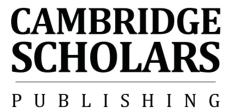# Working the System in Sub-Saharan Africa

Working the System in Sub-Saharan Africa: Global Values, National Citizenship and Local Politics in Historical Perspective

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TRANSMITTING AND NEGOTIATING PARADIGMS ON CITIZENSHIP, STATE AND DEVELOPMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: INTRODUCING A DISCUSSION ON HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS

CORRADO TORNIMBENI

Democracy and good governance are considered the universally shared paradigms shaping policy prescriptions and development practices in the context of the current 'globalised' world. Ideas and visions about good democratic politics and equitable and inclusive development germinate worldwide among different actors—from civil society movements to government and financial institutions—, they are codified by the most powerful and influential international organizations and then transmitted as policy rules to governments in every region of the world. Space for negotiating these prescriptions at local level is considered to be particularly narrow in the case of the developing countries, but it is also believed that international paradigms are reshaped into peculiar forms when implemented under local circumstances. It is thought that this is particularly the case of a region like sub-Saharan Africa, which, it is said, continues to present societies and political dynamics rooted in its own 'cultural characteristics'. This picture is, however, too simplistic and based on deceptively easy dichotomies. With regard to the dynamics of globalisation, Africa, James Ferguson says, is an "inconvenient continent" (Ferguson 2006).

Many contributions from various scientific disciplines have already shown how complex the nexus Africa-world can be. From the early 1990s onwards, the circulation of ideas, goods, capital, people and, not least,

political paradigms in sub-Saharan Africa, within the context of the globalised world, has drawn the attention of academics as well as the wider public. The image commonly portrayed is that the new forms of transnational connection are challenging and re-shaping the nation-state in Africa and its power relations. Supposedly new phenomena, as intriguing as they are vague, of transboundary networks, are at times considered as a positive force contrasting with the rapid and powerful capitalist transformation of global social relations that results from globalisation. According to this view, the relatively recent transnational forms of governance would establish a complex relationship with the nation-state as developed in Africa, and transnational civil society organisations would oppose the financial penetration of global corporations or the resource grabbing by national or international investors.[1] Ferguson has challenged the mainstream perspective of the 'vertical topography of power', for example regarding the relations between African states and civil society, in addressing African and worldwide forms of governance through his notion of 'transnational apparatuses of governmentality' (Ferguson 2006).

The terms under which most of these issues are treated tend to suggest a picture which contrasts a past of territorial and ideological separateness with a present marked by multiple interconnections. Contrary to the past, present day transnational forms of governance would allow political and development paradigms to be directly transmitted—or 'imposed'—on African governments and societies. At times, this image is not unanimously supported but what is rarely considered is the historical dimension of these perspectives: the Africa-world nexus in politics and development is not a characteristic of the current 'global world' alone, as is too often assumed.

The notion of citizenship, both as formal-legal concept and as discourse, is central to democratic politics as well as to ideas about equitable and inclusive development. In liberal democracies the right to vote is granted to formal citizens, and the concept of citizenship is widely used in discourses about inclusive development. Moreover, citizenship as a form of belonging is proposed as a key issue in every discussion on local and world politics and development perspectives.

The politicization of citizenship values and rights, therefore, is both a central element in debates about state, nation, development and democracy in sub-Saharan Africa in a historical perspective, and a significant viewpoint from which to interrogate how global ideas and practices on democratic politics and progressive development emerge in this continent. This introductory discussion will consider, first, how issues of local

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[1] See, for example, Callaghy, Kassimir and Latham (2001).

attachment and identity have been raised by the western debate on citizenship with regard to the 'post-colonial problem'. Next, it will take into consideration the emergence of the local factor and the autochthony discourses in the politics of sub-Saharan Africa since the 1990s, and how issues of belonging are perpetuated by both popular strategies and national good governance policies in the context of democratisation. In this regard, an argument will be presented about Mozambique and a comparison will be made with the situation in the Ivory Coast. Then, it will be argued that 'global' values and ideas about politics, development and democracy have been channeled and negotiated into local politics in sub-Saharan Africa in past historical conjunctures also. This final section will also show how the above themes are addressed by the chapters included in this book.

Post-Colonial Citizenship: A Revival of the Debate on Belonging and Community

Generally speaking, citizenship consists in the granting of rights to individuals as a consequence of their belonging formally to a political community. Citizenship rights and citizenship boundaries (criteria of inclusion and exclusion), however, vary according to the kind of citizenship that political communities develop and to the nexus established between individuals, groups and political communities by different discourses on citizenship.

