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South Africa's SAFARI

From nuclear weapons to nuclear medicine

Since the verification of the termination of its nuclear weapons programme and the dismantling of its nuclear devices and facilities, South Africa has succeeded in converting its defensive nuclear posture to the employment of nuclear energy for peaceful uses, such as power generation and nuclear medicine. In respect of the latter, South Africa has skilfully crafted a global niche for itself. Building on its nuclear expertise, South Africa has become one of the world's leading producers of medical isotopes – an under-researched area in South Africa's nuclear and economic diplomacy – which are used in a variety of medical diagnostic and therapeutic procedures.

Moreover, South Africa has succeeded in producing these isotopes from low-enriched, rather than highly enriched uranium; adding further credence to its nuclear non-proliferation commitments. By converting its nuclear reactor, SAFARI-1, to produce and supply medical isotopes, South Africa has gained numerous material and non-material gains, ranging from foreign exchange to status and prestige.

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In Africa, South Africa is the first country to own and operate a nuclear reactor and a nuclear power station. It is also the first African country to acquire a nuclear weapons programme that produced nuclear devices. The South African government owns and operates three nuclear reactors, namely, a research reactor SAFARI-1 and two nuclear power reactors, Koeberg 1 and Koeberg 2. The latter have been operational since 1984 and 1985 respectively. More recently, South Africa has become Africa's leader in nuclear medicine and the use of radioactive material to, inter alia, protect the continent's water resources and food safety. How and why did this nuclear defensive country change its focus from nuclear weapons to the peaceful use of nuclear energy?

The termination and dismantlement of South Africa's nuclear weapons and weapons installations was verified as complete by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1993. This brought an end to decades of denial by the South African government of the existence and extent of the nuclear weapons programme. Coinciding with the end of the Cold War proxy wars in Southern Africa and South Africa's internal democratic transition, the termination of the nuclear weapons

programme occurred at a significant period in South Africa's history, that is, a period of a commitment to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy as enshrined in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) which South Africa acceded to in 1991.

With its stated commitment to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, South Africa realigned its nuclear infrastructure, and nuclear diplomacy, accordingly. One area in which post-apartheid and post-nuclear weapons South Africa succeeded significantly, is in the field of nuclear medicine. In this medical field, radioactive material, in particular medical isotopes, is used for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes, to image the heart, brain and skeleton, and to diagnose and treat medical conditions such as cancer, arthritis, liver, tumours and lung conditions.¹ The isotope Molybdenum-99 (Mo-99 or ⁹⁹Mo) is the most commonly used isotope of approximately 1 800 radioisotopes. Of these 1 800, up to 200 radioisotopes are used regularly and most must be produced artificially. With a half-life of only 66 hours, Mo-99 is used as the 'parent' in a generator to produce another medical isotope, technetium-99m.

The importance of nuclear medicine to global human health and, thus, human development is illustrated by the extent of its application. In the United States (US), for example, 18 million nuclear medicine procedures are conducted on 311 million people annually. In Europe, about 10 million procedures among 500 million people are conducted annually. With the use of radiopharmaceuticals in diagnosis growing at over 10% annually and a recent global isotope shortage, the supply and demand of these resources have become a major trading commodity between countries; especially in the case of South Africa.² Above all, the Mo-99 market is worth

about US\$5 billion per year.³ During the 2009 to 2010 isotope supply crisis, South Africa was able to supply 25 per cent of the global supply of Mo-99.⁴ Therefore, the purpose of this article is to focus on a particular – and under-researched – aspect of South Africa's post-apartheid nuclear and diplomacy, that is, the country's position in the international political economy of medical isotopes until 2012. The aim is also to establish South Africa's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy as envisaged in the NPT.

Origins and Development of Nuclear Science in South Africa

The origins of South Africa's atomic and nuclear science and diplomacy date back to the period prior to the outbreak of the Second World War when the prime minister of the United Kingdom (UK), Winston Churchill, requested the then South African prime minister, Jan Smuts, to conduct a geological survey of South Africa's uranium resources in order for the UK to secure uranium for its own nuclear programme. Donald Sole, a South African diplomat at the time, explained in his memoirs that the 'genesis of South Africa's atomic energy policy' could be traced back to a meeting in May 1944 between South Africa's prime minister, General Jan Smuts, and the Danish nuclear scientist Niels Bohr.⁵ After the end of the Second World War, South Africa became a founding member of the multilateral IAEA created under the auspices of the United Nations (UN). In 1948, South Africa established the Atomic Energy Board (AEB), the forerunner of the Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC), currently known as the Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa (NECSA).

The origins of nuclear medicine in South Africa can be traced back to 27 July 1948

when the country first imported radioisotopes. This was followed in 1952 when the Pretoria General Hospital (now the Steve Biko Academic Hospital) bought a sodium iodide counter. The National Conference on Nuclear Energy: Application of Isotopes and Radiation, which took place in Pretoria in 1963, provided additional impetus for the development of radiotherapy as an established medical discipline in South Africa.⁶ This was followed by the installation of the first rectilinear scanner at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in 1964. Another milestone was the commissioning of SAFARI-1 in 1965 which introduced the country's radioisotope production programme (which was expanded into the Isotope Production Centre on 18 March 1981). In 1969, a gamma camera was installed at the Pretoria General Hospital. This resulted in the development of nuclear medicine as a specialisation separate from radiology. The South African Society of Nuclear Medicine (SASN), which was established in 1974, is the oldest such institution in Africa. Currently, seven of the country's teaching hospitals have a Department of Nuclear Medicine and the specialisation is practised in private hospitals.⁷

In 1957, South Africa's nuclear science and nuclear diplomacy developed under the aegis of the IAEA's Atoms for Peace programme. This was the result of the South African government's bilateral nuclear collaboration agreement with the US, the US–South African Agreement for Co-operation. This resulted in South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear research reactor, the South African Fundamental Atomic Research Installation (SAFARI-1), and an assured supply of highly enriched uranium (HEU) fuel for the reactor.⁸

Between 1969 and 1979, all research and development on South African nuclear explosive devices was undertaken by the AEB. In

1979, this responsibility was transferred to the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armcor), which operated from its so-called Circle facilities, 15 kilometres from Pelindaba (west of Pretoria) where the AEC was located. The AEC, however, remained responsible for the production and supply of HEU and for theoretical and development studies on nuclear weapons technology.⁹

Initiated in 1960 as a 20 megawatt (MW) tank-in-pool type light water reactor and inaugurated by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in 1965, the SAFARI-1 nuclear reactor was the first nuclear reactor on the African continent. By the 1970s, South Africa's international isolation and domestic instability increased due to the global condemnation of and domestic opposition to its policy of apartheid.¹⁰ As a result the country's nuclear diplomacy entered a new stage. This included UN sanctions against South Africa, its suspension from the IAEA Board of Governors and secret nuclear-related bilateral relations with declared nuclear weapons states (NWS), including the US, the UK, France and Israel. In 1976 an international embargo was instituted against the supply of nuclear fuel to SAFARI-1. This did not deter the South African government from using SAFARI-1 to commence with uranium enrichment, inter alia, for its nuclear weapons programme.¹¹

Although South Africa's nuclear explosives programme was 'officially still aimed at peaceful uses until about 1977 ... the emphasis changed officially to a strategic deterrent capability'.¹² As an adjunct of this shift, in April 1978 Prime Minister John Vorster approved a three-phase nuclear deterrent strategy for South Africa. More pertinent were the results of the South African nuclear weapons programme that underpinned the deterrent strategy. The first South African 'device' was completed in 1978 with more 'devices' completed at an

'orderly pace of less than one per year'.¹³ The first aircraft-deliverable vehicle was completed in 1982. Eventually, six 'nuclear devices' were produced.¹⁴ By the end of the 1980s, the Cold War had ended and, with it, the Soviet Union's involvement in African conflicts and support of national liberation movements on the continent. Consequently, efforts to find a lasting solution to the conflicts in Southern and South Africa increased.

Atoms and the South African Transition

Subsequent to his election as South African president on 14 September 1989, FW de Klerk 'instructed that an investigation be carried out to dismantle the nuclear deterrent completely with the aim of acceding to the NPT as a state without a nuclear weapons capability'.¹⁵ A first report on the matter was submitted to President De Klerk in November 1989 and he subsequently appointed an Experts Committee under the chairmanship of Professor Wynand Mouton, a nuclear physicist, to outline procedures for dismantling and destroying South Africa's 'nuclear devices'.¹⁶ These developments paved the way for a new phase in South Africa's nuclear diplomacy and for South Africa's greater involvement in nuclear export regimes.

In early 1990, the De Klerk government decided that

... all the nuclear devices should be dismantled and destroyed; all the nuclear material in Armscor's possession be recast and returned to the AEC where it should be stored according to internationally accepted measures; Armscor's facilities should be decontaminated and be used only for non-nuclear commercial purposes; after which South Africa should accede to

the Non-Proliferation Treaty, thereby submitting all its nuclear materials and facilities to international safeguards.¹⁷

An immediate task of the South African government after the 1989 decision to terminate the nuclear weapons programme was to decommission several nuclear weapons facilities in preparation for inspections by the IAEA whilst maintaining the safety and security of the country's nuclear weapons equipment and stocks of HEU. More importantly, South Africa had to convince the international community of the sincerity of its intentions regarding nuclear non-proliferation. Apart from these developments, South Africa was also in the early phases of its political transition to democratic rule.

On 2 February 1990, President De Klerk announced that his government had unbanned the African National Congress (ANC) and other liberation movements, and would release Nelson Mandela (on 12 February 1990) and other political prisoners. These events ushered in a new political and diplomatic era for the country. Of particular importance was De Klerk's announcement that South Africa would suspend its nuclear weapons programme which paved the way for the country's accession to the NPT in 1991.

On 24 March 1993, President FW de Klerk announced the extent of South Africa's nuclear weapons programme to the South African Parliament. The decision set in motion not only speculation about the 'voluntary' nature of South Africa's intention to dismantle its nuclear weapons programme, but also the public announcement of the scope of this nuclear weapons programme. Barely a month later 26 South African parties established the Multi-party Negotiating Forum which subsequently adopted the constitutional principles that formed

the foundation of the South African Interim Constitution and initiated the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to prepare the country for its first inclusive democratic elections in April 1994. This resulted in the establishment of a Government of National Unity (GNU) under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the President of the ANC.¹⁸ Apart from including the dismantling of its nuclear weapons programme, the post-1990 period has been most dynamic in terms of South Africa's international relations and diplomacy. During this period it established numerous bilateral relations; acceded to the NPT in 1991; and joined or re-joined several nuclear-related organisations, including the IAEA. These developments resulted in the termination of sanctions and embargoes against South Africa, ended the country's global isolation and resulted in changes in its nuclear-related relations. In the so-called 'Completeness Report' by the Director General of the IAEA to the Agency's General Conference (GC) on 9 September 1993, the Agency referred to the 'destruction of equipment used in the development and making of the nuclear weapons' and to the 'termination of the programme'.¹⁹

In 1993, prior to the 1994 democratic elections the South African government commenced the alignment of the country's international nuclear non-proliferation position with its domestic legislation. The promulgation of the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction Act 87 of 1993, as amended in 1995 and 1996, on 23 June 1993 was not only one of the last nuclear-related policy actions of the NP government under President FW de Klerk but, in its amended form, was one of the first nuclear-related policy actions of the President Nelson Mandela-led GNU in South Africa. South Africa thus became one of a few countries to have terminated its nuclear weapons programme – others being Brazil and Libya.

Atoms and the ANC

Prior to 1990, an active pro-ANC anti-nuclear civil society movement operated outside the country, especially in the UK and at the UN under the leadership of Abdul Minty, who later became South Africa's diplomatic representative at the IAEA.²⁰

The development of domestic nuclear non-proliferation export controls in South Africa has occurred in tandem with South Africa's diplomatic initiatives and legal commitments to nuclear non-proliferation since 1990. Writing prior to the institution of the GNU in his now oft-quoted article in *Foreign Affairs*, Nelson Mandela outlined the 'pillars' of South Africa's post-1994 foreign policy, which included human rights; the promotion of democracy worldwide; global peace 'including effective arms-control regimes'; a focus on Africa; and economic development based on international cooperation.²¹

Speaking at the Conference on Nuclear Policy for a Democratic South Africa in February 1994 (a few months prior to the ANC's accession to power), Trevor Manuel stated:

We [the ANC] need to state unambiguously that the African National Congress does not want a nuclear weapons capability in South Africa. We have endorsed the OAU [Organisation of African Unity] declaration calling for the African continent to be a nuclear weapon-free-zone. The ANC has also endorsed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.²²

Years later, Manuel's view was confirmed by South Africa's second post-1994 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who admitted that the ANC government

at that early stage [1994] already adopted a policy whereby South Africa should be an

active participant in the various non-proliferation regimes and suppliers groups; adopt positions publicly supporting the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction with the goal of promoting international peace and security; and use its position as a member of the suppliers' regimes and of the Africa Group and the Non-aligned Movement to promote the importance of non-proliferation and to ensure that these controls do not become the means whereby developing countries are denied access to advanced technologies required for their development.²³

Once the ANC came to power after the country's first ever democratic elections in April 1994, international sanctions and embargoes against South Africa were lifted. Diplomatically, the country returned to multilateral organisations and established numerous new bilateral relations. One of the areas in which post-apartheid South Africa gained global status and prestige relates to its termination of its nuclear weapons programme as well as the ANC-led government's position on nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation.²⁴

Apart from adopting a human rights-based foreign policy, the ANC-led South African government reiterated that a 'primary goal' of South Africa's foreign policy is to 'reinforce and promote it as a responsible producer, possessor and trader of defence-related products and advanced technologies in the nuclear, biological, chemical and missile fields'.²⁵ Moreover, it is South Africa's 'declared national interest in conjunction with its international obligations and commitments, particularly as these relate to non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control, and the implementation of international humanitarian law, to exercise due restraint in the transfer and trade in weapons and related materials, equipment, technology and services'.²⁶

The government's argument was that South Africa, in this way, 'promotes the benefits which non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control hold for international peace and security, particularly to countries in Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)'.²⁷ The South African government also acknowledged the competitive nature of the international nuclear-related market and that it wants to be regarded as a 'responsible and reliable supplier of weapons and related materials, equipment, technology, aid and services'.²⁸

Nuclear Energy and Policy in Post-apartheid South Africa

The Nuclear Energy Act 46 of 1999 provides, inter alia, for the establishment of NECSA as the successor of the NP-era's AEC. State-owned NECSA is the owner-operator of SAFARI-1. NECSA also has two commercial subsidiaries, namely, NTP Radioisotopes SOC Limited (NTP), which sells radiation-based products and services, and Pelchem SOC Limited (Pelchem), which supplies fluorine and fluorine-based products. With customers in 60 countries, the NTP Group consists of a number of subsidiaries, including AEC-Amersham SOC Limited (100 per cent owned by NTP), NTP Logistics SOC Limited (51 per cent shareholding), and Gammatec NDT Supplies SOC Limited (55 per cent shareholding). NTP's products and services include:

- Radiopharmaceuticals, which are used for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes in nuclear medicine. NTP's products include NovaTec-P generator, fluorodeoxyglucose (FDG) for Positron Emission Tomography (PET), cold kits and Iodine-131 (I-131) capsules and solutions.
- Irradiation services such as the neutron transmutation doping of silicon ingots

performed to customer specification in the SAFARI-1 reactor.

- Radiochemicals, which are produced in bulk and used by NTP and its customers for the manufacturing of radiopharmaceutical products.
- Radioactive sealed sources for industry, such as the isotopes Iridium-192 (Ir-192), Cobalt-60 (Co-60) and Cesium-137 (Cs-137), which are used in non-destructive testing, industrial gauging and process control applications.²⁹

In terms of section 33(1) of the Nuclear Energy Act 46 of 1999, the Minister of Energy is responsible for the implementation of the country's Safeguards Agreement and Additional Protocols. The Ministry of Energy has delegated this function to NECSA. NECSA, therefore, also executes South Africa's international obligations in terms of the Zangger Committee, a voluntary multilateral nuclear control organisation. In addition to this, the main functions of NECSA are to 'undertake and promote research and development in the field of nuclear energy and radiation sciences and technology; to process source material, special nuclear material and restricted material; and to cooperate with persons in matters falling within these functions'.³⁰

The South African government also expressed its intention to develop its nuclear industry in its National Nuclear Energy Policy (2008) and in its Ten Year Plan for Science and Technology (2007).³¹ In 2008, the Minister for Minerals and Energy stated that the National Nuclear Energy Policy 'represents the Government's vision for the development of an extensive nuclear energy programme' in order to develop a national nuclear architectural capability to 'supply nuclear equipment and nuclear reactors' as well as the 'ability to design, manufacture, and market, commercialise,

sell and export nuclear energy systems and services'.³²

The SAFARI-1 Conversion

By the time the ANC came to power as the first democratically elected governing party after the April 1994 elections, South Africa no longer possessed nuclear weapons and a nuclear weapons programme. However, the country maintained some of its nuclear-related capabilities through the operation of the country's research reactor, SAFARI-1. However, the international community was not at ease with South Africa's nuclear intentions. These concerns were amplified when the international community realised that the post-1994 South African government was slow in its efforts to convert the country's nuclear research reactor (SAFARI-1) at Pelindaba from using HEU (which can be used for nuclear weapons) to using low-enriched uranium (LEU). This conversion was only achieved by 2009 considering that the conversion process began as early as 1994.³³

Following the post-1994 developments, the diplomatic focus between South Africa and the IAEA also shifted to the conversion of SAFARI-1 from HEU to LEU, as some IAEA members remained cautious of South Africa's nuclear intentions. By 1993, SAFARI-1's operations shifted from military purposes to commercial applications, especially producing medical isotopes, using weapons-grade HEU from South Africa's inventory verified by the IAEA.³⁴ However, the IAEA demanded the conversion of the nuclear reactor; an issue South Africa was hesitant to address as SAFARI-1's HEU-based operations provided South Africa with considerable scientific status and prestige; valuable income from its isotope production; and even some deterrent status. Subsequent to

the diplomatic efforts of the IAEA, the South African government authorised the conversion of SAFARI-1 in July 2005 and financed the conversion to the amount of R12 million per annum for three years.³⁵

The original conversion process was to be completed over three to four years in two main phases, namely, the establishment of a local LEU manufacturing capability, which NECSA manufactured, and the conversion of the SAFARI-1 core from HEU to LEU fuel.³⁶ By 2010, the latter phase had already resulted in NECSA producing 83 LEU fuel elements and 18 control rods.³⁷

By 2008, NECSA reported that 'good progress' had been made with the conversion of SAFARI-1 through a cooperation agreement with AREVA-CERCA, a French state-owned nuclear power utility which provided NECSA with LEU fuel plates.³⁸ On 25 June 2009, SAFARI-1 used LEU for the first time since it went critical on 18 March 1965.³⁹ Announcing the successful conversion, NECSA stated that the conversion was 'in line with international norms to reduce proliferation risks' and that it would 'enable' South Africa to promote South African products as 'non-proliferation compliant' and enable 'preferential treatment' in key markets such as the US, and in other international joint ventures.⁴⁰ This statement correlates with Colby's observation that states base the conversion of their nuclear reactors on economic, political, military and technical considerations.⁴¹

The Economic and Diplomatic Gains of the Conversion Process and Isotope Production

Averting the 'world's worst medical crisis'

From the end of 2007, a series of unscheduled shut-downs and outage extensions of nuclear reactors disrupted the global Mo-99 supply.⁴² The

medical radioactive isotope Mo-99 is used in diagnostic tests for illnesses such as cancer and heart disease. According to the IAEA, this created a 'worldwide Mo-99 supply crisis'.⁴³ NECSA called it the 'world's worst medical crisis in decades'. An unscheduled closure of Canada's NRU research reactor in May 2009 exacerbated the crisis, which continued well into 2010.

Unaffected by shut downs and outages, SAFARI-1 was able to continue its operations. This enabled NTP to produce isotopes and expand its global reach.⁴⁴ Moreover, since SAFARI-1's conversion to using LEU, South Africa has become the only country to produce Mo-99 on an industrial scale based on LEU.⁴⁵ In 2010, the IAEA acknowledged that subsequent to the conversion of SAFARI-1, South Africa has become the world's 'first large scale' producer of Mo-99, whereas it was only the world's third largest isotope producer in 2007.⁴⁶ Moreover, in 2010, the IAEA recognised SAFARI-1 as one of the world's major five isotope producers.⁴⁷

In 2010, South Africa (NTP), Canada (MDS Nordion), Belgium (Institut National des Radioéléments), France (Osiris) and The Netherlands (Covidien) produced 95 per cent of the medical isotope Molybdenum-99 (Mo-99). These reactors are all more than 40 years old. Other Mo-99 producing countries include Australia, Argentina, China, Malaysia, Brazil, Russia, Poland, France, India, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.⁴⁸

Earning foreign exchange

From 2009 to 2010, NECSA's subsidiary, NTP Radioisotopes (Property) Limited (NTP), earned South Africa considerable foreign exchange amounting to R623 million, exceeding its sales target for the period by 21 per cent.⁴⁹ Moreover, the NECSA statement is indicative of the strategies of cooperation and partnership, especially as they relate to South Africa's relations with the

IAEA.⁵⁰ More important than the aforesaid considerations are the diplomatic considerations of, and diplomatic 'returns' on, the conversion.⁵¹

With Mo-99 and Iodine-131 as its main products, NTP is NECSA's main source of external revenue. In 2010, the NTP Group's sales amounted to R795 million. This was 46 per cent more than its estimated sales and resulted in the Group becoming the world leader in the supply of medical isotopes.⁵² This success continued into 2011 when the Group's sales amounted to R869 million.⁵³ In 2012, NTP's sales dropped to R842 million as other reactors started production.⁵⁴ NECSA ascribed this drop to 'an aggressive effort by competitors' to regain market share following their extended absence due to the 18-month long unscheduled shut down of the NRU reactor. This was further aggravated by the decline in the global demand for Mo-99 and the global financial crisis.⁵⁵

Status and prestige

For South Africa, the successful conversion was beneficial in non-material terms. Not only did it receive international recognition from the IAEA, but its status and prestige were advanced by the scientific expertise, as well as by the moral authority, associated with the conversion. By April 2010, during President Obama's Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) in Washington, South Africa announced that it 'quite ambitiously, had not only adopted a national policy of HEU-free production of medical isotopes – that is, using only LEU for both fuel and targets – but it also had developed the technology to carry it out'.⁵⁶ In 2010, NECSA announced that its subsidiary, NPT Radioisotopes, had become the first and only company in the world producing the medical isotope Mo-99 on a commercial scale using LEU-based technology.⁵⁷

The South African Minister of Energy also observed that South Africa 'will be the first

radioisotope producing country to have completed this conversion process, which is a requirement for supplying radioisotopes into certain key markets'.⁵⁸ Reporting on South Africa's activities to the 54th Session of the IAEA General Conference, Ambassador Minty announced that, since July 2010, South Africa had been the world's largest supplier of Mo-99 based on LEU.⁵⁹ Subsequently, the IAEA recognised South Africa's conversion of SAFARI-1 to LEU as the 'first step' towards LEU target conversion by a 'major' ⁹⁹Mo producer.⁶⁰

Norm entrepreneurship and leadership

Through SAFARI-1's conversion, South Africa has contributed to a redefinition of the term 'nuclear symbolism', which previously referred to the idea that a state's nuclear weapons capability 'symbolizes a strong, independent and modern state'. By referring to the LEU requirements set by some isotope-importing countries with which South Africa now complies, NECSA has added 'nuclear leverage' to South Africa's nuclear diplomacy.⁶¹ Through the conversion, the country also acts as a norm entrepreneur as a state that previously had a HEU-based nuclear weapons programme. In addition to this, it has become a country that produces medical and other isotopes from LEU, thereby illustrating its commitment to nuclear non-proliferation and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. With this, South Africa has consolidated its identity as a major nuclear power and moral authority in the developing world.

In terms of Young's leadership autonomy, South Africa has displayed at least two out of three types of leadership in the multilateral nuclear export regimes.⁶² Young's first type of leadership is structural leadership. This is exhibited when leaders, or a leading country, make decisions about the resources available to them to achieve a multilateral bargain. With regard to

South Africa's role in exposing the Khan network, South Africa cooperated with the IAEA after investigations of a South African connection to the Khan nuclear non-proliferation network.⁶⁵ The South African government has admitted that South Africa's experience has 'shown that no control regime, no matter how comprehensive, can fully guarantee against abuse'.⁶⁴

Secondly, entrepreneurial leadership refers to leaders who are not in a position of power but nonetheless use their diplomatic negotiating and bargaining skills to achieve a particular outcome. South Africa has positioned itself as a norm entrepreneur.⁶⁵ Moreover, South Africa has also positioned itself as a 'responsible possessor, producer and trader' in dual-use goods.⁶⁶ South Africa's norm construction in its nuclear diplomacy is evident in the South African government's legislation and policies on nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control that incorporate the obligations of, amongst others, the NSG and the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA). South Africa has incorporated these obligations sometimes prior to its accession to or membership of these conventions or groups.

Finally, intellectual leadership can change the normative or ideational environment to create opportunities for the achievement of a particular objective.⁶⁷ South Africa has styled itself to be, and gained global recognition as, a leader in the global nuclear arena. Some global recognition for South Africa's nuclear non-proliferation efforts has occurred. In January 2010, South Africa 'has emerged as a champion of both global nuclear non-proliferation and equal access to peaceful nuclear energy'.⁶⁸

Niche diplomacy

Typically, states practising niche diplomacy focus on a specifically selected issue, product, service, organisation or activity. South Africa is no exception in this regard. The sources of South

Africa's niche diplomacy are located in the tenets of middle power diplomatic behaviour, which therefore provides a strong normative foundation and emphasises the country's entrepreneurial flair and technical expertise. Other key features of South Africa's niche diplomacy are its focus on consensus and coalition building, cooperation on nuclear issues, and adopting the role of bridge-builder (between Africa and the NWS), mediator, facilitator or catalyst (changing its nuclear posture) in nuclear issues. The latter involves South Africa's planning, convening and hosting meetings, prioritising for future meetings on a particular issue and drawing up declarations and manifestos.

Nuclear non-proliferation

In the wake of 9/11, international concerns about the threat of nuclear terrorism increased. Through its Nuclear Security Plan 2006–2009, the IAEA and its members cooperated to improve nuclear security worldwide and counter illicit nuclear trafficking.⁶⁹ One of these efforts was to shift the use of HEU to LEU in commercial applications through the conversion of nuclear reactors. However, these initiatives were preceded by IAEA diplomatic efforts to influence the South African government to convert South Africa's nuclear research reactor, SAFARI-1, from using HEU to LEU.

North–South cooperation

On the issue of strengthening North–South cooperation, South Africa has used its position as a member of the IAEA Board to cooperate and form partnerships with traditional diplomatic partners of the North. Addressing the National Assembly on 18 May 1995, Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo highlighted some of South Africa's earliest foreign policy dilemmas, namely, balancing relations between the developing and industrialised countries while South Africa

sought to expand its relations with Africa and the developing world.⁷⁰ Nzo cautioned that South Africa cannot afford to 'overlook or downgrade the importance of the industrialised countries' to South Africa's national interests. Moreover, South Africa also advocated that IAEA members from developed countries should assist members from developing countries to comply with the IAEA Statute and with other IAEA obligations. However, South Africa's conversion of SAFARI-1 to use LEU provides a very good indicator of North-South cooperation, as well as cooperation and partnerships in the IAEA.

Conclusion

Whereas South Africa's international isolation was one of the hallmarks of its pre-1990 diplomacy, the country's post-1990 diplomacy signifies a major departure in terms of focus, scope, intensity and diversity. Consequently, the country's nuclear diplomacy was also transformed. Prior to 1990, the 'Janus-faced' nature of South Africa's nuclear diplomacy included, on the one hand, international condemnation and reactions to these condemnations and, on the other hand, secret diplomatic interactions in an effort to either pressurise the South African government to dismantle its nuclear weapons programme, or to bypass bilateral and/or multilateral sanctions against the country. Post-1990, South Africa's nuclear diplomacy was a direct departure from previous practices. As

an instrument of foreign policy, South African diplomacy reflected these changes. One of the illustrations of this departure is South Africa's role and influence in international nuclear and economic bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.

South Africa's nuclear intentions remain in question, especially in view of the South African government's declaration that it is a responsible producer, possessor and trader of nuclear expertise, products and services. In April 2011, the South African government adopted the Integrated Resources Plan (IRP) which paves the way for the expansion of the country's nuclear power generation capacity. South Africa has attempted to construct a 'new conception' of the country's foreign policy identity with the 'other' being its apartheid past, rather than another international actor. Post-1994 South Africa has also managed to construct a nuclear identity through 'positive approximation' by associating or identifying itself with the positive nuclear norms and identities of like-minded states. This nuclear identity has also been achieved through 'negative approximation' by distancing the country from its historical nuclear actions, capabilities and posture. The implications of South Africa's nuclear diplomacy have been wide-ranging. Not only did it contribute to the entry of the African Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty (Pelindaba Treaty) but also to enhance the country's status and prestige. South Africa, which no longer has nuclear weapons, continues to wield considerable soft or normative power on the African continent.

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Measuring Empowerment in the Democratic Developmental State¹

The state of Public and Development Management-related disciplines in developing countries (and especially in Africa) could generally be improved by the adoption of more rigorous research topic selections, designs and methods of data collection, analysis and assessment. There is a need to move beyond a preoccupation with descriptive summaries of governmental outputs and the identification of policy 'challenges', to an evidence-based evaluation of the results of governmental programmes in order to improve future policy decisions. This article investigates what is needed to evaluate empowerment programmes in so-called democratic developmental states more systematically.

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Introduction

Although development is a strategic priority for all governments, the developmental role of governments in less developed or transitional states differs from that of governments in more developed states. This article investigates what is needed to evaluate empowerment programmes in so-called democratic developmental states more systematically.

Adopting the philosophy of a developmental state has crucial consequences for any government. It might under certain conditions promote rapid economic growth, but it can also have negative consequences for democracy in that state. This has prompted a number of scholars recently to distinguish a traditional developmental state from a so-called democratic developmental state. This implies that empowerment programmes in so-called democratic developmental states have to comply with more requirements than are normally expected in traditional developmental states. These include, inter alia, effective and efficient bureaucracies, resilient leadership, a sustainable organisational structure, strong state and nation-building initiatives, democracy, rule of law, sustainable economic growth and

redistribution, social capital and social equity also featuring prominently on the developmental agenda of the state.

The article starts by assessing the nature of the democratic developmental state. It traces the origins of so-called developmental states, summarising the different manifestations of the developmental state on different continents. It then identifies the characteristics of the contemporary African developmental state and the strong and weak attributes of such states that influence their potential governance outcomes. The article then proceeds to summarise the need to deal with a more systematic evaluation of governmental programmes in such states in line with the emerging evidence-based paradigm in policy management. The state of Public and Development Management-related disciplines in developing countries could generally be improved by the adoption of more rigorous research topic selections, designs and methods of data collection, analysis and assessment. There is a general need to move beyond a preoccupation with descriptive summaries of governmental outputs and the identification of policy 'challenges', to an evidence-based evaluation of the results of governmental programmes in order to improve future policy decisions. The bulk of the article is devoted to the conceptualisation of empowerment as an important strategic goal of democratic developmental states and the development of guidelines for alternative indicator frameworks to evaluate empowerment outcomes in different sectors at different levels in democratic developmental states. These frameworks are useful as performance measurement support tools to facilitate a more systematic and rigorous assessment of empowerment programmes in democratic developmental states.

Need for More Rigorous Policy Analysis Methodologies

Evidence-based policy management is an approach to policy analysis and management that 'helps people make well informed decisions about policies, programmes and projects by putting the best available evidence at the heart of policy development and implementation'.²

Marco Segone, a senior monitoring and evaluation advisor to the United Nations (UN) and other regional development organisations, distinguishes evidence-based policy practices from what he calls traditional *opinion-based policy practice*, 'which relies heavily on either the selective use of evidence (e.g. on single studies irrespective of quality) or on the untested views of individuals or groups, often inspired by ideological standpoints, prejudices, or speculative conjecture'.³

The evidence-based approach to policy analysis is still an emerging approach, because the computer tools needed for the effective application of this approach are also still developing and empirical research methodologies still suffer from 'unclear objectives; poor design; methodological weaknesses; inadequate statistical reporting and analysis; selective use of data; and, conclusions which are not supported by the data provided'.⁴

Segone also identifies a current trend away from *opinion-based* to *evidence-influenced* policy practices that might hopefully result in fully-fledged *evidence-based policy practice*.⁵ This trend implies that a stronger emphasis is now placed on more rigorous research topic selections, designs and methods of data collection, analysis and assessment that constitute more systematic evidence-based practices. Gone are the days of so-called opinion-influenced observations without hard evidence that can back up subjective observations and conclusions if one

wants to comply with emerging good policy assessment practices. In many lesser developed contexts, however, it is not easy to apply the above general principles of more evidence-based analysis, because of the nature and attributes of what has become known over time as the developmental state.

