15th Biennial Conference

South African Association of Political Studies

ABSTRACT BOOKLET

Theme: Rethinking Politics in a Time of Crisis
Venue: Virtual (Zoom)

Dates: 26-28 August 2021

Host: Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University
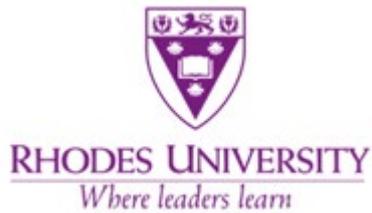
Dear conference presenters and attendees,

Please find below the biographies of our three keynote speakers.

This is followed by the biographies and abstracts of all presenters in alphabetical order according to the surname of the presenter.

Best wishes,

The SAAPS 2021 Local Organising Committee

Plenary 1

South Africa: Present Tense, Future Imperfect

By Judith February

Judith February is a lawyer, governance specialist and columnist. She is currently a Visiting Fellow at the University of the Witwatersrand's School of Governance. Prior to that she was executive director of the Human Sciences Research Council's Democracy and Governance unit and also head of the Idasa's South African Governance programme for 9 years. Judith has worked extensively on issues of good governance, institutional strengthening and transparency and accountability within the South African context. Her areas of focus include corruption and its impact on governance, Parliamentary oversight and institutional design. Judith is also a regular commentator in the media on politics in South Africa and a columnist for the Daily Maverick and other publications. Judith is the author of *Turning and turning: exploring the complexities of South Africa's democracy* (PanMacmillan, 2018).

'In this excellent book, Judith February, one of South Africa's finest political analysts, dissects the ills of our country with quiet authority and insight. I highly recommend it.'
– BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

Judith February

Turning
and
turning

Exploring the complexities of
South Africa's democracy

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SAAPS South African Association of
Political Studies
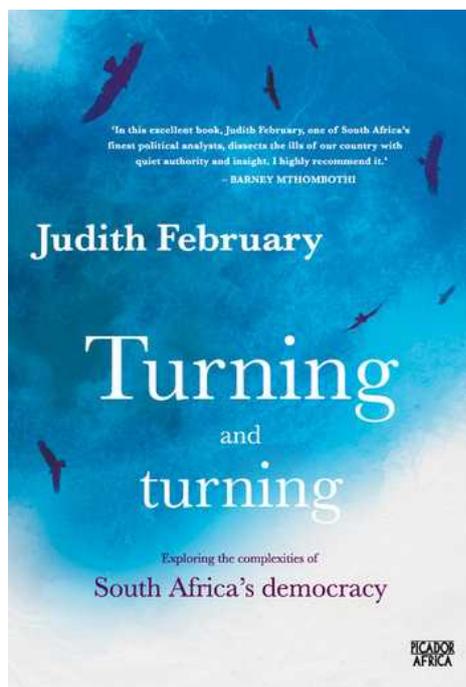
Plenary 2

Reading crisis through the social: Some dilemmas for South African politics

By Shireen Hassim

Professor Shireen Hassim is a Canada 150 Research Chair in Gender and African Politics at Carleton University in Canada. She was previously Professor of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and also spent a year as a Distinguished Visiting Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard in the United States of America. Hassim is an authority on feminist theory, social movements and collective action. She has written and edited several books, including *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making* (2003) and *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia, and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa* (2008) and, most recently, *Voices of Liberation: Fatima Meer* (2019).
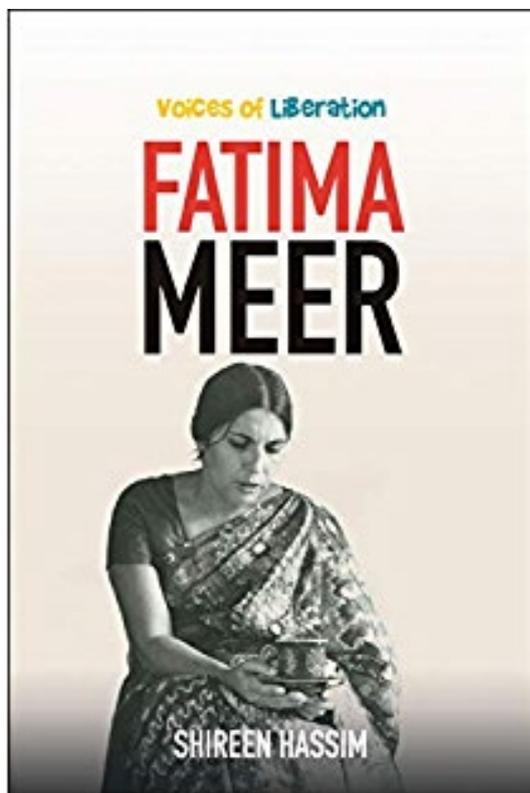
Plenary 3
Title to be confirmed

By Siba Grovogui

Professor Siba Grovogui is Professor of International Relations Theory and Law at Cornell University in the United States of America. He is also the Nelson Mandela Visiting Professor in the Department of Political and International Studies at Rhodes University. Professor Grovogui is an authority on international relations theory, political theory and African thought. He is the author of *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law* (1996) and *Beyond Eurocentrism and Anarchy: Memories of International Order and Institutions* (2006) as well as many articles and book chapters on statehood, sovereignty, international law and order.
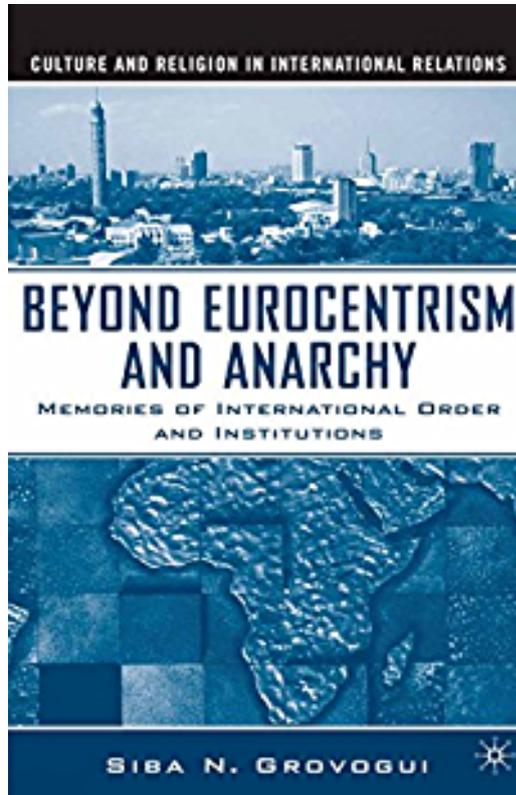
ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHIES

OF ALL PRESENTERS

(in alphabetical order by surname)

An exploration of the discourse underpinning the policy work of South Africa's Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities

Ubanesia Adams-Jack (Department of Political Science, Stellenbosch University)
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Biography

Lecturer in Political Science whose teaching and research work focuses on public policy analysis.

Abstract

This paper explores the discourse that informs 'policy work' of the Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities. This department is explored as a component of the gender machinery whose task broadly is to promote gender equality in South Africa. The analysis is based on Colebatch, Hoppe and Noordegraaf's concept, 'policy work' and Carol Bacchi's concept, 'problem representation'. The department's 'policy work' included creating documents, engaging in dialogues, reporting to the parliamentary committee, plan for incorporating youth and persons with disabilities with women as key foci of the department, and changing the department's vision, focus and goal. The main 'frames of meaning' that influenced the department's 'policy work' includes a developmental orientation, feminist beliefs and a rights orientation. The article concludes that the discourse privileged in department, merits further exploration of the department's 'policy work' to document and reflect on the role of the gender machinery in gender equality promotion.

State of Nature and the Nature of States: Antifragility in the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Biography

Ajibola is with the African Youth Leadership Study and Partnership Lead at ResearchRound, and Doyinsola is a Lecturer at The Federal Polytechnic, Ilaro, Ogun State, Nigeria

Abstract

The Coronivus (Covid-19) epidemic raises fundamental questions on the origins and capacities of states in Africa. These are not limited to the capacity of states to issue health advisory that require state welfare for its effect, the ability to produce and provide vaccines to citizens and the burden of a global pandemic. As a state's stress test, epidemics reveal vulnerabilities of the state in ways that theoretical conceptions cannot capture. State's capacity for bureaucratization, for taxation and provisions of safeguards bring to fore both positive and negative functions of the state. They also alter the state as they present a unique problem requiring joint and common action to combat. In this paper, We discuss different ways the pandemic has revealed the true characters of some states in Europe, in Asia and in Africa. Paradoxically, more undeveloped states with less capacity seem to be more antifragile to the effects of the pandemic. In ways that the Ebola virus epidemic changed social life where funeral rites were exchanged for cremation in Guinea, the COVID -19 Pandemic has disrupted social life and the changes may well be a permanent fixture of the future in the same way past epidemics have shaped the present.

Emergence of Majoritarianism and Populism: Reflections on the Future of the State and Democracy

MD Aftab Alam (University of Delhi)

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Biography

Md. Aftab Alam teaches Political Science at Zakir Husain Delhi College, University of Delhi, New Delhi. He completed his Masters, MPhil and PhD in Political Science from Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His areas of interest include; Indian politics, marginality, caste, social justice, modernity, South Asia, globalization, minorities, and democracy.

Abstract

Of late, we have witnessed two rather contrasting experiences i.e. new forms of nationalisms and globalization. Despite some shared features, new nationalisms differ from previous ones. Modern nationalism arose in 19th century Europe, while in Global South, it arose in response/opposition to colonial rule and for freedom & rights, and led to popular sovereignty and shaping a new political community that was inclusive of all the diversity. However, quite contrary to this, new nationalism tends to be exclusionary, confining itself from global community, and above all, the process of 'otherisation' within. It doesn't allow attainment of all the rights by all people/citizens, instead, it allows for exclusiveness, privileging and appropriation of all the rights only by supposedly the original/native-born/dominant/majority community (along the lines of ethnic/linguistic or religious identity).Rather than establishing a modern political community, trends of new nationalisms are more rooted in cultural mobilization, anti-immigrants right-wing conservative formulations, ethnic/religious nationalism, identity and mobilization along the same lines. Hence, new nationalism that is marked by nativism, ethnicist/religious mobilisation, is quite opposite of the earlier forms of nationalism. The paper would identify the sources and processes that shape this new nationalism. It would focus on new dynamics that ultimately lead to new forms of nationalisms (ethno-nationalism). Contemporary India offers significant insights into this phenomenon. Paper emphasizes that NN poses serious threat to democratic consensus/institutions and leads to authoritarianism, majoritarianism, centralization/personalization of power and otherisation of certain sections of the society. Moreover, it facilitates majoritarian aspects of populism which endangers liberal democracy. Paper would investigate how various kinds of fear (real/perceived), humiliation (existing/historical), and frustration/dissatisfaction lead to NN. Paper would attempt to understand this process in India and beyond. Analyzing the cases of India, USA, UK, Turkey, Brazil and Philippines etc., paper attempts to understand/interrogate new forms of nationalisms, their leaders and what are the similarities and differences between NN and its earlier avatars? Paper would interpret how NNs are giving rise to populism, authoritarianism and ethno/religious nationalism in India and beyond. Moreover, paper would dwell into consequences of NN on democratic institutions, representative government, political mobilization along religious/ethnic lines, electoral behavior, pluralism, minorities, media coverage/portrayals and global institutions.

Segregationist Trusteeship in Imperial Decolonisation: Smuts's Mandate

Christopher Allsobrook (University of Fort Hare)

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Biography

Dr Christopher Allsobrook is the Director of the Centre for Leadership Ethics in Africa (CLEA) at the University of Fort Hare, where he also leads the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Niche in "Democracy, Heritage and Citizenship". He is a founding member of the African Political Theory Association and an editor of the journal *Theoria*. His research is in African Political Philosophy, Critical Theory, and Intellectual History. Current projects include Justifications for Colonialism, Customary Rights Recognition and Land Reform.

Abstract

The influence of segregation on Trusteeship ideology is not well recognised, since historical shifts in the concept remain conceptually underqualified in the history of political thought. From Edmund Burke's concept of Trusteeship, which defended the rights of foreign subjects, we distinguish a significant break in the genealogy of this influential concept of imperial governance - from assimilation to segregation - which defers such responsibility. Jan Smuts's segregationist conception of Trusteeship, justifying annexation of German and Ottoman territory after the First World War, shaped the Mandate System in Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant. This conception bears significant implications for liberal accommodation of decolonisation. Critics of liberal universalism show how this idealist approach to post-imperial international cooperation, in imposing certain interpretations of universal norms, supports imperial domination. But, where these postcolonial critics typically target the universalist rationalism of Eurocentrism, Smuts's "progressive and enlightened" conception of segregated Trusteeship accommodates the national self-determination of ethnic pluralities, from the Afrikaner to the Zulu. Insistence on cultural particularism grounded segregationist ideology in South Africa. Smuts's pluralist, cultural relativist conception of Trusteeship, justifying segregation, envisaged a Commonwealth of ethnic homelands, bounded by discrete customs, guided by the oversight of a more mature, civilised and technically advanced white South Africa. This cultural essentialist interpretation of Trusteeship, influenced by liberal segregationists' enlightened pluralist criticisms of direct rule and assimilation, supported a broader post-imperial impetus toward the decolonisation of indebted, self-governing ethnic dependencies, whose relations with the West were to be maintained under conditions of tutelage. We show how the ideology of segregated Trusteeship - which Smuts brought to Versailles - accommodates decolonisation, for more efficient and less cumbersome imperial consolidation, to contradict the political purpose of Trusteeship articulated by Burke, which imposed accountability on the imperial metropole for the rights of foreign subjects.

Curbing Corruption in Ghana: Is the Office of the Special Prosecutor the Answer?

Augustine Blay Arko (University of Education, Winneba)
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Biography

Lecturer in the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba and PhD candidate with the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon.

Abstract

Successive governments in Ghana have established several anti-corruption agencies given them differing mandates and powers since the return to multi-party democracy in 1993. And yet, corruption remains prevalent in administrative and political systems. In the context of this growing culture of corruption and failed anti-corruption initiatives, after taking office in January 2017, President Nana Addo Akufo-Addo led neoliberal administration launched anti-corruption campaign with the establishment of the independent Office of the Special Prosecutor (Act, 959, 2017). The agency seeks to undertake proactive investigation and prosecution, recovery of assets proceeds and management, and takes measures to prevent corruption. Many Ghanaians hope that OSP will be an exemplary microcosm agency in the fight against corruption. However, three years of its inception, the agency has not under taken any major investigation and prosecution of corrupt cases and officials. The key question is weather the establishment of the Office of the Special Prosecutor will show a form of success in the fight against corruption? If so, under what conditions will OSP make corruption a fact of life in contemporary Ghana? Which unique characteristics of OSP may contribute to control corruption? Moreover, is OSP getting the support from corridors of power, adequate resources and internal control and accountability mechanisms to eliminate corruption in Ghana? Using a mixed qualitative method including experts' interviews and document reviews, this article unravels if OSP is the panacea to systemic corruption in Ghana.

Patriarchal constraints to women's occupation of elective offices in Nigeria's Niger Delta: A critique

Ebiere Lynsa Atani (Federal University Otuoke, Nigeria)
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Biography

Ebiere Lynsa Atani is an early career lecturer/Researcher affiliated with the Federal University Otuoke Nigeria. She holds a PhD in Political Science (Development Studies) from the Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Nigeria. she is interested in women's studies regarding development, gender-power-relations, political participation, productive engagements, environment, conflict and peace-building. She has a number of published articles to her credit and engages in women social/development work.

Abstract

This research is informed by the underlying paradox of gender politics in the Niger Delta Region (NDR) of Nigeria, which derives its expression from the electioneering scenario where women constitute a significant segment of the voting population, but very few seize the opportunity to contest and by extension occupy authoritative decision-making positions. Women are said to be socially disadvantaged in politics and governance particularly in patriarchal societies. They are presumed to be weak, subservient, subordinated and marginalized by the men. Patriarchy is also widely assumed to be responsible for the wide margin between men and women in elective office. It is demonized as the glass ceiling to women's upward mobility in politics. Yet no explanation is given for how come there are female political office holders in a society like the Niger Delta which is highly patriarchal. This necessitated the question if patriarchy is still a barrier to women vying for elective public offices. The main objective of this study therefore, is to draw attention to the flaws of the patriarchal narrative which exempts women from taking any responsibility for their role in the paradox. The phenomenon was explained within the theoretical framework of critical theory, to develop an alternative narrative to the event of women's slow but progressive entrance into politics. Interviews and questionnaire are used for data collection. The study adopted multi-stage sampling and applied the social analysis method. The conclusion drawn was that patriarchy still exist largely in the NDR, however, it plays a dual role as barrier as well as a mechanism of support for producing female political office holders. The study makes specific recommendation to women and is relevant to political parties and the state agency responsible for orientation.

The future of War in Africa Issues and Perspectives

Bonnie Ayodele (Ekiti State University, Ado Ekiti, Nigeria)
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Biography

Bonnie Ayodele holds a PhD in Political Science and teaches in the Ekiti State University Nigeria. He has articles in both local and international learned journals. He participated in high level experts' roundtable, conferences, and policy meetings. He has won many academic awards including APSA Africa Alumni Grant Award, 2014; TrustAfrica, 2014. He was the 2013 Africa Talks Lecture Series Speaker of the London School of Economics (LSE). He has University of Rhodes Island, USA (2014). Fellow Brown University BIARI 2015, His areas of specializations are China-Africa Relations; Peacekeeping in Africa; International Organisations. He is a member of American Political Science Association and Nigerian Political Science Association.

Abstract

To many, the conception of Africa Union (AU) was novel and strategically timely, at least, in responding to the continent's post-Cold War challenges. While this may be so, the idea of its peace and security architecture could be best described as an icing of innovation and an act of pure ingenuity on the part of the framers and authors of the continent's "Union of unity and peace" constitutive act. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was conceived primarily to respond to continent's climate of conflicts. It comprises the Panel of the Wise, African Standby Force, and Continental Early Warning System. Three decades on, the continent's leaders live under no illusion that in spite of Africa recurring experience in conflict that the end of war is here. For example, in the last decade, the changing faces of the future security threats and wars are evolving. Indeed, the nature of threats to states has changed significantly. Structural security challenges, such as terrorism, rise of extremism and religious fundamentalism, cyber-attacks and nuclear proliferation, have created an entirely new security environment. National states' monopoly on using force is eroding, state boundaries have lost much of their importance and private actors have become increasingly powerful in international security. As the struggle for states and anti-state is underway, the post-Second World War institutions including African Union's Peace and Security Council's APSA must be prepared to respond to emerging and future wars. This study intends to examine the components of APSA in relations to the present and future security challenges. In addition, it intends to assess its roles and gaps in Africa's security challenges.

Fighting an invisible enemy: The South African National Defence Force and Covid-19 – a commentary on leadership, culture and values

Craig Bailie (Konrad Adenauer Foundation)

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Biography

Craig Bailie has ten years' experience as a defence civilian teaching in higher education and a more recent history of engaging local communities on issues of racial reconciliation and civic-mindedness. He currently serves as a researcher with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Parliamentary Research Programme while pursuing a doctoral degree in Strategic Leadership. He has a keen interest in leadership development, organizational culture, nation-building, and advancing democracy and good governance in South Africa and the wider African continent.

Abstract

The worldwide use of military resources against the Coronavirus pandemic is the continuation and intensification of two trends in post-Cold War military affairs: the involvement of the military in operations other than war (MOOTW) and the domestic deployment of armed forces. Both involve greater interface and cooperation between military personnel and civilians, making for an operational environment very different from conventional warfare. The changes in the global security environment brought on by the end of the Cold War are external to the military organization and therefore constitute what organizational theory refers to as 'problems of external adaptation'. For any organization to survive and succeed in its mission and purpose, its culture – its way of operating – must adapt to the demands imposed on it from outside. Covid-19 places additional pressure on leadership to meet the demands of democratic civil-military relations. In a democracy, the most important among these demands is the responsibility of upholding laws and/or norms aimed at protecting human life and freedoms. On 26 March 2020, before instituting a national lockdown that the military would help implement, South Africa's president, Cyril Ramaphosa, instructed soldiers of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to, "Go out and save the lives of South Africans". Reflecting on the organizational behavior of the SANDF and South Africa's civil-military relations during the national lockdown, and what these reveal about the leadership, organizational culture, and the values that permeate the SANDF, the author argues that the South Africa's defence force is inappropriately adjusted to meet the democratic demands of domestic deployment for MOOTW.

The socio-economic and structural predictors of protest and political upheaval in SA

Martin Bekker (UJ)

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Biography

Dr Martin Bekker is a computational social scientist and development planner, appointed at the UJ as a Global Excellence Stature 4.1 Postdoctoral Research Fellow. He was head of strategy and later of research at the Royal Bafokeng Administration, and served on the World Economic Forum's advisory panel for sustainable mining and minerals. Dr Bekker is currently working on the University of Johannesburg/Human Sciences Research Council Covid-19 Democracy Survey.

Abstract

Despite South Africa's transition to democracy, it continues to experience numerous community and labour-related protests daily; by some claims, more than any other country. While state measures to curtail such gatherings are often fierce, a sharp rise in public protests has nonetheless been perceived since the early 2000s. Nevertheless, quantifying protests remains problematic, and the drivers behind protests – whether community-based, labour-related or some other type – are contested. Scholars hypothesise a range of factors in their explanations – some conflicting – for the apparent rise in protests. However, these commonly advanced theories lack quantitative rigour. Applying machine learning algorithms to the world's largest publicly-available single-country protest event database, I classify over 150 000 police-identified incidents between 1997 and 2013, as protest or non-protest events, and the former by levels of "tumult". Each of the 89 000 identified protest events is differentiated, considering count, count per capita, and "general propensity", as well as "tumult" models; and then located within one of the country's 234 municipalities. I find that "general propensity to protest", representing the number of protesters per capita in the respective municipalities, is a more accurate measure to quantify protest than simply counting "protest occurrences" or protests per capita.