Debates on citizenship have focussed first of all on the different ideas about the contents (rights, but also duties) and 'boundaries' of the formal belonging of people to the state, in particular to the nation-state. But historically, there have been more extended notions of citizenship that have taken into consideration forms of belonging to other kinds of societies and political communities. The relationship between the different forms and levels of political belonging is an important issue, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the 'developing world', where the consolidation of the nation-state has not yet been completed—or, according to a different perspective, is in crisis. In these contexts, the analysis is often concerned to look at the new places and processes producing political belonging that emerge within or outside the boundaries of the state. Citizenship has been discussed in relation to notions of ethnicity, locality or community on the one side, as well as in relation to ideas of globalism, transnationalism or cosmopolitanism on the other side. These different 'levels of citizenship' are interconnected and affect claims, rights and criteria of inclusion/exclusion associated with state citizenship.

In European thought, the well-known analysis of Marshall (1950), written against the background of the experience of the British welfare state, has characterised the development of citizenship in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a succession of phases in which civil, political and then social rights have been extended to the new social classes that emerged with the development of industrial society: these rights granted a formal equality in a context characterised by the class inequalities of capitalist society. This idea of citizenship is founded on *individuals* belonging to the institutional community of the nation-state— although the very notion of 'nation' has been widely criticized in relation to its historical roots and 'artificiality'[2]—and is not founded on forms of belonging to other kinds of communities based on *status*.

Over the years, the analysis of Marshall on citizenship has generated a passionate debate in the scientific community,[3] including a long standing dispute that has characterised more generally the North-American and western debate on citizenship: the opposing views on the foundations of citizenship proposed by 'liberals' and 'communitarians'. It is not possible here to examine in depth this debate. Bearing in mind, however, the scope of this essay, it is worthwhile to consider at least the driving argument proposed by the two sides on the relationship between citizenship and belonging.[4] In essence, on the one hand, 'liberals' conceive of a society of free citizens holding equal basic rights and clearly distinguish participation in the political realm of citizenship from any status and social attachment;[5] on the other hand, according to the 'communitarian' conception of citizenship, it is not possible to separate the individual from his/her community and from the duties and responsibilities involved in belonging to a certain community.[6] Civic republicanism, and writers like Habermas (1992), emphasise participation in civic and political life in contrast to the priority given to shared identities in communities but also to the pursuit of private interests by individuals implicit in the classical liberal view.

Criticisms have been raised not only of each side of the debate, but also of the debate itself. Among the various arguments put forward, has been a call for a revision of its framework—considered as too heavily

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[2] See, for example, the works of Anderson (1983), Hobsbawm (1990) and Smith (1986).
[3] See, for example, Giddens (1982), Barbalet (1988) and Preuss (1995).
[4] For a closer look, see Oldfield (1990), Heater (1999), Isin and Wood (1999), Mouffe (1992), and Schnapper (2003).
[5] See for example the works of John Rawls (1971, 1993).
[6] Probably against his will, Michael Sandel (1982) is often taken as representative of this perspective.

based on the North-American or European historical traditions—in order to address the various experiences of the non-western world. Naila Kabeer (2005, 2006), for example, thinks that it is not appropriate to apply a model of liberal citizenship as this emerged in the West to regions and countries of the South with a past of colonial domination: "The practice of citizenship by the colonial powers at home bore very little relationship to their practice in their colonies" (Kabeer 2006, 96). In these contexts, differences within societies would have been exacerbated and politicised by the colonial state to institutionalise its power structures. The result was arrangements excluding the majority of the population and 'fractures' in the conceptions of citizenship and belonging that intersected with the forms of identity crystallized during the colonial period (based on caste, religion, ethnicity, race etc. according to the context). In these regions of the world, then, notions of a free-and-equal-for-all citizenship came forward only when the colonised countries gained their independence and on the background of the above divisions in society and identities (Van Steenbergen 1994; Kabeer 2005, 2006). According to this perspective, individual liberalism does not occupy such an important place in addressing citizenship issues in the societies of many countries of the South, where family relations or 'traditional' identities based on, for example, ethnic groups (Africa) or religion and caste (India), would prevail (Parekh 1992). In this view, the communitarian perspective of the western debate would find a revival, for example in the current confrontation between national citizenship and local-traditional belonging in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, this view would suggest that, in applying notions of citizenship, the specific historical and political conditions around the world would produce very different outcomes. These arguments, however, need further clarifications and, above all, to be treated with reference to a proper context-based analysis.