Nature and Attributes of the Democratic Developmental State

The developmental state has its origins in Chalmers Johnson's⁶ analysis of the development of the Japanese state from 1925 to 1975. Johnson attributed the economic and social successes that turned Japan into the most productive and affluent economy in the world during this period to the following factors:

- A deliberate centralised socio-economic developmental plan devised by the Japanese government;
- Direct interventions by the government in Japanese society in order to achieve the goals of that plan;
- An autonomous autocratic government (or a so-called *soft authoritarian state*⁷) Guided by a strong, competent central bureaucracy⁸ with in-house capacity;
- Cooperation by government, business elites and civil society (alliance capitalism,⁹ crony capitalism,¹⁰ governed interdependence¹¹ or state embeddedness¹²); and
- A submissive civil society¹³

The success of this approach to national development in Japan was quickly followed by other Asian countries like Taiwan, South Korea, and later also Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines,¹⁴ as well as Chile under Pinochet and currently Chavez's Venezuela and Morales's Bolivia in Latin

America. After a hiatus of a few decades, the developmental state concept is therefore again in vogue as a specific recipe of governance that is supposed to maximise developmental potential in a country, because of its concentrated focus to apply all national resources, as well as those international resources that the national governments concerned have access to, in the pursuance of strategic national developmental and other goals.

Leftwich confirms Johnson's assessment of this model of development and reformulated the main general characteristics of a developmental state as¹⁵

- a determined developmental elite;
- a weak and subordinated civil society;
- relative autonomy of the developmental state;
- a powerful, competent and insulated economic bureaucracy;
- the capacity for effective management of private economic interests; and
- an uneasy mix of repression, poor human rights, legitimacy and performance.

Developmental states generally follow very conservative fiscal policies and are able to implement these through highly effective Weberian-type bureaucracies that are able to operate autonomously because of the strong position of the state in society and a largely submissive population that allows this autonomy to continue.¹⁶ If a population, however, becomes restless and starts challenging the autonomy of the state, it becomes much more difficult to implement a developmental agenda,¹⁷ unless this is done increasingly with force, as happened under the apartheid state which also complies with the elements of the developmental state as defined above by Johnson¹⁸ and Leftwich.¹⁹

In contrast to Asia and Latin America where developmental states that comply with the

above criteria developed successfully – at least for restricted periods of time²⁰ – the same cannot be said for Africa:

The developmental failure of the post-colonial African state is attributed to its undemocratic nature, weak internal institutions, and the repression and exclusion of domestic social partners from the governance process ... The African state's weak internal institutional capacity as well as the lack of people's participation are therefore said to have accounted for its inability to forge and sustain a developmental agenda.²¹

Strong developmental growth is, however, not restricted to these political conditions in certain states only. There is therefore no simple correlation between developmental results and authoritarian government. Edigheji²² states that 'if there is a positive correlation between undemocratic regimes and development, then African countries would have been among the most developed countries in the world'.

Four years later Edigheji stated explicitly that '[t]here is no contradiction between the developmental state and democracy, as the examples of the Nordic and Irish democratic developmental states have shown'.²³

Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, more commonly referred to as the 'Four Asian Tigers' displayed evidence of being newly industrialised countries with advanced, high income economies²⁴ but, in 1998, all the Asian Tigers and the South-East Asian Tiger Cubs stumbled while chasing their prey at full speed, because of the same inherent weaknesses in their respective systems.²⁵ These weaknesses relate to the largely undemocratic, opaque and unaccountable political, social and financial subsystems that operated in those countries and that created the conditions for their success up to a certain point. Their strengths therefore

turned out to be fatal weaknesses after a certain period of time, and they were forced to liberalise and democratise these subsystems in order to resume their former high growth trends.

Edigheji²⁶ argues that '[i]n every historical epoch, developmental states have been constructed to respond to specific contextual developmental challenges', whereas Evans²⁷ states that there is not just one mould through which a developmental state could be replicated. Both arguments substantiate the philosophy that each state that allows its socio-economic sector to be motivated by the principles of a developmental state will do so with a full appreciation of the universal conditions such as globalisation, transformation, information communication technology, a knowledge-based new economy and deregulation in the global economy.²⁸ The above arguments furthermore support a consideration of national conditions determining the primary triggers, specific challenges and developmental characteristics involved in achieving a state's developmental goals.²⁹

In order for the developmental state to be sustainable and not isolated in current liberal global politics, Edigheji follows Robinson and White³⁰ who redefined the concept by adding an explicit procedural democratic element to the developmental state which 'retains the autonomous institutional attributes of the developmental state (and) not only embodies the principles of electoral democracy, but also ensures citizens' participation in the development and governance processes'.³¹

However, Edigheji emphasises participatory democracy rather than representative democracy.³² In a later study he argues that 'what matters is not the capacity of the state to repress interest groups and impose its will over society but to use its autonomy to elicit cooperative relations from organized interests and citizens, a point that is eloquently argued by Linda Weiss'.³³

It is therefore clear that the democratic nature of the developmental state must increase inevitably over time in order to maintain the stability of the state and its acceptance internationally by democratic international organisations and investment institutions that need proof of financial, economic and political stability to protect their investments in such countries. This is the hard lesson that we learnt from the Asian economic meltdown in the closing stages of the twentieth century.⁵⁴

There is currently an intense discourse whether South Africa is a developmental state and how its policies should change to become more of a developmental state. Edigheji⁵⁵ is of the opinion that South Africa complies well with the new democratic element of a developmental state, but that 'some of the elements of the New Public Management (NPM) approach, which informed the restructuring of the state, are contrary to aspects of a developmental state'.

He concludes that South Africa has a *developmentalist* government but is not a developmental state because of its strong liberal macroeconomic policies and its weak state capacity for effective public services delivery.⁵⁶ This lack of state capacity and democracy is also one of the major reasons why African governments cannot become effective developmental states. Therefore, in order to be an effective democratic developmental state, South Africa has to develop a more effective and autonomous bureaucracy that can effectively plan and execute national developmental policies. This is not currently the case.

The Measurement of the Developmental State

If one wants to evaluate the extent to which a state is a developmental state, it is necessary

to compile systematic data to assess the degree to which the attributes of a democratic developmental state are present in the state under consideration according to Leftwich's developmental state characteristics.⁵⁷ Such indicators might include the following:

- A determined developmental elite:
 - a clear, attainable strategic political party and governmental vision and developmental priorities (e.g. in terms of education, health services, land reform, developmental infrastructure);
 - an adequate developmental budget and new developmental programmes and projects aligned to the strategic vision rather than status quo maintenance ones; and
 - the degree of governmental dedication in the top-down implementation of developmental priorities (e.g. centralised control and follow-up to ensure successful developmental outcomes).
- A weak and subordinated civil society:
 - trends in government funding for NGOs;
 - indicators of centralisation of governmental decision-making at national level (e.g. overriding provincial and local party structures, priorities, weakening the autonomy of provincial and local government); and
 - the levels of repression and responsiveness of government to civil society.
- Relative autonomy of the developmental state:
 - enforcement of central governmental policies on party structures; and
 - individual governmental elites that get away with repression or strong-arm tactics and policy or legal contraventions without penalties.
- A powerful, competent and insulated political and bureaucratic leadership and management cadre:

- levels of success with strategic governmental programmes and projects;
- levels of social and political stability; and
- levels of success with actions against corruption and nepotism in the management of tenders by the public service.
- The capacity for effective management of private economic interests:
 - levels of success with government actions against corruption and nepotism in the private sector; and
 - evidence of 'crony capitalism' and favouritism in the allocation of government contracts.
- An uneasy mix of repression, poor human rights, legitimacy and performance:
 - indicators of press freedom and other dimensions of good governance, political dimensions such as state building, democracy and rule of law, economic dimensions such as economic growth and where applicable the redistribution of wealth, and social dimensions, such as nation building, social equality and social capital, including international indices like those of the World Bank, Freedom House, the African Governance Index, the Global Governance Barometer, and so forth.

The above examples of indicators of the degree to which a state can be regarded as a democratic developmental state are generic indicators that can in principle be applied to all states. They are further not a closed list, but can and should be expanded with the addition of other relevant indicators for specific contexts. These indicators are especially useful in the African context.

The next question is what the empowerment policies in a democratic developmental state should be.

Empowerment as the Main Goal of Development

An important focus of this article is the link between development and empowerment. *Developmental policies* are public policies which succeed in providing people with the freedom to exercise choices in terms of pursuing the most appropriate strategies to achieve their strategic values and goals.³⁸ These choices especially refer to the style and quality of life that they would prefer to maintain, and empower them to take full control of their lives. Empowerment is probably the most important developmental goal for any government, but especially for democratic developmental governments.

Powerlessness is a direct consequence of suboptimal institutional relations among social segments that prevent individuals from exercising choices to promote goals that matter to them.³⁹ Powerlessness is frequently identified among vulnerable individuals and groups in society like women, children, peasant farmers, working classes, lower castes and other religious, cultural and language minority groups and communities within a society dominated by a majority from a different background. Sen developed the concept of 'agency' to promote the idea that such individuals, groups and communities can and should be their own agents of change and not only passive recipients of resources.⁴⁰ Development should therefore in principle be seen as the empowerment of members of a society in individual and group contexts and in different sectors. Ibrahim and Alkire⁴¹ list 32 different definitions of empowerment by authoritative scholars. Empowerment is best conceptualised by Alsop and Heinsohn⁴² who built on Sen's ideas and explain it as

... a person's capacity to make effective choices; that is, as the capacity to transform choices

into desired actions and outcomes. The extent or degree to which a person is empowered is influenced by personal agency (the capacity to make purposive choice) and opportunity structure (the institutional context in which choice is made). Asset endowments are used as indicators of agency. These assets may be psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial, or human. Opportunity structure is measured by the presence and operation of formal and informal institutions, including the laws, regulatory frameworks, and norms governing behavior. Degrees of empowerment are measured by the existence of choice, the use of choice, and the achievement of choice.

Empowerment can occur in different forms, from less effective to more effective; from passive exposure to and access to resources, through active participation in decision-making and implementation that enables influencing and eventually control over decisions and actions that affect one's interests in different societal sectors (e.g. social, economic, political, cultural, technological, environmental etc.).⁴³

The Measurement of Empowerment

Alsop and Heinsohn use empowerment in the above conceptualisation both as a process and a long-term multi-sectoral outcome (impact). The two main variables that they use to measure different directions and levels of empowerment are *agency* and *opportunity structure*. 'Agency is defined as an actor's ability to make meaningful choices; that is, the actor is able to envisage options and make a choice (e.g. knowledge, skills and experience). Opportunity structure is defined as the formal and informal contexts within which actors operate',⁴⁴ for example, the degree to which environmental

conditions or the rules of the game enables or promotes individuals' developmental choices.

While agency therefore refers to not only cognitive, intellectual and practical conditions within the individual as the above authors state, but also to the psychological and emotional stability and confidence of an individual to deal with a complex environment, opportunity structure refers to informal social and cultural norms and practices as well as formal institutional policy or legal guidelines and prescriptions and the availability of the necessary resources in that environment to achieve desired goals. Agency indicators are conceptualised by Alsop and Heinsohn⁴⁵ as psychological visioning, informational access, organisational ability, material resources, social capital, financial capital, and human knowledge and skills that together comprise different '*asset endowments*'. They further conceptualise the combined interactive effect of agency and opportunity structure results in different degrees of empowerment at different macro, meso and micro levels in the three general sectors of state, market and society that can be empirically measured 'by assessing (1) whether a person has the opportunity to make a choice, (2) whether a person actually uses the opportunity to choose, and (3) once the choice is made, whether it brings the desired (empowerment) outcome'.⁴⁶

This model of empowerment provides a useful framework for operationalising the fuzzy concept of empowerment in a more concrete way. Alsop and Heinsohn's influential 2005 study is the latest in a series of World Bank sponsored papers that attempt to give practical meaning and effect to Sen's vision of development as the consequence of choices on how to promote interests of value. Others include those of Malhotra et al.,⁴⁷ Narayan-Parker,⁴⁸ Bennet and Gajurel⁴⁹ and Alsop,

Bertelsen and Holland.⁵⁰ Koggel⁵¹ critically assessed the above international literature and concludes that although the above framework is conceptually correct and comprehensive, it does not factor in effectively enough the constraints on empowerment that are caused by globalisation. However, the concept of opportunity structure is in principle encompassing enough to include such international environmental constraints in different policy sectors. Ibrahim and Alkire⁵² also suggest a variation on the theme, while the studies by Pradhan⁵³ and Pardo del Val et al.⁵⁴ address a number of methodological issues in the construction of measurement indicators to assess empowerment. Examples of indicators to measure the above elements of empowerment are also suggested and applied by Alsop and Heinsohn⁵⁵

for different empowerment situations (e.g. for women, communities, the youth), and populated with comparative data across the globe to illustrate the practical feasibility of their model. Ibrahim and Alkire⁵⁶ largely support this approach but caution about the methodological challenges in applying these measuring instruments in developing contexts. They also propose a distinction between individual, family, organisational, community and institutional empowerment, in line with Alsop and Heinsohn's conceptualisation. This approach is currently the dominant one on this topic in the international literature.

Alsop and Heinsohn's empowerment indicators include the following examples of *agency indicators*⁵⁷ at individual, personal level (extracted from the original table):

<p>Psychological assets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-perceived exclusion from community activities • Level of interaction/sociability with people from different social groups • Capacity to envisage change, to aspire 	<p>Human assets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literacy levels • Numeracy levels • Health status
<p>Informational assets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journey time to nearest working post office • Journey time to nearest working telephone • Frequency of radio listening • Frequency of television watching • Frequency of newspaper reading • Passable road access to house (by periods of time) • Perceived changes in access to information • Completed education level 	<p>Organisational assets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Membership of organisations • Effectiveness of group leadership • Influence in selection of group leaders • Level of diversity of group membership
<p>Material assets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land ownership • Tool ownership • Ownership of durable goods • Type of housing 	<p>Financial assets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment history • Level of indebtedness • Sources of credit • Household expenses • Food expenditure • Occupation

These examples clearly do not constitute a closed list, but entail the most widely accepted and therefore legitimate indicators for personal empowerment. They can and should be supplemented or expanded by the inclusion of other indicators that are more useful for specific foci and in specific contexts, because it is not feasible to attempt to devise a single generic recipe to measure empowerment in widely diverging situations. Such additions should include indicators for the individual psychological levels of proven confidence, participatory efficacy and leadership awareness and action outcomes which are not adequately captured in the above model.

Also, Alsup and Heinsohn's⁵⁸ *opportunity structure indicators* include the formal and informal rules of the game regarding family, social, cultural, religious political, economic, labour and financial interaction in community and society that are tested in their indicator framework through different datasets from the World Bank, Freedom House, Transparency International, the UN and other comparative international indices. Ibrahim and Alkire⁵⁹ supplement these indicators with additional ones at the different levels mentioned above.

Also, Bertelsen and Holland⁶⁰ also summarise an influential case study of empowerment in Nepal by Bennet and Gajural, where the following gender, caste and ethnic empowerment and social inclusion issues were measured⁶¹ as follows:

An Empowerment Index (EMI) was developed to measure empowerment, using a range of

variables that sought to capture the respondent's sense of agency. The survey sought evidence and indicators of psychological, informational, and social asset endowment, as well as evidence and indicators that the individual had actively demanded access to services or tried to influence local community decisions. The EMI included some data from the 'inner' psychological sphere, as well as data on social, economic, and political relations within the community and between the community and various levels of the state. A set of indicators was developed to measure the extent to which an individual had actually engaged with the institutional environment (or opportunity structure) by seeking services from it or trying to change or contest it. The indicators comprised five dimensions: (1) knowledge and awareness of rights and procedures, (2) participation in local development services, (3) confidence and comfort level in accessing services and exercising rights, (4) social networks (economic and political), and (5) efforts to influence local government.⁶²

This Bennett-Gajural example is more comprehensive than the Alsup-Heinsohn model and includes more individual psychological action-orientated agency determinants of empowerment. It also combines agency indicators with environmental system variables in its conceived opportunity structure index summarised as follows (extracted from the original table):

<p>Knowledge and awareness of rights and procedures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of police procedures • Understanding of court procedures • Knowledge of human rights codes • Knowledge of local services 	<p>Participation in local development services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeking local services • Participation in programmes of child's school
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<p>Confidence and comfort level in accessing services and exercising rights</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approaching the police • Approaching the courts • Approaching children’s school 	<p>Social networks (economic and political)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections for getting a job for oneself • Ability to help others get a job • Connections at ward level • Connections to local service agencies as well as to village and district-level services
<p>Efforts to influence local government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suggestions or complaints at ward, village and district levels • Advice to school officials 	

Also, Bertelsen and Holland also provide an example of a Women’s Empowerment and Inclusion Index (WEI) that contains opportunity structure variables only. The index

... was designed to also take into account all barriers that are part of the opportunity structure ... The indicators for the WEI cover five dimensions: (1) domestic violence and

intra-household behavior; (2) mobility and ability to travel to various destinations alone, and the need for permission; (3) control over fertility; (4) control over self-earned income; and (5) household decision making.⁶³

The following variables were used in the construction of the WEI (extracted from the original table):⁶⁴

<p>Domestic violence and intra-household behaviour</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience and frequency of verbal or mental abuse • Experience and frequency of physical abuse • Treatment by husband initially and now 	<p>Mobility and ability to travel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to travel to various destinations alone, and the need for permission
<p>Control over fertility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss family size with husband • Discuss contraception with husband • Use contraceptive method 	<p>Control over self-earned income</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earns cash income • Keeps money • Decides how to spend
<p>Household decision-making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difference between male and female household member’s scores 	

The following variables were on the other hand used to construct a Social Inclusion Index (SII) that again combines agency variables with opportunity structure ones (extracted from the original table):⁶⁵

improved by the adoption of more rigorous research topic selections, designs and methods of data collection, analysis and assessment. There is a need to move beyond a preoccupation with descriptive summaries of govern-

<p>Self-perceived status of own caste or ethnic group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative economic status and success of own group • Relative contentment and comfort with social status of own group • Respectful treatment • Relative access to opportunity • Cooperation from other groups • Respect in the community 	<p>Restricted access and public intimidation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether the respondent is restricted from entry into certain public areas (such as temples or people’s homes) or prevented from using public facilities (such as water taps) • Whether the respondent faces verbal or physical intimidation, humiliation, or violence in public spaces such as the village or the nearest bazaar
<p>Effectiveness of local political influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Result of complaints or suggestions they have made at ward, village or DDC level 	<p>Effectiveness in obtaining services and opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invited by agencies to participate • Promptness of service • Consulted for opinion • Access to training opportunities

Alsop, Bertelsen and Holland⁶⁶ further provide a series of interesting examples of indicators of empowerment in different policy sectors such as justice, political participation, public services delivery, production, consumption, labour relations and social interaction at different levels. Space does not allow for an assessment of all these sectoral empowerment indicators, but they provide a useful departure point for the construction of other contextualised indicators to measure the different conceptual elements of empowerment in other policy sectors.

Conclusions

The state of Public and Development Management-related disciplines can and should be

mental outputs and the identification of policy ‘challenges’, to an evidence-based evaluation of the outcomes and impacts of governmental programmes in order to improve future policy decisions. Although development is a strategic priority for all governments, the developmental role of governments in lesser developed or transitional states differs from that of governments in more developed democratic states. This project investigated what is needed to evaluate more systematically the impact that empowerment programmes might have within the practical constraints of the so-called developmental state. This focus is especially useful in the African context.

The above summary of conceptual frameworks of what empowerment implies at different levels and in different policy sectors, how

to implement empowerment goals in different developmental programmes and how to customise and refine empowerment models for application in different contexts and with different foci, provides extremely useful practical measuring instruments to concretise developmental state empowerment processes, outputs and impacts. The adoption of these alternative approaches and instruments to measure progress with social transformation can improve the quality of research in the disciplines of Public and Development Management in general and provide a foundation for the assessment of comparative international experiences with empowerment initiatives, building on and expanding previous attempts to do this.

It is, however, important to accept that the nature of empowerment can differ from context to context and that no single set of empowerment indicators is generic. The measurement of empowerment in a democratic developmental

state context needs to take note of the nature of the democratic developmental state and how to measure the compliance of a state against the attributes summarised in this article. These developmental objectives should then be synchronised with the empowerment objectives as part of the developmental state's sustainability goals. This need for alignment of potentially competing programme goals complicates the identification of measurement instruments. The approaches and case studies summarised in this contribution provide examples of existing good practices that might be useful as guidelines to develop more accurate empowerment indicators within the context of a democratic developmental state. For this purpose the alignment of such indicators with the African Governance Index can create an extremely useful measurement instrument to assess the changing and hopefully improving levels of good, sustainable governance in Africa.

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Applying East Asian Media Diplomacy Models to African Media

A First Step

The last two decades have seen the extensive expansion of South African and Nigerian media on the African continent.

However, while the link between media and diplomacy, and the role of media in visualising the state for foreign audiences have received a lot of scholarly attention internationally, relatively little work has been done on media diplomacy in the African context. This article attempts to take a step in this direction by thinking about the South African and Nigerian models of media expansion in the light of what we can learn from China and Japan. This method provides ideas about how the different modes of address and expansion might affect African perceptions about South Africa and Nigeria in the context of changes in diplomacy itself.

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Introduction¹

In a recent edition of this journal, Costas Andre Georghio made the point that South African (and African) formal diplomacy is at a low ebb.² He argued that factors diminishing formal diplomacy's traditional role of mediating the interactions between states are rooted both in South Africa's political culture and in wider trends like globalisation. Georghio concluded his article with a call for the rehabilitation of traditional diplomacy's influence while adapting it to the needs and tools of the current moment. In this article, I want to contribute to this conversation by suggesting that in the context of the diminishing role of formal diplomacy, media takes on a larger responsibility for the transnational construction and representation of the state. Sub-Saharan Africa's two most influential media hubs are Nigeria and South Africa. However, not much work has been done in theorising the similarities and differences between them. In addition, little scholarly attention has been paid to the potential role that the Nigerian and South African media could play in the context of changes in traditional diplomacy.

This article constitutes a small first step in trying to delineate the issue of African media

diplomacy. I suggest that comparing South African and Nigeria as media states to Asian examples could help us to understand how they differ and what kinds of diplomacy their different media industries could foster. In this article I compare South African and Nigerian media to the expansion of Chinese state-owned media on the African continent and to recent Japanese attempts to appropriate viral media as a tool of public diplomacy. I see this article not as a finalised thesis, but more as a kind of thought experiment to find new ways of thinking about the regional impact of African media. For that reason it is more of a few pencil strokes than a completed painting, and I hope to expand on these ideas in subsequent work.

This article makes its way to the issue of media diplomacy in a series of stages. In section 1 it looks at contemporary formal diplomacy in order to understand the background against which we should understand media diplomacy. Section 2 focuses on three theoretical approaches to media in the context of diplomacy in order to ascertain which would be the most suitable for the African context. In section 3 Nigerian and South African media are examined in the African context. Section 4 looks at Chinese and Japanese approaches to media diplomacy in Africa. In section 5 I apply these Asian models to South African and Nigerian media in order to raise ideas about what kinds of diplomacy might grow from their specific approaches to media.

Section 1: The Diminishment of Formal Diplomacy

Georghio's call for the return of formalised diplomacy contrasts with the work of other scholars who locate its diminishment in a wider historical context of the way various actors were

included and excluded during different phases in the development of diplomacy itself. For example, Noé Cornago argues that the establishment of diplomacy as the formalised province of the state also represented the exclusion of a multitude of voices from the diplomatic realm:

The result of these developments has been that the conventional meaning of diplomacy was emptied of any relevant social or non-technical content, treated as if it were nothing more than a formalized and rigid element of sovereign states' machineries of foreign policy. Thus it became isolated from the everyday experience of a variety of social actors and individuals, and deprived of any conceptual relevance in understanding their relations.³

Cornago describes the reification of diplomatic law and practice as the formalised and hidden relations between states, as an attempt to exclude actors without a formal mandate from the diplomatic process. However, it has always been an incomplete exclusion. He points out that non-state and sub-state diplomacy have been used through the centuries, operating in tandem with formalised diplomacy. The pressures of international capitalism have additionally led to the formation of alternative diplomacies, involving NGOs, regional governments and even celebrities. Hussein Banaihas argued that contemporary diplomacy lacks sufficient engagement with public understandings of history that arise from conflicting narratives of personhood, nationhood, justice and so on.⁴ Media has the potential to offer access to such narratives and a forum in which to engage with them.

This shifting of diplomatic influence was clearly articulated in the South African context in 2011, when Gerrit Olivier (South Africa's former ambassador to the Soviet Union and Russia) and Herbert Beukes (the country's former

ambassador to Washington DC) published an editorial in the South African newspaper *Mail & Guardian* under the heading 'Diplomats – who needs them?'. They set out a series of factors they felt were diminishing the traditional role of diplomacy. These included embarrassing information about diplomatic practice revealed by Wikileaks, the tendency to appoint 'redundant politicians, political cronies or party benefactors and loyalists' to ambassador posts, increasing specialisation in inter-government relations that demands the participation of a host of government departments while sidelining traditionally generalist diplomats, and the tendency for these departments to communicate directly with their counterparts in other governments without the intermediation of diplomats.⁵

The latter theme also emerged in the African National Congress's 2012 Discussion Document on International Relations. In this document the ANC argued for 'parliamentary diplomacy':

The South African foreign policy is an expression of domestic public policy that projects national values and interests ... There is, therefore, a need for an 'activist' Parliament to ensure that the people that Parliament represents at the national level, are also represented at the international level.⁶

In this document, the ANC argues, 'parliamentarians that serve in multilateral forums like the International Parliamentary Union should be assisted and empowered in order to push forward the African agenda'. To this aim, they call for the 'provincial coordination of para-diplomacy in order to strengthen coherent international diplomacy on our part'.⁷ Nowhere in this discussion is a specific role for the diplomatic corps made clear.

Whatever the merits and weaknesses of this view of diplomacy, it seems to open the

possibility for other channels of diplomacy outside those run by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation. However, this is not yet echoed by the Department itself. In a 2011 white paper on South Africa's foreign policy, the Department makes no mention of parliamentary diplomacy, restricting itself to relatively conventional statements on the importance of multilateralism. Para-diplomacy is also not mentioned, while public diplomacy only appears as an afterthought on the last page:

In a world of competing interests, public diplomacy is essential to actively project South Africa's image, values and culture both domestically and abroad. The Department will broaden the use of available technologies and platforms, especially social media networks to communicate with stakeholders on South Africa's international relations. Public diplomacy activities include outreach programmes to bring foreign policy to the people. The South African government will continue to contribute to institutional support and capacity building to other requesting states and in this regard, the Department will continue to provide training to foreign diplomats as a means of creating goodwill and understanding.⁸

The white paper provides no details on how South Africa's image, values and culture will be communicated to the outside world, and as Yu-Shan Wu has pointed out, despite lip service to social media, the South African government has yet to devise and implement a comprehensive strategy of social media engagement either within or outside the country.⁹

Arguably, both the Department's vague discussion of public diplomacy and the wider discourse about the widening of diplomatic representation leave out one extant mechanism through which South Africa is already

represented in Africa: broadcast media. Owing to the presence of the South African DSTV satellite network in Africa, as well as the fact that until recently the South African Broadcasting Corporation and e.tv have beamed unrestricted hours of television to neighbouring countries, South African values, images and messages have been pouring into Africa for a long time.¹⁰ At the same time, Nigeria is now widely seen as the third largest film industry in the world after the United States and India.

Yet so far African governments seem to lack a strategy to gauge the influence of regional media expansion in the rest of Africa. Defining the specific images of South Africa and Nigeria beaming into Africa falls outside the purview of this article. Rather, I want to suggest frames through which to approach the issue. In the following section I will look at wider views of broadcast media in diplomacy.

Section 2: Media in the Diplomatic Realm

I have identified three overlapping approaches to the role of broadcast media in diplomacy. I would be the first to admit that this division is slightly artificial, because in reality media can be said to play all three roles at once and should be seen as a complex set of flows that construct, communicate, disseminate and return various images of the state. However, I list these three to isolate different ways the role of broadcast media has been articulated in discourse on diplomacy.

Globalisation

As I mentioned above, the speed and ubiquity of 24-hour news has been cited as a factor changing the role of conventional diplomacy. This role is frequently called the 'CNN effect' – the idea that the immediate visceral impact

of footage constantly playing on 24-hour news channels will create popular groundswells that will force governments to act in certain ways. Steven Livingston summed it up as a threefold effect: media as an accelerant of government action; an impediment to government action either because of its impact on popular morale or due to the impact the circulation of information itself has on national security; and media's role in setting agendas.¹¹ Since the rise of the internet, this concept has been extended to the 'YouTube effect'.¹² More recently, questions have been raised as to whether this effect really exists – particularly whether in the context of the contemporary ubiquity of media, visceral footage really has the impact CNN had during the 1990s.¹³ Much of this debate has been cast in terms of whether popular reaction will influence governments' decisions to intervene in foreign conflicts. I would argue that in the case of African media, it is more valuable to follow the lead of the globalisation scholar David Held, who argued that the growing awareness of the complexity of cultural consumption as well as immigration flows and economic interconnectedness have led to new articulations of globalisation, away from associations of direct imperialism towards cosmopolitanism. In particular, Held has argued for the power of cosmopolitanism to transcend narrow national identity and to facilitate the solving of complex problems that face the world as a whole.¹⁴ In other words, the spread of African media in Africa can be seen as helping to include various African publics in a series of conversations about what it means to be African and what the African state needs to achieve in the twenty-first century. At the same time, the current proliferation of media from other parts of the world in Africa allows Africans to think about how their own mode of life differs from other people and how to think about these differences.

Soft power

The second conception of the power of media in the diplomatic context refers to Joseph Nye's concept of soft power. One of the important distinctions to make is that whereas soft power is frequently defined simply as international prominence, Nye differentiates it from simple influence, although he does see it as one form of influence. More specifically, Nye measures soft power as the power of a state to coopt other states into its agenda, without having to resort to threats or direct economic or military pressure: 'If I can get you to want to do what I want, then I do not have to force you to do what you do *not* want.'¹⁵ In other words, rather than simply viewing soft power as the popularity of a country or foreign awareness of its role in the world, Nye sees it as a tool to achieve specific foreign policy objectives. In the second place, while media makes up a component of soft power development, it is only one component. Aid, educational exchange, institution building and so on can all be seen as part of soft power. Recently, scholars have challenged even this relatively wide conception of soft power by, for example, arguing that perceptions of economic success should be considered as a form of soft power, to be differentiated from Nye's conception of economic power as hard power.¹⁶ This means that soft power is arguably too wide a concept to deal effectively with the specificity of the South African and Nigerian media presence in Africa and too instrumentally focused on foreign policy objectives to fully account for the ambiguity and ephemerality of media.

Branding

The third lens through which to look at the role of African media in Africa is that of place branding, which is the attempt to apply concepts of commercial branding to the way countries or cities present themselves to the world.

According to Peter van Ham, 'place branding goes beyond mere slogans or old-fashioned ad campaigns' to encompass the entirety of concepts, emotions and impressions related to a place.¹⁷ One of the important distinctions that makes place branding a useful concept in this context is its distinction from place marketing. Whereas the marketing of cities or countries as tourism or investment destinations is a crucial way for them to construct themselves in the international community, it implies the direct and limited appeal to a specified audience that characterised conventional advertising.¹⁸ In contrast, thinking of the brand as the totality of impressions clinging to an entity allows one to account for the non-directed flow of media that emanates from South Africa and Nigeria to the rest of Africa. Whereas a small proportion of these images are produced to explicitly represent the countries to the outside world, they are mixed with images meant to represent them to local audiences, as well as images fulfilling a myriad of other functions. This also gives one the tools to think about critical or negative self-representation by the media, which then finds secondary audiences in other parts of Africa.

Section 3: Two Modes of Media Distribution in Africa: South Africa and Nigeria

Nigerian media has become notable for achieving distribution largely outside traditional distribution channels. This is mainly due to the use of new technology. The shift to videocassette, and later DVD, as the main medium of distribution was the result of the collapse of Nigeria's movie theatre network due to the country's economic downturn and the resulting social disruption.¹⁹ The so-called 'Nollywood' cinema boom is based on its large home audience. Because

Nollywood films are produced so quickly (some productions are finished in ten days) and distributed relatively cheaply, they manage to respond to social fluctuations in real time, maintaining this sense of conversation with their audience, especially non-elite audiences.^{20, 21} However, the popularity of Nollywood also quickly spread beyond the borders of Nigeria to the rest of West Africa, the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa and to centres of West African migration like the United Kingdom. Its spread was propelled by a few factors, including relatively weak copyright enforcement, which allowed pirate networks to spread these films quickly, the adoption of internet distribution by the filmmakers and the continent-wide spread of regional television networks. The latter is especially true for the South African satellite network DSTV, which over the last decade has launched a succession of channels dedicated to Nigerian film.^{22, 23} Another aspect of Nollywood's success is the themes of the films, touching on religion and belief, money, sex, relationships and urban life. In other words, these films find creative ways to reflect the daily lives of Nigerians, not by depicting them in a neo-realist sense but through an eccentric palette of special effects, provocative themes and repetition to create a kind of Nollywood mind space, with its own motifs, narrative conventions and competing traditions. This, together with its rapid product turnover and viral distribution, facilitated a rapidly expanding visual economy where Nigeria as a state is disseminated and reconstructed by fans in many other locales. Having said this, one should keep in mind that Nollywood films also reflect the complexity of Nigerian society, with films appearing in English and Pidgin, as well as Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. One should therefore not assume that foreign audiences consume Nollywood films in the same way as Nigerian audiences do. Yet, the very fact that Nollywood

films have managed to spread so far shows that underneath their cultural specificity they also address aspects of life in contemporary Africa.

