. Malawi's position as a poor country that is heavily reliant on external support, generates concerns about a lack of national agency and the imposition of

externally mandated solutions that may not be achievable, nor fit for purpose in this context. Instead, a blended approach is necessary, where explicit attention is paid to contextualising and negotiating a Malawian solution, based on locally appropriate strategies and a shared understanding, among all stakeholders, of the steps needed to provide a model of birth that satisfies women's needs for safety and quality.

Panel 2. Shadows of the past

Chair: Dr. Tim Livsey

- *A Postcolonial Perspective on the Coloniser-Colonised Binary and on Colonial Legacies in Germany*
Johanna Kreft (University of Birmingham, U.K.)

In African Studies as well as in History and related subjects, when we speak about colonialism, we have become used to naturally applying two categories: the coloniser and the colonised. This binary approach, though often a useful and accessible method to depict the parties involved in this primarily antagonistic encounter, reveals significant shortcomings. The continued division between “us” and “them” from a European perspective becomes particularly problematic when examining the effects of colonialism and the issue of decolonisation. In this discussion it has become common place to regard colonialism as a persisting issue of “their”, the colonised, past and to speak about “their” responsibility for decolonisation, yet colonialism has often failed to be recognised as part of “our” history as well. This binary line of thought, which is prevalent in many European societies, impedes our capacity to acknowledge colonialism as a crucial period in the history of both groups and it particularly hinders Europe's understanding of its own need for a thorough historical investigation and an “intellectual decolonisation”. What this results in, is a failure to grasp the legacies of colonialism in Europe and to expose colonialist patterns that continue to influence modern European thought today. A persisting strong belief in European superiority as well as a Eurocentric approach to knowledge and knowledge production is the consequence of this process, as reflected in large parts of society and in academia as well.

From the experience of having studied African Studies in a German university, I will argue in this essay, that the failure to recognise the contemporary importance of colonialism for the coloniser is a prevalent feature of postcolonial Germany. Here, this disregard causes a historical amnesia where an investigation of colonialism is dismissed as a subject of the colonised history and which allows colonialist ideologies to continue exercising significant influences on thinking and knowledge production in society and academia until today.

- *Imagining Ethiopia: Reconsidering Mainstream Postcolonial Approaches to Colonialism*
Juweria Ali (University of Westminster, U.K.)

In an academic tradition characterised by dichotomised approaches to the subject of colonialism, the task of conceptualising the coloniality of Ethiopia not only challenges mainstream Ethiopian historiography, but involves centring the anti-colonial struggles which continue to persist inside Ethiopia. The nature of this state does not fit neatly into the categories of ‘coloniser’ (white European) and ‘colonised’ (Black African) as widely conceived, yet Ethiopia persists as an empire due to Abyssinian conquests of Southern independent nations in the 1800s using European firearms. As such, it is worth calling into question how this empire was both created and maintained, to what extent do widely held notions of Ethiopia's uniqueness correspond with historical events in the Horn of Africa? And crucially, what are the conditions which have symbolically sustained its position in the global imagination? Ethiopia can be considered as an image which has been deliberately created; a discursive construction within which mythologies around its ancient attributes and mysticism around its biblical connections have been manipulated by the ruling elite to consolidate their power over colonised peoples. Once incorporated within a larger western discourse around Ethiopia, this equipped ruling groups with the legitimacy to sustain decades of territorial expansion and colonial dominance over territories such as the Ogaden. The mythic imagination of Ethiopia as the protonation of liberated Africa and its emergence as a symbol of African liberation and nationalism consolidated Ethiopian colonial aspirations over the Horn of Africa without any sanctions from the international community. The systematised use of a ‘colonial mythology’

which emphasises claims of grandeur, uniqueness, sovereignty, internal unity and independence has cemented Ethiopia's position and image both in the international sphere and in the international consciousness. The emergence and persistence of this image today continues to represent a systemic and oppressive form of colonial domination over southern peoples and the source of continued conflict in the Horn of Africa, thus highlighting the importance of theorising about non-western forms of colonisation as well as the nexus between race and colonialism.