Discourses questioning the congruity between models of national citizenship and forms of local belonging are frequently based too heavily on a typically western imagination that sees the populations of other countries as organised basically in homogeneous, ethnically organised groups that are cohesive, unchanging, and stable within the territory and even within communities. The clearest example of this picture is precisely sub-Saharan Africa. The idea that its societies and political systems must be understood within the framework of customs and traditional authorities that reproduce an ancient order nourished the colonial scheme and inspires part of the current political reforms and development programmes in the continent as well. According to Achille Mbembe:

> In placing too much emphasis on the themes of identity and difference or economic marginalization, a number of analysts have conferred on Africa a character so particular that it is not comparable with any other region of the world (Mbembe 2001, 1).

In Africa, as in other parts of the world—the West included—multiple forms of affiliation, belonging and also rights, coexist side by side and refer to different spheres, from the individual to the collective, including the national community. These spheres don't necessarily exclude each other: their balance depends on the specific historical and local context. Without doubt, 'ethnic politics' and ancestral forms of attachment seem to have dominated African countries in the last decades. Within the context of what has often been described as a permanent condition of state crisis in Africa (Joseph 2003), the importance of 'traditional' belonging to ethnic groups not only has been contrasted to the criteria of national citizenship within the larger community of the nation-state, but has also been advanced as a base of the very redefinition of citizenship (Nugent 2012; Geschiere 2009). In the great majority of the constitutions of the states of sub-Saharan Africa, ethnicity or ethnic regionalism is not given a special recognition, as is the case, for example, in Ethiopia and Nigeria; however, in many places of the continent the revision of the criteria and notions of citizenship that were built during the first decades of independence has been shaped by reference to ethnic belonging and to the values of autochthony.

The relationship between notions of autochthony and citizenship in sub-Saharan Africa, therefore, is an interesting example of the multiple forms in which the relationship between levels of belonging and the institutions of citizenship appear around the world. It provides an opportunity to address in a significant context-based analysis what has been described as a "global conjuncture of belonging", in which claims to autochthony values—in society as in politics—appear as a way to access the resources and processes of 'the global' rather than a 'return to the local' (Murray Li 2000; Geschiere 2009; Mbembe 2001). In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, the 'resources of the global' are represented mainly by the challenges of the democratisation processes and of the political and development paradigms of good governance.

Democratisation, Conflict and Autochthony. Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s-2000s

When a large number of democratic elections took place in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s, many of the continent's social and political movements began to hope that the long-expected political liberalisation would at last be consolidated. However, from the beginning of the decade, the continent showed very clearly a variety of different political situations, ranging from the end of apartheid and the first free elections in South Africa in 1994, to the genocide in Rwanda the same year. In general, both in the fragile political systems where violent crises broke out and in those where democracy seemed to have firmer foundations, a series of partially unexpected developments followed, including the spread of internal conflicts often labelled as ethnic conflicts. Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia and Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, confirmed a situation of semi-permanent conflict, while countries with a tradition of relative stability like Ivory Coast and Kenya, or countries that had just reached peace like Mozambique, experienced social clashes or the beginning of internal violent confrontations as well.

Within this context, in the two decades after 1990 the notion of 'autochthony' gained a central role in a number of political systems of sub-Saharan Africa,[7] above all in Francophone West Africa,[8] and this fact allowed a new chapter to be added to a literature narrating the long story of state failure or state collapse in Africa and to analyses describing the return of the societies of the continent to ancient, primordial, models of socio-political organization.[9] The claims relating to 'autochthony' are without doubt a global experience which is not confined to sub-Saharan Africa (Geschiere 2009), but the latter offers specific elements that cannot be easily identified in other contexts, as well as phenomena expressing dynamics that are common to other parts of the world in what has been termed the "neoliberal world order" (Ferguson 2006). According to this perspective, for example, liberal democracy in sub-Saharan Africa has often seen the historical negotiation among various groups for accessing state resources being channelled through pluralistic competition. As a consequence, liberal democracy, in the context of economic crisis and of

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[7] See, for example, an issue of *Africa Today* published in 1998 on this theme (Halisi, Kaiser and Ndegwa 1998).
[8] The political use of the term 'autochthony', indeed, was introduced more specifically by French colonial rule.
[9] For a few significant examples see: Ayittey (1998), Milliken and Krause (2002), Zack-Williams, Frost and Thomson (2002) and Bates (2007).

the unresolved legacies from the past in terms of divisions within the
society, has 'channelled' rather than ended endemic conflict.

