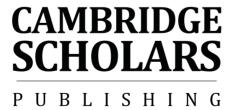# Africa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

Africa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Exploring the Multi-dimensional Discourses on 'Development'

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PREFACE

Many academics, journalists and observers who study socio-economic and political trends on the continent of Africa have argued that the Dark Continent, the birth place of human civilization, is a "basket case". These individuals base their rationale for this argument on the observation that, in spite of the billions of dollars in foreign aid and international development projects pouring into the countries on that continent, there is very little evidence of improvements in development. Sometimes it is difficult to dispute the "basket case" designation. After all, media headlines out of Africa have focused on natural and man-made disasters, drought, food crises, famine, poverty, the spread of HIV/AIDS, ethnic and tribal warfare, civil conflicts, forced displacement, human rights violations, genocide, ethnic cleansing, political instability, corruption, and poor governance. The impression one can get from those headlines is that Africa is indeed a failed, underdeveloped continent that is unable to get its act together.

Readers of this book will quickly discover that the situation on the African continent is not all doom and gloom. In fact, while acknowledging that some real serious problems beset the continent, it is important to realize that Africa is not a monolith. Some countries in Africa are performing extremely well on several economic and social indicators. Some countries in Africa are enjoying protracted periods of economic growth and political stability. Indeed, some countries in Africa are experiencing a construction and housing boom and several of them are enjoying a renaissance of sorts, with the aid of funding from China for major infrastructural projects.

In a recent visit to East Africa, I was struck by the relatively stable political environment in Kenya—a country that suffered unexpected post-election violence in 2007-2008. After incumbent President Kibaki was declared the winner of the fraudulent December 2007 presidential elections, opposition supporters of Raila Odinga and his Orange Democratic Movement initially protested peacefully once the election manipulation was made public and was confirmed by international observers. But once Kibaki was sworn into office, violent rampages broke out in Nairobi and Nyanza province, and ethnic groups were targeted especially in the Rift Valley area. It took the skillful diplomacy of Kofi Annan to bring that violence to an end. This orgy of violence did not do long term damage to Kenya. It is a country that has the ability to punch above its weight in East

Africa and probably throughout the continent of Africa. I was impressed with the excellent infrastructure in Nairobi and the attractiveness of this country.

But Kenya is not the only success case on the continent. Mozambique suffered through 15 years of devastating civil war which divided the country and resulted in over 1 million deaths and five million people displaced. Since the fighting ended in 1992 with the signing of the Rome General Peace Accords, Mozambique has made an amazing recovery. Mozambique has now become one of Africa's best performing economies, with a roughly 8% annual rate of economic growth—outpacing the Asian Tigers. About 3 million Mozambicans have been lifted out of poverty. There has been a 40% decrease in infant mortality and close to 80% increase in the number of children attending primary schools. Gas field discoveries off the Northern coast have attracted a tremendous amount of foreign investment and several multinational companies, and Mozambique is also about to become the world's biggest exporter of coal within a decade. This renaissance in Mozambique has been so remarkable that the Portuguese (the former colonial masters), now feeling the economic pain sweeping Europe, are flocking to their former colony in search of better jobs and opportunities. In Angola, there has also been an increase in the number of Portuguese entering that former colony of Portugal.

A recent study by the World Bank, which can be found on a website with the very optimistic title "Yes Africa Can: Success Stories from a Dynamic Continent," states that while major medium and long term development challenges remain large and complex, the progress that African countries are making today is "remarkable and undeniable."[1] Post-conflict reconstruction has been relatively successful in Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Ghana is experiencing a major economic boom because of the comeback made in the cocoa industry and the finds of oils. Lesotho's exportation of clothing to the United States has been a remarkable success story. Kenya has emerged as the major global supplier of cut flowers and it has also discovered oil and gas. These are just a few of the many success stories on the African continent. The World Bank has predicted that some African countries' economic growth could hit double digits in the next few years and actually outpace that of China, India and the Asian Tigers.

What many have observed in several countries across Africa is a new level of optimism, especially among the youth. The Managing Director of

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[1] http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/ 0,, contentMDK:22549653~pagePK:146736~piPK:146830~theSitePK:258644,00.html, (accessed on 24 August 2012).