- *Anglican Church and State Relations in West Africa: The Unique Case of Abẹokuta (Nigeria) (1830-1865)*
Adrian M. Deese (University of Cambridge, U.K.)

This paper explores the intersection of religion and the state in the early Abẹokuta city-state. It argues that with the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1842, the new Anglican elite intercepted the state formation process underway in the town. By examining apologetic discourse in the context of Christian state building, the paper challenges the dominant binary approaches to the history of religion in West Africa, which view coherent indigenous cosmologies and Christianity as fully integrated entities. It considers the utility of the concept of civil religion, as it provides a seemingly useful framework for considering the centrality of Yorùbá divination cosmology in the consolidation of kingship and its civic institutions. The dominant models of Yorùbá cosmology articulate rival foundations of divine kingship. These rival articulations of Yorùbá cosmology, as the basis of kingly rule, unfolded in this contested period in which the Christian aristocracy attempted to transform Abẹokuta into a "City of God," the first Christian theocracy in West Africa. As such, the civil religion framework, which posits a stable divine Yorùbá kingship as the basis of political order, raises questions about the nature of political legitimacy, as the state struggled unsuccessfully throughout the 19th century to fashion a theocracy, and implement a modern constitutional monarchical system of government. I argue that the state's reintegration of its new Christian elite, and their reformation of its political structure had, beyond its proclaimed heralding of a modern political economy for the region, profound ramifications for the state's cosmology. The Christians worked to make Christianity appear consistent with and a logical successor to Yorùbá cosmology in order to legitimate the new Abẹokuta monarchy. The efficacy of Abẹokuta as a theocracy was, however, contingent on two factors: the Christians had to desacralize the civic deities, and the rival clans had to recognize the Yorùbá dynasty's cosmological mandate to rule. The failure to properly reconcile Christianity with the state, this paper will argue, precipitated the abrupt collapse of the first monarchy in the 1860s, the restoration of the military junta, the suppression of Christian evangelism, and for two decades a period of immense Christian persecution.

Panel 3. People, place and politics

Chair: Dan Hodgkinson

- *Researching Binaries: Nature vs. Culture in the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, South Africa*
Tibor Böhm (University of Vienna, Austria)

National parks and other protected areas are often based on the ontological assumption that nature and people constitute a binary opposition. Conservationists regard nature as an external entity which, in certain places, has to be protected from human influence. While the majority of natural surroundings is being subjugated under the needs of production and settlement, certain presumably natural areas are singled out and protected in order to be kept "pristine". The creation of many protected areas was connected to the forceful removal of its former human inhabitants who were perceived as a threat to the natural environments. The erection of fences to keep people out and nature in materialised this ontological binary. It is an ironic fact that in many protected areas it needs a lot of human effort to make nature appear unspoiled. Furthermore, tourists, unlike locals, are mostly not regarded as a threat to nature but rather as an economic necessity.

The iSimangaliso Wetland Park in north-eastern KwaZulu-Natal was declared South Africa's first UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2009. The park presents itself as a progressive and inclusive role model of post-apartheid nature conservation which is engaged in eco-tourism and sustainable community development. However, many people living in and around the park have experienced displacement or

find their livelihoods severely endangered as a consequence of conservation efforts. Based on extensive social anthropological fieldwork in a small community inside the park, this paper aims to scrutinise the enacted binary of nature and culture. The village of kwaDapha lies within the boundaries of the area that has come to be declared a park. Many former inhabitants have since moved away while those who stayed are experiencing severe restrictions which are endangering their livelihoods. Although being confronted with the park's conservation regime, the remaining inhabitants of kwaDapha are challenging enforced dichotomies and are providing inspiration of how such binaries might be overcome.