Against this background, the central issue of a number of political
developments on the continent has become the notion of citizenship, its
content, the criteria of exclusion and inclusion, and its meaning *vis à vis*
other forms of belonging. National citizenship, conceived at independence
as inclusive in contrast to colonial divisions and imagined as a necessary
condition for modernisation, has come to be seen as a weapon for
exclusion. New notions of 'local citizenship' developed, in which the
formation of 'autochthon communities', formed by the real and authentic
'sons of the soil', found a fertile terrain (Geschiere 2009; Geschiere and
Jackson 2006). The most recent processes of formal redefinition of
citizenship have thus fallen into the vortex of conforming to indigenous
identity criteria and of isolating those considered to be 'aliens'. "Making
nations, creating strangers" (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent 2007b) seems
imperative for political elites which do not hesitate to manipulate the
definition of national citizenship to incorporate the excluding criteria of
local belonging in order to secure access for themselves and their
constituencies to the resources that they fear to lose in the framework of
democratic rules. The globally shared political paradigm of liberal
democracy, therefore, has resulted in the prominence of very local factors
such as ethnic groups or autochthon communities.

In this context, the legitimacy of citizenship claims has become one of
the major fields of negotiation, if not open conflict, in many African
countries. A well-known example at the level of national politics was the
exclusion in 1996, from the presidential election in Zambia, of Kenneth
Kaunda, who had been president of the country for almost 30 years, on the
grounds that he was a foreigner. Similarly, the rights to national
citizenship have been contested in the cases of Jerry Rawlings in Ghana,
Museveni in Uganda, Frederick Chiluba in Zambia and Ouattara in Ivory
Coast. Post-apartheid South Africa saw waves of xenophobic violence
spreading in the country against 'aliens'.[10] Often the cohesion of the local
groups of autochthons against other categories of people has been
supported by powerful political and economic interests for personal profit,
and the rights of access to and use of land by former immigrants have been
contested by local youths drawing on an ethnic or autochthony discourse.
In some cases, conflicts broke out to exclude not only 'foreigners', but

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[10] On xenophobia in South Africa and, more in general, the issue of migration and
citizenship see Nyamnjoh (2006) and the rich literature on the web-site of the
Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP): http://www.queensu.ca/samp.

also 'strangers' who were in a formal sense citizens of the same nation-state as the 'locals', and who had been living together with 'locals' for years, sharing the same territories and community resources. Democratisation, therefore, has been followed by attempts to exclude certain groups of people from the citizenship rights altogether, often these are 'new foreigners', the sons of second and third generation immigrants, whose claims to national citizenship are seen as 'less authentic' or 'less legitimate' (Dorman, Hammett, Nugent 2007a).

The most emblematic example is clearly Ivory Coast in the 1990s-2000s. The system of *tutorat* allowed generations of immigrants from the north and from neighbouring countries to be integrated in the societies of the south and to gain access to ownership of land. When, by the1990s, this system fell into crisis, and economic recession began to push youths back from the cities to rural areas where they had to compete for land rights with 'people from the north', the local predicament became coupled at national level with the formation of the political ideology of *ivoirité*: after the political liberalisation of the 1990s and the death of Houphouët-Boigny, the political discourse advanced by Bédiè and then Gbagbo argued for a citizenship of the autochthons, of the 'authentic Ivorians' as opposed to the 'mixed ones'. Citizenship rights to determine who could vote and where, soon became the burning issue of Ivorian politics and society. The violent conflict that arose pitted 'autochthons' of the south against 'foreigners' of the "*Grand Nord*", a notion including people from the north of the country as well as from other neighbouring states.[11]

In the Ivory Coast as in many other places of sub-Saharan Africa of the 1990s-2000s, forms of local belonging regained again a clear central role in local and national politics. What is known as the "politics of belonging" (Antonsich 2010), in which different actors compete at local as well as national level to access the resources of the state, of the market or of development programmes through discourses on identity and local attachments, seems the manifest side effect of democracy and good governance, the twin paradigms of politics and development in sub-Saharan Africa—as in the world—in these decades. Moreover, this happens, as I will show below, not only in places where the local and national politics of belonging is expressed through the discourse on autochthony, but also where the terms used are different.

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[11] On the conflict in Ivory Coast, its origin, the issue of autochthony and on the *tutorat* system see, for example, Chauveau (2006), Dembélé (2000) and Marshall-Fratani (2007).