South Africa-based emerging markets media company Naspers, Koos Bekker, has observed that young people in Africa are more ambitious than European youth. Africa's population is expected to be close to 2 billion by 2050, with 60% of that population under the age of 25.[2] To put things in perspective, by 2050, "Africa's working-age population, which is currently 54% of the continent's total population, will climb to 62%. In contrast, Europe's workforce will shrink from 63% in 2010 to 51% in 2050." Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the youngest regions of the world with 44% of its population under the age of 15. There is a real sense that that region of the continent, as well as other areas in Africa, will benefit greatly from what is being termed "the demographic dividend"—a youthful labour force which will contribute taxes and labour to surging economies. It is estimated that by 2040, Africa's labour force will reach 1.1 billion, thus overtaking that of both India and China. It is clear that African youth will be the driving force behind the future economic prosperity of the continent.

As readers will find out in the pages that follow, Africa's future is much brighter than the prevailing wisdom would have us believe. There is no question that the majority of the countries of this continent have suffered from a colonial legacy of imperialism and dependency. During the colonial period, European countries bled Africa dry by exploiting its vast and rich natural resources and suppressing its human resources. Even after the independence of African states, this exploitation, dependency and suppression continued via comprador elites, predatory authoritarians, greedy bourgeoisies, multinational corporations, and international financial institutions (IFIs). The latter, through structural adjustment policies, have succeeded in retarding development across Africa and sustaining colonial links and Western control over the continent. The corruption and political instability, which have become hallmarks of many African states, are, indeed, a legacy of the colonial past and the post-colonial dependent relationship that Africa has had with Europe and North America. Foreign aid, particularly tied aid, was used not as a means of developing Africa but rather as a strategy to keep Africa peripheral and Africans dependent on the Metropole. Even well-meaning entertainers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have continued to treat the African continent as a charity case, rather than see it as a modernizing area of the world that is moving quickly into the mainstream of the global economy. Their efforts

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[2] Sandra Appiah, "Calculated Optimism: Africa's Booming Youth Population and Demographic Dividends," *Face 2 Face Africa*, found at
http://face2faceafrica.com/article/calculated-optimism-africa-s-booming-youth-population-and-demographic-dividends, 12 April 2011, accessed on 24 August 2012.

to provide aid to Africa are generally cloaked in a smoke screen of moral obligation and feigned guilt for all of the past efforts by the West to subjugate Africa and keep Africans in political servitude. This type of "generosity" has only served to re-colonize Africa and make its people even more dependent and less autonomous.

The authors of this book have made a daring case here for a reconceptualization of the Dark Continent. They have shown that times have changed from the Africa of yesteryear when Africa was considered a beggarly neighbour. The world may soon be looking to Africa as a partner in the attempts to revive a global economy that has been sputtering over the past few years. Is Africa up to the challenge?

In his trip to Ghana in 2009, after being elected the first black President of the United States of America, Barack Obama intuitively noted that Africans ought to be responsible for African economic and social development. The President realized that true development on the continent will have to be undertaken by the people living on that continent, not by outsiders. For too long, Africans have been dependent on outsiders to help them take off economically. Even today, while weaning themselves off the dependency on the World Bank (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), African leaders have chosen to replace that dependency with a new dependence—this time on China. Is this a good thing? Certainly China does not insist on the structural adjustment policies of the IFIs. Its interest in helping Africa has more to do with its desperate need for natural resources than any altruistic intent.

African leaders would do well to heed the words of President Obama and realize for themselves that if Africa is to have a bright economic future it will have to be attained by Africans themselves. If China is willing to help Africa develop in exchange for natural resources, then African leaders ought to insist that the path of that development will follow the needs of the grassroots in African countries and priorities and plans of individual states on that continent. Great care should be taken to address development issues related to gender equity, women's rights, children's rights, rural poor, mental health, maternal and child health, gay, lesbian and transgender people, etc. These development issues are all human rights issues. It is also time to recognize the need to move beyond blaming the colonial legacy for everything that ails Africa. African people, while not forgetting the past, must take control of their future and stamp out corruption, hold their leaders accountable, build sustainable peace, develop capacity for leadership in regional and global organizations, and agitate for indigenous democratic governance structures that are bottom-up

rather than top-down. In so doing, we can truly expect a bright future for the 'Dark Continent'.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:
GETTING THE BIGGER PICTURE—
EXPLORING THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL
DISCOURSES ON AFRICA'S "DEVELOPMENT"

