

AFRICA WORKSHOPS

APSA Africa Workshops:
Alumni e-Newsletter

With support from the
Andrew W. Mellon
Foundation

Volume 4, Issue 1 | December 2016

Table of Contents

WELCOME MESSAGES

- Message from the Editors..... 1
- A Note from APSA 2

RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

- The politics of urbanization..... 3

ANNOUNCEMENTS

- Alumni networking grants 14
- Alumni News and Publications 15

CURRENT EVENTS

- 7 things to know about elections in
Ghana 18

Contact Us

American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Ave NW
Washington, DC 20036

AFRICANEWSLETTER@APSANET.ORG

WEB.APSANET.ORG/AFRICA/

Our Mission

The APSA Africa Workshops program was an eight-year initiative, made possible through a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, to enhance scholarly networks and support political science research among early-career scholars in sub-Saharan Africa. From 2008-2015, over 230 scholars from 32 different countries took part in the program.

Message from the Editors

We enter the New Year in a time of uncertainty for democracy. Signs point toward increasing authoritarianism in places like Russia, Turkey, Egypt, and Ethiopia. The United States elected a new President that has emboldened white supremacist forces in society, and has called into question the liberal-internationalist world order. Hyper-nationalist forces are gaining strength in France, Germany and other European nations.

But it's important to also highlight that not all signs point toward democratic recession. This is particularly true in Africa.

A new Afrobarometer report finds that public demand for democracy on the continent remains higher than it did a decade ago (even though citizen demand for democracy peaked in 2012). The quality of elections matter a great deal: countries with high-quality elections are more likely to show support for democracy. Elections matter, but they are embedded in broader society.

Our jobs as Africanist social scientists are as important as ever. It is vital that we continue conducting and publishing high quality research. We must train a new generation of scholars working on uncovering the voices of the electorate. And it is essential that we support the Afrobarometer so that it can continue to shed light on the perspectives of ordinary people in as many African countries as possible.

But it is also important that we communicate these ideas effectively to the broader public. Outlets like the Washington Post's Monkey Cage blog, African Arguments, Africa Research Institute, Africa is a Country, and The Conversation have provided a great service to us all by publishing snapshots of our research for a mass audience. And the APSA Africa Workshop has encouraged African scholars to collaborate with those outside the continent, stressing the importance of doing this work together.

We hope you enjoy the issue, and we wish you the best in the final stages of 2016.

Jeffrey W. Paller
jeffrey.paller@gmail.com

George M. Bob-Milliar
Gbobmilliar.cass@knust.edu.gh

Note from APSA

I hope this message finds everyone well and enjoying the end of the semester. Thanks to Jeff and George for their work on this issue, as well as all those who contributed. After 8 years of successful Africa Workshops, we at APSA continue to support scholars and institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa. Through initiatives like our *Targeted International Membership* (<http://www.apsanet.org/MEMBERSHIP/Membership-Rates/Targeted-International-Membership-TIM>), *Small Research* (<http://www.apsanet.org/smallresearchgrant>) and *Centennial Center Grants* (<http://www.apsanet.org/centennial/grants>), and our new *Book Donation Program* (<http://www.apsanet.org/Portals/54/intlprgms/APSA Book Donation Program.pdf>), we offer several opportunities to support our members in their professional development and career advancement. Above all, we aim to promote closer interaction between political science communities, both in and outside the United States. With this in mind, we recently formed a joint committee with the African Studies Association to pursue collaborative future programming. Stay tuned for updates and new opportunities over the coming months!

In addition to the Research Symposium included here, I'd like to draw your attention to the announcement on Alumni Networking Grants. This will be the final opportunity to apply for Africa Workshops support funding. Applications for grants of up to \$2,000 to support fieldwork, conference travel, or other activities taking place on the African continent must be submitted by December 7, 2016.

I want to congratulate the alumni leaders and fellows that were invited to present at this year's APSA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, PA. For anyone interested in attending 2017 Annual Meeting in San Francisco, CA, the Call for Proposals is now open. The deadline to submit proposals is January 9. See the Meeting Website for more information: <http://web.apsanet.org/apsa2017/>.

As always, I encourage you to contribute to future newsletters through announcements, research submissions, and your feedback on how we can continue to improve this publication. I enjoyed catching up with some of you at the ASA meeting this December in Washington, DC. Best to all in the coming months and stay well!

Andrew Stinson
Associate Director
APSA International Programs
astinson@apsanet.org

Save the Afrobarometer

One of Africa's most important democracy advocacy organizations is in trouble because of a sharp decrease in donor funding. For almost two decades and across some three dozen countries, Afrobarometer has carefully recorded the attitudes of Africans towards democracy, governance, economics, and social development. The surveys of this pan-African research network have become an international gold standard for reliable and credible measurements of African public opinion. For more information, check out these links:

- USAID must save Afrobarometer: <http://www.demdigest.net/usaaid-must-save-afrobarometer-say-former-africa-bureau-officials/>.
- Save Afrobarometer: Why African Opinion Polls are Important: <http://afrobarometer.org/blogs/save-afrobarometer-why-african-opinion-polls-are-so-important>.
- Africa's largest public-opinion survey is under threat, but here's what you can do about it: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/09/africas-largest-public-opinion-survey-is-under-threat-but-heres-what-you-can-do-about-it/>.

THE POLITICS OF URBANIZATION IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION TO THE SYMPOSIUM

By George Bob-Milliar (2012) and Jeffrey W. Paller (2012)¹

Africa is in the midst of a demographic revolution. Along with Asia, it is the fastest urbanizing region in the world. By 2050, it is projected to be 56 percent urban (World Urbanization Prospects 2014). The fastest growing urban agglomerations are medium-sized and cities with less than 1 million people in Africa and Asia. As former director of UN-HABITAT Anna Tibaijuka said, "The future of Africa is urban" (State of the World 2007).

This new demographic reality is finally at the forefront of the policymaking community, as the UN's Sustainable Development Goal includes a distinctly urban goal: To make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

In October, 30,000 mayors, policymakers, and development experts gathered in Quito, Ecuador to ratify the New Urban Agenda. The document outlines policies to deal with rapid urbanization in today's world. Sustainable urban development, advocated by Habitat III, is a new brand for cities and their mayors to adopt as a way to confront the most pressing issues of our time.

In Africa, social science research can play an important role in informing this brand and best practices of sustainable urban development. Understanding how politics plays out in African cities should be part of any analysis of sustainable urban development.

Major questions of our time

As the continent rapidly urbanizes, the role of cities in broader political development will be more important than ever. Some important questions to consider include: What impact will urbanization have on national political systems? What is the political economy driving rapid urbanization? Who are the winners and losers of urbanization? What role will cities play in politics? What policies are needed to deal with the growth of cities?

This symposium provides a very general overview of the politics of urbanization across Africa. It outlines the major challenges and opportunities that urbanization present, as well as discuss the ways forward for political systems in an era of urban growth.

Edward Paice begins the forum with a general overview of urbanization on the continent. He suggests thinking about Habitat III as a "critical opportunity for Africa," one that can leverage valuable assets of urban agglomeration to induce economic growth and democratic development.