While Nollywood production methods grew from a large home audience used to going to the movies, South Africa has a smaller population and, due to the social damage of apartheid, it lacks a unified culture of cinema-going. At the same time, its film industry has also not undergone the dramatic transformation which put low-end production in the hands of a wide base of filmmakers. Although some South African producers are trying variants of this model in South Africa, they face competition from both higher-budget South African films and TV and foreign content. All of these factors mean that South Africa has so far not achieved the mass of output and viral distribution – the sheer horizontal spread – of Nollywood. For that reason, South African media cannot be seen as producing only South African material to distribute, but must also be considered as the primary distribution network for the media from a variety of global production centres, including the United States, India, the United Kingdom, China, Japan and – notably – Nigeria. This is particularly true for the DSTV satellite network, which operates in 48 countries.²⁴ However, I would argue that the South African Broadcasting Corporation pioneered some of this tendency because it also imported foreign content and, albeit inadvertently, broadcast it to African audiences for decades.²⁵ In addition, South African mobile phone companies are established in many African markets. For example, MTN operates in twenty-one countries across Africa and Western Asia, from South Africa to Afghanistan and in these countries it maintains a localised presence, with its networks allowing local self-expression and the circulation of media from all over the world.²⁶

It is therefore considerably more difficult to discern a unified image of South Africa from its

media conglomerates than it is to construct ideas about Nigeria from watching Nollywood. In a sense, to look at South African media giants like DSTV is to look at transnationalism itself. At the same time, one of the production nodes whose media is present on the DSTV network is South Africa. So the analysis of South Africa's media image in Africa has to distinguish between South African networks and South African content. I lack the space to provide a detailed examination of South African content in Africa, so I will restrict my present comments to one point: Nigerian media flourished in a large local market and was then carried by osmosis to regional, continental and diaspora markets which share some linguistic ability and thematic preoccupations with the home market. It therefore did not develop a hard distinction between addressing its local and transnational audiences. In contrast, I would argue that South African media as it is found on DSTV maintains a bifurcated address, with certain channels explicitly locating South Africa as part of a continental audience, while some address themselves to a South African audience (even though some of this content might also be consumed by transnational audiences). I expand on this point later in the article.

Currently, South Africa and Nigeria seem united by a lack of government attention to the role of media in continental relations. On the official website of the Nigerian government, exactly one sentence is dedicated to what is generally seen as one of the most explosively prolific film industries in the world – considerably less than the page's discussion of the Nigerian soccer team.²⁷ Similarly, the South African government seems to be paying little attention to the role South African media is playing in the lives of Africans and the way South Africa is being constructed by their consumption of South African media. It is not the place of this article

to speculate why this is, although I might point to a revealing sentence in the ANC's policy document on international relations: 'We ought to do better as the ANC and government in explaining the decisions we take so that our [sic] should not rely only on slanted reporting in the media, reporting that is designed to confuse and obfuscate issues.'²⁸ If the ANC's default position on the media is as defensive as it seems in this passage, it is perhaps not surprising that it disregards the role South African media is playing in the rest of Africa. Similarly, discussions of the possible role of Nollywood in public diplomacy seem embarrassed by what Nollywood film is actually like. Isolated authors have advocated for the instrumentalisation of Nollywood in public diplomacy. However, while these authors refer to Nollywood's popularity, profitability and status as one of the most productive film industries in the world, they also seem fixated on reforming Nollywood. They especially take issue with its technical quality, and depiction of sorcery and violence.^{29, 30} The problem with this approach is that it ignores what made Nigerian cinema popular in the first place and for that reason runs the risk of both alienating fans and losing whatever diplomatic cachet the popularity has produced.

In order to broaden the debate on the diplomatic role of African media on the continent, I would like to briefly set out two models of Asian media-based diplomacy currently operating in Africa.

Section 4: Two Asian Models of Media Diplomacy

China

China's use of media as a means of soft power in Africa is a complex issue that can easily be oversimplified. Briefly summed up, Chinese

media engagement in Africa dates back to the cold war, with the donation of radio broadcast equipment and China Radio International (CRI) content during the 1960s and 1970s. Like other aspects of China's African engagement during this era, for example medical and infrastructure aid, media engagement was explicitly positioned as gestures of anti-colonial solidarity, and frequently veered into propaganda.³¹ Again, as other aid to Africa was re-configured in the 1990s to fit into China's 'going out' strategy of outward-focused economic growth predicated on the competition between various Chinese companies (both state-owned and private), so Chinese media in Africa also changed its tone. Specifically, it moved away from propaganda towards public relations. Rather than simply declaiming the message of the state, CRI's approach became more nuanced. Influenced by the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation, CRI cultivated partnerships with foreign broadcasters and started using international content brokers. In the process it evolved an approach that is broadly useful to foreign audiences in that it brings them coverage of world events, while also fulfilling its role as an organ of the state by presenting China to the world.³²

The pattern exemplified by CRI is also followed by other Chinese state-owned media, including China Central Television (CCTV) and the news agency Xinhua. Their international presence is more complex than simply broadcasting propaganda. Rather, they occupy a shifting position of both competing with other international news services in bringing news coverage not related to China to international audiences, while treading a careful path of positive representation and elision when the coverage deals with Chinese interests. Western accounts of this process frequently tend to conflate it with propaganda. For example in a recent article in

The Globe and Mail, the journalist Geoffrey York writes: 'Its investments have allowed China to promote its own media agenda in Africa, using a formula of upbeat business and cultural stories and a deferential pro-government tone, while ignoring human-rights issues and the backlash against China's own growing power.'³³ This is not fundamentally wrong, in the sense that both the Chinese government and representatives of the Chinese media describe the expansion in Africa in terms of soft power generation and taking control of what they perceive as distorted depictions of China by the Western-dominated press in Africa.³⁴ Rather, it is only half of the story. Chinese soft power is not only enhanced by directly taking control of or underplaying criticism of China in the international press, but also by simply joining that press as a perceived equal player. CCTV's construction of production facilities in Nairobi and its coverage of African news for African audiences as well as a variety of news from all over the world places it on the same playing field as services like France24, which has a very similar agenda of presenting news from a French perspective for which it is not criticised by the likes of *The Globe and Mail*. CCTV's presentation of itself as an equal player on the same field as Al Jazeera, the BBC and so on is most clearly visualised through its use of graphics and a multicultural selection of anchors almost indistinguishable from its competitors.³⁵

The positioning of Chinese media as international media carries its own cachet and should be seen in the context of the call by President Hu Jintao at the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party in 2007 to 'vigorously develop the cultural industry, launch major projects to lead the industry as a whole, speed up development of cultural industry bases ... and enhance the industry's international competitiveness'.³⁶ The complex status of CCTV as both

state-owned and competing in the international news market should be kept in mind when one thinks of its role in soft power generation. It not only presents positive images of China, it also implicitly presents an image of China as an equal contender in the international sphere, which dovetails with recent findings that the *perception* of economic success acts as a form of soft power in certain African media markets.³⁷ The flipside of this reality is that media from the People's Republic of China thus finds itself in a position where projecting sobriety is highly valued. The decision to make the PRC's first media step into the African market almost exclusively news based is notable because of the historical popularity of Hong Kong martial arts film in various African markets. The focus on news (particularly business news) can be seen as presenting a new face to emerging markets. This face is to a large extent singular and controlled, reflecting the fact that the media deployment is happening from few sources. This is very different from the diffusion of Japanese images.

Japan

Whereas China's deployment of media in Africa is explicitly linked to soft power generation, this is largely not true for Japan. This is not because Japan does not use culture as part of its diplomacy – as I will show below, it is quite innovative in this respect. Rather, it is because up to now Africa has largely been off Tokyo's cultural diplomacy radar. Generally, Japan's soft power programmes in Africa depend more on aid and trade than on media. This is especially true after TICAD V in 2013, when Japan committed itself to \$32 billion in overseas development assistance to Africa, a move away from a reduction in foreign aid during Japan's economic slump and a return to its status as one of the largest official development assistance

(ODA) donors to Africa.^{38,39} However, in this article I argue that Japan's cultural diplomacy is also relevant to Africa for two reasons. In the first place, while Japan's cultural diplomacy has focused on the Northern Hemisphere and Australasia up to now, a small number of cultural diplomacy events have taken place in South Africa and Egypt in recent years. In the second place, one of the innovative aspects of Japan's cultural diplomacy is its reliance on viral propagation via social media and the internet. For that reason, even though Africa is not yet part of its formal target, Africa is increasingly being included in its sphere of influence due to the spread of ICT networks on the continent.

To a certain extent, Japan followed the template of Western countries in setting up institutions that would combine cultural outreach and language education. The Japan Foundation followed the example of institutions like the Alliance Française, especially after anti-Japanese riots broke out in the ASEAN region in 1974. This approach was to a certain extent also followed by the People's Republic of China in its use of Confucius Institutes as soft power nodes.⁴⁰

However, despite these initiatives, Japan's deployment of culture differs from Xinhua, CCTV and so on in the sense that it is not linked to the state in terms of ownership. While Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, Japan's central broadcaster, maintains a presence overseas, it resists the extension of markets and production facilities in the manner of CCTV.⁴¹ Rather, while Japanese cultural diplomacy went through several phases, from aggressive propaganda in the run up to the Second World War, to a severe limiting of the cultural images propagated after the war, to a succession of image changes as Japan responded to changes in its economic position in the international community, these

images were never the sole purview of the state, but rather the result of an increasingly complex interaction between the state and a myriad of cultural producers and private companies. As a result, as the Japanese cultural industry played an increasingly global role from the mid-1970s onwards, the Japanese government was increasingly in the position of catching up to the popularity of Japanese media (especially animation (*anime*), gaming, fashion and comic books (*manga*) in the international market without having much creative power over many of these images.

This tendency became formalised in 2004 when the Japanese government launched the Cool Japan campaign, dedicated to using the already extant global popularity of Japanese media to increase support for the Japanese state.⁴² In the process, the Japanese diplomatic corps started collaborating with figures from the Japanese media and branding world, increasingly outsourcing aspects of its soft power generation to an extent unseen in China. In other words, one of the strategic shifts achieved by the Cool Japan campaign was the recognition that the image of Japan had already slipped out of the control of the Japanese government. How foreigners thought about Japan is constituted by a multiplicity of images flowing from different cultural producers and virally spread by foreign fans of Japanese culture. One result of this realisation has been to move beyond simply presenting positive images of the state to drawing on the role consumption plays in identity formation to turn individual consumers into propagators of Brand Japan. Contemporary advocates of pop culture as an engine of Japanese cultural diplomacy emphasise that the real proof of Japan's global influence is the fact that events dedicated to Japanese pop culture are frequently arranged by non-Japanese.⁴³ This approach to cultural diplomacy depends on the

insertion of the state into the way individuals use consumption to construct their identities. In other words, the fact that 'Japan' is loaded with a series of values including 'elegance', 'avant-garde', 'eccentricity' and so on allows non-Japanese individuals to claim it as part of their own identities, which then puts the onus on them to communicate these values to their peers. The Japanese state is by definition less able than Japanese cultural producers to produce these associations, but it is able to draw on them as part of its own diplomatic agenda.

Section 5: The Applicability and Limits of these Models when Applied to South Africa and Nigeria

The reason why I raised the twin examples of China and Japan in the context of African media is because it seems to me that aspects of South African and Nigerian media expansion could be enlightened through an engagement with these models. However, one should tread carefully when applying them to Africa.

In the South African case, while its media has enjoyed a long presence in African living rooms, most research has so far focused on its impact on South African society, with relatively little research into images of South Africa in the rest of Africa. The scholars that concentrated on these issues also tended to focus more on the ethics of South African media expansion and its impact on local media economies than on its role in constructing the state.^{44, 45} In the second place, one has to distinguish between network and content. South African media networks have an extensive reach in Africa, but that does not necessarily mean that South African media content has the same width of distribution. In fact, it is frequently

more useful to think of South African media networks as vectors of globalisation, rather than as presenting images of South Africa *per se*. For example, in a study about the global circulation of the American children's channel Nickelodeon, Pecora and Lustyik discuss the case of Nickelodeon consumption in Zimbabwe in terms of the role of South Africa's satellite network DSTV in delivering this content.⁴⁶

In other words, rather than simply thinking about the role of South African broadcast networks to visualise the South African state or to deliver global information filtered through a particular national sensibility in the manner of Chinese state-owned media, it might also be valuable to think of South African networks as more akin to Chinese mobile phone networks in Africa. Like the state-owned ZTE and private Huawei, DSTV and to a certain extent the SABC provide pathways that extend the transnational circulation of globalised media. At the same time, the extension of these pathways not only facilitates the opening of emerging markets to first-world content like Nickelodeon, but it also has the potential to circulate from non-Western media production nodes. Adejunmobi argues that DSTV's circulation of Nigerian films 'would represent the latest permutations of regional capital working in tandem with both local and global capital', and that it employs a strategy of utilisation rather than erasure: 'Instead of seeking to completely displace local media, regional media corporations are more likely to move forward commodifying and standardizing the most financially profitable local forms of diversity available within their region of operation. Where diversity can be successfully commodified, it will be co-opted rather than eliminated'.⁴⁷ This tendency to co-opt diversity has the effect of flattening national difference to so many choices on the remote control. One could argue that the ubiquity of the

South African conglomerate DSTV in Africa has the consequence of lessening the influence of the South African state in Africa. However, I would argue that South African 24-hour news channels on DSTV operate in the same way as Chinese channels on the same network, in the sense that they use globally standardised news graphics and presentation conventions to claim parity within the African TV news sphere. In this sense, the very flattening of national difference inherent in having many channels from different countries on the dial acts as symbolically legitimising South Africa's aspiration to speak both to and for Africa.

Applying the contrast between China and Japan to regional media expansion in Africa therefore allows us to see a comparable contrast between South Africa and Nigeria. Like China, South Africa produces many TV dramas that speak primarily to local cultural and political conditions,^{48, 49} while at the same time presenting a sober, news-focused face aimed more towards foreign audiences. This is not to say that these domestic dramas do not have transnational audiences. Chinese domestic dramas are increasingly circulating in the international market, but Zhu points out that China's cultural exports are still dwarfed by its cultural imports. South African dramas have a sizable audience in Africa, and in conversations with South African TV producers I heard anecdotes that the recent end of the unlimited broadcast of SABC and e.tv dramas to the rest of Africa gave rise to street sales of pirated versions of soap operas like *Generations* in Harare. However, African audiences are not directly addressed by these dramas. Like China, South Africa currently maintains a dual system of address, where the official version of the state comes to African audiences via news channels, while TV drama consumption is a kind of spill over.

In contrast, Nigeria resembles Japan in the sense that its film industry, while to a certain extent distributed globally through networks like DSTV, is made up of a myriad smaller producers that put out large amounts of individual works catering to a large domestic market, without the level of direct address to foreign audiences. While there are clearly many differences between Japanese *anime* and Nollywood film, one shared aspect is their tendency not to make a hard distinction between domestic and international markets. Rather, they reflect local narrative conventions while also reflecting aspects of postmodern life under capitalism. Ogoura has identified the latter aspect as central to *anime*'s power in the international market. *Anime* is after all one of the few kinds of pop culture that has achieved global popularity without the global distribution muscle of Hollywood or diaspora-based distribution. I would argue that it is not only its depiction of postmodern life that makes Japanese *anime* such a powerful presence in the international market, but exactly its combination of this depiction with local narrative eccentricity. It is exactly Japanese *anime*'s oddness, the fact that it resists complete comprehension, which makes it valuable as an object of transnational fandom. *Anime* fandom requires a certain amount of work, and in the process fans take on the responsibility of converting other fans. Compared to *anime*, Nollywood film is much more dependent on diaspora networks for its distribution, but it shares with *anime* this combination of the universal depiction of the postmodern condition with surface localised eccentricity and particularity. While Nollywood film has not yet gained *anime*'s level of worldwide fandom and critical recuperation, *anime* may serve as a useful example of what such global fandom might look like and how it might impact on the transnational construction of the state.

Conclusion

How do these differences relate to the construction of the state? I would argue that, like China, South Africa's use of media to present itself to Africa is inherently conservative. By this I do not mean politically conservative. Rather, I mean that both South Africa and China have a lot invested in looking sober. The choice of 24-hour news as their main address to foreign audiences should be seen as attempts at claiming a position on the global economic playing field, at legitimising the state as a regional and potentially global leader. In comparison, both Nigeria and Japan tend to lead with creativity in the realm of entertainment. This approach has certain pitfalls – in the first place, both Nollywood and *anime* face detractors dismissing them as inherently trivial, technically inferior or odd (or even perverted). In the second place, because of the myriad of individual works entering the market and the viral fan-driven distribution of these works, governments trying to draw on their popularity for diplomatic ends might find themselves losing control of the message. In the Nigerian case this is admittedly a hypothetical problem, but in Japan diplomats have faced situations where the foreign *anime* fans they are trying to draw to the Japanese cause knew considerably more about *anime* than they did. Japanese media figures who collaborate with the Japanese government to host cultural diplomacy events have even advised that Japanese diplomats undergo training in *anime*.⁵⁰ That said, if Japanese pop culture diplomacy during the last decade has shown anything it is that there is a lot of hay to be made out of the image of eccentric cool.

In contrast, China's focus on a unified presentation through state-owned media might earn it respect, but it hardly stirs the imagination. This might change in the future because DSTV has

recently launched and expanded its selection of Chinese-language channels in the Sub-Saharan region to include entertainment channels, but this is not yet true for the Southern African region. Africans more exposed to the full range of mainland Chinese media might gain other views of Chinese society, but at the moment those perceptions are still dominated by conservative news broadcasts. While Africans with satellite access have access to a wider range of South African media, the country still depends on news to directly address African audiences.

At the beginning of this article, I tried to put the question of media into the context of African diplomacy. If conventional diplomacy is

indeed in decline, the role of media in creating perceptions of the state becomes more central. South African and Nigerian media expansion create as yet unexamined opportunities for Africans to engage in conversations about what it means to be African in the twenty-first century. This article tried to take a first step towards suggesting models to look at this expansion. To depend on Western templates for these conversations is to inherently limit them. If this article acts as an argument for anything, I would like it to be an argument for the value of Asian templates of media and diplomacy in order to better understand how African states might represent themselves via media in the future.

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Does South Africa Still Need the Southern African Customs Union in the Advancement of its Long-Term Strategic Interests in Southern Africa and Africa?

The purpose of this article is to provide an answer to the question of whether South Africa still needs the Southern African Customs Union in relation to the Southern African Development Community in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa. By consolidating its regional and continental status and seeking to be an international power, a major force within the Group of 20 countries and Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), as well as an important actor in the United Nations as a permanent member of its Security Council, it creates a more conducive regional, continental and global environment for the effective advancement of its interests regionally and continentally. The article concludes that South Africa needs SADC, but not SACU, in the advancement of its interests regionally and continentally. South Africa also needs SADC but not SACU for protection against its external enemies and opponents.

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Introduction

There is a fundamental need to provide theoretical positions that are capable of providing an adequate understanding of South Africa's global engagement. This is required by its position as the Southern African regional and African continental power, seeking to consolidate the power and authority inherent in its status in order to effectively advance its long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent. Related to this status is the fact that South Africa also seeks to be an international power, a major force within the Group of 20 countries and the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) group of countries and an important actor within the United Nations (UN) as a permanent member of the UN Security Council where it is currently serving a second term as a non-permanent member.

What should South Africa do to consolidate its status as a regional and continental power in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests, both regionally and continentally, and to become an international power, a major force within the Group of G-20 countries and an important actor within the UN? This should be viewed in relation

to external powers opposed to the African agenda of sociopolitical and economic transformation that are increasing their dominance in Southern Africa and Africa and in relation to the advancement of South Africa's Southern African regional agenda and African continental agenda. South Africa should strategically and tactically increase its alliance with countries such as Brazil, Russia, India and China through the BRICS organisation, of which it is a member, in its efforts not only to consolidate these regional and continental objectives and achieve global objectives, but also to advance its regional and continental agenda. In actively ensuring that the regional, continental and global environment conducive to the advancement, achievement and defence of its long-term strategic interests, regionally and continentally, is created and sustained, it needs the Southern African Development Community (SADC) but not the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). The advancement of its long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent requires that it focus exclusively on SADC. Consequently, South Africa should strive for the integration of SACU into SADC.

South Africa's advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa lies, among other things, in its effective contribution to Southern African regional and African continental integration. It is through its contribution to regional integration that it contributes effectively to African continental integration.

Southern African countries contribute towards the achievement of regional integration through SADC not SACU. This reality was articulated by President Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia and President Seretse Khama Ian Khama of Botswana in their SACU centenary celebration addresses on 22 April 2010 in Windhoek, Namibia. Speaking on behalf of

SACU heads of state and government, Pohamba articulated this reality as follows:

The integration within SACU is important for the wider regional integration under the auspices of the Southern African Development Community. In this context, the integration strategy for SACU will also have positive contribution to the broader economic integration in the SADC region. After all, every SACU member state also belongs to SADC.

Throughout our discussion this morning, we recognised the important role that SADC continues to play in the integration of our region. The strategies that we have discussed are complementary to the SACU plan of action in respect of regional integration.

We also recognised the important role that SACU, as a sub-group within SADC, can play in spearheading the integration process within the larger, Southern Africa region. In this respect, SACU maintains high levels of synergy with SADC in respect of the integration agenda.¹

Khama emphasised this reality as follows:

In exploring avenues for deeper regional integration, we should be cognisant of the need to consolidate and implement our commitments as per the SACU 2002 Agreement. However, as we implement the ideals of SACU we must also take into account our membership to and objectives of SADC as we move forward in our regional integration initiatives. This is because it is only through working together as a team in the wider SADC context that we can ensure smooth regional integration in Southern Africa.²

The advancement of South Africa's long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa

requires South Africa to embark upon key programmes of action. Firstly, it should sustain and consolidate its status as the regional and continental power. Secondly, consolidate and sustain its road, air, maritime, port, pipeline and railway transport infrastructure. This is critical for national socioeconomic development and competition regionally, continentally and globally. This plays a crucial role in reducing transport costs and facilitating trade relations between Southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the world.

The role of South Africa in regional transportation networks is directly related to its role in regional trade. This reality is best articulated by Hans Abrahamsson when he points out that 'the consequences of transport dependency' for other SADC members 'are more crucial than those of trade dependency, since they are related first and foremost not to South Africa, but to' their 'trade with other regions'.³ The fact that its transportation networks are the largest and the most efficient and effective on the continent and that they facilitate trade relations between the region, the continent and the rest of the world and that they control the regional transportation and communication networks, is such that South Africa will continue having a significant impact on the development of the region.

Thirdly, it should strategically and tactically seek to achieve its global objectives of being an international power, a major force within the Group of 20 countries and BRICS and an important actor in the UN as a permanent member of the Security Council. Fourthly, it should create and sustain a favourable regional, continental and global environment. This is necessary in order for it to be able to determine and control its limitations and programmes of action in its regional, continental and global relations.

South Africa's geopolitical imperatives are, firstly, to maintain and consolidate its regional and continental power status; secondly, to contribute to the reduction and elimination of the domination and control of the regional and continental markets and resources by the advanced capitalist countries; thirdly, to contribute towards the protection of the region and the continent from encroachment by hostile rivals antagonistic to the regional and continental strategic interests; and, fourthly, to shape the regional, continental and global geopolitical balance of power. This task is executed in alliance with some African countries and those of the South, which need SADC not SACU in the region in taking care of these geopolitical imperatives.

Central to South Africa's advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa is its commitment to a regional and continental agenda, in general, and integration, in particular. Its contribution to the achievement of regional and continental integration will best be served if the integration project is not viewed primarily in terms of its economic and trade aspects. One of the fundamental weaknesses of the view of the regional integration project in South Africa is largely economically informed by the narrow imperatives of the trade relations of South African private companies. This position is supportive of the dominant fraction of South African private capital in its obsession with its happiness to sell to other countries in Southern Africa. This is criticised by S. Prakash Sethi in his statement that regional 'economic integration for Southern Africa is being advocated for wrong reasons'.⁴ He provides what he regards as a viable alternative to this economic view of the integration project,⁵ which is in favour of the narrow profit interests of South African private companies and, being for the status quo in

Southern Africa, is basically against equitable and mutually beneficial regional integration. The adoption and implementation of appropriate policy measures for the global sociopolitical and economic order and international trade are of strategic importance for the advancement of South Africa's long-term strategic interests both regionally and continentally. These policy measures should be implemented taking into account the history of its national capital accumulation, social class forces and the role of the state in the direction of its national economy and the history of national capital accumulation, social class forces and the role of the state in the direction of the national economy of the regional and continental countries, as well as advanced capitalist countries, emerging powers such as Brazil, Russia, India and China and other key countries in the rest of the world.

South Africa's view of the integration project in its developmental objectives or its opposition to the economics of the project informed by the narrow imperatives of the trade relations of its private companies, particularly with Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland (BLNS) – its SACU partners – is important for various reasons. One of the key reasons is that the trade relationship between South Africa and the BLNS will still be more strongly in its favour without the continued existence of SACU and that the export market, in particular, and the market, in general, of the rest of Southern Africa for South Africa is more than that of the BLNS. This reality is pointed out by Colin McCarthy on two levels. Firstly, by critiquing an argument that 'has frequently been made by the BLNS' that SACU has played an important role in facilitating the development of the South African manufacturing industry through the growth of exports to BLNS. Secondly, by critiquing the statement of Festus G. Mogae the Minister of Finance and Development Planning of Botswana at a

meeting of Ministers of Finance of SACU member countries on 17 August 1993 that, in 1992, 'the value of South Africa's exports to the BLNS was equal to more than 70 per cent of South Africa's net gold exports and more than twice the value of South Africa's exports to the rest of Africa'.⁶ He concluded that Mogae's

... quoting of data on South African exports within SACU ... seems to ignore the possibility that, had SACU not existed, trade between South Africa and BLNS would still have been significant and heavily in South Africa's favour. It might also be noted that since the opening up of world markets to democratic South Africa the importance of the export market in the rest of Africa and the world has eclipsed the SACU market for South African industry.⁷

The SADC market, not the BLNS market, is more important for South Africa. There are concrete facts supporting this reality. Firstly, for South Africa the BLNS market is relatively small and consists of countries with limited purchasing power. Secondly, the Southern African regional market consists of all regional countries of which the majority are not SACU members. This means that SADC, not SACU, is of more strategic importance in the advancement of the long-term strategic interests of South Africa in Southern Africa and Africa.

This reality is also pointed out by Robin Sherbourne in emphasising that South Africa's long-term strategic interests are beyond BLNS. They are within the whole of SADC and the African continent. The most appropriate strategic and tactical way to advance them is through SADC not SACU. South Africa trades more with the whole of SADC and the continent. Economically and in terms of trade, SACU is relatively small. The fact that South Africa no longer needs SACU in relation to the whole of

SADC in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests, both regionally and continentally, can best be understood if we come to grips with the reality that, even without SACU, the BLNS will continue importing goods from South Africa. The end of SACU will not make much difference in the trade relations between South Africa and the BLNS; they will continue trading with South Africa.⁸ Briefly, South Africa's long-term strategic interests in the region and continent lie with SADC not SACU. Sherbourne indicates that SACU structurally does not advance the long-term strategic interests of the BLNS. He maintains that they have not seriously asked themselves the question as to what they would have done had SACU not existed. They have also not asked themselves what they would do if SACU were to come to an end. They are overwhelmed by their dependence on SACU for revenue to such an extent that it prevents them from doing what they should be doing, that is, advancing their national development and progress.⁹

To the extent that South Africa's long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent are not only economic and trade issues, but also, among others, political, peace, stability, defence and security issues internal and external to its relations with the region, the continent and the rest of the world, and that SADC not SACU has more interlinkages with the region, the continent and the rest of the world, it is clear that the country's interests lie more with SADC and not SACU. SACU may thus become a liability not an asset in the advancement of South Africa's interests in the region and the continent particularly if South Africa is not able to transform it effectively and structurally to serve the popular interests of the region and of the vast majority of its people. It is doubtful that South Africa will be able to execute this task, however. If it is not able to

execute it, valid questions will be raised as to how it can effectively contribute towards the structural transformation of SADC and the AU to serve the interests of the region and the continent and those of the vast majority of their people, if it has failed to effectively and structurally transform SACU, which is small and consists of politically and economically weak countries, to serve the interests of the region and those of its people. Directly related to these points is the fact that South Africa's SACU partners, with the exception of Namibia, are not its serious or strategic partners or allies in Southern African and African affairs. They are also not its serious opponents in regional and continental affairs. Regional countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Tanzania and other SADC countries are of more strategic importance in the advancement of South Africa's long-term strategic political, economic, security, energy, water and trade interests. Their strategic importance extends to the rest of the region and the continent. The point is that they are of more strategic importance in regional, continental and global affairs than Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

South Africa's contribution to Southern African regional integration occurs best and most effectively through SADC not SACU. While SADC is the regional economic community through which Southern African countries, including South Africa, contribute not only towards the achievement of regional integration, but also towards African continental integration as required by the African Union (AU), SACU is not that community. Instead, it is a revenue sharing and trade facilitation organisation primarily facilitating revenue contribution and sharing and trade among its five members.¹⁰ For BLNS policy makers, the revenue they obtain from SACU is the primary

consideration, while trade is the secondary consideration.¹¹

Southern Africa and Africa as the Chessboard for the Advancement of South Africa's Regional, Continental and Global Strategic Objectives

South Africa, in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa, should continue working strategically and tactically more closely with other regional and continental countries. The achievement and defence of these interests lies with these countries not with countries outside the African continent. These regional and continental countries are the nerve centres, relay stations and staging-posts in the struggle for achieving its regional, continental and global strategic objectives.

According to Mike Muller, former Director General of the South African Department of Water and Environmental Affairs, South Africa because of its commitment to the African agenda and Southern African regional and African continental integration should invest in 'African hydropower'.¹² This means investing in, among other things, the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique, the Zambezi river project in Zambia and the Grand Inga Dam project in the DRC and working more closely with Mozambique, Zambia and the DRC for their contribution towards the increased supply of energy in the region and the continent. This would enable it to contribute towards integration on both regional and continental levels. The investment in 'African hydropower' would be an investment in the industrial development of other African countries. Southern Africa's abundant dams should be used to generate large amounts of electricity. The DRC and

Zambia constitute 'the two major sources of hydropower for Southern Africa'.¹³ Hydropower continues to be the best way to produce electricity on a larger scale. Thus, South Africa's investment in technological hegemony through its investment in hydropower would translate into 'social and economic progress for the broader community'.¹⁴

South Africa's investment in hydropower would be in response to a call on African governments and the private sector to give financial support to the exploitation of sources of renewable energy including hydropower in the continent by, among others, Jamal Saghir, the Africa director of the World Bank's sustainable development department, in his address to the delegates at the two-day African Energy Ministers Conference in Johannesburg, South Africa on 15 September 2011.¹⁵ The exploitation of sources of renewable energy, including hydropower on the continent, is critical to increased access to modern energy in Sub-Saharan Africa. Speaking at the same conference, Dipuo Peters, South African Minister of Energy, pointed out that the increased access to modern energy or 'light' is of crucial importance in the substantial reduction of poverty in the continent.¹⁶ South Africa, through its national power utility Eskom, is investing in the Inga project on the Congo River, possibly the world's largest source of hydro-electric power. Eskom's partners in this joint venture in the Western Power Corridor are the Societe Nationale d'Electricite of the DRC, Empresa Nacional de Eleccricidade of Angola, Botswana Power Corporation and NamPower of Namibia. This partnership between South Africa and four SADC members is an integral part of Eskom's strategy of building power generation projects in Southern Africa that are strategic for economic growth and development and of mutual benefit to South Africa and other regional countries. On the

immense benefits of the Grand Inga Dam project for Southern Africa and Africa, Pat Naidoo, the chief executive officer of the Western Power Corridor, pointed out that:

Access to electricity brings immense opportunities to people in commerce and industry apart from being a critical instrument in the alleviation of poverty, as it impacts on delivery of clean water, sanitation, health services, irrigation of crops in agriculture and the development of home industries and the provision of telecommunication infrastructure.¹⁷

The hydropower resources of the DRC and Zambezi are going to play a more critical role in meeting South Africa's increasing energy needs. As the South African economy further develops and the country's need for energy increases, the hydropower resources of the region will serve as a solution to its problems. Their response to its energy needs will contribute towards the increased complementarity between its economy and the economy of other regional countries. The proximity of these countries to South Africa will provide them with opportunities to increase their penetration of the South African market with their products, such as water and electricity. What is of crucial importance as far as the subject matter of this work is concerned is that the main hydropower resources of the region, including those of South Africa, are in SADC outside SACU. This means not only that South Africa's increased energy needs can be met by neither its internal resources nor by its SACU partners, but also that its long-term strategic interests in the region lie within SADC not SACU. Directly related to this reality, particularly as far as the structural issue of contributing towards mutual interests and benefits in the region, is that water and electricity are areas in which the cooperation of

other regional countries with South Africa will generate their additional revenue.