NATHAN ANDREWS, NENE ERNEST KHALEMA, TEMITOPE ORIOLA AND ISAAC ODOOM

"Development" is certainly a buzzword—"a modern shibboleth" for anyone wanting to improve their lives (Rist 2007, 487). And Africa, since decolonisation began after World War II, has been a recipient of this "essential password." The irony though is that while other regions in the global South (the BRIC nations generally) are making headway in socio-economic growth, Africa seems to remain caught-up in a development quagmire. On the economic front, most African countries are marred with inept economic policies exacerbated by unfavorable IMF/World Bank lending programs. Politically, the excesses of authoritarian regimes have resulted in protracted civil and ethnic wars, institutional collapse, and destruction of civil society and democratic accountability. Human security is at its record low with most African countries at the bottom of the UNDP human development index; and other aspects of this index such as nutrition and food security are yet to reach "appreciable" levels. From "the wretched of the earth" (see Fanon 1963) to "Africa in chaos" (see Ayittey 1999) to the "vampire state" (see Frimpong-Ansah 1992) to "the politics of the belly" (Jean-François 1993; see also Lindberg 2003) to the "criminalisation of the state in Africa" (Jean-François et al. 1999), a great many discourses have emerged to inform us about why Africa remains where it is today. This is also to show that from the end of the Cold War to present, there has been a trend of stereotypical—and mostly imperialist—Afro-pessimism that has characterised the discourse on Africa's development. For instance, Colin Leys stated more than a decade ago "the

African peoples are poor. Even if external conditions are favorable, most African regimes will be unable to do much more than moderate the poverty of most of their populations in the next generation" (1996, 134). This is not mainly the iota of the pessimism that surrounds the continent (see other accounts in Calderisi 2006, particularly concerning foreign aid) but it does sum up the often oversimplification of the so-called "African tragedy" or the normalisation of the African experience as "tragedy" (see Smith 2006). Looking beyond this gloomy "tragedy," Forstater et al. (2010) account for the economic growth the continent has been experiencing since 2001:

> Economies in Africa, and especially Sub-Saharan Africa, have been growing more rapidly in recent years than at any time in modern history. Between 2001 and 2008, African economies grew at an increasing rate, averaging over 6% for the period. In 2010 the average economic growth rate across the continent overtook both Brazil and India. (6)

As we show below, while this economic growth rate is good, it still does not address "development" in a nuanced and sustainable manner. Still on some positive stories, a recent editorial by Eliot Pence and Bright Simons (2012)[1] indicates that Africa is quickly rising to become a key player in the global South. Contrary to the stories of African immigrants struggling to enter different parts of Europe for "greener pastures," they confirm that between 2006 and 2009 the number of visas issued for Portuguese entering Angola increased from 156 to 23,000. And in 2012, an estimated number of 100,000 Portuguese are said to be living in Angola while several Spaniards have fled their country's high unemployment to look for work in Algeria. These few examples do not dispute the fact that Africa still has challenges, just as every continent does. Rather, it speaks to the "economic renaissance" that is usually not captured in dominant accounts of the continent's transformation. It is therefore a good thing that the new *U.S. Africa Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa* (2012) at least recognizes the changes on the continent:

> The economies of sub-Saharan Africa are among the world's most rapidly growing. An increasing number of African governments and regional organizations are taking a lead role in addressing the security and political challenges within their borders and beyond and are increasingly influential players in international fora. The African Union serves as an important

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[1] See Eliot Pence & Bright Simons, "Africa Rising: When Will the West Join Africa?" 5 July 2012, http://africanarguments.org/2012/07/05/africa-rising-when-will-the-west-join-africa-by-eliot-pence-bright-simons/ (accessed 15 July 2012)

leader on political, diplomatic, and peacekeeping issues across the continent. At the same time, urbanization and a burgeoning youth population are changing the region's demographics in profound ways, and young people are increasingly making their voices heard. (1)

Yet from modernization theory in the early 1950s to the contemporary neoliberal (post)-Washington Consensus, and the ongoing structural adjustment masqueraded as poverty reduction strategy discourses, Africa has been the recipient of many policy and ideological prescriptions, most of which ended up being "bitter pills" instead of actual antidotes to the many challenges the continent faces (for instance, see Moyo 2009; Collier 2007; Easterly 2006). Thus, whether it is an in-bred "economy of affection" as Hyden (2006) calls it, or it is issues of governance or the influence and manipulation of external forces, this book attempts to escape the simplistic, often colonial, interpretations of Africa that currently prevail in academic and popular media circles about the continent's socio-economic intricacies. But more importantly, the book seeks to re-imagine African development beyond the over-essentialized historical doom of the dark continent and contemporary gloomy realities; recasting its possibilities to find viable multi-dimensional solutions, particularly in the midst of the China-India-Brazil resurgence.