Dennis Chirawurah then provides an overview of the findings from the first deliberative poll in urban Africa. Residents living in and around Tamale, Ghana deliberated about issues of sanitation, food security, and hygiene. The findings suggest that citizens are important players in the urbanization process, and that collective discussion can improve prospects for sustainable urban development.

The final piece documents a very timely event: the eviction of 30,000 residents from a slum in Lagos, Nigeria. Using pictures and quotes, the short piece brings a human face to the challenges that urbanization entails. While it does not provide any rigorous academic analysis, it calls for more sustained research on the politics of eviction in Africa's rapidly growing cities.

¹ George Bob-Milliar is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History & Political Studies at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology. Jeffrey W. Paller is Assistant Professor of Politics at University of San Francisco.

HABITAT III: “A CRITICAL OPPORTUNITY FOR AFRICA”

By Edward Paice²

The aim of the UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Metcalf and Poon 2016) was formally to adopt the “New Urban Agenda”, a 23-page document intended to guide national governments globally in pursuit of sustainable urbanisation, and discuss its implementation (Citiscopo).

The role of urbanisation as a (potential) driver of sustainable development has been recognised at the highest level in Africa. The African Union’s Agenda 2063 development plan recognises that urbanisation “can provide transformative opportunities for Africa, but also [presents] serious challenges” (African Union).

The 65-page Habitat III Regional Report for Africa prepared by UN-Habitat and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) drew on national reports from 26 countries (Habitat III). It was circulated for comment in February 2016 at a regional high-level meeting held in Abuja, Nigeria. The objective of the report was to inform the Habitat III process. It asserts that if Africa is to exploit a “unique opportunity to reverse [persistent negative] trends”, urbanisation “needs to be well planned and sustainable”.

The Regional Report for Africa comprises an introduction and six chapters encapsulating the challenges and opportunities presented by rapid urban growth. The lead author was Dr Beacon Mbiba (Senior Lecturer, School of the Built Environment, Oxford Brookes University), who recently spoke at Africa Research Institute, and the team leader Dr Edlam Abera Yemeru (Chief, Urbanisation Section, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa).

In a somewhat curious – no doubt political – disclaimer, the draft report states that “views expressed in this document do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations HABITAT, the

² Edward Paice is Director of the Africa Research Institute. This article was previously published on the Africa Research Institute website on October 20, 2016.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa or Member States of the United Nations and the African Union”. Despite the disclaimer, in the light of this comprehensive and realistic report no government on the continent can justifiably claim not to be aware of the major drivers, opportunities and pitfalls of urbanisation in Africa.

Africa Research Institute (ARI) has a longstanding interest in urbanisation. In this inevitably subjective summary, ARI’s director Edward Paice selects salient facts and features from the report.

For ease of reference, the salient points selected have been grouped under the headings:

General

-African cities already contribute between 50% and 70 percent to the continent’s GDP. The African Development Bank’s Urban Development Strategy document suggests the contribution is 55%.

-Rapid urban growth represents an unprecedented opportunity to accelerate the structural transformation of Africa through industrialization, high value added services, higher agricultural productivity and the transition of informal employment into formalised employment. These are imperative to ensure economic growth translates into more inclusive development through increased – and decent – job opportunities and enhanced fiscal space.

-At present, rapid urbanisation in Africa is taking place amidst high unemployment and under-employment, insecure and unhealthy jobs, poverty and rising inequality: it is therefore “delinked” from economic growth and industrialisation, contrary to the experience of other world regions. Urban growth has also, in most cases, been unplanned and poorly managed and thus is characterised by informality, inequality and poverty while posing risks for the environment.

-All stakeholders concur that Africa has to turn its youth bulge into a demographic dividend and avoid turning it into a demographic albatross. Urbanisation needs to play a central role.

-Given the scale and speed of urban growth in Africa and the related implications, urbanisation cannot be seen as a local development issue or a sectoral issue only. It is a national development and strategic issue that requires a cross-sectoral approach and mainstreaming in national development plans.

-For Africa to harness the significant potential of urbanisation and urban growth and to mitigate the real and likely debilitating negative effects, concerted policy interventions will be needed in at least four interconnected spheres: urban financial health; urban institutions and governance; physical health, spatial planning and design; political will.

Demography

-Since the early 1990s urban population growth has been consistently high, at 3.49% a year vs. total population growth of 2.46%. The annual rate at which Africa has urbanised is therefore 1.03% a year. From a policymaking point of view, it is important to distinguish between urban population growth and growth in urbanisation levels.

-Population growth is rapid in both urban and rural areas, driven by persistent high fertility rates in some populous countries – in particular Nigeria, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Uganda. Major infrastructure investment is required in both domains – it is not a choice between the two.

-Rural to urban migration has declined from accounting for 40% of urban growth in the 1970s to below 30%. Natural population growth in city populations is now the predominant driver of urban population growth. Reclassification of peri-urban areas and rural settlements as urban areas is a further factor contributing to urban population growth.

-Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania are among the larger African countries where the urban median age is below 25 years.

-The annual growth of Rwanda's urban population – 6.68% – is the highest in Africa. Its capital city, Kigali, has 48% of the country's total urban

population.

-Africa's population continues to exhibit "circularity", characterised by rural-urban, urban-rural, urban-urban, rural-rural and cross-border movements that are not as pronounced in other parts of the world.

-The urbanisation level of 40% in 2010 is expected to reach 60% by 2050 with the number of urban dwellers increasing from 400 million to 1.26 billion.

-Since the 1990s a number of countries, including Zambia and Lesotho, have experienced periods of de-urbanisation, when the percentage of the population living in cities declines. The main drivers of this phenomenon are economic crises, high urban costs of living, better service provision in rural areas than cities and health crises such as HIV/AIDS.

-Three of the continent's "megacities" – Cairo, Lagos and Kinshasa – each have populations larger than those of Africa's 36 least populous countries.

-The momentum of urbanisation is likely to shift from megacities to intermediate cities and small towns which suffer significant infrastructure, governance and finance deficits that need urgent redress. The bulk of the growth will be absorbed by informal settlements and informal economies.

-27 African states have conducted credible censuses since 1996. However governments report limited capacity to expand and maintain improvements in the collection of vital data.

Economy and finance

-Between the 1960s and 1990s, Africa's urbanisation occurred at much lower levels of income and economic growth compared to other continents. Consequently, governments were left with insufficient capacity to finance capital investments in urban infrastructure, housing and services.

-Africa's urbanisation has been characterised as

growth in “consumption cities”, where industrialisation and manufacturing are declining or yet to develop; and by informality, urban sprawl, increasing inequality and persistent slum formation. As many governments have recognised, removing this structural weakness is a priority as economic growth since the 1960s has been jobless growth or with jobs created in low productivity informal and service sectors.

-Economic growth since 1996 was higher than average population growth, a marked contrast to the two previous decades. The real GDP growth per capita (2.4% a year) has outstripped the growth in urbanisation level (1.1%) for a significant number of countries, but it has remained lower than the 3.5% urban growth rate.