- *Cleaning up the Streets of Kigali: The Interaction between the Rwandan Government and Kigali's Residents in the Cleaning-up of the Country's Capital*
Lis Kayser (University of Vienna, Austria)

After years of recovery from the aftermath of a devastating genocide, the reduction of the environmental pollution, especially within the capital Kigali, was and still is at the top of the agenda of Rwanda's single ruling political party RPF. As the Rwandan government equates "polluted and unclean" to "disordered, unplanned" and subsequently to "underdeveloped", a lot of socio-political projects, which should primarily help to keep Kigali clean and free of any form of urban pollution in order to further push the modernisation drive of the capital, have been implemented over the last twenty years. In answer to strict law enforcement, public control and social pressure, residents of Kigali disciplined themselves and follow the legal guidelines on cleanliness. Through this mutual cooperation between the government and Kigali's population, Rwanda has often been described as "the cleanest African city". Nevertheless, the various urban cleaning operations in Kigali include not only the cleaning of public streets, but also the complete reconstruction of unplanned and informal neighbourhoods whose inhabitants are forced to resettle in areas further away from the capital. Kigali faced an enormous spatial reorganisation within the past years transforming it into a "modern", clean and planned city full of progress, while displacing and marginalising thousands of its inhabitants. They do not fit in the image of a clean, modern and developed capital that should attract tourists and economical investors boosting the country's economic growth. Therefore, the government justifies its strict spatial reorganisation and the forced displacement of thousands of Kigali's inhabitants through the notion of pollution. By collecting primary and secondary data and by focusing primarily on theoretical perspectives on "pollution", "waste" and "governmentality" emerging from the fields of anthropology of pollution and waste as well as urban political anthropology, I will find arguments to answer my research question, which is: To what extent do the legal and political measures imposed by the Rwandan government to clean-up Kigali and residents' imaginations and concepts as well as their management of urban pollution mutually influence each other?

- *Intersecting Narratives, Practices and Interests on Tenure Security: Examining the Land Policy Development and Implementation Process in Madagascar*
Anni Valkonen (University of East Anglia, U.K.)

The dualities of global-local, urban-rural and statutory-customary, among others, emerge in land policy development and implementation processes in Africa. These dichotomies often include remnants of colonial era and continuous foreign influence over post-colonial administration. To understand the real dynamics of the land policy development processes, these binaries need to be broken down and their combinations explored.

Land policies represent a great object for exploring these intersections. This is because land is inherently social and political, and 'at the centre of philosophical and technical debates about how to secure 'the right disposition of things' (Li 2014). This entails that the discussions on access to, control over and management of land bring together a myriad of players with diverse understandings, practices and interests that do not fit under abstract categories of their own. In spaces like national policy fora their interests are mediated, and alignments sought between them.

The examination of the Malagasy land policy development and implementation process invites to go beyond geographic, social, political and economic borders. By recognizing rights to land based on its use and appropriation, the policy instituted in 2005 and backed-up by donors and civil society, placed the security of tenure of farmers to the foreground and questioned state control over land. Its implementation has, however, faced difficulties due to institutional power battles, resistance of the state administration rooted to bureaucratic ideas and colonial systems, and weak demand for the certification on the ground.

Rather than re-creating epistemological binaries, in my research, the analysis of the policy process focuses on the complexity of interactions between levels, players, ideas and practices.

- *The Multi-layered Nature of Land: Telecoupling and the Need for Looking across Scales*
Jorge Llopis (University of Bern, Switzerland)

Land in the African continent is object of struggles stretching across scales and domains. Its pivotal role among spheres and contexts has been recurrently shown in scholarship, although research endeavours has tended to simplify its nature for analytical reasons. As boundaries between the rural and urban spheres, local and global scales, or market and subsistence-oriented economies blur, our capacity to understand dynamics around land that are based on ontological dualities is challenged.