It is certainly hard to pin down a buzzword in terms of agreement on definition. However, we find Woolcock's (2009) definition quite instructive. He defines development as "the internal and external processes that shape, in a given society or for a particular social group, the welfare, justice and opportunities of its members, but especially its poorest and most marginalized" (5). According to Woolcock, to ensure the recognition of and engagement with local knowledge, a combination of pre-modern, "high modern" and post-modern interventions and decision-making modalities will be necessary. What we deduce from this definition is that if development is conceived in terms of welfare, social justice, and creation of opportunities that targets society's poorest and most marginalized, it helps us to deconstruct the "developed/developing" country binary. Every country has an amount of poverty and people who are marginalized from the mainstream. This means that people should not be quick to look to Africa when they hear of poverty, but it is a universal phenomenon. Many writings on Africa embody this form of essentialism, which Andreasson (2005) calls the "reductive repetition" motif in the theories about Africa's underdevelopment which seeks to reduce the diverse historical experiences and trajectories, sociocultural contexts and political situations into a set of core deficiencies. According to him, this is how the repetition plays out:

> Reductive repetition becomes an effective tool with which to conflate the many heterogeneous characteristics of African societies into a core set of deficiencies. Given that these deficiencies are internal, indeed *intrinsic*, solutions must at some point originate externally: development as *deus ex machina*. As the Western modernist project has evidently failed to 'successfully' conquer the African continent, the need to insist on Africa's fundamental inadequacies becomes increasingly urgent. (973)

From a multi-dimensional standpoint, the book challenges the teleological and unidirectional notions of development embodied in the idea of modernization or "progress;" and offers a critique of "global Salvationism"—the tendency to consider Africa as a basket case which often gives the Western "self" an undeserving privilege and superiority over the African "other." The argument the book puts forward is that there are multiple modernities and multiple ways of experiencing social change. The fact that Western development has positively impacted societies of the West does not warrant its universal application nor does it justify its adoption. It is from this perspective that the chapters in this book cover a wide variety of topics, including education; security, peace and conflict; democracy and governance; international economic relations; human and sustainable development; citizenship and identity; critical genealogy of poverty as well as indigenous or alternative forms of knowledge about what "development" itself constitutes. We believe that re-thinking and re-articulating development requires the conscious efforts by all actors to re-examine counter-discourses of development from the African continent and the Diaspora. Development remains a field in constant flux (see Pieterse 2010); hence there is no need for any single worldview to dominate the entirety of what it entails. Our aim in this book is to discuss the complexity of Africa's development from a multi-disciplinary/interdisciplinary perspective against the backdrop that "development" is multi-dimensional and transcends the economic, political, cultural, geographic, social, and infrastructural contexts. The book, therefore, unearths development dynamics in specific African countries, examines the continent's external relations broadly, rethinks predominant ideas on development, and engages in critical examination of concepts and practices that have maintained hegemonic positions in the discussions on Africa's development. In doing so, the book emphasizes *agency* while not neglecting the role of structure, at both the domestic and global levels.

Based on the premise that we forget the past at the detriment of the future, most of the chapters attempt to historicize the debate on African's development by unearthing the colonial imprints, while at the same time

exploring the alternatives and possibilities that lie ahead. In this regard, we seek to examine whether the so-called post-colonial Africa is actually "post"- or "neo"-colonial, and whether either of these characterizations does make a difference in determining the future of the continent. The general questions that cement this book include the following: what does development mean to Africa and Africans? Can the continent carve a distinct path for itself amidst the innumerable global forces, or amidst aid-tying, trade conditionalities, and underlying trends of dependency? How can the continent maintain sustainable development? Also, in the context of the developmental successes on the continent (such as progress towards good governance, anti-corruption initiatives, and better resource management), these questions are vital: Are they actually successes? Are they sustainable efforts towards development? Are they *scalable*?

Bearing in mind that Africa is a continent (not a country), our definition of "Africa" refers to its entirety. North Africa has often been separated from sub-Saharan Africa, but recent developments in the Northern region (the so-called Arab Spring) and the demands placed on the African Union as a regional body to intervene and showcase its leadership have revealed that every country in Africa is indeed African, even when they share closer ties with the Arab world. Some of the chapters deal with specific case studies while the others engage in theoretical analyses that encapsulate Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western states of Africa. The uniqueness of this book lies in its ability to bring several voices together into a concise conception of the challenges and possibilities for Africa's sustainable development. The ability to bridge these various themes in a nuanced manner aims to exhibit the sophisticated nature of Africa and its issues. The book comprises 14 carefully selected chapters that are divided into four parts. The four parts of the book focus on progress towards achieving the goals of deconstructing and decolonizing development constructs. The methodology adopted for the analysis consists of an inclusive approach that integrates all ideas, constructs, and theories about African development through case studies that provide new information on a theoretical/historical basis for development, the role of state power and governance, new realities of regionalism and emergent South-South linkages, and how non-state actors such as equity-based civil society, NGOs, and informal collaborative efforts have complicated and deconstructed the initial "development" project.