Peter Hain, who served in the British government for twelve years as Africa Minister, Europe Minister and Energy Minister, emphasises the strategic importance of South Africa's investment in water security for itself and other African countries, including those outside Southern Africa, by pointing out that water security is 'a potential source, not only of strategic shortages but also of conflicts between communities, regions and nations'.¹⁸ It is of strategic importance to harness 'Africa's vast natural resources to generate cheap and universally accessible energy from renewable generation' to ensure its development and 'progress'.¹⁹ This 'would not only provide African communities with much-needed light and power' but also crucially 'provide opportunities to generate sustainable and self-sufficient wealth and employment'. This is critical to the contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the regional and continental integration project. This can best be understood if we take into account the fact that currently 'electricity access in Africa is extremely low' and that fifteen of the 20 countries with the lowest access' to electricity 'on the planet are in Sub-Saharan Africa'.²⁰ Increased access to electricity by the masses in Africa is imperative in Africa's advancement towards industrial development. This forward movement should be guided by the state through the formulation and implementation of policy measures requiring investment in energy resources. Central to this investment is the achievement of socioeconomic development and progress in the material conditions of the people. Energy is central in the efforts to advance human development and progress. Its centrality in these efforts is affirmed by the United Nations Development Programme in its 2011 Human Development Report as follows:

Energy is central to a range of services supporting human development, from modern medical care, transportation, information and communications to lighting, heating, cooking and mechanical power for agriculture. Equitable and sustainable development requires making energy available for all, controlling emissions and shifting to new and cleaner energy sources.²¹

There is a fundamental need for South Africa to play a leading role in contributing towards the reconstruction and development of Southern Africa and Africa by investing more in renewable energy sources in Africa for its needs. This is the best way for it to advance its long-term strategic interests regionally and continentally. South Africa is already planning to intensify its expansion into Southern Africa through Eskom, as an integral part of its plan for a more integrated regional power network. Central to this plan is for it to contribute towards energy security in Southern Africa by 'building lines and plants and tapping the region's vast green energy sources'²² in working with the national power utilities of Angola, Botswana, the DRC and Namibia. The Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique, the Zambezi River project in Zambia and the Grand Inga Dam project in the DRC will play a key role in this plan.

Pointing out that the 'evidence of the energy debate is that our [South African] critical technological hegemony, our ability to argue and develop positions that reflect our national interests, is rapidly being lost, not just in the government, but in the private sector and academe', Muller concludes that:

Taking its place is the hegemony of Afropessimism, of looking to Europe rather than to new sources of power and ideas. Partnership strategies with countries such as China could provide the infrastructure that the region

needs, paid for by long-term commodity agreements, not by begging from the World Bank. Carefully negotiated, these deals could include technological development to benefit the products, perhaps even to produce fuel cells from our [South African] platinum. But this will not happen while power remains with people who talk Africa and the East but walk north, to Europe and the US [United States].²³

Muller maintains that the sooner the political hegemony of those who 'talk Africa and the East, but walk north to Europe and the United States of America (US)', 'is eroded, the better'. This is the case despite the fact that they will leave South Africans and their 'neighbours poorer, more divided and dependent than we need to be'.²⁴ The erosion of their political hegemony will be in the interests of the vast majority of the people of Southern Africa in that their defeat and replacement by those who will substantiate their theoretical position of talking and walking with Africa and the East will ensure partnerships with countries such as China, which would provide the infrastructure that Africa needs. These infrastructure development projects will be 'paid for by long-term commodity agreements'. These deals negotiated to benefit African countries and their people would include 'technological development to benefit the products, perhaps even to produce fuel cells' from mineral resources such as platinum.

The benefits to African countries and their people from their partnerships with countries such as Brazil, Russia, India and China call for Africa's collective strategic response to their intensified expansion into Africa and its impact on Africa's development and progress. This is the case given various reasons, which, according to Fantu Cheru in his analysis of Africa-China relations, are:

Though China's rise poses a number of challenges, the opportunities should outweigh the threats if managed correctly. Regrettably, missing from the new China-Africa cooperation arrangement is a clear and coordinated policy strategy by African leaders on how to engage China constructively. While China knows what it wants from Africa, African countries have yet to develop a common framework on how to negotiate with China from a stronger and better-informed platform.²⁵

Pointing out that this 'lack of collective African response towards China poses a number' of 'security, environmental and governance risks' and 'economic threats', Fantu concludes that:

The lack of progress in building the key institutional foundations for democratic governance further compounds the problems of establishing a mutually beneficial relationship between China and Africa. Much of the Chinese onslaught on Africa is being facilitated with the explicit consent of parasitic and unaccountable African elites. At the moment, the scramble for resources passes over the doorsteps of governing African elites where concessions are sold and royalties are collected. Chinese companies have therefore been able to thrive in African countries where the legal and regulatory frameworks (i.e. environmental and labour standards) are very weak or non-existent.²⁶

South Africa, for the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa, should ensure that it plays a leading role in the formulation and implementation of this strategic collective policy response to the intensified expansion of its BRICS partners into the continent and its impact on the development and progress of the continent. Playing such a pivotal role it will be supporting in practice the

fact that it is a leader of Africa internally within the continent and externally in the relationship between the continent and external actors. It is better placed than any other African country, not only given the fact that it is a member of BRICS, but also because of its position in a hierarchy of economic, political, financial, trade, human capital or human development, technological and military international power relations that extend from the US at the centre of capitalism to the African continent at the periphery of capitalism. Directly related to this reality is its relatively high level of national development compared to that of other African countries, competition between advanced capitalist countries, competition between Brazil, Russia, India and China and competition between countries which are established powers and emerging powers for the relatively larger market it provides. It is their key African trading partner. Its relatively higher economic, financial, trade, human capital, technological and transportation infrastructural standing compared to that of other African countries enables it to play a key role in the resolution of conflicts in Southern African and Africa without relying on external actors.

South Africa's effective advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa will best be served if South Africa is to play a leading role in ensuring that African political leaders have a clear strategic collective policy framework enabling the continent to coordinate its partnership with BRICS countries such as China. Central to this task is to ensure that Africa manages its partnership with China in line with the advancement of its popular development and progress. African leaders should not be misled by China's declaration that its long-term strategic partnership with the continent is based on respect for African countries' independent choice of development

path, mutual benefit and reciprocity, interaction based on equality, and consultation and cooperation on global affairs. For Africa to effectively harness its partnership with China to its advantage, it should take into account the brutal reality that 'China has no enemies or friends in Africa; it only has interests'.²⁷

South Africa should view its BRICS partners in the advancement of its interests in Southern Africa and Africa and those of the continent not only as partners and allies, but also as rivals and competitors. Its regional and continental standing is under increasing pressure from the intensified expansion of Brazil, China and India into Africa. As the most industrialised African country, it is facing increasing competition from Brazil, China and India throughout the continent.²⁸ At issue is the fact that Southern Africa is the captive market of South Africa in terms of manufactured products, goods and services, export of capital, reserve of labour and market for raw materials and that South Africa has substantially increased its share of the continental market. Another issue is the fact that the intensified expansion of China and India on the African continent may undermine South Africa's long-term strategic interests on the continent.

Directly related to this development are the sociopolitical and economic interests of the continent and those of the majority of its people. Chinese companies have not acted in line with the advancement of labour union rights and sociopolitical and economic rights of the vast majority of the people of the continent. The National Union Mineworkers of South Africa (NUM) has called upon the South African state to review the role of China in the South African economy and to urgently put restrictions on the export of chrome and ferrochrome. It has pointed out that China is stockpiling chrome and ferrochrome in order to dictate prices in

the future. This call is based on the resolutions it took at a meeting of its National Executive Committee on 23 September 2011. Maintaining that South Africa should treat China with caution, it concluded that it is worried about China being a force of 'colonisation of special type'. In its words: "The NUM has reliably learnt that China is stockpiling chrome and ferrochrome in order to dictate prices in the future. This, the union believes, is tantamount to colonisation of a special type."²⁹ Relations between African social movements and those of China and India are between the ruling parties of African countries and those of China and India. The rise of China, India and other Asian countries in international relations and cooperation should be viewed critically in the long-term strategic interests of South Africa and other Sub-Saharan African countries. If the rise of China, India and other Asian countries, including those in North Africa, were to lead to East-South relations of domination and inequalities, it would complicate North-South relations and South-South relations to the disadvantage of Sub-Saharan Africa.³⁰ One of the key consequences of this global development would be the increased importance of the race question in international relations and cooperation more than ever before. Another consequence of this development may be the increased entrenched dominated integration and dependence of Africa in the global social order.

South Africa as a Target not in its own Right

South Africa is a leading target of the advanced capitalist countries. It is central to their continued control over the human, natural, material and financial resources of Sub-Saharan Africa. Their economic and financial problems have

increased its strategic importance within their strategic and tactical programmes of action, which ensure the survival of their strategic interests in the region and the continent particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Its position in a hierarchy of international power relations that extend from the US to the African continent is a key factor in its being a leading target of the advanced capitalist countries. Directly related to its intermediate position in international power relations is the fact that it constitutes the potential centre of independent development on the African continent.³¹

The fact that South Africa is not, in its own right, a target means that the advanced capitalist countries and other countries, whose strategic interests particularly in Africa are not for the popular continental development and progress, will strive to constrain or limit its ability to play an increased role in African continental affairs. The intensified role of China, India and Brazil in Africa is not necessarily in the continent's long-term strategic interests. The substantial improvement in the material conditions of the vast majority of the people of the continent and the maintenance of security of the continent's natural resources depend on the transformation of the relationship between African leaders and the vast majority of African people in the interests of Africa's popular interests, not on the role of Brazil, Russia, India and China in continental affairs.

There are various reasons why South Africa is not in its own right a target of external actors whose interests are not for African continental development and progress. Southern Africa occupies a key position in the plans for Africa of advanced capitalist countries. They regard South Africa as a leading country within their regional and continental plans. According to senior US officials, Michael Camunez, the US Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Market

and Compliance and Donald Gips, the US Ambassador to South Africa, United States investors regard South Africa as Africa's 'robust economic engine'.³²

A leading position occupied by Southern Africa in the plans of advanced capitalist countries for Africa is pointed out by David Cherry as follows:

Any plan of the Anglo-American powers for Africa will have, as a major motivation, the increased exploitation of Africa as a base of operations, a source of oil and gas, and a source of mineral wealth, especially those metals – platinum, chromium, manganese – needed for advanced military technology that are not widely dispersed in the Earth's crust, but are found in Southern Africa.³³

South Africa is the most unequal society in the world not only in terms of class, but also in terms of race. It is the most divided society. It lacks a common sociopolitical and economic national agenda transcending its racial dynamics. These internal dynamics pose key challenges to the advancement of South Africa's long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa. They constitute its structural challenge in implementing comprehensive and integrative strategy and tactics in its Southern African and African agenda to enjoy increased national support within all its racial population groups. A lack of the solidarity and unity between its state and capital nationally, regionally and continentally constrains its efforts to consolidate its status as the regional and continental power in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa and to become an international power, a major force within the Group of G-20 countries and BRICS and an important actor within the UN. This is in relation to external powers opposed to the

African agenda of sociopolitical and economic transformation and increasing their dominance in Southern Africa and Africa as well as in relation to the advancement of South Africa's regional and continental agenda.

Central to this structural problem is the fact that South Africa's relative economic dominance in Southern Africa and Africa is private not public. It is the dominance of its private companies. Their economic dominance nationally, regionally and continentally and a lack of solidarity and unity between its state and capital in terms of common interests and patterns of cooperation nationally, regionally and continentally constrain the ability of the state to structurally transform the national economy and society in order to have a qualitative solid national support base in its national, regional and continental operations. Although both political power and economic power in some African countries, such as Angola, Nigeria and Egypt, are more closely interrelated in terms of strategic interests, they are less interlinked in South Africa. Unless there are closer interlinkages between state political power and capital economic power in terms of strategic interests in the country, South Africa's credibility as a player in regional, continental and international relations will be questionable and opposed by a considerable number of South Africans who, for economic and historical reasons, see their fate as lying more in its continued relations with the West and not with other regional and continental countries and the rest of the South.

South Africa faces more key sociopolitical, economic and ideological challenges than any other country in Southern Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa. Central to these challenges is the resolution of the socioeconomic aspects of its

national question. These challenges are not only internal, but also external in its relations with Southern Africa, Africa, the advanced capitalist countries and the rest of the world. As the relatively most developed country in Southern Africa and Africa, it should ensure that it contributes strategically and tactically towards the balance of forces in favour of the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent in order to avoid the issue of being isolated to the point of being defeated in its cause. The advancement of its long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent and its people is the process for countering the strategic interests of advanced capitalist countries. It should direct its energy and resources to prepare today what it will be faced with tomorrow on the political, economic and ideological fronts of the struggle nationally, regionally, continentally and globally. South Africa's people are its most important strategic asset in its preparation to confront challenges to its national, regional, continental and global relations. Advanced capitalist countries will be against its programme of action for advancing popular regional and continental interests. The point is that

... for South Africa to embark upon the programme of action crucially against the interests of its senior trading partners which are major buyers of its primary products, the fluctuations in the prices of its products will be subject not only to the speculation on the markets, but also to the actions of their buyers deciding where to buy products not only on the economic grounds, but also on the political grounds.³⁴

The key sociopolitical, economic and ideological challenges faced by South Africa, rather than any other country in Southern Africa and

Africa, in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests regionally and continentally and their internal and external aspects have been best articulated by Ibbo Mandaza in his 1991 article. These challenges are 'the dilemma' in which lies questions that he maintained post-apartheid South Africa should answer in terms of its national and international relations in its efforts to achieve the objectives of the national liberation struggle. Accordingly, 'the dilemma for the new South Africa' lies in the following questions:

How to rectify three centuries of colonial and racial domination without upsetting the very historical, political and economic bases upon which the Southern African sub-system has been built! How, on the one hand, to seek to resolve the Land Question in a country in which 87% [of the land] is owned and occupied by a White minority that constitutes only 4% of the population and, on the other, still hope to leave the structure of production intact. How to address the problem of wages and improved conditions of living for the mass of the people while ensuring that the rate of capitalist exploitation and economic growth remains constant. How to pursue the democratisation of the education and health systems without building a budget deficit that will in turn distort the economy and enhance unemployment and social unrest. In short, how to pursue the objectives of liberation – including that of the restoration of the dignity of the African person after centuries of White domination – to its logical conclusion without falling victim to white-mail at home and abroad.³⁵

These challenges are the problems the people of the region are attempting to resolve. The point is that these questions 'now confront the African people of South Africa and Southern

Africa'.³⁶ Central to the key issues raised by Mandaza is the question as to how best and effectively to transform the material conditions of the people of Southern Africa. The centrality of their transformation is the issue involved in confronting these conditions in the resolute struggle against their internal and external enemies and to structurally change the socio-economic development dynamics of their countries in their interests. At issue is the struggle to effect the fundamental sociopolitical, economic and ideological transformation of their societies and their state, not merely a rearrangement at their top. The resolution of these problems will possibly lead SADC into a federation of Southern African states or a Southern African economic community.³⁷

South Africa, in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa, takes into account 'the fact' that its 'foreign policy approach is not only about the pursuit of domestic interests', but also about repositioning the continent, advancing its interests, and contributing to 'the creation of a better world' and that it has 'a responsibility to improve the lot of others'.³⁸ It is in a better position than any other African country to contribute towards the structural transformation of Africa and 'the creation of a better world'. Central to the realisation of this objective is for it to have the requisite political strength. Its capital accumulation process, relative international strength and considerable regional and continental power give it enormous advantages and privileges in African continental affairs. This translates into political strength, that is, its power and authority which it should use in advancing not only its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa, but also those of the region and the continent. Arthur Mutambara maintains that its economic, political, financial, trade, human capital or human

development and technological power gives its president the status of being senior to the presidents of other African countries.³⁹ It is in this context that the fact that it is not in its own right a target of external actors opposed to the continental structural sociopolitical and economic transformation can best and fully be understood.

The Fundamental Need for the Structural Transformation of the South African Economy and Military

Some of the weak links in the chain of South Africa's Africa policy cited by Games are structural. They are reflections of a lack of solidarity and unity between its state and capital nationally, regionally and continentally. The solution to this problem is, among others, the structural transformation of the South African economy. This development would help to forge and sustain solidarity and unity between the state and capital in these contexts. Solidarity and unity between state and capital would help to consolidate South Africa's role in African continental affairs. This development would also help to increase the power of the South African state and capital in the African continental political economy. It would increase the state's role in the relative South African national market and increase its leverage over transnational corporations competing in the market. Thanks to this process of unity and solidarity between state and capital, the state would be more able than ever before to extend and direct South Africa's international economic and trade interests in conjunction with its foreign policy.

South Africa's economic, political, financial, trade, human capital or human development and technological power is not enough for the effective advancement of its long-term

strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa. It should strive to have a relative military power for it to become the practical military power in the region and the continent. It should ensure that its military force is credible not only because it is well equipped, but also, most importantly, because it is battle-tested. Thanks to being a practical military power with a battle-tested army, South Africa's demands will be paid careful attention to in regional, continental and global relations.

The consolidation of South Africa's position of centrality in Southern African and African affairs requires its requisite military power for the effective advancement of its long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent. Its military power will complement the efforts of its economic, political, financial, trade, human capital or human development and technological power in the advancement of its interests in the continent and the articulated combination of these is essential for South Africa's practical position at the centre of regional and continental affairs. The advancement of its popular long-term strategic interests in the region and the continent will involve efforts to confront the regional and continental sociopolitical and economic structures. These structures are inter-linked with the domination and control of the regional and continental markets and resources by the advanced capitalist countries. This will be the challenge to the role of these countries in the region and the continent and to the entrenched dominated integration of the continent into the global social order and the consequences of this challenge for South Africa, Southern African and Africa. To the extent that there is a link between imperialism and regional and continental power structures, and that imperialism structurally operates in the region and the continent through these structures, the advancement of these interests will also be the

struggle against these structures in so far as they enable the advanced capitalist countries to dominate and control the regional and continental markets and resources. South Africa needs the protection of SADC and the African Union, but not SACU, in this strategic and tactical programme of action.

South Africa should strive to structurally transform the interaction between its state and public and private institutions and those of the region and the continent. This is essential for the existence of common interests and patterns of cooperation between South Africa and other African countries in order to ensure that the markets and resources of the continent are primarily used for the development and progress of the continent and the vast majority of its people. The repositioning of the credible, well-equipped and battle-tested military forces by African countries is a key strategic factor in the advancement and defence of the popular interests of the continent. South Africa's articulated combination of its economic, political, financial, trade, human capital or human development and technological power and its military power should be viewed as a key factor of special strategic importance in its relations with the region and the continent. This is required as a response to the increased strategic importance of military power in the policy of the advanced capitalist countries for the continent. Central to the strategic importance of the military in these countries' relationship with the continent is their common interests and patterns of cooperation to ensure that the continent remains structurally committed to the advancement of their strategic interests and those of imperialism. They constantly ensure that South Africa, Southern Africa and Africa move in the direction required for their strategic interests not to be fundamentally at risk. In facing increased economic and financial problems

in a period of intensified internationalisation and financialisation of capital on a global scale, advanced capitalist countries are more determined than ever to ensure that structural sociopolitical and economic changes should not occur in the region and the continent, resulting in the use of their resources for their development and progress and those of the vast majority of their people. These changes may damage their interests beyond hope of repair and increase the problems they are facing globally. South Africa, in the advancement of its long-term strategic interests in Southern Africa and Africa, needs the protection of SADC, not SACU.

South Africa's position of centrality in Southern African and African affairs requires it to be at the centre of well-organised regional and continental efforts, working closely with other regional and continental countries in containing and reducing the threats posed by their enemies and keeping them secure. The success of these efforts requires the strategic and tactical execution of tasks to achieve the political and diplomatic goals of promoting a balance of forces that favours African countries in determining their limitations and programmes of action in their national and international relations. Their efforts on the political and diplomatic fronts should be complemented by their military forces carrying out their tasks on the front lines of sociopolitical and economic security. It is critical for Africa to use tactics effectively, containing or reducing the threats posed by its enemies.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It is SADC not SACU which is of strategic importance to South Africa's advancement of its strategic interests in the region and the continent and those of the continent. SADC, not SACU, represents the African Union in the region and it

is the organisation through which South Africa should concentrate its energy, time and resources in strategically and tactically working together with other regional and continental countries, as well as its partners outside the continent, for a qualitative forward movement towards the achievement of African continental integration.

South Africa's continued active participation in African processes, developments and issues and its working relations with other

African countries in contributing to continental development and progress is of strategic importance. It is in line with the advancement of its strategic long-term interests in the region and the continent. This strategic objective calls for an increased contribution to the transformation of SADC not SACU. South Africa is already contributing to the transformation of SADC in working together with other regional countries. For SACU, the issue is its integration into SADC.

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Interviews

The following is a list of representatives of the South African state, capital and civil society interviewed in Pretoria, South Africa. It does not include those who requested to remain anonymous.

Interviews held in Pretoria, South Africa

Phemelo Marishane, Director, Southern African Customs Union, Department of Trade and Industry. 25 September 2011.

Xolelwa Mlumbi, Chief Director, Africa Multilateral, Department of Trade and Industry. 4 October 2011.

Tafula Shai, Africa Multilateral, Department of International Relations and Cooperation. 6 October 2011.

Pheladi Thalagale, Africa Multilateral, Department of International Relations and Cooperation. 6 October 2011.

Interviews held in Windhoek, Namibia

The following is a list of representatives of the Namibian state, capital and civil society interviewed in Windhoek, Namibia. It does not include those who requested to remain anonymous.

Rolf-Joachim Otto, Deputy Director, Trade Negotiations, Southern African Customs Union. 20 October 2011.

Yusuf Daya, Deputy Director, Trade Facilitation, Southern African Customs Union. 20 October 2011.

David Maleleka, Deputy Director, Revenue Management, Southern African Customs Union. 21 October 2011.

Maureen L. Matomela, Deputy Director, Policy Development and Research, Southern African Customs Union. 21 October 2011.

Honourable Tjekero Tweya, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, Member, Central Committee of South West Africa People's Organisation, Deputy Secretary, Finance, South West Africa People's Organisation, Former, Deputy Minister of Finance, Member of Parliament. 14 October 2011

Honourable Peter H. Katjavivi, Chief Whip, South West Africa People's Organisation, Member of Pan-African Parliament, Midrand, South Africa, Member, Committee on Rules, Privileges and Discipline, Pan-African Parliament, Former Vice-Rector and Principal, University of Namibia, Former Ambassador of Namibia to several countries including the European Union. 24 October 2011.

Honourable Carl-Hermann G. Schlettwein, Deputy Minister of Finance, Ministry of Finance, 26 October 2011.

Dr Malan Lindeque, Permanent Secretary (Director-General), Minister of Trade and Industry, Former, Permanent Secretary (Director-General), Ministry of Agriculture. 26 October 2011.

David Nuyoma, Chief Executive Officer, Development Bank of Namibia. 27 October 2011.

Tarah N. Shaanika, Chief Executive Officer, Namibia Chamber of Commerce and Industry. 18 October 2011.

Martin Moinga, Chief Executive Officer and Founder, First Capital Asset Management, Former Chief Executive Officer, RMB Asset management, First National Bank. 21 October 2011.

Daniel Motinga, Manager, Market Research and Development, Strategic Marketing and Communication Division, First National Bank Namibia Holdings. Former Member, Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit. Former Executive Director, Institute for Public Policy Research. 26 October 2011.

Rehabeam Shilimela, Research Officer, Bank of Namibia, Former Researcher, Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit. 26 October 2011.

Veikko Nekundi, Manager, Community Economic Development, City of Windhoek. South West Africa People's Organisation Youth League Secretary of Economic Affairs, 21 October 2011

Robin Sherbourne, Researcher, JG Securities (Pty) Ltd, Member, NSX. Member, African Alliance Group. 27 October 2011.

Herbert Martin Jauch, Economist, Research Associate, Institute for Public Policy Research, Columnist *The Villager*. Former Director, Labour Resource and Research Institute, 18 October 2011.

Dr Andrew Niikondo, Vice-Rector Academic Affairs and Research, Polytechnic of Namibia. 26 October 2011.

Dr Lesley Blaauw, Senior Lecturer International Relations and Political Economy, Head of Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Namibia, 24 October 2011

Phanuel M. Kaopama, Lecturer in Politics, Governance and Development Studies, Department of Political and Administrative

- Studies, University of Namibia. 17 October 2011.
- Felix Njiri, Senior Business Writer, *The Southern Times*. *The Southern Times* is owned by the Namibian government and the Zimbabwean government. 13 October 2011.
- Tirivangani Masawi, Analyst and Reporter, *The Villager* newspaper. 18 October 2011.
- Jeremiah Ndjoze, Analyst and Reporter *The Villager* newspaper. 18 October 2011.
- Klaus Schade, Research Associate Institute for Public Policy Research, Independent Economic Consultant, Economist, Former Member of Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit. 20 October 2011.
- Professor Bill Lindeke Tru., 13 October 2011.

An Assessment of Community Members' Knowledge of Drug-resistant Tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa

The aim of this study was to assess community members' knowledge of drug-resistant tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS. Accordingly, community members' knowledge of drug resistant tuberculosis (DR-TB) and HIV and AIDS was assessed in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. The study sample was made up of residents of Ward 40, Greenbushes, Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. Participants in this study were at least 18 years old. There were 100 participants, 47 male and 53 female. The results revealed that female respondents were more aware and knowledgeable about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS than male respondents.

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Introduction

There is an association between tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS in that some of the patients with tuberculosis also test positive for HIV.¹ Some communities in South Africa tend to perceive people with tuberculosis as people living with HIV and AIDS. This is complicated by the fact that patients with AIDS who die in hospital get post-mortem reports which might not indicate that the patient died of AIDS. Medical records usually indicate the opportunistic infection or disease that was diagnosed at the time the patient died. Tuberculosis is an opportunistic disease that is usually diagnosed in AIDS patients.² Both tuberculosis and AIDS contribute to the high mortality rate in South Africa.³ It should be noted that there is a problematic relationship between knowledge of a disease and behaviour, considering that the youth could show high levels of HIV and AIDS knowledge but some still engage in risky sexual behaviours.⁴ There is a gap in research that shows the relationship between knowledge and behaviour with particular reference to HIV and tuberculosis. There are also few studies that show community knowledge that distinguishes between tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS among patients

in South Africa. In South Africa there is paucity of studies that explain why some individuals and communities still behave in ways that make them vulnerable to HIV or tuberculosis after attending health education programmes.⁵ Similarly, there is inadequate research that shows the link between knowledge of HIV and tuberculosis and communities engaging in health protective behaviours in South Africa. This study explores a community's knowledge of drug-resistant tuberculosis (DR-TB) and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape.

In 2008, the Joint United Nations Program on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS) estimated that the number of people living with HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa was 2,4 million, the number of new HIV infections was 1,9 million, the number of children newly infected with HIV was 390 000, and the number of AIDS-related deaths was 1,4 million.⁶ Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 67 per cent of HIV infections globally. The report showed that 68 per cent of new HIV infections were among adults and 91 per cent of new infections were among children. In 2008, Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 72 per cent of the world's AIDS-related deaths.⁷ Sub-Saharan Africa is still battling with other major killer diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria for which it largely receives financial support from the Global Fund. South Africa is reported to be one of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with the greatest number of people with tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS.⁸ This study focuses on the complications that arise from the concurrency of tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS in patients in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. DR-TB compounds the burden of disease that is currently affecting health service delivery in the Eastern Cape.

South Africa is one of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with the highest number of people living with HIV and AIDS and it is the

world's third highest burden (TB) country, only lagging behind China and India.⁹ The HIV and AIDS prevalence in the Eastern Cape was 29,9 per cent, just below the national prevalence of the country which was 30,2 per cent in 2010.¹⁰ The rate of tuberculosis infection is higher than that found in other developing countries. The number of patients with multi drug resistant tuberculosis (MDR-TB) and extensively-drug resistant tuberculosis (XDR-TB) has increased due to concurrent HIV infection and inadequate management of tuberculosis.¹¹ In 2009 the National Health Laboratory Services diagnosed 9 070 MDR-TB and 594 XDR-TB cases.¹² In 2010, the National Health Laboratory Services diagnosed 7 386 MDR-TB cases and 741 XDR-TB cases. These figures excluded diagnoses that were made through private laboratories as the statistics were not known.¹³

According to the report released by the National Health Laboratory Services, South Africa had 45 196 patients with MDR-TB and 3 128 with XDR-TB from 2004 to 2010.¹⁴ It should be noted that KwaZulu-Natal had the highest number of patients with MDR-TB, that is, 11 393, followed by the Western Cape with 10 947 cases and the Eastern Cape in third position with 7 993 MDR-TB cases.¹⁵ It can be observed from the national statistics that the Eastern Cape has the second highest number of patients with XDR-TB after KwaZulu-Natal. It was reported that from 2004 to 2010, the Eastern Cape diagnosed 108 patients with XDR-TB, while KwaZulu-Natal treated 1 499 patients.¹⁶

The high prevalence of DR-TB and HIV in the Eastern Cape makes it compelling to carry out a study on community members' perceptions of the two diseases in the province. The interest of this study is to assess community members' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in a province with a high prevalence of tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS.

Table 1 Number of MDR-TB patients, 2004–2010

Province	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Eastern Cape	379	545	836	1 092	1 501	1 858	1 782	7 993
Free State	116	151	198	179	381	253	267	1 545
Gauteng	537	676	732	986	1 028	1 307	934	6 200
KwaZulu-Natal	583	1 024	2 200	2 208	1 573	1 773	2 032	11 393
Limpopo	59	40	77	91	185	204	126	782
Mpumalanga	162	134	139	506	657	446	312	2 356
Northern Cape	168	155	188	199	290	631	353	1 984
North West	130	203	225	397	363	520	158	1 996
Western Cape	1 085	1 192	1 179	1 771	2 220	2 078	1 422	10 947
South Africa	3 219	4 120	5 774	7 429	8 198	9 070	7 386	45 196

Source: Department of Health, Laboratory Diagnosis from NHLS, 2011, p4.

Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the severity of the pandemic in South Africa.¹⁷

It can be seen from the data presented that DR-TB and HIV and AIDS contribute to the burden of disease in South Africa.¹⁸ These two diseases pose a serious threat to the economic

development, health and social development of South Africa. HIV and AIDS, MDR-TB and XDR-TB are spreading despite efforts to control the spread of these diseases in the general population.¹⁹ In South Africa, XDR-TB is a major cause of death in patients co-infected with HIV and

Table 2 Number of XDR-TB patients, 2004–2010

Province	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
Eastern Cape	3	18	61	108	175	123	320	808
Free State	1	6	3	4	3	3	7	27
Gauteng	5	14	19	38	30	65	37	208
KwaZulu-Natal	59	227	336	241	181	254	201	1 499
Limpopo	-	2	5	2	2	6	6	23
Mpumalanga	-	-	-	12	14	18	5	49
Northern Cape	4	10	3	7	19	40	39	122
North West	1	5	9	4	4	13	14	50
Western Cape	12	16	28	42	60	72	112	342
South Africa	85	298	464	458	488	594	741	3 128

Source: Department of Health, Laboratory Diagnosis from NHLS, 2011, p5.

tuberculosis in rural areas and resource-poor communities.²⁰ This study argues that if the knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS is low in communities, it could exacerbate the spread of the diseases.

The South African National Department of Health policy regarding patients with DR-TB is that patients are hospitalised for an initial period of six months. An appraisal of the management of patients with DR-TB revealed that the programme is facing many challenges including delayed treatment initiation, inadequate bed capacity, poor infection control in hospital and poor adherence to treatment regimen.²¹ To address these challenges, the length of time that MDR-TB patients are required to stay in centralised DR-TB hospitals was reduced, and a decision was made to decentralise and deinstitutionalise services. Activists for the rights of patients and litigants for freedom of patients are against the compulsory isolation and quarantine of patients with tuberculosis globally.²² Pressure groups argue that holding patients against their will is illegal and that there is no guarantee that patients who are hospitalised will be cured of tuberculosis. Those who oppose hospitalisation argue that hospitals have limited recreational facilities and that parents with young children might not be able to attend to the needs of their children.²³ It is argued that prolonged hospitalisation can result in self-employed patients losing income. The poor management of inpatients in South African hospitals could cause resentment among some communities in South Africa. For example, in the Western Cape, between 1987 and 1989, of the 240 MDR-TB patients, 33 per cent were cured, 13 per cent experienced failed treatment and 33 per cent died.²⁴ Defaulting treatment among patients and cases of patients dying while taking treatment in hospital are documented and reported in some hospitals in South Africa.²⁵

Because of the shortcomings of hospitalisation, the decentralisation policy comes with home-based care programmes for patients whose tuberculosis has been treated successfully to the extent that patients will not be able to infect family members or the health personnel attending to them. The Department of Health has put together a policy framework to assess the need for and benefits of decentralisation and deinstitutionalisation of DR-TB (DR-TB care and treatment). It has suggested changes to the treatment of DR-TB and proposed the introduction of the Centralised DR-TB unit (Provincial Centre of Excellence), Decentralised DR-TB units, satellite MDR-TB units, and community support through primary health care services, including mobile teams and community caregivers.²⁶ If community members do not understand government policies and interventions on DR-TB and HIV and AIDS, they are less likely to support the decentralised health projects in their communities. If knowledge is low, communities are less likely to take advantage of the health initiatives and utilise the primary health facilities in their communities to treat DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. Low knowledge of a disease is associated with a negative attitude towards the disease.²⁷

Knowledge of Drug-resistant Tuberculosis

At the moment, in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, people who are infected with DR-TB (DR-TB) are admitted to Jose Pearson and Fort Grey hospitals. However, the hospitalisation of patients for the required duration of at least six months resulted in some patients losing employment. In addition, some of the inpatients lost homes and household property they had bought on credit. In 2008, 118 patients with

DR-TB fled from two hospitals in the Eastern Cape to spend the festive season with their families.²⁸ The patients used their illness to scare off staff and security guards. The Eastern Cape Department of Health consequently applied for a court order to get them sent back to the hospital as it was stated that the patients were highly infectious and a danger to society as a whole. This raised fears and concerns among community members who were aware of the dangers of infectious tuberculosis. The hospital breakout by patients with DR-TB can be attributed to a lack of knowledge relating to why patients are kept in hospital and this is usually compounded by unhygienic living conditions in most of the provincial referral hospitals in Africa.²⁹ In situations where patients escaped from hospital, it could imply that some communities had a negative attitude towards the hospitalisation of their relatives. Consequently, this study sought to assess community members' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape.