Good Governance and Development. Narrating Attachment, Implementing Belonging

As in the case of Ivory Coast, the democratisation processes often created the channels through which the local politics of belonging was extended to the national level. However, it is also argued that the very local politics of belonging has been favoured and consolidated by some elements of the policies, reforms and development programmes conceived under the global paradigm of 'good governance'. In many cases, they take the form of real 'policies of belonging'[12] to local or autochthon communities according to the old colonial model for the extension of state power throughout the territory.

During the 1990s-2000s, besides the implementation of the typical procedures characterising the democratisation process, good governance policies involved an emphasis on the role of local societies in the political processes and development policies (Abrahamsen 2000). Decentralisation characterised many processes of 'institution-building' negotiated by a number of African governments and the international financial institutions and donors. In the context of the imperative of local empowerment, citizenship issues have also been raised by other major development initiatives such as a series of land reforms, Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes and, in general, the cooptation of the traditional leadership of the rural areas in the implementation of the government's policies and in the promotion of development programmes. In this regard, a new international consensus has seen the empowerment of the 'rural traditional communities' as the key project for more equitable and sustainable development processes, although these communities, in some cases, are themselves the product of new local arrangements rather than the restoration of old socio-political affiliations. Moreover, it has been observed that these policies, in their effort to recognise and empower the traditional systems of rights at the local level, and in an economic and social context where competition is more and more heated for resources that are more and more scarce, tend to promote a model in which rights of access to natural and economic resources are defined on the basis of community belonging (in the form of ethnic or autochthon groups) and to the detriment of people defined as strangers, foreigners etc. (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent 2007a).

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[12] See, for example, Kuba and Lentz (2006), and Evers, Spierenburg and Wels (2005).

Probably, the implementation in some countries of land reform policies, designed to grant ownership titles on land to traditional communities, is where international good governance paradigms mingle with local politics, development efforts and identity issues in a complex combination of local, national and global discourses, claims and counterclaims by different actors, especially in, but not confined to, the case of the former settler colonies.

Local perceptions and initiatives are a key mobilising factor within this context, but it is clear that there are a number of local narratives competing for the definition of the proper political and development order to be implemented, and that, eventually, the dominant ones depend also on their 'plausibility' in relation to the paradigms of development that are accepted world-wide, such as democratic rules and good governance policies. Democracy and good governance, thus, interact with the typical historical narratives of people's movement and settlement that have always contributed to the foundation of the local political systems in many regions of sub-Saharan Africa (Kopytoff 1987; Tornimbeni 2010).

As underlined by Geschiere (2009), looking for the *security* of local belonging triggers the *insecurity* of the definition of the local forms of identity, that are always contested and never consensual. However, the popularity of notions of autochthony and of ideas of belonging to ethnic and traditional communities cannot be explained with reference to world ideas about the distinct 'traditional' character of African societies alone; one has to address why such discourses are legitimated or produced by the actual populations involved, on the basis of the historical processes that have characterised the continent. Notions like autochthonous, indigenous, native or ethnic groups emerge today from consolidated historical narratives that are based on old and new discourses about the 'original' migration and settlement, about the myths of the 'first comers' and 'late comers' that are thought to have produced the composition of current African societies (Kopytoff 1987; Lentz 2005). These kinds of narrative are employed, today, with the purpose of drawing a clear pattern of power and authority relations between different actors and of establishing their hierarchy. In so doing, the development of processes of inclusion in and, above all, exclusion from rights concerning access to resources is shaped by criteria, such as autochthony, of local belonging and 'local citizenship' that are presented as legitimated by tradition. 'Traditional legitimacy', on the other hand, has become a sort of buzz-word in current development policies and political reforms conceived with the idea of the 'empowerment of the local level', one of the key notions of the paradigm of good governance.

Attempting to reform national citizenship along criteria of local belonging and indigenous affiliation, which usually involves proliferation of phenomena of exclusion and xenophobia, means that the seeds of conflict are ready to germinate and expand in the national arena. This happened very clearly in the case of the autochthony politics of the Ivory Coast summed up above. However, there are alarming similarities in contexts like Mozambique which are relatively peaceful and almost free from any reference to the rhetoric of autochthony.