The first part focuses on the theme *Theoretical/Historical Framework: Poverty & Development* and sheds light on the theoretical and conceptual hardware that undergird the entire book by discussing the concepts of

"poverty," "development" and "dependency." Understanding the genealogies and discursive nature of these concepts provides a good background for the rest of the book and focuses on the four aspects of the development discourse: first, the institutional and social agency of development; second, its ideological rationalization or justification; third, the theories underlying the discourse and, fourth, its politics. Development Studies as a post-World War II phenomenon gained much currency in the period of decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s. With influences from the 1948 Marshal Plan and the 1949 Truman Declaration, economics seems to have taken a hegemonic place within the field and has informed a great deal of debates regarding how "development" is measured (see Sumner 2006). In most cases, these measurements are done without due regard to the socio-cultural environment of the people. From its neoclassical economics background, the idea of culture itself has been neglected by so many development studies scholars who claim to have adequate knowledge of areas that are yet rich in culture. In Rostow's (1960) conceptualization in the *Stages of Economic Growth*, culture was considered to be an aspect of a traditional (primitive and "backward") society—and only an initial stage towards modernity. A disjuncture from orthodox economics will do development studies a lot of good—that is if the notion of "development" itself is anything go by. Dispensing with it means problematizing the validity of macroeconomic indicators in measuring overall levels of poverty.

The first chapter by Nathan Andrews, "*Poverty in Theory vs. Poverty in Reality,*" dovetails well into this discussion of poverty measurements. The argument here is that how we measure the trend of poverty informs the kinds of solutions at which we will arrive. Many discussions of poverty are underpinned by what Fine (2009) calls "economics imperialism," which translates into "zombieconomics." This is the case where growth in GDP/GNP automatically means "progress" is being made with indicators such as the ability to have $2 or more a day. Andrews discusses the historical development of the concept of poverty to show how it has moved to become more accepting of other measurements such as the UNDP's quality of life indicators. To him, such indicators, which speak to Amartya Sen's (1992, 1999) capability approach, are a better way of understanding "real" poverty, particularly because they attend to endemic issues of social exclusion, freedoms, choice and opportunities for individuals to thrive.

Siavash Saffari's chapter entitled "*Alternative Developments or Alternatives to Development?*" addresses the history of the development discourse about Africa and critiques its conceptual basis. In a very direct

manner, Saffari inverts the theoretical foundations of the development discourse, generally, and about Africa specifically. He discusses its colonial and imperialist basis as well as its changing meanings since the colonial period, post-independence, the dawn of structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, the globalist era of the 1990s, and the new development discourse of neo-liberalism through NEPAD process. The chapter sums up the conceptual dilemma of development discourse in Africa and significant shifts in approaches, theoretical and subsequent policies, underpinning the discourse. Saffari concludes by suggesting the need to identify an appropriate model of development for Africa, one that is relevant for African peoples on the streets and technocrats alike. The final chapter by Olabanji Akinola entitled "*Africa's Third Independence: A sin qua non for Development*" introduces the notion of a "third independence" for Africa in the quest for social development. This interesting concept rests on the presupposition that Africa's first independence was aimed at gaining attaining self-rule after long periods of colonialism, while the second independence was fought against the tyrannical rule of the military, in particular across the continent. Akinola's concept of third independence is directed at "ambiguous forms" of government that have decelerated Africa's developmental drive.

The second part of this book focuses on the theme "*The African State, Freedom & 'People Power': 'Good' Governance & Stability.*" F. T. Abioye's piece entitled "*Governance in Pre-colonial African Societies: Extracting Lessons for Today*" provides a fascinating prolegomenon to this section of the book. Abioye investigates the notion of governance *qua* governance in pre-colonial African societies to challenge the world-historical myth surrounding ostensibly lawless social life on the continent. She draws on extant examples across Africa to demonstrate legitimate governance, checks and balances and democratic tenors in before European contact. The second part by Melusi Nkomo continues the theme on governance and democracy in his piece entitled "*Democracy Promotion in Africa: Principles, Options and Dilemmas.*" Nkomo argues that the privileging of political elites to the detriment of engagement of the majority of the people undergirds the failure of the democratization project in some parts of Africa. Nkomo's analysis benefits from a robust consideration of internal and external factors, particularly neo-liberalism, that mould and bear deleterious effects on democracy in Africa.