-In Sub-Saharan Africa, informal employment comprises 66% of all non-agricultural employment. In Kenya, for example, as much as 76% of the labour force is now in the informal economy.

-Rather than existing as marginal activities at the periphery of urban economies, statistics demonstrate that informal economy workers and enterprises make up a substantial proportion of core workers and enterprises in African cities and are engaged in some of the most critical sectors.

-Urbanisation has not enhanced the linkages between the rural and urban economies required for broad based development. As economies mostly remain export-oriented, the growth in demand for basic foodstuffs has been met through rising imports valued at US\$25 billion a year. Growing urban populations generate real opportunities for agricultural production and value addition.

-Africa’s structural transformation will not happen without the continent taking charge of financing its development. Yet Africa’s debt burden endures, and when combined with systemic and sustained illegal financial out-flows the continent is a net creditor to the world.

-Improvements have been observed in municipal finance and local revenue generation but this has not matched the level of the investments required

to respond to rapid urban growth. In many urban centres, potential revenues have not been fully exploited.

-As urbanisation intensifies in a country, and especially if income levels increase, land becomes increasingly important in financing sustainable urban development. Local and national authorities still have a long way to go in terms of maximising urban land value capture through appropriate policies, legislation and taxation.

-An increasing number of municipalities have informal economy policies that have benefited both the workers and the local authorities. However, municipalities face pressure from economic and political interests that see the informal economy as a “problem” and ignore the jobs and income that it generates.

-For structural change to happen, policies, strategies and regulations are needed that will make Africa’s emerging small and medium towns not just a collection of new consumer markets for global goods and sources of cheap labour, but a place for innovations and thousands of new, competitive and highly distributive SMEs.

Housing, services and social inclusion

-Recent UN-Habitat data shows that the proportion of Africa’s population living in slums has been falling, from 62% in 1990 to 40% in 2014. There are significant regional and national variations. However, the high proportions and numbers of people living in slums remains of grave concern. Slums are the most extreme embodiment of multi-dimensional exclusion in African cities.

-The housing crisis is acute. Access to public transport and public space are crucial factors for social inclusion and poverty reduction.

-Poor urban services and unhealthy environments affect the poor, women and children the most. At the lowest income levels, health indicators for poor urban residents are often equivalent to, or worse than, those of their rural counterparts.

-WHO/UNICEF data shows that Africa’s urban

population with access to improved clean water and sanitation has risen in aggregate terms, but declined in proportionate terms since 1996. The urban population using piped drinking water accessed on the premises declined from 53.9% (127 million people) in 1995 to 50.3% (166 million people) in 200 and was about 45.5% (215 million people) in 2015.

-Few African governments have implemented programmes to provide legal security of tenure, equal access to land and housing for all and protection from arbitrary evictions. In most countries, the majority of urban residents are still slum dwellers who occupy land whose rights and records are largely secured by informal systems not recognised by governments.

-Since 2000, Social Tenure Domain Models (STDM) based on participatory approaches and techniques to land information and record management have proven to be cost-effective, flexible, affordable, pro-poor and gender sensitive.

-Participatory community policing to prevent crime and to support/ complement national police forces is a common initiative in many countries, although with varying degrees of effectiveness.

-African states need proactive and sustained national policies to deliver housing and services.

Environment

-In the context of Agenda 2063, Africa has a unique opportunity to configure its infrastructure to lead in the emerging low carbon economy as opposed to replicating the fossil fuel dependent models used thus far.

-A major trend and environmental challenge facing urban Africa is spatial expansion and urban sprawl. There is a pressing need for compact city strategies and designs.

-Urban Africa faces increasing water scarcity due to droughts and lack of investment in water infrastructure. Aquifers are depleting fast.

-National and local governments have insufficient resources to manage the growing waste problem. Waste management is often one of the largest budget items for urban authorities.

-It seems the biggest hurdle to make planning interventions to reduce the ecological footprint of cities and address urban sprawl is a combination of lack of political will, weak institutional governance and inappropriate laws, rules and regulations.

Governance

-The Habitat Agenda recognises that sustainable human settlements can only be achieved through decentralised, accountable, citizen driven and financially secure local authorities. It calls for decentralised and locally accountable urban governance embracing increased citizen participation in decisions on issues affecting them; to select and de-select those who represent and those who govern them; and increased fiscal autonomy.

-Incomplete decentralisation has compromised delivery of sustainable urban development.

-Weak local government finances are compounded by a culture of political patronage; corruption is tolerated at all levels of governance.

-“Cost recovery” or “pay as you go” services appear to penalise the poor more than the rich. If they continue to expand as in other parts of the world, local governments would have to invest more in participatory governance – such as participatory budgeting – to enhance the chances of success for such programmes.

-Performance related grants to urban authorities have been piloted in many countries since the 1990s with some positive results.

-Urban planning and management laws are often discredited because they are outdated and not socially necessary or relevant. New compacts are needed to design socially necessary and relevant regulations for urban management that are

binding to both leaders and ordinary citizens.

-Most African governments at national and local levels face technical, human and financial limitations to plan for and manage rapid urbanisation.

-Countries are not taking urbanisation into account in their national development plans as a transversal mega trend.

-Land, which is poorly managed by urban authorities, needs to be viewed as potentially the main source of revenue to increase income available to spend per capita.

DELIBERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: GHANA'S FIRST DELIBERATIVE POLL

By Dennis Chirawurah³

The first Deliberative Poll conducted in Ghana took place over a weekend in January 2015 in Tamale. The issues for deliberation over the two-days concerned water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), and livelihoods and food security. Critics have said that deliberative democracy methods are more suitable only for highly educated populations in the most developed countries. Our findings suggest otherwise.

This project reports on that challenge, and shows how new methods may be employed to consult people who have to live with policy options in developing countries.

208 participants from a representative sample from in and around Tamale participated in the poll. They deliberated on 38 different policy proposals that ranged from food security to sanitation to agriculture.

What is deliberative polling?

Citizens are often uninformed about key public issues. Conventional polls represent the public's surface impressions of sound bites and headlines.

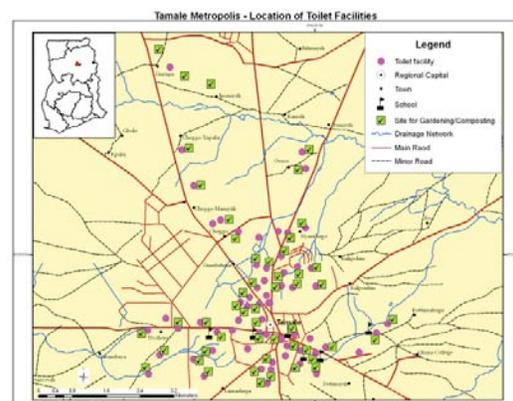
³ Dennis Chirawurah is lecturer at the University of Development Studies. His collaborators on the project are J. Fishkin, N. Santuah, A Siu, A. Bawah, K. Giles, and G. Kranjac-Berisavljevic.

The public, subject to what social scientists have called "rational ignorance," has little reason to confront trade-offs or invest time and effort in acquiring information or coming to a considered judgment.