When community members' knowledge of a disease is unclear they tend to blame health care providers for the pain experienced by the patients and communities might not report cases of tuberculosis among members due to disease stigma.³⁰ In addition, the patients might not take responsibility for their actions and side with relatives in blaming the health care providers. When that happens, patients might fail to adhere to treatment regimens and some of the patients might not change their risk behaviours. Moreover, the drugs for treating tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS, which are scarce in most of the public hospitals in South Africa and other countries in Africa might not be put to good use by patients, patients' relatives and unreceptive communities. Communities that experience concomitant HIV and tuberculosis epidemics among members sometimes get

prolonged diagnosis and treatment delays as a result of community members' failure to report suspected cases of tuberculosis timeously.³¹ Inaction on the part of community members and non-disclosure by patients or refusal to visit clinics or hospitals for diagnosis undermines the global initiative to control the spread of tuberculosis and the South African National Tuberculosis Control Programme would not be effective.³²

The stigmatisation and discrimination of people with tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS are associated with low levels of knowledge of tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS.³³ In some communities in South Africa, patients with tuberculosis and HIV reported that they had a dual illness, that is, tuberculosis and HIV infection in one person. They referred to their medical condition as causing double stigma.³⁴ In some instances, some of the patients had little knowledge about tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS and some of the patients did not know the difference between tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS. Community members might have limited knowledge about the dangers of keeping members with DR-TB at home and the contagious effect of the disease to the community if infected members are not kept in hospital or taken to hospital.

Knowledge levels of communities about tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS could be low due to a lack of health education. There is a shortage of health personnel in South Africa to provide information, education and communication (IEC) interventions in hospitals and primary health care centres. In a study that was conducted to assess the factors that were driving the tuberculosis epidemic in KwaZulu-Natal, it was found that there was an acute shortage of doctors and nurses in government hospitals to manage tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS.³⁵ The study pointed out that

patient knowledge about MDR-TB and XDR-TB could have been low due to the lack of health personnel in hospitals to train patients. It was indicated that there was a high likelihood that patients in hospitals in KwaZulu-Natal might have developed the false belief that tuberculosis was incurable like HIV as they witnessed some patients dying in hospital.³⁶

Some of the communities in South Africa could be baffled and disoriented by the published statistics which show a high prevalence of tuberculosis and HIV infection among health care workers. In 2004, it was estimated that 15 per cent of health care workers were living with HIV in South Africa and that 17 per cent of healthcare workers were living with HIV in KwaZulu-Natal.³⁷ Some communities might have a negative attitude towards tuberculosis to the extent that community members' knowledge about the disease could be low and distorted. In addition, some communities in South Africa believe that tuberculosis is caused by the violation of cultural practices that require abstinence from sex after the death of a spouse and after a woman has had a spontaneous abortion.³⁸ It is believed in some cultures that if a man sleeps with a woman soon after the death of her husband, the man could contract a disease which causes him to lose weight and cough endlessly and the man might look frail and he will not be able to perform heavy duties. A man can contract a disease that is perceived to be the same as tuberculosis when he sleeps with a woman who just had a miscarriage or stillbirth. A man could contract a disease that resembles tuberculosis if he sleeps with a woman during her menstrual period. If the couple having unapproved sex has an infant, the baby could develop infantile colic and cry abnormally at night to alert the elders that the couple is engaging in taboo practices.³⁹ In most of the traditional African beliefs, the mysterious

diseases that resemble tuberculosis result from prohibited sex such as adultery and such diseases can only be treated by a traditional healer.⁴⁰ The belief that complicated diseases are caused by illicit sex is found in many communities in Africa. In the context of this study, these beliefs need to be explored because they can impede the effective provision of health care in ethnically diverse South African communities.

In order to dispel myths about diseases, community health workers, nurses at primary health centres and medical doctors in hospitals educate communities in South Africa about DR-TB. The primary health education programmes on DR-TB focus on case definitions, diagnosis of the disease, treatment of DR-TB, prevention of the disease, types of drugs that are used to treat DR-TB, adherence to pharmacological and non-pharmacological treatment regimens, direct observed treatment strategy (DOTS-Plus) and the prevention of transmission of tuberculosis in communities.⁴¹ The National Tuberculosis Guidelines policy document provides information on health education and support programmes such as stepping up the DOTS-Plus programme, political commitment, improved case detection, effective drug supply, monitoring and evaluation, implementation of collaborative TB and HIV activities and the empowerment of people with tuberculosis.⁴² This study sought to assess communities' knowledge about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in view of the fact that the Department of Health has mounted community outreach programmes on DOTS-Plus throughout the country.

Knowledge of HIV and AIDS

Research on HIV and AIDS in South Africa shows that there is a gap between knowledge and behaviour in terms of HIV and AIDS

prevention, as some people continue to engage in risk behaviours and HIV and AIDS prevalence is still high. It should be acknowledged that knowledge of the negative consequences of contracting a disease does not always translate into behaviour change in some individuals or communities.⁴³ It is argued that knowledge on its own is necessary but not sufficient to reduce individual or group vulnerability to HIV infection.⁴⁴ HIV risk is associated with distorted knowledge or perceptions of reality in HIV and AIDS prevention.⁴⁵ It would appear as if some people do not fear HIV infection and some individuals seem to have no guilt when they infect others with HIV.⁴⁶ Other researchers are of the view that some people will still have sex without condoms due to a strong negative attitude towards condoms even knowing full well that the chances of being infected with HIV will be high.⁴⁷ AIDS-related stigma could prevent individuals from taking an HIV test.⁴⁸ Behaviour change agents, public health researchers and epidemiologists emphasise the point that there is still much work to be done on the ground in HIV prevention because statistical evidence in South Africa shows that HIV prevalence has plateaued but the number of people living with HIV (PLHIV) is on a steep increase every year.⁴⁹ Even though AIDS-related deaths have been reduced by the availability of HIV prevention programmes and antiretroviral drugs, it is reported that mortality rate is still relatively high and South Africa ranks the third highest in the world in terms of tuberculosis infection which has increased by over 400 per cent in the last 15 years.⁵⁰

Low levels of knowledge about HIV and AIDS lead to risk behaviours.⁵¹ Communities with low levels of knowledge about HIV tend to be more vulnerable to HIV infection. Some individuals in those communities do not use condoms consistently, some abuse drugs and inject themselves

with drugs in groups using shared needles, and some have multiple concurrent sexual partners.⁵² Some community members in South Africa do not have the knowledge of how HIV can result in AIDS if not treated and some communities do not readily test for HIV so that they know their HIV status.⁵³ It is argued that folk beliefs can influence communities' health-seeking behaviours and those health beliefs can influence the way communities react to disease control programmes in South Africa.⁵⁴ Low levels of education among some community members in South Africa might present literacy and numeracy challenges that could make some communities more vulnerable to HIV infection.⁵⁵ In addition, low levels of knowledge compounded with high levels of unemployment and poverty can expose some community members to HIV infection.⁵⁶

Theoretical Framework

To assess community perceptions of diseases, public health researchers usually use the KABP methodology, in terms of which they look at community knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and practices in relation to disease prevention.⁵⁷ The KABP methodology is not a theoretical framework or a philosophical paradigm but a way of assessing a community's understanding and response to a disease. In this study, one aspect of the methodology was considered, that is, community members' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS.

Aim of the Study

The aim of the study was to assess community members' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. Further, the study sought to establish community members' knowledge according to gender and age.

Research Question

What is the knowledge of community members about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape?

Methodology

The research design

This was a descriptive study in which participants' knowledge levels were presented in tables showing response patterns. The frequencies showed participants' understanding of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. The general trend in responses reflected community members' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape.

Sample

The study sample was made up of residents of Ward 40, Greenbushes, Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. The sampling strategy was purposive at one level when participants who were at least 18 years old were included in the study and random at another level when every tenth house was included in the survey. There were 100 participants, 47 male and 53 female. The location of the study was Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, which is one of the largest cities in South Africa.

Procedure

The sampling procedure involved the random inclusion of participants who volunteered and were willing to participate in the study. A map of Greenbushes indicating the number of residential units was used to select households to participate in the study. The researcher started at any house in the area and then selected every tenth house from the list. The researcher asked any adult person (18 years and older) at each household who was available at that time

at the selected house to respond to the questions in the questionnaire.

Instrument

For the purpose of this study, data were collected using a questionnaire which was developed by the researcher. The questionnaire was written in English. The reliability of the questionnaire was established through a pilot study which preceded the present study, while its validity was established through qualitative inter-rater assessment of its usefulness in getting the required information from participants. The questionnaire was used to assess participants' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS and consisted of items that required the respondents to tick a response that best represented their knowledge of tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS. The first part of the questionnaire dealt with the biographical details of the participants. Participants were asked to provide information on their age, gender, population group, home language, highest educational qualifications, employment status, and the length of stay in the area. The second part of the questionnaire dealt with DR-TB and HIV and AIDS knowledge levels. The rating was as follows: 'True' was worth 1 point, 'Uncertain' 2 points, and 'False' 3 points. For each individual item, responses that were coded as correct yielded 1 point, incorrect answers, uncertain responses and missing data got no points. Higher scores indicated higher levels of knowledge about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS.

Data analysis

Data was presented in frequency tables and a pie chart to show participants' responses. The descriptive approach to data presentation does not employ inferential statistics to analyse the data. Thus the results showed distribution patterns and not statistical indexes.

Ethical considerations

For this study, the researcher applied for ethical clearance from the University Ethics Committee before conducting this study. When the application for ethical clearance was approved, consent forms were given to the selected participants, who were made aware of their right to participate or not to participate in the study. The researcher told the participants that their participation was on a voluntary basis and that they were not going to be paid for participating in the study or penalised for withdrawing their participation. Participants were informed that the information they provided in the study would be treated as confidential and that participants would be regarded as anonymous.

Results

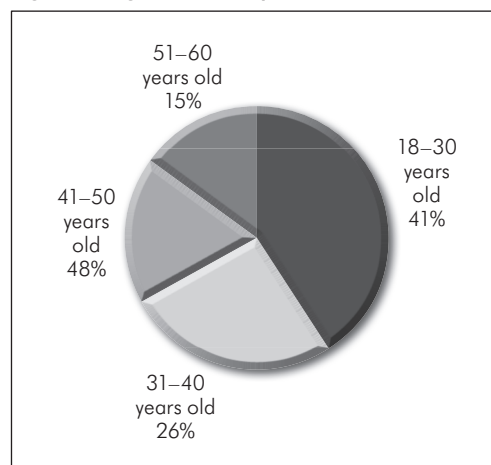
Table 3 Demographic characteristics of the sample

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	47	47
Female	53	53
Educational level		
Primary school	24	24
High school	66	66
Degree or diploma	10	10
Race		
African	57	57
Coloured	40	40
White	3	3
Employment status		
Employed	62	62
Unemployed	38	38

Table 3 shows that the majority of the respondents in this study were female, most of the participants had completed high school, the majority of the participants were Africans, and most of the participants were employed.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the age of participants in a pie chart.

Figure 1: Age of the respondents



As shown in Figure 1, most of the participants were between 18 and 30 years old. The pie chart shows that 67 per cent of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 40.

The following section presents tables showing participants' responses which indicated

- knowledge and awareness of the prevention of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS;
- knowledge and awareness of the transmission of DR-TB and HIV;
- knowledge and awareness of the diagnosis and treatment of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS; and
- knowledge and awareness of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS according to age and gender.

Table 4 provides information about participants' knowledge and awareness of preventing

Table 4 Statements relating to the prevention of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS

	Male (N = 47)		Female (N = 53)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
DR-TB can be controlled by wearing a surgical mask and opening windows	32	68	43	81
The spread of DR-TB can be minimised by avoiding or minimising close contact with the infected person	25	53	31	58
Opening of windows and minimisation of close contact with known HIV positive people and children are DR-TB infection control measures	41	87	41	77
Abstaining from sex and practising safe sex can reduce the spread of HIV and AIDS	45	96	52	98
An expensive vaccine is available to prevent HIV and AIDS	26	55	39	74

Table 5 Statements relating to the transmission of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS

	Male (N = 47)		Female (N = 53)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
HIV is spread through unprotected sex	47	100	53	100
TB is spread through the air by coughing or sneezing	45	96	50	94
An HIV-positive person can pass the HIV virus to other people even though he or she may not have symptoms	38	81	46	87
People from all races can be infected with HIV	43	91	50	94
HIV-positive people are at high risk of being infected with TB	33	70	53	100
Only poor people get infected with TB and HIV and AIDS	24	51	36	68
HIV-positive people have more chances of developing TB than those who are HIV-negative	44	94	46	87

Table 6 Statements relating to the diagnosis and treatment of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS

	Male (N = 47)		Female (N = 53)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
HIV and AIDS can be managed by taking antiretroviral drugs	37	79	49	92
HIV and AIDS has no cure	22	47	37	70
Antiretroviral drugs reduce the viral load	36	77	48	91
Antiretroviral drugs boost CD4 count	43	91	41	77
TB can be cured by taking the prescribed medication	47	100	49	92
It takes a long time and costs more to treat MDR-TB than normal TB	43	91	48	91
DR-TB is caused by interruption in TB treatment	16	34	35	66
TB treatment outcomes are assessed through sputum test	30	64	52	98
XDR-TB has no cure	6	13	8	15
DR-TB treatment is free at designated health centres	31	66	48	91
HIV and AIDS makes the body so weak that it cannot fight disease	46	98	48	91
People who are infected with HIV and AIDS can be easily identified	19	40	29	55
TB is diagnosed through a sputum test	33	70	47	89

Table 7 Knowledge and awareness of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS according to age and gender

Age	Number of participants who provided correct responses	Total number of participants	%	Gender	Number of participants who provided correct responses	Total number of participants	%
41–60	28	33	85	Male	26	47	55
18–40	38	67	57	Female	40	53	75

DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. Overall, female participants showed higher scores than male participants on knowledge of preventing DR-TB and HIV and AIDS.

Table 5 shows that female participants were more knowledgeable about the transmission of DR-TB and HIV than male participants even though male participants showed that they were more knowledgeable about the spread of tuberculosis and that HIV-positive people have more chances of developing tuberculosis than those who are HIV-negative.

Overall, as shown in Table 6, women participants showed more knowledge and awareness than men on the diagnosis and treatment of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS.

It can be seen from Table 7 that the number of participants in the older group, the 41 to 60 age group, showed high scores on knowledge and awareness of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. The table illustrates that more women than men showed greater knowledge and awareness of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS.

Discussion

The study showed that some of the community members lacked knowledge about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. In order for the South African government to reach the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, there should be

'zero new HIV infections', 'zero discrimination' and 'zero AIDS-related deaths'.⁵⁸ The gap in knowledge about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS shows health risk. Even if female participants showed higher knowledge than male participants and older participants provided more informed answers, the results showed that the group that consisted of males and the youth in general showed low knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. The findings could prompt the Department of Health to scale up outreach campaigns on the prevention, transmission, diagnosis and treatment of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape. The findings are in line with previous studies that indicate that the youth generally showed health risk behaviours.⁵⁹ The results are in line with the South African epidemiological statistics which show that the youth show a high risk of HIV infection.⁶⁰

The study expected most of the participants to provide correct answers because South Africa has received many grants from the World Health Organization (WHO) to fight tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS.⁶¹ These medical interventions and educational campaigns were carried out in both rural and urban areas and some of the programmes are still running today.⁶² The results of this study showed that some of the participants' responses revealed distorted ideas about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. This is in line with previous studies which showed that distorted risk perceptions

make communities susceptible to HIV infection.⁶⁵ The risk responses could be attributed to cultural or religious beliefs.⁶⁴ It was revealed in this study that some of the participants believed that tuberculosis was a disease of the poor and the association with HIV and AIDS co-infection was distorted. Some of the participants in this study believed that there was an association between poverty and vulnerability to HIV and tuberculosis infection as confirmed in previous studies.⁶⁵ It was indicated by some of the participants that tuberculosis was mostly reported in areas with high levels of poverty and overcrowded places, and among malnourished populations.⁶⁶ Most of the participants were not able to demonstrate knowledge that showed the distinction between DR-TB and HIV and AIDS.

The research findings further revealed that the female respondents were more aware and knowledgeable than the male respondents in this study. The results showed what is commonly observed in Sub-Saharan Africa that women tend to seek health care services more than men, hence they tend to be more knowledgeable.⁶⁷ Most of the men are reported to be reluctant to seek medical help or accompany their sick or pregnant wives or partners to (prenatal) clinics.⁶⁸ Furthermore, women are more likely to be more knowledgeable about HIV than men in South Africa because public hospitals and clinics ask pregnant women to take an HIV test as a way of promoting maternal health and preventing the unborn baby from contracting HIV. The women also receive provider-initiated counselling and testing (PICT), client-initiated counselling and testing or voluntary counselling and testing (VCT), and reproductive health information on contraception.⁶⁹ HIV-positive mothers are asked to take antiretroviral drugs to prevent the transmission of HIV from the mother to the child

and they are put on the prevention of mother-to-child transmission programme (PMTCT).⁷⁰

Limitations of the Study

This was a descriptive study in which participants' responses were presented in tables and a pie chart, hence there were limitations on making inferences about the meaning of the results. The study was conducted among community members in a limited area, namely, Ward 40 in Greenbushes of the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. Therefore, the generalisation of findings to the larger national and international contexts is limited. The majority of the respondents had lived in the area for about five years, thus they might not have been fully involved in some of the interventions that were carried out in the area in the last decade. It should be noted that data collection coincided with the September school holidays, so it could be that some of the participants had come to Greenbushes for the holidays and therefore had limited knowledge regarding disease control programmes in the area, especially DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. Community members who left their homes in the morning for work and returned in the evening were left out of the study. The study left out most of the working population in the area since it was carried out on weekdays.

Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of this study it is recommended that more interventions in the Eastern Cape should target the youth and male participants in tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS control campaigns. More educational programmes on tuberculosis and HIV and

AIDS should target men in order to reduce the spread of the diseases in the Eastern Cape because research evidence shows that men tend to dominate women in the negotiation for safer sex. It is assumed in HIV risk-reduction research that if men are educated, there could be a reduction in gender-based violence (GBV), forced sex and the violation of women's rights in tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS prevention. Communities in the Eastern Cape need to be equipped with appropriate knowledge regarding DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. This involves the intensification and extension of the coverage of outreach and health promotion programmes to every corner where people socialise such as schools, churches and workplaces. This can be coupled with the stepping up of behaviour change programmes for members of the community.

The intervention strategies could include people affected by tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS and those living with DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. They can be involved in the facilitation of health education and communication programmes in the area. The involvement of local people living with DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in the campaigns affords community members the opportunity to interact and get first-hand information from the lived experiences of the affected and infected community members. This could possibly create cues for taking preventive action and the adoption of positive health behaviours to stop the spread of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. The use of patients as role models could increase the general level of awareness in the community about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. Health educators would help communities know the various forms of tuberculosis such as treatable tuberculosis, MDR-TB, XDR-TB and tuberculosis concurrent with HIV infection. The difference between the clinical stages of HIV and AIDS

would be highlighted. The health educators could work with community leaders and volunteers in the dissemination of knowledge, surveillance, diagnosis, treatment and management of tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape.

Conclusion

The study assessed community members' knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS in the Eastern Cape. The study also intended to establish if there were gender and age differences in relation to knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS. Descriptive statistics were used to illustrate the pattern of participants' responses. In this study, women and older participants showed higher knowledge of DR-TB and HIV and AIDS than men and younger participants. In terms of tuberculosis and HIV infection risk, the study sample can still be regarded as a vulnerable group. The wrong answers they provided during data collection showed susceptibility to tuberculosis or HIV infection. The results showed that participants showed some gaps in knowledge about DR-TB and HIV and AIDS that could make them vulnerable to tuberculosis or HIV infection. Low levels of knowledge could hinder the delivery of health care services in the area and community members might sabotage or shun intervention programmes that seek to reduce cases of tuberculosis and the incidence of HIV in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. Further studies could focus on ways of accelerating health education interventions in the Eastern Cape and to address the gap in knowledge so that the Millennium Development Goals of eliminating tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS by 2015 become an achievable reality.

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Peacebuilding in the Midst of Violence

A Systemic Approach to Building Peace in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo

Communities emerging from violent conflict confront complex challenges that are specific from one context to another. The 2002 Peace Accord for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) signed in Pretoria, South Africa, marked a post-conflict chapter for the country and inaugurated a range of actors and strategies to sustain the path to recovery. Despite considerable fissures that reveal micro-macro gaps, laudable exemplars of peacebuilding are found in the DRC. Based on a field study conducted in South Kivu, this article contends that positive peace endures in non-linear intervention and, therefore, to enhance total systemic change for peace requires 'whole' community integration of vertical and horizontal networks. With there being no single intervention that can provide systemic change, this article suggests policy strategies that can work from the 'top down', the 'middle out', and the 'bottom up' across structural, attitudinal and transactional domains.

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Introduction

South Kivu is a small province in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) measuring about 65 070 square kilometres.¹ It is bordered on the south by Katanga province, on the west by Maniema province, on the north by North Kivu province, and on the east by Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania. The general topography of the area is varied and consists of tropical forests, mountains, highlands and lowlands. Despite the lack of a systematic environmental survey, a vast expanse of the province is known to contain considerable reserves of natural resources with a great potential for beneficiation, such as gold, coltan and diamonds, as well as timber and agricultural wealth.² The province has an estimated population of 3.2 million inhabitants, largely subsistence farmers.³ Different ethnic communities live together: Babembe, Bafulero, Bavira and 'settler' Banyamulenge (Rwandan by origin and formerly called Banyarwanda when they first settled in eastern DRC). Several ethnic minorities have been assimilated into these main groups. There are eight administrative territories: Fizi, Idjwi, Kabare, Kalehe, Mwenga, Shabunda, Uvira and Walungu. Bukavu is the capital of the province.

In religious terms, the population in the province is predominantly Christian with pockets of Islam and traditional adherents.

Throughout her various incarnations as the Congo Free State (1885–1908), the Belgian Congo (1908–1960), the Congo Republic (1960–1971), Zaire (1971–1997) and, finally, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (since 1997), the DRC has not known genuine peace.⁴ The violent conflict that followed state collapse in 1996 has to this day claimed more than 5.4 million lives, dislocated several millions internally and in the region, and maimed and disabled many more individuals, families and whole communities.⁵ In particular, the eastern region is recognised as one of the world's hardest hit regions with respect to protracted violence and multiple conflicts at local, national and regional levels.⁶ With little or no shared experience of genuine peace to offset negative interactions,⁷ this history of animosity demonstrably created a militarisation of social life, politics and economy. A vicious cycle of human rights abuses, hostility and fear envelop and entrap citizens, particularly women and girls, as well as men and whole neighbourhoods. At the political level, continuing violence undermines countrywide fledgling democratic hard work and dilutes peace initiatives that are requisite pillars for reconciliation and development. It also promotes authoritarian tendencies in local and national governance structures which reduce accountability and distort representation in policymaking. In great part, this explains the endemic inefficient provision of services across the country. The situation exacerbates physical hardships like poverty and underdevelopment, including the overall destruction of buildings and infrastructure. Furthermore, it creates an environment for other criminal syndicate activities such as resource predation

and looting, corruption, human trafficking, terrorism and the proliferation of small and light weapons.

The human security situation at the grassroots level is dire in South Kivu. All protagonists have been responsible for awful human rights abuse. In 2011, the province witnessed increased attacks committed by the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC), the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL) of Burundi, Mai-Mai vigilante (such as Raia Mutomboi in Mwenga and Shabunda) and several loose criminal and rebel militias. Insecurity levels escalated and population displacement and human rights abuse, including abduction and rape crimes, and looting of homes, crops and livestock,⁸ became a part of everyday life. According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), between July and September 2011, more than 29 children were abducted and forcibly recruited by armed groups.⁹ In addition, an emerging demon became the growing use of sexual violence against women as a weapon of war.¹⁰ According to the International Center for Migration, on average of 40 women are raped every day in South Kivu. Women and girls are raped in their homes, in fields, along roads to the market and in the forest when collecting fuel-wood.¹¹ What is even worse, a large number of these rapes are committed in public places and in full view of immediate family members.¹² Of these on average 40 victims per day, 13 per cent are below 14 years of age, three per cent die as a result of rape and 11 per cent contract HIV/AIDS.¹³ In the worst cases, strange acts accompany the rapes, such as the whipping, torture, mutilation and shooting of victims.¹⁴ Unfortunately, while these figures may be disturbing, the truth is they are only the tip of the iceberg. Many cases go unreported since victims have no trust or confidence in the legal

system. Also, many fear the stigma of family and community rejection that often accompanies such violence.

In scores of cases, the perpetrators of these heinous crimes wander the streets, business as usual, and even have the audacity to stand and campaign for national election.¹⁵ Moreover, this study found evidence of new trends in that sexual attacks are now also being committed by civilians including United Nations (UN) peacekeepers.¹⁶ This new trend highlights the widespread impunity in the area and the country as a whole.¹⁷

Sadly, sexual violence affects both women and girls as the direct victims of physical harm, including the threat of sexually transmitted disease and the related trauma of social rejection. Men and boys suffer equally.¹⁸ The tapestries that weave social capital and the ubuntu value are eroded and families uprooted. In the face of these atrocities, many individuals and families are defenceless in the face of a host of hardships, including abductions, mistrust, animosity, HIV/AIDS, alcohol and drug abuse and household violence. Community ties and opportunities for ethnic groups and tribes living in the same villages to meet no longer exist. Community members are passive and make few efforts to unravel local problems. Hence, local leaders and decision-makers are not challenged to act effectively for the welfare of the public. Local resources are not used effectively by locals and spaces for reflection are absent in most villages. An emerging corollary has been that people have generally become despondent and largely think wrongly that their salvation will come from 'outsiders'.

Nature and evolution of conflict

Much of what is generalised as the 'conflict in DRC' results from a pattern of behaviour which brings great benefits to a limited number of

people while marginalising the majority of the population from political decision-making and economic opportunity.¹⁹ What are the deep-rooted dimensions underpinning and driving the conflict? Who are the key protagonists?

Fundamentally, the prime elements of the South Kivu conflict involve 'ethnopolitical' concerns entwined with complex economic interests. Ethnopolitical conflict describes complex forms of protracted and violent social turmoil that: (i) is conflict between identity groups of which at least one feels that their basic needs for equality, security and political participation are not respected; (ii) is essentially about access to state-related power, often in the form of asymmetric conflict between government and insurgent group(s); (iii) cannot be understood without various types of international linkage affecting the course of events; and, (iv) is often based on deeply rooted antagonistic histories.²⁰ Despite the fact that religious establishments champion the cause of vulnerability in affected communities, the conflict has no religious nuances.

As is evident from the preceding analysis, the causes extend beyond common and immediate ethnic rivalry between Babembe, Bafulero, Bavira and Banyamulenge dating back to pre-colonial incursions against each other for livestock and land resources. To consolidate power, the organisation and corruption of the Mobutu regime created structural procedures such as the 1971 Citizenship Decree and the 1981 Citizenship Bill.²¹ These enactments produced structures of exclusion and inclusion that spawned a culture of violent ethnic group relations which still exists today, and feeds and drives the present violence and human rights abuses. For instance, the study found that the demand to establish a Banyamulenge territory in Minembwe commune north-west of Uvira town is considered a very serious conflict issue. Local ethnic Congolese vehemently resist

this creation as they perceive it as a concealed Rwandan ploy to eradicate the South Kivu population and take over the eastern expanse of the DRC. Hence, in the face of underprovided state authority and state capacity, many communities reasonably feel they have no option but to take matters into their own hands and defend their territory against foreign incursion.²²

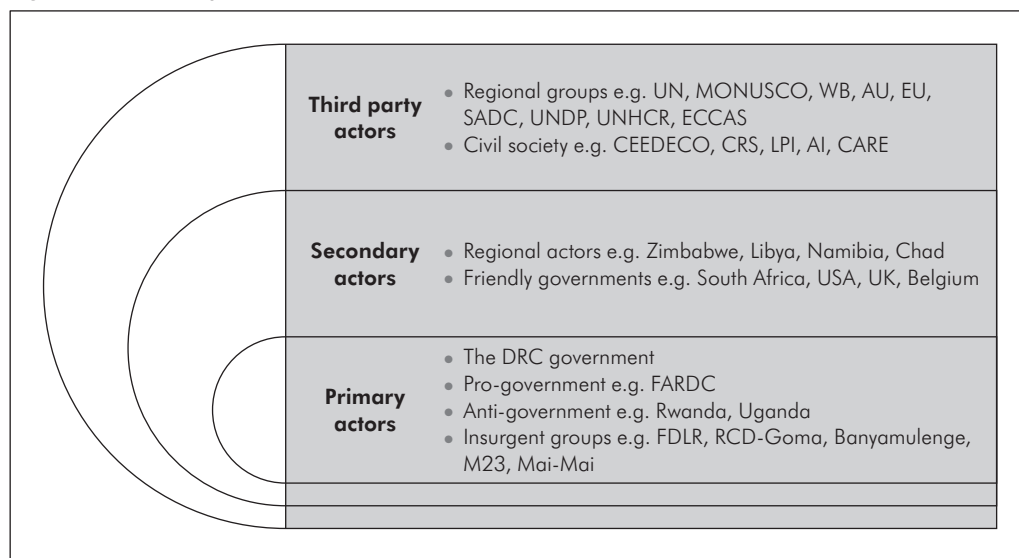
Accordingly, community-led vigilante mobilisation has been a traditional self-defence mechanism, locally called *Mai-Mai*, which emerged to protect the groups and their land against continued occupation by neighbours. Examples include Mai-Mai Raia Mutomboki (of Shabunda), Mai-Mai Kapopo (of Mwenga), Mai-Mai Yakutumba (of Fizi), Mai-Mai Kifuafua (of Kalehe), Mai-Mai Aochi and Mai-Mai Mulumba (of Minembwe). The term does not describe any particular movement, affiliation or political ideology, but groups may be led by tribal elders, charismatic individuals, village heads or politically motivated resistance mobilisation. However, in the process, rogue 'spoiler' elements have consistently usurped this practice to drive self-seeking ambitions such as the Mai-Mai Mutomboki. In addition, a number of wayward state security personnel with allegations of human rights violations frequently desert from the army and the police to form loose groups of marauding bandits and criminal networks, such as the Mai-Mai Kashorogosi led by a police defector Col. Nyerere Bunana and other Mai-Mai groups led by Col. Bede Rusagara, Col. Namujira and Col. Baleke Sumahili.²³ A notable element of the spatial distribution of insurgent proliferation is that most groups are located in notoriously mountainous countryside rich in natural resources and yet extremely underprovided for in terms of state authority and state capacity; hence it is very difficult to control margins. This provides insurgent groups with safe havens to hide and mobilise.

More sifted analyses beyond the immediate causes bring to light other hidden sources of persistent violence in South Kivu, including: (i) a leadership and authority vacuum; (ii) competition for the appropriation of state resources and the prestige linked to the exercise of state power; and (iii) implications of Rwanda in the affairs of the DRC. The previous regimes encouraged organising around urban areas like Kinshasa and therefore created a condition of leadership deficit and internal fragmentation in many remote rural areas such as South Kivu. Moreover, insecurity in many parts of South Kivu, for example, in Shabunda, Mwenga, Minembwe and Walungu, extends the vacuum in terms of state authority, state legitimacy and state capacity. Those who govern typically control the economic life of their spheres of influence. Smith and Bell assert that:

Many of the beneficiaries are powerful as individuals within state structures and/or as leaders of societal groups. In contrast to typecasting of the DRC, the common denominator of the multiple conflicts is not so much ethnicity as the struggle for economic or political gain, around which ethnic identity is manipulated.²⁴

Indeed, mineral resource predation and entitlement claims over land juxtapose many criminal individuals and groups in competing violently for control and access to looted resources. The implications of Rwanda for DRC affairs relate in particular to the problem of the perceived invasion of the DRC by Rwanda and the nature in which the subsequent wars of 1996 and 1998 were handled (including the current invasion of Goma in North Kivu by M23). The argument here is that as a way to consolidate state power, previous regimes in the DRC laid down structures for ethnopolitical cleavages to ferment and continue to feed today's conflict.