The third paper by Jason Robinson entitled "*On the Edge of Transition: Minority Parties and Groupings in South Africa, 1990-1994*" interrogates the situatedness of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in the dying

days of apartheid in South Africa. Robinson argues that this pan Africanist minority party and similar smaller groups were construed as both "legitimate and illegitimate negotiating partners" during the South African transition negotiations. This fundamental feature of the transition period, Robinson contends, was carried out through a "spoiler" framing. Robinson's paper provides a compelling analysis of a major ideational battle among rival challengers of authority and provides an example of how powerful and resourced liberation movements in Africa (such as the ANC in South Africa, Zanu-PF in Zimbabwe, or Frelimo in Mozambique) position themselves as entitled liberators to consolidate power; thus delegitimising the pan-Africanist movements that drove the ideological foundation of post colonialism from the time when pan Africanists such as Nkrumah, Biko, Nyerere and others spoke. Nermin Allam's chapter entitled "*The Rentier State Theory: A Critical Realist Assessment*" connects the role of activist liberation politics with recent expressions of freedom fighting in modern North Africa and the Middle East. Allam explicates the on-going "Arab Spring" vis-à-vis the rather pessimistic stance of rentier state theory as regards the prospects of democratic agitations in the Gulf States. She injects critical realism's ontological and epistemological schemata to explicate contemporary popular opposition to Arab dictatorships and monarchies, some of them in North Africa. Allam challenges what she perceives as sheer determinism and reductionism in rentier state theory and considers the merits of critical realism in studying the politics of the Middle East and North Africa.

Khalema and Nyibek's chapter on the "*The Articulation of the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) in Combatting State Crimes*" discusses home grown African conflict resolution and interventionist approach articulated by international relations expert, Francis Deng. In a very systematic manner and utilizing the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA), Khalema and Nyibek trace the development of Deng's interventionist approach to global conflict intervention particularly since before Deng articulated for greater involvement by international players in solving international conflicts, states atrocities, terrorism, genocide, and other conscience-shocking crimes against an unarmed populace particularly in Africa were ignored. In fact, Khalema and Nyibek argue that African atrocities were either acknowledged or ignored depending on the actors, and regardless of the response, human suffering prevailed. Deng's theoretical and conceptual intervention was a first attempt to respond to such atrocities and to curtail such violations at the international level. Khalema and Nyibek introduce Deng's articulation of the "sovereignty as responsibility" concept from a specific lens of the newly

emerged nation of South Sudan (Deng's home state) long before Western refinements of the concept frame as R2P. Khalema and Nyibek site Deng's arguments as foundational to global interventionist debates around state sovereignty and the responsibility of the international community. Thus, through Deng's initial work further articulations of R2P and multilateral interventions were formulated. In highlighting Deng's contribution, the chapter gives an example of an African solution to African problems articulated in a time when a space for an African voice to prevent, react, and rebuild after mass atrocities was not imaginable.

The third part is organized around the theme *Regionalism, Regionalization, and Emergent South-South Relations.* The first paper by Ruth Situma entitled "*Democrats and Dictators: The African Union and the Paradox of Democracy and Human Rights Promotion in Africa*" draws on International Governmental Organizations theories to examine the African Union's (AU) capacity to promote peace and democracy in Africa. The AU as a successor to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was created to advance unity and good governance amongst members. Situma suggests the AU has had mixed results in fulfilling its democratization agenda. Though the establishment of organs such as the Assembly, Human Rights courts and other protocols such as the Charter on Governance and Human Rights demonstrated the Union's apparent willingness and potential at achieving its goals, its greatest challenge lies in the leadership of African states represented in the Union. This problem is reflected in the AU's membership which is comprised of a "mixture" of stable, weak, and failed states that ultimately affect its decisions and capacity to promote democracy and human rights. Situma contends in her conclusion that the extent to which the AU can be politically effective and spearhead the continent's need for democracy largely depends on qualities of its member states and more specifically, on the qualities of its leaders.