The digital Yuan's possible effect on the United States financial dominance

Danielle Barnes (Nelson Mandela University)
Danielle.Barnes@mandela.ac.za

Biography

Danielle Barnes a masters in South African Politics and political economy and her current research interests include International Relations and new war studies

Abstract

The United States as a hegemon has maintained its financial dominance in the global economy since the end of the Second World War. This has allowed the United States to enact it's believe in the liberal stance of the Washington Consensus, through institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These organisations put forward the idea of Washington Consensus through placing conditions such as structural reforms and the liberalisation of trade, investment and the financial sector on non- democratic states, applying for loans. With the rise of China it provides an alternative to non-democratic states which therefore affects the idea of putting forward the Washington Consensus. Recently China became the first economy to create a digital currency called the digital yuan. What impact will the digital yuan have on the great power competition between the United States and China? Will the flexibility of the digital yuan have the ability to reshape the dollar-dominated global financial system and if so in what way will it affect global politics. This paper will address some of the issues affecting the United States, status as a global hegemon and the possible repercussion of the rise of China especially in the realm of human rights.

Social upgrading or dependency? Investigating the implications of the inclusion of commercial wine farms within South African Fairtrade certification

Joshua Bell (Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University)
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Abstract

Joshua Bell is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political and International Studies. His research interests include the subjects of Global Production Networks, Social Upgrading, Post-Racialism and Critical Race Theory.

Biography

The South African wine industry is one of the oldest sectors of the country's economy, beginning in the early years of South African colonialism in the 17th century through the use of slave and slave-like labour. As an industry that has been defined by farm paternalism and dependency, the South African wine industry has had to demonstrate changes from its history of extreme racial and gendered exploitation to an industry that reflects the democratic values of a new South Africa. In the effort to distinguish the modern wine industry from its history to allow for the entry of local wine producers into global markets, ethical certifications have presented a means to demonstrate practices of decent work and social transformation. An important certificatory label that allows local wine producers entry into global wine production networks is the Fairtrade Labelling Organisation. While Fairtrade certification is often reserved for small-scale producers, this certification has been extended to large-scale, commercial producers within the South African wine industry despite its history of farm paternalism and dependency. This research asks if this inclusion promotes decent work through social upgrading or if it offers a platform for the continuation of farm dependency under the guise of 'Fairtrade'. In this study, social upgrading has been defined through a 'bottom-up' approach that prioritises workers' independence as a key means of improvement. Four key pillars are applied as embodying the concept of social upgrading: regular employment with set working hours; legally enforceable worker rights; social protection through collective and individual bargaining power; and non-discriminatory social dialogue that promotes significant socio-economic progression. A key finding of this research is that practices of dependency and paternalism continue on some large-scale commercial farms, despite their Fairtrade certification. Furthermore, the findings suggest that the benefits that farmworkers receive lock farmworkers into their position on the farm with marginally improved conditions and cease if workers depart from the Fairtrade wine farm. This suggests that, at best, this inclusion of commercial farmers within Fairtrade certification appears to create a top-down social upgrading that locks farmworkers into their position on the farm with marginally improved conditions and beneath a glass ceiling of development. At worst, this Fairtrade inclusion facilitates a global poverty network through paternalism and dependency under the guise of 'Fairtrade'. As a result, where meaningful, bottom-up social upgrading may occur on South African wine farms, the study suggests that this is despite the presence of Fairtrade and not a result of it.

The uneven transition from party dominance to coalitions: SA's new politics of instability

Susan Booysen (Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection)
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Biography

Prof Susan Booysen is the Research Director at the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection. She is the Editor of 'Marriages of Inconvenience: the Politics of Coalitions in South Africa"

Abstract

This presentation will form part of the launch of the book *Marriages of Inconvenience- The politics of coalitions in South Africa*

Contextual counter-terrorism: Making the case for an Africa-centric toolkit for gendered counter-terrorism programme evaluation

Sven Botha (Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Johannesburg)
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Biography

Sven Botha is an assistant lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg as well as an associate with the Centre for African Studies at Leiden University. Sven's research interests include terrorism, counter-terrorism, preventing violent extremism, countering violent extremism, diplomacy and foreign policy and gender issues. In addition to his research and teaching, Sven also works to establish avenues for early-career development in the Social Sciences.

Abstract

African countries have been extremely reliant on external assistance for counter-terrorism matters. As a result there has been a heavy external influence which has infiltrated the counter-terrorism policy, programme and evaluation discourses. Using Nigeria as a case study, this paper will seek to understand the misfits of external approaches to African counter-terrorism programme evaluation. In response to this phenomenon, this paper will further seek to provide a blue print for gendered counter-terrorism evaluation for evaluation in the African context. At the time of this writing, the Youth Collation Against Terrorism (YCAT) used as the mechanism for application in this study. A gendered lens is adopted in this paper given the ever-growing and increasingly important roles in combat, logistics and symbolic communication that woman and girls take on within Nigeria's Boko Haram. Qualitative methods in the form of desktop research and semi-structured interviews are used to obtain the much-needed data. Provisional findings suggest that the misfit of external approaches to the African strand of terrorism emerge as a result of the differences in context between the external and African settings.

Populism and Opposition Party Growth at the Local Level in South Africa, 2014-2019

Michael Braun (University of Toronto)

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Biography

Michael is a PhD Candidate in Political Science at the University of Toronto and former Research Associate at the UJ Centre for Social Change whose dissertation looks at opposition party support in South Africa. His field work consisted of interviews and participant observation in specific wards between 2016 and 2019 to help elucidate the micro-foundations of voting behaviour.

Abstract

To explain the electoral fortunes of the EFF, this paper focuses on specific electoral wards to understand why their mobilization efforts were more effective in some parts of the country than others. Such micro-level comparative analysis helps to disentangle the ways in which the EFF's blend of programmatic and identity-based appeals were interpreted and translated into political activity at the grassroots level. This elucidates the dynamics of opposition party growth in African democracies, where citizens are primarily concerned with the delivery of valence goods such as basic services, housing, and employment. Which aspects of the EFF's political style, strategy, or tactics allowed them to portray themselves as a credible political alternative in specific electoral wards? Drawing on participant observation and interviews with local party activists and community members spanning the 2014 and 2019 elections, I argue that opposition parties – including those with a populist style – thrive where they successfully operationalize local power struggles, personalities, and protests to increase their grassroots support base.

Fighting corruption and state capture in democratic South Africa: The role of civil society

Marianne Camerer (University of Cape Town)

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Biography

Dr Marianne Camerer is a Senior Lecturer at the Nelson Mandela School of Public Governance at the University of Cape Town where her teaching and research interests focus on ethics, leadership, anti-corruption and democratic accountability. Prior to joining UCT in April 2014, Marianne co-founded the international anti-corruption NGO Global Integrity (Washington DC) and headed anti-corruption research at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). Marianne holds masters' degrees in public policy and political philosophy from Oxford and the University of Stellenbosch and her Ph.D. in Political Studies, from the University of Witwatersrand, focused on "Corruption and Reform in Democratic South Africa".

Abstract

Since 1994 a diverse range of civil society organisations and social movements in democratic South Africa have played a critical and evolving role in promoting accountable governance. This chapter examines civil society's recent engagements with countering state capture. The Zuma era (2009-2018), now commonly referred to as "the lost decade", saw the state effectively "captured" with public institutions hollowed out and stripped of their capacity to deliver services, protect the public purse, prosecute criminals and uphold their constitutional obligations. Outraged and active civil society organisations working together, and supported by prominent activists, ANC veterans and whistleblowers within the state (Mcebisi Jonas and Themba Maseko), rallied to "save South Africa" and "connect the dots." Exposes by investigative journalists, a strategy of 'lawfare' and public interest litigation, research and publication by academics of a seminal collaborative research report, "The Betrayal of the Promise", as well as collective action by organized civil society groupings, all played a role in reversing South Africa's downwards trend. Civil society's ongoing struggle to hold South Africa's 'capturers' accountable, manifested in key conferences, campaigns, as well as coordinated submissions to the Zondo Commission, are examined. The Commission's recommendations in its much-anticipated report will provide ways to improve accountable governance in South Africa and beyond. A few cases of successful campaigns by CSOs to promote accountable governance are highlighted: Regulating the funding of political parties; Educating the public about a future Public Protector; Stopping the Nuclear energy deal. What lessons have been learned by civil society organisations active in promoting accountable governance?

Power, Propaganda, and Trust: Explaining Russia's Cyber Strategy

Laurence Caromba (University of Johannesburg)
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Biography

Laurence Caromba is a lecturer in International Relations at the University of Johannesburg. He holds a Master's degree in political theory, and he is currently completing a PhD on cyber security and foreign policy. He has taught International Relations and Political Science at Monash South Africa and the University of Pretoria, and worked as a political researcher for think tanks and an embassy. He has published scholarly research on African politics and security, as well as popular articles in the Daily Maverick, the Mail & Guardian, and other publications.

Abstract

"Cyber power" has become increasingly important as a tool of foreign policy. However, different states use this tool in differing ways, representing different selections of trade-offs among competing priorities and interests. This paper seeks to analyse and explain the cyber strategy of one particular state – the Russian Federation – and use this case as a building block towards developing a more general theory of cyber strategy selection. The paper first attempts to describe and classify Russia's cyber strategy. It develops a framework, arguing that cyber power can be divided into broad categories: technical cyber power, and persuasive cyber power. The first category includes computer hacking for the purpose of espionage or sabotage, while the second category includes politically motivated leaks and disinformation campaigns on social media. Applying this framework, the paper examines the history of Russian cyber operations against Estonia, Ukraine, the United States of America, France, Germany, and other states. It concludes that the distinctive feature of Russia's cyber strategy is its aggressive use of both forms of cyber power. The paper then seeks to explain why Russia has adopted this particular strategy. It reviews previous explanations for Russia's behaviour in the cyber domain, including Russia's strategic culture, its domestic political institutions, and the personality of its president, Vladimir Putin. This paper argues that such explanations, though containing useful insights, are nevertheless theoretically unsatisfying. Instead, it develops a new explanation for Russia's cyber strategy that is based on a combination of two explanatory variables: the external security pressures facing the Russian state, and Russia's revisionist stance towards international institutions.

Marginalization of Southern Cameroons? Evidence from sub-national Distribution of Chinese Official Finance in Cameroon

Afa'anwi Ma'abo Che (Department of International Studies, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University)
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Biography

Afa'anwi Che is Assistant Professor in International Studies, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University, China. He is a 2019 recipient of the China-Africa Research Initiative fellowship at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Abstract

While observers and analysts of Cameroon and its unrest since 2016 have explored evidence for and against systemic Anglophone marginalization, very little of the evidence reveals how financial resources, including development finance, are distributed across the country's eight Francophone regions and two Anglophone regions, with no study specifically exploring foreign aid distributional patterns within the country. Are Cameroon's two Anglophone regions marginalized in sub-national allocation of foreign aid? This research addresses this question by exploring how official finance from China (Cameroon and Africa's largest economic partner) are distributed across Cameroon's ten first-level administrative units or regions. Upon tracking the locations of Chinese funded projects in Cameroon, this study finds evidence of Anglophone marginalization in the sub-national distribution of Chinese official finance in Cameroon, providing an empirical basis for proposing adjustments to the geopolitical configuration of foreign assistance to Cameroon.

Reflecting on South Africa's stark disparities in the midst of the "new normal"

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Biography

Tania Coetzee is the Programme Director for Governance and Political Transformation qualifications. She has been in the academic world since 2001. She has lectured at the Anthropology and Sociology Departments before she joined the Department Political Science. In 2006 she joined the Programme Governance and Political Transformation. Her areas of expertise are Governance and Political Transformation, Research Methodology, Intergovernmental Relations and Community Service Learning. She has attended a number of conferences and published articles in accredited journals. She has supervised over 70 Masters degree students and 9 PhDs successfully.

Sanet (Madonsela) Solomon is a double cum laude graduate who has recently completed her MA in Governance and Political Transformation at the UFS. She is the Events and Projects Coordinator for the International Association for Political Science Students and a freelance writer for Newsi.co.za. Sanet has a number of international and national publications. She has a forthcoming book chapter co-authored with Prof Mark Swilling from the Stellenbosch University on State Capture. She will be pursuing her PhD later this year.

Abstract

March 23, 2020, ushered in South Africa's version of the "new normal" after President Cyril Ramaphosa announced a nation-wide lockdown to prevent the spread of the novel Covid-19 virus in the country. The lockdown served to exacerbate many fissures in society, as well as bringing to the fore the incompetencies of the state. While some could endure the lockdown in the comfort of their homes with fully stocked fridges, medical aid, online learning and Netflix, millions were struggling to survive. While this virus has exacerbated inequalities in the country, it has also exposed stark disparities twenty-six years after democracy. South Africa's post-Apartheid history is one marked by ambiguity as its achievements are often overshadowed by its downfalls. The political results from the transition are visible as the regime enjoys broad legitimacy, opposition parties are tolerated at every sphere of government, and the Constitution enjoys great respect around the world. While many South Africans hoped that the country's political freedom would lead to social and economic freedom, that has not been the case. Despite the advances made over the past twenty-seven years, many people's lives remain unchanged. Some argue that this mismatch between expectations and reality has been evident in the increase in direct political action since 2004. Recent surveys conducted show that the country's performance on a range of social, economic and governance measures have deteriorated over the past twelve years- more than any other country not at war. In 2018, more than 50% of the country's citizens lived in poverty, while 20% could be classified as middle class, and 4% as elite. To aggravate matters, South Africa is regarded as one of the most unequal societies in the world as disparities in education, skills and income are still prevalent according to the Gini coefficient Index.

Emerging technologies and the quiet submarine: what future for nuclear deterrence?

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Biography

Eben Coetzee is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Studies and Governance at the University of the Free State.

Abstract

It is widely accepted today that technological innovation poses unprecedented and seemingly insurmountable challenges to nuclear deterrence, most especially the second-strike forces of nuclear states. Deterrence, nuclear experts contend, is in rapid decline. Qualitative and quantitative developments in sensors and sensor platforms (infused by artificial intelligence (AI)) render the second-strike forces of nuclear states increasingly vulnerable. 'Concealment', one of the strategies most often used to render second-strike forces invulnerable, is increasingly anachronistic. Moreover, the most survivable leg of the nuclear triad, i.e., the quiet submarine, is likely to become increasingly vulnerable to detection, increasing the possibility of pre-emptive attacks. As against this bleak assessment, this analysis contends that nuclear deterrence is, and is likely to remain, deeply stable. A thoroughgoing appreciation of the strategic implications of nuclear weapons leads to optimism about the future of deterrence. Technology, moreover, has both enabling and constraining features, a point that should lead us to reconsider the oft-cited argument about technology's debilitating effects on deterrence. New technologies may very well also strengthen the survivability of submarines and, importantly, add new survivable platforms to undersea warfare.

Forging Global-Regional Partnerships in Peacekeeping: A Focus on African Union and United Nations

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Biography

Dr. Kwaku Danso is a Research Fellow and Deputy Dean at the Faculty of Academic Affairs of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre. Kwaku holds a Ph.D. in International Conflict Management from Kennesaw State University, and an MSc in African Studies from the University of Edinburgh. His research interests revolve around maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea, transitional and relational justice, DDR in conventional/non-permissive contexts, election-related violence, peacekeeping, and security knowledge production in postcolonial locales. He has published a number of scholarly papers on peacekeeping, indigenous approaches to conflict transformation, elections, and Ghana's foreign and defence policies.

Abstract

As conflicts in Africa become increasingly complex, and as the liberal international order continues its decline, the United Nations (UN) is finding support for peace operations on the continent difficult. In this context, the idea of global-regional partnership in peacekeeping involving the UN and the African Union (AU) is galvanising the attention of many analysts. Their interest derives from the underlying assumption that AU-UN peacekeeping partnership can help overcome critical challenges encountered when these organizations deploy alone. Regional and multilateral peacekeeping partnership will leverage the comparative advantages of AU and UN in ways that make possible the deployment of more responsive and effective missions. While this logic is rapidly gaining traction, there is no clear articulation of how regional and global partnerships should be coupled or structured. In other words, the question of what makes for effective peacekeeping partnership remains unanswered. Although prior existing and ongoing peacekeeping collaborations between the resource-constrained AU and the distant UN point to important benefits to be derived, they also expose critical pitfalls that are clearly mirrored by the adhocracy and incoherence that mark these collaborations. This paper argues that the basis for a genuine partnership lies in a reconfiguration of current AU and UN relations towards the recognition of the AU as a legitimate actor in its own right, deriving its mandate below from African states. The growing actorness of Africa's regional arrangements in the security plane make their relationships with the UN more complex, suggesting that they are more than mere subordinates discharging delegated tasks.

Governance and Sustainable Development in East Africa in the Covid-19 Crisis

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Biography

Currently a Ph.D. Student at the University of Johannesburg. Research focusing on the Africa's Peer Review Mechanism in relation to good governance and sustainable development on the African Continent.

Abstract

Covid-19 has challenged governance and development in Africa as governments have been forced to respond to the health crisis. This crisis has not only exposed the weakness in health governance in lack of sufficient health care systems but also halted development in other sectors as majority of the resource have now been directed to managing the pandemic. On the other hand, Covid-19 has shown how crucial good governance is as responses have required transparent, accountable, and organized state systems to lead the citizens in fighting infections and managing the impact of the pandemic. It is important to note that there were governance challenges in African countries before Covid-19 including inefficiencies, poor service delivery and questionable legitimacy, battled with developmental failures manifesting in poverty. There have been studies on how Covid-19 has affected the economies of African countries but few on the impact it has had on governance and development outside the heath sector. This paper examines how the East African region has fared in the interface between governance, development, and Covid-19, how the region has responded to the crisis and what lessons can be learned from this experience.

The New Religious Political Right in South Africa

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Biography

Siphiwe Ignatius Dube is Senior Lecturer and former Head in the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. He is an author of numerous interdisciplinary articles and chapters (and has also supervised) on a range of topics covering African politics and religion, feminisms, post-colonial literature, race, religion and masculinities, religion and identity politics, religion and popular culture, and transitional justice. His current two projects focus on African Political Theology and the Religious New Right in post-apartheid South Africa.

Abstract

In similar ways that scholars such as Kaye (1987) and Apple (1990) have demonstrated how post 1970s America and Britain, respectively, fused the neo-liberal discourse of free markets with the neo-conservative Christian discourse of moral rightness to found a New Right, my paper aims to apply this analytical model in post-apartheid South Africa. This analytical approximation is in order to make a broad claim about the universality of the rise of the New Right as directly related to the fusion of Pentecostal Christianity with neoliberal economics in very salient ways. Through the use of discourse analysis, I aim to demonstrate how the New Right in South Africa also draws from the discourse of moral decay prevalent in American and British New Right discourses of the 1980s-1990s. The paper's main argument is that, a different type of New Right is emerging in current day South Africa; one that is not simply the purview of white nationalism, but has main appeal within the black and white middle-class (bourgeois) and aspiring middle-class (petit-bourgeois). This New Right is economically neoliberal, politically conservative, and religiously Neo/Pentecostal. Whilst not as cohesive as one might wish for the sake of an easily classifiable movement, the paper points to a "confluence of factors", "unofficial accord" and an " undeclared coalition" as some of the ways through which to identify what constitutes the New Right in the contemporary South African context. In particular, the paper argues that the prevalent ideology of Neo-Pentecostal Christian rightness finds consonance with the market economy principle of individual choice. In particular, as the paper further argues, this fusion is used in post-apartheid South Africa to found a principle of prosperity as the non-racial identity that is, nonetheless, another form of exclusionary nationalism since certain "person rights" are excluded or reneged on in pursuit of the New Right agenda.

Pandemics and Governments in Africa: The Argument for Political Decentralisation and Local Governments

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Biography

Dorcas Ettang is a Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, where she teaches undergraduate and postgraduate modules in Political Science and International Relations. She specialises in conflict studies, African politics and security, and human security. Her publications have appeared in peer-reviewed journals, including Politikon, Africa Development, Journal of African Elections, Peace and Conflict Review, Gender & Behaviour and recently contributed a chapter to the Palgrave Handbook of Small Arms and Conflicts in Africa.

Abstract

In Africa, COVID-19 has significantly hampered governments' ability to deliver essential goods and services to their citizens. The pandemic has shown the need to redefine governance processes that ensure citizen protection, service delivery and social assistance that mitigate poor access to the vulnerable, limited resources and incoherent responses. This paper explores political decentralisation and local government as processes that enable multi-stakeholder, inclusive and vulnerable-centred approaches in times of pandemics. This theoretical and conceptual paper examines the arguments and rationale for these two processes and their implications on the government role. This paper's preliminary argument is that the COVID-19 pandemic illustrates the need for political decentralisation and stronger local governments. These two processes deliver governance and democracy that gives citizens closer access to their governments. Local governments are closer to the people, engage with community-based organisations, and meet the context-specific and grassroots health, social, economic, and security concerns of their population, including vulnerable groups like refugees. Thus, in pandemics, resources must filter to local governments as they are at the front line. This paper concludes by examining cases that show the effectiveness and utility of local governments, particularly during pandemics and how these are pertinent in post-pandemic contexts.

Dialectics of international intervention through scale, space, and time

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Biography

I hold a PhD in Anthropology (New School for Social Research). My research has focused on the technopolitics of state-building in Somaliland, and the role the Somali diaspora has played within processes of global governance in the Somali region. I am interested in the sociopolitical and economic effects of international intervention in the African continent at large, its outcomes and alternatives.