Figure 1 The main parties – South Kivu conflict since 1996



Source: *The author*

Conflict protagonists

Three broad groups can be identified in this asymmetric conflict. The direct protagonists (primary groups that are fighting) are state-armed actors and insurgent groups. There are also secondary actors (those that back up and support direct parties). Then again, there are third-party actors who work to mediate a peaceful settlement to the conflict without, notionally, being part of the conflict. However, as it happens, third parties such as MONUSCO (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC) are occasionally drawn in and caught in the web of direct combat.

As the conflict is asymmetric in nature, the question of power relationships is important within and between parties. Fighting is regularly characterised by shifting short-term coalitions between state militias and insurgent groups, including criminal bandits keen to make use of insecurity to control and loot land resources. A recent emergent up-shoot is

the M23 rebel group in North Kivu with links to Bosco Ntanganda and Rwanda.

Analytical Framework

In this article the term ‘post-conflict’ describes the relationship between conflict, recovery, and development. So, a post-conflict phase refers to the transition interval reached when the signing of a peace accord or other event marks the ‘official end’ of war and signals the commencement of recovery work. In the case of the DRC, the Pretoria Accord in 2002 marked a post-conflict episode. Usually, this ushers in varied actors and strategies to undertake and manage post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery. However, transitions from war to peace are not smooth.

Post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery

Present-day security issues are multifaceted and dynamic. They range from military

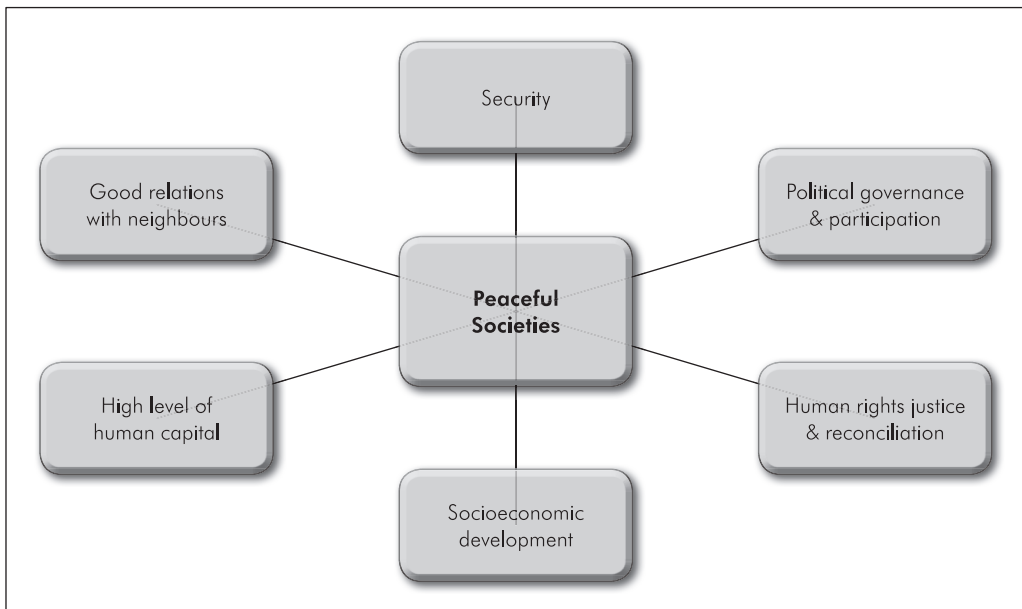
protection to efficient public infrastructure and viable social negotiation processes. Post-conflict peacebuilding has long been an integral feature of the systemic peacebuilding agenda concerned with the ‘reconstruction’ of the security ‘needs of countries emerging from violent conflict, including the needs of affected populations; prevent escalation of disputes; avoid relapse into violence; address the root causes of conflict; and consolidate sustainable peace’.²⁵ Conceptually, peacebuilding addresses all aspects of ‘traditional security’²⁶ and contemporary community safety, including the establishment of safe and secure surroundings and the development of legitimate and stable security institutions. However, in terms of practice, translating the theoretical palette into an effective positive peace culture is problematic.

What does it mean to consolidate security and contribute to peace? Certainly, the agenda of any post-conflict peacebuilding intervention

will vary from one conflict context to another and according to the significance given to the process.²⁷ A central dimension in the foregoing analysis is the notion of ‘reconstruction’ which denotes the provision of ‘recovery’ in a preferred manner or way. Accepting this normative corollary, post-conflict peacebuilding therefore relate to ‘efforts to transform potentially violent social relations into sustainable peaceful relations and outcomes’²⁸ in an effective and efficient manner and within the framework of local community control. This understanding is central to directing the design of intervention, including power relations and the disposition of leadership into well-organised and competent energy that can sustain peaceful relationships in fragile contexts. John Paul Lederach asserts that recognising this element in the conception

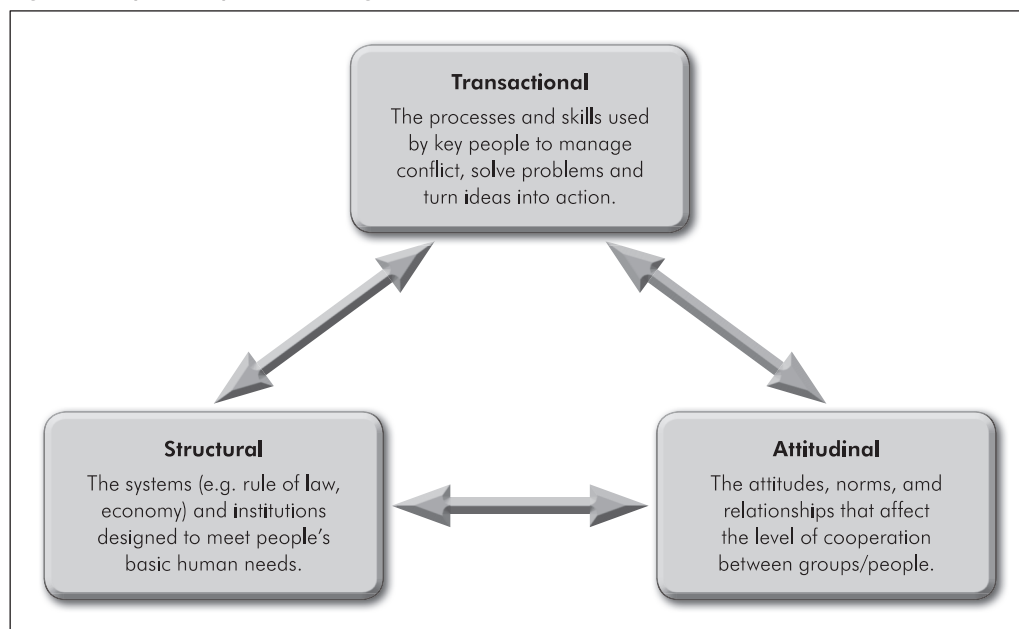
... generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to

Figure 2 Pillars of peace



Source: The author

Figure 3 A systemic peacebuilding model



Source: The author

transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships ... [it] involves a wide array of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Peace therefore, metaphorically is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct.²⁹

The ultimate goal of actions undertaken by local, national, regional and/or international actors is to eradicate the root causes of conflict and lay foundations to sustain social justice and longer-term cooperation between groups.

Post-conflict peacebuilding is a multidimensional process with several pillars.³⁰ While actors define pillars differently, there is consensus that the scope for effective peace recovery is typically organised around a six-part taxonomy including (i) security; (ii) political transition, governance and participation; (iii) human rights, justice and reconciliation; (iv) socioeconomic development;

(v) a high level of human capital; and (vi) good relations with neighbours.

The six-part peace taxonomy is a holistic framework which describes the factors that make contexts emerging from violent conflict more peaceful. The six pillars are all inextricably linked, and so each requires attention. Importantly, concerns and contributions of women on conflict should permeate across all six pillars as indispensable building blocks to leverage vital social justice. Thus, a constructive outcome in any one of the pillars depends on the successful integration and interaction across them. In terms of the temporal dimensions, peace recovery efforts can be organised in terms of the emergency (short-term), transition (medium-term) and development (long-term) phases.

From the foregoing, an emerging common understanding is that the path to sustained peace writ large leads through the

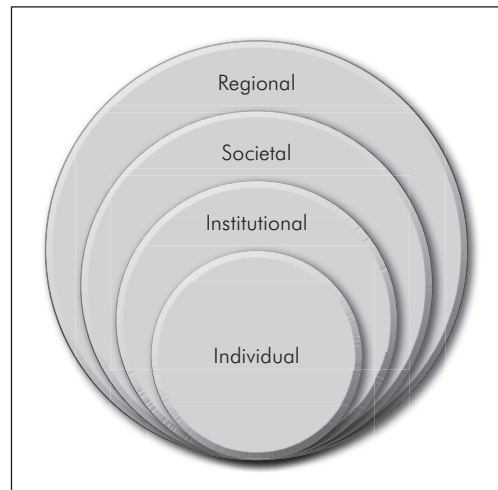
transformation of conflict and social change³¹ and, finally, a set of building blocks needs to be in place when positive peace is achieved.³² This requires a dynamic interplay between changes at the transactional, attitudinal and structural levels of affected the society.

According to Spence, this progression calls for new attitudes and practices that are flexible, consultative and collaborative, and that operate from a contextual understanding of the root causes of the conflict.³³ Transactional work is a catalyst for structural and attitudinal change. Progress at one level is not sustainable without progress at the others. Such processes are based on eradicating something that is undesired (violence) and building of something that is desired (peaceful communities) by changing relationships and constructing conditions for positive peace.³⁴

Discussion

The research findings demonstrate that South Kivu has become the veritable epicentre of a multiplicity of actors and strategies aimed at preventing violence and building peaceful relationships. A generic but significant finding on practice demonstrates how the range of actions to 'create political, social, environment, military and cultural systems that can give [the Congolese] the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood' operate on four different levels, including individual, institutional, societal and regional dimensions. This distinction in levels is key to unlocking the component strategic dimensions of post-conflict peacebuilding by addressing specific problems at dissimilar gradations of society from individuals through family, to local, national, regional and global contexts. Furthermore, the levels provide space and nodal points for conflict prevention.

Figure 4 Levels of intervention in South Kivu



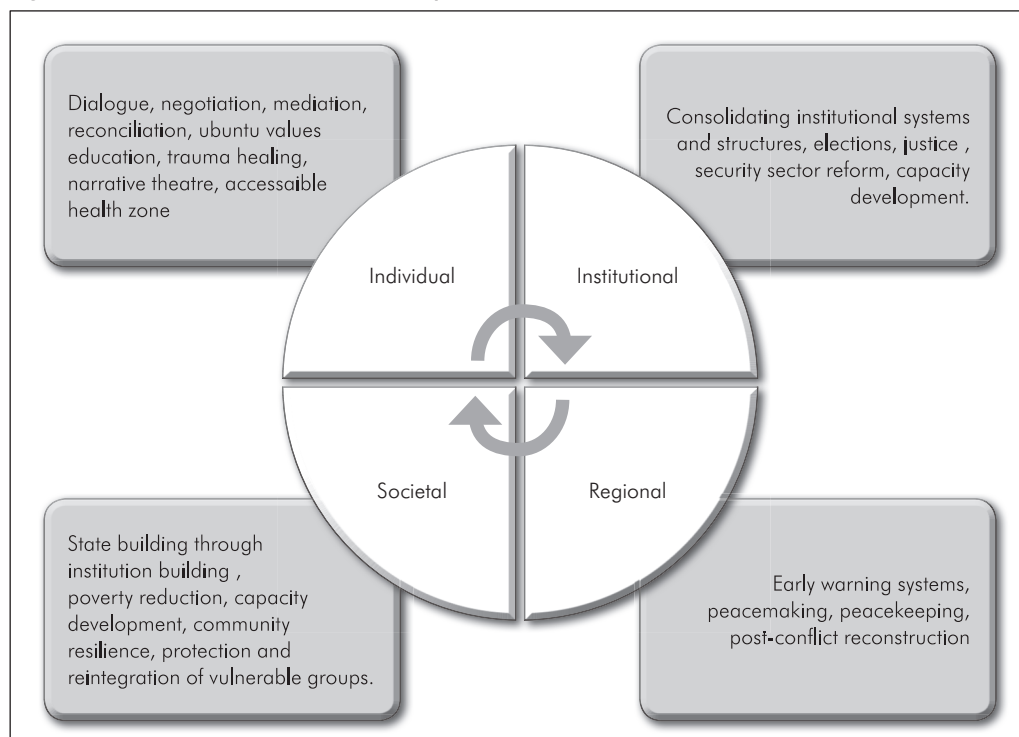
Source: The author

The nested nuance of the different levels underscores the overlapping relationships of intercession and their hierarchical gradation. The levels are part of the 'whole' community. While specific policy options can be designed for problems at each level, the activities ought to be relatively balanced with levels to sustain mutual linking processes between levels to cement the 'whole' and route effective community recovery. Thus, to address the crisis in the DRC using linear approaches, for example merely ensuring regular plebiscites in state-building (at the institutional or societal strata), is not enough without recognising the interdependence with other levels and the prerequisite to balance justice and reconciliation at grassroots and regional echelons.

Case study 1: Multilateral efforts

The UN peace support operations (PSOs) are guided by clearly defined mandates. The current mission in the DRC, called the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), was established in 1999 by the

Figure 5 Levels and activities in conflict prevention in South Kivu



Source: The author

resolution UN S/RES/1234 (1999). The mission was originally called the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) until 30 June 2010 when pursuant to resolution 1925 (2010) of 28 May 2010, by which the UN Security Council extended the mandate of MONUC, the name of the mission was changed to MONUSCO. The Security Council's decision to rename MONUC to MONUSCO was a milestone reflecting a new partnership between the DRC and the UN. Under this mandate the mission undertakes peacekeeping tasks that range from the protection of civilians and infrastructure to state-building and control of belligerents and territorial security. MONUSCO ranks as the world's second largest and most expensive UN

peacekeeping mission in history. It has a current strength of 18 928 uniformed personnel, 983 international civilian staff, 2 820 local civilian staff and 614 UN volunteers, and a budget of 1,5 billion dollars (US\$1 489 390 500) per annum.³⁵ Working together with regional actors and the international community, including friendly governments, the Pretoria Accord was brokered and signed in South Africa in 2002. While the accord ushered in a fragile peace, it created a transitional government ultimately paving way for the Constitutional Referendum in 2005. In 2006 the DRC held its first multi-party presidential and legislative polls and, in November 2011 and February 2012, it conducted the second presidential and legislative polls respectively. The fact that polls are becoming a

regular exercise is indeed a milestone in consolidating recovery in the country.

MONUSCO is well dispersed in South Kivu. However, translating this military presence into lasting negative and positive peace is a difficult challenge. The Brigade Headquarters is located in Bukavu and comprises troops from Pakistan, Uruguay and China. Other military bases include Uvira (located a few kilometres from the border with Burundi), Walungu and Panzi with troops from Pakistan only and Adikuvu/Kavumu (along Lake Victoria and bordering North Kivu and Rwanda) with troops from Egypt, Pakistan, India, Bolivia and Uruguay. Nevertheless, in partnership and coordination with humanitarian efforts (by UNICEF, UNEFPA, UNOPS, IOM, FAO and friendly governments), MONUSCO undertakes critical operational (direct) and structural conflict prevention including peacekeeping, mediation, support for political processes, restoration of state authority, protection of civilians and combating sexual violence, demobilisation and reintegration, and poverty alleviation programming.

For instance, in terms of improving security, the study established that MONUSCO carries out mandated efforts to support the harmonisation of security sector reform (SSR). The Mission has convened Working Group meetings on SSR with the participation of officials from the Ministries of Defence and the Interior as well as the office of the National Security Advisor to the President. Despite serious hurdles encountered in SSR endeavours, MONUSCO undertakes activities with government authorities in the DRC to develop national training capacity programmes and provide intensive training on police functions.⁵⁶ Within the framework of the International Security and Stabilization Support Strategy (ISSSS) and in support of the DRC government's Stabilization and Reconstruction Plan for Eastern DRC (STAREC),

the programme in South Kivu facilitated the construction of six police stations, one judicial court and two administrative offices, as well as the completion of the Baraka-Fizi road and bridge.³⁷ The equipment for the six police facilities was funded by the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ).³⁸ In-depth interviews with informants from provincial government and civil society confirmed that the EU funded the completion of a biometric identification process within the Congolese National Police (PNC) in South Kivu.³⁹ The system has helped to create new ID numbers and a hierarchy of data profiles on each police officer to augment efficiency and conditions in the force. Despite the noble aims to turn the police agency into a competent organ, the study established threads of dissatisfaction and perceptions of some integrated police elements with regard to grievances about their ranks and benefits being distorted by the biometric registration.

As a result of the long civil war and instability the economy of the DRC is shattered. Accordingly, in its current state it cannot on its own sustain the varied needs of recovery effectively. The country therefore needs financial and material support to stabilise and enable the government to fulfil its responsibilities. Thus, consistent with the preceding understanding, the study found the utility of MONUSCO (with regional third parties) indispensable in mobilising financial resources, technical and logistical support, such as election material and the conduct of elections, as well as other resources needed for the reconstruction efforts.

Further, the study established that the DRC government army (FARDC), with support from MONUSCO, was carrying out combat operations against militia insurgents including the FDLR, LRA, M23 and other Mai-Mai groups. Despite unrelenting violence, there is modest evidence suggesting military pressure is contributing to

militia desertions and voluntary participation in MONUSCO's Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Resettlement and Reintegration (DDRRR) process. In triangulating these humble observations with reports of the Stabilization Working Group (SWG) and the ISSSS, the study established that since August 2011, military operations have repatriated 5 238 elements to Rwanda (including 2 266 ex-combatants and 2 972 dependents).⁴⁰ In addition, 22 230 Rwandan civilians have been facilitated by the office of the UNHCR.⁴¹ While this DDRRR process is incomplete, the Congolese Defence minister authorised a new Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programme to address the problem of residual Congolese combatants and persistent defections from state security agencies.

To restore state authority and protect civilians from atrocities, the study found laudable engagement and collaboration between MONUSCO and the international community in developing a Peace Consolidation Programme (PCP) in cooperation with the Congolese state and citizens. The PCP has three key objectives, namely: (i) to support the implementation of critical structural reforms and furnish the Congolese government with capacity to project its authority countrywide; (ii) to strengthen the capacity of community resilience to tragic events; and (iii) to provide economic opportunities for the youth and other vulnerable groups in communities. Implementation of the PCP in South Kivu was still in its infancy. Apart from the fact that the initiative is still young, the study found the presence of MONUSCO central to achieving this vision. MONUSCO provides strategic reporting on the political, security, military and human rights developments in the area. In addition, the UN and international community, in cooperation with the Congolese government, continue to support the country's national

reconstruction programmes on poverty alleviation, capacity development and good governance. For instance, since 2007 the World Bank and other international development partners have pledged more than US\$10 billion in support of the country's implementation of its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) until 2014.⁴²

The incidence of violence against women and other acts of human rights abuse remain a matter of grave concern in South Kivu. The majority of sexual violence is committed by armed militias including state security elements. The study however found new trends in the nature of perpetrators. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews confirmed new aggressors in the form of UN peacekeepers and civilians. Against this backdrop, the study learnt of Joint Protection Teams (JPTs) dispatched in 2010/2011 by MONUSCO to investigate reported sexual attacks in Mwenga and Shabunda. In addition, MONUSCO and the international community amplified support for the implementation of the UN Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in the DRC. The DRC government has since incorporated the UN strategy into its National Strategy to Combat Gender Based Violence. MONUSCO also continues to engage with the government of DRC and the Ministry of Gender, Family and Children to coordinate the implementation of the national strategy and augment efforts to strengthen the rule of law, especially with respect to ending impunity for sexual violence. Results of these efforts include two legal hubs that are now operational in South Kivu, located in the Kalehe and Kamituga communes. These focal points provide legal advice for victims. To improve the expediency of the hubs, three months of IT capacity training for staff at the centres was undertaken. In addition, the United States government provided over US\$17 million to help rape survivors and prevent sexual violence in

the conflict axis. About US\$3 million in separate funding was also approved to recruit and train police officers, particularly women police officers, to investigate sexual violence.⁴³

Another salient perception that emerged from all focus group discussions was the invaluable roles played by faith-based organisations in collaboration with community-based initiatives in South Kivu. The focus groups revealed how churches like the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches provide safe havens for survivors of sexual violence and facilitate healing from the traumatic experiences that erode social capital and break up families. In triangulating these assertions, documentary evidence affirmed the laudable work done by faith-based organisations in mobilising resources for counselling, as well as medical services and legal assistance in prosecuting sexual and gender-based cases. In a report presented in March 2011 to the subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights of the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Francisca Vigaud-Walsh highlighted how the CRS in partnership with USAID was reaching key local actors such as women, traditional leaders, administrative and civil society organisations in more than 17 health zones in South Kivu. The report also revealed how the project in South Kivu had trained more than 508 transitional justice leaders and 228 military and police officials in sexual and gender-based violence awareness and sensitisation.⁴⁴ These important efforts and developments will no doubt contribute significantly to change and consolidate peace and security.

Case study 2: Community-based efforts

As in every other society, the local capacity for conflict resolution in South Kivu is active and flourishing. Despite the 'outsider' syndrome that local mechanisms are insufficient to make a difference to conflict 'writ large', community-based organisations (CBOs) are increasingly

turning out to be vital pieces of the puzzle in the discourse, initiatives and programming to sustain peace and security. Thelmar Ekiyo asserts that CBOs play a laudable role in promoting localised peacebuilding initiatives, initiating reconciliation processes, advocating for adherence to peace agreements and building capacities in peace education.⁴⁵ Being very close to the grass roots and very much aware of the sociocultural, economic, historical and political realities of the Congolese in South Kivu, CBOs are more appropriate for promoting peacebuilding and national reconciliation endeavours. One such organisation undertaking reflective and thoughtful peacebuilding work in South Kivu is the Centre d'Encadrement et d'Etudes pour le Développement Communautaire (CEEDECO).

As a registered indigenous organisation established in September 1997, CEEDECO is committed to the task of post-conflict peacebuilding in the Kagando-Kiliba community in South Kivu. The district is made up of nine communes (villages or quarters). Kagando-Kiliba is one of many districts seriously affected by war; community ties and meeting opportunities have collapsed and been eroded with recurrent wars and violence. In addition to war problems, the district's core source of economic and livelihoods opportunities, the Kiliba Sugarcane Factory (SUCKI), has closed down, making community challenges more complex. Many people have become despondent and passive in addressing matters of local welfare. Against this backdrop, the study established how CEEDECO undertakes significant action in responding to the absence of peace, namely: (i) socialisation; (ii) social cohesion; (iii) protection of vulnerable groups; and (iv) facilitation between community members and the international community.

Socialisation activities carried out by CEEDECO correlate with the high relevancy of this task in the context of the torn social fabric

of Kiliba (and South Kivu as a whole). CEEDECO activities are modelled on a narrative theatre approach⁴⁶ to drive individual and community trauma healing; bonding, bridging, and linking processes, as well as capacity development of local resilience to adverse events. Despite empirical evidence suggesting that this function can be effective only when it reaches a large number of people,⁴⁷ the work of CEEDECO demonstrates that long-term engagement in promoting reconciliation and building a culture of peace can have a medium to long-term impact on peacebuilding.⁴⁸ With continued work and regular follow ups (such as monitoring and evaluation) CEEDECO will make possible the transfer of the impact to the larger sociopolitical levels and have a discernible effect in consolidating enduring peaceful communities in South Kivu and the DRC as a whole.

The focus group discussions in Kiliba commune highlighted the relevance of social cohesion. CEEDECO's activities in this regard correspond with this need and include ubuntu values and peace education, individual and community psychosocial healing. Community perceptions affirmed the slow but discernible transfer to collective attempts at the national level by the UN and international community. Notwithstanding unrelenting militia insurgency, focus group perceptions underscored evidence of emerging pockets of deteriorating inter-group violence and uncivil virtues, as well as the revitalisation of cross-group interactions, interdependency and solidarity in Kagondo-Kiliba communes. Exploring the peacebuilding effects of psychosocial activities through narrative theatre, the study identified how in Kiliba initiatives were helping to increase levels of contact, interaction and communication across ethnic, cultural and religious divides, and how this in turn was restoring cooperation, unity and interdependence between native

Congolese Babembe, Bafulero, Bavira and 'settler' Banyamulenge ethnic groups.

In terms of the protection of vulnerable groups, the study established through focus group discussions that locals aspire to realise security against direct armed violence, interpersonal and household violence, including continued structural (invisible) violence. Therefore CEEDECO undertakes this through actions that seek the reintegration of special groups (child soldiers, women and girls, demobilised soldiers, returnees); moral value building through ubuntu value and peace education to respond to household violence, interpersonal violence, internalised oppression, suicide, rape and crime, and healing communities. Indeed, protection of vulnerable elements is seen as a key precondition for communities to begin to move toward recovery and (re)construction of trust and mutual inter-group relationships.

Local facilitation is highly relevant in all contexts to link local capacity for conflict resolution with national government and 'outsider' (or international community) efforts to achieve the greatest impact and control the narrative of what really counts in sustaining peaceful regeneration in fragile contexts. CEEDECO continues to undertake facilitation between groups in communities, national government and civil society actors including international agencies to create spaces for engaging in and ensuring the delivery of services and rebuilding of social capital. CEEDECO drives this utility through advocacy and thematic public education on civil affairs, the rule of law, humanitarian and refugee laws and strengthening local capacities in land issues and entitlement. It is important to note that community-based initiatives have helped in no small measure to revitalise security and engender reconciliation in South Kivu, and that has played a major role in consolidating peace and stability.

Summary and Recommendations

This article critically examined the role of multilateral and community-based agencies in post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery in South Kivu, eastern DRC. The article notes the complex ethnopolitical factors that fuel violent conflict in South Kivu and calls for increasingly vertical and horizontal multilevel approaches to respond more effectively to the root causes of violence. Naturally, the recovery of security in South Kivu is critically dependent upon the behaviour of political actors within and outside the DRC, and on the effectiveness of multilateral and community-based initiatives in providing adequate leverage for social change. Indeed, there being no single intervention that can provide systemic change, the article suggests policy strategies that can work from the top down, the middle out, and the bottom up across structural, attitudinal and transactional domains, including the following:

- *Security.* Address all aspects of public safety encompassing the provision of collective and individual security from immediate and large-scale violence of any kind including territorial integrity. Security is a key prerequisite for achieving successful peace outcomes.
- *Political transition, governance and inclusion.* Address needs for legitimate, effective political and administrative institutions and inclusive political processes. Governance encompasses setting rules and procedures for open political decision-making and delivering services in efficient, inclusive and transparent ways. Inclusive political processes should involve giving voice to the vulnerable and marginalised through the development of civil society and the open generation and exchange of ideas through advocacy groups, civic engagement and the media.
- *Human rights, justice and reconciliation.* Address needs for an impartial and accountable justice system and for dealing with past violence and abuses and resolve grievances arising from conflict. Sometimes incorporating the idea of restorative justice and trauma healing, these mechanisms may include traditional efforts to reconcile families, victims, perpetrators and whole neighbourhoods.
- *Socioeconomic development.* Address key socioeconomic needs and imbalances. Invest in essential infrastructural services for citizen needs and lay foundations for viable and inclusive short- and long-term social and economic development.

Notes and References

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- 23 Interview with Mr Eric wa Mwenge, programme officer for Femmes en Action pour le Développement Integre (FADI) on 5 September 2011 in Uvira.
- 24 Smith and Bell, 2010, p6.
- 25 AU, 2006: paragraph 14.
- 26 Traditionally, security was narrowly defined as the protection of territorial integrity, stability, and vital interests of states through the use of political, legal or coercive instruments at the state or international level. A modern security paradigm employs a systemic approach to include social, health, economic and environmental dimensions to traditional understanding.
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Managing Political Risk

Corporate Social Responsibility as a Risk Mitigation Tool – A Focus on the Niger Delta, Southern Nigeria

A large proportion of the world's oil and gas reserves is located in developing countries where the presence of multinational oil corporations (MNOCs) is high, as host countries often lack the infrastructure needed or are financially unable to conduct extracting operations on their own. Oil-rich areas in some developing countries pose high levels of political risk for MNOCs as a result of local grievances, paired with environmental degradation and human rights violations by the oil companies. The Niger Delta in southern Nigeria has the presence of MNOCs like Shell, Chevron, Total, ExxonMobil and Statoil. This study investigates how MNOCs can successfully manage political risk by addressing the behaviour of a company through corporate social responsibility (CSR). The study looks at two different MNOCs operating in the Niger Delta: Shell and Statoil.

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Introduction

In their search for oil and gas revenues, multinational oil corporations (MNOCs) often explore and invest in developing countries that lack the infrastructure needed or do not possess the financial prerequisites to conduct such operations on their own. As the political and social situations in developing countries often present uncertain conditions for the MNOCs, there are political risks associated with such investments. Regardless of such conditions, however, MNOCs realise the value of acquiring an early market share even if it is in areas that appear risky.¹ The risks concerned with investing in such environments mean that MNOCs need to evaluate the political risks involved at all times. Political risk analysis sets out to assess the probability that various factors within a political system will affect business and investment climates in such a way that forecasted profit will be negatively impacted.² Importantly, political risk analysis also enables corporations to develop risk management strategies that allow them to identify and manage the various risks identified.

Doing business in a politically risk-prone country thus requires MNOCs to explore ways to manage political risks strategically. Besides

representing economic power³ as part of a country's main income source, MNOCs' dominance within host communities is also felt through their social and environmental impact. This has led to the growing discontent of locals and resistance towards the oil industry in many host communities due to the devastating impact they can have on the environment and the livelihoods of local communities. Footprints left by MNOCs could therefore influence or even contribute to industry-specific political risks.⁴ During the last decade there has been an increasing demand for MNOCs to engage with host communities beyond mere profit-seeking activities. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become a catalyst for meeting such expectations, and is of strategic importance to most large companies today. CSR is a commitment from corporations to act in an ethical manner and contribute to their host communities, of which they are an integrated part. CSR in developing countries incorporates formal and informal ways in which business makes a contribution to improving the governance, social, ethical, labour and environmental conditions of the developing countries in which they operate.⁵

One of the main arenas for such strategic play concerns the Niger Delta. Despite excessive revenues from the oil and gas production, political and social challenges in Nigeria are pressing, providing a demanding and high-risk business environment for MNOCs. The question concerning this research is whether CSR programmes could contribute to minimising the footprint left by the MNOCs, facilitating sustainable development in host communities and reducing political risk.

The Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Corporate Social Responsibility

The situation in Nigeria is characterised by political instability that has resulted in an

investment climate of increased political risk, posing challenges for foreign direct investment (FDI), particularly for the oil and gas industry. Still, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Nigerian economy is heavily dependent on the oil sector which accounts for over 95 per cent of export earnings and about 65 per cent of government revenues.⁶

Ever since MNOCs established themselves in the Niger Delta, there have been concerns regarding the risk aspects as well as the ethical aspects of foreign companies extracting natural resources in the area. Dissent has been vividly expressed through ongoing actions such as the sabotage of oil pipes and other parts of the oil refinery infrastructure, the kidnapping of oil workers and demonstrations. Oil theft, often referred to as *bunkering*, is also common and often leads to severe pipeline damage that causes loss of production and pollution and sometimes forces companies to shut down production.⁷ Nigeria's hydrocarbon resources are the mainstay of the country's economy, but production and growth of the oil and natural gas sectors are often hampered by instability in the Niger Delta.⁸ For example, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is one of the leading groups behind politically motivated attacks on oil infrastructure and kidnappings of oil workers for ransom, claiming to seek redistribution of wealth and greater local control of the sector.⁹

Nigeria's volatile security situation and political complexity renders it imperative for foreign investors working in the country to keep ahead of the risks that may impede their commercial activity and undermine the security of their personnel and assets.¹⁰ Brink¹¹ claims that political risk mostly occurs in developing countries and this is based on the notion that governments in developing countries are either struggling to meet the fundamental

responsibilities of primary governance, or lack the political will to see these responsibilities met. Owing to corporate scandals and the growing interest in environmental issues, there has been increased pressure on MNOCs to contribute to sustainable development when doing business in developing countries where governments cannot fulfil their fundamental responsibilities, particularly for the extraction industry.