Like Situma's chapter on the role of regional institutions, Stefan's chapter "*Democracy and Regional Organizations in Africa South of the Sahara*" examines the role of African regional organizations in democratic transition processes in member states. Specifically he focused on the regional security policy, regional parliaments, and courts of the East African Community (EAC) and Southern African Development Community (SADC). Stefan's case studies suggest that while regional institutions can be agencies of democratization, their impact or success is dependent on whether they are based on democratic decision-making processes. Additionally, the correlation that seems to exist between regional institutions and democratization is however a reciprocal one. Thus, the success or otherwise of the relationship between the regional body and the

national governments regarding democratization depends on the design and the real power of regional integration institutions as well as the political will of the national actors. Stefan concludes that while it is possible sometimes for regional institutions to have an indirect impact on national democratization processes, it can only be argued that democratic states are in favour of regional integration, whereas non-democratic states are more in favour of regional cooperation. But again this also depends on each individual case.

Mohamed Elmi's "*A New Development Approach? The Impact of China's Development Aid on Kenya*" assesses the implications of China's approach to Official Development Assistance (ODA), Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and bilateral agreements on Kenya's economy. While the rise of China across Africa is receiving a lot of cursory remarks and commentary in policy cycles and among academics, Elmi in this chapter adopts a more constructive and contextualized analysis of the potential benefits of China's role in Kenya as well as the challenges it posses to the Kenyan economy. As in many other African countries, China's development assistance has been touted as a possible alternative source of financing for development in Kenya. The Chinese engagement in Kenya promotes trade, encourages investment into the social sectors like education and health, as well as development assistance. While Beijing may appear as an alternative development partner in Kenya, Elmi demonstrates that the current asymmetrical nature of the Kenya-China engagement (negative trade balance) indicates that China is the highest beneficiary of the development assistance that it provides to Kenya, having access to Africa's natural wealth, access to more consumers for its goods, and most importantly, diplomatic support. Elmi concludes by cautioning against any uncritical assumption about the intentions and role of China in Africa.

Part four of the book presents three chapters organized around the theme: *Non-State Actors, Informal Markets & Gender Equity*. The first paper, entitled "*Beyond Access: Challenges in Women's Higher Education in Ghana*" by Baffoe et al., examines one of the biggest contradictions of the development project of our time: gender exclusion and inequality. The major question that this chapter addresses is the usefulness of development policies' gender analysis in African postsecondary institutions, the mode of feminist action and the actors, and the empowering strategies for grassroots organization and participation. Drawing on both primary and secondary data, the paper argues that because of prevailing socio-cultural attitudes towards women's higher education in Ghana, access to higher education alone may not be enough to sustain the modest gains women are making in terms of attaining higher education. The first part of the paper

highlights extant literature that identifies the multiple and intertwined challenges that Ghanaian women face in attaining tertiary education. In particular, the authors elegantly highlight how the embedding of traditional cultural scripts have helped to develop limited, if not a lack of, support for Ghanaian women attaining higher education that stretches from the micro-level (e. g. disapproval from their husbands) to the macro-level (e. g. educational policies that do not offer supportive learning environments for women). Key findings from focus groups illuminate the impacts of these systemic barriers faced by women within the age group of 25-30. To this end, this paper emphasizes: 1) a systemic perspective that can be utilized to examine other countries' educational system as it pertains to women's accessibility to higher education, and 2) offers insights into the provision of additional entry points for women to access higher education.

The key message the chapter puts forward is the need for institutional, political and economic support for women in the tertiary sector and the centrality of critical gender-based analyses in theorizing and implementing development projects. For Baffoe and her colleagues, formal education goes a long way to bolster African women's efforts in seeking gender equality. Because women's interests are usually subsumed under community interests, patriarchal practices, and customary systems that marginalize them, emancipation through education is unconceivable for the majority of women seeking equality. Thus, before there can be discussion about access to higher education and the promise that being formally educated can afford, African societies must also unearth and challenge negative culturally embedded assumptions about women and their role in development. This means challenging hegemonic assumptions about women in relation to men and seeking opportunities to animate equity and inclusion. African women researchers have provided stronger justifications for an alternative model of development that can positively impact women (Mohanty 2002; Connelly et al. 2000; Mkandawire & Soludo 2002). African feminists have also pointed out that the appropriation of knowledge as an integral part of colonization and that its epistemologies can only be changed through critical radical feminist scholarship (Oyewumi 2003). As a South African anti-apartheid and women's liberation slogan states: *"nothing about us without us,"* it is clear from this paper that the most contentious issue central to any critique about development is the case made to include a gender-based analysis as a useful strategy to understanding equity and inclusion. In summary, struggles for equity, human rights, and justice for African women in accessing higher education opportunities presented in this paper continue

to form a vital part of the wider critique of development. As cemented in this paper, any talk about development that does not include social, economic, and political justice for women and other marginalized peoples is limited at best and flawed at worst.