Implementing Belonging in Mozambique: International and Local Legitimacy of Community Development[13]

After the first multi-party elections of 1994 in Mozambique, the principles of the western countries regarding democracy and development have been translated into guiding principles for the reform programmes of the state and the economy which have been implemented by the government of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique). Key policies concerned the decentralisation process and a series of reforms were dedicated to rights on, and management of, the natural resources of the country. The 'empowerment of the local society' was, in theory, the driving concept of the new policies on local bodies and authorities, land, and forests and wildlife. They were conceived in order to respond to the concerns of the international donor community, and to win local support in areas of the country historically marginalised by the government and for a long time affected by the internal war.

The rhetoric of including 'the local' in the process of decision making continued to characterise the pronouncements of the government and its partners even after the new Municipal Law of 1997 granted the right of electing local government bodies only to 23 cities and 10 semi-urban areas, excluding, in practice, the rural areas from the decentralisation process (West and Kloeck-Jenson 1999; Galli 2003, 163-166; Pijnenburg 2004, 67). The discourse of the government, supported by some sectors of the donor community, was that only community-based policies could offer an opportunity for some kind of decentralisation in rural areas, where civil society was not yet ready. 'Traditional communities' were then involved in consultation processes by local administrators, and it was thought to

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[13] This paragraph draws from a number of papers I published on the issues of migration, belonging and the political reforms and development programmes implemented in Mozambique in the 1990s-2000s. Among them, see Tornimbeni (2007a, 2007b, 2008) and Newitt and Tornimbeni (2008).

engage 'traditional authorities' directly in implementing the policies of the state. Official recognition and cooptation of 'community authorities'—in practice 'traditional chiefs'—came in 2000 by Decree Law, complementing the provisions of two other pieces of legislation with regard to the articulation between rural communities and the state: the reform of the land title and access system (1997-2000), and the Law on Forestry and Wildlife (1999).

The new land policy represented an explicit attempt at satisfying two necessities: first, the need to guarantee to rural Mozambicans their rights of occupation and use of land; second, the need to create a modern system of formal land titles in order to attract foreign and national investment. In a word, rural communities could have their traditional land rights formally certificated through a process of land demarcation and the grant of a formal land title.[14] Such community maps should have guaranteed that companies or individuals interested in lands had to negotiate directly with the interested communities if they wanted to invest or settle in a given territory. Viewed from this angle, the land policy became quite popular among rural people, who feared exploitation by the new international investors entering the country after the war.

Consultation processes, similar to those of the land reform, were required when an outside investor was interested in exploiting forests and wildlife. Furthermore, in a few years, several Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes were developed in free access lands as well as in new conservation or protected areas, with the idea of joining nature conservation with preservation of communities' rights. In the everyday practice of policy implementation, these communities were assumed to be those mapped within the land reform.

In the long term perspective, the effect of these provisions on people's livelihoods and rights over natural resources is still uncertain. The policy has not been implemented everywhere and in the same way, and the recent debate on expropriations by biofuel projects, for example, is raising high concerns (Hanlon 2011; Fairbairn 2013). From an historical and political point of view, instead, it was already observed in the first years of the implementation of the land reform that its typical mapping efforts involved a strong political dimension: the creation of 'whole new territories' in which fixed community boundaries were more congruent with the administrative borders of the local state structures than with people's conceptions about their sense of belonging, above all considering that the mobility of the rural population is a marked historical characteristic of

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[14] For more details see: Tanner (2002), Galli (2003), Hanlon (2004).

Mozambique. David Hughes, for example, explained how a mapping exercise in a community living in central Mozambique close to the boundary with Zimbabwe accomplished the 'territorialisation' of a traditional chief's polity, an example of what he calls 'cadastral politics' (Hughes 2001). In an area quite close to this example, from my personal experience in the field, the people of two rural communities often maintained that the purpose of land delimitation was "to learn the borders and to know how many people the *regulado* has",[15] and, significantly, when talking about the land delimitation or the conservation project, people always spoke about communities using the Portuguese word "*comunidade*" or even the colonial term "*regulado*", since in the local language there was no word expressing that concept. Clearly, the concept of community was something closely linked to the existence of 'the project'.

In the same context, furthermore, I was able to observe a significant phenomenon. This area was attracting a number of former refugees or displaced people, as well as new immigrants from other territories of the country in search of better opportunities. Old and new disputes arose over access to resources, and their solution was increasingly linked to the definition of who belonged to a given community and according to which criteria. References to the historical processes by which belonging to the territory was constructed, by making use of narratives of migration and settlement, intersected with new attempts at defining group membership on the base of the opportunities of the recent state policies on rural communities, led to conflicts over traditional authority and its constituency. In this regard, the newly recognised rural authorities were implementing processes of inclusion or exclusion of mobile people in their delimited communities by combining the use of old instruments—for example a kind of travelling pass, to be signed now by other traditional authorities (see more specifically Tornimbeni 2007a)—and new ones—the 'boundaries' of their rural communities as defined by the land reform process.