Abstract

This paper takes to task the international dimension of contemporary interventions by defining to what extent, and how, an interdisciplinary focus on scales, spaces, and temporalities of intervention can expand our understanding and critiques of international interventions in the present. We discuss a transversal research direction and its potential to push existing disciplinary boundaries towards the study of multiple genealogies and systems of interventions. We are interested in understanding how interventions have been resisted upon through oppositions and sabotages, as well as reconfigured through adaptations and instrumentalizations. Interventions are made of multiple actors, projects, practices, and rationales often overlapping over time, with both intended and unintended interactions and consequences. To make visible this inherent complexity, we trace some transversal lines of analysis, across time, space and scale, that allows us to rethink the study of present interventions and to dis-articulate linear understandings of interventions as universal responses to 'disorder'. This paper defines how a reflection upon interdisciplinary methodology—ranging from critical security studies, critical international law, decolonial scholarship, ethnographic studies of (post) intervention—better serves the idea of tracing the coordinates of the contemporary intervention security complex. Such a theoretical and methodological reconsideration does not aim to re-integrate fragments of understanding into a novel meta-narrative: a non-integrative understanding looks indeed at the transversal knots through which interventions are enacted, while helping us to displace some of the euro- or state-centric assumptions still hegemonizing the debate.

The Place of Rotational Presidency in the Clamour for Restructuring in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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Biography

Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi is currently a doctoral candidate (Political Science) with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He obtained Master of Social Science (Political Science) in the same institution. His research interests are federalism, diversity studies, public administration, and public policy. He has local and international publications and he has attended conferences.

Abstract

Various groups that constitute the Nigerian state have always clamoured for restructuring. The components of this debate have revolved around resource control, revenue allocation, leadership positions particularly access to presidency, state police, among others. Thus, such restructuring efforts are aimed at national integration and inclusiveness. These have culminated in having constitutional conferences and other platforms for debating issues around this political phenomenon. In Nigeria, since the advent of democracy in 1999, rotating the presidency and other key political positions have generated serious debate by different groups. This is not a constitutional arrangement, but an elite fabrication traced to the 1994/95 Constitutional Conference and Peoples Democratic Party's internal arrangement. It has become so sensitive that failure of a zone to produce the president when it feels it is its turn has led to political agitations. This paper seeks to address the problematic of rotational presidency as a tool for national integration in Nigeria's Fourth Republic amidst the various ethnic and religious cleavages that exist in the country. It contends that if every zone takes its turn to produce the president, there would probably be a diminished discontent with the state thus reducing unhealthy ethno-religious competition. The study utilises elite, relative deprivation and integration theories as theoretical frameworks of analysis. Methodology of research is qualitative with both primary and secondary sources of data while data will be thematically analysed. The study will suggest pragmatic ways national integration can be sustained in Nigeria.

The Role of Adapting Qualitative Research amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic in Building Capacity for Local Researchers in the Global South

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Biography

Nabil Ferdaoussi is PhD candidate in Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town and Doctoral Research Fellow at HUMA-Institute for Humanities in Africa. He obtained his bachelor's degree in Literary Studies at the University of Ibn Zohr (Agadir, Morocco) and master's degree in Cultural Studies at the University of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah (Fez, Morocco). He worked as a research assistant at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), collaborating with a multidisciplinary research group on migration, borders, and gender in North and West Africa. Nabil has been a teaching assistant in Cultural Studies at the University of Ibn Zohr and a research assistant at IREMAM, Université d'Aix-Marseille, France. He also serves as an editorial assistant at Politikon: the IAPSS Journal of Political Science. His PhD project examines the political salience of migratory visual culture at Moroccan borderlands, as a liminal space striating Europe and Africa, in destabilizing hegemonic forms of visuality framing the so-called 'migration crisis'.

Abstract

The onset of the pandemic has been a stress-test for researchers aiming to conduct field research in the Global South. A large number of researchers were, in one way or another, impelled to relocate their research methods to online field, thereby conducting the so-called virtual ethnography as a stopgap alternative, as well as a lesser evil than postponing research projects. Adapting qualitative research methods has not been confined exclusively to online platforms all the same. In fact, many Global South researchers were hiring local researchers in the Global South. This paper examines the ethical considerations in employing local researchers amidst the outbreak of the pandemic, as well as the political salience of hiring local research, which can be translated as a sign of enhancing participatory research and capacity building to hitherto marginalized researchers. This paper draws on my experience with a Danish research group for whom I worked as Research Assistant in Morocco amidst the pandemic.

Experience of xenophobia among immigrant informal entrepreneurs: the case of Francophone African immigrants in Pretoria

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Biography

Atabongwoung Gallous (nickname Ata) is a PhD Candidate at the University of Pretoria. He is a former Research Assistant at Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, University of South Africa, and Project Coordinator of Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute Alumni Forum. His interest includes African and European cultural relations, xenophobia, migration studies, immigrant entrepreneurship, thought leadership and good governance for Africa.

Abstract

The economic contribution of Francophone African immigrant informal entrepreneurs in Pretoria is neglected because South African government and policy makers continue to see African immigrants as a threat rather than an opportunity; takers of jobs and perpetrators of crime. Consequently, South Africa's immigration policy focus on exclusion of immigrants. Thereby exposing them to obvious barrier in terms of mingling with locals. African immigrants therefore face frequent harassment and xenophobia. Years ago, the White Paper on immigration urged South African citizens to report suspected 'illegal aliens'. This became a case for 'witch hunt' against African immigrants. South Africans have some of the most hostile attitudes toward African immigrants when compare to other countries for which data are available. This makes it difficult for African immigrants to conduct informal entrepreneurship in townships where the vast majority of South Africa's black urban population live, for fear of being attack by locals. African immigrants only conduct informal entrepreneurship in particular suburbs in Pretoria, and often, must sell at a lower price vis-à-vis established market giants like Shoprite, PnP etc. Due to the complex nature of immigrants' relationship with locals, it is appropriate to raise questions such as; What is the experiences of xenophobia of Francophone African immigrant informal entrepreneurs in Pretoria during the conduct of their businesses? How are Francophone African immigrant informal entrepreneurs discriminated against during the conduct of their businesses? What type of harassment do Francophone African immigrant informal entrepreneurs experience during the conduct of their businesses?

Challenges of the Integration of Internally Displaced Person to Host Communities in Yobe State, Nigeria

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Biography

Modu Lawan Gana is a lecturer at the Department of Public Administration, Mai Idris Alooma Polytechnic, Geidam. Born in 1983, he obtained his first school leaving certificate in 1995 and sat for the West African School Certificate Examination in 2001. He bagged his bachelor Degree in Public Administration at University of Maiduguri in Northeast Nigeria in 2006, and a Masters Degree in Political Science at Bayero University, Kano.

Abstract

Since 2009, Nigeria Government has witnessed an unprecedented displacement of population by an Islamic Armed Group Boko Haram. The groups' fierce struggle for the establishment of Islamic State has displaced over 2million population within and outside Nigeria. This massive displacement has been described as one of the serious humanitarian crisis since the end of the country's civil war in the 1970s. In most respect, the displacement situation has come with several attendant challenges. In Yobe State, one of the worst affected by displacement situation, the integration of displaced population with the host communities has been a serious challenges. This study therefore investigated the challenges hindering the reintegration process of the Internally Displaced Persons in the State. The case study is conducted at Geidam. The empirical data is collected through in-depth interview and Focus Group Discussion. Analysis of data is done thematically. The study revealed that fear of economic marginalization by the host population and feeling subjugation by the displaced populations hinders effective integration of the displaced population. The article recommends for government to engage in dialogue and social reorientation of the Displaced and host population.

Rethinking Pan-Africanism & African Integration

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Biography

Keith Gottschalk is a retired member of the UWC Political Studies Department. A Fulbright Scholar, he was chair of the Department 2004-2006. He has published over thirty scholarly works, and two poetry collections. He is an alumnus of UCT.

Abstract

It is 128 years since an African-American journalist in Chicago coined the word "Pan-Africanism". Pan-Africanism began as a gift of the diaspora to the African continent. These civil society initiatives in the diaspora culminated in an elaborate permanent, continental, state-centric institutionalisation, starting six decades ago with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Its current dispensation is the African Union, and sub-regional organisations such as the Economic Community of West African States, the East African Community, and the Southern African Development Community. Diplomacy, peace-making, and economic integration have been prominent dimensions of Pan-African endeavours. As well as the continuing growth of African diasporas in countries ranging from the USA to China, we need to note the precarious position of growing intra-African diasporas in other African countries. Pan-Africanism will remain fragile until it can grow mass support, as opposed to being usually limited to intellectuals and some members of the ruling elites. African integration has not yet achieved the extraordinary supra-national aspirations enunciated in its treaties. Taken literally, they would require such significant concessions of national sovereignty as to amount to a post-Westphalian dispensation. But dense, overlapping networks of inter-governmental organisations, and continental NGOs, continue to proliferate and have substantial successes to date. These range from multi-lateral peace-enforcement expeditionary forces, through to free trade areas and the start of common markets. Diplomatic alliances mark the essence of most sub-regional organisations, and explain why they continue to thrive, notwithstanding the "spaghetti bowl" incomprehension of some economists and law scholars. We can confidently predict a continued growth of inter-governmental organising, sub-regional and continental NGOs, and Pan-African corporate expansion of an order of magnitude above what currently exists.

African Small Island Developing States (ASIDS) and their role within the United Nations

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Biography

Dr Suzanne Graham is Associate Professor of International Relations at the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg. Dr Graham is the Vice Dean of Teaching and Learning in the Faculty of Humanities at UJ and is Co-President of the Regional Integration and Social Cohesion-Social Elevation (RISC-RISE) Consortium headquartered at UJ. Her research and teaching interests include foreign policy, the United Nations, and small states.

Abstract

There are 38 small island developing states listed as members of the United Nations. Six of those are African states separated geographically by the continent: Cabo Verde, Comoros, Guinea-Bissau, Maldives, Mauritius, Sao Tomé and Principe, and Seychelles. IR literature is dominated by the paramount institutional power of the permanent five members within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). However, Thorhallsson (2012) contends that UN decision-making is more nuanced than that and that small states may be able to participate in and influence decisions at the UNSC based on two categories. The first category refers to small states' administrative competence, for example in areas such as knowledge, initiative, and diplomatic, coalition and leadership skills. The second category considers small states' image, reputation as norm entrepreneurs, and their supposed neutrality in international events. This study aims to apply Thorhallsson's study to the ASIDS at the UN. How active and successful are the ASIDS at the UNSC (if it applies) and at the UN more generally? What incentives, if any, motivate ASIDS at the UN? What are the niche areas of the ASIDS? Do these ASIDS have a voice and some measure of 'influence' in this global platform? If so, how does this 'influence' manifest in this space?

Exploring Youth Participation and Voter Apathy in Africa

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Biography

Victoria Graham is an Associate Professor and Head of the Political Sciences Department at the University of Pretoria and the Executive Director of the Consortium for Regional Integration and Social Cohesion-Social Elevation (RISC-RISE). She specialises in Democracy Studies, Comparative Politics, African Small Island Developing States and Active Citizenship.

Abstract

It is generally agreed that opportunities to participate in the political process are essential for the health of a democracy and that democracies flourish when citizens are willing to take an active part in the political system, for example, through conventional electoral participation. In Africa, the population is predominantly young with large percentages of the population under the age 24; in fact Africa is the only continent globally where the youth population is growing significantly. The youth here have enormous potential to use their voting power to shift the electoral balance and political agendas towards their own issues. However, it is increasingly apparent that the youngest eligible voters across Africa are demonstrating the lowest inclination to vote. Why do the youth not turn out in greater numbers at the polls? Is it a sign of disinterest; underscored by the oft-quoted reason of 'youth apathy'? Are young people increasingly disillusioned with formal politics because it is perceived to be unresponsive to their needs and interests? Are alternative channels of participation becoming more attractive to the youth instead? This paper uses a quality of democracy framework that assesses the degree of conventional and non-conventional youth participation across Africa with a view to answering the overarching question: are African youth becoming more, or less, politically conscious?

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From conventional to virtual ethnography: challenges and opportunities

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Biography

Yousra Hamdaoui holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Settat, Morocco. Interested in questions of security, governance, violent extremism, resilience and soft power in the Sahel region and North, she carried out research work in Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Senegal and Morocco. She is in charge of communication and research at Movida/IPAR (Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale), Senegal. She is an associate researcher at the Laboratoire d'analyse des sociétés et Pouvoirs (LASPAD) at the Gaston Berger University of Saint Louis, Senegal and the Center for Global Studies of the International University of Rabat, Morocco. Yousra's research at HUMA examines the state of scholarly publishing and dissemination in North and arabophone Africa from a critical perspective.

Abstract

Conventional Data gathering relies on the physical locality. However, our research habits have been turned upside down in the pandemic context forcing us to rethink and reinvent the way we do the field and collect data. Virtuality now occupies an important place in our lives and the ethnographic work of the researcher faces other challenges. In this context, we need to interrogate traditional approaches to data collection or reconfigure them by relying on digital data collection. A more concrete methodology and data collection instruments are elaborated through online materials: webinars, workshops, virtual meetings and interviews and discussions on internet, social listening tools and online spaces. Relying on virtual data collection allows physical and digital data to be combined for comprehensive triangulation. But can "virtual" ethnography replace the conventional ethnography or only complement it? In the era of the fourth revolution where knowledge production relies on data and digitalization which are the currency of an economy supported by artificial intelligence, what ethics should be observed when conducting research in this new context?

What is the Point of Political Theory?

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Biography

Lawrence Hamilton is an elected member of the Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAf) and is editor-in-chief of Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory. His many publications include How To Read Amartya Sen (Penguin 2020), Amartya Sen (Polity 2019), Freedom is Power: Liberty Through Political Representation (Cambridge University Press 2014), Are South Africans Free? (Bloomsbury 2014) and The Political Philosophy of Needs (Cambridge University Press 2003). He is currently working on a book on the future of democracy. He holds an A-rating from the South African National Research Foundation (NRF).

Abstract

In The Eye of the Needle, Rick Turner emphasises the role of utopian thinking. He argues that it is necessary for social and political change as it counters the tendency to think of existing institutions and values as 'natural' and fixed. It enables us better to understand our society, and thus judge well how to improve it. In his words, in order critically 'to understand… where it is going, and where it could go, we cannot just describe it. We need also to theorize about it.' (2015 [1972]: 7) In this paper, I shall use Turner's ideas on history, ethics, utopianism, judgement and change to argue – sometimes in tension with him – that utopian thinking depends on a certain form of realism in political theory. I argue as follows. Politics involves judgements within a particular concrete context regarding our agency, needs and interests. Felicitous realist political theory analyses and critiques the conceptual, normative and ideological means through which we make these judgements. This is vital as existing theoretical frameworks for our judgements heavily affect how we collectively conceive of our most pressing power relations, priorities and penalties. 'What is the point of political theory?' is therefore a practical question. It is about working out how best to proceed at a particular moment in local, national and global contexts. This requires capacities that constitute the art of good political judgement: an interlinked conception of individual and collective security, well-being and freedom; deliberation and critique; timing and courage; persuasive force; and so on. In sum, the skill individually and collectively to decide when and how to act and what to prioritize. This is not easy, nor is it parochial, something exemplified by the existential threats posed by our current global climate and Covid crises. What follows from my argument, I suggest, is the necessity for a set of radical representative institutions to enhance political judgement in democracies as well as a set of concomitant individual responsibilities to uphold realist, democratic and utopian possibilities.

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Data Gathering in the Zoom Age: Contributions at a Distance

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Biography

I am a PhD candidate at Stellenbosch University, with a focus on environmental governance.

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has forced industries of various shapes and sizes to accept and move their business online. Not only has the pandemic reshaped the global economy, but it has also reshaped academia and how we view and conduct research. At the same time, academics have had to be held to the same standards and expectations of the pre-pandemic world (even more so in the face of rising anti-science rhetoric). This compounded with the pandemic limiting the ability of researchers to access data from university libraries and archives, and the difficulty of conducting fieldwork has made it increasingly difficult for researchers to meet deadlines and research chosen topics effectively.

As governments are responding to the pandemic, thesis and other academic deadlines remained in place. It has seemingly become business as usual within academic institutions, in their hope of creating some form of normalcy in a time of crisis. One particular impact that the pandemic has had is on fieldwork and how it is approached. Seemingly taken for granted aspects of fieldwork such as interviews and observations have had to be moved online, much like the world around us.

Online research is nothing new within the social sciences, as platforms such as social media have been used as sources of data gathering. However, the difference now is that where such methods were considered an option in the past, during the pandemic it has become a requisite for all researchers due to governmental restrictions on the movement of people. The pandemic has therefore affected the people and environments researchers wish to study. Although many of us have been able to move research online through online platforms, several considerations need to be taken into account and the question asked as to how sustainable going online is and how has it changed how fieldwork is approached.

Thinking through the organic crisis and epistemic disobedience in South African higher education curricula: The case for making Political Science relevant

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Biography

Dr Mlamuli Nkosingphile Hlatshwayo is a scholar in the field of Higher Education and Politics. His research interests include theorising transformation in the global South; student movements; issues around epistemological access and curricula; and the philosophy of education. He has an established research publication record in the transformation of the South African education system. Currently, he is a senior lecturer in the discipline of Curriculum and Education Studies at the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal. He supervises post-graduate students and teaches both undergraduate and postgraduate courses to education students in the B Ed and M Ed programmes.

Abstract

Post the 2015-2016 student movement calling for higher education transformation and decolonisation, institutions of higher learning in South Africa have continued to grapple with how to respond to these ethical and imperative demands. These challenges include the need to decolonise and Africanise curricula; diversity; foregrounding knowledge as an object of study. Further, responding to what Keet (2014) terms as the 'plastic knowledges' in the transformations and stagnations in the Humanities; challenging and deconstructing alienating institutional culture(s) – particularly in historically white higher education institutions; the often forgotten and marginalised experiences of queer, transgendered, students and staff. One of the disciplines that has come under intensive scrutiny has been Political Science, being accused of being 'irrelevant' and teaching 'dead white men' with no epistemic connection to our local context. In this article, I attempt to respond to the above- mentioned critiques. I rely on Gramsci's notion of the organic crisis and Quijano's epistemic disobedience to bring them together in firstly, making sense of the nature of the crisis in South African higher education curriculum in general and Political Science in particular. And secondly, as both theoretical and empirical tools of de-linking the Political Science curriculum from coloniality and making curricula more transformative, socially just and inclusive. I argue that for Political Science to reclaim its relevance in an increasingly transdisciplinary world, it is necessary for us to not only know and understand the disciplinary crisis that confronts the discipline, but it is also necessary for us to begin to propose some of the epistemic solutions that can respond to the crisis that Political Science is facing. I employ epistemic disobedience to re-claim and re-centre African Philosophy, in particular, ethnophilosophy and nationalist-ideological philosophy – as an attempt at making Political Science relevant to both the African experience(s) and to the broader global community.

Political philosophy as resistance: Rick Turner and the vision of engaged philosophy

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Biography

Dr Christine Hobden is a Senior Lecturer in Ethics and Public Governance at the Wits School of Governance, and an Iso Lomso Fellow at the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Study. She is a political theorist who works on citizenship, collective responsibility, and normative international theory.

Abstract

Rick Turner understood political philosophy to be about the task of understanding the world and changing the world, in that order. He began his book, *The Eye of the Needle*, with a chapter setting out 'the need for utopian thinking': this paper seeks to engage with the method and vision of political philosophy presented there and in the earlier, "What is Political Philosophy?". It will bring this work into dialogue with contemporary feminist, anti-racist, and decolonial thought on philosophical method. With these insights in hand, the paper intends to draw out the ways in which philosophical endeavour can and should be a tool to resistance injustice. It argues that Turner gives us the intellectual resources and practical inspiration to be, as I shall call it, engaged political philosophers. Engaged political philosophy holds, following Turner, that in order to truly come to philosophical grips with concepts such as freedom, democracy, or equality, one has to engage with how these concepts are lived in the world. An engaged philosopher seeks therefore first to understand society, and does so self-reflectively, aware that even our readings of the facts are shaped by our own position and world view. Turner claims, perhaps a little strongly, that "moral principles are useless without an understanding of the situation" (1968:2). But for him, that does not speak against the value of utopian thinking, it argues instead that the two, ideal philosophical theorising and the empirical reality of our society, go hand in hand. Engaged philosophy produces ideal theory that thinks through the practical implications of one's theory and brings philosophical theory into public space. In this way engaged philosophy seeks not only to revitalise the value of academic philosophising, but to provide tools to the typical citizen to critically engage with the norms and values of their own society, and to begin to envision a different future.

Researching African Politics in a Post-Covid Era (Roundtable)

Christopher Isike (University of Pretoria)

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Biography

Christopher Isike, PhD is a Professor of African Politics and International Relations. He is Editor-in-Chief of Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies, and President of the African Association of Political Science (AAPS). Prof Isike's research interests include African soft power politics, African democracy and development dynamics, the quality of women's political representation in Africa, women and peace-building in Africa, African immigration to South Africa, Human Security, Human Factor development in Africa and South African Higher Education studies. He was recently appointed by the Minister of Sports, Arts and Culture as a Social Cohesion Advocate of South Africa

Abstract

The long-lasting effects of the Covid-19 global pandemic cut across all aspects of human life including thinking and writing on African politics. While the world still grapples with the consequences of the pandemic, it is important for scholars to begin to also contemplate the ways in which the processes of doing research on the subject of African politics have been impacted. Part of this deliberate intent should involve the ways in which new methodological insights will inform theoretical research on African politics. Therefore, this panel is interested in bringing together scholars to think about how the covid-19 pandemic forces us to rethink research in African politics in terms of methodology. The Roundtable discussion will highlight questions that are emerging from scholars researching African politics especially as it relates to data collection and analysis and the role of new actors in these processes. Clearly, the future direction of theory and practice in African politics as a disciplinary field will likely be impacted by the accessibility of solid data. How we seek to understand politics in Africa in a post-Covid world will be dependent on the quality and direction of data that is available and assessable. In essence, the discussions will uncover some of the methodological toolkits that will be required to deal with the peculiar conditions of researching African politics in a post-Covid era. It will look at the emerging methodological and theoretical approaches in the conduct of future research in African politics as a fallout of the global pandemic.