The second paper by Adam Pearce, entitled "*Agents of Democratic Development? Challenges facing the NGO Community in Botswana*" offers a much-needed theoretical analysis of the constraints faced by NGOs in animating democratic development in Africa. Pearce gives a case study of Botswana, a country that, according to Robinson and Parsons (2006) and Acemoglu et al. (2003), is a model for development in Africa. In a very detailed manner, Pearce introduces the readers to the debate around the "NGOization" of civil society generally and as part of the author's arguments, an analysis of the role of civil-social actors in the realization of democratic development in Botswana is offered. Central to the arguments Pearce puts forth is the flawed assumption that civil society actors—in this case NGOs—operate independently of the state in which they are found. Pearce critiques the assumption that given the tools and opportunities, NGOs are capable of improving representation and participation in the implementation of development policy. These central critiques position NGOs as actors/perpetrators in the project of "developing" Africa. One of the most striking features of the paper is the discussion of the role of NGOs and their perceived contributions to civil society and democracy; yet, exploration of this complexity is often eschewed in favor of a normative approach in which the apparently mutually enhancing relationship between NGOs, civil society, and the state is underpinned by liberal democratic assumptions rather than an engagement with wider debates about the power politics of development. Following a critique of the "NGOization" approach, the chapter concludes that the role of NGOs in the politics of development in Africa (and Botswana specifically) is far more complex than much of the NGO literature would suggest. Pearce calls for a more contextualized and less value-laden approach to the understanding of the political role of NGOs in the development quagmire. Further, the paper is able to interrogate the believed notion that due to their proximity to the masses, NGOs are able to improve representation and participation in the implementation of development policy. As Pearce argues, NGOs' intention to engage in development projects cannot be reduced to "democratic development" particularly because as authors such as Saidel (1991), Weiss (1999), and Postma (1994) posit, there is a "symmetrical interdependence and "co-dependency" between NGOs, nation states, and multinational corporations all serving their varied interests of "developing" Africa.

The third paper by Stephen Magu, entitled "*An Agent-based Model Simulating Emergence of Informal Financial Markets (Roscas) and their Interaction with Formal Financial and Credit Networks in Developing Countries,*" extends Pearce's arguments of the role of non-state agents in performing development. Magu presents an example of how individuals can create viable credit sources within developing countries or communities where there is limited access to banks or other formal financial institutions. While the success of the grassroots financing systems within the African experience has not received attention in academic spheres, this paper highlights the importance informal self-help groups designed to increase access to finance for entrepreneurship and other investments. Accessing formal credit markets in Africa is often constrained by unemployment, illiteracy, lack of collaterals, and distance to financial institutions and banks' risk aversion to possible credit defaults. According to Magu, Roscas simulate the creation, networking and emergence of social networks/informal credit organizations and enables the conditions necessary for individuals to join and interact with formal financial institutions. Magu outlines how the effectiveness and impact of different models of Roscas are contingent on the interpersonal dynamics within these self-help groups. To conclude the chapter, Magu highlights the challenges (e.g. enforcing rules and regulations) that potential entrepreneurs face and ultimately identify the necessary conditions (e. g. having multiple members) and possible solutions that need to be part of the infrastructure to ensure these informal self-help groups succeed. This extensive review of how informal self-help groups offer possible alternative forms of finance that are beneficial for regular citizens and grassroots entrepreneurs who grace street corners of major African cities.

In this book all the authors contribute their thoughts, ideas, and vision for an alternative model of development. The critical questions they are asking have been asked before, and often answers central to the debate have been framed with particular viewpoints about Africa—usually pessimistic. The authors agree with Fanon (1963) that "[Africans] must refuse outright the situation to which the West wants to condemn us" (57). This implies re-imagining and re-telling the stories that have been colonized by Western "experts." For the authors of this book, they felt it necessary to cumulate a critical response about Africa's past, present, and future. They felt it necessary to analyze the different responses to Western paradigms, their epistemologies and associated models of development, and their subsequent impacts. It is evident from the case studies presented in the chapters that existing models of development, their paradigmatic roots, and subsequent implementation have not worked to positively

impact the majority of African states and its people. The analyses here offer another look, and authors take more of a pragmatic and critical position to build new theoretical and conceptual possibilities about what development really means or meant for Africans. It is the authors' hope that this volume will produce fresh analyses about the project of African development and advancement that is more relevant to Africans today and tomorrow. It is also hoped that this book will enrich the understanding of development as a global construct borne of colonialism and imperialism and in search of decolonization and deconstruction.

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