Deliberative Polling[®] uses public opinion research in new and constructive ways. A random, representative sample is first polled on the targeted issues. After this baseline poll, members of the sample are invited to gather at a single place for a weekend in order to discuss the issues. Carefully balanced briefing materials are sent to the participants and are also made publicly available. The participants engage in dialogue with competing experts and political leaders based on questions they develop in small group discussions with trained moderators. After the deliberations, the sample is again asked the original questions. The resulting changes in opinion represent the conclusions the public would reach, if people had opportunity to become more informed and more engaged by the issues.

Tamale, Ghana

Tamale, the administrative and commercial capital of northern Ghana, is the country's third most-populated city with a population of 461,072 in 2010. The 26% increase in population over the last decade outstripped the government's capacity to provide sufficient water resources, sanitation and hygiene infrastructure. Investments made by the government in recent years have been ineffective in improving the situation. As a result, Tamale residents suffer from a range of problems including disease and food insecurity.



Results

Whether to allow wastewater on crops is one of the most difficult decisions that Tamale residents must make. They must decide between short-term food security versus health outcomes. One of the strongest results of the poll is that after deliberation, participants were significantly more willing to emphasize clean water to avoid disease even at the cost of food security.

The qualitative interviews are telling. One participant mentioned the following: "I think it is better for us to use very clean water to grow our vegetables. If at the end of the day the produce is little and yet I have healthy vegetables to consume that would keep me disease free, I think it is much better. Much better than a situation where they would use water from toilets to water the vegetables, get bumper harvests and yet the produce wouldn't be good for our health. Using clean water should be the way to go."

There is an evident choice between deliberative and participatory methods, and the deliberative approach should not be dismissed on the grounds that it is only applicable to the most advanced and developed countries.

Another: "[Banning waste water for farming] will end people's jobs but it is right they ban it because if they don't ban it and they use that dirty water when we get diseases. We are going to eat the money that should have provided the clean water is the same money they will channel to the health sector so that the diseased food we have eaten and are now sick from is the money for providing the clean water will be used to seek cure for our health."

Other policies that gained support after deliberation included:

- Low cost treatment of wastewater for farming with charcoal.
- Promoting the use of drip irrigation.
- Providing water tanks for rainwater harvesting.
- 8 of the top 10 proposals after deliberation reflect the high priority on fighting disease.

Top Five Proposals After Deliberation

Question	Pre	Post	Post -Pre	Sig.
39. Promote public education for effective cholera control	9.46	9.71	0.25	0.001***
37. Implement a systematic plan to control mosquitoes	9.09	9.52	0.43	0.001***
27. Intensify the hand washing campaign in schools	9.26	9.51	0.25	0.008***
34. Ensure regular desilting of gutters	9.24	9.51	0.27	0.005***
23. Promote the use of environmentally-friendly toilets in all houses	9.27	9.48	0.21	0.052**

Conclusion

Development policies around the world would be improved if decision makers went to the trouble to foster representative and informed deliberation. Rather than simply impose one set of contested expert solutions rather than another, we believe it is better to achieve buy-in from the public to give the solutions legitimacy and to better understand the sources of resistance and support. This study demonstrates that deliberation works in developed countries, as well as rapidly urbanizing spaces in Africa.

THE POLITICS OF FORCED EVICTIONS AND SLUM DEMOLITIONS

An overview⁴

Africa is experiencing 3.5 percent annual urban population growth, the highest regional urbanization rate in the world (African Development Bank 2012). A result of this rapid urbanization is the growth of slums across the continent, where an estimated 200 million people live, and equaling 62 percent of the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa (UN-HABITAT 2011; Arimah 2010). The growth of informal settlements has contributed to international development policies that prioritize the eradication of slums through formalization, slum upgrading, and infrastructure development

⁴ Lagos Coordinator Rasheed Shittu and co-director Andrew Maki of the Justice & Empowerment Initiatives, and Jeffrey Paller contributed to this report.

(Cities Alliance 2006).

Eviction threats and slum demolitions are common tools that governments use to curb the rise of informal settlements and establish social control over its population. In 2007-8, governments issued 835 eviction threats, affecting 4,312,161 people (COHRE 2008). But threats are also tools that governments use to maintain the status quo. For governments, the best-case scenario is that nothing happens; the worst case is that the situation is taken to court in an underdeveloped justice system. Governments face difficult circumstances due to domestic political pressures because residents in the communities are often voters and party activists, and the global context that espouses values of human rights. This often leads to a state-community deadlock where the residents continue living under the threat of forced eviction for an extended period of time.

But the local political economy also shapes demolitions and evictions. State governments often use demolitions as a way to make urban slums intelligible (Ghertner 2010). For example, Operation Murambatsvina (“Restore Order”) in Zimbabwe was a tool of state repression, while also serving the electoral purposes of the governing ZANU-PF political party (Potts 2006; Kamete 2009). Demolitions in Kenya have been used as a means to curb popular dissent, as well as a way to punish opponents and reward loyal followers (Klopp 2008). While justified as responses to “public nuisances” or public health crises, demolitions serve powerful political interests by attaching the problem facing cities to these “illegal spaces” that are morally objectionable (Ghertner 2008; Macharia 1992).

In urban settings, evictions and demolitions are an understudied, yet critical part of the development process. But the daily motivations and interactions that underlie demolitions can constrain prospects for sustainable urban development, despite state-building, attention to planning, and increases in social capital. The motivations of actors on the ground are often different from the public statements made by key stakeholders, electoral incentives of politicians, and planning objectives that form the basis for policies of sustainable urban transformation.

The following example of the recent demolition of homes in Otodo Gbame demonstrates the importance of the local political economy to housing rights and security.

Demolition in Lagos, Nigeria

On November 9, 2016 approximately 30,000 residents of Otodo Gbame and many more from Ebute-Ikate were forcefully evicted from their homes. Otodo Gbame is an ancestral fishing village located off the MTN Project Fame Road in Lagos, Nigeria.



A press release from the Nigerian Slum/Informal Settlement Federation issued the following statement in its press release: “The forced eviction of Otodo Gbame community commenced on the morning of 9 November 2016 when police began assisting a group of thugs led by a member of the Elegushi Chieftaincy family to set fire to houses, businesses, and community facilities. When residents tried to quench the fires, the police chased them away with teargas and bullets, forcing residents to rush into the Lagos Lagoon. Several persons drowned.”

After midnight, the police came back with bulldozers and demolished the rest of the structures. They also set fire to many of the properties.

The residents are left without homes, contributing to a new humanitarian crisis. Evictees lost access to clean water, food, and other basic needs. On the evening of November 13, police came to set fire to the approximately 100 traditional bamboo houses that remained

above the Lagoon. One community member was handcuffed and arrested when he tried to present the police with a copy of the court injunction.

Role of the courts

The demolition was in direct violation of a recent court injunction that ordered to stop the planned demolition of structures across waterfronts in the State by the Lagos State Government (LASG). Justice Adeniyi Onigbanjo granted the injunction during a court hearing on November 7, 2016 (Insidemainland.com).