Case Study: Shell and Statoil in the Niger Delta

The Niger Delta: A host region for the international oil industry

The explosion of two car bombs near the governor's office in the oil city of Warri in the Western state of Delta on 15 March 2010, shortly after an online warning issued by MEND, served as a rude reminder of the militia's existence. The bombings demonstrated how deep-rooted the nature of the conflict is, and how solutions that do not go far enough serve only to ensure that the struggle for power over, and access to the benefits of, oil remain at the core of insurgent violence in the Niger Delta.¹²

The turn to violent resistance took place in the context of prolonged military rule, marginalisation and repression of community protests. Frustration caused by achieving no result from the peaceful demonstrations spread, and armed militias soon resorted to violence. Kidnapping of expatriate oil workers and attacking oil installations started off as a strategy to attract attention to their cause, but this later turned into goals different from the initial ones of protest, resistance and demand of resource control. In a combination of a generational shift from local chiefs to younger people that took place in the 1990s, and the various actors who emerged, the conflict was further complicated

in the absence of peaceful protests, and the lines between militancy and criminality became blurred.¹³ Rebellion and insurgency in the Niger Delta are thus compounded by a number of factors, yet can in part be seen as an attempt to address social injustice.

Multinational oil corporations' footprints in the Niger Delta

Nigeria lacks the capacity to translate oil into cash-yielding assets and therefore depends on foreign MNOCs that possess the required skills and financial power needed in this respect.¹⁴ Their footprints can be seen in the transfer of FDI, skills, technology, as major employers of labour, contributions to social projects and in accounting for a large proportion of state revenue.¹⁵ Ironically, although the oil industry has brought development to many parts of Nigeria, it has also been a source of misery for the people of oil-producing communities whose existence is now threatened by the scourge of oil pollution.

The Niger Delta is a productive ecosystem and thus a so-called High Consequence Area for oil spills.¹⁶ However, although the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA) decree was established in 1977, it was not functional until 1988 when the decree was formally promulgated.¹⁷ Part of the agency's responsibility is to protect, develop and manage the Nigerian environment. It should also deal with the core elements of oil pollution, namely, water quality, effluent limitation, air quality and atmospheric protection. Although the decree prohibits and criminalises discharge of hazardous substances in harmful quantities, these provisions do not apply where such is permitted or authorised by any law in force in Nigeria.¹⁸ There are several Nigerian laws and regulations for the petroleum industry concerning pollution and environmental degradation, which MNOCs

are required to sign in order to get a licence to operate.

Although Nigerian law sets the precedents for MNOCs' practices and responsibilities, the non-enforcement of most of these laws by the state means that in reality MNOCs are relatively free to decide whether or not to comply with them.¹⁹ In fact, oil companies have refrained from using the best available technology in the Delta or following the practices they employ elsewhere in the world.²⁰ Whether this is an expression of poor or questionable management from key quarters could be debated, yet a further reflection on the dynamic between the Nigerian government and MNOCs can be recognised as such. Inadequate capacity and corruption of regulatory agencies and the shallow rule of law mean that even the regulatory laws that do exist remain largely unenforced thus leaving the oil industry in Nigeria highly self-regulated.²¹ Securing the government's key resource of revenue, typically for a petro-state, Nigeria's state security personnel are commonly used to protect the MNOCs' oil production facilities.²² Under strict military rule in the early 1990s, ethnic minorities in the Niger Delta were subject to extraordinary human rights violations perpetrated by the notorious mobile police and by special state security forces.²³

In essence, the country's excessive dependence on oil revenues has engendered rent-seeking extremes and the abuse of state powers by successively ruthless and politically unaccountable military dictators. Attempts by the oil communities to protest or mobilise against their perceived marginality have been met by military reprisals, extra-judicial killings and brazen destruction of towns and villages.²⁴ From early on, the expanding oil industry has been criticised for allowing its financial proceeds be exported or lost in corruption rather than used to provide aid for the millions living

on about US\$1 in the Niger Delta or to reduce its catastrophic environmental impact.²⁵

Oil spills and environmental degradation in the Niger Delta

Compared to other oil spills and air pollution in oil-extracting areas, the environmental impact of MNOCs' activities in the Niger Delta is severe. According to Nigerian government figures, there were more than 7 000 spills between 1970 and 2000, and there are 2 000 official major spillage sites, many going back decades, with thousands of smaller spills still waiting to be cleared up.²⁶

Despite this, an oil spill in the Niger Delta rarely makes the headlines in the international news. There are arguably several reasons for such severe pollution having been allowed to take place without more national and international resistance, but one important factor is governmental complicity and lax environmental regulations.²⁷ Watts²⁸ questions the extent to which local judiciaries, which are often corrupt or limited by authoritarian state policies, are capable of addressing legal action brought by harmed parties. Many oil spills are neither recorded nor acted upon, and national environmental legislation is rarely effective.

In recent years, however, Nigeria has experienced rebukes and there has been an increase in litigation against transnational corporations (TNCs) for adverse social and environmental impact. According to Frynas,²⁹ this should be seen in the context of changing global governance where litigation can assume a role in creating *checks and balances* on the activities of MNOCs. By doing so, litigation presents a strategy to hold MNOCs accountable in the absence of effective international policing. But, it is important to call attention to the local communities' part in the oil spills as well. It is not the case that MNOCs can be held entirely

responsible for every oil spill in the Niger Delta due to, for example, poor maintenance of pipelines. Oil bunkering and sabotage on pipelines by rebels and criminals occur frequently and often result in oil spills. As oil spills ruin agricultural land and fishing waters, livelihoods are severely threatened. Thus, the issue of money and compensation has come to dominate the oil spills agenda in the Delta and clean-up has become less of a priority than establishing who is responsible for the spill and how compensation can be maximised. At times, this has created perverse incentives; some fishermen and farmers have found that it may be more lucrative to allow an oil spill to continue for a number of days before reporting it as they may be likely to make more money from a compensation claim than from their primary economic activities.³⁰ Similarly, local contractors employed for the clean-up process stand to benefit financially from oil spills. Thus, the lack of development and employment opportunities in the Niger Delta has had an indirect impact on the environment in relation to oil spills.³¹ This aspect of oil spills has inevitably led to numerous disputes over where the responsibility lies, and it creates a great environmental challenge.

Social engagement in the Niger Delta

The oil and gas sector makes strong claims to business ethics and CSR in terms of human rights, employee rights, stakeholder rights, environmental protection, transparency, corruption, community relations and codes of practice.³² MNOCs are active in developing good corporate practices and engagement with different facets of society, and several are involved in international commitments.³³ In Nigeria, under the banner of CSR, MNOCs invest large amounts of money in community projects and direct payments to communities.³⁴ Until the 1990s, MNOCs did not regard community

matters in the Niger Delta as their responsibility and they restricted their engagement with local communities to a top-down approach in the form of donations of what they considered was needed by the various communities, such as schools and hospitals. These assistance programmes involved dealing primarily with chiefs, local government officials and other ruling elites, purchasing consent through cash payments or infrastructural projects, and awarding construction contracts to indigenes with the occasional short-term service contract to local youth.³⁵

By the late 1990s, conflict and militancy had triggered change, as violence in the Delta increased sharply. After all, the companies had documented human rights abuses and had relied on the corrupt and violent Nigerian mobile police and state security forces to protect their installations; none could hold up any community relations success. Shell's renaming of community assistance to community development in 1997 was the turning-point for MNOCs' social engagement in the region, moving away from policies of community aid and starting to focus on community development. Later, in 2005, the strategies of social engagement once again shifted focus, to sustainable development practices. The following section will introduce two of the MNOCs, Shell and Statoil, by taking a closer look at their presence and CSR strategies in the Niger Delta.

Shell in the Niger Delta

Royal Dutch Shell operates through several companies in Nigeria, most notably the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), Nigeria's largest private sector oil and gas operator. Shell operates the most crude oil production capacity in the Niger Delta, estimated at between 1,2 and 1,3 million bbl/d and approximately 1 650 million standard cubic feet

(scf) of gas per day. This accounts for about half of the total oil production, constituting a total of 100 oil fields, 87 flow stations, two oil terminals, 62 000 kilometres of flowlines and pipelines, and several gas stations. This clearly illustrates Shell's heavy presence.

'Giving back to society': Shell's development initiatives in the Niger Delta

The adaptation of Shell's corporate strategy required a policy anchored in and emphasising social as well as ethical aspects. Internationally, Shell is considered to be one of the most responsible oil and gas companies and is viewed as a CSR champion.³⁶ This recognition is prominent through various leading private indices that assess companies' economic, environmental and social performance on behalf of investors.

In the mid-1990s, Shell's approach to dealing with stakeholder concerns came under significant pressure. In November 1995, this culminated in the Ogoni controversy, resulting in the hanging by the Nigerian military regime of Ogoni writer and environmental and human rights activist Ken Saro-Wiwa. Media and civil society groups accused Shell of having degraded the Ogoni environment and the Delta for over forty years while providing little or no social or economic benefits to the community. Worse still, some of those groups which had supported the Ogoni cause since the early 1990s accused Shell of having played a role in the death sentences.³⁷ Nevertheless, whatever the evidence and merits for the accusations, the company's reputation was severely tarnished. As a result of the Ogoni experience, Shell International revisited and updated its Statement of General Business Principles, first crafted in 1976. The corporate strategy was reinvented in line with principles of sustainable development which involved a Sustainable Development Road Map

and a Sustainable Development Framework, both of which made explicit reference to stakeholder interests.³⁸

The foundation of Shell's CSR strategies is based on its Business Principles, which contain the company's core values of honesty, integrity and respect for people, all of which are applied through their Code of Conduct. Further, the Shell Commitment and Policy on Health, Security, Safety, and the Environment (HSSE) is designed to help protect people and the environment and it includes aims aligned with its Business Principles.³⁹ By following these guidelines, Shell affirms its aims to earn the confidence of customers, shareholders and society, and to contribute to sustainable development.⁴⁰

Complying with these official basic principles is essential for Shell if it is to be considered a serious and responsible actor. Thus, the purpose of the Code of Conduct is to enable Shell's employees to put the principles into practice.⁴¹ Importantly though, this business code is strictly a guideline and therefore cannot be monitored by an external party, therefore violations can only be reported by employees of Shell companies.⁴² However, occurrences of major violations of the business code concerning environmental and social aspects are reported by NGOs and civil society groups and this often leads to media or public attention. The specific CSR issues that Shell has engaged in and prioritised reflect to a large extent the state of play regarding activist and global concerns on social and environmental issues.⁴³ As such, reputation building was reported to be very important following decades of bad publicity.

The negative publicity stemmed from, among other things, Shell's close ties with the Nigerian government. Thus, given the historically close collaboration between the state and Shell, the latter was increasingly perceived to be complicit in government's violent tactics. As

such, an attack on Shell was regarded as an attack on the Nigerian government. Shell has further been accused of having been supportive of repressive tactics directed at protesting communities, and has also been accused of being involved with the import of arms on behalf of government security forces.⁴⁴ This and other issues previously touched upon, such as environmental degradation and the Ogoni case, have severely damaged Shell's reputation and explains the importance of restoring its reputation through social engagement.⁴⁵

Some of the earlier CSR strategies Shell introduced to the Niger Delta concentrated on social infrastructure, which they sponsored, examples being the building of school and health clinic buildings. However, they failed to provide personnel or medicines. Virtually all the major projects were subjects of community conflict, either inter- or intra-community. Some communities were not included in the projects and thus felt marginalised, while other communities were left with abandoned or uncompleted projects that they did not have the ability to complete themselves.⁴⁶ According to Frynas,⁴⁷ this is the consequence of Shell's previous CSR strategy as they initiated development projects only in communities where they had oil operations. To avoid community protests halting oil operations, the development projects served as a way of buying the local communities. This follows the logic driven by short-term expediency rather than the long-term development needs of a community.⁴⁸

Having undertaken a more stakeholder-oriented approach in recent years as part of the repositioning of CSR, types of stakeholder per volunteering and employment sponsorship of Shell Nigeria could be identified as follows: mandated outsiders, independent sponsors, influential observers and influential claimants. This clear focus on various stakeholders'

involvement has been crucial in Shell's repositioning and is evidently a major factor in the current CSR approach, Global Memorandum of Understanding (GMOU).

Global Memorandum of Understanding (GMOU)

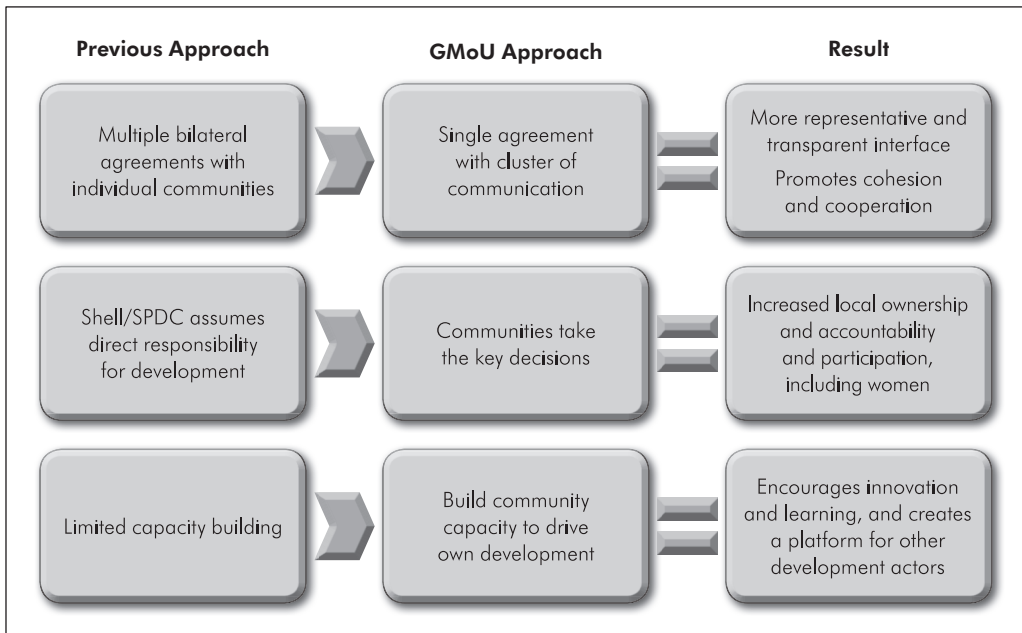
Over the years, Shell has adapted the way it engages with local communities to deliver development projects, and in 2006 the GMOU was introduced as a new way of working with these local communities, thus representing an important shift in approach, placing emphasis on more transparent and accountable procedures, regular communication with the grass roots, sustainability and conflict prevention.⁴⁹ Shell explains GMOU as an agreement between the company and a cluster of several communities. The GMOU brings communities together with representatives of state and local governments, SPDC and non-profit organisations.⁵⁰ According to Shell, this system replaces past practices whereby SPDC agreed to hundreds of separate development projects with individual communities and managed them directly. Shell illustrates the improvement of the GMOU approach compared to previous approaches as seen in Figure 1.

The GMOU was supposed to cushion the communities from the negative impact of activities such as dredging, well drilling and construction of road access and pipelines. What has later been discovered is that although GMOU is part of Shell's 'sustainability community development' effort, in practice Shell applies this development programme only in communities where it extracts oil.

Statoil in the Niger Delta

Statoil is one of the world's leading oil and gas companies and the second largest supplier of gas to the European market. It focuses primarily on upstream oil and gas operations, and is

Figure 1⁵¹ Improvement of the Global Memorandum of Understanding approach



among the world’s largest net sellers of crude oil and condensate.⁵² Statoil has been the operator for several exploration fields and partners and has spent significant sums of money in Nigeria.⁵³

‘Giving back to society’: Statoil’s development initiatives in the Niger Delta

Even though Statoil is not as heavily involved in the Niger Delta as Shell, it does have a significant presence and investment in the country. Consequently, it too faces the political risks and challenges entailed in operating in the region. The company is thus fully aware of the necessity to interact with host communities and this is arguably mirrored in the company’s code of conduct. Statoil portrays itself as a business actor that takes social responsibility very seriously. It declares that it has a responsibility towards both its owners and the society in which it operates. It further proclaims that

‘shareholders are a company’s owner, while stakeholders are everyone else with an interest in its operations – employees, the authorities, suppliers, customers and the local community’.⁵⁴ The company states that its ability to create value is dependent on applying high ethical standards, thus it is determined that Statoil shall be known for these standards. It follows then that Statoil attempts to comply with applicable laws and regulations and to act in an ethical, sustainable and socially responsible manner. Respect for human rights is thus an integral part of Statoil’s value base.⁵⁵ Like Shell, Statoil is closely associated with high profile CSR institutions such as stock market sustainability or ethical indices. In August 2010, Statoil established a corporate social responsibility and ethics sub-committee to ‘ensure an even stronger focus by the board of directors and facilitate the development of knowledge about often complex issues’.⁵⁶ As

such, Statoil claims that it contributes to social responsibility and sustainable development in the Niger Delta through its core activities.

Having been aware of other MNOCs' development projects in Nigeria, when the Statoil–BP alliance entered Nigeria in 1992, the two companies consciously attempted to avoid the mistakes made by others with regard to community relations. Statoil–BP stated that there had been too many projects in the Delta which had been unsuccessful or abandoned which they ascribed the use of a 'top-down approach'.⁵⁷ This assumption was based on the results of the early work done when they first entered the region and explored new avenues of appeasing communities. This entailed community involvement and dialogue with NGOs, which led to the innovation of conducting social impact assessment studies. Another innovative result stemming from this exploration was the decision to engage only in development projects with a grassroots approach as opposed to constructing externally imposed large-scale projects such as hospitals. Still, even more remarkable was the introduction of a self-help project based on the premise of sustainable development, executed by two NGOs, rather than the oil company itself.⁵⁸

These early assessments of new CSR approaches in the Niger Delta are still the foundation of Statoil's CSR approach. Each CSR strategy is initiated with the company's country-specific business plans and goals, the risk and opportunity profile of the area, and local needs and expectations. Extensive mapping of relevant context factors also plays a vital role as stakeholder involvement, from politicians to local communities, is of great importance in Statoil's CSR strategy.⁵⁹

The Akassa Project is Statoil's main flagship within CSR in the Niger Delta. In brief, the Akassa model seeks to obtain

sustainable development using a long-term *bottom-up* approach.⁶⁰

Most noteworthy about this CSR project is that it is based entirely on grassroots priorities, driven not by outsiders deciding which specific initiative should be implemented, but largely by the local people.⁶¹ As such, represented by the Akassa model, Statoil's CSR strategy in the Niger Delta can be summarised as a long-term, bottom-up and stakeholder-oriented approach, focusing on *self-help* sustainable development.

To summarise, the conceptual linkage of CSR to political risk management in the Niger Delta is based on the assumption that the CSR initiatives that contribute to sustainable development have the potential to address local grievances and improve community livelihoods.⁶² The following sections will explore the implications of Shell and Statoil's CSR strategies for the Niger Delta.

Shell's approach to the implementation of CSR strategies in the Niger Delta

During its early years of promoting and initiating CSR strategies in the Niger Delta, Shell undertook a top-down approach. Accordingly, Shell's stakeholder engagement had two overarching objectives: mending corporate reputation, and securing a licence to operate by reducing societal hostility to the company and its operation in Nigeria. These two main objectives shaped the implementation of Shell's CSR policies in the Niger Delta, and determined stakeholder engagement processes and mechanisms at all levels.⁶³

During the period in which the company undertook this top-down approach to CSR, the majority of its initiatives had limited success. Host communities distrusted Shell's reports on community spending as their perceptions of Shell's involvement in community development were far below the success claimed by Shell.

Despite launching programmes to address local challenges, the communities continued to lack any meaningful ownership of these projects as they were poorly designed and unsustainable.⁶⁴

The failure of the stated ambitions of Shell's early CSR strategies in the Niger Delta could have negative impacts on the communities, in some cases causing more harm than good, further altering the political risk picture.

A new approach to CSR, which was adopted in 2006, has yielded some success, evidenced in improved relationships between Shell, NGOs and some communities where effective facilitation has brought about strategies that were not possible in the past. Moreover, they have collected several awards for their CSR strategies in recent years.⁶⁵ However, there are many uncorrelated perceptions regarding Shell's CSR initiative.⁶⁶ Despite Shell's stated commitment to cleaning up oil spills, the striking UNEP report⁶⁷ revealed several environmental concerns ignored by Shell.

Shell's clean-up performance in the Delta generally falls below internationally accepted standards and is completely different from the company practices in other parts of the world.⁶⁸ Another striking report found that Shell had not lived up to its promise to end contracts with armed militants, thereby contributing to further deterioration of the situation in the Niger Delta. The report states that Shell has not taken the necessary steps to demilitarise its operations in the region, or to resolve long-standing grievances and respect the human rights of local communities.⁶⁹

Although the GMoU model has effectively improved Shell's contribution to development by letting the communities plan and execute the projects, resulting in far fewer failed and abandoned projects compared to the earlier approach, it is evident from the presented findings that Shell's CSR strategies in the region

are far from successful. Most projects appear to be less a response to the priorities of communities than guided by the company's logic of providing access to locations and comfort for its staff.⁷⁰

Shell's political risks in the Niger Delta

Shell is one of the MNOs operating in the Niger Delta which has experienced the most resistance and attacks, including protests, lawsuits, oil bunkering, sabotage, and kidnapping and killing of staff.⁷¹ Shell's massive presence in the region and its close ties to the Nigerian government has resulted in communities considering Shell as being the government and thus being equally accountable for the social conditions. In its response to the UNEP report mentioned above, the company stresses the need to curb illegal oil theft as it claims that this is the key reason for the oil spills in the area. Not only are oil leaks costing Shell astronomical financial sums annually, but they also damage the company's chances of signing new contracts by weakening the company's reputation and image when failing to meet environmental standards, creating concerns among investors and host governments.⁷²

Evaluation of Shell's CSR strategies and the implications for political risk

Shell's CSR strategies were implemented in such a way that there was little possibility of success, resulting in the opposite of the desired effects. The severe environmental and human rights violation was a strong signal of Shell's business take, generating more resentment in the local communities than compliance. The inadequate CSR strategies and the reprehensible security policies and environmental degradation coincided with the most violent period during which there were numerous attacks on Shell's facilities. The findings thus suggest a

causal relationship between the unsuccessful implementation of the company's CSR approach and a growing disapproval in the communities, resulting in an increased industry-specific political risk level.

As mentioned, at the petro-conflict's most severe stage in 2006, Shell introduced the new GMoU approach to CSR. Allegedly more stakeholder-oriented, Shell repositioned its strategy to a bottom-up focus. From the following year there was a reduction in the level of political risk in terms of armed attacks and sabotage on Shell's facilities; a reduction which has been stable in recent years, accompanied by a significantly improved security situation and production in 2010.⁷³ However, despite a clear improvement from the initial years, many elements suggest that the new approach to CSR is not as successful as portrayed by Shell. It appears that Shell is still exercising a top-down approach in its CSR projects and ongoing high political risks suggest a failed implementation of the CSR strategies.

Statoil's approach to the implementation of CSR strategies in the Niger Delta

To avoid the mistakes made by first generation MNOs in Nigeria, Statoil jump-started its operations by first establishing a community development partnership scheme for its host community. As a newcomer to the Niger Delta, Statoil wanted to establish a reputation as a good corporate citizen from the very beginning and sought to promote understanding between the company and its primary stakeholders.

Statoil's corporate strategy seeks to minimise risk and create a safe operating environment by obtaining a holistic licence to operate, meaning not only receiving formal operating authority from the government but also acceptance from the local communities in, or near, its areas of operation.⁷⁴ The Akassa project is a bottom-up community-based development

scheme and its success is explained by the project being largely based on substantial local involvement and participation. According to Frynas,⁷⁵ the project has come to symbolise the potential positive benefits of oil company development work. In 2005, Statoil's Akassa project was awarded best community project by the World Petroleum Council.⁷⁶

In comparison with the way Shell claims recognition for its projects by placing logos and signboards outside the projects, Statoil does not want its name and logo on signboards as this may reinforce the belief that these projects belong to the company rather than to the community. It would therefore seem that companies fear that a loss of credibility will result in loss of goodwill. Ironically, however, the companies with the most goodwill from communities are those that have found a better balance between support and minimal interference.

Another part of Statoil's success with its CSR approach can be attributed to its understanding of the lack of government capability, arguably the core reason for the Niger Delta conflict. Given their significance, governance issues could conceivably be an important part of a CSR strategy, and could hence be a more prominent element of Statoil's CSR approach in the Niger Delta.

Statoil's political risks in the Niger Delta

Statoil has not reported any kidnappings or fatalities of its staff in the Niger Delta since it entered the region. However, several political risks are facing the company and Statoil has therefore met the need for armed security personnel as a safety measure. Although Statoil has not reported any attacks on its staff or facilities, there have been incidents relating to the Agbami field on a couple of occasions. In 2008, there was an attack on an oil supply boat returning from the Agbami field, when gunmen

hijacked the boat with eight crew members. The vessel belonged to the local oil service company West Africa Offshore and was carrying supplies to Escravos in the neighbouring Delta state. The occurrence emphasised the increased insecurity offshore the Niger Delta after military groups announced an escalation of attacks in 2006.⁷⁷ Also in 2008, another incident was a threat by MEND directed at Statoil's operator, Chevron, of attacks on the Agbami field.⁷⁸ This threat was put forward only two months after MEND had attacked the Shell-operated Bonga field, causing tremendous fear that they would strike again. So far, however, there have been no attacks on the Agbami deepwater vessel.

Evaluation of Statoil's CSR strategies and the implications for political risk

The finding of no recorded attacks on Statoil's staff or facilities in the Niger Delta signifies the success of the company's CSR strategies. Statoil's CSR approach is characterised by a bottom-up angle through all stages, creating the perception and feeling of local ownership of the projects. This study argues that the case of the implementation of its strategies is decisive in its success and has a direct impact on the low frequency of political risk to the company.

Analysis: CSR and Political Risk in the Niger Delta

The study has highlighted both the accomplishments and the failures of CSR initiatives in the Niger Delta, and the limitations of CSR have become apparent through this analysis, as the areas addressed by CSR in the Niger Delta are essentially areas of government failures. Therefore, one must be cautious not to be naive or to expect CSR to accomplish more than it can actually contribute. Keeping this in mind, it

also became apparent through the analysis that the angle of approach to CSR may be a determinant of its success.

A significant dimension of the examined MNOs' CSR strategies is the use of social engagement in varying degrees to portray the company's social conscience locally and internationally. CSR will contribute to reputation or image building, which can be a crucial aspect when applying for a licence to operate, as well as a business advantage. Thus, CSR could indirectly bring about business advantages.

Another aspect of CSR, which is also an integrative technique of risk mitigation that Shell and Statoil have to a great extent made use of, is local employees. By undertaking an integrative technique and aiming to relate to locals in the political sphere, the perception of the company as 'foreign' is reduced.⁷⁹ Veal⁸⁰ points to the environmental aspect being perhaps the most notable area for mirroring a company's values, considering the double standard often demonstrated when companies disregard their stated environmental practices and disregard the host country's national standards, given a country's poor law enforcement and regulation structure.

Comparing the two companies, Shell and Statoil, two different approaches to CSR can be identified. Statoil undertakes a somewhat more philanthropic approach to CSR in the Delta than the business-oriented approach that Shell appears to be taking. As such, traces of turning CSR into a business case can be seen, as there are still reports of the GMoU project being a top-down approach in practice. Statoil, on the other hand, seems to have taken CSR seriously and has initiated a winning stakeholder approach to address local grievances without demanding any credit for the company itself. The findings of the analysis can be summarised into two aspects of CSR implementation in the Niger Delta, as set out in figure 2:

Figure 2⁸¹ Aspects of CSR implementation in the Niger Delta

	Purpose	Impact	Result
<p>Statoil: CSR as political risk management</p>	<p>Compliance</p>	<p>Medium to high strategic and operational impact</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mitigates operational impact • Mitigates operational risks • Supports external relationships, reputation
<p>Shell: CSR as corporate philanthropy</p>	<p>Providing funding and skills Reputation building</p>	<p>Little strategic and operational impact</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short term benefits/not always sustainable • Limited funds available • Impact diluted because limited budget is allocated to many charities • Misalignment between business and social responsibilities, strategies and functions • Corporate values not integrated • Results in minimal social and business impact of social programmes

Conclusion

This study has found a relationship between political risk mitigation and CSR policies. What have been accounted for are the different approaches MNOs take to implement their CSR strategies in the Niger Delta. After adopting a stakeholder-oriented approach in 2006, Shell experienced a reduction in political risk in terms of armed attacks and fatalities. Importantly, the level of political risk for Shell in the Niger

Delta is still high, explained by a failed implementation of the company's CSR strategies. The study also shows that by conducting a thorough stakeholder-oriented approach, Statoil has managed and mitigated high political risk by creating compliance in its host communities. Based on the presented analysis, the findings suggest that political risks can be managed and mitigated through the CSR initiatives of an MNO, conditioned by a holistic execution driven by a stakeholder and bottom-up agenda.

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Collective Emotion and Communal Memory

Psychopolitical Dimensions of Intractable Violent Conflict

Intractable conflicts are different from other conflicts. They resist conflict resolution efforts and have a history of failed peacemaking efforts. Such conflicts may appear to be expressed in terms of resources and negotiated interests but frequently concern the articulation and confrontation of subjective identities and deep-seated needs of survival and recognition. Threats to these core identities unleash primordial collective emotions with dramatic consequences which shape world events. These psychopolitical dimensions of intractable conflict are explored in this article which also describes how unaddressed collective emotions, such as fear, hate and especially humiliation, cause escalating cycles of violence. In particular, the article investigates how collective emotions can be mapped geopolitically to gain a macro understanding of intractable violent conflict.

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Introduction

In Africa, nearly half of the continent's countries are home to an active conflict or a recently ended one.¹ As Osaghae and Robinson² maintain, Africa is 'the world's leading theatre of conflict, war ... and instability'. Most conflicts in Africa are described as intractable because conflicts such as those of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia and Sudan have persisted for over 20 years, meaning that entire generations have known no reality other than conflict.³ These violent clashes have resulted in the massive destruction of human life, endless suffering and extended periods of stagnation and underdevelopment in Africa.

Conflict theorists and practitioners differ in regards to a precise definition of the term 'intractable conflict' but agree that the significant feature of such conflicts is that they stubbornly defy resolution. Intractable conflicts are thus discussed in the literature under names such as deep-rooted,⁴ protracted,⁵ destructive, resolution-resistant, intransigent, enduring, malignant, identity-, needs-, or value-based.⁶ Each intractable conflict has its own unique characteristics but can also be explained in general terms and placed on a continuum ranging from

highly tractable to highly intractable. Conflicts become intractable primarily through escalation, negative sentiment and hostile cognitions that change the dynamics of the conflict, making them persistent, destructive and resolution resistant.⁷

The presence of negative emotions in intractable conflicts is highly significant because traditional negotiation approaches, premised on rational choice models and economic interest-based rationality, do not adequately explain the fabric of protracted conflict.⁸ An overview of international ethnic disputes⁹ indicates that such conflicts are not amenable to negotiation or arbitration and frequently result in violence. Zartman¹⁰ observes that less than a third of ethnic conflicts in the twentieth century led to negotiations and, in a controversial paper, Kaufman¹¹ argues that the only solution to violent ethnic conflict is permanent separation of the parties.

Such conflicts may be expressed in resource terms and negotiated interests but usually concern the articulation and confrontation of collective identities and involve deep-seated needs of survival and recognition.¹² These powerful emotions, supported and often inflamed by collective memory,¹³ are often the driving force behind intractable conflicts which makes them particularly challenging and stubborn.

This article proposes the use of a 'psychopolitical' theoretical lens to explore intractable conflict in Africa. The psychopolitical lens considers how psychological, social-psychological and cultural theories or approaches impinge on political behaviour. The article has five sections: first, it examines the emotion-conflict nexus and argues for the centrality of emotion in intractable conflict; second, it explores the emotion-identity dynamic and how collective emotions of fear, hate and shame inform the persistence and perpetuation of intractability; third, the humiliation phenomenon in cycles of extreme violence

and intergenerational conflict is discussed and, fourth, the narratives of revenge and humiliation in collective emotion and communal memory are analysed. Finally, the article reflects on how emotions can be mapped geopolitically to gain an understanding of the dynamics and processes in protracted conflict globally.

Conflict–Emotion Nexus

The role of emotion in global politics and international relations has been under-acknowledged and under-theorised and the examination of emotions in international politics is mostly viewed through the lens of 'rationality' versus 'irrationality' where rational is relevant (desire for security and power) and any other emotion (extremism, honour or respect) dismissed as irrational.¹⁴ The conflict negotiation model which has had the most pervasive and powerful influence globally is that of Principled Negotiation, developed by Fisher and Ury¹⁵ in their book *Getting to yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in*. Millions of copies of the book have been sold and it has been translated into more than 30 languages. The basic strategy of Fisher and Ury's conflict resolution model is that people can be separated from the problem and in this way conflicting parties can be made to focus on issues, negotiate interests and collaborate to achieve a 'win-win' outcome while their 'people problems' are managed. The rationalist or rational choice model of costs and benefits underscoring this approach largely ignores the role of emotions in conflict and assumes that humans make rational, conscious decisions and employ logical, problem-solving strategies to address conflicts.