Accessing the Narrow Corridor: people agency as a pathway to a developed Nigerian state

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Biography

Christopher Isike, PhD is a Professor of African Politics and International Relations. Martin Ihembe is a postgraduate student in the Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria.

Abstract

Nigerians were sanguine about the prospects of civil rule following the end of a protracted era of military rule in 1999. This was another epochal moment in the country's political history as it began another journey to access the "narrow corridor"[1]. However, although Nigeria has had uninterrupted civil rule for 22 years (the longest in its history), its citizens are yet to see the development dividends of democratization and democratic stability.

This paper explores Nigeria's attempt to assess the narrow corridor to achieve democratic stability, govern within the ambits of rule of law and achieve its development imperatives. Studies on democratic stability have emphasized the crucial role of institutions in forging a durable political order because institutions mediate human behavior and engender social/political order within a polity. However, there is a dearth of scholarship on citizens' agency in democratization, development and state-building in Africa. Focusing on Nigeria, the paper utilized a fusion of the "Narrow Corridor" theory developed by Acemoglu and Robinson (2019) and the Human Factor paradigm by Ajibolosoo (1996) as analytical tools to make its argument. It concludes that while the institutionalist approach to assessing the Narrow Corridor is important, the role of citizens with positive the Human Factor traits is central to ensuring a pathway to a developed Nigeria.

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[1] Acemoglu and Robinson (2019) conceptualized the narrow corridor as the place where society has to get into if it wants to achieve liberty. The underlying assumption is, once a society is in the Corridor, a balance emerges between state capacity and society. Before 1999, Nigeria had attempted entering the Corridor in the First and Second Republics. Unfortunately, both attempts were truncated by military coups.

Regime Change And International Law In Times Of Crisis: Libya And Beyond

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Biography

Dr Iyi is currently an Associate Professor and the Director of the African Centre for Transnational Criminal Justice, Faculty of Law, University of the Western Cape. He was an Associate Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law, University of Venda from 2017 to 2019. His research interest is in African perspectives of international law, international peace and security, jurisprudence and international legal theory. He is the author of Humanitarian Intervention and the AU-ECOWAS Intervention Treaties under International Law: Towards a Theory of Regional Responsibility to Protect (Springer 2016); Boko Haram and International Law (Springer 2018, with Hennie Strydom).

Abstract

In his article, Why Regime Change is (Almost Always) a Bad Idea, Professor Michael Reisman warned against the overzealousness of the noble do-gooder external intervener. Despite being an advocate of the international protection of human rights himself, Reisman is also a realist theorist of the precarious status of international law and its limitations in a horizontal international legal order. That the UNSC has not learnt from this is exemplified by UNSC Resolution 1973, the NATO-led intervention and the African and European nightmare that is now Libya. In this article, I examine some of the lessons African States and the African Union operating within the UN Charter legal framework might take away from the intervention in Libya. My main argument is that notwithstanding UNSC authorisation, the intervention was illegal under international law. After stating my argument about the illegality of the intervention in international law, I then outline a realist explanation to understanding the current position in the crisis. On the basis of that theoretical framework, I propose a three-pronged compass to guide the African Union and the other major actors to return to a rules-based system from where they could hope to attempt to resolve the conflict and also avoid future Libyas.

Regime type and support for international human rights: Rwanda and South Africa on the UN Human Rights Council

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Biography

Eduard Jordaan is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political and International Studies. He is the author of the recent book, *South Africa and the UN Human Rights Council The Fate of the Liberal Order* (Routledge, 2020).

Abstract

The presence of states that extensively violate the human rights of their citizens on the UN Human Rights Council has been a constant source of dissatisfaction. To have human rights violators as members is seen as damaging to the authority of the Council and as taking onboard a state will undermine the Council's task to protect and promote human rights internationally. In light of such concerns, highly democratic South Africa appears to be the ideal member of the Human Rights Council whereas highly authoritarian Rwanda does not. This paper compares Rwanda and South Africa's records during their 2017-19 membership terms. It will be shown that, contrary to expectations, Rwanda has exhibited a much stronger commitment to the promotion and protection of international human rights than South Africa. These findings force us to reconsider complaints about the Council's membership and raise doubts about theories that predict continuity between a state's domestic rights record and its international behaviour.

FIB's Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement: A case study of Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo 2013 to 2018

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Biography

Wits alumnus William Kandowe (BA 2016, BA Honors 2017, and BA Masters 2019) is a founder and Principal of a Cambridge International School in Johannesburg CDB. He has worked a lot with refugee children and youth. He was instrumental in starting the school in 2008 as a result of an increased number of out of school refugee children who were resident at the Methodist Church. His leadership had earned many graduates across different academics in SA and beyond. He was a discussant at a book launch authored by Dr Faith Mkananzi in 2019 at UFS. He is passionate in security studies, economy and development.

Abstract

This study set out to examine how effective peace enforcement mechanism of peacekeeping missions has been in conflict-ridden countries, in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Consequently these conflicts have led to various interventions, including the adoption of both peacekeeping and peace-enforcement strategies in an attempt to resolve conflicts. However, in the face of humiliation of peacekeeping forces and the continuation of human suffering, there has often been the need to change the mandate of the forces to that of enforcement. This study used quantitative and qualitative data to examine the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions in the region, the United Nations' (UN) FIB, activity in the Eastern Democratic Republic Congo (DRC) to determine its effectiveness in keeping peace in the region. Peacekeeping missions are defined as techniques designed purportedly to ensure peace returns in previously hostile societies. The use of force is considered as the last resort in the UN Charter. The abovementioned operation has continually used force in an attempt to keep peace in the Eastern DRC. Irrespective of the mission's efforts, conflict still recurs in the region. The findings of this research show that colonialism, ethnic division, differences over ancestral land, marginalization, greed and grievances are at the core of the conflict in Ituri and the 2013 M23 rebellion. The literature on conflict and peacekeeping missions in SSA, particularly the Eastern DRC claims the study uses a case study of a country that is still marred by violent conflict and in particular, where violence erupted in Ituri in December 2017 to still emphasize the credibility of Peace enforcement. This indicates the originality of the study in that the ongoing conflict in DRC does not dishonor peace enforcement as an effective measure; there are other factors such as politics, interests of troop-providing countries that contributed to the eruption of conflict. The literature on conflict and peacekeeping missions in SSA, particularly the Eastern DRC claims that debates around the use of force leans towards stronger support for offensive operations being more successful in achieving peace than non-offensive operations. An example of this is the UN's loss of the city of Goma, which M23 rebels took over with little resistance from the peacekeepers. The researcher concludes that Force Intervention Brigade 2013 was built upon and sought to address the limits of the lager UN peacekeeping missions in the DRC.

Media Mavens – A Postcolonial Reading of Conflict and Manipulation in DRC and CAR

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Biography

Jasper holds an MSc. in Politics of Conflict, Rights and Justice from SOAS University of London and a BA. in Political Philosophy and Media Studies from the University of Hildesheim. As a development professional, he has worked for non-governmental organisations in Uganda, Egypt, Vietnam, the UK, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Jasper's research centres on political violence, human rights, justice and the politics of memory, as well as postcolonial approaches to peace and conflict studies more broadly.

Abstracts

Labelling 'African conflicts' as driven by 'resource curses' resulting in 'failed states' and other interpretations needs to be more than ever critically questioned. Rather, the state and its functionaries should be understood through modalities of performed violence by deploying a postcolonial perspective that challenges existing narratives. This paper examines two cases where performative violence and state manipulation is at work. In Central African Republic, atrocities were deliberately committed by opposing parties in the pretext of 'peace talks' in 2019, to strategically increase the power position of perpetrators. The violence must be understood as a political strategy, while parties necessarily exploited existing colonial cliches of 'African savagery' in the media. In Democratic Republic of Congo, in the wake of the 2018 General Elections, the Ebola crisis was utilised to foster a 'permanent state of exception', with the need to respond to epidemics justifying extraordinary repressions beyond the normal juridical order against 'rebellious' citizens. The state, capitalising on media narratives surrounding Ebola, deployed the epidemic as a strategy to retain control over the Kivu region. CAR and the DRC are examples of how violence is staged as part of a perfidious strategy of power politics. This corresponds to a global decline in human rights regimes worldwide – a consequence of states and political actors using these regimes as a tactic. Rather than seeing contemporary violence on the African continent through the outdated vestiges of colonial stereotypes, the international community needs to be made aware of how much the authoritarian leaders of today decisively capitalise upon these very narratives for their own political objectives.

Post-crisis strategies: reconstruction, recovery, restructuring, reform or democratisation?

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Biography

Dirk Kotzé is a Professor in Political Sciences at the University of South Africa. He studied at the Universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria and Wits in Political Science. His most important areas of specialization are South African politics and political conflict resolution. It includes focus areas such as negotiations, transitions and democratization processes, elections, the quality of democracy, political cartoons, international relations, land reform and political parties. He was directly involved in the transition processes in South Sudan and Madagascar. He lectured and studied at Northwestern University in Chicago, at Uppsala University in Sweden and at the Middle Eastern Technical University in Ankara, Turkey.

Abstract

Many different forms of crises dominated the history of the 20th and 21st centuries, and the current COVID-19 pandemic is one of them. Taking this history into account, the research problem and question which motivate this paper are what is the most likely response to a major crisis: is it to rebuild, recover or restore the status quo, or is it an opportunity for change? In relation to that: What is the political function of a crisis? A crisis is an uncontrolled disruption of established patterns of behaviour which can threaten the safety and security (food, life, shelter) of many. It is often characterized by unpredictability, termination or suspension of normal economic activities, and extraordinary steps (such as a state of emergency) are introduced which negatively affect many basic rights such as limited mobility or public participation. Crises had been in the form of major wars, economic crises, health pandemics, political crises or environment crises and disasters. A post-crisis situation arises when these crisis elements do not escalate anymore but normalcy has not yet returned and a brief stasis exists before the response to the crisis becomes clear. What are the options for the decision-makers and what influences their decisions? At least three options of strategies are available. They are recovery and reconstruction, or restructuring and reform, or democratization versus a more autocratic turn. The preferred choice would be influenced by factors such as the leadership style of the decision-makers, the strength of the state's constitutional and parliamentary traditions, the national economy's general credibility, vested interests in democracy (especially by the middle class) and the autonomy of civil society (including the media) and judiciary to prevent an autocratic turn.

Overcoming the Global Interregnum: Considerations from BRICS

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Biography

Klaus Kotzé is an Honorary Research Affiliate at the Centre for Rhetoric Studies, University of Cape Town. He has completed his PhD (BRICS: Strategies of Persuasion) and an ensuing post doctorate at the same Centre where he employed rhetorical analyses to explore BRICS' official documentation, the South African Constitutional project, Cyril Ramaphosa's communication strategies, and the rhetorical responses to COVID-19. Klaus is currently working with the King's College London: Centre for Strategic Communications to develop analyses of African responses to COVID-19, thereby amplifying African voices into global public argumentation.

Abstract

The global order is caught in an interregnum. It remains unclear when this interval will end and what will succeed it. At a time when many international regimes are in disarray, the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) international grouping is consolidating a strategic narrative; it presents a programmatic argument for understanding and emerging from the global crossroads. By rhetorically embodying select values and principles of the prevailing international order, BRICS advances a distinct case for reformed multilateralism; advocating for representative power for emerging states. This paper probes how BRICS members, as increasingly powerful developing states, affect global political realities through their projected perceptions and argumentation. It brings together these states' approaches to BRICS, revealing the messages with which they feed and consolidate the system. It introduces and describes BRICS as a rhetorical intergovernmental regime; a new method towards substantiating international relations. The findings of this paper identify BRICS' strategic positions, while listing a number of its limitations. These insights provide crucial understanding not only of the ongoing international situation, but also of possible future scenarios in international affairs.

The rise of Asian values and Chinese norms in United Nations Peace Operations: Hold on a minute- what are the Chinese norms again?

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Biography

Steven's research interest lies in China-Africa relations generally, and China-Africa security relations in particular. He has taught at Shanghai International Studies University and was a Research Associate at the Gordon Institute of Business Science. He is presently Adjunct Senior Lecturer at the Graduate School of Business, UCT. He completed his undergrad and Masters in Philosophy at the University of Cape Town. He completed his PhD at the School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews in Scotland.

Abstract

China's rise and growing confidence in global affairs can be seen in a range of spheres. Its growing gross domestic product (GDP), its ambitious Belt and Road Initiative, its growing domination in spheres such as artificial intelligence and 5G wireless networks. As China becomes more assertive and involved in global governance, it is increasing bidding for leadership positions in international organizations. In the global security architecture, Beijing has been a steady participant in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO). Beijing has substantially increased its share of the UNPKO budget over the decades, in the 2020-2021 budget, the top providers are: United States (27.89%), China (15.21%) Japan (8.56%) and Germany (6.09%). China providing funding and manpower to UNPKOs means more equipment, more manpower and directly contributes to the material success of the mission. However, while sustainable peace cannot be built without adequate budget, equipment and manpower, a less discussed dimension of growing Chinese participation in UNPKOs is the normative aspect that underlie how Beijing understand security and causes of conflict, and how it thinks sustainable peace can and ought to be built. As Chinese foreign policy posture shifts from taoguang yanghui (hide your capacity and bide your time) to yousuo zhowei (striving for achievement), and China evolves from norm-taker to norm-maker in its global engagements the question on what precisely the Chinese norms are is becoming more urgent. Is it Marxism? Is it Confucianism? Pragmaticism? Socialism with Chinese characteristics? This paper accounts for and critically assesses what Asian values underlie Chinese practices of peace. I argue that in practice, there are 3 pillars to the Chinese Peace, namely: sovereignty, regime stability and, state-directed-infrustructure-led economic development. However, a consistent set of values and norms remain elusive at present.

New methods and adapted research designs: data gathering during the COVID-19 pandemic

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Biography

Dr. Derica Lambrechts is a senior lecturer at the department of Political Science, Stellenbosch University. Since January 2018, she is also the Chair of the department. She obtained her PhD in 2013 and her research focused on state society relationships, specifically analysing the relationship between the gangs on the Cape Flats and the City of Cape Town. She is a trained political risk analyst, and has published extensively in the field of political risk and political security risk analysis, with a focus on organised crime. In 2018 she obtained National Research Foundation rating Y: young upcoming researcher. She continues to research the relationship between non-state (criminal groups) and state actors.

Abstract

This paper comments on the positive and negative aspects of the Ipsos AppLife mobile app for data gathered during the COVID-19 pandemic. The broader study seeks to describe who provided local communities (located in the area known as the Cape Flats, Cape Town) with goods during the national lock down period (due to the Covid-19 pandemic) in South Africa. This paper only speaks to the methodology used. AppLife is a live qualitative research tool through which non-face-to-face discussions can be organised. Respondents worked both online and offline. The interactive tool also allowed for multi-media feedback. Participants were randomly recruited/invited through Ipsos, using their databases with already loaded potential respondents. The responses of the respondents on the application were followed online for five days. Participants were asked to post different types of responses to research themes: for example, text messages and voice notes. It concludes that Ipsos AppLife can provide a solid foundation for data gathering, to be supplemented by other methods.

[Un]problematising Populism in South African Politics

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Biography

Nduduzo Langa holds a BA in Political Studies, a BA Honours in International Politics, and a Master of Arts in International Politics all from the University of Limpopo. He has published in academic journals and presented research papers at conferences. In 2019, he was one of the participants at the APTA Political Theory Summer School.

Abstract

The rise of populism has been a subject of significant scholarly criticism, most of which has been warranted. Given the above, the present paper aims to unproblematise the use of populism as a method of garnering support by South African political parties and politicians. The paper further submits that the use of populism will continue to be a significant feature in South African politics as long as it continues to yield the desired results for those who have resorted to its employment as a method of attracting support. After all, political parties and individual politicians aim to gain access to state power through electoral triumph, at least in South Africa. Electoral victory in South African politics requires popularity, and political parties and politicians are inclined to employ all the tools at their disposal, including populism, to achieve this popularity. The central purpose of the paper is not to weigh the merits and demerits of the use of populism in the politics of a democratic society. The aim is rather to demonstrate that there are gains that political parties can reap from the utilisation of populism as a method of mobilising support in society. Given these gains, the paper argues that it makes logical sense for political parties and politicians to persist with their use of populism. Until the reversal of such gains, it is unlikely that political parties and politicians would suddenly jettison populism altogether. Theoretically, the paper employs the theory of Afrocentricity.

Rethinking how to Facilitate Learning in Political Studies amid COVID-19

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Biography

Lebogang Tiego Legodi is a lecturer as well as a PhD candidate in International Politics at the University of Limpopo. She holds an MA in International Politics (2019) from the University of Limpopo and a BA Honours in Political Science (2016) from the same institution. Legodi also obtained a Bachelor of Social Science in Political Science and International Relations (2015) from the North-West University. She has presented papers at both national and international conferences and has published scientific papers in numerous accredited and non-accredited journals. She remains interested in the decolonisation and Africanisation of education at South African universities.

Abstract

This presentation forms part of the roundtable "Rethinking how to Facilitate Learning in Political Studies amid COVID-19"

SAAPS South African Association of Political Studies

Liberal democracy in South Africa and its impact on the ANC's politics and transformational agenda

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Biography

Frank Lekaba holds a Master of Social Sciences in International Relations, and is currently a Doctoral candidate at the University of Johannesburg. He teaches comparative politics, African politics, Political Theory and Political Development in Africa. His research interests are in the areas of governance, peace and security, civil society and peacebuilding, and the transformation of multilateral institutions.

Abstract

The 1994's democratic breakthrough was followed by the 1996's adoption of the new constitution in South Africa. The 1996 constitution was hailed as the remarkable and the best supreme document relevant for a democratising country. The constitution paved a way for the democratic order that can be best described as "the majority rule with minority rights", underpinned by the value of, "constitutional supremacy". In essence, a liberal democratic order in a new democratic dispensation. Thus, it was not a shock that the ruling African National Congress (ANC) made a radical policy shift in 1996 from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) then buttressed this policy shift with the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) in 2005. The ANC's alliance partners (COSATU and SACP) bemoaned this policy shift as a "neoliberal approach" and "1996 class project" that would not redress the injustices of the past. 27 years in government, the ANC has starkly faced with stubborn legacies of the past namely; the land question, access to decolonised higher education, and the triple challenges (poverty, inequality, and unemployment). Few arguments are advanced in this paper; firstly, ideologically the ANC is constrained by the constitution to realise its transformational agenda, secondly, liberal democracy has set the tone for the internal politics of the ANC and resulted in its policy incoherence, thirdly, as a response to the impact of liberal democracy, the ANC resorted to populism and illiberal tactics to recover from its declining electoral support. Democracy indexes of both the Economist Intelligence Unit (The EIU) and the International Institute for Democracy and the Electoral Assistance (IDEA) help rank countries adherence to the liberal democratic practice, however, do not consider the structural challenges that inhibit this exercise. There is a need to rethink politics and analysis in South Africa, appreciating the contradictions underlying the nature of the political system and the societal challenges, and how this affects the politics of the political parties. In conclusion, no political party in South Africa would be able to undo the historical injustices without circumventing the liberal constitution.

Book launch: Regulating Telecommunications in South Africa: Universal Access and Service

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Biography

Formerly an academic, currently a regulator, Charley Lewis (PhD, MComm) has extensive experience in ICT sector policy and regulation, ranging from telecommunications and broadcasting to broadband and the Internet. His research focus has covered, inter alia, universal access and service, the digital divide, consumer protection, quality of service, statistics and indicators, spectrum management and the so-called 4th industrial revolution. He has managed and taught professional development and academic courses on ICT policy and regulation to policy-makers, regulators and industry practitioners. Dr Lewis served on both the Post-Covid-19 Economic Response Ministerial Task Team, and on SA's national ICT Policy Review Panel.

Abstract

This presentation will be in the form of the launch of the book *Regulating Telecommunications in South Africa.* This book provides the first full account of the 20-year story of universal access and service in South Africa's ICT sector. From 1994 the country's first democratic government set out to redress the deep digital divide afflicting the overwhelming majority of its citizens, already poor and disenfranchised, but likewise marginalised in access to telephone infrastructure and services. By this time, an incipient global policy regime was driving reforms in the telecomms sector, and also developing good practice models for universal service. Policy diffusion thus led South Africa to adopt, adapt and implement a slew of these interventions. In particular, roll-out obligations were imposed on licensees, and a universal service fund was established. But an agency with a universal service mandate was also created; and licences in under-serviced areas were awarded. The book goes on to identify and analyse the policy success and failure of each of these interventions, and suggests some lessons to be learned.

The Robin Hood of the Sahel: Contradictory legacies of Thomas Sankara

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Biography

Stephen Louw teaches Political Studies at the University of Sharjah, UAE. His interests include intellectual biography, democratic and totalitarian theory, and sumptuary regulation.

Abstract

Thomas Sankara was an outstanding leader whose integrity and forthright attack on corruption placed him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He was an Upright Man indeed. But it is less obvious what political lessons should be drawn from his praxis. This article considers three related strands in Sankara's thought, each of which speak to his ontology. Section I sets out the basic structures of power after the revolution, and Sankara's understanding of the body politic. Sections II and III explore this further, through a discussion of two of the most important centres of power, the military and the popular courts, through which this alternative conception of politics was pursued. Sankara had no appetite for perpetually lived public, private, and religious organisations. The political was simply a place within which a 'conscious people' (or their representatives) eliminated antagonism. At no point did Sankara ever question the goal of a politicised state controlled from the centre by a vanguard party—a totalising vision in which human interests are reduced to the interests of the polis. His legacy for Africa is as ambiguous and contradictory as his short period in office before his brutal murder.