The telecoupling framework has emerged as a promising heuristic to look beyond these binaries and engage the inherent complexity surrounding these issues. This approach, first devised in the land science community to explore the interconnected nature of land-use change, holds significant potential for other disciplines investigating claims over and experiences around land. North-east Madagascar provides a powerful illustration of the potentials and limitations of resorting to such an approach for disentangling land-related questions spanning over multiple loci. This region is at the centre of cross-scalar demands for goods and services provided by nature, chiefly due to its status as a global biodiversity hotspot and as a crucial location in the country for the production of cash crops grown for the international market. On the one hand, the biological diversity occurring in the region, together with its perceived endangered situation, has led in last decades to the creation of several externally-funded protected areas, meaning the actual closure of the forest frontier and additional strain on the livelihoods of communities living in the area. On the other hand, the price spike in the global market experienced recently by vanilla and clove, major income sources for these populations, is driving rapid and profound changes in the landscapes, which might drive into unexpected pathways. This paper aims to contribute to overcoming categorical dichotomies by providing a critical geographical perspective on the understanding that has traditionally characterised our subjects of research.

- *The “Conflagration of Community” in Chigozie Obioma’s The Fishermen: New Directions in Postcolonial Nigerian Literature*
Sreya Datta (University of Leeds, U.K.)

In a recent article in *The Cambridge Companion to the African Novel* (2009), F. Abiola Irele declares, “the raffia skirt and the kola nut have been left behind as indices of African life, along with the village environment; the focus has shifted to the new social configuration of the urban milieu which provides the significant context of experience in the post-independence period.” Irele’s emphasis on the diachronic movement between two ostensibly antipodal tendencies seems to imply that the shift from a singular village “environment”, represented by the charged metaphors of culture, to the complex modernity of the urban “milieu”, is representative of a community coming of age, as it were, where the indices of postcolonial Africa can *only* be defined in the wake of this movement.

For this paper, I consider Man Booker Prize nominated Chigozie Obioma’s debut novel, *The Fishermen* (2015), and examine the ways in which it responds to claims of and for “community” in postcolonial Nigeria, without seeking recourse to binaries such as the rural/urban, traditional/modern etc. Set in the Nigerian town of Akure, and yet, curiously “traditional” in its aesthetic, it confounds categories of analysis, thereby eluding dominant trends of “doing” the postcolonial. My research straddles the philosophy-literature interface and broadly deals with the notion of “community as philosophy” in West African literatures. I go beyond anthropological categorisations of particular ethnic communities and their philosophies as well as challenge the pervasive notion of “community” as an overarching “worldview” that saturates the consciousness of the African Novel as a whole. Instead, I am interested in exploring the idea of “community” as an ideational complex, a critical cognitive gesture in literature, which, in its *dislocating* rather than *unifying* potential, simultaneously activates itself as a critical philosophy. Alternatively, community as a deeply “African” philosophy is not the hypostasis of “traditional” thought, but is an expository *process* that generates the creative labour of literature. In analysing *The Fishermen*, I look at the disruptions, conflagrations, and complex articulations of “community” in postcolonial Nigerian literature and assess how ideas that seem so entrenched and originary at first glance often allow us the most liberating and challenging ways to think about Africa.

Panel 4. Technology, entrepreneurialism and self

Chair: Sanna Ojanperä

- *The Role of ICTs in Influencing the Citizenship Capabilities of Women in Kenya: An Intersectional Approach*
Anna Colom (Open University, U.K.)

The use of Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D) has come to the forefront of International Development policy and practice. Development practitioners and policymakers are harnessing this potential to empower citizens for better governance. Despite the potential, the evidence on the role digital technology for political empowerment can play is still weak or emerging and concerns have been raised about its contribution to amplifying existing inequalities.

My research seeks to contribute to the evidence on the role that digital technologies can play in women's citizenship capabilities in Kenya, considered an ICT hub in Africa and labelled by some as the Silicon Savannah. In doing so, it will take an intersectional approach to overcome the gender binary in a context of multiple forms of discrimination as well as the binary of citizenship as a concept born out of a western political theory that assumes membership (or lack of) to a legal status and a nation-state. This will also require theoretical intersections and my research will triangulate citizenship studies with feminist critical theories and the human capabilities approach.