Conflict scholars and practitioners, however, increasingly recognise that people *are* the problem and that it is difficult to disentangle the

substantive issues from what Mitchell¹⁶ calls the 'inter-related cluster of emotions, attitudes, prejudices and perceptual distortions which accompany most forms of conflict and lead to its continuation and exacerbation'. Many scholars now agree that emotions, especially deep-seated emotions, can often be more of an obstacle to resolution and reconciliation than material interests and traditional frameworks of negotiation.¹⁷ The 'emotion-in-negotiation' literature has, however, mostly concentrated on managing negative emotional negotiation climates and coping with anger, often reinforcing the view that emotions are signs of weakness, impulsivity and irrationality which should be 'managed' as peripheral to the negotiation process.

A broad concept of the term 'emotion' has been chosen for this article because, although over 400 different emotions have been identified, scholarship has shown that most emotions are secondary, acquired through socialisation, and have their basis in a relatively few primary emotions.¹⁸ These primary emotions have been articulated by scholars in various ways but generally focus on anger, fear, hope and shame since primary emotions have evolutionary value in humans and are thus universal, finding their expression very early in human infants cross-culturally.¹⁹ According to social scientists, human emotional experience involves three general components – physiological, cognitive and behavioural/communicative²⁰ – all of which manifest as physiological responses to conflict, cognitive appraisals of conflict and conflict behaviour or expression. Social conflict therefore does not exist without emotion because to be involved in conflict, especially destructive conflict, is to be emotionally charged, and emotionally driven. Bodtker and Jameson, for example, argue that 'to be in conflict is to be emotionally activated'.²¹

Thus, the inextricable union of emotion and conflict is proposed for a number of reasons.²²

Firstly, conflict is emotionally defined because triggering events elicit emotions and ongoing levels of emotional intensity lead to escalation. Secondly, emotional experience frames the conflict and the events elicit a moral stance. This moral stance involves evaluative interpretations of good or bad, right or wrong, fair or unfair. Thirdly, conflicts also have a strong emotional-relational component because emotional communication conveys relational definitions of the conflict. Key relational elements of status and power are elicited when disputants sense their power relative to the 'other'.²³ Fourthly, and central to the premise of this article, is that emotional experience requires a sense of self which relates to the core concept of identity for both individuals and groups. Perceived threats to social identity evoke powerful primordial emotions²⁴ concerning survival which mobilise the group to protect a 'sense of self', manage 'face' concerns and maintain coherence. Emotions and needs are thus intertwined in a complex way:²⁵ needs are ontologically grounded in emotions and negative emotions are triggered when there is a threat to survival and physical security. Also, cognitive blindness can result from 'emotional flooding'²⁶ where disputants cannot think or function effectively because often overwhelming negative emotions are being triggered by a perceived threat to their identity.²⁷

Emotion-Identity Dynamic in Intractable Conflict

The *World Development Report 2011*²⁸ has documented that '90 percent of the last decade's civil wars occurred in countries that already had a civil war in the last 30 years'. As witnessed in African countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Central

African Republic (CAR), cycles of war often repeat themselves in the same counties, inhibiting development and hindering the region.²⁹ This phenomenon confirms the key features of intractable conflict as articulated by Kriesberg³⁰ and described by Bar-Tal:³¹ protracted intergenerational dynamics, extreme physical violence, perceptions of irreconcilable differences and extensive investment of resources. Bar-Tal emphasises that these conflicts are central in the lives of individual society members and society as a whole primarily because they involve basic needs and goals, and because of their zero-sum nature which means they are 'all-out' conflicts with no compromises. In such contexts, conflict is fuelled by the refusal of parties to recognise each other's identity; thus identity becomes interlinked with conflict in the sense that the parties (especially elites) come to define themselves and their existence primarily in terms of the conflict itself.³²

Since conflict theorists regard protracted or intractable international conflicts as caused by the denial of human needs, including 'security, distinctive identity, social recognition of identity, and effective participation in the processes that determine conditions of security and identity',³³ identity is thus the central factor in intractable conflict. If conflictual events threaten to invalidate the core sense of identity, the individual or the group will respond energetically to maintain identity.³⁴ Threats to identity invoke shame-based cycles which lead to the spiralling of unresolved humiliation, shame and anger.³⁵ Destructive emotions result in polarised perceptions of hostility and enmity, and cycles of violent destructive behaviour. The emotion-identity dynamic contributes to conflict escalation and the rigidification of intractable conflict.

Scholars usually emphasise fear, hate, anger and shame as pivotal emotions in the

psychological repertoire of intractable conflicts.³⁶ These negative emotions are shared and repeatedly experienced by the group, playing an important role in shaping the societal context and guiding the group's conflict responses.³⁷ For example, fear is collectively experienced when the group perceives threats to its survival and over time this emotional orientation becomes entrenched and part of the collective memory. In the same way international conflict, and especially ethnic conflict, is driven by collective fear and dominant psychological needs of identity and security relating to survival rather than any rational calculation of objective national interests by decision makers.³⁸

Collective hate evolves as an emotional orientation in the same way and narratives of hate and revenge become part of the collective experience. Hatred is one of the most powerful human emotions and often involves the belief that the perceived out-group is evil by nature and will never change.³⁹ Hate of this kind is associated with the aspiration to harm the out-group and to even desire the destruction and annihilation of the out-group,⁴⁰ which can lead to extreme forms of terrorism, genocide and ethnic cleansing. The role of anger in conflict and aggression is well-researched and it is regarded as one of the most prevalent emotions in inter-group conflict. Anger is a response to perceptions of injustices which prompts urgent action to correct the wrongdoing by means of confrontation or violence.⁴¹

Another powerful emotion which propels human behaviour into the social sphere and thus part of the collective experience is shame.⁴² Shame is described in Jungian terms as a 'soul eating emotion' which results from condemnation, humiliation, rejection and in extreme cases alienation and social stigma by the group.⁴³ After decades of psychiatric research with violent criminals, Gilligan's⁴⁴ core insight

is that shame – lack of self-respect – leads to violence. When shame is combined with other combustible emotions such as anger, violence erupts. ‘Violence speaks of an intolerable condition of human shame and rage, blinding rage that speaks through the body.’⁴⁵ The role of shame in feeding violence is well documented and the shame–anger–violence nexus is well established in the literature.

An example of how this combination of shame and anger can push communities to commit atrocities can be found in Keen’s study of the Sierra Leone civil war (1992–2002).⁴⁶ Keen shows how shame was linked to Sierra Leone’s pre-war circumstances emanating from extreme corruption, socioeconomic inequalities, the marginalisation of vast sections of the community and the alienation of the youth, all of which constituted the causes of unappeased grievances which sparked the civil war in the country.⁴⁷ Shame was also intrinsically related to the internal dynamics of the country’s conflict because of the extreme brutality and dehumanisation of victims where ‘shame could be avoided or reduced by devaluing the lives and humanity of those who were abused’.⁴⁸ Given the role of shame in fuelling extreme violence in the Sierra Leone study, the prognosis is bleak for many emerging democracies in Africa, including South Africa, who are struggling with these issues: rampant corruption and crime, widening socioeconomic inequalities, poverty, relative deprivation and historical marginalisation of vast sectors of society.⁴⁹

The Humiliation Dynamic

A growing body of cutting-edge research is currently emerging on the role of humiliation in international conflict. Studies show that humiliation is more than just another negative emotion

representing a forceful phenomenon in global politics. What is stressed by scholars is that, although the terms ‘shame’ and ‘humiliation’ are used interchangeably in the literature, humiliation is theoretically distinct from shame and is not a sub-variant of shame.⁵⁰ Shame as an emotional state is only salient when the person or group accepts it (self-blame) while humiliation is the experience of being violated, demeaned, or devalued in circumstances where there is no perceived cause for self-blame.⁵¹ Humiliation is at its core a process of subjugation that strips away pride, dignity or honour, rendering the person or group helpless and inferior.⁵² At the group level humiliation is experienced as intense collective pain⁵³ of having dignity and self-respect devalued or depressed; an experience which is intensified in intractable conflicts because the humiliation is often made public.

Scholars cite the example of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress (ANC) who was humiliated during his 27 years of imprisonment with the intention of subjugating him.⁵⁴ Mandela, however, was a figure of resistance because he maintained his sense of self-worth and self-respect and refused to be shamed by the humiliating actions of others.⁵⁵ His response to humiliation was to deliberately choose the path of forgiveness and peace using dialogue and reconciliation which facilitated a negotiated settlement in South Africa, thus avoiding violent confrontation and war in a deeply polarised and conflictual society.

In the international arena the most extreme humiliation is war which uses all the instruments of cruelty that human beings have devised for destroying and debasing one another, making humiliation the ‘nuclear bomb of emotions’.⁵⁶ Weapons of war include the dehumanisation of the ‘enemy’, rape, looting, torture, as well as the creation of revenge narratives and

the distortion of historical memories of humiliation to justify violence and normalise killing.⁵⁷ Recent global events point to the association of this powerful, complex emotion with international terrorism, torture and genocide where groups use humiliation to subjugate and destroy their 'enemies' often in retaliation for perceived insults and human rights violations.⁵⁸

Lindner's comprehensive and ongoing research⁵⁹ on humiliation, which includes the countries of Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia, examines the effects of humiliation on groups, possible responses to humiliation and the psychological motivations of humiliators.⁶⁰ Many cultures have traditionally used humiliation and violence to maintain hierarchical law and to subjugate people, especially those perceived as a threat. These systems are now being challenged globally by the universal dignity concept of the human rights movement which, ironically, often increases the possibilities for humiliation because, when human rights are promised but not given, greater humiliation – and social conflict – can result.⁶¹

At the centre of the human rights message currently gaining visibility with increasing globalisation and the use of social media, is that people have rights which mean they need not submit to an inferior status but are entitled to articulate their feelings of humiliation. The ever-widening gap between rich and poor globally is thus being seen as obscene, unfair and humiliating and these emotions 'fuel' human rights revolutions⁶² such as the 'Arab Spring' phenomenon which is spreading through Africa and the Middle East with ordinary people taking to the streets in violent protest to voice dissatisfaction with authoritarian, corrupt governments and seeking democracy and distributive justice. In the nascent democracy of South Africa, the recent contentious and violent mineworker strikes and service delivery protests throughout the country calling for equitable treatment have

echoed this protest movement and brought human rights lobbying to the fore.⁶³

Collective Emotion, Memory and Revenge

Deep reservoirs of hostile emotions accumulated over generations can result in an extensive sociopsychological repertoire to cope with these challenges. Such a repertoire has adaptive functionality for society and its members but often becomes institutionalised into a sociopsychological infrastructure over time⁶⁴ and the rigidity of this structure can be a psychological barrier to conflict resolution.⁶⁵ Societies develop collective memories and collective emotional orientations with an emphasis on one or a number of particular emotions.⁶⁶ These memories solidify into what Lederach calls the 'landscape of social memory'⁶⁷ and it is this landscape of collective lived experiences – what is remembered and kept alive – that is usually offered as justification for violence and revenge.

Many of the protracted inter-ethnic wars in various parts of Africa can be ascribed to the accumulation of animosities and hostilities over generations of conflict.⁶⁸ The evolution of a collective emotional orientation in these conflicts is supported by collective memory which informs the shared narratives and collective identities of these ethnicities.⁶⁹ This collective memory refers to a shared, public narrative that emerges and serves to keep the conflict alive through socialisation processes. According to Averill⁷⁰ '[e]motional feelings are stories we tell ourselves in order to guide and account for our own behaviour' and scholars refer to the 'narrative metaphor'⁷¹ of conflict: the central role that language plays in constructing how we behave with others because how we talk about our conflicts shapes how we perceive and react to these conflicts.

Systemic humiliation in the form of racism, sexism, classism or colonialism feature prominently in the collective memory and narratives of intractable conflicts both at the group and international level.⁷² Institutionalised humiliation is still being used to devalue, demean and debase whole groups of people and even nations. Humiliators have to sustain and protect the myth of moral or other superiority by denying humiliation and concealing it from themselves.⁷³ They achieve this by manipulating a distorted collective narrative and exploiting historical memory.⁷⁴ In apartheid South Africa, for example, the racist regime, like other authoritarian governments, controlled and monopolised communication systems and access to information (media, education, publications), manipulated and exploited communal memory and dominated public discourse through threat and force for more than 50 years.⁷⁵

The desire for vengeance is well documented in intractable conflict where the history between groups is tainted with collective memory of a series of wrongs and counter-wrongs⁷⁶ which invoke primal levels of anger, hatred and humiliation. The selective bias of past events from emotional memory contributes to the dehumanisation of adversaries.⁷⁷ Collective revenge is prominent as one of the driving forces in conflict escalation; its function is the restoration of group self-esteem which has been degraded by injustice and injury⁷⁸ and thus speaks to the issue of group identity discussed earlier. A 'boiling emotional core emanates' from humiliation, pain and anger and these emotions are involved in malignant social processes which can lead to escalating atrocities and carnage.⁷⁹ '[R]evenge – the attempt, at some cost or risk to oneself, to impose suffering upon those who have made one suffer, because they made one suffer – is a universal phenomenon.'⁸⁰

Understanding the role of collective fear, hate and humiliation, collective memory and vengeance makes it easier to gain insight into the sociopsychological processes involved in conflict escalation to carnage. The Rwandan genocide in 1994 and mass slaughter, torture, mutilation and rape in other parts of Africa and, more recently, the DRC and CAR is difficult to comprehend or explain with standard forensic theories of human behaviour. How could the Hutu in Rwanda, many of them ordinary citizens, commit these atrocities on neighbours, friends and children, just because they belonged to another group? At the height of this slaughter 800 000 people (Tutsi and moderate Hutu) were killed in 100 days – an average of six people per minute.⁸¹ For example, during the carnage Hutu hardliners reportedly inflamed the general Hutu populace by invoking memories of injustices committed by the Tutsi in the past, thus stirring up the collective humiliation and pain and inciting vengeance.⁸² In her studies of armed conflict in Africa, Lindner⁸³ refers to group memories of humiliation which are selectively rekindled as 'chosen traumas' and shows how easily these can be exploited by 'humiliation entrepreneurs' who incite collectively perpetrated mayhem. They 'invite' followers to pour their frustration into a grander narrative of humiliation that uses retaliatory acts of humiliation as 'remedy'. Lindner observes that often the act of killing is not enough for the humiliator and, for example, 'in Rwanda victims also had to be cruelly and publicly tortured (humiliated) before they died'.

Geopolitics of Emotion

This centrality of psychosocial dimensions and cultural factors in intractable conflict highlights the increasing importance of exploring

the collective emotional repertoire and historical memories of communities, societies and nations and putting them under the spotlight of geopolitical scrutiny.

For instance, Ikle⁸⁴ discusses the role of emotions in international negotiation and proposes that there are *emotions animated by the ideas of the future* such as hope and fear (yearning for future success or worrying about some future failure) and *emotions animated by remembrance* such as anger, resentment or hatred. These 'backward-looking' emotions are derived from emotive recollections and dominate intractable conflicts because they situate the conflict in past events and injustices. These ideas are developed in Moisie's⁸⁵ analysis of the interaction between role players of the international system where he observes that cultures of fear, humiliation and hope are reshaping world geopolitics today. Moisie speaks of the 'geopolitics of emotion'⁸⁶ to deliberately and provocatively juxtapose the rationality of conventional geopolitical analysis with subjective, emotional states. He regards today's 'clash of emotions' on the world stage as evocative of Huntington's⁸⁷ prediction that the major source of conflict in the twenty-first century would be cultural, resulting in a 'clash of civilizations' and argues that Huntington's thesis of geopolitical cultural fault lines has proved more right than wrong thirteen years later.

Moisie focuses on three primary emotions under the notion of confidence where fear is the absence of confidence, hope is an expression of confidence, and humiliation is the injured confidence of those who have lost faith in the future. He maintains that the Western world displays a culture of fear, that the Arab and Muslim worlds are trapped in a culture of humiliation, and that much of Asia displays a culture of hope. For Moisie, the Western world displays a fundamental fear of the future, which involves a loss

of power and identity in an increasing complex world. He claims that Europe, like the United States, fears terrorism from radical Islamists and being demographically conquered as the continent becomes a 'Eurabia' and that Europe also fears invasion from the poor in the South, primarily Africans, who risk 'life and limb' to gain access.⁸⁸ Moisie believes that the West has to recognise that the threat posed by the Muslim world's culture of humiliation is based on their perception of their decay and the creation of the state of Israel in the midst of Arab Land and contends that globalisation has further contributed to this because 'the Middle East is confronted by globalisation's winners essentially the Western world and East Asia'.

However, Moisie's thesis does not include a discussion of the Africa continent, which is unfortunate given the continent's geopolitical significance. In terms of his thesis of the geopolitics of emotions, the continent of Africa has suffered numerous humiliations under colonialism which involved economic exploitation, exclusion, oppression and the creation of artificial geopolitical boundaries, all of which continue today. These historical injuries and injustices have created extensive cultures of humiliation (injured confidence) and fear (absence of confidence) with widespread and dire consequences. Cultures of humiliation and fear have pitted various groups, clans and ethnicities against one another in protracted violent ethnic conflicts which have impacted on socioeconomic growth and development for generations. For example, Lindner proposes that 'the inter-ethnic conflicts and clan rivalries in Rwanda and Somalia, as much as global terrorism, can be described more accurately as clashes of humiliation than as clashes between civilizations'.⁸⁹

Humiliation's long history of triggering violence and fear of more humiliation make it

the 'social-global nuclear bomb of emotions'⁹⁰ in international politics and has thrust the humiliation dynamic into public awareness and under geopolitical scrutiny. As mentioned, the current emphasis on human rights globally is raising people's expectations of their rights and replacing fear and submission with courage to express feelings of humiliation in response to a lack of respect for equal dignity.⁹¹

Conventional reactions to humiliation are revenge, retribution or forgiveness,⁹² which are significant when devising conflict resolution strategies and mechanisms to manage intractable conflict globally. The destructive consequences of revenge and retribution, currently the default responses, result in the perpetuation of intractable conflict and extreme violence as detailed in this article.

Forgiveness, the third option, is the most complex. Henderson⁹³ who has worked for over a decade with forgiveness in the aftermath of trauma, points out that the Greek roots of the word 'forgiveness' mean 'removal of boundaries' and 'merging of spaces' and Cejka and Bamat⁹⁴ explain how '[p]eace asks you to share memory. It asks you to share space, territory, specific concrete places a future. And all this you are asked to do with and in the presence of your enemy'. Lederach⁹⁵ calls this process 're-storying' history as it involves paying attention not only to the past patterns of collective emotions and communal memory but also to the potentialities of the present and future – thinking beyond what currently exists. He maintains that peacebuilding is essentially helping people find and sustain their voices for constructive social change and believes that a micro-oriented approach to 're-negotiating history and identities' is more effective than what he sees as the event-driven field of international mediation where outsiders often step in too fast and with only short-term solutions. These

ideas on reconciliation, dialogue and forgiveness, illustrated by Nelson Mandela, the global peacemaker, are fundamental in the successful management of deep-rooted and protracted conflict: only by embarking on the slow process of confronting and addressing the emotions at the heart of intractable conflicts, can constructive social change be achieved.

Conclusion

Intractable conflicts pose the greatest threat to the international system because they resist resolution and peacemaking efforts, perpetuate cycles of violent escalation, and result in massive destruction at all levels of society. Political and economic theories of conflict which focus on reconciling conflicting interests and managing power realities largely ignore the role of powerful, primordial emotions in intractable conflict. In addition, traditional conflict resolution techniques of negotiation and mediation tend to emphasise rational problem-solving, proposing that the 'emotional climate' of the dispute must be managed and separated from the 'real' problem. However, exploring intractable conflicts through the psychopolitical theoretical lens broadens and deepens our understanding of the sociopsychological and cultural factors intrinsically linked to political behaviour and violence.

Moreover, the well-documented shame/humiliation–anger–violence nexus in intractable conflict is critical in explaining the revenge dynamic which perpetuates violence. Many of the protracted inter-ethnic wars in Africa can be ascribed to the accumulation of animosities and hostilities over generations of conflict which inform the shared narratives of humiliation and revenge. Insight into these sociopsychological processes makes it easier to comprehend

the escalation to carnage in Rwanda, Sudan, Central African Republic and other parts of Africa. The humiliation dynamic also provides an important theoretical framework for analysing and understanding the roots of intractability, the deep pain caused by humiliation, the distorted historical narratives in the perpetuation of violence and the intergenerational cycling of these conflicts. Recent events on the African continent point to the association of this powerful, complex phenomenon with international terrorism, torture and genocide where groups use humiliation to subjugate and destroy their 'enemies' often in retaliation for perceived insults and human rights violations.

Finally, mapping the geopolitics of emotions globally provides a macro understanding of the sociopsychological and cultural factors involved in intractability. Cultures of

hate, humiliation and fear have pitted various groups, clans and ethnicities on the African continent against one another in protracted ethnic conflicts, which have impacted on socioeconomic growth and development for generations. Significantly, the current emphasis on human rights globally means that fear and submission are being replaced with courage to voice feelings of humiliation.⁹⁶ Given that most intractable conflicts are rooted in cycles of revenge and retribution as historically default responses to humiliation,⁹⁷ reconciliation, dialogue and 'forgiveness', positioned in a comprehensive human rights framework, and the criticality of nurturing constructive social change, now – more than ever before – have vital implications for peaceful transitions to democracy in countries which have experienced deep-rooted and protracted conflict and violence.

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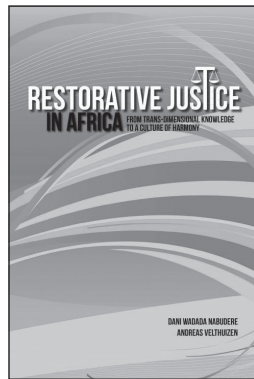
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Book Review

Restorative Justice In Africa: From Trans-Dimensional Knowledge To A Culture Of Harmony



*Prof Dani Wadada Nabudere and
Dr Andreas Velthuisen*

This is an important and well-written book that addresses the pertinent subject of restorative justice from diverse angles. It is enriching and refreshing as it brings insights from theories and philosophies of justice and international law into dialogue with issues of knowledge management and truth to enlighten the topical subjects of conflict, conflict resolution and peace in postcolonial Africa.

The book is important in many ways in so far as it joins a growing body of literature that continues to emerge in search of fresh insights on and strategies for conflict resolution and peace building in Africa. The book grapples with the serious themes of knowledge management, indigenous knowledge systems, international law and the histories of conflict in African polities. In a refreshing and enlightening manner, the book deploys its project by invoking anecdotal country case studies of political conflicts, with different chapters examining the examples of South Africa, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya and Liberia. This project is preceded by a masterly treatment of the theories and philosophies of justice and the Trans-dimensional Knowledge Management Model (TDKM-M). Conceptually, conflict, truth, knowledge, justice and reconciliation in their theoretical and

practical import, are the subject of this valuable book which is bound to contribute richly to a new understanding of the African condition of conflict and the search for avenues to durable peace.

Most importantly, this book will provoke responsive and reactive studies and therefore it is a welcome contribution to the African academy and indeed African policymaking as it rises above a mere cold academic rendition to make robust policy suggestions. In my view, this book will equip African scholars and students from undergraduate to postgraduate levels with new tools for examining conflict, studying justice systems and suggesting practicable solutions, while still remaining pertinent to the policy-making landscape.

The book is discharged in simple language accompanied by sophisticated analyses and in-depth scholarly observations whose relevance and fidelity to the chosen topic is maintained from the start to finish. *The Introduction* catalogues the challenges to knowledge management in pursuit of restorative justice in conflict situations. The strategies, principles and practices of combating these challenges are also suggested in the shape of the Trans-Dimensional Knowledge Management Model as a tool for negotiating truth, a collective search for conflict resolution, the reconciliation of conflicting interests and interested parties, and lasting peace.

This well-written chapter contains clear definitions of 'knowledge' as a concept and how it can be treated in the 'management' of processes in pursuit of restorative justice. The concept of a Trans-Dimensional Knowledge Management Model is also introduced, if rather thinly.

Chapter One: Trans-Dimensional Knowledge and Justice is an informative chapter that sits well within the purposes of the present book. It clearly and emphatically argues a good case for

restorative justice by comparing and contrasting it with retributive and transitional forms of justice, which the chapter finds inadequate. The concepts are clearly and thoroughly defined and accompanied by impressive attention to detail.

The chapter is rendered in a simple, yet sophisticated conversational style that is a pleasure to read. While the writer clearly advocates for restorative justice, the reader is not deprived of a discussion of other forms of justice, which makes this chapter a balanced and enriching read in the subject under discussion.

Effective use of Professor Dani Wadada Nabudere's compelling observations helps the chapter in discharging a robust argument for restorative justice, which is at the same time informative and will contribute richly to debate on justice systems and conflict resolution in Africa and beyond.

Chapter Two: The Trans-Dimensional Knowledge Management Model (TDKM-M) begins with an interesting allegorical introduction that compares a 'model' to a medical prescription by a doctor. Such introductions as this inject the necessary suspense and intrigue that whets the reader's appetite for a good reading of a chapter. The writer proceeds to deliver an emphatic argument on how the 'TDKM-M was inspired by the need for new "remedies" that would restore relations among people after violent conflict. The development of this new model was driven by the observation that existing "remedies" bring no lasting solutions'. This argument is central to this book, the major aim of which is to invite attention to the TDKM-M as an alternative theoretical model of conflict resolution and peace building.

In establishing continuity between the TDKM-M and such notions of African thought as 'the African renaissance' and ubuntu, the writer makes a persuasive and compelling

case for the TDKM-M, which is clearly elected as a better approach than 'current ineffective models'. With ease the writer navigates his arguments from the philosophical pitch of Heidegger and Gadamer to the lived experiences of 'knowledge related to conflicts in Africa', which include the DRC and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

This chapter includes impressive attention to historical detail together with wide analysis of:

- the Africa peace and security architecture and NEPAD;
- the international Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda;
- the Gacaca Court System in Rwanda; and
- the Traditional Acholi Conflict Resolution System in Uganda.

This makes the chapter a rich oasis of comparative information, which helps the readers to draw many insightful lessons from one chapter. Adding to this is a creative symbiosis between expert knowledge and social knowledge which the writer weaves through his compelling piece.

Chapter Three: The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission does a good job in chronicling the 'task of the TRC'. This section helps the reader to affiliate with the processes of the TRC before delving into the analyses. The controversies of the TRC possibly being a political theatre for exonerating offenders without justice and calming victims with symbolic and illusory justice are indicated clearly in this chapter. The challenge of the new dispensation that had to deliver peace, stability and reconciliation with speed are also profiled with clarity. Intimate details from the TRC report are provided, which lends the chapter authority.

The complicity of local and global big business in the apartheid crime against humanity is discussed in this chapter, which carries a wealth of information for anyone who wishes

to understand the South African TRC in depth. By delivering an 'evaluation of the TRC' and debating the pros and cons of its processes while profiling some of the 'unfinished business of the TRC' and 'criticism of the TRC', the writer achieves balance of argumentation which lends scholarly density and credence to the conclusions that are made in the chapter.

Chapter Four: The Case of Rwanda examines the Rwandan genocide. Any discussion on conflicts in Africa and attempts to prevent and resolve them cannot be complete without a discussion of the Rwanda genocide of 1994. For that reason, chapter four becomes a very important component of the present book. A good background to the Rwanda genocide is given, which prepares the reader for the elaborate discussion that follows in the body of the chapter.

The 'management of knowledge' in the Gacaca justice system of Rwanda and the 'criticism' that it has attracted are clearly discussed. In addition, the challenges to Gacaca are enumerated as:

- a continued ideology of genocide among a minority of people;
- lack of trust and confidence in judges;
- limited knowledge of this hybrid between traditional and modern practices;
- strong emotions about what happened during the genocide; and
- awareness of poverty and relative deprivation as causes of conflict in society.

These are teased out well in this chapter in a way that makes it an authoritative take on the challenges of burying the ghost of genocide, and ethnic and class conflict in Rwanda. Clearly, from this chapter's perspective, conflict resolution is not a linear, simplistic process, but a multifaceted and complex endeavour that must be conscious of a multiplicity of contradictions and contestations.

By bringing the interventions of 'the international Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda' into the discussion, the writer gives the chapter a touch of the global perspective on conflict resolution and the challenges of foreign intervention in the local conflicts that come with it. The 'complementarity of systems' of conflict resolution, which the writer debates in this chapter, gives the reader much needed comparative analysis which helps to broaden the horizons of understanding. The writer ably projects the Rwandan case study as a learning point for Africa and the globe as far as causes, processes and the attempts at resolution of conflicts are concerned. Successes and failures of both local and international interventions are articulately presented in this valuable chapter, the publication of which will enrich studies on conflict resolution in Africa.

Chapter Five: The Case of Uganda. In this chapter the intervention of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and its successes and failures are well articulated together with other strategies 'beyond transitional justice' in Uganda. The writer strongly projects 'the traditional practices of the Acholi' people of Rwanda and their pursuit of justice in a multi-ethnic environment. An in-depth scrutiny of the conflict in Uganda is provided as the writer fleshes out interesting analyses of the conflict and the attempts at resolving it.

The involvement of international players, non-governmental organisations and civic society and the contradictions that accompany them do not escape the observations of the writer. An excellent and elaborate job in submitting the unique contributions of the Acholi people and their traditional knowledge system to conflict understanding and resolution is done here.

The 'way of the Acholi' people in conflict resolution, peace building and dispensing of justice is not romantically rendered, but with

impressive scholarly expertise it is subjected to a balanced 'evaluation' that exposes its strengths and weaknesses and points to how it can be modified and innovated to suit the times we are living in. The enigma of the sociopathic Joseph Kony, the leader of the LRA who is suspected of being an agent of external forces is debated satisfactorily and the limitations of the ruling Museveni regime are also touched on together with the ambivalent role of the ICC.

This is an important chapter which delivers the conflict case study of Uganda articulately and informatively. The potency of indigenous knowledge and justice systems is also defended after a thorough critique of their limitations.

Chapter Six: The Case of Kenya. The introduction of this chapter provides a good background to the political conflict in Kenya, which has its roots in tribal and ethnic history. In this well-structured chapter, national and international mediation efforts are discussed in a revealing and informative manner. The political challenge to conflict resolution, where politicians resist accountability and are complicit in conflict and violence is elaborated on as one of the stumbling blocks to healing and settlement after conflict.

Similar to the chapters on Rwanda and Uganda, this chapter brings out the typicalities and atypicalities of conflict in an African post-colony and the imbrications of coloniality at the roots of the conflict. Issues of the 'invention of tribalism' by colonialists in their divide and rule strategy in Africa comes to mind even if the chapter does not explicitly mention them.

A solid diagnostic analysis of the Kenyan conflict is done and strong suggestions for a focus on 'the roots of conflict' instead of symptomatic analysis are made by way of pointing to durable solutions. Reconciliation, the chapter suggests, can only be a product of 'truth'. Together with an evaluation of the efforts of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

of Kenya and an exposé of the limitations of 'the truth-seeking effort' of the Kenyans and their external helpers dramatises the difficulty of attempting to resolve conflict without addressing its root causes. Critical analysis, rich historical background and clear understanding of the context of the conflict in Kenya are some of the strengths of this chapter.

In the section that gives an 'evaluation of restorative justice in Kenya' the writer does not only conduct critical analysis of the conflict that is present throughout the chapter, but also issues sound policy suggestions for the way ordinary Kenyan people should be allowed to be owners of the processes of conflict resolution and not to be spectators, if success is to be achieved.

Chapter Seven: The Case of Liberia: The Liberian Truth and Reconciliation. This well-introduced chapter gives a powerful conclusion to this good book. Adequate historical details and background information are given. The factor of politicians who, out of self and party interests, seek to block truth telling in conflict situations is also raised in this chapter as it is in almost all the previous ones. The chapter is couched in an analytical and narrative style which chronicles the processes of the Liberian TRC while at the same time giving analysis and evaluation of the processes that are involved in the search for conflict resolution.

What is unique in this chapter compared to the other chapters is the fact that it raises the importance of 'remembering and memorialising the past' of conflict as symbolic therapy that enhances healing in victims of conflict. A 'national remembrance day', together with 'building shrines' and conducting 'traditional cleansing ceremonies' are projected as powerful symbolic communication that can enhance the healing process. In so doing, this chapter exalts indigenous knowledge systems and indigenous

practices as a technology of conflict resolution and peace building.

The 'palava huts and truth-telling program' which involves 'dialogue' and 'truth-telling' by both victims and perpetrators of violence in a conflict situation is projected as another unique technology of conflict resolution by indigenous Liberians. Like other indigenous practices of conflict resolution, the 'palava' process has its contradictions and challenges which the writer discusses. As with the other conflict resolution mechanisms discussed by the writers in previous chapters, the writer subjects the 'palava' process to some 'evaluation' which teases out its pros and cons and allows the reader to make independent judgements. This is a well-rendered chapter that is pregnant with in-depth analysis and concrete policy suggestions that make a rich contribution to the content and quality of the present book.

Conclusion: Towards a New Multi-dimensional Approach to Restorative Justice. This section, which takes the place of a conclusion to this book, gives concise summaries of arguments and issues raised in the book. This section will be useful to scholars and other researchers as it helps readers to readily access the main arguments of the book. It is from this section as well that pointers to new research topics on the subject of restorative justice in Africa can be found. It makes a good ending to a good book.

This book comes at a time when the search for African solutions to African conflicts is increasing in currency and relevance. The contents of this book will contribute handsomely to the search for home-grown strategies for resolving African conflicts and crises.

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