The Nigerian Slum/Informal Settlement Federation wrote a letter to the judge urging the importance of human rights, as well as emphasizing their "right to the city." The group argued that "we belong to the city and we have a right to the city as well as a right to shelter and livelihood. Forceful eviction is not only unlawful, it is also ineffective. It will also not solve whatever problem your administration hopes to solve."

While the slum dwellers appeared to have the law on their sides, the Elegushi Chieftaincy nonetheless moved forward with the demolition.

Rising property values

As cities grow, property values rise. The Otodo Gbame settlement sits on valuable oceanfront property. To complicate matters, indigenous families and customary authorities are custodians of all land. While family members and traditional authorities might have allocated land to the government or private families in the past,

property deals are often undocumented in the official record, and property rights and land title remains ambiguous and insecure.

Community members think that that the Elegushi family wants to profit off the sale of the land on which the Otodo Gbame settlement sits, and sell off to developers who will build homes for wealthy people. They hired "thugs" to evict the slum dwellers, and received the backing of the police to further set fire to the homes and demolish the structures.



Supporters and opponents

On November 15, the President offered his support for the demolition. This is despite the fact that most residents support the ruling APC government. The governor has not issued a statement, and it is unclear where the local government stands on the issue. The residents are protesting at the local government and drumming up support of human rights activists and organizations in the international community.



Internationally backed human rights organizations have been adamant supporters of the residents of Otodo Gbame. Amnesty International issued a statement saying, "The

authorities involved in this destruction are in flagrant violation of the law (Reuters 11/11/16)."

The UN Special Rapporteur on the right to housing Leilani Farha also offered a strong statement, "It has been brought to my attention that the evictions may have involved the extreme use of force and fire by the Nigerian police force and Lagos State Government, leaving individuals and families scrambling in the middle of the night to find safety and shelter...The mass displacement and reports of four deaths are deeply disturbing."

"What makes these evictions particularly concerning is that they were carried out in blatant disregard of a court order and have completely ignored international human rights guidelines on forced evictions.

"International law is clear: there must be consultation with the affected community, all alternative options to eviction must be explored, and a resettlement plan must be in place should the evictions be carried out. Under no circumstances should force or fire be used."

In Nigeria, the internationally funded affiliate of Shack/Slum Dwellers International Justice & Empowerment Initiatives provides capacity building support and legal resources to the

residents of Otodo Gbame. They also help with organizing protesters and strategizing next steps in the struggle for housing and legal rights for slum dwellers across the country.

What this means for the New Urban Agenda

Jaideep Gupte writes on the blog for the Institute of Development Studies: "Barely has the dust from Habitat III settled, and we have already seen the mass persecution of slum dwellers, this time in the Nigerian city of Lagos. Residents and civil society groups (e.g. @justempower) describe the collusion between the Nigerian Police and the Lagos Municipal authorities, who have instrumentally used local gangs to set fires to the settlement."

The local political economy contributes to the development process in urbanizing Africa. It can also place serious constraints on the principles of sustainable urban development outlined at Habitat III. It is clear that the political battles between international human rights activists, slum residents, traditional authorities, and the government plays out in local communities. The outcomes of the political struggle will largely shape prospects for sustainable development for years to come.

References

THE POLITICS OF URBANIZATION IN AFRICA: INTRODUCTION TO THE SYMPOSIUM

World Urbanization Prospects 2014. Available: <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2014-Report.pdf>.

Worldwatch Institute. "State of the World 2007: Our Urban Future." Available: <http://www.worldwatch.org/files/pdf/State%20of%20the%20World%202007.pdf>.

HABITAT III: "A CRITICAL OPPORTUNITY FOR AFRICA"

Africa Research Institute. 27 May 2016. "Sustainable funding for Africa's cities." Available: <http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/event/sustainable-funding-for-africas-cities/>.

African Union. "About Agenda 2063." Available: <http://agenda2063.au.int/en/about>.

Citiscopes. "What is the New Urban Agenda?" Available: <http://citiscopes.org/habitatIII/explainer/2015/06/what-new-urban-agenda>.

Habitat III. "National Reports." Available: <https://www2.habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/regions/Africa>.

Metcalfe, John and Linda Poon. 15 October 2016. "Everything you need to know about the momentous Habitat III." *The Atlantic CityLab*. Available: http://www.citylab.com/politics/2016/10/habitat-iii-summit- united-nations-quito-new-urban-agenda/503927/?utm_content=buffera6f42&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer.

DELIBERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: GHANA'S FIRST DELIBERATIVE POLL

Center for Deliberative Polling, Stanford University. "Livelihood and Food Security, Sanitation, and Hygiene in Tamale, Ghana." Available: <http://cdd.stanford.edu/2015/livelihood-and-food-security-sanitation-and-hygiene-in-tamale-ghana/>.

U.S. Global Development Lab. "What People Say When They Truly Speak: Results from Ghana's First Deliberative Poll." Available: <http://www.ranlab.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Ghana-DP-Report.pdf>.

THE POLITICS OF FORCED EVICTIONS AND SLUM DEMOLITIONS

African Development Bank Group. 13 December 2012. "Urbanization in Africa." Available: www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-across-africa/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/.

Arimah, B.C. 2010. "The Face of Urban Poverty: Explaining the Prevalence of Slums in Developing Countries." *UNU-WIDER Working Paper* 30.

Cities Alliance. 2006. *Guide to city Development Strategies*. Washington DC.

Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE). 2008. *Global Survey on Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights 2007-8*.

Ghertner, A. 2008. "Analysis of New Legal Discourse behind Delhi's Slum Demolitions." *Economic and Political Weekly* 43 (20): 57, 59-66.

Ghertner, A. 2010. "Calculating without numbers: Aesthetic governmentality in Delhi's slums." *Economy & Society* 39.2, 185-217.

- Insidemainland.com. "Lagos High Court Grants Injunction to Stop LASG Planned Demolition of Waterfront Structures." Available: <http://insidemainland.com/2016/11/08/lagos-high-court-grants-injunction-stop-lasg-planned-demolition-waterfront-structures/>.
- Kamete, A.Y. 2009. "In the Service of Tyranny: Debating the Role of Planning in Zimbabwe's Urban 'Clean-up' Operation." *Urban Studies* 46 (4): 897-922.
- Klopp, J.M. 2008. "Remembering the Destruction of Muoroto: Slum Demolitions, Land and Democratisation in Kenya." *African Studies* 67 (3): 295-314.
- Macharia, K. 1992. "Slum Clearance and the Informal Economy in Nairobi." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 43 (2): 221-236.
- Potts, D. 2006. "'Restoring Order'? Operation Murambatsvina and the Urban Crisis in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32 (2): 273-291.
- Reuters. "Amnesty calls on Nigeria to stop demolishing more settlements after 30,000 become homeless." 11 November 2016. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN1361U0>.
- UN-HABITAT 2011. *State of the World's Cities 2010/11: Cities for All: Bridging the Urban Divide*. www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=8051&catid=7&typeid=46.
- United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. "Nigeria: UN experts seeks urgent answer on 'brutal' eviction of 30,000 people." Available: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20884&LangID=E>.