I will use the human capabilities framework as a normative development paradigm where citizenship is a set of desired functionings (or outcomes) defined by women themselves. This subjective standpoint to define citizenship fits under the critical strand of citizenship studies, which challenges the modern definition of citizenship and approaches it from a performative perspective (Isin, 2017). This theoretical background is also suited to studying citizenship in postcolonial contexts. The research will be operationalised using the Choice Framework (Kleine, 2013) developed to evaluate the role of technologies under a capabilities approach.

This research seeks to: (a) inform an effective use of ICT4D in development policy and practice; (b) make a theoretical contribution to citizenship studies through understanding standpoints in a postcolonial context; (c) make an epistemological contribution to the Choice Framework by operationalising it in a new context for a specific outcome (enacting citizenship).

- *Free to Exploit Yourself? How Young, Urban Entrepreneurs in Post-apartheid Johannesburg Self-understand*
Lieve de Coninck (University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

Young, urban professionals in post-apartheid South Africa find themselves right in the middle of a struggle to redefine what it means to be black, and to have economic freedom. Both are central, but highly contested elements of their current life-worlds. Those who choose entrepreneurship as a route to their expected success often see themselves as free, and their counterparts in corporate careers as exploited, even if they acknowledge the financial and personal sacrifices they themselves are making as a result of their choice. Academically, however, it may be argued that their leap of faith into (the financial insecurities of) entrepreneurship is pushed by a neoliberal agenda that is exploitative in its own right (e.g. Ferguson 1999, Harvey 2005, Graeber 2011). Taking the critical capacities of these young, urban professionals into account, what to make of their enthusiasm for entrepreneurship? Where do their self-understandings and scholarly assessments of freedom and exploitation meet? Or do they? Based on five months of fieldwork in business incubators in Johannesburg, this paper explores how young, black entrepreneurs frame their career choices in the context of post-apartheid, and how the dichotomies they invoke in the process may be theorized.

- *Reconceptualising 'African' ICT. A Case Study of Videogame Production and Distribution in Accra's Technology Industry*
Tessa Pijnaker (University of Birmingham, U.K.)

In recent years, media, NGOs and governments have increasingly framed ICT as a new way to create progress on the African continent. In response to the idea of Africa as merely a recipient, victim or

appropriator of Western technology, scholars have questioned what technology might mean from Africa and have historicized and localized technology and innovation (Mavhunga 2016). In this paper, I will critically engage with the tension between ICT and Africanness, by showing how Ghanaian game developers negotiate with competing and overlapping narratives about ICT and Africanness in the technology industry in Accra, Ghana. Based on five months of ethnographic fieldwork, I will zoom in on the production and distribution of Africa's Legends, a mobile game about African superheroes developed by Leti Arts in 2012.

In the technology industry in Accra the idea of ICT as the new way to move Africa forward is omnipresent. It was introduced in the early 2000s by transnational NGOs that offer Ghanaians access to IT training, funding and global technology networks. This paper shows that to gain access to these resources, at public events in the technology industry Leti Arts presented Africa's Legends as reproducing this narrative. The game was framed as 'local African content' that could change negative perceptions of Africa in Africa and the rest of the world. However, in more intimate settings game developers challenged the narrative of NGOs. They stressed that their game was not as 'new', but part of a longer history of access to transnational technology networks, IT skill development, and middle-class aspirations. Moreover, during the production of the game the representation of the African superheroes was constantly related to visions of local Ghanaian media on Africanness. Through this case study, the paper aims to emphasize that the framing of ICT as either 'Western' or 'African' is part of social, economic and political processes. This paper suggests that rather than reproducing this dichotomy, academics should interrogate it, and analyse which interests, networks, relationships and processes cause ICT to be presented as such.

Panel 5. State-building, infrastructure and international engagement

Chair: Barnaby Dye

- *"Privitalizing" the State: Infrastructure, Politics and the Neoliberal Moment in Accra, Ghana*
Pauline Destrée (University College London, U.K.)