The eroding roles of constituency offices in an emerging democracies

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Biography

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Abstract

The traditional role of constituency office in Nigeria, as a platform for constituents' legislator's engagement is eroding. The increased use of social media platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp, telegram, twitter, Instagram, blogs, YouTube as tools for enhancing legislator's constituency representation in Nigeria by citizens has played a part. The trendy, cheap, accessible nature of these portals have made them the preferred option for legislators' constituents' engagements. The main purpose of this research is to highlight how online social media platforms are becoming popular with citizens and challenging the continues existence of the physical constituency offices. This paper is premised on the communication Theory developed by Nobert Wierner from natural science and mechanical engineering. Developed by Karl Deutch and applied to political analysis to explain the operations and control of all aspects of political communication. The research employed a semi-structured interview with participants purposively selected across Plateau north senatorial district involving two legislators, and representatives drawn from members of civil society, youth and women groups. Findings reveal that, though there is an increased use of social media in constituents/legislator's engagement, traditional constituency offices are still being utilised by constituents to engage their representatives. The paper recommends that new media usage be encouraged, whilst the traditional physical offices are continuously maintained especially at the rural constituencies.

EFF's political identity: thriving on slogans and ideological promiscuity

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Biography

Majavu is a thinker, an academic, an activist, and, of course, an athlete of sorts.

Abstract

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) often presents itself, and in turn is seen by some, as the most radical political formation in the country. It depicts itself as the only alternative formation with solutions to the so called political and economic crisis of our time. And it presents itself as a 'movement', rather than a party, that is for 'the people' as opposed to the elite or the establishment. In this paper, I argue that the EFF, at its core, is a populist party. Although many have focused on the performative aspect of the EFF's populism, in this paper I focus on the party's ideological orientation. Using the concept of thin ideologies developed by Freeden (1998), I argue that the party's ideology, as a populist formation, is thin. Its thinness enables the EFF to subscribe to multiple and often contradictory ideologies at once. The paper demonstrates how these multiple ideologies find expression within and are articulated by the party. Based on its many ideologies, I contend that the party is, ideologically, promiscuous. Furthermore, I highlight the fact that despite proclaiming itself as a movement of economic freedom, the party has no clear coherent programme to bring about this freedom that it promises. In other words, beyond the nice sounding slogans that the party is known for, its proposals are contradictory and not so largely different from what is already on offer elsewhere. Lastly, I argue that for the party to live up to its claim of being a 'movement' of economic freedom, it will have to be born again, in an ideological sense, in order to shed its inherent populist and promiscuous political identity.

Anti-apartheid movements at the intersection between Western and Afro-Asian contexts: A case study of the Japan Anti-apartheid Committee

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Biography

Kumiko Makino-Yamashita is Director of African Studies Group at the Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO). Her research interests include democracy and distributional politics in post-apartheid South Africa, history of global anti-apartheid movements, and Africa-Japan relations with a particular focus on non-state actors.

Abstract

The struggle against racial segregation and apartheid in South Africa was one of the most significant global political campaigns in the twentieth century. There is a growing research interest in the international aspects of anti-apartheid movement. However, the literature was until recently confined primarily to the Western anti-apartheid movements, and to a lesser extent African solidarity support for liberation movements. Instead, this paper focuses on the anti-apartheid movements in Japan, which have been largely overlooked in the literature. The Japanese activism serves as an interesting case study for a global history of anti-apartheid movements in the sense that it was located at the intersection between Western and Afro-Asian contexts. Japan's overall relations with South Africa, both in terms of Cold-War geopolitics as well as economic relations, were similar to those of Western countries, therefore the Japanese anti-apartheid movements drew on experiences of Western anti-apartheid movements and adopted their strategies such as consumer boycotts into their own activism. On the other hand, however, unlike Western movements, the inception and early development of the Japanese anti-apartheid activism was significantly contextualized by the Afro-Asian solidarity. This paper will illustrate the role of Afro-Asian solidarity in the international fight against apartheid, and its influence on the early development of the Japanese anti-apartheid movements.

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How durable are hybrid regimes? The case of Zimbabwe as a hybrid regime

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Biography

Itai Makone is a Postdoctoral fellow at HUMA- Institute of Humanities in Africa at University of Cape Town, South Africa. She holds a PhD in Political Science from Stellenbosch University, in South Africa. Itai is a Lisa Maskell Fellow, funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. She holds a master's in Economics and a master's in International Relations, both obtained from the University of Zimbabwe, in Zimbabwe. Itai's research interests include political risk analysis and security, hybrid regimes, public policy, governance, knowledge production, publishing and dissemination of scholarly material in Africa and research methodology.

Abstract

Democracy is under siege because it competes with other forms of government. This paper examines the hybrid regime to reveal how durable it is to offer an alternative form of government to democracy. The hybrid regime has risen in number since the third wave of democratisation. Hybrid regime theory claims that the hybrid regime can either disintegrate into an authoritarian regime or evolve into a democracy, but it is not sustainable, thus debating the durability of the hybrid regime. This paper argues that the hybrid regime is a durable political regime using the case of Zimbabwe between 1990 and 2018. A theoretical framework for analysing the hybrid regime is developed. The framework uses hybrid regime indicators of elections, civil liberties, tutelary interference, and political elite cohesion. Literature confirms that states resemble different forms of hybridity (Menocal, Fritz & Rakner, 2008; Gilbert & Mohseni, 2011). This paper finds that hybridity varies within a single state. Zimbabwe shows five diverse forms of hybridity which are liberal, competitive illiberal, competitive, illiberal, and military hybrid regimes. These hybrid regimes transitioned from one form of hybrid to another form in unequal intervals, thus, collectively the hybrid regime was observed to be durable. The paper identifies five factors that enable the durability of the hybrid regime. There should be an incumbent political party that has been in government for a lengthy period, which has a high political elite cohesion and possibly led by a statesman with a strong personality. In addition, there should be low turnover in holding political office and a competitive opposition that forces the incumbent not to degenerate into authoritarian rule, thus making the hybrid regime durable.

Balance of the Opposites: Problematising Discourses and Ideologies

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Biography

A final year student of Politics, Philosophy and Economics with the University of South Africa (UNISA), with specific interest in issues of intercultural philosophy, the role of the intellectual in contemporary society, discourses on politics and metaphysics. He was Assistant Editorial Board Member for the 2021 volume of Stance: An International Undergraduate Philosophy Journal. He is currently part of the Decolonial Reading Salon team at UNISA.

Abstract

Ideas are the foundation of our daily struggles and triumph. However their manipulation and reservation in the intellectual space is controversial. Most ideas are not materially realised to serve the public. My concern then, is how do we translate opposing ideas to material realities through integration? My recognition of opposing ideas means that I am not doing away with them or being non-ideological. Balancing these ideas also does not denote being post-ideological. It would be invalid to claim being non-ideological or post-ideological because that still denotes a peculiar dogma and ideology in itself. The balance would thus be located in moving towards integration and calling for a 'new ideology.' This 'new ideology' recognises diversity and yet tries to be harmonious and cosmopolitan in order to permit dialogue and balance in discourses and ideology. I invoke cosmopolitanness to advocate for the recognition of diversity and yet the inevitable reality of coexistence. This cosmopolitanness is founded on the openness of be-ing and dialogue in order to make discourses accommodative and serve the interests of the public. An analysis is also required, to bring to light the problem of ideologies and dogma in terms of discourses. Openness is thus the balance and antithesis to dogma. This will play a significant part in theorising differently and yet together, in order to find solutions that uplift society from its own struggles.

Connectivity and the reconfiguring of global development: the BRI in East Africa

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Biography

Debora V. Malito, Assistant Professor of International Relations, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University. She completed her PhD in Political Studies from the University of Milan and held research positions at the European University Institute and University of Cape Town. Her work intersects critical approaches in the study of sovereignty and international intervention. Current research projects concern: the unmaking of political orders through interventionist projects and the political economy of measuring governance.

Abstract

Railways, ports, and other large-scale building projects in East Africa are under construction under the imperative of improving connectivity to the regional and global economy. Since China has started framing a development strategy under the notion of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), much of the discussion has been captured by a totalising discourse centered on China and its 'grand strategy' that tends to overlook the context of the Chinese engagement. How interactions among diverse actors, at different levels of governance, contribute to transform, consolidate, or adapt to existing values and practices in global development? To address this question, this paper focuses on three railways projects in East Africa, partially financed, assisted, or constructed by Chinese companies or institutions: the Addis-Ababa Djibouti Railway, the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway from Mombasa to Nairobi, and the Central Standard Gauge Railway from Dar es Salaam to Mwanza. The paper points out the material, institutional and ideological configurations emerging from the Chinese involvement in East African railways. These interactions are reconfiguring existing global development practices, but at the same time, Chinese infrastructure development efforts are also generating reactions, instrumentalisation or oppositions, stimulating further modifications and adaptations. The paper proceeds in four parts. First, I frame the Chinese presence in East Africa, by conceptualising the BRI as a relational instrument, and by introducing the relevance of the East African Railway Master Plan, promoted by the East African Community to understand such presence. Second, I map a series of infrastructural projects in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, and Tanzania financed or assisted by Chinese actors, to clarify structural issues in terms of financing, design, implementing. Third, I focus on the three railways projects and I use Cox's understanding of historical blocs to define the emerging configurations of material capabilities, ideas, and institutions.

#RhodesWar: Contesting Institutional Silencing in the Struggle against Rape in South Africa

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Biography

Gavaza Maluleke is a lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town. Her most recent postdoctoral work was in the Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery Unit at the Human Science Research Council. She also worked as a postdoc in the Becoming Men Research team at the University of Amsterdam and as a consultant at United Nations University Institute on Globalization, Culture and Mobility. Her research interests are in digital activism, transnational feminisms, postcolonial theory, migration, gendered violence, masculinities and media studies in Africa. Her current work focuses on digital activism and gendered violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

Abstract

The use of digital media to call attention to the struggles of young women to retain control over their bodies is a relatively recent phenomenon. Black feminists see these digital platforms as having the potential to create safe spaces where their voices and subjugated viewpoints might be heard by those in privileged positions (Rapp et al, 2010: 255). In South Africa we have witnessed this shift in awareness with the rise in the proliferation of hashtags geared towards fighting gendered violence beginning with PatriarchyMustFall in 2015 and more recently #AmINext. However, even as scholars celebrate these digital platforms and their potential to engender creative modes of protest, new systems of violence and institutionalized forms of silencing geared towards activists are highlighted in the interplay between online activism and public spaces. In South Africa, this came to pass in April 2016 when the #RUReferenceList began trending on social media after a "reference list" with the names of alleged rapists at Rhodes University was released. Following the circulation of the list, female students held a naked protest on campus where they rounded up the men on the list calling for their arrest. A year later, two female student activists who had participated in the anti-rape naked protests were expelled for life from the University. This decision sparked outrage on social media leading to creation of the hashtag #RhodesWar with many using the hashtag to voice their frustrations. Working from bell hooks' assertion that, "for black women our struggle has not been to emerge from silence into speech but to change the nature and direction of our speech. To make a speech that compels listeners, one that is heard" (hooks, 1986: 124), we explore the voices of resistances articulated against these institutionalized forms of silencing under the hashtag #RhodesWar, mapping what is being said, how it is being said and what techniques, if any, are being used to compel others to listen.

A critical reflection of the impact of the political economy of coronavirus on social contract in Zimbabwe

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Biography

Kennedy Manduna is an examination awaiting PhD Candidate within the Wits School of Governance (WSG) in South Africa. In his PhD, Kennedy focuses on mining capitalism, extractive industry indigenisation and uneven development in Africa but with a special reference on Zimbabwe. Kennedy's PhD thesis is titled "Overpromising and underdelivering: Zimbabwe's extractive industry indigenisation and uneven development." The following are Kennedy's areas of academic interest: uneven development, mining capitalism, African political economy and public policy. Currently, he is a research fellow within the WSG while simultaneously an intern in the online internship programme with the University of Mumbai's Center for African Studies. Within the WSG, Kennedy is researching on social contract, state fragility, violence, social cohesion and peacebuilding.

Abstract

Within individual countries, social contracts are sustained by the belief that public institutions can predict a disaster, proactively deal with its impact and quickly restore the situation back to normalcy. These are the basis of citizens' confidence, trust and faith in their governments, without which the legitimacy of governments dissipates. While the Coronavirus (code-named COVID-19) pandemic is a global disaster, this chapter argues that the virus is not what matters most, as it affects everyone the same way due to our epidemiological similarities. Rather, it is the way in which individual countries choose to respond to its spread and impact. In Africa in general and in Zimbabwe in particular, following the devastating effects of the COVID-19 pandemic in China, Europe and United States of America, poor measures were taken to contain, prevent and arrest its impact and spread. For instance, lack of proper isolation and quarantine centres and effective tracking and testing processes, and under-reporting of cases increase exposure and vulnerability to the virus. A dilapidated health system without critical health essentials such as protective personal equipment (PPE), testing kits and ventilators further worsens the situation. To this end, citizens consider the country's public institutions as having failed. Consequently, the already broken social contract is further crumbling.

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On nosy, noisy neighbours: The Horn of Africa and transnational conflict in Africa

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Biography

Nothando Maphalala is a policy and advocacy strategist and programme manager serving as Coordinator of the APSA Impact Study at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia. She devotes her research efforts towards evidence-based policy recommendations on peace and security challenges in Africa. Her efforts are rooted in policy, gender justice, conflict resolution, and inclusion. Nothando Maphalala holds an M.A from the University for Peace, a B.A in History and a B.A in International Relations from the University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Abstract

In 2015, Getachew Zeru, an academic at Addis Ababa University specializing in the Horn of Africa, did not gloss over his apprehension of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)-led mediation in South Sudan. "IGAD would have to undergo serious reform for me to believe that it can be an impartial mediator," he said. His misgivings, then and now, were valid: IGAD Member States were overt or covert participants in the South Sudan conflict (Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia); some Member States were indirectly benefiting from its internal strife (Djibouti, Sudan, Uganda); most Member States had their own internal conflicts (Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia) and some Member States had tensions with each other (Ethiopia and Eritrea (still) and Somalia with everyone). With one of Africa's most complex and protracted conflict systems, one wondered, how could the Horn of Africa possibly model conflict resolution to South Sudan? A 2019 study led by Alex de Waal, interrogated the long-held belief that conflicts in Africa are intra-state. The study found that existing Africa conflict datasets have systematically under-represented the extent of cross-border state support to belligerent parties in internal conflicts. Transnationality is a major feature of armed conflicts in Africa, including covert military action and regional support to domestic belligerents. As such, most of the so-called civil wars in Africa, should more accurately be described as "internationalized internal conflicts." Nowhere is this concept more fittingly applied than in the Horn of Africa. The rise of multilateralism has led to a related focus on the use of mediation as a tool of collective security. The principle of subsidiarity (whereby regional organizations lead and the African Union follows) implies that regional organizations are the immediate and legitimate responders of conflicts taking place in their neighbourhoods. This paper aims to trace the transnational character of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa in the last 10 years, and the active role of its neighbours in internal conflict. Ultimately, the paper questions the assumed appropriateness of regional organizations as "first responders to regional conflict" when its member states have, in fact, perpetuated those same conflicts.

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What does the rise of the 'rest' and decline of the west signify for International relations?

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Biography

Masinga holds a Master's Degree in Development Studies. She has worked for the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) on various projects. She is a development practitioner interested in socio-economic development, household dynamics and geography, sociology of development and rural-urban livelihoods. On a freelance capacity, she has worked with different consulting organizations on issues of sustainable development.

Abstract

The past years has seen unparalleled dominance of American policy worldwide. However, with the rise of new economies globally western sovereignty stands to be tested and challenged in practice and in theory. What is currently unknown is how the rise of the 'rest' will fundamentally affect western policy that is embedded and practiced throughout the world. Literature purports that the G7 countries are struggling to maintain a foot hold in the markets. The rise of developing countries has resulted to a continued growth of offshore financing. The threat to the western world is that, the increase in the availability of alternative markets places G7 countries at a compromising position as they have to lose the crucial leverage which they once freely benefited from without competition. Furthermore, diplomatic missions by the US Secretary of State depicts a visible decline of the west. Hillary Clinton during Obama's administration, saw to it that her diplomatic missions involved the BRICs countries which was previously unheard of, as much focus was on engaging diplomatic missions with Europe and Britain. This depicts a rapid shift and transformation of the international body. World politics is no longer dominated by the powers of the North. Notwithstanding, in giving significance to the rest, Goldman Sachs acknowledged the first four countries within BRICs as the keys to the future for the global economy. The investment bank alluded that the four countries will soon surpass the G7's GDP. In light of this, this paper seeks to conduct a literature review based on a qualitative approach which will be used to understand the significance of the rise of the 'rest'. The significance of the rise of the 'rest' is that the western rhetoric is becoming less powerful, as the once sleeping giants of the East become the beacon of hope for the future. The decline of the west brings questions as to whether the world is seeing itself into a new era. There are questions as to whether western policies will be altered or changed all together. Most importantly, what becomes the role of the west after its decline in global politics.

South Africa's innovations to combat Covid-19 and their implications on the human rights

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Biography

A Masters candidate in Political Studies

Abstract

In the wake of the novel Coronavirus disease (COVID-19), various states imposed different innovations to combat the spread of the virus. Like many countries, South Africa developed several measures and restrictions to combat the spread of the pandemic. However, some of these measures by the state have sparked public outrage because they are seen as infringing on citizens' human rights. For example, South Africa has adopted a national lockdown limiting the exercise of certain human rights such as a right to free movement, assembly, and trade. Therefore, this study focuses on several grievances raised by various communities in South Africa about Covid-19 restrictions and regulations. This paper will adopt the human security perspective in dealing with the human security impacts arising from the restrictions and regulations set to curb the spread of Covid-19. Also, the theory of governance will support the study by delving into whether the practices and policies of South Africa's government in their fight against COVID-19 complement what is advocated for by the theory, this will be achieved by an exploration of principles of governance. The paper argues that human rights should be protected and respected, and failure to protect them leads to human security challenges. The paper shall rely on a mixed method of research to delve into the analysis on the hostilities arising from South African innovations to combat Covid-19 and their ramifications on the public's response about the enjoyment of human rights.

Transnational identities and landscapes of belonging among Ethiopian migrants in Cape Town, South Africa

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Biography

Namhla Matshanda teaches International Relations and African Politics in the department of Political Studies at UWC. She is also a member of the Migration and Mobility research group at UWC. Her regional expertise is the Horn of Africa. She has conducted research and published on different aspects of the politics and history of the region, with a focus on Ethiopia.

Abstract

African countries gained their national identities when they attained independence from colonial rule. National identity was bestowed when the newly independent countries embraced the array of diverse cultures that make up the diverse populations that were brought together under colonialism. However, as Mamdani (1996) shows us, the road to national citizenship and belonging has been long and fraught in the post-colonial period. Mamdani (1996) demonstrates the centrality of the political to questions of identity and belonging. He argues that the manner in which this has unfolded in Africa since independence has been largely influenced by the colonial legacy. The model of the nation-state with its European origins has dictated how national identity is imagined and experienced in Africa. In recent decades, this long and drawn out transition has been further complicated by intra-Africa migration. Many Africans are leaving their 'nation-states' and crossing borders into other African 'nation-states'. This movement takes on many different forms, from formal and informal migrants, economic migrants and asylum seekers and refugees; however, these different forms of migration are not the concern of this research. This research seeks to investigate the ways in which we can think of and make sense of the emergence of transnational identities in Africa and what this means for notions of belonging vis-à-vis the nation state. This investigation will focus specifically on Ethiopian migrants in Cape Town.

The decline of Liberal International Order (LIO) and International Relations: Paving the way for global governance

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Biography

Kurisani Mdhluli is a Masters candidate and Lecturing Assistant at Nelson Mandela University. His research focuses on Illicit Economic Activities of Irregular Warfare Groups and counterinsurgency policies and strategies in the Middle East. He holds a BA in International Relations and BA Honours in Political Science.

Abstract

History suggests that societies tend to abandon political systems whenever they cease to serve their interests. For instance, the discontinuation of Feudalism by the medieval or middle age societies and the abolishment of slavery and colonialism by the 19th and 20th-century societies respectively provide a shining example of such. In this paper, I argue that the decline of the Liberal International Order (LIO) and International Relations as universal political systems represent the genesis of global governance. The rise of populism best represented at the global level by the recent presidency of Donald Trump is the main factor that signalled the decline of LIO recently. While global political developments such as amongst others, the increasing political and socio-economic influence and strength of China, the emergence of BRICS, and the unwavering antagonistic attitude of Russia and Islamic extremism towards the US-LIO are factors that suggest that the end of the LIO is imminent. Through the prism of rationalism and constructivism, the paper seeks to predict whether the United Nations (UN) will assume a leading role in global governance?, or will global governance continue to formulate in spite of the UN or will the UN eventually become redundant?. The ultimate conclusion is that due to the organization's history, rules of procedure and universality which give its institutions and the norms they generate particular legitimacy and thus authority. The UN system might provide a cornerstone for global governance and facilitate concrete cooperative problem-solving arrangements as demanded by the current global political climate.

An Analysis of the Role of the Ruling Party/African National Congress in Engaging in Disruptive Politics

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Biography

Mr. B.E Mdhluli is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at University of Kwazulu-Natal, (Howard College), Durban. His research interests include governance, municipal governance, politics, ethics, party politics and African politics. His doctoral project investigates the alignment of the integrated development plan, performance management, budget within Kopanong Local Municipality in the Free State, in South Africa. Public participation is one of the issues the candidate is pursuing as part of the research.