Announcements

ALUMNI NETWORKING GRANTS

Africa Workshops alumni are encouraged to apply for small grants during the final round of Alumni Networking Grants. Grants of up to \$2,000 are available to support activities such as: 1) presenting at a conference or taking part in a workshop or training program held at an African institution 2) conducting field research in Africa, 3) hosting a mini-conference, working group, or small workshop at an institution in Africa, or 4) other projects/activities which support research and scholarly development taking place in Africa. Application instructions can be found on the Africa Workshops website (<http://web.apsanet.org/africa/alumni-grants/>); feel free to e-mail astinson@apsanet.org with any questions. The deadline for submission is December 7, 2016.

CFP: BEING A NON-VIOLENT YOUTH IN CONFLICT CONTEXTS

European Conference for African Studies

Convenors: Tarila Ebiede (University of Leuven) and Akin Iwilade (Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife)

Abstract: Even in the most brutal conflicts, it is not uncommon to find youth who employ non-violent tactical agency as a tool to navigate the precarious environments they live in. Yet, conflict research often ignores this category, focusing instead on violent youth. This panel seeks theoretical and empirical contributions that shed light on the activities of young people who choose non-violent strategies in societies that are experiencing violent conflicts. The panel organizers welcome papers that focus on either individual actors or youth groups. We are particularly interested in papers that are based on empirical data from field research in rural and urban areas in Africa. Papers submitted to this panel should provide answers to the following questions: Why do some youths choose non-violent tactics in violent contexts? How do non-violent youth participate in violent conflicts? How do non-violent youth groups emerge in societies experiencing violent conflicts? What factors sustain non-violent youth groups in societies experiencing violent conflicts?

Please email Tarila Ebiede at marclint@gmail.com.

ALUMNI NEWS AND PUBLICATIONS

Over the past year, many of our alumni (both participants and co-leaders) were invited to present their research and participate in conferences across the United States, including at APSA's Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, PA, and the African Studies Association's Annual Meeting in Washington, DC. See "Conference Presentations" on the website for more information: <http://web.apsanet.org/africa/conference-presentations/>.

If you would like to submit an announcement to be included in future Alumni News, send your updates directly to africanewsletter@apsanet.org. Please join us in congratulating the following alumni for their continued professional accomplishments!

2009 Alumni – Accra, Ghana

- Freedom Onuoha has been appointed as a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at University of Nigeria-Nsukka.
- Keith Weghorst (Vanderbilt University) co-authored the article "The 2015 National Elections in Tanzania" in *Electoral Studies* 43.

2010 Alumni – Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

- Herman Touo (University of Ngaoundere) published his article "La sélection des candidats aux élections au Cameroun : de l'impératif de démocratie interne au choix autoritaire" in *Cahiers Juridiques et Politiques* 2016.
- Aili Mari Tripp (University of Wisconsin-Madison) is coordinating a research project on Women and Peacebuilding in Africa, funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Foreign Ministry of Norway (\$961,600), involving research in northern Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Algeria, Norway, and the United States; she also published the article "Women's Movements and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia." *Politics & Gender* 12, no. 1.
- S.N. Nyeck (Canterbury Christ Church University) published a chapter entitled "Queer fragility and Christian social ethics: A political interpolation of the Catholic Church in Cameroon" in *Christianity and Controversies over Homosexuality in Contemporary Africa* (Routledge, 2016), and edited the book *Public Procurement Reform and Governance in Africa* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2016) – listen to a podcast of Sybille discussing this research: <http://www.publicprocurementpodcast.eu/new-blog-avenue/2016/11/4/26-s-n-nyeck-canterbury-christ-church-university>.

2011 Alumni – Nairobi, Kenya

- Ryan Briggs (Virginia Tech) co-authored the article "Gender and location in African politics scholarship: The other white man's burden?" in *African Affairs* 115, no. 460
- Carl LeVan (American University) published the book *Dictators and Democracy in African Development: The Political Economy of Good Governance in Nigeria* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Warigia Bowman (University of Arkansas) co-authored the article "Censorship or self-control? Hate speech, the state and the voter in the Kenyan election of 2013" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 54.
- Ladan Affi (Qatar University) co-authored the article "Countering piracy through private security in the Horn of Africa: prospects and pitfalls" in *Third World Quarterly* 37, no. 5
- Richard Asante (University of Ghana-Legon) has taken a one-year scholar-in-residence position, in International Relations and Politics, at Pomona College in Claremont, California.

2012 Alumni – Gaborone, Botswana

- Felicia Odame (University for Development Studies-Wa) completed her PhD in Endogenous Development in April 2016.
- The most recent African Politics Conference Group (APCG) Newsletter (vol. 12, no. 2) featured a Symposium on “Challenges to Studying African Politics in the era of DA-RT” with contributions by Fatai Aremu (University of Ilorin), Lauren MacLean (Indiana University), and Aili Mari Tripp (University of Wisconsin-Madison).
- Lauren MacLean received the David Collier Mid-Career Achievement Award from the APSA Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Organized Section.
- Jeffrey Paller (University of San Francisco) published the essay “How to build the better cities of tomorrow? It takes careful planning – and political science research” on The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage blog on October 20:
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/10/20/how-to-build-the-better-cities-of-tomorrow-it-takes-careful-planning-and-political-science-research/?wpisrc=nl_cage&wpm=1.
- George Bob-Milliar (Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology) has taken a six-month position as visiting research fellow to the Center of African Studies at Cambridge University.



FELICIA ODAME (2012) AT HER PHD GRADUATION CEREMONY IN APRIL 2016.

2013 Alumni – Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

- Béranger Avohoueme (Université d’Abomey-Calavi) completed his PhD in Sociologie-Anthropologie du développement, with a dissertation on “Land, decentralization and powers in Benin, West Africa”
- Iissouf Binaté (Université Alassane Ouattara de Bouaké) published a chapter entitled “Muslim NGOs in Côte d’Ivoire: Towards an Islamic Culture of Charity” in *Faith and Charity: Religion and Humanitarian Assistance in West Africa* (Pluto Press, 2016)
- Edmond Mballa Elanga (l’Université de Douala-Cameroun) edited the book *La Ville en Afrique noire : réalités d’aujourd’hui* (Edilivre, 2016), based on papers presented at the first regional meeting of Réseau des Jeunes Chercheurs en Sciences Sociales d’Afrique Centrale (REJAC) in May 2015
- Adrienne Vanvyve (Université libre de Bruxelles) published her article “L’erosion de l’autorité musulmane a Ouagadougou: le discours de militants de l’Association des Elèves et Etudiants Musulmans au Burkina” in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des etudes africaines* 50, no. 1
- Boniface Dulani (University of Malawi) co-authored the article “Detecting manipulation in authoritarian elections: Survey-based methods in Zimbabwe” in *Electoral Studies* 42
- Catherine Kelly (American Bar Association) published the essay “Here’s everything you need to know about Senegal’s recent referendum” on The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage blog on April 3:
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/04/03/heres-everything-you-need-to-know-about-senegals-recent-referendum/>.