This paper looks at debates around the privatization of the national electricity distribution company, Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG), in the midst of an energy crisis in Accra, Ghana. The privatization of national utilities is usually seen as a typical technique of neoliberal economies, indexing an erosion of state sovereignty and the rising influence of international, transnational, decentralized organizations and actors. Yet in Accra, the privatization of ECG was seen as an opportunity for a kind of State "renaissance" – as an informant tellingly put it, a "privitalization" of the State – and the enunciation of a renewed contract of civil responsibility, especially in matters of service delivery and infrastructural provisioning. Ghanaians' sentiments about the State in the midst of an acute energy crisis in 2015 revealed both deep frustration with the State's inability to deliver, and a sustained and enhanced desire for state repair. In the process, what is usually seen as a divide between public institutions and private interests, between state governance and non-state actors, becomes blurred, as they weave through complex motivations and demands. The current preference of the Ghanaian state for economic policies of private-public partnerships brings forth a rethinking of the relationship between state governance and public goods, infrastructure and politics, and neoliberalism and sovereignty.

- *The 'Emerging Powers' in Africa: How Different is India and Brazil's (Un)Intended Pursuit of Dams?*
Barnaby Dye (University of Oxford, U.K.)

Concepts for the emerging power's activities in Africa have often deliberately constructed contrasts with so-called traditional donors. From the negative 'rogue aid' to positive ideals of 'south-south-cooperation', China, India, Brazil and others are presented as operating in a fundamentally different way. However, an emerging strand of scholarship has sought to deconstruct this binary, demonstrating emerging power's frequent historic presence and similarities. Taylor (2014) for instance points to natural-resource extraction in Africa by companies from the Global North and South, and conversely, recent aid initiatives appear to suggest countries like India want more strategic, outcomes-orientated development cooperation, such is the norm in 'Western development agencies' like DfID or USAID. This paper continues this work, examining the under-researched countries of India and Brazil and their engagement with dams in

Africa. It draws on case-studies of a Brazilian presence in Tanzania and Indian project in Rwanda to interrogate the continuities and differences between emerging-power companies and governments, and those of 'traditional, Western' actors like the World Bank. In particular it explores norms around impact assessments, compensation and local benefit-spreading. It argues that whilst important differences do exist, project outcomes are shaped by individual experiences with national governments in Africa, and that there has been a significant convergence since the take-off in emerging power-Africa relations in the early 2000s.

- *Post-conflict Financial Sector Development in Mozambique and Angola: Domestic Politics and International Engagement*
Jakob Hensing (University of Oxford, U.K.)

Like much of the broader literature on post-conflict state building, analyses of economic reconstruction after civil war tend to presume that policy choices in such contexts are to a significant degree shaped by external actors, notably donors and the international financial institutions. The focus on this particular aspect of international engagement has deflected attention from how domestic elites, especially in cases where one cohesive and well-organised faction has acquired or successfully defended far-reaching control over state institutions, have also harnessed many of the instruments made available by financial and economic globalization in support of modes of economic recovery that correspond to their domestic political priority of regime survival and consolidation. This paper analyses financial sector development in aid-dependent Mozambique after 1992 and oil-rich Angola after 2002 to show how ruling elites in both cases deliberately managed the involvement of foreign banks and other external factors and maintained far-reaching control over this politically critical sector amid rapid growth. Important idiosyncrasies of the two cases notwithstanding, the analysis reveals a number of important structural parallels despite very different levels of donor engagement and leverage.

Panel 6. Security and counter-terrorism

Chair: Sa'eed Husaini

- *Hybridity in Counter-Terrorism: Security Interventions in Tunisia*
Lydia Letsch (University of Hamburg, Germany)

In Tunisia the major security challenges consist of an increase in jihadist activities and insecure border areas affected by the ongoing conflict in Libya as well as from illegal smuggling and trafficking activities. The government's response to these challenges is dominated by the adoption of heavy-handed measures, which have provoked strong popular dissent from local inhabitants. Western actors assist the Tunisian government's effort to tackle the security problem mainly through financial support and capacity building with a strong focus on counter-terrorism measures. International actors thus actively shape the understanding of security issues and decisively co-determine the actions employed in the country. Vice versa the outcomes of international involvement depend on strategies of local actors which are negotiated through domestic political struggles and their willingness to cooperate.