This system can be considered a sort of revival, at the informal level, of the old controls on people's movements which characterised the colonial

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[15] F.C., *interview*, localidade de TseTserra, distrito de Sussundenga, December 2005. The *regulado* was the local territorial unit conceived by the colonial administration under the authority of a traditional chief—the *régulo*—co-opted in the local colonial state itself. For Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, see Newitt (1995); for a discussion of the drawing of local territorial units under the authority of traditional chiefs in both colonial and post-colonial times, see Newitt and Tornimbeni (2008).

and immediate post-colonial history of central Mozambique, and which can be used to exclude certain people from settling in the new communities and from taking part to the 'development advantages' associated with it, for example when demographic pressure will have become unsustainable. Unfortunately, the new rural communities in the apparently stable political context of Mozambique[16] seem to share some elements with the groups of autochthons of Ivory Coast, where conflict broke out in the decades after 1990. To some extent, the people defined as 'external' to the new rural communities of Mozambique recall the condition of 'immigrants from the north' in the Ivorian case.

Global and Local in sub-Saharan Africa Politics and Development between Past and Present

As the case study of Mozambique shows, current discourses on local identities and the policies implementing new forms of local belonging cannot be separated from a long history of competing narratives on movement and settlement by local African societies that characterised the constitution of the political systems of the continent in recent as well as past historical eras. The extent to which in other countries of the continent African chiefs and lineage groups have been able in the past "at once to draw on national and international ideas and to ground them in local concerns and traditions" in the process of state-making, has been made clear, for example, by Alexander with reference to Zimbabwe (Alexander 2006: 8) and Feierman to Tanzania (Feierman 1990). Again, on the 'hot' issue of land, territory, identity and power in Zimbabwe, Moore introduced us to a detailed analysis of the multilevel interconnections between local power relations, the politics of colonial and post-colonial rule and the global discourses of development, showing how the historical processes characterising these connections are complex and dynamic (Moore 2005).

The various chapters in the volume on *History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa* (Peterson and Macola 2009) investigate continuities in historical knowledge, produced by 'homespun' or professional historians, from pre-colonial times. Lonsdale, in the above edited book and elsewhere (Lonsdale 2008, 2009), reflects on the changing contexts within which

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[16] While writing this paper (May-June 2013), however, military confrontation between the government of FRELIMO and its historical opponents of RENAMO has become again part of the game in central Mozambique, perhaps for the first time since the peace agreement reached in 1992.

"homespun ethno-historians" have ordered their thoughts, thinking about the kind of 'audiences' they had to confront and for what purpose. The struggles over the interpretations of the historical arguments proposed by these subjects, says Lonsdale drawing on his experience in East Africa, affected the very political history of the region in the colonial and post-colonial eras, with similarities to the ideological political struggles that characterised relations of power and authority in the pre-colonial political systems of sub-Saharan Africa (Kopytoff 1987).

The *longue durée* characterising the political and social systems of African countries in both colonial and post-colonial times is one of the perspectives adopted by Malyn Newitt in his long record of studies mainly on the societies of what is currently Mozambique, as is shown in his rich analysis of this country's history from pre-colonial times (Newitt 1995). In his chapter in this volume (Part I), he confronts us with another of his themes, the complexity of the Portuguese colonial society overseas and its relationships with politics in Lisbon and Europe, addressing, more specifically in this contribution, the international issues which, during World War Two, complicated Portugal's relations with its overseas territories.

A real historical perspective and sound theoretical stance in analysing what is considered the main feature of current times, globalisation and its flows, are to be found in the writings of the eminent Africanist historian Frederick Cooper. Ethnic diasporas and their hybrid identities, the international civil society, and the transnational networks involving people migrating, have probably been the three phenomena that have most attracted the interest of social scientists in studying transnationalism, a notion often directly linked to the idea of globalisation. The terms under which these phenomena are treated tend to suggest to the imagination of the public a picture which contrasts a past of territorial boundedness and separateness with a present marked by interconnection and multiple ties, creating transnational spaces. However, this image is not unanimously supported. Cooper, for example, maintains that crucial questions about the limits to interconnection, and about the specific characteristics of the structures needed to make connections work, have not been formulated. According to his view, Africanists should be particularly sensitive to the historical dimension of those processes that cross territorial configurations, given the way in which the boundaries of political units or even of the African continent were influenced by ideas, cultural movement or migrant processes in the past (Cooper 2001a; 2001b).