2014 Alumni – Maputo, Mozambique

- Anne Frugé (University of Maryland) published the essay “The opposite of Brexit: African Union launches an all-Africa passport” on The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage blog on July 1: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/07/01/the-opposite-of-brexit-african-union-launches-an-all-africa-passport/>.
- Diana Greenwald (University of Michigan) published the essay “Next month’s Palestinian local elections aren’t happening. Here’s why” on The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage blog on September 20: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/20/palestinian-local-elections-were-postponed-heres-why-pa-leaders-may-feel-threatened/?wpisrc=nl_cage&wpmm=1.
- Isaac Adegbenga Aladegbola has taken a position in the Department of Political Science at Ekiti State University-Ado Ekiti, Nigeria, and co-authored the article “Politics of Policies: the Quest for Qualitative Education in Nigeria” in *AFRIKA: Journal of Politics, Economic & Society* 6, no. 1.

2015 Alumni – Nairobi, Kenya

- Tarila Marclint Ebiede (Center for Research on Peace and Development, KU Leuven) published the essay “Militants are devastating Nigeria’s oil industry again. Here’s what you need to know” on The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage blog on July 11: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/07/11/militants-are-again-devastating-nigerias-oil-industry-heres-the-background-you-wont-find-elsewhere/>.
- Jacob Dut Chol (University of Juba) published the essay “South Sudan’s Leaders have Tarnished the Dreams of Independence for their People” on the Africa at LSE blog on August 8: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2016/08/08/south-sudans-leaders-have-tarnished-the-dreams-of-independence-for-their-people/>.
- Beth Whitaker (UNC-Charlotte) published the essay “The Politics of Closing Refugee Camps” on the Political Violence @ a Glance blog on June 22: <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/06/22/the-politics-of-closing-refugee-camps/>.



JACOB DUT CHOL (2015), TEMILOLA GEORGE (2015), AND KIZITO SABALA (2015) IN ABUJA AT A POLICY DIALOGUE ON RECS AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA: LESSONS FROM IGAD AND ECOWAS.



ANDREW STINSON (APSA) AND ODETTE MURARA (2015) IN POLAND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION’S WORLD CONGRESS.

7 THINGS TO UNDERSTAND ABOUT ELECTIONS IN GHANA

By George Bob-Milliar (2012) and Jeffrey W. Paller (2012)⁵

Ghana is considered the beacon of democracy in Africa with two peaceful turnovers of power and no experience of widespread electoral violence (Whitfield 2009). But ahead of the 7 December vote there are some areas of concern (Bekoe and Burchard 2016). There is a new, and untested, head of the electoral commission (Mensah 2016), Charlotte Osei; prevailing economic challenges include high youth unemployment and unsustainable debt levels; allegations of corruption and institutional weakness, particularly in the judiciary, persist. Electricity outages continue to affect citizens on a daily basis. Nonetheless, even hotly disputed elections will not necessarily result in violence.

Here are 7 things to understand about Ghana's elections.

1. It's the campaign, stupid

Ethnic arrangements shape the electoral terrain (Fridy 2007), and programmatic and identity concerns influence voters' behavior (Lindberg and Morrison 2008)— but campaigns win elections in Ghana. The New Patriotic Party's (NPP) presidential aspirant, Nana Akufo-Addo, and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) of President John Mahama are running strong campaigns in 2016. Both candidates have used social media to reach out to voters, and have organised sophisticated political machines to get out the vote. Turnout for the 2012 presidential election was 79.4% (Awal and Paller 2016).

The NDC, in government for eight years, has the edge. The party can access the state coffers to help fund its campaign and can point to the construction during its tenure of new highways, sports stadiums, and other modern infrastructure projects, particularly in urban centres. The NDC says it is "transforming Ghana" and campaign billboards project the glitz of a rapidly modernising and developing country.

In spite of internal divisions the NPP is still in with a chance. Since 1992, no party in Ghana has held power for more than two consecutive four-year terms. There is widespread anger at government corruption and the slow

pace of improvements in peoples' lives. Furthermore, Akufo-Addo seems to have learned from previous mistakes by spending more time at the grassroots rather than gallivanting around the world meeting global leaders.



This will be Akufo-Addo's last shot at the presidency and the three-time candidate will not go down without a fight. Another loss would be disastrous for his Ga-Akyem faction in the NPP which would in all likelihood be superseded by the party's Asante-Brong faction (Bob-Milliar 2012a).

Source: Jeffrey Paller 2012

⁵ George Bob-Milliar is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History & Political Studies at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science & Technology. Jeffrey W. Paller is Assistant Professor of Politics at University of San Francisco. This article was originally posted on the website of the Africa Research Institute on 2 December 2016.

2. The future is local

As well as a new president, 275 MPs will be elected on 7 December. Local level politics are increasingly important, particularly in Ghana's rapidly growing secondary cities. Sekondi-Takoradi has experienced a massive construction boom – and a housing crash – since oil was discovered offshore. Tamale is building an international airport. Kumasi has seen massive Chinese investment in the city itself and the mining and agricultural sectors in surrounding areas.

New district, metropolitan and municipal executives will be appointed by the winning president in many local government bodies. With control over development budgets and close ties to the leaders in their respective parties, these local officials will be the intermediaries between the grassroots and the central government. For development to accelerate and be more effective, district and municipal governments will have to lead in a way that makes them more accountable to their communities than to the politicians who appoint them, and less focused on self-enrichment.

3. Land grievances and violence

Land grievances often underlie electoral violence (Klaus and Mitchell 2015). In Ghana, politicians do not have the ability to allocate or expropriate land. But chiefs do align with politicians and undermine the legal system (Lund and Boone 2013). Rapid urban development has placed more pressure on the resources, such as they are, of towns and cities. An ongoing influx of migrants has contributed to land shortages and exacerbated insecurity of property rights. Towns like Bawku (Lund 2003), and areas such as Dagbon (Bolaji 2016), with underlying chieftaincy disputes are more susceptible to outbreaks of violence because of the relationship between land insecurity, political mobilisation and group conflict.

4. Politics of resentment

Resentment runs deep in Ghana and understanding the political ramifications is critical (Dwamena and Jacobs 2016). Many Ghanaians resent the Ashanti ethnic group – the core support base of the NPP – due to its historical accumulation of money and power through alliances made with whites during the slave trade and colonial era (Wilks 1975; McCaskie 1995). More recently, in the early 1970s, Prime Minister Kofi Busia's Progress Party, an ideological forerunner of the NPP, deported tens, or possibly hundreds of thousands of "aliens" of Nigerian descent who had been living in the country for decades. Today, people with close ties to the deported – either through family, religious or civic bonds – resent the NPP party and will never vote for them. Many youth perceive the NPP as having an entrenched hierarchy and being "tribalistic", offering little opportunity to newcomers for advancement.

Within the NPP, the NDC is resented for its legacy of authoritarianism. The NDC emerged out of the military regime that President Jerry Rawlings formed after his 1981 coup. For much of its existence, the NDC has struggled to make the transition from the military era. Many Ghanaians also think the Mahama administration has mismanaged an economy that was one of the fastest growing in the world in its early years, and that they should have benefited far more from the discovery of oil.

At the grassroots, the politics of resentment takes the shape of a charged "us versus them" contest. The best showing by a non-NDC or NPP presidential candidate in 2008 and 2012 was just 1.34% of the vote.