Abstract

The removal of Executive Mayors in various South African Local Government municipalities has been in the news headlines in both 2019 and 2020 financial year. This has seen many councils failing to deliver on their legislative mandates because of the absence of leadership. The unceremonious removal of many women Executive Mayors has caused many administrations of council and / or municipalities to become unstable. Some senior political individuals / leaders target women executive mayors / speakers, specifically to remove them from power because they do not agree on tenders. What is really shocking is that a league of the ANC representing women, is part of these horrendous decisions taken against one of their own. This is an injustice of the highest order. As a result, many officials have taken advantage of this to loot and steal from councils. This looting and theft happens when there is no oversight and accountability in these administrations. "Internal factional conflict inspired by competition for state positions, tenders and access to favours from business has become vicious, sometimes violent. While the ANC rather incomprehensively denies the existence of factions in official statement, a stance typical of all political parties" (Belloni & Beller, 1976). A true reflection is brought to the fore by (Mail & Guardian: Online 2010), "Factional groups battling for party and public office have used the media to discredit rivals, to control branches. They have used not only subtle forms of internal party intrigue but also violent attacks and assassinations to promote their interest". Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, Ethekwini City Council, Tshwane City Council, Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality have been through this process of disruption. The Free State as a province, has seen the removal of Dihlabeng Local Municipality Mayor, as well as Setsoto Local Municipality Mayor, and more often than not, municipalities go through this rough time because those in leadership want their own candidate pawn, replacing the incumbent. This means that the African National Congress National or Provincial Working Committee have not agreed on certain deployment and business deals. From the perspective of an ordinary person, what brings about conflict between deployed officials as well as councillors and political leadership, are financial incentives. People climb the ladder of leadership because they want to forage their pockets. The paper examines the impact of disruptive leadership of the African National Congress in municipal councils in South Africa, using particular cases of city councils.

"Notions of Zulu Girlhood- From preservation to variations of ukuhlonipha nokufihla in post-apartheid South Africa"

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Biography

Gogo Londiwe is the strategist and content creator for ILIWA Consultancy. She is an African feminist thinker, who specialises on feminist theory, African girlhood and womanhood. She holds a Master's Degree from the Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University. Her thesis titled "Umemulo and Zulu girlhood: Ukuziphatha kahle (Good behaviour) and sexual rights in post-apartheid South Africa", seeks to expand understandings of the ways in which girlhood and womanhood are experienced in Post-apartheid South Africa. Londiwe also works in civil society as a project manager at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, focusing on democracy and civic participation.

Abstract

This study examines evolving definitions of ukuziphatha kahle that historically relied on the preservation of virginity for Zulu girls, who participate in the umemulo ceremony that marks the transition from girlhood to womanhood. It examines notions of Zulu girlhood as understood through preservation - ukugcina isibaya sikaBaba - and through respectability and secrecy - ukuhlonipha nokufihla. The study analyses how conceptions of ukuziphatha kahle (good behavior) have evolved in the context of sexual rights in the performance of Zulu girlhood. The study draws from 26 interviews with Zulu women who have gone through umemulo, elder women who facilitate virginity testing and umemulo; and female relatives of women who have gone through umemulo in Estcourt, Wembezi, Paapkalius Fountain, Ntabamhlophe and Cornfields in KwaZulu-Natal. This thesis contextualises umemulo and ukuziphatha kahle (good behaviour) in democratic South Africa. Umemulo is a ritual done for a Zulu girl whose behaviour is deemed to be good. While this is clear, what constitutes ukuziphatha kahle (good behaviour) is contested. On stricter terms, ukuziphatha kahle means to be intombi nto (a virgin). The interviews with women who went through umemulo show that most of them were not virgins at the time of the ritual. The elder and younger women expressed that ukuziphatha kahle for them goes beyond the girl's virginity. Instead, they understand it as a girl who does not have a child, and who has shown respect and obedience to her parents and elders. Strikingly, the study shows an inter-generational collusion between the younger and elder women, who maintain the outward appearance of virginity of the girls who participate in umemulo. The study argues that there are variations of ukuhlonipha (respect), which in the rights context of democratic South Africa overlap into ukufihla (secrecy). Importantly, it is clear that the concept of being a good Zulu womanhood holds and remains important for Zulu girls and women. However, the ways in which Zulu women experience and perform this is complex.

Working class voters in the 2019 Elections – reflections from the past, anticipations for the future

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Biography

Naledi Modise is a Lecturer in Political Science at the North-West University. Naledi holds a Master of Social Science in International Relations from the North-West University. Currently she is registered for a DPhil in Political Science at the University of Pretoria. Naledi's research interests are on democracy, voter behavior and elections in South Africa. Naledi's doctoral study will focus on how institutional factors shape voter behavior. Previously she focused on the intersection between voter behavior and class.

Abstract

The South African political system holds many contradictions. It is a one party dominant state within a vibrant, competitive electoral system. In addition, the country hosts a dual economy; on the one end, is a small high skilled high productivity economy and on the other, a much larger yet low productivity economy. The results of these contradictions are most glaring in their societal manifestations. The country has the highest Gini coefficient and a widening inequality and income gap. As a result, there are multiple studies on the impact of socio-economic conditions and how they shape political participation and outcomes. Economic theories of voter behaviour suggest that voters support or punish politicians based on how the economy performs. Against this theoretical background, this study, hypothesises that the working class population have significant electoral influence and therefore their political attitudes should be of interest. Previous studies on the interactions between class and voter behaviour used large data sets to make broad generalisations. This study was more specific and adopted the use of questionnaires to examine the attitudes of cleaners, cashiers, taxi drivers, security guards and miners in the North-West and Northern Cape. This study adopted an inductive approach to the thematic analysis, where the researcher allowed the data to determine the major themes of the findings. Among the key findings of the study is the overall awareness and disdain for corruption amongst politicians and respondents indicated that they would like to see action taken against those accused of corruption. In addition, there was also concern for the political commitment towards improving the lives of South Africans. Overall, there is a considerable awareness of the political landscape and relatability and history drive political support

Is COVID19 the Remaking of New World Order? China's rise to global leadership

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Biography

PhD Student in International Relations at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. My research is focused on the link between conflict and pandemic.

Abstract

While the international community struggles to emerge from the impact made by the COVID-19 pandemic, China is maneuvering to global power dominance. Campbell and Doshi (2020) note that when no state answered Italy's call for help, China became the first respondent by committing to exporting 2 million masks, 50 000 test kits, 20 000 protective suits, 100 000 respirators, and 1000 ventilators. Campbell and Doshi (2020) demonstrate that China sent 250 000 masks and medical teams to Iran, also suppliers to Serbia. The Serbia president stated that European solidarity is a fairy tale and China has proved to be the only country capable of assisting. COVID-19 has proved to aid China's rise to power because Beijing has been producing what the world currently needs. It is the major producer of surgical masks. According to Shih (2021) China's economy has grown by 2.3% for 2020, being the only major economy to grow by that much during the epidemic year. China's containment of COVID-19 has boosted its economy to run for global leadership. The economy of China only declined once in the first quarter of 2020 when Hubei Province and Wuhan were locked down. However, Chinese sectors began to jump into motion while other countries lurched into crisis. China-Africa relations seem to be expanding despite the pandemic impact. Chinese Foreign Minister visited African countries to consolidate solidarity between Chinese and African people after the xenophobic attacks in China. The visit targeted African debt relief and assistance to fight against the epidemic. PPE and sanitising resources were supplied by China. China and South Africa initiated the Extraordinary China-Africa Summit on Solidarity, through this China donated over 6 million masks. (Preuss, 2021). It must be noted that South Africa is still seen as one of the gatekeepers nations to Africa.

Whose Lives Matter? An Environmental Governance analysis of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project

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Biography

Koaile Monaheng is a Masters candidate from Lesotho pursuing a degree in Climate Change and Sustainable Development at the University of Cape Town (UCT) through the African Climate and Development Initiative (ACDI). He is a 2020 Mandela-Rhodes Foundation scholar and is currently a research and analysis intern at Just Share SA. His research interests while rooted in political and international relations have integrated environmental justice, corporate climate governance, integrated reporting, environmental, social and governance (ESG), climate science and intergenerational, cross-disciplinary climate action on the African continent. Koaile has been nominated to represent UCT in the 2021 U7+ Worldwide Student Forum.

Abstract

Hailed as one of southern Africa's brilliances in bilateral agreements supported by the World Bank, the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) was signed in 1986 with the then apartheid Republic of Southern Africa government to foster joint economic growth and development in the region. The project was aimed at addressing water scarcity on one hand, by providing water to South Africa and hydroelectricity in Lesotho on the other, which was plagued by power shortages. In doing so, both countries populations could benefit from sharing Lesotho's natural resource. However, due to the top-down, international, regional and governmental flow of power, those on the ground have remained excluded through hydrocolonisation - the unlawful appropriation and control of water resources of a certain group or community. Against this backdrop, the research paper aims to illustrate how the contradictory nature of historical, geopolitical, global environmental governance strategies loosely implemented in developing countries has not only had detrimental effects on the indigenous populations on the ground but subsequently transcended power patterns with elites. Conclusively, the goal of the research paper, through the lessons learned in Lesotho, servers to highlight and identify the importance of an inclusive, bottom-up, context specific approach to neoliberal environmentality of water governance that encompasses indigenous knowledge, local traditions, and modernity on the African continent.

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Examining contributing factors to organized crime and their ramification on human security. The case study of ECOWAS and SADC

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Biography

Mr. Collin Olebogeng Mongale is a postgraduate student in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the North West University (Potchefstroom campus). He holds a Bsoc Sci in Political Sciences and International Relations (Cum-Laude), Bsoc Sci Honours Political Studies. He was awarded Golden Key International Honour Society membership in 2017. He has affiliated to the South African Association of Political Studies. His current research interests are on governance where he has co-authored a book chapter, including security where he has written on the weaponization of gender in Nigeria and Syria.

Abstract

Transnational organized crime has emerged as one of the threats that challenges modern states security. This is to say, organized criminal activities impact negatively on the security of persons and the extinction of wildlife animals. Organized criminal activities are often linked to contributing factors which includes: political factors, economic factors and social factors. For instance, the political environment where post-independent governments constituted by civilian and military personnel which became autocratic in their rule have resulted into political instability in ECOWAS and SADC region. Economic factors influence organized criminal activities because as a result of bad governance (political factor), there exists mismanagement of natural resources by those in charge of government. Lastly, the aforementioned political and economic factors impact upon social context in ways that includes: (i) youthful and increasing population which requires governments to provide jobs and houses, (ii) deterioration of social services, (iii) the aspiration and taste for Western lifestyle by youth people and diminishing influence of traditional social control and safety-nets, which are driving the use of drugs and abuse. As a result of these political, economic and social factors, criminal gangs, syndicates, rebel groups including relatively poor people have resorted to criminal activities in order to source income. In both ECOWAS and SADC region, organized crime takes form of human trafficking and smuggling, drug trafficking, wildlife crimes, terrorism, oil theft, and arms smuggling. Findings are that, contributing factors to organized crime, including criminal activities pose threat to human security, such as loss of lives, grievous body injuries as result of gender-based violence, traumatic experiences, population displacement due to disruption of property, interruption on educational programs, rejection in communities for victims of human trafficking and terrorist attacks. Methodologically, the study relies on qualitative method of research approach and content analysis. The use of statistical figures strengthens the study especially when delving into the ramifications of organized crime on human security discourse.

The implementation of Agenda 2063's First Ten-Year Implementation Plan and its implication to African Continental Free Trade Area

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Biography

I am a PhD candidate in Political Studies from North-West University. I am awaiting results from examiners. My research interests are African Political Economy and International Trade (its impact on African economy). My PhD thesis title is: The role of the Comprador Bourgeoisies in post-independent Africa: The case of South Africa and Kenya in which I analyze the implementation of Agenda 2063 in both case studies. African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is an integral part of Agenda 2063.

Abstract

On the 1st of January 2021, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) came into effect, creating the world's largest free trade block given the number of countries that will be involved once completed. Bringing Africa closer to political and economic integration as outlined in Abuja Treaty, 1991. The AfCFTA has numerous potential gains for member states and the continent at large, but the gains are not automatic. To achieve its objectives, the AfCFTA requires the implementation of Agenda 2063's First Ten-Year Implementation Plan. The First Ten-Year Implementation Plan, 2014-2023, seeks to accelerate Africa's political and economic transformation that will create a good foundation for successful AfCFTA. However, the lack of implementation of the First Ten-Year Implementation Plan by African Union (AU) member states as demonstrated in continental overall score of 33 percent (cause for concern) will have a negative implication on AfCFTA. The lack of implementation of the First Ten-Year Implementation Plan can be attributed to the leadership question at national, regional, and continental level. The article analyse the implication of implementation or lack thereof of Agenda 2063's First Ten-Year Implementation Plan on AfCFTA. Moreover, it will demonstrate the political commitment of the national and continental leadership to AfCFTA. Evidence illustrates that many countries would not achieve 2023 First Ten-Year Implementation Plan targets despite the leadership commitment to Agenda 2063. Therefore, Agenda 2063 is nothing but a theatrical technique by the AU leaders in their governing of Africa. Agenda 2063 is viewed as theatrical play, grand gesture and performative enactment of legitimacy and authority. Hence, the call for transformative leadership in implementing Agenda 2063 and subsequently, AfCFTA.

South Africa, a society of contempt: from COVID-19 and beyond

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Biography

Sysman's commitment to non-partisanship and fairness has him explore politics of recognition (the subaltern) and political traditions of thought. He does evidence-based advocacy research focusing on hydro-politics (water governance, service delivery), human rights, democratisation, community development, and environmentalism. He is experienced in research consulting and programme implementation in the NGO sector. His political theory persuasion is toward advancing social justice, exploring politics of recognition (the subaltern) and political traditions of thought.

Abstract

Ranciere in The Ignorant School Master: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation talks about a society of contempt, in which he argues that "there is no possible society. There is only a society that is". Rainciere's argument could imply that an ideal society is not possible except that which is. However, such logic easily misapprehends the essence of the argument. Ranciere's argument formulates the research problem concerning the contradictions between the attainable ideals that remain aloof due to governance failures, hence "the society that is". The possible society is a South Africa that has the best constitution in the world with human rights principles, and a public administration of "batho pele" (people first). The conceptual argument is that South Africa evinces contempt proven by corruption and service delivery failure. Therefore, the concept of contempt guides the analysis of conditions like service delivery, public evaluations of government, and mapping the strategies to rethink the possible society in the context of universal human rights. The Covid-19 is the perfect precipice against which to analyse the virtues of the South African state. The survey of qualitative data through written, audio, and video documents reveals a people fed up with what they deem a perverse government

Investigating political networking as a threat or opportunity to South Africa's democracy

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Biography

Thabang Richard Motswaledi is an emerging scholar at the North West University. Recently graduated at the North West University his junior degree (Bachelor of social sciences in psychology) and currently pursuing a Bachelors (Hon) degree in political studies in the school of governance at the North West University Mafikeng campus. He is actively involved in academia with specific attention given to both political science and African philosophy related research.

Abstract

Political party affiliation and the BBE opportunities has led to the deployment of cadres which has seen 'the wrong foot be put into the right door'. Those with knowledge especially from the erstwhile homelands/Bantustans were relegated to nobodies and 'comrades' were given opportunities even if they didn't have the knowledge of governance and educational qualifications. As if that was not enough South Africa has experienced an awarding of state tender to 'comrades' in certain fields without the necessary skills. The recent revelation at the State Capture Commission has exposed names of political elites names involved in corruption. From this premise, the paper will seek to investigate this maladministration using qualitative method of research utilizing relevant search engines, relevant journals and books to reach a conclusion whether the political networking as a threat to South Africa's democracy. The findings will be then determine the threats or opportunities for the future of South Africa politically.

Inkohlakalo: Liberal democracy as corruption

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Biography

Khondlo teaches Political Theory and Political Thought at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Abstract

Inkohlakalo is an isiZulu word for corruption. It has its roots in the verb ukukhohlwa, which means to forget. The proposed paper is anchored on an understanding of corruption as forgetting the ideals values of ubuntu. The social ontological assumption of ubuntu is connectedness of all beings. That is, human beings are connected to: each other, to past generations, to future generations and to other beings. The key ontological assumption of liberal democracy is abstract individualism. Abstract individualism assumes that individuals are: (i) equal with respect to basic liberties and rights (ii) exist independently of each other (iii) are external related to each other. The proposed paper will partly rely on Mogobe Ramose and Mazisi Kunene's approach to African political philosophy in its critique of liberal democracy. This is a desktop study that will use existing literature on liberal democracy and African political philosophy as its data.

Church Regulation in A Democratic South Africa

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Biography

Mashudu Muthivhi is an interdisciplinary researcher, ordained minister of the Gospel and a Practical Theology Lecturer and Coordinator of the Theology section in the Department of Human Sciences at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou, South Africa. He obtained his B TH and B TH Hons degrees from the University of South Africa. His research interests include the decolonialisation of Biblical hermeneutics and postcolonial spirituality. He holds an MA in African Studies from the University of Venda. Currently, he is a PhD candidate in Theology at the University of Venda. He is a member of the Association of Christian Religious Practitioners.

Abstract

Christianity has undergone phenomenal growth since the dawn of the century, resulting in the mushrooming of churches in Africa, not least in South Africa. The religion has overcome its origins in a small settlement in Jerusalem to be a world religion. The Church in South Africa today can be divided into Mainline, Pentecostal, and Charismatic churches. Most of the churches are Pentecostal and Charismatic, markedly, the rise of Charismatic churches has come with controversies and at times with social and economic costs. As the centre has not been holding within the church fraternity, certain despicable religious practices are coming to the public domain thereby bringing into question the meaning of religion in a democratic state. Commercialisation of the church and resultant malpractices have intensified calls for state regulation of churches in the interest of bringing law and order and safeguarding the interests of congregants. However, proposals for state intervention in church affairs have been met with resistance, with some arguing that state intervention in religious affairs would spell doom for freedom of religion and worship, resulting in a clash of values. Against this backdrop, this paper examines implications of a pluralist religious climate in South Africa; to shed light on the perils of dimming the prophetic mandate of the Church through an agenda to check or negate a voice attuned to a democratic discourse where the freedom of religious participation is constitutionally recognised. A qualitative research path is followed, and this envisages extensive review of primary or official legal documents and reports on the matter concerned. The study is anchored on constitutional theory and the religious market theory. Thematic analysis is utilised to interpret the meanings from the documentary reports. The paper argues that Church regulation poses a threat to faith-based participation and undermines the moral merit of religious traditions and institutions.

Re-imagining Political Literacy in Contemporary South African Politics

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Biography

Lubna Nadvi is an academic, researcher and community activist based in the School of Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu Natal. She lectures under-graduate and supervises post-graduate students in the disciplines of Political Sciences, International Relations and Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies. She has served in various leadership roles including Head of Department of Political Sciences at UDW (2003 – 2005), Academic Co-ordinator : Political Science Progamme in the School of Politics at UKZN (2009) and Academic Leader for Teaching and Learning (Acting) in the School of Social Sciences at UKZN (2018).

Abstract

The nature of South African politics has changed and evolved considerably since the early 1990s, when the tenor of the country's political engagement was pre-occupied with re-conciliation and nation – building. The political language and discourse that accompanied this process was largely focused around the necessity to achieve a negotiated settlement and then democratize the state, government institutions, the judiciary and society at large, thereby dismantling apartheid. This process was also shaped by the levels of political literacy that were at the disposal of the main actors and stakeholders involved in undertaking these tasks. Essentially the extent and depth of the "democratizing" depended on what the central and even peripheral actors "knew" and "understood" by what should constitute a democratic constitutional dispensation, what structures should be in place, and who should do what, in order to ensure the ultimate political goals were accomplished. The outcome of that process has over the last more than two decades led us to the political reality that faces South Africa today. It is a reality that presents both the state and civil society with several challenges. This paper attempts to trace and contextualize the role that political literacy has played in shaping the legacy of the transition from apartheid to democracy as well as offer some insights on how we can and indeed need to re-imagine the kind of political literacy required to address and resolve some of the current challenges faced by South Africa as a whole.

Zimbabwe's dual pandemic: militarisation and its legacies during COVID-19

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Biography

Mandipa Ndlovu is a PhD Candidate at the African Studies Centre at Leiden University

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has further illuminated the systemic flaws in many African countries where physical, as well as systemic, representations of 'guns' as ammunition adversely affect the most vulnerable groups on our continent. Where in 2020, the African Union set to "to silence the guns" in a bid to create "conducive conditions for Africa's development"; systemic 'guns' as ammunition against African citizens through clientelism, and the manipulation of state institutions to support it remain widely unaddressed on the African continent (Ndlovu, 2020). The consequent infrastructural inadequacies highlighted by the global health pandemic, and the economic predictions for its aftermath, show that change must occur for Africa to realise the full scope of its potential global influence. These issues must be addressed by policymakers as avenues for progression. As an example of the presence of both physical and systemic guns, this paper draws on the cyclical militarisation of Zimbabwe, as an example of continued contributions to anti-development strategies that inhibit an African country's growth trajectory (Dawson and Kelsall, 2013). The analysis is enriched by recognition of the pervasive patron-client relations within the state. Clientelist networks are to be understood as it comes from the control and elite accumulation of domestic rents, as well as with the support from they receive external funders that support elites within a regime. Additionally, reflecting on the three dimensions of democratic governance set as legitimacy, effectiveness and security by Derick Brinkerhoff (2005: 9-11); this paper explores the notion that Zimbabwe's institutions, meant to promote sustainable development and economic opportunities, cannot continue to function under elite securitisation and subsequent state capture. Reflections and analysis will culminate in recommendations for buffering strategies against the political economy shocks of various crises for the country which can be adapted for other African countries in similar positions.