As the above focus on Mozambique also shows, the fact that wider political concepts are negotiated and/or contested at regional and local

level is not distinctive of the current historical era alone. Our effort should be to explore, for example, how global values relating to democracy and development impact on national, regional and local politics in sub-Saharan Africa in different historical circumstances, from the modernisation approach in the 1950s, 1960s and in part in the 1970s, to the 'good governance' policies of the 1990s and 2000s. This is what this edited volume will try to accomplish, by addressing a few key issues that will form the questions driving each of the sections of the book.

The core ideas behind this book originate from the organisation of a panel on "Global Values, National Citizenship and Local Belonging: Sub-Saharan Africa in Historical Perspective", which I coordinated at the 8th Iberian Conference of African Studies held in Madrid in June 2012. Some of the chapters of this book were first presented and debated within that panel. The rationale of the book was subsequently further developed within the activities of the research centre and institution to which I belong, the Centre of Historical and Political Studies on Africa and the Middle East in the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the University of Bologna, and through some of the academic links established by this group and myself over the years. The other chapters of this book come from these contexts.

After Newitt's essay on the Portuguese colonial context, presented above, Part I will analyse the trajectory of the independent nation-state and its impact on the local and national politics of citizenship, identity and development. The case-study by Arrigo Pallotti presents an analysis of democracy in Tanzania through an account of the construction of post-socialist citizenship. Mario Zamponi addresses what is perceived as the enduring crisis of the post-colonial state in Zimbabwe in relation to the historical land question, to the notion of citizenship and to the development prospects for the country. The land question in Zimbabwe is analysed from a different angle by the chapter by Marja Spierenburg, dealing with the role of religion and identity in local conflicts about land.

Part II will consider how global ideas on development are converted into practice, analysing their outcomes or how they are interpreted and negotiated at local level. The case studies presented will be the rural and agricultural development policies implemented in Mozambique focusing, in particular, on how these impact on women's empowerment and the promotion of gender equality (Roberta Pellizzoli), and a discussion on autochthony in politics and development with reference to the 'Joola tradition' in Casamance, Senegal (Beniamina Lico).

Part III will address issues of belonging and identity in relation to concepts and practices of political control. The case studies presented will

consider territorial control and political belonging in relation to oil politics in Uganda (Anders Sjögren) and the shaping of political belonging by party politics in Mozambique with an emphasis on the spatial element of local government (Simona Montanari).

The works presented in this volume contribute to address, through a context-based analysis, how local practices of citizenship, democracy and development in sub-Saharan Africa have been 'working the system' of global ideas on good governance policies and development in this continent, or how this 'system' also builds on the way in which, historically, local narratives are presented to the international context and actors.

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PART I:

CITIZENSHIP AND THE TRAJECTORY OF THE COLONIAL AND INDEPENDENT STATE

CHAPTER TWO

OPPOSITION TO THE SALAZAR REGIME
IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR:
THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES
AND THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

MALYN NEWITT

The Worldwide Portuguese State

From one perspective European colonial empires can be seen as states that were multi-ethnic and pluricontinental. In being multi-ethnic they resembled many other states or empires in history from the Roman to the Mongol, the Ottoman, the Mogul, the Chinese and the Inca, but in being pluricontinental they were distinctly innovative. Only the Mongol empire aspired to incorporate lands and peoples on a scale comparable to the Spanish, Portuguese and British but even they, after the failure of their expedition to Japan, did not seek to extend their rule across the sea. Of these pluricontinental states, that of Portugal was in many ways the most remarkable.

The worldwide Portuguese monarchy came into existence in the Atlantic in the fifteenth century and expanded into Asia and the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth. As it grew the Portuguese Crown established new kingdoms to add to the European kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarve. In Asia the Estado da Índia was ruled by a viceroy, and in West Africa the 'kingdom' of Angola by a governor. Brazil and the Atlantic Islands were captaincies—in essence quasi-feudal holdings of the Crown of Portugal, but Maranhão and Para became an *Estado* in the eighteenth century and Brazil itself finally became a kingdom in 1815 only seven years before it broke away to declare its independence.

Within the kingdoms of Portugal the subjects of the Crown, as was typical of the *ancien régime*, did not enjoy equality of rights. The