Hybridity aids analyzing the complex interaction of external and local actors in security settings, which so far have been under-theorized in the field of security studies. Originally developed in post-colonial and anthropological studies, the concept of hybridity provides a highly promising alternative beyond mainstream state-focused approaches for the analysis of security governance in Tunisia. In this paper, hybridity is discussed as hybridization, a dynamic developmental process, in which local actors dispose agency to resist or to promote external efforts. In Tunisia, official security forces tend to resist external supervision and evade reforms by manipulating current political struggles. In particular, the fight against terrorism serves as a tool to secure their hold on power. Building on Security Pluralism, this analysis extends to non-state (security) actors which possess a certain amount of public authority and legitimacy. It thus challenges the reproduction of ambiguous conceptual binaries such as state and non-state, formal and informal in standard security studies. The growing impact of non-state actors and militias at the Tunisian-Libyan border constitutes a major challenge for pre-existing hierarchies and community structures. The paper strives to investigate the impact of these hybrid security arrangements on security and justice provision in Tunisia and especially on perceptions and practices of people living

in insecure situations. These hybrid security structures are embedded into wider regional and national mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion.

- *Securitized Landscapes, Crosscurrents, and New Forms of Sociality*
Nathan Dobson (University of California, Irvine, U.S.A)

An ideal public discourse in opposition with everything outside of that ideal, pervades scholarly and popular discussion of the privatization of parts of cities through gated communities, malls, and securitized landscapes. During my 15 months fieldwork among private security guards in Nairobi, Kenya, as part of my PhD in anthropology, I experienced divisions in the city based on similar exclusionary logics that were just as material as the walls of gated communities. Such idealizations also tend towards binaries such as traditional and modern, safe and unsafe, and along moral lines of exchange and ethnic and racial lines of identity such as black and white, and Kikuyu and Luo or non-Kikuyu. But at every moment that the delineation is made, other kinds of cross-cutting social forms come into view. Even as these idealizations delineate and divide publics, processes such as the growth of private security and the securitization of spaces engender new public forms.

- *Enhancing African Security Architecture Through the Culture of Iwa Ofia*
James Okolie-Osemene (University of Ibadan, Nigeria)

Africa has witnessed various security challenges since independence. Security is paramount to every organised society that is accountable to citizens. In fact, it is one of the most significant human needs across the world. This makes it crucial for nations to evolve better ways of not only protecting human and national security but adhering to the social contract between leaders and their citizens. With emphasis on security provision challenges, this paper examines the patterns/approaches and prospects of enhancing African Security Architecture through the Culture of *Iwa Ofia*. *Iwa Ofia* (searching of forests and isolated areas) is a model of traditional security provision which has worked in Ubulu-Uku, Delta State. Given that the protection of lives is an attitude, it is workable at the national level if well implemented by security forces and youths in communities. As a proactive security strategy, *Iwa Ofia* has the potential of preventing the establishment of training camps by militia groups and bomb factories by insurgents, criminals or even terrorists. There is no doubt that this when adopted as a security strategy, would make the establishment of community vigilantes less necessary because it is a factor of arms control and food security. Given the salience of culture as a way of life, failure of stakeholders to mainstream the culture of *Iwa Ofia* has grave implications for human and national security considering the perennial challenges of insurgency, terrorism and armed banditry usually fuelled by arms proliferation and struggle for power and resources.

Conveners

Emma Chippendale. DPhil Candidate. Department of Politics and International Relations. University of Oxford.

Luisa Schneider. DPhil Candidate. Department of Anthropology. University of Oxford.

Katherine Erickson. DPhil Candidate. Department of History. University of Oxford.

radoxford2018@gmail.com