The relationship between the existing political settlements and state resilience in the Covid 19 pandemic: The case of South Africa

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Biography

Xichavo Alecia Ndlovu is a lecturer in the Politics Department at the University of Cape Town. Her research interests are in comparative political economy and international relations. She specifically focuses on the governance of Africa's natural resources, political institutions and development. Prof Norman Sempijja is a lecturer with the faculty of law at the University of Navarra in Spain. His research interests are in political science and international relations, with a specific focus on governance, inter-organisational cooperation and security. Key geographical areas of interest are Africa, Middle East and Europe.

Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic has brought into question the resilience of states – that is, their ability to cope with changes in capacity, effectiveness, or legitimacy. The idea of a resilient state has risen to prominence in the international security and development fora and has featured in political discourse on state-building and state fragility, especially in post-war states. The role of stressors like pandemics on state resilience have not been fully explored, nonetheless, Covid-19 has seen an increased contestation of the state and is projected to have a longer-term negative impact on governance and peace in many African countries. Yet, the nature of the impact of the stressors cannot be explored without context especially in relation to the existing political settlement. Thus, this exploratory and qualitative research study seeks to understand the relationship between the existing political settlements and state resilience during the Covid 19 pandemic in the South Africa. We argue that a pandemic such as Covid 19 concentrates power in the hands of the state, and the state can reconfigure the social foundations which in turn affect its resilience.

African Agency in Transnational City Networks: The Case of Johannesburg

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Biography

Fritz Nganje lectures in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg. He is also Associate Editor of *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*. His primary areas of research include the foreign relations of subnational governments, decentralized cooperation, local peacebuilding, as well as South Africa's foreign policy and diplomacy in Africa.

Abstract

Transnational city networks have generally been portrayed as a more inclusive and egalitarian mode of international organising. However, recent research has questioned these assumptions and highlighted the dynamics of power, domination and control at the heart of the functioning of these networks. These studies have also suggested a North-South power dynamic in global city networks, which seems to deny any significant agency to Global South cities in these networks. In this paper, I seek to qualify this view by analysing the manifestation of agency by an African city in a major transnational city network. I show how, despite finding itself at the bottom of the global city hierarchy, the City of Johannesburg was able to capitalise on the visionary leadership of its Mayor and a favourable domestic political alignment to direct the affairs of the United Cities and Local Governments and in the process shape global discourse on urban development.

Political conditions that facilitate coalition workability

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Biography

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Abstract

This paper forms part of the launch of the book *Marriages of Inconvenience: the politics of coalitions in South Africa*. The paper is a synthesis of international key lessons on what drives Coalition formation; as well as what promotes coalition durability and workability. It is taken from the chapter "Political conditions that facilitate coalition formation and workability" that is contained in the book *Marriages of Inconvenience: the politics of coalitions in South Africa* published by MISTRA in 2021. The chapter offers a comparative analysis of 12 African and European countries, in which comparative analysis of what affects the workability and durability of political party coalitions is conducted.

A Critical Analysis of Democracy as a cause of development in Africa: The Cases of Rwanda (2000-2020) and South Africa (2000-2020)

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Biography

Lusanda Nobanda is an enthusiastic 26-year old male eager to contribute to team success through hard work, attention to detail and excellent organisational skills. With a clear understanding of efficient and effective working and training in public working and general development of society and personnel. He is motivated to learn, grow and excel in either the public or private sector.

Abstract

The underlying problem in the democratic dispensation of African states, is the emergence of a dominant party system or a one party system. As it births a notion of leaders not being accountable to the constituency for their actions and the idea of a public servant becomes nothing but a dream taught in lecture halls. In South Africa, the political system that has been in place is the dominant party system. The national liberation movement, the ANC, it digressed or evolved into a political party to ensure the new progression for attainment of power and the claim of achieving good governance. Now good governance is the capacity and ability of a government to formulate and implement policies that will help improve the economy, implement development and increase the standard of living of the constituency. Rwanda has a similar political system being a thriving and successful dominant party system, dominant party being the Rwandan Patriotic Front. RPF has ruled the country since its military wing beat the government forces and won the Rwandan Civil War in 1994. And since 1994, Rwanda has been dominated by tactics that have been described as authoritarian. Manipulated elections in a number of ways are the call of the day, including banning opposition political parties, arresting or killing standing opponents, buying opponents off, and electoral fraud. The question then rises is that; in the autocratic administration of Rwanda, is good governance achieved? In a state where every citizen is directly accountable to the autocratic leader, the rule of law of the state is the judicial system drafted by the autocratic leader, and the government remains efficient as long as the application of legislation is in accordance to the view of the benevolent dictator. Question is ; out of these two nations with different forms of governance in practice, which achieves development at an effective and efficient level.

African Solutions: A differentiated approach to managing Peace and Security Challenges

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Bio

Charles Nyuykonge is an International Development Consultant with background in Peace & Security, Governance and Human Rights. Having previously worked with the African Union as Human Rights Observer in Mali, and leading African centres of excellence such as the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) as Research Coordinator; and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) as Senior Researcher, Nyuykonge has a great wealth of experience working with the AU Commission both in practice and policy development.

Abstract

75 years since the founding of the United Nations (UN), and several more years of conflict management traditions, there is a dearth of literature on what is needed for interventions such as mediations and peacekeeping to deliver peace. This is in part because there are competing conflict management approaches and traditions. Some of these traditions have often helped to transform conflicts to durable peace while others have worsened peace prospects or momentarily ended war but not restored peace. As such, there is a lack of consensus amongst scholars about which factors or approaches are best for conflict management. In the African continent specifically, while there has been substantial ink spilled on the "African solutions (AfSol)" paradigm, there is nearly no consensus or attempts even from policymakers, practitioners and scholars about what 'African Solutions' really are and how they differ from contemporary approaches erstwhile called Western Approaches to conflict management. Arguing that investing in AfSol is more necessary today than at any other time in the AU's history, the first section of this submission addresses the question of the relevance of AfSol and projects waning western interest in dedicating resources to African peace and security as a point of departure. Similarly, it considers the existence of African intervention success stories as main reasons for investing in AfSol. The second section attempts to (de)conceptualise AfSol as defined by different proponents, while expounding on its characteristics and differences vis-à-vis western interventions. The third section of the submission speaks to the interventions in Mali and CAR, and to some extent relies on Somalia as evidence of operationalisation of AfSol.

(Abstract edited for length)

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Political Parties and Democratic Challenges in Africa

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Biography

Zainab Olaitan is a PhD candidate at the University of Pretoria where she studied for her master's degree as a 2019 Mastercard foundation scholar. She is presently researching on the impact of gender quotas the substantive representation of women in Africa. She obtained her first degree in Bachelor of Science (Hons) in Political Science with First class from the University of Lagos. Zainab completed her second degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics Honors from the University of Cape Town as a 2018 Mandela Rhodes scholars. She is keenly interested in contributing to research on, political thought, African politics, conflict and peace studies, and representation.

Abstract

Political parties make democracy easy, as they help organize politics and make democracy responsive. They have been so romanticized that scholars have claimed that neither democracy nor democratic societies are thinkable without them. This is because political parties not only perform functions that are government related such as making government responsive, but they also serve mediatory role between the government and the electorate. The existence of a democratic state is therefore hinged on the operationality of parties. Moreover, the survival of a country's democracy is partly dependent on the ability of the political parties to recruit people into party and elective offices, aggregate, and articulate interest, and integrate the people. Democracies are built on different institutions that aid in its strengthening yet are still faced with challenges that hinders their consolidation which is evident across different countries. Every democracy is bedeviled with certain challenges that threaten its existence, ranging from election violence, corruption, inefficiency to political apathy. These challenges thus place the burden on institutions such as political parties to resolve resting on their role as custodians of democracy. What role do parties play in the consolidation of democracy? How do parties navigate themselves in democratic challenges? This article intends first, to assess the extent to which parties have contributed to the consolidation of democracy in Africa which is a fundamental task. Second, to investigate how parties navigate themselves when faced with challenges that threaten the continued existence of democracy.

Violence and Insecurity: A Threat to Liberal Democracy and National Development

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Biography

My name is Comfort Oluwaseun Oluwagbemi from Nigeria, I am a lecturer in the department of Political Science, Tai Solarin College of Education, Omu-Ijebu, Ogun State, Nigeria. I am passionate about education. My area of research interests are; human security, politics, suicidal ideation among the youths, women and the girl child. I always desire to add more to my knowledge, learn new things and meeting new people. I am open minded to new ideas, and I hope this conference will add value to me as I look forward to being part. Thank you.

Abstract

Violence and insecurity has become a threat to liberal democracy and national development in Nigerian fourth republic. In recent times violence (political, socio- ethnic, religious,) has become a major characteristic of Nigeria politics .Nigeria at all levels is faced with challenges such as corruption, insecurity, poor health system, unemployment, bad infrastructure and true liberalism, development and progress cannot thrive at the presence of these challenges .Nigeria, which is a democratic country could not guarantee the protection of lives and properties of her citizens and protect their fundamental human right. Some features of liberal democracy such as the rule of law, equality, accountability, and human rights which are necessary element for democracy has been disregarded, this led to a state of lawlessness and anarchy as top government officials and some criminals commit crimes and go scot free without being punished, as the situation can be likened to George Orwell's Animal Farm," All animals are equal but some are more equal than others". This paper examines how violence and insecurity has become a threat to liberal democracy and national development in Nigeria. The study adopted a descriptive approach but relied on secondary data sources It found that political violence and insecurity can cause division among the various tribes in the country and can also hamper development. It concludes by recommending ways to curb violence and insecurity in Nigeria among which are providing employment for youth, organizing programmes on conflict prevention and management, emotional intelligence and also includes it in school curriculum from primary to university.

Political Institutions as Agents of Social Contract Collapse in Nigeria

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Biography

Ebenezer Oluwole Oni is a scholar with research interests in democratic governance, electoral studies, ethnic studies, public policy/administration and development studies. He is the editor (with two other colleagues) of *Democratic Practice and Governance in Nigeria* (Routledge, 2020) and his articles have appeared in reputable journals across the globe. Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi researches into Politics of National integration in Nigeria, Federalism and Terrorism. He is the editor (with two other colleagues) of *Boko Haram's Terrorism and the Nigerian state* (Springer, 2019) and his articles have appeared in reputable journals across the globe.

Abstract

Political institutions are important tools for managing the relationship between the state and the society. The State and its subjects depend on the institutions for the enhancement of the social contract which binds them together and thus reflects the expectations of the state behaving in manners that represent citizens' interests, respond to their needs and respect their rights while at the same time drives the citizens towards exercising their duties to the state. Anchored on state fragility theory as its analytical framework, this study examines how political institutions are predisposed into facilitating the weakness and/or collapse of the social contract in Nigeria. With data collected from documentary sources, the methodology of research is qualitative while data analysis is descriptive using thematic content analysis. The study concludes that political institutions of governance must be managed by conscientious leaders and structured in a way that mitigates abuses against them in order to enhance their efficiency.

A Matter of Life and Death? State Power and Control of the Body in a Pandemic Era in the Light of Foucault's Concept of Biography-Politics

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Abstract

The raging COVID19 pandemic saw the declaration of state of national disaster in many countries which meant that the countries were literally shut down and there were several restrictions on human activities. The lockdowns in effect had major impacts on the socio-economic life of people with many sectors in the countries being dissatisfied and actually challenged governments' use of power in delimiting people's social and economic life because of the pandemic. The situation has hence brought into the fore a revived interest in the interrogation of the nexus between state power and control of freedom of citizens. Notably, by extension the control of citizen's freedom means the control of the human body through several restrictive acts, like maintaining social distancing and other hygiene protocols envisaged to assist in containing the spread of the pandemic. The issue has also brought into focus Foucault's analysis of power and rule in modern and postmodern societies centring on the concept of Biography-power/Biography-politics. Considering the centrality of citizen's constitutional right to certain freedoms including that of bodily integrity, there is need to interrogate the limits of state power in the idea of Biography-politics. The study is qualitative desktop based and adopts Foucault's concept of Biography-power to interrogate the following questions: What are the limits of state power and should it be acceptable that governments engage in Biography-politics in contemporary constitutional democracies? How can we justify the re-emergence of Biography-politics in the light of the COVID 19 pandemic? Ultimately, the article is an attempt to contribute to the discourse on how political theorizing incorporates human embodiment.

South Africa's Response to COVID-19: Realities and challenges of the vaccination roll out process

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Biography

Dr Hlengiwe Phetha is a Political Science and International Relations with a keen interest on international relations, youth development, gender based, corruption and ICT. She has researched extensively on peace, peacekeeping and conflict resolution. She has also undertaken research on South Africa's foreign policy, access to education, employment and unemployment. Currently, she is conducting a study on young women in the work place. She holds a PhD in International Relations, Political Science: A comparative analysis of South Africa's foreign policy on the Central African Republic and Nigeria since 1994, BSoc Science (Hons), MSoc Science in Political Science and BA. She is currently a Post-doctoral student at the University of Johannesburg. She also worked as a Lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. She has worked as a research Intern at Mzala Nxumalo Centre's public events. She was also a Political Science Intern in the office of the MEC, Health Department in KwaZulu-Natal. She has held various administrative portfolios from a Tutor, to Usher, Mentor, Administrator and Residence Assistant Manager at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Abstract

The paper provides a critical analysis of the South African government's economic response to the COVID-19 crisis and the current roll out of vaccinations in South Africa. The paper critically analyses publicly available data on . South Africa, as the rest of the African continent prepared to receive covid-19 by setting up national strategic committees to facilitate the smooth distribution of the vaccination. Despite being one of the first African committee to receive the vaccination, the question of effective roll out is still debatable. The paper seeks to navigate, discuss and justify the devise strategies that promote community understanding and limit vaccination misinformation. The findings project that an effective and protected vaccine must be delivered immediately and broadly to the nation as soon as it is available to reduce morbidity and mortality from COVID-19. However, the mere accessibility of a vaccine is not enough to secure extensive immunological security; the vaccine must be accepted by the health sector and the general masses in the country. Vaccine uncertainty is a primary impediment to vaccine acceptance and the achievement of people's immunity, which is mandatory to protect the marginalised populations in the country. The paper concludes that various strategic efforts made by South Africa government to deal with the disease and the roll out of vaccination in responding to Covid-19 remains a major challenge. It then recommends that there should be a coordinated approach by both government and stakeholders to ensure effective distribution and reduce the COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy in the country.

Democracy Disconnected: Neighbourhood struggles over a toll road in Hout Bay, Cape Town

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Biography

Laurence Piper is a Political Scientist at the University of the Western Cape interested in urban governance, democracy, and informality in South Africa and comparatively. His latest book is 'Democracy Disconnected: Participation and Governance in a City of the South' , Routledge, 2019, with Dr Fiona Anciano. He is the previous President of the South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS) 2016-8.

Abstract

The article explores the promise of local democracy to empower city dwellers in the neighbourhoods or residential areas where they live. We argue that this promise is one that, generally speaking, is difficult to keep at the neighbourhood level. This is because of (i) representational and participatory disconnects of local place from formal democratic systems, and (ii) the impact of neo-liberal policy and structural limitations, which decentre power from the state altogether. Illustrated through a case-study of the tolling of Chapman's Peak Drive in Hout Bay Cape Town, we show how provincial politicians and national business leaders steamrolled through the privatisation of the iconic road in Hout Bay. This outcome was achieved against the will of most residents, and through the use of a Public-Private Partnership to 'contract out' the governance of Chapman's Peak Drive from government to a private company. Notably, while local resistance ultimately failed to stop the tolling, it did prompt the re-negotiating of the contract between government and business in terms that were more favourable to the public. Perhaps with better timed and more prepared mediation, residents might have had even greater impact on the new contract. In sum, democratic institutions and the power to make the city remain disconnected from residential control at the neighbourhood level, and require informal representation – or mediation – to bridge.

The path to judgement: Turner and the 'theoretical attitude'

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Biography

Laurence Piper is a Political Scientist at the University of the Western Cape interested in urban governance, democracy, and informality in South Africa and comparatively. His latest book is 'Democracy Disconnected: Participation and Governance in a City of the South' , Routledge, 2019, with Dr Fiona Anciano. He is the previous President of the South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS) 2016-8.

Abstract

The rise of neo-liberalism has pressurised the higher education sector globally to become more integrated in market relations rather than just relying on state funding. This commodification process is one that has impacted on the kinds of knowledge taught at University, with the traditional emphasis on 'episteme' or abstract knowledge becoming increasingly rivalled by growing forms of 'techne' or applied knowledge (Aristotle 2014). One manifestation of this shift is the greater emphasis on practice-based or work-based learning in post-school education, and the spread of this approach from vocational to professional disciplines, and even to traditional humanities disciplines like Political Studies.

At the same time as affirming the value of learning in the workplace, I want to defend the importance of abstract knowledge in Political Studies, but especially the capacity of students to develop judgement about the nature, value and utility of both abstract and applied knowledge. Here judgement is understood as a kind of meta-knowledge that is developed through both through classroom teaching and in real-world application. In the EOTN Richard Turner offers some resources to this end by advocating for (i) the need for all citizens to learn a 'theoretical attitude' towards social convention, (ii) and the importance of both the school and the workplace as sites of learning. However, there remain significant gaps in his Turner's account both (iii) in respect of how the theoretical attitude is to be learned in his alternative model of schooling and through participation in the workplace, and (iv) the notable silence on the role of the university or post-secondary education in developing the 'theoretical attitude'. Thus while Turner is a helpful starting point in rethinking the role of the University in a way that defends the place of abstract knowledge and advocates for judgement, he is not the destination.

Making a Case for Critical Electoral Violence Studies in Africa

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Biography

Giovanni Poggi is a lecturer in the Department of History and Political Studies at Nelson Mandela University. His foundation was in International Studies at Stellenbosch, but he migrated research interests as a postgraduate toward philosophy, ideology, and political economy. His MA dissertation, housed at Nelson Mandela University, contributed to the growing bank of knowledge on resource-related ethnic and ethno-religious conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. His current research efforts are centred on the alleviation of political and socio-economic exclusion on the African continent. Working toward his PhD, he is presently researching models of developmental political economy for sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa.

Abstract

The paper investigates instances in Africa where a case may be made for critical electoral violence studies (CEVS). The paper seeks to critically evaluate socio-economic aspects as a precondition to other types of violence besides terrorism. One such phenomena that has occurred habitually in the last decade in Africa, has been electoral violence. This can be seen in states such as Burundi, Angola, Tanzania, Nigeria and most recently Uganda to name only a few. As African incumbents attempt to continue to tighten their respective strangleholds on power, we take an alternative view to the norm of assessing the electoral violence as it happens in of itself. The CEVS approach proposed, attempts to expose the socio-political and socio-economic preconditions that eventually lead to electoral violence occurring in African states. Through qualitative systematic review of the existing literature and data on African democracies, the paper suggests that there are multiple variables that contribute to electoral violence, which coalesce to form a critical understanding beyond linear arguments.

The crisis of democracy's effectiveness and legitimacy in contemporary Africa governance

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Biography

I am a farm boy with a passion for political science. I live and work on a farm in Ficksburg. I graduated with a BA (Political Science & Philosophy) degree in 2019at UFS. In 2020 I completed my BA(Hons)(Philosophy)(cum laude) degree at the same institution. In 2021 I registered for my MA(Political Science) degree at UFS.

Abstract

The democratization of sub-Saharan Africa was touted as the movement which would emancipate Africans from the subjugation from totalitarian rule, be it from their colonial masters or repressive authoritarian governments. The wave of democratic elections in sub-Saharan Africa -starting with Botswana's liberation from the United Kingdom in 1966 and continuing through to the creation of the youngest state in Africa, South Sudan, in 2011- was (and still is) celebrated as an ideological reconceptualization of politics in Africa, which reconstituted the power of governance and the function of the executive branch from the 'rule of law' to the 'rule by law'. However, in recent times, democracy seems to be in steep decline throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The covid-19 pandemic, as the most recent challenge to democratic institutions in Africa, has yet again highlighted the fact that African democracies have not yet reached the status of modern liberal democracies and are arguably still patrimonial states. Thus, the main challenge in contemporary Africa is not necessarily the fact that the western democratic model has failed, but that African democracies are in their infancy and are yet to reach the level of maturity that we see elsewhere in the world. As such, democracy in Africa is not necessarily in a unique position, since nearly all modern democracies have progressed through this patrimonial phase. Some might even be entering a state of re-patrimonialisation.

The Economic Freedom Fighters of South Africa: What Do They Stand For and Who Votes for Them?

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Biography

Gary Prevost is Research Associate and Honorary Professor in the Department of History and Political Studies at Nelson Mandela University and Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the College of St. Benedict and St. John's University (USA). His research on South African politics has focused on the political attitudes of contemporary university students, the evolution of the African National Congress, the rise of the Economic Freedom Fighters, and political attitudes of township residents in Nelson Mandela Bay.

Abstract

The Economic Freedom Fighters have emerged as a major force in South African politics during the past six years but very few scholarly studies have been published analyzing its ideology, strategy, and tactics and who is voting for the party and why. The authors argue that the EFF has emerged a serious challenger to the African National Congress (ANC) by positioning itself to the left of the ruling party with a set of ideas and policy proposals that emerged from the ANC Youth League when it was led by current EFF leader Julius Malema. Survey and exit polling data from the 2019 elections indicate that the EFF is gaining traction with younger black voters in the townships on issues of land and jobs and in the process has the potential to threaten the single party dominance of the ANC in future South African elections.

Travails of the 'new normal' in higher education: disadvantaged rural students experiences with online teaching and learning in the context of COVID-19

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Biography

Sbonelo Radebe is an Ad-hoc Lecturer of Politics at UKZN and an MA graduate there. His interests are on Democracy in Africa, Political Economy of Africa, South African political and intellectual history. His Ph.D study is on the intellectual life of Jordan Ngubane.