5. Controlling space and territory

Ghana does have a history of low-intensity electoral violence (Bob-Milliar 2014) and 54% of Ghanaians expect political parties to use violence during the 2016 elections (Boamponsem Ameyaw 2016). Fights between

party foot soldiers have resulted in destruction of property and mini riots (Bob-Milliar 2012b). This type of violence is often the outcome of exclusive forms of political mobilisation that are increasingly evident in cities. These exclusive strategies rely on narratives of indigeneity and coercion to intimidate voters who “do not belong”.

Parties rely on a variety of campaign strategies in order to maintain control of neighbourhoods. The parties use door-to-door campaigning and hold rallies in the various suburbs of the city, especially in poor neighborhoods and emigrant communities. They distribute campaign leaflets in the streets of Accra. Campaign adverts are run on local FM radio and private TV stations. Posters are placed on buildings, commercial vehicles and lampposts.

In highly competitive electoral districts, political parties use very different mobilisation strategies depending on the underlying ethnic composition and whether they have the advantages of incumbency. When an



indigenous group comprises the ethnic majority of an electoral constituency, their political strategies are often exclusionary. Exclusive mobilisation strategies have the potential to become violent when a party also has incumbency advantage because its representatives can deploy private security without being sanctioned by the state.

[Source: Pulse.com](http://Pulse.com)

6. Grassroots support

Aspiring political leaders spend a long time building a following. Typically, they gain formal positions of power only after proving their credentials by serving their neighbourhoods for many years (Daddieh and Bob-Milliar 2012). Informal authority rests on “socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels” (Helmke and Levitsky 2004).

These rules both constrain and enable the behaviour of residents over time and transcend ethnicity, class and political affiliation. Leaders, including politicians and chiefs, build support by extending their social networks, accumulating wealth, being family heads and religious figures; they are friends, entrepreneurs, parents and preachers (Paller 2014). Personal rule persists at the local level in Ghanaian society, despite the strengthening of formal democratic institutions.

Politicians make strategic calculations to gain the support of voters. They visit neighbourhoods to show solidarity with victims of fires and floods; distribute food and clothing to vulnerable populations, such as *kayayei* (head porters); attend “outdoorings”, funerals and weddings of local leaders; and pray with pastors and imams at local churches and mosques. Nii Lante Vanderpuye’s election as MP for Odododiodio in 2012 is illustrative of these informal practices (Awal and Paller 2016)

Showing influence and possession of the financial resources to improve the lives of residents is increasingly important. Individuals and social groups receive private or “club” goods on the basis of their support for a

political party or candidate. This relationship weakens issue-based pressure, allowing political elites to shy away from responding to major structural challenges, and greatly politicises development. It is for these reasons that elections matter so much for ordinary people: they are a winner-takes-all affair.

7. Listen to ordinary votes

15.8 million Ghanaians have the right to vote on 7 December. The Center for Democratic Development compiled an informative pre-election survey of the electorate. 57% of voters said that they would endorse a parliamentary candidate who would make policies that benefit everyone in the country. The state of roads, electricity provision, the price of basic goods, and perceptions of corruption were the most important issues identified in the survey. Much less influential, according to the results, were religious, ethnic or patronage considerations.

The result of the presidential election will be close. In the last three contests the average margin of victory has been just 3.74%. In the parliamentary vote the NDC will seek to defend a slender 25 seat majority.

REFERENCES

- Awal, Mohammed and Jeffrey W. Paller. January 27, 2016. "Who Really Governs Urban Ghana?" *Africa Research Institute Counterpoints*. Available: <http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/publications/who-really-governs-urban-ghana/>.
- Bekoe, Dorina A. and Stephanie M. Burchard. October 11, 2016. "Ghana's Perfect Storm: Is Africa's Model Democracy in Danger of Faltering?" *World Politics Review*. Available: <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/20156/ghana-s-perfect-storm-is-africa-s-model-democracy-in-danger-of-faltering>.
- Boamponsem Ameyaw, Nana Yaa. November 16 2016. "CDD Survey: 54 Percent of Ghanaians Expect Politicians to Use Violence." *Topfonline.com*. Available: <http://topfonline.com/cdd-survey-54-percent-ghanaians-expect-politicians-use-violence/>.
- Bob-Milliar, George M. 2012a. "Party factions and power blocs in Ghana: a case study of power politics in the National Democratic Congress." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (4): 573-601.
- Bob-Milliar, George M. 2012b. "Political party activism in Ghana: factors influencing the decision of the politically active to join a political party." *Democratization* 19 (4): 668-689.
- Bob-Milliar, George M. 2014. "Party Youth Activists and Low-Intensity Electoral Violence in Ghana: A Qualitative Study of Party Foot Soldiers' Activism." *African Studies Quarterly* 15 (1): 125-152.
- Bolaji, M.H.A. 2016. "Beneath politicization: the unacknowledged constitutional crisis in the Dagbon succession conflict in Ghana." *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 48 (2): 273-301.
- Daddieh, Cyril and George M. Bob-Milliar. 2012. "In Search of 'Honorable' Membership: Parliamentary Primaries and Candidate Selection in Ghana." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47 (2): 204-220.
- Dwamena, Anakwa and Sean Jacobs. November 7 2016. "All you need to know about Ghana's December 7, 2016 elections." *Africa is a Country*. Available: <http://africasacountry.com/2016/11/all-you-need-to-know-about-ghanas-december-7-2016-elections/>.
- Fridy, Kevin S. 2007. "The Elephant, Umbrella, and Quarrelling Cocks: Disaggregating Partisanship in Ghana's Fourth Republic." *African Affairs* 106 (423): 281-305.
- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. 2004. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (4): 725-740.
- Klaus, Kathleen and Matthew I. Mitchell. 2015. "Land grievances and the mobilization of electoral violence: Evidence from Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (5): 622-635.
- Lindberg, Staffan I. and Minion K.C. Morrison. 2008. "Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana." *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (1): 95-122.

- Lund, Christian. 2003. "'Bawku is Still Volatile': Ethno-political Conflict and State Recognition in Northern Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (4): 587-610.
- Lund, Christian and Catherine Boone. 2013. "Introduction: Land politics in Africa – Constituting authority over territory, property and persons." *Africa* 83 (1): 1-13.
- McCaskie, T.C. 1995. *State and Society in Pre-Colonial Asante*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mensah, Nana Yaa. October 31, 2016. "Courting Controversies: Ghana's Electoral Commission under fire ahead of close elections." *African Arguments*. Available: <http://africanarguments.org/2016/10/31/courting-controversies-ghanas-electoral-commission-under-fire-ahead-of-close-elections/>.
- Paller, Jeffrey W. 2014. "Informal Institutions and Personal Rule in Urban Ghana." *African Studies Review* 57 (3): 123-142.
- Whitfield, Lindsay. 2009. "'Change for a Better Ghana': Party Competition, Institutionalization and Alternation in Ghana's 2008 Elections." *African Affairs* 108 (433): 621-641.
- Wilks, Ivor. 1975. *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order*. New York: Cambridge University Press.