Abstract

This article explores the experiences of students from rural communities with online teaching and learning in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Under normal circumstances, first-year students from disadvantaged communities and schools in South Africa do find it difficult to adapt to university studies. On this, past studies have revealed that first-year students mostly suffer from using computers, and the language of learning and teaching at universities limits their ability to learn effectively. Under the global pandemic, this has proven to be extra trying, considering that online teaching and learning has become part of the "new normal"- a phrase coined to explain life in general in the light of the pandemic. The issue is, considering that students from rural and disadvantaged communities in the country in most cases do lack the skill and experience to use modern technologies required for online teaching and learning, how do they cope with the "new normal" – what is their general experiences of online teaching and learning in the era of the "new normal"? The study considers this as problematic and interrogates the issue further adopting the critical emancipatory approach framework which argues for social justice, empowerment, and social inclusion. Data for the study will be generated from questionnaires administered to 30 purposefully selected participants from disadvantaged backgrounds, who are first years at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Findings in the study will be geared towards making recommendations to relevant stakeholders towards informing policy and enhancing praxis in online teaching and learning which is becoming the prevalent strategy at higher education institutions in the era of the Covid 19 pandemic.

Understanding Black Economic Empowerment in the context of Redress in Africa

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Biography

Mpumezo Ralo is currently a PhD student at UNISA. He holds an Mphil in South Africa politics and political economy from Nelson Mandela University. He also received an Honours degree in anthropology and sociology at UWC and bachelor's degree from the same university. He co-published with Joleen Steyn-Kotze in 2014"Bitter Battles and Factionalism:Assessing the impact of the post-Polokwane political contestation in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality." He also published a chapter in the book 'Land Struggles, African Identity and the Politics of Restitution in District Six' and presented conference papers. He previously worked as a researcher at Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality and the University of the Western Cape. He occasionally contribute to local and national newspapers for political analysis.

Abstract

The apartheid government developed tapestry of legislations that prevented blacks South Africans in participating in the mainstream economy. After 1994 first democratic elections, ANC led government introduced black economic empowerment and litany of legislations aimed at undoing the legacy of apartheid. The main aim of the paper is to examine whether BEE policy responds policies, laws and practices, which created the legacy of apartheid. The paper will argue that that BEE has failed to change the lives of the ordinary people and property relations remains the same. The policy continues to benefit few black elites connected to the ruling party. The paper will also ask whether the change from black economic empowerment to broad based black economic empowerment empowerment was a paper revolution given the little impact it had on the previously disadvantaged racial groups.

The global sources of local party dominance: the NP, the ANC and the liberal international order

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Biography

He is a fellow of the Department of Political Science and adjunct professor at the Catholic University of Milan (UCSC). He is Associate fellow at the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) for the Africa Programme.

Abstract

When discussed in comparative perspective, the enduring dominance of the ANC has been often compared to the NP rule prior to 1994 and other dominant party hegemonies elsewhere in the world and explained by focusing on domestic (either socio-cultural or political) factors. The paper argues that the failure for the normative model of bi-party politics and alternation-in-office to take roots in the Southern African region could be better explained by looking at the cross-level coalitions and "hegemonic blocs" built within the framework of the Cold War and post-Cold War versions of the liberal international order. The fear that ethnic fragmentation and political instability could drive away international financial flows and the links of the local business sector, media and academia with the North Atlantic centers of the globalized economy help explain why the dominant role of radical-but-charterist "national parties" has found no real alternative since the 1990s.

Judicial Interventions: the consequences of the relationship between African States and the International Criminal Court for the liberal order.

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Biography

Maxine Rubin is a PhD candidate at the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies. Her research examines the relationship between African states and the International Criminal Court. She was awarded the Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Fellowship for Dissertation Proposal Development (2017), the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust Merit Scholarship (2019-2020), and Vice Chancellor's Research Scholarship (2019-2020) for her doctoral studies. She completed her MA in Post-War Recovery Studies at the University of York (2013-2014), for which she was awarded the Commonwealth Scholarship. Maxine has worked as a human rights researcher, with a focus in transitional justice, post-conflict justice, gender justice, and international relations. Maxine is the assistant editor for the South African Journal of International Affairs.

Abstract

The state is the main (although not sole) interlocutor between its citizens and global governance institutions. The International Criminal Court (ICC) is the only permanent global court that presides over crimes against humanity, genocide, war crimes, and crimes of aggression. The call by some African states for the withdrawal of African State Parties from the ICC is a window into state behaviours in relation to international justice and politics within the liberal order. This paper explores three themes within ICC-African relations. First, it shows how the political and scholarly debate that has examined the ICC's relationship with African states illustrates how undemocratic global governance structures, such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), undermines liberal values such as rule of law and equality. This has been highlighted through the critiques of the UNSC referral of cases such as Darfur and Libya (and lack of referral of Syria) to the ICC. Second, the UNSC's referral powers and the ICC's use of self-initiated investigations (proprio motu) have been met with accusations by some leaders of neo-imperialism. This illustrates how interventions, military or judicial, are intimately linked with the history of colonialism on the continent – inter alia, politically, emotionally, and materially. Third, the voluntary use of the ICC by African leaders such as Uganda's Museveni and Côte d'Ivoire's Ouattara to target political opponents suggests that the ICC can be manipulated as a tool of lawfare while remaining within the limits of international law. The opportunistic collaborations between African statesmen and the ICC – which are mutually beneficial – are a cause of concern about how international law and politics can come together to undercut liberal order. Cumulatively, this paper shows how the ICC's relationship with African states illustrates deep tensions and contradictions that have been embedded in the global governance system that jeopardise cornerstones of the liberal order, such as democracy and rule of law.

SAAPS South African Association of Political Studies

The role of women in a post-Western world?

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Biography

I am a Masters candidate from the Political Studies Department at Wits University. I have also worked as a Sessional Lecturer in the department. I am an aspiring academic under the tutelage of countless academics who came before me. While my passion has always been to pursue studies employing methodologies inspired by arguments within Feminist Theory, I have much to explore within the various schools of thought.

Abstract

As a starting point, it is important to acknowledge the role of women in state politics. Due to prescribed traditional gender roles, women's contributions have historically been hidden or overshadowed by patriarchy. This paper proposes to present on the inquiry into the role women would have in a post-Western world; that is, the recognised contributions women would make in creating institutions and norms which go beyond what is known as Western. This is important because the world is rapidly changing, and the West has been experiencing a decline since the 2008 Recession. Insofar as the economy, the rule of law, liberal democracy etc. are concerned, the study proposes to find out where women would feature and lead. It will further look at the reimagining of the flow of power globally; as well as the reimagining of norms to be built – through a gendered lens. Thus, this would contribute to the conference as the theme is about rethinking politics in a time of crisis. This paper and many others that will be presented may foster the emergence of an alternative to fill the void; what the world needs is a framework that is flexible and applicable to most contexts. Moreover, the framework ought to bring about the creation of new institutions which are inclusive of those who were previously disadvantaged and marginalised.

SAAPS South African Association of Political Studies

Christianisation of political discourse in South Africa through the lens of Mboweni

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Biography

Kgothatso Shai is Professor of Political Studies at the University of Limpopo

Abstract

Tito Mboweni has been serving as the Minister of Treasury in South Africa since October 2018, following the un-ceremonial resignation of his predecessor (Nhlahla Nene). While Mboweni is not the member of the influential National Executive Committee (NEC) of the governing African National Congress (ANC), he is generally seen as one of President Cyril Ramaphosa's powerful ministers who has established himself as a disciplinarian and independent economic thinker. Unlike his post-1994 predecessors, Mboweni's budget speeches as the Minister of Treasury have drawn heavily from biblical scriptures. It is argued that this tendency has the potential to incorrectly affirm Christianity as the only moral barometer available to the current South African government. We argue that Christian ethos are not at the heart of the ANC-led government. But they are abused in this context to achieve short term political goals. Against this setback, this paper grapples with the following two central questions: (1) Is Mboweni's political rhetoric a manifestation of Christianisation? (2) To What extent is Mboweni's political-theological rhetoric a useful instrument of the ANC government's 'soft power'? To answer these questions, we draw from the fusion of the Afrocentric theory and interdisciplinary discourse analysis in its broadest form.

Pan-Africanism, Economic Integration and Development: To what extent is the African Continental Free Trade Area's implementation a breakthrough in advancing cooperation and prosperity?

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Biography

I am a 28 year-old PhD (International Relations) student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I hail from Qumbu near Mthatha in the Eastern Cape. I have been with UKZN for 8 years as a humanities student. My research interests are regionalism, economic development, democracy, African politics, conflict resolution and diplomacy.

Abstract

Many optimists and advocates of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which came to fruition in 2019, regard it as one of the most significant continental milestones since the decolonisation and the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in the 1960s. In light of the importance of creating a viable single market in which there is a free flow of goods, services and factors of production, and conducive space for greater competition and shared prosperity, the African Union intends to use the new free trade area as a pathway to a more ideal economic and political future for Africa. The paper explores the current challenges to the success of the agreement, especially in areas like security, regulations, infrastructure and identities, and how the strength of resolve in the private sector can boost efforts to solve them. It highlights that deft handling of current challenges will determine the extent to which this continental endeavour's implementation paves the way for the realisation of the broader pan-Africanist vision. Spurring socio-economic development, structural transformation, industrialisation and competitiveness, and preparing Africa for the future customs union and monetary union depends on how well the challenges are tackled. The paper argues that since Africa's political actors have for decades showed very inadequate capability to implement well-timed solutions to grave problems, the viability and vibrancy of the AfCFTA depends significantly on the private sector's demonstration of cooperativeness, leadership and initiative. The business community's prudence and resolve to put pressure on Africa's political leaders and institutions to solve the many challenges that can damage the potential of businesses to leverage AfCFTA's existence and opportunities will propel the realisation of success and efficiency in the liberalised continental market.

The politics of impeachment in Africa: Experience of presidential removal in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

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Biography

Dr Neo Simutanyi is Executive Director at the Centre for Policy Dialogue based in Lusaka, Zambia. He had previously been Research Fellow and Lecturer at the Institute of Economic & Social Research and Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zambia. He has published extensively on party politics, constitutionalism, democratic reform, decentralization and electoral politics. His current research interests include illness and death in office of heads of state, informal protests, and ethnic political mobilization.

Abstract

The removal of a president from office is most uncommon in Africa. Research on presidentialism has long assumed that presidential impeachment is rare in Africa, especially made more difficult by constitutions designed to enhance political stability. But recent experience in Africa's new democracies suggests that more presidents have been targets of impeachment attempts than acknowledged by the literature. For example, in recent years there have been several impeachment attempts, including Uganda and Mauritius. But the removal of presidents by political institutions, such as parliaments has faced formidable challenges due to ruling party majorities, executive dictatorship and a subservient media. However, that notwithstanding, there is emerging evidence that opposition groups are increasingly demanding erring presidents to be removed from office and ruling parties either recalling their leaders or demanding them to resign. Literature on impeachment in the African context is remarkably thin. It is one of the most neglected subjects in political science scholarship, with less attention paid to the politics surrounding impeachment attempts and conditions that have led to the successful removal of unpopular leaders. This paper seeks to fill that gap by undertaking a critical review of impeachment experiences of three Southern African countries, Zambia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In one of the countries (Zambia) the opposition unsuccessfully tried to remove the president but was unsuccessful on account of a combination of ruling party majority in the legislature and executive manipulation. In the other two cases (South Africa and Zimbabwe), unwanted or unpopular presidents were removed not by the legislature, but by their own parties in response to opposition and public demands and informed by a desire to maintain political power.

Data must fall – the politics of mobile telecommunications tariffs in South Africa

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Biography

Ewan Sutherland is an independent telecommunications policy analyst. He has undertaken assignments in Asia, Southern Africa and Europe, for governments, infoDev, ITU and the OECD. He was Executive Director of the International Telecommunications Users Group (INTUG), between 1999 and 2005. He spent fifteen years as an academic, latterly as a dean at the University of Wales. He has taught at the Universities of Wolverhampton, Westminster, Stirling and Wales, plus semesters as visiting faculty at Georgetown University and GSTIT (Addis Ababa). From 2013 to 2019 he was a Visiting Adjunct Professor at the LINK Centre, Witwatersrand University.

Abstract

For three decades the government of South Africa has sought to make telecommunications universally available and affordable. In its last days, the National Party government agreed with the African National Congress (ANC) there should be licences for two competing international groups to build GSM mobile networks, with an independent regulator, implicitly adopting a regulatory state model. Vodacom and MTN launched post-paid services in 1994, then, greatly widening the market in 1996 with pre-paid. Government licensed a third operator in 2000 and a state-owned fourth operator in 2010, though neither had much effect on the market, because of weak regulation of entrenched operators. The high charges and limited extent of fixed networks meant most citizens relied on mobile communications, though cost excluded many intermittently and others permanently. Despite growing use of mobile broadband, pricing complaints became demands that #DataMustFall. The government pressed operators to cut mobile data prices and directed both the Competition Commission and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) to investigate and act. After three years the former identified discrimination against the poor and forced concessions from operators. After a decade of delays by a string of ministers, ICASA prepared to auction spectrum in 2020, to reduce operator costs and improve rural coverage, though most of the spectrum was designated for a novel and risky exclusively wholesale operator. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, spectrum was assigned temporarily to existing operators. Four years after recognition of the complaint, only the Competition Commission had delivered.

Norms, Values and Identities in Southern African Diplomacy: Understanding the Zimbabwean Conundrum

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Biography

Simon Taylor is a former senior Foreign Service officer at the South African Department of International Relations and Co-operation, and holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of St Andrews, Scotland, and an MSocSc from the University of Cape Town.

Abstract

For Southern Africa, many (if not all) states identify with the struggle against colonialism and white supremacy in the region. The long history of this struggle manifests as a value in sovereignty, especially negative or de jure sovereignty. This shared value results in a normative structure of a strict observance of non-interference in domestic affairs. This article provides an understanding for South Africa and SADC's diplomatic relationship with Zimbabwe. Utilising constructivism tools of identity and values of key SADC states, the normative structure of diplomacy in Southern Africa is elucidated. Furthermore, a constructivist lens provides an understanding why a human rights-based diplomacy is more difficult to achieve.

Does the Transition of Liberation Movements into Political Parties Guarantee Good Governance? Cases of ZANU-PF and the ANC

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Biography

Keaobaka Tsholo is a Master's candidate in History at the North West University, currently looking into the Bantustan of Bophuthatswana's participation at the transitional negotiations to a democratic South Africa. Keaobaka holds an honours degree in International Relations from which his paper accepted to be presented at this conference is derived from. Keaobaka also holds a Bachelor's degree in Political Science and International Relations (Cum Laude).

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the transition of liberation movements into political parties and whether that guarantees good governance or not. Since the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the Cold War in the 1990s, the international system seems to be pro-democracy. Africa as a continent has a history of colonialism, and at the dawn of independence in the 1960s and apartheid in 1994 many states became democratic states. Furthermore, the liberation struggle fought by many movements in Africa led to independence and 'decolonisation'. The emergence of these liberation movements was to emancipate and liberate their respective states so that oppressive systems such as imposed by the British and Afrikaner nationalists could come to an end. The transition of the former colonial states ensured that the movements which fought the liberation struggle turn into political parties. The study uses the cases of the Zimbabwe African National-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in Zimbabwe and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa to interrogate the transition into political parties and to examine if good governance has been achieved because of that. The study has found that the implications of former liberation movements turning into political parties has not been the intentions that were foreseen. With the neo-patrimonial theory, the study substantially examines if ZANU-PF and the ANC have been in accordance or going against the dynamics of good governance.

Radical contingency and Rick Turner's enduring message to relative privilege amid widespread precariousness and insecurity

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Biography

Gideon van Riet is a senior lecturer in Political Studies at North-West University in South Africa. His research interest is in critical security studies, with special interests in crime and disasters. He is the author of various peer-reviewed articles and first monograph, entitled *The institutionalisation of disaster risk reduction: South Africa and neoliberal governmentality* was published by Routledge in 2017. His second monograph *Hegemony, Security Infrastructures and the Politics of Crime: Everyday Experiences in South Africa* will be published also by Routledge in October 2021.

Abstract

This paper engages with Richard Turner's thought amid particular contemporary South African problematics of enduring, though reiterated, versions of insecurity and precariousness. The paper will bring Turner, as an existentialist, into conversation with specific post-structural works were published after his death. As such, the paper will also position Turner amongst a range of more widely known international theorists. The paper's main argument is that Turner's work, based on a sense of open-mindedness, should not be viewed as hostile to - or impotent in light of - contemporary struggles. Instead, his general method of critically engaging with relative privilege in aid of radical and social democracy remains valid, while there remains room for strategically privileging specific causes. The key, however, to addressing confusion and potential contradictions between essentialism and Marxist reification, and radical contingency, is that praxes are dynamic, result in collaboration across lines of division and aim to relieve pressing concerns, also as they morph. The theoretical argument outlined here will engage with the specific empirical example of crime. I will advocate for a version of social democracy. But, this is a social democracy that is open to considering modes of marginalisation beyond material inequality. It is also a social democracy that must be held accountable through strategic and dynamic alliances across historical fault lines, in lieu of a wanting party system and often dysfunctional invited democratic spaces.

Power and pathology in International Relations

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Biography

Prof Jo-Ansie van Wyk lectures International Politics in the Department of Political Sciences, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa.

Abstract

A 'pathological turn' may be emerging in the study of IR. For the purposes of this proposed paper, it is defined as the interest in and study of the pathology that underlies the behaviour of states and non-state actors. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to conduct a conceptual analysis of pathology before analysing selected examples of the manifesting and possible emerging pathology of selected actors.

The African Continental Free Trade Area: A new era for African Integration or another grandiose razzmatazz?

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Biography

Clayton Hazvinei Vhumbunu a Technical Officer in the Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM) within the Faculty of Humanities at Rhodes University, Grahamstown in South Africa. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Durban; South Africa. His areas of research focus are on International Relations, Regional Integration, Public Governance, Conflict Transformation and China-Africa Relations.

Abstract

The African regional integration journey has been long and arduous, dating back to years before the formation of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in 1963. The Abuja Treaty of 1991, which African member states agreed to pursue regional integration in six stages over a 34-year period, envisages the establishment of a Continental Free Trade Area and a Customs Union in each of the eight Regional Economic Communities recognized by the African Union by 2017. Indeed, the signing of the Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) by 44 African countries on 21 March 2018 in Kigali may be viewed as a sign of progress towards achieving set continental integration targets. The AfCFTA continues to be celebrated as a game-changer in African regional integration, with empirical studies by the Economic Commission for Africa having established that the AfCFTA – covering 54 member states with a combined 1,2 billion people (expected to reach 2,5 billion by 2050) and making up US$2,5 trillion Gross Domestic Product (GDP) - will increase the value of intra-African trade by between 15 percent (US$50 billion) and 25 percent (US$70 billion) in 2040 compared to a situation with no AfCFTA in place. However, given the expectations from member states that will make the AfCFTA achieve intended objectives of deepening regional integration, boosting industrialization, increasing intra-African trade, creating regional value chains, and creating employment; there may be need to critically examine whether the AfCFTA indeed signals a new era for African Integration or is another grandiose razzmatazz. This paper therefore pursues this critical question, utilizing secondary data sources. The concepts of regional integration and political economy of regional integration provide a conceptual framework of analysis. Findings of the study assist to identify key issues that may need to be considered to make the AfCFTA deliver its intended objectives.

Alfred Nzo: Reassessing a Misunderstood Minister

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Biography

Christopher Williams is a postdoctoral research fellow and adjunct lecturer in the International Relations Department at the University of the Witwatersrand. He holds an M.A. in Security Studies from Georgetown University, and a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. In 2018 Christopher was a Bradlow Fellow at The South African Institute of International Affairs. His work has been published in *African Studies, African Security*, the *South African Journal of International Affairs* and the *South African Historical Journal.*

Abstract

Alfred Nzo served as the newly democratic South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1994 and 1999. His tenure was widely criticised. Nzo was described as ineffectual and inert by the media, opposition parties and even by some within his own African National Congress. These criticisms have been unquestioningly absorbed by historians and foreign policy scholars, and now constitute a cornerstone of the conventional wisdom regarding the Mandela Administration's foreign policy. This article draws on a range of interviews with officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs to provide an alternative portrait of the Foreign Minister. While rarely animated, many DFA officials recall Nzo as accessible and closely attuned to the critical international issues confronting South Africa. The article concludes by considering the methodological missteps that contributed to misunderstanding Nzo, and reflects on the difficulties of personality-driven political analysis.

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Assessing the Glocal Nature of Regionalism through a Metagovernance Approach

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Biography

Dr Eric Yankson is a Senior Lecturer and the Associate Dean for Research and Innovation in the Faculty of Natural Resources and Spatial Sciences at the Namibia University of Science and Technology. His research interests encompass the role of globalisation in shaping regional governance, particularly at the sub-national level. He also examines the political economy of participatory urban planning and development, particularly in the Global South. Dr Yankson is a member of the African Paradiplomacy Network, the Global Center of Special Methods for Urban Sustainability and the International Network for Transport and Accessibility in Low Income Communities.

Abstract

In the Global South, analysis of the glocal nature of regionalism is epitomised by a notable lacuna. With specific reference to sub-Saharan Africa, the dearth is evident in terms of the inter-jurisdictional and multi-scalar nature of the concept. This paper thus seeks to bridge the gap by propounding a metagovernance framework for unpacking the glocal essence of regionalism. The proposed model premised on the territory place scale networks (TPSN) schema evinces regional governance as an idiosyncratic political economic construction in the global era. It distills regionalism in the global era as a duality comprising of networks and bureaucracy, deterritorialisation and territorialisation, as well as downward and upward rescaling. Based on a case study of Accra in Ghana, the proposed framework reveals the glocal nature of regionalism in an African city characterised by political centralisation. It observes that this may be underpinned by the state-centric school which defines metagovernance as the government of governance.